IRISH MANUSCRIPT ECCLESIASTICAL CENSUS RETURNS: A SURVEY WITH AN EXAMPLE FROM CLOGHERNY PARISH, CO. TYRONE 1851-1852

Steve Royle
Steve Royle is a lecturer in the Geography Department of The Queen's University of Belfast

To the student of Irish population history the rich manuscript data sources available to his British counterpart must appear to be a documentary cornucopia.[1] For example, parish registers for the majority, Catholic, population of Ireland date to only the first quarter of the eighteenth century and then for only very few places; in some rural districts Catholic registers do not begin until the 1830s[2]. The Protestant Episcopal (Church of Ireland) registers were at one time more numerous but the pre-disestablishment (1869) registers (marriages pre-1845), having been constituted public records in 1875,[3] where no local suitable place for storage could be found were placed in the custody of the Public Record Office in Dublin where most of them perished when that office was destroyed during the Civil War in 1922, (although a few had been copied and thus survive in transcript). Relatively more registers from the non-episcopalian Protestant churches have survived[4] but these relate mainly to just the six counties which now constitute Northern Ireland.

Despite having little parish register material to occupy his time the demographic historian of Ireland cannot simply turn to that other mainstay of his British colleagues, the nineteenth century manuscript census returns, for these have survived in even fewer numbers than the parish registers. The enumerators' books from the 1861, 1871, 1881 and 1891 censuses were never preserved; those from the 1821, 1831, 1841 and 1851 censuses, together with material from the abortive 1813-15 census[5] were kept in the Record Office in Dublin and thus suffered a similar fate to the episcopalian registers when the building was destroyed in 1922. A few of the enumerators' returns survive in original or transcript[6] and some have been subjected to analysis[7] just as some processing of parish register material has been carried out[8] but population studies in Ireland sorely lack the bodies of nationwide detailed data available in Britain. The surviving national nominal records such as the Tithe Applotment Books of around 1830 and the Valuation Records of the 1830s and 1860s[9] contain only relatively sparse details and are no substitute for the richness of the British data. In fact, some genealogists and historians of Ireland have turned to the British and other records not just because of a perfectly legitimate interest in the documentary evidence about Irish nineteenth century migrants[10] but actually as a surrogate for their own missing

records, both parish registers[11] and census enumerators' books. In the introduction to transcripts of Irish families living in Canterbury and recorded in the British census of 1851, Harrington and Perry make this point:

> 'The 1851 census returns for the whole of the United Kingdom[12] remain unprinted ... and the reader's first reaction may be to wonder why it is worth printing abstracts from these valuable records. In the present case the main reason is, of course, the destruction of almost all the 1821, 1831 and 1841 census returns for Ireland in which many of the Irish born persons listed here would have appeared.'[13]

Given the lack of widespread detailed information, Irish demographic studies based on local records take on greater significance than would be the case in Britain. Work has been carried out not only upon the surviving census and parish register manuscripts but also upon a very varied range of other evidence, for example estate maps and rentals[14] tithe records,[15] military records,[16] even memory,[17] but perhaps the most important group of documents are the ecclesiastical censuses. Religion has long played an overwhelmingly dominant role in Irish affairs and despite the loss of much irreplaceable material in 1922, its documentary legacy is great.[18] Ecclesiastical censuses make up only a tiny fraction of the total mass of material but for the demographic historian they, together with the parish registers, are probably the most significant part of it.

In contrast to Britain where the manuscripts from both the Religious Census of 1851[19] and the Clergymen's Returns to the Parish Register Abstract of 1831[20] are almost fully extant, no substantial body of manuscripts exist from any Irish ecclesiastical census, although there were national enquiries in 1766 and 1834. In 1766 the Irish Parliament ordered the Protestant Clergy to take a census of the numbers of Protestants and Catholics in the country. The returns were stored in the Public Record Office and so largely perished in 1922 but a few listings, if not full analyses of some of the returns have been published.[21] The 1834 survey was carried out by a Commission of Public Instruction which was set up to ascertain, amongst other things, the state of the various religions in Ireland, including their numerical strengths, on a parish by parish basis[22] To find out the numbers, the enumerators from the 1831 census were pressed into service again (where possible) and were furnished with copies of their original 1831 manuscript returns with instructions to add the religion of the people therein recorded.[23] After this had been accomplished the amended returns were open to inspection locally and then a commissioner visited each place to cause

> 'the population return as classified by the enumerator to be verified by his oath and (to receive) any evidence that might be tendered on the spot with respect to its accuracy.'[24]

Such local evidence often took the form of a census privately taken by clergy of various denominations. In fact the clergy were specifically invited to furnish their own evidence to the Commissioner: and

'every such census was open to the inspection of all persons present at the inquiry and its accuracy was scrutinised by the visiting Commissioner who received all proper evidence in support or impeachment of its correctness and whenever the accuracy of such original census was established to the satisfaction of the Commissioner it was adopted in preference to the computation based upon the census of 1831.'[25]

Where the 1831 based assessment was accepted its statistics were extrapolated to relate to 1834 based on the population trends of that parish computed from the 1821 and 1831 censuses.[26]

Because of the politico-religious situation of the time, the Catholic hierarchy was particularly concerned that the proportion of Protestants to Catholics might be exaggerated.[27] Accordingly, as de Brun makes clear,[28] many Catholic priests were urged to make their own census for submission to the Commissioner. The Bishop of Limerick for example issued such instructions to his high priests and Daniel O'Connell urged similar action to be taken nationally. De Brun reported that a relatively small number of priests followed up these behests but a survey of the statistical tables forming the appendix to the 1835 report, which state which of the 1834 figures were computed from the 1831 based enquiry and which taken from original censuses, reveals that at least 235 Catholic surveys were taken plus another 37 where out of co-operation or, perhaps, competition Catholic Clergymen had joined with others to submit a joint survey of the parish. Additionally 542 censuses of members of the Established Church were accepted as were 32 of Presbyterians and 11 of other sects. On a further 68 occasions other original surveys, often by the 1831 enumerators were accepted. Altogether for the 1440 parochial benefices (some of which contained more than one actual parish) into which Ireland was divided it seems that at least 925 original censuses of one or more sects were taken. Many of the published accounts of Irish ecclesiastical censuses are based on the few survivors from this body of documents.[29]

However, by no means all extant ecclesiastical censuses are from the 1834 or 1766 enquiries; for example: de Brun has used data for Ferriter parish Co. Kerry in 1826 from the New Catholic Association's attempt to survey Catholics in Ireland at that time;[30] Clarkson has carried out a considerable amount of analysis on Rev. Dr. W. Lodge's census of Armagh city in 1770;[31] Ellison has listed Protestants in the Diocese of Meath for 1802;[32] Conlan has noted the population and other details for St. Mary Shandon parish in Cork for about 1830 (but despite the date this does not seem to be one of the 1834 survey's censuses)[33] and Ward listed the landowners of four parishes in East Meath in 1830 — a census taken in connection with the imposition of an ecclesiastical tax — the church cess.[34] Other ecclesiastical censuses remain yet to be subject to (published) analysis. The two Irish Public Record Offices contain some manuscripts,[35] others probably remain in various church record depositories lying perhaps subject to the 'indifference and inactivity' mentioned by Beale in her article on ecclesiastical records.[36]

One census not hitherto analysed relates to the Established Church (Church of Ireland) population of Clogherny parish Co. Tyrone for late 1851/early 1852 and its investigation forms the second part of this paper. It would seem that attendances at the parish church in Clogherny were unsatisfactory and in 1851 the Lord Primate of Ireland ordered an enquiry. John Whitley Stokes, Archdeacon of Armagh and the Rev. William Quain, Rector of Drumglass and Rural Dean of Aghaloo were commissioned to make a report, in connection with which a number of censuses were taken.

From the report, dated 3 January 1852, (held in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland [P.R.O.N.I.])[37] it would seem that Stokes and Quain were furnished with a census of the church population, but in a discussion with the curate of the parish, Rev. A. Young, (the Rector, Rev. J. Lowry would not attend the meetings out of 'delicacy') and the church wardens held on the 16 December 1851, doubts were entertained as to its accuracy. Accordingly:

> 'the Rev. W. Quain visited the parish on the Thursday and Friday following and met Mr. Sinclair Perry, one of the church wardens, and several of the parishioners for the purpose of obtaining additional information and he then arranged that Mr. Perry in company with Mr. Young should visit the several houses of the parishioners and obtain such information as would enable us to fill up the census according to the form furnished by your grace. Mr. Perry forwarded an amended census as the result of this enquiry which together with his letters we annex to this report ... upon comparing the census as furnished by him with that revised at Clogherny we found that in some degree they did not correspond and that there was general uncertainty as to the numbers of confirmed and of age to be so.'[38]

Another meeting was arranged for the 2 January 1852 at which they

> 'managed to fill up the census in the form as furnished by your grace in a satisfactory manner except in the columns relating to confirmation to fill up which with accuracy would delay the sending in of this report to your grace longer than you would wish.'[39]

So it would seem that three separate censuses existed: the original one furnished to Stokes and Quain; one prepared by Perry in December and the final one prepared for the meeting on January 2. Of these, two still exist: the Perry census dated 26 December 1851[40] and one other of which there are two copies, both undated.[41] It is not entirely clear whether the undated census is the one preceeding Perry's enquiry or the one based upon it. However, since the undated census contains no information that could not have been taken from Perry's census and the copy held by the P.R.O.N.I. in association with the report[42] is in handwriting very similar to that of the Rev. Quain it would seem likely that it is the census prepared by Quain for submission with the report rather than the one furnished at the start of their enquiry. In addition, a note appended to the census stating that no families are prevented from attending church on account of its distance is initialled JWS, presumably John Whitley Stokes. This is

further evidence that the extant census resulted from their enquiry and did not precede it.

Statistics taken from the censuses are used in the report to confirm the low attendances although the actual usual level of attendance is not given — perhaps the Archbishop already had detailed figures, indeed the very existence of the enquiry suggests that he knew the seriousness of the situation. With regard to the reasons for the diminution of congregations, it would seem that the

> 'very large decrease in the numbers in the report of the year 1851 as compared with that of 1834[43] must in some measure be attributed to the opening of a church in Sixmilecross in the period 1834-51.'[44]

But Stokes and Quain regret to have to state also that the

> 'small attendance at divine service in comparison with the number of church families in the parish is owing to most important parts of the pastoral duties not having been diligently performed by the Rector and Curate.'[45]

The report goes on to single out various derelictions of duty including: neglectful visiting of the sick and the whole; not enough done to drive away erroneous doctrines; lack of 'endeavour to reclaim members who have left the church'; insufficient seeking out of families moving into the area; and the lack of an evening service for the convenience of those living some way from the church.

It would seem that the report was not accepted without criticism for another document held with the censuses is a letter from Stokes and Quain dated 9 March 1852[46] in which they state very firmly that:

> 'having investigated the various matters into which we were authorized to enquire ... we found them as stated in our report of the third day of January 1852: and which said report and the several matters and things therein set forth are true in every particular to the best of our knowledge and belief so help me God.'[47]

The letter is witnessed by one Alexander Irvin, Surrogate.

Nor did Stoke's statement that families were not prevented from attending church because of their distance from it go unchallenged because a further document held in association with the censuses is a plea to the Lord Primate that:

> 'steps may be taken to secure to us and our children the stated ministrations of the church of Our Father on the Sabbath Day in the village of Seskannor, a portion of the vineyard of the great head of the church which has been for a series of years uncared and uncultivated and plunged into spiritual darkness having no public worship nearer than the parish church, a distance of between 3 and 4 miles and being equally destitute for the sick and the afflicted in their hour of need.'

The letter is signed by 77 heads of households and dated 'Seskannor 16 January 1852.'[48]

However, in spite of some parts of the report obviously not meeting with universal acceptance and the doubts mentioned as to the accuracy of confirmation details, with regard to most aspects of the censuses latter day investigations can retain some confidence in the completeness of the returns, firstly because of Stokes' and Quain's signed affidavit to the accuracy of their report and secondly because Sinclair Perry whose census appears to have been used as the basis for that given in the final report was a local knowledgeable churchwarden and additionally was given a very good character reference by Stokes and Quain:

> 'from the character of him (Perry) given by Mr. Lowry and Mr. Young as well as from our own observation we believe him to be a trustworthy person having an accurate knowledge of his parish being collector of the county cess and we feel assured that he would not wilfully mislead us.'[49]

Perry was also prepared to stand by the accuracy of his work for in the covering letter to Quain enclosing his census he claims that his schedule sets out:

> 'the names and age of every individual I can find in the parish of Clogherny who even call themselves (sic) by the name of Church Protestants many of whom I have no other authority for entering as such as I never in my life saw them at Church and some (sic) with large Families (sic) have not even got one of their children baptised (sic) at Clogherny.'[50]

Thus there is circumstantial evidence at least to attest to the fullness and accuracy of the censuses. The only doubt arises from the fact that not all the seventy seven people who signed the plea for a church to be built at Seskinore could be traced to the censuses but as Seskinore town is situated at the edge of Clogherny parish, perhaps some of the signatories lived across the border and thus would not have been enumerated by Perry and Quain. There is no independent source against which the accuracy of the censuses can be checked. The nearest contemporary religious investigation of Clogherny was the 1834 report, already noted as being outdated.

The census included with the report details the names of household heads, size of family, their townland and gives a series of figures relating to the number of children between 7 and 15; the number of Protestant servants; the number who have been confirmed; the number of age to be confirmed; the number of age to receive sacrament and finally an observations column which is exclusively used for noting the families who 'scarcely ever attend church'. To the present day researcher, Perry's census has a lot more to offer since it gives the details from which the bald figures in the other census might well have been taken, ages (and names) of all family members, and its observation column is not just used

to mark those rarely in church but also to specify which adults were single, widowed or were servants. One hundred and four families containing 490 individuals are recorded. Six thousand and seventy nine persons were enumerated in Clogherny parish in the 1851 census of Ireland.[51] Incidentally Perry's census shows that the Reverend Lowry was seventy nine years old in 1851; in Carlisle's 1810 Topographical Dictionary of Ireland[52] he is recorded as having been rector of Clogherny since at least 1806. It seems a little surprising that Lowry was no longer an assiduous visitor to the houses of his parishioners but no mention of his age was made in the report.

Perry's census has obvious value for genealogists and despite limitations such as its containing no occupational evidence, it is also of wider interest especially if one bears in mind Lee's well known maxim that in Irish demographic history "one line of evidence is worth a page of hypotheses".[53] In fact, Lee urges that work should be carried out on every "scrap of demographic data available"[54] and he specifically singles out a number of religious censuses as suitable "scraps".

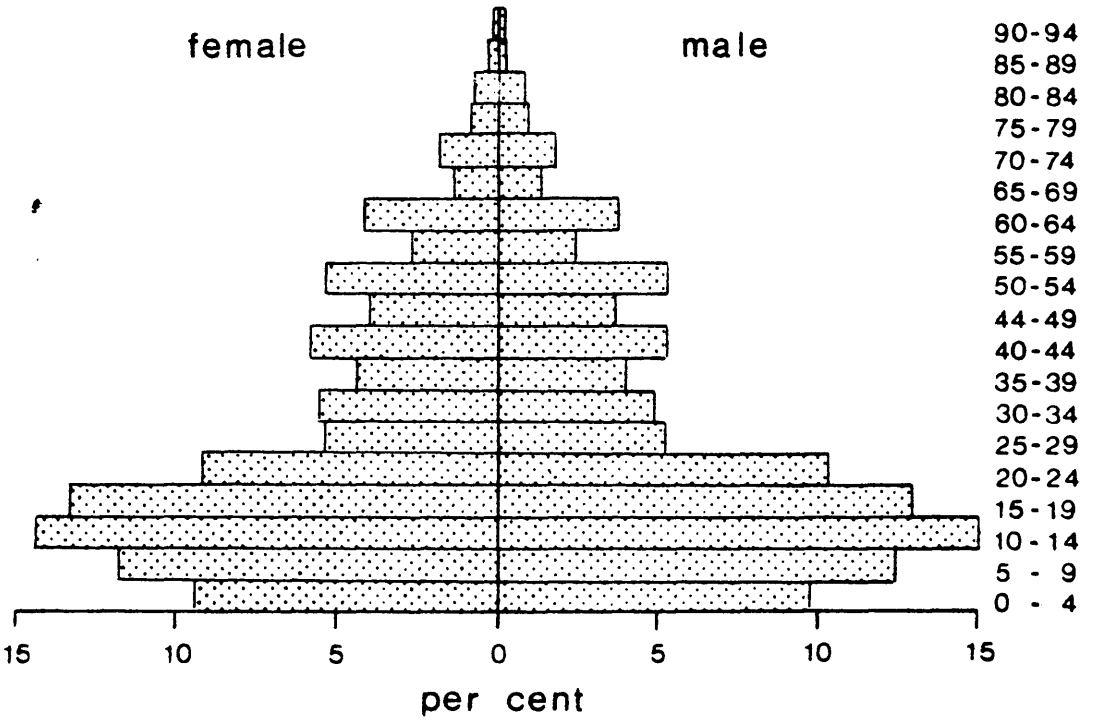
A number of different demographic variables can be constructed from the Clogherny "scrap". From the ages recorded a simple age/sex pyramid can be constructed and this can be compared with one compiled for Omagh East Barony (of which Clogherny is part) using information given in the Irish 1851 census[55] (Figure 1). The work of Tucker[56] has raised some doubts as to the accuracy of the ages recorded in the mid-century censuses and in 1841 and to only a slightly lesser extent 1851 he makes a strong case for about 10 per cent under recording of children under two. He based his argument on statistical enquiries inspired by the odd way in which the census volumes record the ages of young children (1 month, 2 months ... 11 months, 12 months, 2 years — with no category for less than one month or for between one and two years) and also the likelihood of the (non-civilian) enumerators not noticing these 'least obtrusive children'[57] in their recording or checking of the families of peasants often suspicious or unco-operative. However the evidence presented in Figure 1 does not strengthen Tucker's admittedly plausible claims for not only do the two pyramids display a form quite logical for an area having just undergone a famine, with comparatively few children in the 0-4 age groups (presumably through a combination of high infant mortality and low birth

e 1. **Houseful Size and Housing Standards: Clogherny Parish 1851**

	Houseful Size									Housing Class[1]			
	All Parish[1]			Established Church[2]			Rest of Parish[1]						
	Population	Families	Average	Population	Families	Average	Population	Families	Average	1	2	3	4
l	5425	965	5.62	273	60	4.55	5152	905	5.69	9	347	561	36
inore	94	20	4.70	111	23	4.03				—	18	2	—
							437	84	5.20				
gh	560	108	5.19	106	21	5.05				3	102	3	—
l	6079	1093	5.56	490	104	4.71	5589	989	5.65	12	467	566	36

ces
1851 Census of Ireland.
Clogherny Established Church census (P.R.O.N.I. DIO 4/32 C/9/4/5).

OMAGH EAST BARONY 1851



CLOGHERNY PARISH ESTABLISHED CHURCH 1851

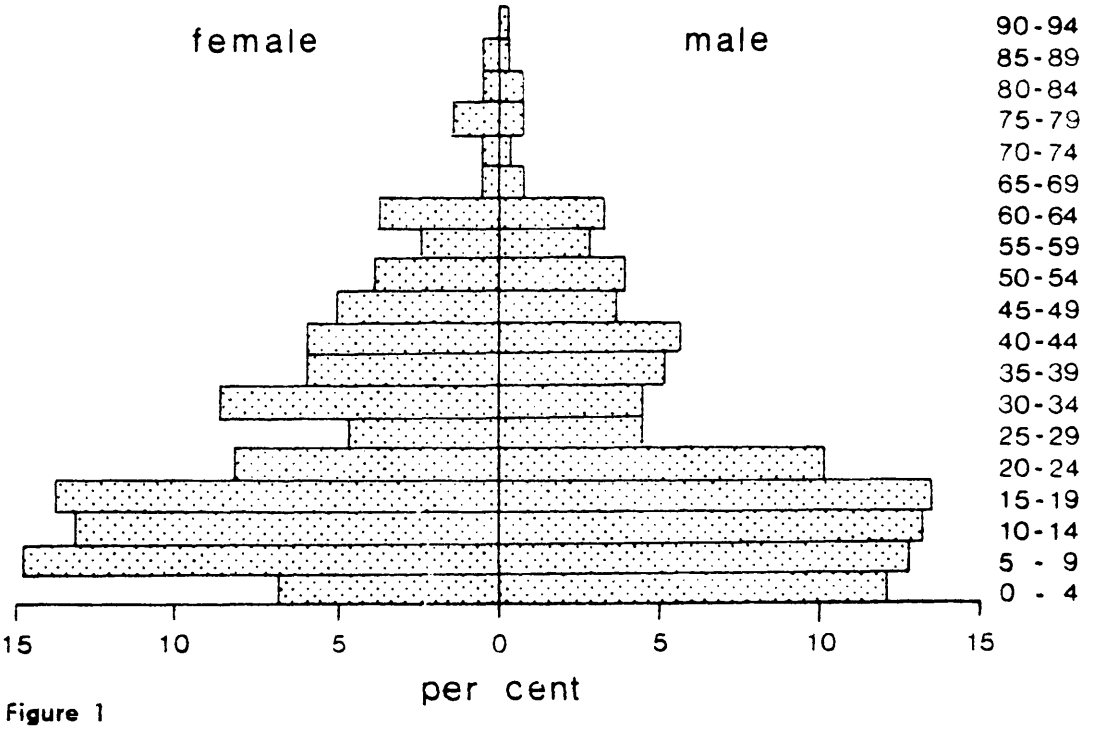


Figure 1

rates) but also there is a correlation coefficient of 0.98 between the two total age distributions illustrated in the pyramids[58] and however doubtful the barony data we can be sure that Perry, a known, local fellow-religionist did not under-record the Clogherny episcopalian children — he even lists a bachelor with an illegitimate child. The pyramids also show a slight 'waist' in the 25-40 age groups. This, too, is not unexpected given the rate of Irish emigration in the 1840s for, as Cousens notes[59] although the Irish generally hoped to migrate as a family many people had to leave on their own. Tyrone and most of the rest of Ulster were not areas most heavily affected by migration[60] (or the famine)[61] but Cousens suggests that between 12.5 and 14.9 per cent of Tyrone's population emigrated between 1846 and 1851[62] and this is reflected in the age pyramids presented here.

From the age information some attempt can also be made to measure fertility. Various ratios have already been constructed for the pre-famine period and these can be used for comparison. For example Cousens discovered 659 children under six per 1000 women 16-45 for Ireland in 1841[63] (707 for Tyrone); Connell[64] and Drake[65] have suggested that 532 children under five had been born per 1000 women 15-44 for 1841 Ireland — a revision of Connell's earlier figure of 644[66]; Tucker using the same formula for his ratio 'corrected' the Irish 1841 figure to 612 by adding 10 per cent to the recorded number of children under four[67] (see above). A decade later, when the Clogherny census was taken, one would expect fertility to have fallen given the intervening demographic disaster. The Clogherny 1851 episcopalian fertility ratio is 635.32 children under six per 1000 women 16-45 (Cousen's ratio) or 510.42 children under five per 1000 women 15-44 (Connell's, Drake's and Tucker's ratio) — however the comparison is made the figures are much below the national average for 1841 and Cousen's Tyrone statistic. The Omagh East Barony ratio is lower still (442.2 children under five per 1000 women 15-44, the only ratio possible from the 1851 census figures, or 486.42 if the children under four are increased by Tucker's 10 per cent) and the Church of Ireland fertility seems to have held up better than the rest of the local population.

This differentiation between the Clogherny Established Church population and the rest of the area is found in another 'scrap' that can be constructed from the schedules — household/family size. This topic, like Irish fertility ratios and marriage ages/rates[68] has aroused a good deal of discussion in the literature. Carney[69] has constructed mean houseful (total number of inhabitants), household (all members of the family related directly or indirectly plus servants) and family (all members related by blood or marriage) sizes from a sample of the surviving Irish 1821 census enumerators' books. At 5.68, 5.45 and 5.05 respectively they were significantly larger than Laslett's English standard[70] sizes of 4.77, 4.45 and 3.82 (as reworked by Carney). Connell[71] (re-iterated by Clarkson[72]) records a variety of pre-famine estimates ranging from 4.36 to 8.00 but put forward household means of 5.47 for 1767 and 5.65 for 1791. Newenham's survey of Cork in 1804 discovered a mean of 6.04.[73] Only Clarkson's mean household size of 3.904 for Armagh city[74] in 1770 is much below the English Standard and, as he stressed, that is for a town, not a common residential form in eighteenth century Ireland. Armagh in 1770, however, was similar to Car-

ney's 'Ireland' in 1821 insofar as mean household size varied with social class. Carney found that not only houseful and household size increased with class but also that family size alone increased. In Armagh where the Episcopalians were the religious group of highest social standing[75] their mean household size was larger than those of the Presbyterians or Catholics although with regard to conjugal family units alone this was not the case.

These data refer to the pre-famine period. After the famine one would expect household size to fall: immediately, as death and migration decimated families and in the longer term because of the later marriages. Only if there was significant combining of households during the famine and post-famine eras would one expect mean household size to rise. This had not happened in the Clogherny Church of Ireland population: 54 households (51.92 per cent) were couples with children excluding 6 (5.77 per cent) who also had servants; 8 (7.69 per cent) were couples without children (excluding one (0.96 per cent) with a servant); 11 (10.58 per cent) were headed by a widow/widower and contained children (excluding one (0.96 per cent) with a servant); 12 (11.54 per cent) were single person households and 2 (1.92 per cent) were children without parents. Only 4 households (3.85 per cent) contained three generations and only 2 (1.92 per cent) were shared households; one contained a fifty two year old woman of different name from the family, possibly a relative or an unrecorded servant but perhaps a lodger and the other contained a miller who might have been a servant/apprentice. For two households insufficient information was given for them to be assigned to any category.

Using the same standard definitions as Carney (above) the Clogherny data reveal a mean family size of 4.57, a mean household size of 4.69 and a mean houseful size of 4.71, figures considerably lower than those for Ireland in 1821 as postulated. However, to complicate matters, the mean size of family of the 77 signatories to the Seskinore letter of 1852 mentioned above[76] was 5.25 and from the population and number of families given for each parish in the 1851 census of Ireland, the mean houseful size for Clogherny parish as a whole works out at 5.56 (6079 people, 1093 families) or 5.65 (5589 people, 989 families), excluding the contemporary Clogherny Church of Ireland information, and these figures are little changed from the Irish 1821 position.

The only clear fact which emerges from the household size data is that in Clogherny in 1851 the Church of Ireland population on average inhabited smaller households than the rest of the parish in both the rural areas and the villages (Table 1). It has already been established that household size tended to vary with status in eighteenth and nineteenth century Ireland and the Clogherny data would thus imply a low relative status for the parish's episcopalian population. Morgan[77] noted the low standing of episcopalians in Coleraine for the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as did Jones for Belfast for a later period[78] and so, superficially, the Clogherny mean household size implication seems logical and acceptable. However, as already noted, in eighteenth century Armagh the Church of Ireland population were of the highest class and, further, what other

evidence can be gleaned about the social position of episcopalians in Clogherny in 1851 tends to imply that they enjoyed a relatively high social standing. From the 1851 Irish census, for example, it can be inferred that the Church of Ireland members had better housing than other groups. This census, like most of the nineteenth century censuses of Ireland, collected data on housing standards, constructing a four class index of quality which varied with the number of rooms, the number of windows and the solidity or durability of a house, (based on the materials used to construct its walls and roof).[79] As Table 1 indicates, the two villages within the parish had, in general, the best housing and Perry's census indicated that a high proportion of the Church of Ireland households were to be found in the villages — in fact he recorded twenty three episcopalian families in Seskinore, three more than the 1851 census. Thus a large proportion of Established Church members must have lived in high quality houses and enjoyed commensurately a higher standard of living than members of other groups. Further indirect evidence as to the status of at least some members of the Established Church can be inferred with the aid of Lewis's **'Topographical Dictionary'** of 1837.[80] In the entry for Clogherny he noted that the parish contained four 'principal seats': those of the Reverend J. Lowry at Somerset; Mrs. Perry at Seskinore; Mr. K. Burgess at Mullaghmore and Mr. J. Galbraith at Gortmore. Apart from the Reverend Lowry, no positive trace can be made of the holders of these seats in Perry's census fourteen years later but there was a Perry family at Seskinore, as well as Sinclair Perry's own family (and a servant) at Laragh. Additionally, although no Burgess family was enumerated, three Galbraith families were recorded. Therefore, as well as being generally better housed than other people, the Church of Ireland membership probably encompassed three out of the four principal families in 1834.

Thus, there is contrary evidence as to the relationship between household size and status in Clogherny in 1851. Indeed, little of the demographic 'analysis' from this ecclesiastical census has led to clearcut results. But, Lee in his plea for scraps of evidence did not predict that they should or would form any coherent pattern — he just asked that they should be presented. Clarkson also looks to 'the discovery and examination of lists of households'[81] and Morgan, too, looks forward to more work being done in the field of parish register analysis.[82] The present paper must end with a similar plea for further work to be done but although there are more sources to be analysed — religious censuses and others — the difficulties over Irish historical demographic data with its uneasy mixture of what are being seen increasingly as a series of less than fully reliable published censuses[83] and a scatter of other data widely variant in time, place and form suggest that there will always be problems of fact, never mind interpretation, and that no accepted picture can ever emerge.

NOTES

1. To use the terminology of J. J. Bagley, **Historical interpretation: II 1540 to the present day,** Penguin, Harmondsworth 1971.
2. M. D. Falley, **Irish and Scotish-Irish ancestral research,** privately printed. Virginia 1962; M. Griffith, 'How to use the records of the Republic of Ireland', **World conference on records and genealogical seminar,** Salt Lake City, Utah 1969. For the dates of the commencement of the various Catholic registers see: J. MacCaffrey, 'Parochial Registers' **Archivium Hibernicum.** III. (1914) pp. 366-406.
3. For a discussion about this controversial decision see G. O'Duill, 'Church records after disetablishment' **Irish Archives Bulletin** V (1975) pp. 10-22.
4. K. Darwin, 'How to use the records of Northern Ireland', **World conference on records and genealogical seminar,** Salt Lake City, Utah 1969.
5. P. Froggatt, 'The census of Ireland 1813-1815', **Irish Historical Studies,** XIV (1965) pp. 227-35.
6. S. A. Royle, **Irish census returns of the nineteenth century: a catalogue of extant material,** Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, forthcoming.
7. T. P. Cunningham, 'Notes on the 1821 census of Lavery parish', **Breifne,** 1.3 (1960) pp. 192-208; F. McKiernan, 'Carrigallen parish in 1821', **Breifne.** 2.5 (1962) pp. 112-136; J. P. Wilson, '1821 census: parish of Drumloman', **Breifne,** 2.6 (1963) pp. 238-47; G. Alwill, 'The 1841 census of Killeshandra parish', **Breifne,** 5.17 (1976) pp. 7-36; P. Connell, 'Changing forces shaping a nineteenth century Irish town: a case study of Navan', **St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, Department of Geography, Occasional Papers 1** (1978); J. Lee, 'Marriage and population in pre-famine Ireland', **Economic History Review.** 21 (1968) pp. 283-95: F. J. Carney 'Aspects of pre-famine Irish household size: comparison and differentials', **in** L. M. Cullen and T. C. Smout (eds.), **Comparative aspects of Scottish and Irish economic and social history 1600-1900,** John Donald, Edinburgh, 1977 pp. 32-46. However, some papers based on surviving enumerators' manuscripts are little more than transcripts, for example: T. G. F. Patterson. 'Family composition and occupation in Kilmore parish, C. Armagh 1821', **Ulster Folklife,** 7 (1961) pp. 41-50; K. Kelly, 'Extracts from the census of the city of Waterford 1821', **Irish Genealogist** 4 (1968) pp. 17-24. 122-130; 'Extracts from the census of 1821, Barony of Iverk, Co. Kilkenny' **Irish Genealogist** 5 (1976) pp. 383-93; M. Seoighe, 'Fragments from the lost census returns: entries relating to Kilfinane district', **North Munster Antiquarian Journal** 17 (1975) pp. 83-90; R. ffolliott (ed), 'The 1821 census returns for the two parishes of Aglish and Portnascully, Co. Kilkenny', **Irish Ancestor** 8.2 (1976) pp. 113-24; 'The 1841 census for two townlands in Aglish parish, Co. Kilkenny', **Irish Ancestor** 9.1 (1977) pp. 44-7. See S. A. Royle 'Irish manuscript census returns of the nineteenth century: a neglected source of information', **Irish Geography** 11 (1978) pp. 110-125.
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22. British Parliamentary Papers. **First report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction: Ireland,** 1835 XXXIII.
23. Given that the religious details were not added to the 1831 enumerators' statistics until 1834 it would seem that what has been regarded as the most extensive survival of returns from the actual 1831 census — namely the documents relating to the whole of Co. Londonderry — are in fact a relict of the 1834 inquiry since they do contain details on religious persuasions and furthermore do not contain occupational information although the 1831 published report does. (British Parliamentary Papers, **Census of Ireland 1831, 1833 XXXIX).** However as the enumerators were instructed to collect information relating to their 1831 populations it could be argued that this was therefore, a supplementary inquiry to the 1831 census itself. In the Public Record Office of Ireland (where the originals are held) and the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (which holds microfilm copies) the Londonderry manuscripts are catalogued as 'enumerators' returns' and '1831 census returns' respectively.
24. **Commission for Public Instruction;** p. 3.
25. **Ibid.** p. 5.
26. The tables in the **Commission for Public Instruction** report give for each parish both the figures based on the 1831 data set and those accepted by the Commissioners in 1834. From the way in which the tables are set out it seems as if there were two separate surveys, one taken in 1831 and the other in 1834. This is not really the case but some confusion has resulted from the arrangement of the tables. For example, T. P. O'Neill, **Sources of Irish local history,** Library Association of Ireland, 1958, states (p. 36) "The 1831 religious statistics were considered inaccurate and an attempt to convert them was made by the **Commission for Public Instruction** who in their first report in 1835 gave the amended figures". Both sets of figures result from the same 1834 inquiry.
27. Similar controversy attended the 1851 religious census of England and Wales although in this case the main rivalry was between the Established Church (Church of England) and the nonconformists. See K. S. Inglis, 'Patterns of religious worship in 1851', **Journal of Ecclesiastical History** 11 (1960) pp. 74-86; W. S. F. Pickering, 'The 1851 religious census: a useless experiment?', **British Journal of Sociology** 18 (1967) pp. 382-407; D. M. Thompson, 'The 1851 religious census: problems and possibilities', **Victorian studies** 11 (1967) pp. 87-97; R. W. Ambler, 'The 1851 census of religious worship' **Local Historian** 11.7 (1975) pp. 375-82; D. M. Thompson, 'The religious census of 1851' 1978 **op. cit.;** H. Mann, 'On the statistical position of religious bodies in England and Wales', **Journal of the Statistical Society** 17 (1855)

pp. 141-59. For a regional survey of the returns see I. G. Jones and D. Williams, **The religious census of 1851: a calendar of returns relating to Wales. Volume 1: South Wales,** University of Wales Press, Cardiff 1976. See the bibliography of C. D. Field, **The 1851 religious census: a select bibliography of materials relating to England and Wales,** Wesley Historical Society, Chester 1979.

28. P. de Brun, 'A census of the parish of Ferriter, January 1835', **Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society** 7 (1974) pp. 37-70.
29. For example, see de Brun, **ibid;** 'A census of the parishes of Prior and Killemlagh, December 1834" **Journal of Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society** 8 (1975) pp. 114-135; D. MacIvor, 'Census of Tallanstown parish, 1834', **Journal Co. Louth Archaeological Society** 14.1 (1957) pp. 14-25; F. O'Ferral, 'The population of a rural pre-famine parish: Templebredin, Co. Limerick and Co. Tipperary in 1834', **North Munster Antiquarian Journal** XVII (1975) pp. 91-101.
30. P. de Brun, 'Ferriter', **op. cit.**
31. L. A. Clarkson, 'The anatomy of an Irish town: The economy of Armagh 1770', **Irish Economic and Social History** V (1978) pp. 27-45; 'Household and family structure in Armagh city 1770', **Local Population Studies** 20 (1978) pp. 14-31; 'Armagh 1770'.
32. C. C. Ellison, 'Early nineteenth century lists of Protestant parishioners in the Diocese of Meath', **Irish Ancestor** 5 (1973) pp. 37-52, 113-26.
33. M. V. Conlon, 'A census of the parish of St. Mary Chandon, Cork (c. 1830)', **Journal of Cork Historical and Archaeological Society.** XLIX (1944) pp. 10-18.
34. M. Ward, 'Census of landowners in four East Meath parishes in 1830', **Riocht na Midhe** 3.4 (1966) pp. 354-8.
35. Examples are the census of Lisburn, Co. Antrim taken in November 1820 by Thomas Cupples, Curate (P.R.O.N.I. T679/107-112). (This was used by V. Morgan, 'Blaris' **op. cit.** only to present population and religious affiliation statistics) and Rev. W. Breslin's survey of Fallaghy Co. Londonderry in 1847 (P.R.O.N.I. D2098).
36. A. Beale, p. 24.
37. DIO 4/32C/9/4/3.
38. **ibid.**
39. **ibid.**
40. DIO 4/32C/9/4/5.
41. DIO 4/32C/9/4/2 and T877 (839).
42. The latter is entitled 'copy attested copy census accompanying report of Archdeacon Stokes and Rev. Wm. Quain', the former 'census of Archdeacon of Armagh and Rev. Wm. Quain'. Both record the same information.
42. i.e. DIO 4/32C/9/4/2.
43. In the **Commission of Public Instruction** report the Commissioner recorded 1401 members of the Established Church at Clogherny out of a total population of 7109. The 1831 enumerator recorded 1335. (This is the number of 'episcopalicans' repeated by L. O'Kane, 'A statistical return of Armagh Diocese in 1836', **Seanchas Ardmhacha** 3.1 (1958) pp. 181-90) Average attendances at the parish church near Beragh were stated as 60 in winter and 100 in summer and the numbers were slightly increasing.
44. DIO 4/32C/9/4/3.
45. **ibid.**
46. DIO 4/32C/9/4/1.
47. **ibid.**
48. DIO 4/32C/9/4/7.
49. DIO 4/32C/9/4/3.
50. DIO 4/32C/9/4/4.
51. British Parliamentary Papers, **Census of Ireland** 1851. 1852-3 xcii.
52. N. Carlisle, **A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland** London 1810.
53. J. Lee, p. 295.
54. **ibid.**
55. British Parliamentary Papers, **Census of Ireland 1851** 1856, XXIX and XXX.
56. G. S. L. Tucker, 'Irish fertility ratios before the famine', **Economic History Review** XXIII (1970) pp. 267-84.
57. **ibid.** p. 273.
58. Additionally there is a correlation coefficient (Pearson's) of 0.98 between Clogherny male and the Barony male age distribution and one of 0.95 between the female distributions.
59. S. H. Cousens, 'The regional pattern of emigration during the great Irish famine', **Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers** 28 (1960) PP. 119-34.
60. S. H. Cousens, 'The restriction of population growth in pre-famine Ireland', **Proceeding of the Royal Irish Academy** 64C (1996) pp. 85-99.

61. S. H. Cousens, 'Regional death rates in Ireland during the Great Famine 1846-51 **Population Studies** 19 (1960) pp. 55-73.
62. S. H. Cousens, 'Regional pattern of immigration', **op. cit.**
63. S. H. Cousens, 'Restriction of Population growth', **op. cit.**
64. K. H. Connell, 'Some unsettled problems in English and Irish population history 1750-1845' **Irish Historical Studies** VII (1951) pp. 225-34.
65. M. Drake, 'Marriage and population growth in Ireland 1750-1845', **Economic History Review** 16 (1963) pp. 301-13.
66. K. H. Connell, **The population of Ireland 1750-1845**, Oxford 1950.
67. G. Tucker.
68. It is a matter of no small comfort to the present author that the Clogherny data does not allow him to join the sometimes acrimonious marriage age debate other than to state that if one adopts the very dubious practice of subtracting the age of the eldest recorded child plus one year from the parents' ages then the mean age of people married before 1846 is 28 for men and 24.07 for women while for those married in 1846 or later it is 28 and 24.5 respectively — a trend, if it can be called such, toward the older marriage age as would be expected, although by late 1851 the effects of the famine on land holding, agricultural practices and marriage behaviour could hardly have worked themselves through. See K. H. Connell, 'Marriage in Ireland after the famine: the diffusion of the match', **Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Sociey of Ireland** XIX (1955-6) pp. 82-95; 'Present marriage in Ireland: its structure and development since the famine'. **Economic History Review** XIV (1961) pp. 502-23; B. M. Walsh, 'Marriage rates and population pressure: Ireland 1871 and 1911', **Economic History Review** XXIII (1970) pp. 148-62; E. E. McKenna. 'Age, region and marriage in post-famine Ireland: an empirical examination', **Economic History Review** XXXI (1978) pp. 238-56.
69. F. Carney, **op cit.**
70. P. Laslett, 'Introduction', in P. Laslett and R. Wall (eds.) **Household and Family in past time** Cambridge 1972 pp. 1-89 and 'Mean household size in England since the sixteenth century', in Laslett and Wall, **ibid** pp. 125-58.
71. K. H. Connell, 'Population of Ireland'.
72. L. A. Clarkson, 'Household and Family structure'.
73. T. Newenham, **'A statistical and historical survey into the progress and magnitude of the population of Ireland 1805.**
74. L. A. Clarkson, 'Household and Family structure'.
75. **ibid.**; Clarkson, 'Armagh 1770'.
76. i.e. P.R.O.N.I. DIO 4/32C/9/4/7.
77. V. Morgan. 'The Church of Ireland registers of St. Patrick's, Coleraine'.
78. E. Jones. **A social geography of Belfast** Oxford 1960.
79. See R. E. Matheson, 'The housing of the people of Ireland during the period 1841-1901', **Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland** pt. LXXXIII vol. 11 (November 1903) pp. 196-212 and for an example of the use that can be made of this information see A. Gailey, 'The housing of the rural poor in nineteenth century Ulster', **Ulster Folklife** XII (1976) pp. 34-58.
80. S. Lewis. **A topographical Dictionary of Ireland** London 1837.
81. L. A. Clarkson, 'Household and Family structure'.
82. V. Morgan, 'The Church of Ireland registers of St. Patrick's, Coleraine'.
83. See Tucker, Lee, and A. A. Horner, **Stability and change in the towns and villages west of Dublin** unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College Dublin 1974.

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