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The

Clongorey Evictions

By

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Acknowledgements

Having undertaken to study initially for a Diploma and now towards a Masters Degree in Local History at Maynooth College, it was necessary to undertake a project, but what project? What topic? In several conversations over the years with friends of my father I was always struck by their reactions when the 'Clongorey Evictions' of the 1880s were spoken of. The pain of the memory passed down was reminiscent to that described during commemoration of the one hundred and fifty, anniversary of the famine. Exploring other projects, the 'Clongorey Evictions' kept drawing me back. Setting out on this journey I did not know what to expect. Not being a native of Clongorey how would I be treated digging around in their history, and could I do justice to the peoples memory? What I was not prepared for was the extent to which the events in Clongorey mirrored events nationally while still remaining in many ways unique.

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to the Department of Modern History, National University Ireland, Maynooth for the opportunity to study for the Masters Degree in 'Local History' I also wish to acknowledge the following: Dr Raymond Gillespie for his help and encouragement during the year. Dr. Bernadette Cunningham, for her help and encouragement during the Diploma course. Dr Mary Ann Lyons for her guidance through methodologies. Patrick J. Beirne and Associates for their help and encouragement over the years. Martin Ryan, my father, for introducing me to the people of Clongorey. Patrick Heavey for lending me precious memorabilia and providing me with an insight into the effect of the Clongorey evictions on the people and the area and also for extending to me, the hospitality of his home and personnel family story. Kathleen Kavanagh for her recollections of the Fulham and Conlon families. Michael Kelly, Paul Corrigan and Dan Keogh, for their childhood memories. Angela Halford for allowing me to photograph Barrettstown house. Billy Morrison for allowing me to photograph his at work on the Bog in Clongorey. Michael Kavanagh and the staff of Kildare County Library for the use of library facilities. Collette O'Flaherty and the staff of the National Library for sorting the Mansfield Papers and allowing me access to them. John O' Shea brother of my dearest friend for obtaining all the information I needed from the Bord na Mona library in relation to the 'Bog'. Margaret Pakenham and Angela Doherty for their continuing friendship. Dr. Thomas Ryan, my brother, for his assistance with lay out and presentation. Mary Connelly for providing books and other information and for her support both moral and practical, in the running of Newbridge Local History Group. Josephine Ryan, my mother, for her support and encouragement in all my projects over the years. My extended family in Ireland, France and England for their support.

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*To
Memory*

Introduction

Little has been written in the way of a formal history of the events surrounding the evictions, that took place on the O'Kelly estate situated on the margins of the 'Bog of Allen' in County Kildare in the late 1800s. The aim of this thesis is to rectify this by telling the story and asking a number of questions of these events and examining the effect, the evictions had on the community in Clongorey.

The O' Kelly estate consisted of almost 2,500 acres and embodied the townlands of Clongorey, Barrettstown, Blacktrench and Tankards Garden. The whole area is known locally as 'Clongorey'¹. (Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.). The estate was being managed, by a 'Trust' the complexities of which are beyond the scope of this thesis, except to say that it appears to have been set up in 1833 as a result of loans obtained from the wider O' Kelly family².

Seven sets of evictions took place in Clongorey between 16 February 1883 and 1 September 1892. Of the seventy-one families living on O' Kelly's estate at Clongorey fifty-one were evicted for non-payment of rent³. (Fig. 6). In the course of this thesis we will meet the main characters that took an active part in the events in Clongorey. On the landlord's side George Patrick Mansfield, the 'Trusts' principal trustee, his assistant and nephew Matthaus Aiden Maher, and Mr T.H.B. Rutledge, the agent. On the tenants side the tenants themselves were the main figures and we will also follow their varying fortunes from eviction to reinstatement. In addition the tenants could call on support from Fr Austin Kinsella, Patrick and Peter Fulham, Mr Hurley, solicitor, and Mr John Heffernan, chairman of the Kildare branch of the National Land League. These people negotiated at different intervals with the landlord on

¹ R. Griffith's *Valuation for County Kildare* 1850.

² *Evicted Tenants Commission Report* 1892. p 33-44

behalf of the tenants. A number of officials are also encountered, Judge Darley⁴, and local law officers, Vesey Fitzgerald, Woods and Stocks and the sub-sheriff

Mr H.A. Lee. Through the pages of the *Leinster Leader* newspaper we will recreate the evictions as they happened. We will also encounter the official response of the British Government to the general level of evictions in the country in the 1880s, when they convened a Royal Commission in 1892 to inquire into estates in Ireland on which evictions had taken place. Seventeen estates were examined. One of the functions of the commission was to make recommendations to endeavour to settle the long running 'Land Question'. The main recommendation of the Evicted Tenants Commission 1892 was to give greater powers to the Land Commission, and there by enabling evicted tenants who wish to, to avail of long term loans to purchase their lands. By taking up these long- term loans in 1901 almost fourteen years after the evictions the tenants in Clongorey regained their lands.⁵

County Kildare was a sparsely populated county in the nineteenth century, compared to Mayo and other counties on the western seaboard. Kildare comprised of large estates with prime agricultural land. A number of questions arise therefore in relation to the events that took place in Clongorey in the late 1800s and will be addressed in this study. Why did the event take place in such an apparently well off county? What was different about the O'Kelly estate relative to other estates in the county? What kind of community existed in Clongorey before the evictions? What was the relationship between tenant and landlord like before, during and after the events? What influenced the tenant's actions? Were all the tenants involved? Were the actions of the tenants simply their response to the landlord's refusal to grant a rent abatement in the face of two years of very bad weather coupled with a severe

³ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report* 1892. p 33-44.

⁴ Judge of the Land Court. Well known enough to have a pub call after him in Dublin.

⁵ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report* 1892. p 33-44.

agricultural depression that undermined the earning capacity of the tenants? Or were the events orchestrated by the Kildare Branch of the National Land League, particularly the adoption of the 'Plan of Campaign' to exploit the financial vulnerability of the landlord due to the general agricultural depression and the pressure that the trustees were under to settle the 'Trust'? Was the whole event a coincidence?

The main primary sources used in the research were; the census of population for 1841 and 1851 which reveal some change in population and living conditions in Clongorey over that ten-year period⁶. Griffith's Valuation⁷, which assessed land values in the mid-nineteenth century and gives a snapshot of the pattern of land holding in 1851, is important as it outlines the type of land the number of holdings and the rateable valuation of the land.

Parliamentary enquiries were also used. Firstly, the Evicted Tenants Commission Report (1892), published as a result of the Royal Commission set up to inquire into estates in Ireland on which eviction had taken place in the nineteenth century. The Commission examined seventeen estates on which tenants were evicted from their farms the period from 1 May 1879 to December 1890. Its principal function was to establish the cost of evictions to the exchequer and to make recommendations to resolve the conflict between tenant and landlord. Its main recommendation on publication in 1892 was that the Land Commission was to be given power to settle disputes between landlord and tenant and to provide loans to tenants to assist them to purchase their lands.⁸ Secondly, the Land Commission reports particularly the Return of Advances (loans) made by the Land Commission to the tenants in Clongorey in the year 1901 was consulted. This parliamentary paper outlining the final settlement

⁶ Census of population 1841, and 1851.

⁷ R. Griffith's *Valuation for County Kildare* 1850.

⁸ R. Griffith's *Valuation for County Kildare* 1850.

and loan terms listing the names of the purchasers and the amounts of loans received.⁹

See appendix (1).

The use of newspaper coverage provided very colourful accounts of local happenings. This gives rise to the problem of bias, particularly in a local study context as the bias of the paper and the ethos in which the paper was founded influences how it viewed its purpose and which is reflected in its pages. This could lead to a one sided view of events. The *Leinster Leader*, first published in August 1880 with aim of 'Strenuously and faithfully supporting the great principles of Irish nationalism and the liberal process'¹⁰ had with the Clongorey evictions its first opportunity to live up to its calling and was not found wanting. By adopting such a stance the *Leinster Leader* provided the nationalist population of county Kildare, for the first time, with a platform on which to air their point of view. The other publication in the county *The Kildare Observer* had not afforded them such an opportunity as it was primarily a unionist newspaper and reflected the views of the 'gentry' class of the time. Staff members of the *Leinster Leader*, including the editor of the paper, were jailed under the Coercion Act as a result of their coverage of the events.

In an effort to balance the account of the events other primary sources were consulted including the papers of the Kildare branch of the National Land League¹¹. This was not an exhaustive source, as it appears that the chairman of the league was also local correspondent for the *Leinster Leader*, and cuttings from the paper were pasted into the minute book in many instances. This would suggest that full minutes

⁹ *Land Commission Return of Advances*. H.C.1901. LX1. pp. p. 656,657,658.

¹⁰ Hugh Oram *The Newspaper Book*. (Dublin 1983). p46

were not kept as many of the activities planned by the league were of their nature covert. The private papers of the O'Kelly¹² and Mansfield families¹³ were extensively used where appropriate. They were not an exhaustive source as many of the papers deal with family matters giving a picture of lavish living that lead to financial difficulties, but do not give any account of the tenants before the difficulties arose, as they did not contain any leases or rent books. They did provide correspondence about the 'Trust' and letters received from Fr Kinsella on behalf of tenants who were experiencing hardship.

Oral tradition was also used in the form of interviews with descendants of evicted tenants. These interviews yielded a rich store of stories and folklore of the events handed down by past generations. The oral tradition of a people while it may not always be entirely true to the facts, is useful as it gives an insight into the way in which people see themselves in relation to events. Although the events took place two or three generations ago the strength of the feelings of resentment and achievement are still strong among the descendants of the evicted tenants of Clongorey¹⁴.

One valuable source that was not available was the police records of the Special Crime Branch relating to Clongorey for the period under examination which may have given an additional slant on the events. In their absence it is hoped that a balanced perspective is maintained¹⁵. From the district police records that were available it appears that Kildare was a relatively peaceful county during the period of this study.

¹¹ Heffernan Papers . National Library of Ireland Dublin MS21910. Minutes of Kildare Branch of National Land League.

¹² O' Kelly Papers. National Library of Ireland Dublin . Private Collection .PC600.

¹³ Mansfield Papers National Library of Ireland Dublin. Private Collection . PC.12760-12768.

¹⁴ Interviews with descendants of evicted tenants.

¹⁵ Police Reports of this period for Clongorey are in Kew in England. At this point in time I was unable to travel.

In chapter one the thesis outlines and examines the landscape of Clongorey lying on the margins of the 'Bog of Allen', the quality of the land, its formation, and productivity. The community structures and the members of this well-established community, the origins of whom have passed from living memory will also be examined.¹⁶ Land tenure and the importance of the 'Bog' to the people in sustaining the local economy will be discussed. The importance to the tenants of the town of Newbridge for credit, and the British Army Barracks for a market for their turf will need to be considered. The main protagonists, the landlord, and the trustees of the estate and the tenants are introduced. The relationship between the tenants and the landlord before the evictions is examined and the break down in negotiations, which led to the evictions in Clongorey, is considered.

Chapter two outlines in some detail the evictions that took place in Clongorey in the 1880s. Seven sets of evictions took place between 16 February 1883 and 1 September 1892. Two sets of evictions on 23 November 1888 and 26 March 1889 are described in some detail as they illustrate graphically the scene at eviction sites. The interaction of all the key players will be explored together with the part played by the land league. By using the combination of the reports of the *Leinster Leader* newspaper and the Evicted Tenants Commission Report it is possible to obtain a detailed picture of the events as they unfolded on the occasion of the evictions. No history of the Clongorey struggle would be written without Fr Austin Kinsella.¹⁷ In the face of papal denunciation of the 'Plan of Campaign', Fr Kinsella did not stand 'Idly by' while his people were being persecuted in the name of profit. He acted as negotiator with the landlord making representation on behalf of the tenants and providing assistance to try to alleviate the suffering that was all around him as a

¹⁶ As Paddy Heavey says 'They were just always there'. Interview with descendant of evicted tenant.

result of bad harvests and harsh economic conditions¹⁸. Fr Kinsella was imprisoned for assisting in the erection of temporary shelters for evicted tenants. These shelters were erected on the farms of another tenant Mary Kelly at Iron Gate. Mrs Kelly was subsequently evicted on the grounds of misuse of the landlord's property¹⁹.

Chapter three examines Clongorey in the aftermath of the eviction and evaluates the effects of the evictions on the community; it also looks at the public response to the events and the support given to the tenants by the wider community. Official response is also examined in the setting up of the Evicted Tenants Commission 1892 in terms of its structure, its brief, and its findings. The reaction of the trustee of the O'Kelly estate to the evidence given by the Clongorey tenants and their attitude to the conduct of the commission is analysed. In conclusion the questions posed at the outset are evaluated.

The undertaking of a study in local history, as well as adding to the general body of knowledge of a country's history, helps us to understand the importance of the community at local level in the formation of attitudes, as it is the community that makes us what we are. In this context the Clongorey evictions themselves are worthy of study as they reveal the fears of this community, the factors that bound it together and which enabled the people to survive their ordeal. Local studies also allow us to re-examine traditionally held views on issues such as the land war and landlord tenant relations. The effects of outside forces market pressure and political movements on the life and actions of a local community can also be viewed at a very basic level. This gives a greater understanding of how our society as a whole

¹⁷ Parish Priest of Caragh 1875 to 1905.

¹⁸ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report 1892*. p 33-44.

responds to any given set of circumstances. The events in Clongorey might never have happened had the land been better quality, or the landlord not been in such a financially vulnerable position or the weather better. The Land League in county Kildare was not as strong as in other parts of the country given the strength of the very large landlords such as the duke of Leinster, the Land League flourished in areas where the landlords were weak. The difficulties in Clongorey gave the League a focus for its activities in the county and where it could see the possibility of a successful outcome. A study of this type illustrates the affect on a community at local level of the general feeling in the country at a particular point in time and the affects of decisions taken at a national level be it by government or a national organisation such as the Land League. It highlights the plight of the people and solidarity of the whole community in supporting the actions of tenants at that time. It also illustrates at a local level how a once powerful group the landlord class could become marginalised and other power groups the strong farm class replaces them.

Chapter 1: Clongorey before the Evictions.

This chapter will place Clongorey in its physical location lying on the margin of the 'Bog of Allen' in County Kildare, which at first glance is not the obvious site for the events that took place there in 1888. The key players are introduced the tenants, the landlord, the trustees, and the parish priest Fr Kinsella. The relationship between the tenants and the landlord before the evictions is discussed together with the breakdown in negotiations that led to the evictions.

The question of what made Clongorey different to the rest of county Kildare will be examined. The chapter also examines the rural economy in county Kildare and in Clongorey and the key elements that helped to sustain the people of Clongorey, the 'Bog', and British army barracks.

The area known as 'Clongorey' (Fig. 7) lying 270 feet above sea level, consists of the townlands of Clongorey, Barrettstown, Blacktrench and Clongorey. Clongorey forms part of the Barony of Connell²⁰ (Fig 8), Union of Naas²¹, Civil Parish of Feighcullen²² (Fig 9) and the Catholic Parish of Caragh²³ (Fig 10). Clongorey is situated three miles from Newbridge railway station, exactly half way between Newbridge and Sallins, 24 miles from Dublin²⁴. The townlands run like a peninsula in to the great 'Bog of Allen', there is a slight ridge on the higher portion of Clongorey, but with this exception all the land has been at one time cut away bog.²⁵ The ancient name of the area was Bog of the Mounds²⁶. The river Liffey runs to the north of the Clongorey area, (Fig. 11) which is overshadowed by the Hill of Allen, a

²⁰ *Tracing your Ancestors in County Kildare.* (Naas 1992).

²¹ *Tracing your Ancestors in County Kildare.* (Naas 1992.)

²² *Tracing your Ancestors in County Kildare.* (Naas 1992.)

²³ *Tracing your Ancestors in County Kildare.* (Naas 1992)..

²⁴ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report 1892.* p 33-44. (22nd and 24th mile post on the Great Southern and Western railway line).

²⁵ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report 1892.* p 33-44.

Moory land left after the turf has been removed.

²⁶ *Report on the Bogs in Ireland 1810.* Appendix 4. p 15.

volcanic basalt formation from the Palaeozoic era. The Hill of Allen is what was known in Celtic times as a Sidh mound²⁷. Aylmers²⁸ 'Folly' stands 700 feet high on the summit of the hill²⁹. The tower on the hill was built by tenants³⁰ of Sir Gerald Aylmer of Donadea Castle, and was completed in 1863³¹.(Fig. 12).

Clongorey unlike other rural communities lacked a physical central focus, it did not have a Church, or pub, and the school only opened in 1859³², (Fig.13,14). The community of Clongorey consisted of the landlord, and tenants. The landlords the O'Kelly, family through the trust made their living from renting the land and the bog to the tenants. The tenants made their living by farming what was marginal land and selling turf harvested from the bog. The reality of the area as marginal was revealed by the events of the great Famine. The population of Clongorey in the ten-year period 1841 to 1851 fell from 705 in 1841 (379 male and 326 female), to 628 by 1851(319 male and 309 female) a drop of 11 per cent³³. (Appendix 2, 3). The pattern of land holding in the area appears to be constant and the number of habitations only fell by 8 in the ten-year period. This suggests that entire families did not disappear during the Famine, rather they may have emigrated leaving parents behind. This may also explain why the drop in males was greater than female since men had greater propensity to emigrate leaving sisters behind to care for family. By the end of 1891

²⁷ *History of Allen Parish*.(Naas 1992). A Sidh Mound in Celtic times was a sacred place where the gods could be contacted. The Hill of Allen is the Sidh mound of Nuada, the greatest of the Celtic Gods, and therefore one of the most important mythological sites in Ireland. Ossianic literature associated the Hill of Allen with Fionn MacCool and the Fianna.

²⁸ *History of Allen Parish*. (Naas 1992). Sir Gerald Aylmer of Donadea Castle was the principal landlord in the Allen area of County Kildare.

²⁹ *History of Allen Parish*. (Naas1992). When the foundations of the tower were dug from a burial mound or passage grave where the skeleton of a giant man was found and it immediately entered local folklore as being that of Fionn himself . See footnote 33.

³⁰ *History of Allen Parish*.(Naas 1992). p 20. The tenants, three of whom were women, carved their names on the eighty- three steps. A copper and glass dome once graced the top of the tower.

³¹ *History of Allen Parish*.(Naas 1992). p 20.

³² ED 4/932 1887-1888. V5B4-34. National Archives Dublin

³³ The drop in male population was 60 and the female population was 17 giving a total drop of 77 people.

the population had fallen by another four hundred, due to the evictions³⁴.

In the 1850s the tenants on the O'Kelly estate at Clongorey comprised of seventy - two families who occupied between them 122 holdings, traversing the townlands of Clongorey, Barrettstown, Tankard Garden, and Blacktrench³⁵. Ten families held land in more than one townland; these landholders were male with three exceptions Ellen Daly, Mary Fox, and Margaret Fox. Thirty- nine tenants held land in more than one lot in the townland³⁶. As outlined in the table below the size of the holdings ranged from one to thirty acres with six farms of over thirty acres³⁷. Ninety-five of these holdings had valuation of less than £5, and twenty-seven had a valuation of over £5³⁸.

Farm sizes on the O' Kelly estate at Clongorey.³⁹

Acres.	No. of Holdings
1-5. Acres.	73
5-15. Acres.	27
15-30. Acres.	16
Over 30. Acres.	6
Total No. Of Holdings.	122.

The tenants built their own houses, small mud cabins, thatched, with one or two rooms and a kitchen with the exception of seven bigger houses, four built of stone.

Two of the stone built houses belonged to two Fulham families who would have

³⁴ As the census figures for the area were not complete estimates were made based on the information available in the Evicted Tenants Commission Report.

³⁵ R. Griffith's *Valuation for County Kildare*. 1850.

³⁶ R. Griffith's *Valuation for County Kildare*. 1850.

³⁷ R. Griffith's *Valuation for County Kildare*. 1850.

³⁸ R. Griffith's *Valuation for County Kildare*. 1850.

³⁹ R. Griffith's *Valuation for County Kildare*. 1850.

been classed in the area as strong farmers as they owned over 10 acres⁴⁰.

(Fig. 15, 16, 17).

The land the tenants leased from the landlord it was mainly cutaway bog. The land was drained and maintained by the tenants themselves, otherwise it would revert to its natural state⁴¹. Neither the tenants nor the landlord expended great financial outlay on the reclamation of the land but the tenants expended a great amount of labour on the reclamation work⁴². The land was given rent free for a number of years, when the reclamation was done they paid rent⁴³. The land of Clongorey was very poor and the range of crops produced was limited, mainly potatoes and some wheat for their own consumption as the quality of reclaimed land would not sustain a commercial enterprise. The tenants also availed of credit given by local shopkeepers in Newbridge and Caragh⁴⁴.

The community of Clongorey was tight knit. In his evidence to the Evicted Tenants Commission in 1892 Fr Kinsella described the tenants of Clongorey as 'A most upright, moral and sober people'⁴⁵. They socialised among themselves in much the same way as other small Irish rural communities have over the centuries. They sent their children to the local school, and attended mass in the parish church at Caragh⁴⁶ about 4 miles away. The church was an important centre for social life and the parish priest was an important figure in the community.

The Parish Priest in the 1880s was Fr Augustin Kinsella (Fig 18). He was born in

⁴⁰ *Report of the Evicted Tenants Commission* 1892. This report does not indicate who lived in the bigger houses. Two of the stone build houses were belonged to two Fullam families.

⁴¹ *Report of the Evicted Tenants Commission* 1892. p 33-44.

⁴² *Report of the Evicted Tenants Commission* 1892. p33-44.

⁴³ *Report of the Evicted Tenants Commission* 1892. p33-44.

⁴⁴ *Report of the Evicted Tenants Commission* 1892. p33-44

⁴⁴ *Report of the Evicted Tenants Commission* 1892. p33-44.

⁴⁵ *Report of the Evicted Tenants Commission* 1892. p33-44.

December 1829 in the small village of Clonaghadoo County Laois on the border with Offaly near the villages of Killeiagh and Geashill⁴⁷. His father was John Kinsella and mother Ellen Costigan⁴⁸. His extended family had also service in the church. In 1825 his uncle the Rev. James Kinsella was parish priest of Killeagh⁴⁹. Rev. James Dowling relative a former parish priest of Naas. His brother Rev. William Kinsella died after a short career on 16 July 1863 of typhus fever⁵⁰. Having graduated from Carlow College and Maynooth College⁵¹. Fr Kinsella's first years of ministry were spent in and around Dundee in Scotland. On his return to Ireland his curate years were spent in Caragh, Newbridge, Leighlinbridge, Abbeyleix, Graiguenamanagh and Rathvilly⁵².

Fr Kinsella was appointed Parish Priest of Caragh in 1875 at the out set of the land war⁵³. He succeeded Rev Fr Denis Muldowney⁵⁴. Fr Muldowney had, had his own problems with Mr O' Kelly the landlord of the Clongorey estate a few years previously⁵⁵. The home of the principal trustee of the O' Kelly estate, George Patrick Lattin Mansfield, of Morrinstown Lattin⁵⁶, was also situated in Caragh parish⁵⁷ and Fr Kinsella would have come in contact with him in the normal course of his priestly duties. Fr Kinsella and Mr Mansfield enjoyed a good relationship⁵⁸. Fr Kinsella attended to Mr Mansfield before he died in 1889. He recalled in his evidence to the Evicted Tenants Commission that at one of these meetings. Mr Mansfield told him of

⁴⁶ Interviews with descendants of evicted tenants.

⁴⁷ *Leinster Leader*. 8 July. 1905.

⁴⁸ *Leinster Leader*. 8 July. 1905.

⁴⁹ *Leinster Leader*. 8 July. 1905.

⁵⁰ *Leinster Leader*. 8 July. 1905.

⁵¹ *Leinster Leader*. 8 July. 1905.

⁵² *Leinster Leader*. 8 July. 1905.

⁵³ *Leinster Leader*. 8 July. 1905.

⁵⁴ *Leinster Leader*. 8 July. 1905.

⁵⁵ Muldowney secretly arranged the marriage of the eldest son Edward to Kate Furlong one of the maids of the house.

⁵⁶ R.Griffith's *Valuation for County Kildare*. 1850.

⁵⁷ *Tracing your Ancestors in County Kildare*. (Naas 1992).

his regret at the treatment that the tenants were suffering at the hands of the agent Rutledge, on the instructions of Matthew Maher one of the trustees of the estate⁵⁹. He hoped on his recovery to resume principal trusteeship and try to help the tenants⁶⁰. Maher however did not have such a regard for Fr Kinsella and warned his 'Uncle George' (Mansfield) in numerous letters that the priest was telling him one thing and the tenants another⁶¹. There is no evidence to suggest that this was the case. Furthermore when Fr Kinsella died in July 1905 at the age of seventy- six people from both sides in the Clongorey dispute attended his funeral⁶². The attendance included the bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, at the time Dr Foley. The chief celebrant was Fr Kinsella's nephew. Clergy attended from his native county, County Laois as well as the parishes surrounding Caragh. Other attending clergy included Rev T Burbage of Maynooth College and Brother Raymond O' Kelly OP⁶³. Members of the Kinsella family were the chief mourners and included Mrs Delaney a sister and mother of the chief celebrant Fr Austin Delaney, four nephews one of whom was an MP and three nieces⁶⁴. Among the long list of the general public were Mr E Sweetman⁶⁵. Chairman of Kildare County Council and Naas U.D.C., solicitors, school- teachers, and the business community of Naas and Newbridge, as well as those in the church a large crowd gathered out side⁶⁶. Among the crowd were many of the tenants and their families who had their own memories of their 'Brave

⁵⁸ Judging from the tone of correspondence included in Mansfield Papers. National Library of Ireland. Dublin. PC.12764. Folders 6 & 6a.

⁵⁹ *Report of the Evicted Tenants Commission 1892*.p33-44

⁶⁰ *Report of the Evicted Tenants Commission 1892*. p33-44

⁶¹ Mansfield Papers. National Library of Ireland. Dublin. PC.12764. Folders 6 & 6a.

⁶² *Leinster Leader*. 8 July. 1905

⁶³ A Native of Clongorey Br. Raymond O' Kelly was the first lay Dominican in the Newbridge community. (Interviews with Mrs Kathleen Kavanagh descendant of the Fulham family. One of the evicted tenant families.

⁶⁴ *Leinster Leader*. 8 July 1905.

⁶⁵ Forebear of Mr Gerry Sweetman a former TD for County Kildare in the early 1970s and who was married to a relative of Mansfield the first principal trustee .

⁶⁶ *Leinster Leader*.8 July 1905.

Soggarth⁶⁷. Among the wreaths was one from Major Mansfield also a relative of the principle trustee who in 1905 was in residence in Barrettstown House⁶⁸. The *Leinster Leader* said of Fr Kinsella, that 'A good and saintly priest has gone to the eternal reward of a long life well spent'⁶⁹. Fr Kinsella is interred at Caragh Cemetery⁷⁰. (Fig 19).

The social activities of the community at Clongorey revolved around weddings, wakes, house dances, and harvest parties⁷¹. The highlight of the year was the dinner and dance given by the landlord at end of the harvest⁷². The O' Kelly family were patrons of the Clongorey school providing £300 for its establishment in 1859 and remained in name as patron. The school opened on 27 June 1859 with a total enrolment of two hundred between 1870-1881,⁷³ The school finally closed in 1965 with fifty- four on the roll⁷⁴. In all communities cohesion and tension co-exist, this is demonstrated in Clongorey by the low disturbance rate during the Land War of the 1880s. While some tenants on the estate offered to pay their rent others opted for the plan of campaign. Some tenants were expelled from the Land League for secretly paying their rent⁷⁵. Others were cautioned for consorting with the 'Emergency Man'⁷⁶. 'Emergency Man' was the term used to describe anyone who took the side of the landlord during the land war.⁷⁷ It is unclear why all the tenants on the estate did not adopt the plan. One tenant Mrs Mary Kelly of Iron Gate paid her rent but did

⁶⁷ *Leinster Leader*. 8 July 1905

⁶⁸ *Leinster Leader*. 8 July 1905

⁶⁹ *Leinster Leader*. 8 July 1905

⁷⁰ *Leinster Leader*. 8 July 1905

⁷¹ Interviews with descendants of evicted tenants

⁷² Irish Folklore Commission. Schools collection. Clongorey school. Vol.776. U.C.D. Dublin

⁷³ *Souvenir of the opening of Caragh New Church* 1960. *Leinster Leader*. In private possession. ED 4/932 1887-1888. V5B4-34. National Archives Dublin.

⁷⁴ ED 4/932 1887-1888. V5B4-34. National Archives Dublin.

⁷⁵ Heffernan Papers. National Library of Ireland. Dublin. MS21910. Minutes of Kildare Branch of National Land League.

⁷⁶ Heffernan Papers. National Library of Ireland. Dublin. MS21910. Minutes of Kildare Branch of National Land League.

give assistance to families that were evicted which resulted in her eventually being evicted⁷⁸. Dan Kelly paid this rent in order that one farm would be available to the tenants to store animals and crops in the event of eviction⁷⁹. The Land League sanctioned this action⁸⁰. Other tenants may have been in fear of losing what little they had so they paid the rent. Whatever the reason the situation caused animosity within the community⁸¹. Such sentiments were often subliminal as became apparent during interviews conducted with the descendants of the evicted tenants. An interesting suggestion made by a descendant of the evicted tenants about the Clongorey evictions was that the events were never discussed in the local school up to the time of its closure in 1965. Not that the teachers and pupils were not aware of the events but because of the fact that in the small school rooms there were the descendants of both evicted tenants and 'Emergency Men' sitting side by side. One past pupil recalled that as a result of a 'fraca' in the schoolyard, on hearing one or other protagonists being referred to as an 'Emergency Man', when he returned home in the evening and asked his parents what the phrase meant. This was how he learned of the events in Clongorey⁸².

Central to understanding the functioning of the community in Clongorey is an understanding of the predominant force that affects the life of the people in the community that is the economy in which it existed. County Kildare after the Famine was predominantly a pastoral county and agriculture was devoted to the fattening of beef cattle and sheep production. The following table shows the importance of sheep

⁷⁷ To defend themselves during the land war landlords set up an 'Emergency Committee' to assist land lords who's estates were being neglected because the tenants withheld their rent. Thus giving rise to the term 'Emergency Man'.

⁷⁸ *Report of the Evicted Tenants Commission* 1892, p33-44

⁷⁹ Heffernan Papers. National Library of Ireland. Dublin. MS21910. Minutes of Kildare Branch of National Land League.

⁸⁰ Heffernan Papers. National Library of Ireland. Dublin. MS21910. Minutes of Kildare Branch of National Land League.

⁸¹ Interviews with descendants of evicted tenants.

⁸² Interviews with descendants of evicted tenants

farming in Kildare (15.01 the highest category)⁸³. The highest density of sheep farmers was and still is in the area surrounding the Curragh of Kildare⁸⁴. The surface of the plain does not retain water in summer time, the dryness of the turf was ideal for sheep, but does not suit cattle⁸⁵.

⁸³ M.E. Collins *The Land Question*. 1879-1882.(Dublin. 1974). p1-4.

⁸⁴ The reason being that the nature of the sward that covers the plain, described in Lewis *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* as "forming a more beautiful lawn than the hand or art never made". "Nothing can exceed the extreme softness and elasticity of the turf which is of a verdure that charms the eye and is still further set off by the gentle inequality of the surface".⁸⁴

⁸⁵ Thomas Rawson observed in 1807 'What a turf it must be to bear twenty sheep per acre?. T.J Rawson *Statistical survey of County Kildare*.(Dublin 1807) p.121

Average number of stock per stockholder of each category in three counties in 1876⁸⁶.

County	Horses	Cattle	Sheep
Kildare	1.36	8.98	15.01
Mayo	0.46	4.55	7.27
Kerry	0.77	11.25	5.00

Horse breeding was not as it is today a significant feature of Kildare's agriculture in the 1870s. Most of the horses in the three counties including Kildare were workhorses, however, in Kildare horses were also kept for 'pleasure' highlighting the social difference between the counties⁸⁷ as illustrated by the above table. Dairy and tillage farming was not a significant part of Kildare's agricultural economy and only small quantities were produced for home consumption. Kildare therefore can not have been immediately affected by the economic depression in the late 1870s, as was the case in other parts of the country. Bad harvests, competition from cereals imported from America and the failure of the potato crop can have caused little distress in the county with the exception of Athy, which had prospered through its grain industry in the nineteenth century⁸⁸.

To understand how the economy of Clongorey operated it is necessary to look at land holding and the quality of the land in this particular part of County Kildare.

Number and Size of holdings in Ireland in Leinster and in Clongorey in 1876⁸⁹.

No. Of Acres	Clongorey⁹⁰	Leinster	Ireland
1-5	73	18,804	67,071
5-15	27	26,048	156,046
15-30	16	22,623	136,793
Over 30	6	39,475	159,834

⁸⁶ Thomas Nelson *The Land War in County Kildare*. Maynooth 1985.p2-17

⁸⁷ Thomas Nelson *The Land War in County Kildare*. (Maynooth 1985).p5-17

⁸⁸ Thomas Nelson *The Land War in County Kildare*. (Maynooth 1985). P5-17

⁸⁹ Thomas Nelson *The Land War in County Kildare*. (Maynooth 1985).p5-17

⁹⁰ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report* 1892. Dublin. p.33-44.

Seventy- three, or 60 per cent, of holdings in Clongorey were less than five acres, compared with 18 per cent in Leinster and 13 per cent in Ireland generally. Six, or 5 per cent, of the holdings were over thirty acres (this included the landlords own farm consisting of 1,333 acres), compared with 24 per cent in Leinster and 31 per cent generally.⁹¹ The other five farms on the O' Kelly estate ranged in size from 44 acres to 103 acres⁹². The vast majority of the holdings in Clongorey were not economically viable and being tenants- at- will⁹³ they had no security of tenure. In some regards they were typical of other tenants on other estates in County Kildare as a whole. From the following table we note that the majority of tenants in county Kildare 70.24 per cent were tenants- at- will. For poorer tenants- at- will the effect of any change, in the land tenure on any estate in the country or county was unsettling.

Tenancies in Kildare in 1870s⁹⁴

Nature Of Tenancies	Percentage Of Total
Tenancies at will.	70.24.
Leases of 21 years or less.	5.48.
Leases of 21 years to 99 years..	6.19
Leases for terms exceeding 99 years.	0.06.
Others including leases for lives and perpetuities.	17.33.

The base for the somewhat tenuous survival of the community of Clongorey on what can at best be described as marginal land, was the importance of turf cutting on the bog. In Clongorey the economy was balanced on a knife-edge since the land would

⁹¹ Thomas Nelson *The Land War in County Kildare..* (Maynooth 1985).p5-17

⁹² Thomas Nelson *The Land War in County Kildare..* (Maynooth 1985).p5-17

⁹³ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report. 1892. Dublin. p 33-44.*

⁹⁴ Thomas Nelson. *The Land War in County Kildare.* (Maynooth 1985).p5-17

only produce enough potatoes and corn for their own consumption.⁹⁵ The tenants purchased their other provisions on credit from shopkeepers in Newbridge and Caragh in the winter. The shopkeepers were paid by cash when the harvested turf was sold⁹⁶. Any change in land tenure that threatened either their land holding or their access to the bog would have a profound affect on the future of this community.

T. W. Russell MP commented in 1892 'that the land of Clongorey was very poor indeed and it was, not until he approached the subject of Turbary [turf] did he discover how the people lived'. The Bog was the 'Real Gold' in the area⁹⁷. As the 'Bog' is such an important feature of the life of the community, it is important to examine it in some detail. It is necessary to understand the demands made on labour by this type of landscape, particularly cutaway bog used in agriculture, if neglected it reverts to its natural state. The total area of Co. Kildare is about 654 sq. miles⁹⁸ of which the total area of 'Bog' in the county is 64 sq. miles⁹⁹. According to Griffith's valuation of 1851 for county Kildare the total area of Clongorey consisted almost 2,500 acres of which only 1,076 acres was classified as 'land' with an average rateable valuation of under £2, the balance 1,424 acres was described as turbary or bog and not valued. This gives a picture of an area with very poor agricultural prospects. The only possible way in which Clongorey could maintain its population was through reclamation of bog and selling turf.

In 1810 a Bog Survey was commissioned to investigate the possibility of reclaiming the bog for crop production, where former turbaries would be reclaimed and turned

⁹⁵ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report. 1892. Dublin.* P. 33-44. The land would only produce enough potatoes and corn for their own consumption. Evidence of Mr Barrington of Wicklow. Adviser to the commission.

⁹⁶ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report. 1892. Dublin.* p 33-44.

⁹⁷ T.W Russell MP *Disturbed Ireland The Plan of Campaign Estates..* p 148-151.

⁹⁸ John Cooke *Bog Reclamation and Peat Development in County Kildare.* (Naas. 1970).p577-588

⁹⁹ John Cooke *Bog Reclamation and Peat Development in County Kildare.* (Naas. 1970).p577-588

into meadows and tillage ground¹⁰⁰. Clongorey is a prime example of how cutaway bog was turned into arable land, by mixing the peat with soil and sand. This was physically very demanding work and the reclaimed land, needed maintenance otherwise it would revert to its natural state. The problems it created exercised the mind and the ingenuity of the countrymen and women. Generally turf cutting being a subsistence activity it required no financial outlay and was therefore not recorded in any form of farm accounts neither was the value to the household quantified. The Clongorey tenants had as part of their leases 'Turbary Rights'- the right to cut turf,¹⁰¹ but in some cases the right was confined to their own use and not for sale. Coupled with these rights they could rent additional 'Turf Banks' on another part of the estate. The rent of the 'Turf Banks' ranged from ten shillings a perch to three shillings and six pence a perch depending on the quality¹⁰². When the tenants applied to the land court in 1890 to have their rent fixed, the notes from the land court to the land commission were amended to specify that the right to cut turf was retained on the instruction of the landlord's agent. The sporting rights were forfeited however.¹⁰³ In evidence given in court in January 1890 by Patrick Fulham, who had been employed as 'Bog Ranger'¹⁰⁴, he states that the tenants sold the good turf from the free turbary and used the bad turf on the rented section for their own use.¹⁰⁵ This demonstrates the ingenuity or deviousness of the tenants in their fight for survival. It was the 'Bog' that drew the people to Clongorey. It was the bog that sustained their lives and it was in fear of losing the bog they struggled to pay the rent on their otherwise uneconomic holdings.

¹⁰⁰ R. Griffith. Report on the Bogs in Ireland 1810. BPP Appendix 4. p15.

¹⁰¹ John Feehan and Grace O' Donovan. *Bogs of Ireland*. (Dublin. 1996).p20

¹⁰² Report of the Evicted Tenants Commission 1892. p33-44

¹⁰³ Irish Land Commission Court Report- County Kildare. Court Case Books.1882-1919. I C. 82, 45. National Archives. Dublin.

¹⁰⁴ The Bog Rangers job was to collect the rent for the landlord and to see that only those with rights were cutting turf on the landlords bog.

¹⁰⁵ *Leinster Leader*. January 1890.

All this struggle and back breaking work would have been of nothing if a market did not exist for the product. After all the free turbary would have been sufficient for their own needs and it would not have been necessary to rent additional turf banks. As the population grew and as Dublin began to grow, turf cutting on a large scale to supply the needs of the city began in the bogs that were within reach¹⁰⁶. This was greatly facilitated by the extension of the Grand Canal through the Bog of Allen as far as Monasterevan in 1786¹⁰⁷. In the early part of the century 30,000 tons of turf were being shipped to Dublin from the Bog of Allen by canal every year¹⁰⁸. Some of this turf came from Clongorey although it was not possible to quantify the amount. More importantly for the community of Clongorey there existed locally a readymade market for the turf, in the town of Newbridge and in particular in the British Army barracks, due to the shortage of coal. This shortage of coal was supplemented by turf under strict prescription¹⁰⁹. The growth of the barracks in Newbridge in the late nineteenth century ensured a steady stream of income in the form of cash for the tenants in Clongorey. The barracks occupied thirty-nine acres and was like a small town with a population of almost one thousand troops and almost the same number of horses,(Fig. 20,21).

If the income of the tenants in Clongorey was financially below the average in the early 1880s, then so was that of the landlord. In the period of this study (1888) the estate at Clongorey was in the possession of the trustees of the family estate of De Penthony O'Kelly. The lineage of family De Penthony O' Kelly originated with George Bourke O' Kelly of Acton House, Acton, and Middlesex, England and of St Croix in the West Indies. In spite of their British origins they were a Catholic

¹⁰⁶ John Feehan and Grace O' Donovan. *Bogs of Ireland*. (Dublin. 1996).p1-33

¹⁰⁷ John Feehan and Grace O' Donovan. *Bogs of Ireland*. (Dublin. 1996). p1-33

¹⁰⁸ John Feehan and Grace O' Donovan. *Bogs of Ireland*. (Dublin. 1996). p1-33

¹⁰⁹ John Cooke *Bord Na Mona. Peat Research Centre. A History*. (Naas 1991).p577-588

family¹¹⁰. His son George O' Kelly was born in 1760, in 1797 he was appointed Justice of the Peace and High Sheriff of County Kildare¹¹¹. In 1799 married Mary Penthony a descendent of an Anglo-Norman family¹¹². They had six children. Their eldest son Edmund at the age of twenty- two in May 1822 married Blanche Apollonia Arundell¹¹³. Edmund and his new bride came to live at Barrettstown House on the banks of the river Liffey in 1822 to represent the family on the Clongorey estate¹¹⁴ that the family had purchased in 1820¹¹⁵. The O'Kelly family also owned a 363-acre estate at Painstown Kill County Kildare, (Fig. 22), Edmund appears not to have remained at Clongorey for long, he was given his share of his inheritance and moved away. In order to settle Edmund's inheritance, George O' Kelly his father obtained loans and mortgages from family relatives¹¹⁶ and this resulted in 1833 in the 'Trust' being set up. The second son George de Penthony O'Kelly in 1830 married Mary Anne Maher daughter of Matthias Maher of Ballymullen Queens County and had seven children,¹¹⁷ among them George Lionel and John. George de Penthony O'Kelly died on 27 November 1858¹¹⁸. During his life George de Penthony O'Kelly served with the British army in the colonies¹¹⁹. He was a prominent member of County Kildare society and a member of Newbridge Harriers Hunt¹²⁰.

On the death of his father (George de Penthony O'Kelly) in 1858 and with the absence of his uncle (Edmund) the running of the estate fell to George Lionel. Now finding himself in a very high position in the community, he set about building a new

¹¹⁰ Sir Bernard Burke. *A genealogical and heraldic history of the landed gentry of Ireland*. p. 547.

¹¹¹ Sir Bernard Burke. *A genealogical and heraldic history of the. landed gentry of Ireland*. p. 547.

¹¹² Sir Bernard Burke. *A genealogical and heraldic history of the landed gentry of Ireland*. p. 547.

¹¹³ Sir Bernard Burke. *A genealogical and heraldic history of the landed gentry of Ireland*. p. 547.

¹¹⁴ Sir Bernard Burke. *A genealogical and heraldic history landed gentry of Ireland*. p547.

¹¹⁵ R.Griffith's *Valuation for County Kildare* 1850.

¹¹⁶ O' Kelly Papers. National Library of Ireland. PC.600.

¹¹⁷ *Burkes. landed gentry of Ireland*. p. 547.

¹¹⁷ *Burkes. landed gentry of Ireland*. p. 547.

¹¹⁸ Mansfield Papers. National Library of Ireland. Dublin. PC.12764. Folders 6 & 6a.

house at Barrettstown to mirror his new status¹²¹. The estate appears at this point to be coming under financial pressure as revealed by the number of letters from banks and merchants requesting payment of their account¹²². The building of the house was a mammoth undertaking and no doubt added to the already overburdened estate¹²³. (Fig. 23, 24, 25). Relations with the tenants appear during these years to have been good and the financial difficulties that the estate got into had nothing to do with the tenants, but the result it would appear of the extravagant living by the O' Kelly family. The O' Kelly family lived in great style and local folk lore, recalls them driving the roads between Barrettstown and Naas in an Equipage (a carriage usually used for formal occasions with its horses, driver and liveried servants) and with a Postilion riding up front. The locals dared not pass this edifice, no matter how spirited their horse was¹²⁴. As the costs mounted the bills were pouring in¹²⁵. Family and staff difficulties during this time also placed a burden on the already over stretched estate¹²⁶. In 1882 George Lionel died suddenly and the running of the estate fell to his brother John.¹²⁷ George Lionel O' Kelly appears to have been well liked by the tenants and each year after the harvest was in he gave a dinner and a dance for the tenants¹²⁸. Up to 1879 the tenants on the estate at Clongorey conducted all negotiations with the principal trustee,¹²⁹ George Patrick Lattin Mansfield. Mansfield always lived in the neighbourhood and was well acquainted with the tenants.¹³⁰ The tenants paid their rents¹³¹ and Mansfield did not make many demands on them. As

¹¹⁹ *Burkes. Landed Gentry of Ireland.* p. 547.

¹²⁰ Mansfield Papers. National Library of Ireland. Dublin. PC.12764. Folders 6 & 6a

¹²¹ Valuation office Cancelled Books for Barrettstown Co. Kildare.1863.

¹²² Mansfield Papers. National Library of Ireland. Dublin. PC.12764. Folders 6 & 6a

¹²³ Mansfield Papers. National Library of Ireland. Dublin. PC.12764. Folders 6 & 6a

¹²⁴ Interview with descendant of Evicted Tenant.

¹²⁵ O' Kelly Papers. National Library of Ireland. PC.600.

¹²⁶ O' Kelly Papers. National Library of Ireland. PC.600.

¹²⁷ Irish Folklore Commission. Schools collection. Clongorey school. Vol.776. U.C.D. Dublin.

¹²⁸ Irish Folklore Commission. Schools collection. Clongorey school. Vol.776. U.C.D. Dublin

¹²⁹ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report. 1892.p. 33-44.*

¹³⁰ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report. 1892. p.33-44*

¹³¹ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report. 1892. p. 33-44* In Fr Kinsella opinion.

the O' Kelly trust came under pressure from the mortgage holders and family members for their share of the trust¹³², coupled with the general land war in the country and changes in farming practices the atmosphere changed. Mansfield at that time in his late sixties and in poor health was coming under pressure from the other trustees¹³³. One of these Matthew Maher was particularly critical of his running of the estate and his relationship with Fr Kinsella¹³⁴. In 1880 the trustees appointed Mr T.H.B Rutledge as agent to manage the estate¹³⁵. The atmosphere in the country was also changing as it appears to have been generally felt that the days of landlordism in Ireland were numbered and in assisting this the land league appears to have targeted particularly vulnerable estates to implement their 'Plan of Campaign'. In County Kildare 'Clongorey' was a prime example¹³⁶. During the depression years of the 1870s the tenants in Clongorey struggled to pay their rents as fear of losing the turf that kept them out of the land court¹³⁷.

By 1882 it appears that some of the trust members were proactive in the running of the estate. The trust was set up in 1833 with the older members of the family and as they died were replaced by younger family members¹³⁸. The relationship of trust members to the core family is worth noting, as this led eventually to tensions and pressure to have the trust settled, it also added to the problems of the tenants in negotiation on rent reductions. By 1888 the trustees of the O' Kelly estate were Mr George Patrick Lattin Mansfield, Morrinstown Lattin, Newbridge Co Kildare¹³⁹, Mr

¹³² Mansfield Papers. National Library Dublin. PC. 12764 folders 6 & 6a.

¹³³ Mansfield Papers. National Library Dublin. PC. 12764 folders 6 & 6a.

¹³⁴ Mansfield Papers. National Library Dublin. PC. 12764 folders 6 & 6a.

¹³⁵ Mansfield Papers. National Library Dublin. PC. 12764 folders 6 & 6a.

¹³⁶ The Clongorey estate was financially vulnerable, due to rising debt. - Mansfield Papers. National Library Dublin. PC. 12764 folders 6 & 6a.

¹³⁷ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report 1892*. p. 33-44.

¹³⁸ O' Kelly Papers. National Library of Ireland. PC.600

¹³⁹ *Burkes. landed gentry of Ireland*. p. 547. Married Frances Constantia de Pentheny O' Kelly sister of George Burke O'Kelly.

Matthaus Aiden Maher, Ballenkeele House, Enniscorthy County Wexford¹⁴⁰, Mr Arundel O'Kelly, of London¹⁴¹ and Mr Harold Oxholm, of Denmark^{142y}. Mansfield was the principal trustee initially. Both Arundel O'Kelly and Mr Harold Oxholm left the administration of the trust to Mansfield and Matty Maher¹⁴³.

The estate records indicate an inefficiently managed estate with long delays in decisions being taken resulting in 1888 in the appointment of an agent Mr Rutledge of George's St. Dublin of whom little is known¹⁴⁴. The London O'Kelly family appears to have had the most to lose and was not in any hurry to dispose of the land and settle the trust¹⁴⁵. This fact was brought home very forcibly to Mansfield in correspondence from Maher regarding a letter received from Peter de Penthony O'Kelly on behalf of the 'Irish' O'Kelly family, suggesting that new trustees be appointed¹⁴⁶. Maher said 'does he not realise that it was his father [John] that got the trust in to the mess¹⁴⁷. And that his attention should be drawn to the fact that it was he through the delay in implementing the paying off and settling of Brine's debts for over three years has added immensely to the cost on both sides'¹⁴⁸. The in fighting

¹⁴⁰ *Burkes. landed gentry of Ireland.* p. 547.. Brother in law to Miss Lousia Catherine de Penthony O' Kelly.

¹⁴¹ *Burkes. landed gentry of Ireland.* p. 547 Nephew of George Burke O' Kelly

¹⁴² *Burkes. landed gentry of Ireland.* p. 547 Husband of Eleanor Sophia de Pentheny O' Kelly a niece of George Burke O' Kelly

¹⁴³ Mansfield Papers. National Library of Ireland. Dublin. PC.12764. Folders 6 & 6a.

¹⁴⁴ Mansfield Papers. National Library of Ireland. Dublin. PC.1276. Folders 6&6a.

¹⁴⁵ Mansfield Papers. National Library of Ireland. Dublin. PC.12764. Folders 6 & 6a.

¹⁴⁶ Mansfield Papers. National Library of Ireland. Dublin. PC.12764. Folders 6 & 6a.

¹⁴⁷ Mansfield Papers. National Library of Ireland. Dublin. PC.12764. Folders 6 & 6a

¹⁴⁸ Mansfield Papers. National Library of Ireland. Dublin. PC.12764. Folders 6 & 6a

between the family members added to the atmosphere of discontent that was mounting in Clongorey in this period.

Chapter 2. The Clongorey Evictions

This chapter outlines in some detail the evictions that took place in Clongorey in the 1880s. Seven sets of evictions took place between 16 February 1883 and 1 September 1892. Two sets of eviction those of 23 November 1888 and 26 March 1889 are described in some detail as they illustrate graphically the scene at eviction sites. The interaction of all parties will be examined together with the part played by the Land League.

The poor weather in the years 1885 and 1886 had a disastrous affect on agriculture generally. The year 1885 was a particularly bad year in the country generally the weather was poor and the prices for agricultural produce falling¹⁴⁹. The tenants in Clongorey finding themselves under pressure due to the effect of the weather on their harvest notified their intention to withhold their rent in a letter to George Patrick Lattin Mansfield and the trustees on 4 December 1885¹⁵⁰. The principal trustee George Patrick Lattin Mansfield was born on 19 December 1820 and by 1888 was sixty- eight years and in failing health, he died in 1889¹⁵¹.

Dear Sir. The tenants on Mr O' Kelly's property has lodged their rent less 25 percent in the National Bank Newbridge. You'll be paid by us anytime you think well of coming for (same?). Yours faithfully. Patrick Fulham, Peter Fulham, Denis Morrissey. Appointed Trustees.

The reduction requested 25 per cent was then reduced to 20 percent and after a long time as a result of representation made by the parish priest Fr Kinsella to Mansfield, a reduction was finally given: Tenants with valuations of under £5 received a reduction of 20 percent¹⁵².

¹⁴⁹ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report 1892. p 33-44.*

¹⁵⁰ Mansfield Papers. National Library Dublin. PC. 12764 folders 6 & 6a.

¹⁵¹ *Burkes. Landed Gentry of Ireland.* Mansfield himself was related to the Eustace family who owned vast tracts of land in County Kildare.

¹⁵² *Evicted Tenants Commission Report 1892. p. 33-44.*

Tenants with valuations of over £5 received a reduction of 15 percent¹⁵³.

In Clongorey in 1886 the river Liffey flooded.¹⁵⁴ This marked the beginning of the problems on the O'Kelly estate in Clongorey. The flood spread over the whole area of Clongorey for twenty-four hours, knocking down and carrying away seven houses and damaging all the houses at the lower part of the property¹⁵⁵. As a result of the flood in November 1886 a rent reduction of 50 percent was appealed for. Rent reductions of 10 percent to judicial rents¹⁵⁶ and 20 percent to non-judicial rents were given and in May 1887 the rents were paid¹⁵⁷. After the flood a collection was made to relieve the tenants and to try to rebuild the houses, between £80 and £100 was collected Mansfield also contributed¹⁵⁸. With the flood behind them and the reduction in the rent granted they looked forward to the turf harvest and making up for the previous bad year. But it was not to be. The weather in 1887 was worse for the tenants than 1886 as it was very dry, the grass and corn dried up, and the turf would not stick together¹⁵⁹. Due to the poverty in which they now found themselves the tenants made a further application for a 50 per cent rent reduction to the principal trustee Mansfield¹⁶⁰. Mansfield offered a 25 per cent reduction. This was countered by an offer by the tenants of 35 percent but was not accepted¹⁶¹.

A meeting was arranged at Gee's Hotel in Newbridge with the agent Rutledge, but when the tenants arrived they met Rutledge coming out the door and he was driven

¹⁵³ Mansfield Papers. National Library Dublin. PC. 12764 folders 6 & 6a.

¹⁵⁴ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report. 1892.* Dublin. p. 33-44. The only change being that due to the shortage of catchers/barrow men he employs his tractor. Billy builds his own very unique turf structures, which are a joy to look at even for a 'Bog Ranger'.

¹⁵⁵ Mansfield Papers. National Library. PC. 12764 folders 6 & 6a.

¹⁵⁵ Mansfield Papers. National Library Dublin. PC. 12764 folders 6 & 6a.

¹⁵⁶ Judicial rents - rents set by the Land Court.

¹⁵⁷ Mansfield Papers. National Library Dublin. PC. 12764 folders 6 & 6a.

¹⁵⁸ Mansfield Papers. National Library Dublin. PC. 12764 folders 6 & 6a.

¹⁵⁹ There was no market for peat moss in these years.!

¹⁶⁰ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report 1892.* p. 33-44.

¹⁶¹ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report 1892.* p. 33-44.

off on a hired car. So the meeting never took place¹⁶². One of the reasons put forward for this was that the tenants were late¹⁶³. A more likely reason was that the agent Rutledge made it quite clear that he would not negotiate with Mr Heffernan leader of the Land League in Kildare, who had been brought in as spokesman for the tenants¹⁶⁴. Mansfield under pressure from the other trustees resigned as principal trustee in 1887, and Maher one of the other trustees became managing trustee¹⁶⁵. Maher lived in County Wexford whereas Mansfield lived in the parish and was more accessible to the tenants. In his evidence to the Evicted Tenants Commission 1892 Fr Kinsella recalled meeting Mansfield in 1890 who told him that his heart was broken by the violent proceedings that were taken against the tenants and he intended to try to regain senior trusteeship to save the tenants¹⁶⁶. A passage in Mr T. W. Russells' book in 1889 opposing the Plan of Campaign accused Mansfield of shilly shallying in his hesitation to take the violent measures pressed for by Maher¹⁶⁷. This may well have been true in light of his resignation from the principal trusteeship and his subsequent comments to Fr Kinsella¹⁶⁸. The tenants were not however of the opinion that he was hesitant¹⁶⁹.

In February 1888 the first writs of ejectment were served, on twenty tenants as two years rent was now outstanding¹⁷⁰. On one occasion, 4 February 1888, the agent accompanied by six emergency men arrived at the farm of Mr Dan Kelly a tenant but he was out. They seized six cattle and started for the pound at Naas. A jeering crowd

¹⁶² *Evicted Tenants Commission Report 1892. P. 33-44.*

¹⁶³ *Leinster Leader* 11 February 1888.

¹⁶⁴ Mansfield Papers. PC 12764. Folders 6 & 6a. National Library of Ireland . Dublin.

¹⁶⁵ Mansfield Papers. PC 12764. Folders 6 & 6a. National Library of Ireland . Dublin.

¹⁶⁶ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report 1892. p. 33-44.*

¹⁶⁷ TW Russell. MP *Disturbed Ireland the Plan of Campaign Estates.* (Dublin 1889). p. 148-151.

¹⁶⁸ Mansfield in 1890 just before his death told Fr Kinsella '*he was broken by the violent proceedings been taken against the tenants and that he intended to try to regain senior trusteeship to save the tenants*'. *Evicted Tenants Commission Report 1892.P 33-44.*

¹⁶⁹ *Leinster Leader* 11 February 1888.

followed them, shouting various uncomplimentary epithets at the agent and his emergency men and at Mr Mansfield, whom the tenants believed had sanctioned the day's proceedings¹⁷¹ in spite of the fact that he was no longer principle trustee. They shouted taunts such as, 'Where's Mansfield's mother to sell us the gooseberries'. 'Tis on the sour milk he was reared'. 'He's only doing what his mother did with the sour milk - charging too much for it'. 'Where 's the boy he prosecuted and sent to gaol for four pence worth of turf'¹⁷². The cattle were lodged in the Naas pound at about ten o' clock. Dan Kelly redeemed his cattle the next day¹⁷³. Writs and seizures became a way of life in Clongorey and it took all the imagination and ingenuity that the people could muster to avoid them¹⁷⁴.

Maher, it appears from the correspondence, had been awaiting opportunity to teach Patrick Fulham, who was a signatory to the December 1885 letter, a lesson. Maher considered him to be the ringleader and in correspondence with Mansfield, one of the trustees, said that Fulham would have to be 'got rid of'.¹⁷⁵ In October 1888 he got his chance. A writ for the seizure of cattle and corn was made on Mr Patrick Fulham snr (Patrick's father). When the process servers arrived on 29 October 1888 Patrick jnr shut the gate against them and asked to see their authority. He told his father 'not to accept the paper because it was in respect of old rent and not legal'. Seven policemen pushed the gate. They handcuffed young Patrick. One of the emergency-men Woods kept kicking him. Patrick Fulham was summonsed to court and sentenced to two

¹⁷⁰ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report 1892.p. 33-44.*

¹⁷¹ *Leinster Leader* 11 February 1888.

¹⁷² *Leinster Leader* 11 February 1888.

¹⁷³ *Leinster Leader* 11 February 1888.

¹⁷⁴ General observation from the evidence available and the result of conversation with descendants of evicted tenants.

¹⁷⁵ Mansfield Papers. PC 12764. Folders 6 & 6a. National Library of Ireland . Dublin

months because the policeman swore that he hit him¹⁷⁶.

It appears that as a result of this incident, some tenants went to the Land Court thinking that if the court set a fair rent that they would be able to pay and so avoid eviction and seizure¹⁷⁷. Mr Peter Fulham, who was also a signatory to the December 1885 letter and a cousin of Patrick Fulham in March 1888, led the tenants into the land court and applied for the court to fix a fair rent¹⁷⁸. The *Leinster Leader* reported, that Judge Darley, told the agent Rutledge, 'That it was quite obvious that the tenants could not pay the arrears because they were after suffering a great deal and were very poor. They had built their houses and reclaimed their lands and they had some title to consideration'. He advised the agent to recommend to the O'Kelly trustees to let the arrears go and come to an arrangement to pay the fair rent that he Judge Darley had set¹⁷⁹. A Mr Barrington of Wicklow was commissioned by the court to examine the lands on the estate at Clongorey and he reported that in his opinion a large number of tenants could not pay because the land was so poor that they could not make a living from it¹⁸⁰. Judge Darley fixed the rent at a 20 per cent reduction, all sporting rights on the estate reverted to the landlord, but the right to cut turf was retained by the tenants as indicated to the court by the agent¹⁸¹. The decisions of the land court were lodged with the Land Commission¹⁸². The tenants were not satisfied with the settlement because the rents were set in their opinion without due regard to Griffith's

¹⁷⁶ *Leinster Leader* 11 February 1888.

¹⁷⁷ Irish Land Commission Court. County Kildare- County Case Books 1882-1919. I C. 82 45. National Archives. Dublin.

¹⁷⁸ Irish Land Commission Court. County Kildare- County Case Books 1882-1919. I C. 82 45. National Archives. Dublin.

¹⁷⁹ Irish Land Commission Court. County Kildare- County Case Books 1882-1919. I C. 82 45. National Archives. Dublin.

¹⁸⁰ Irish Land Commission Court. County Kildare- County Case Books 1882-1919. I C. 82 45. National Archives. Dublin.

¹⁸¹ Irish Land Commission Court. County Kildare- County Case Books 1882-1919. I C. 82 45. National Archives. Dublin.

valuation¹⁸³ and in their opinion in excess of the valuation of the land¹⁸⁴. Fr Kinsella intervened by suggesting to Maher that the property should be sold to the tenants to settle the matter. The offer made by Fr Kinsella was for eighteen years purchase of the valuation of the land. The landlord offered twenty years purchase of the rent and all the arrears of the rent to be paid, less 25 per cent. This put the tenants in an impossible position, due to the poverty they were now experiencing after successive years of bad harvests¹⁸⁵.

Maher was losing patience with the tenants and in October 1888 he had a meeting with the agent Rutledge to see what could be done as the interest on the mortgages on the Clongorey property was not being paid from the rent on the estate at Painstown¹⁸⁶. Fr Kinsella continued to write to Mansfield on behalf of the tenants in the hope that in light of the good relationship he had had with Mansfield, that he could do something to resolve the situation. Mansfield forwarded all correspondence to Maher who was now the principal trustee and living in County Wexford, together with the issues of the *Leinster Leader* in which the activities of the Land League and the deteriorating situation in Clongorey was mentioned¹⁸⁷. This of course drove Maher to write to 'Uncle George' (Mansfield) condemning Kinsella and saying that he has encouraged the tenants to join the 'Plan of Campaign' in spite of the fact that both the Catholic church and Parnell were against it¹⁸⁸. He (Maher) said that he would rather see the land idle¹⁸⁹. The tenants engaged Mr Hurley a Newbridge

¹⁸² Irish Land Commission Court. County Kildare- County Case Books 1882-1919. I C. 82 45. National Archives. Dublin.

¹⁸³ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report* 1892. p. 33-44.

¹⁸⁴ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report* 1892. p. 33-44.

¹⁸⁵ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report* 1892. p. 33-44.

¹⁸⁶ Mansfield Papers. PC 12764. Folders 6 & 6a. National Library of Ireland . Dublin

¹⁸⁷ Mansfield Papers. PC 12764. Folders 6 & 6a. National Library of Ireland . Dublin

¹⁸⁸ Mansfield Papers. PC 12764. Folders 6 & 6a. National Library of Ireland . Dublin

¹⁸⁹ Mansfield Papers. PC 12764. Folders 6 & 6a. National Library of Ireland . Dublin

solicitor and he too made representation to the trustees through Mansfield but in October 1888 Mansfield wrote to Hurley stating that he did not hold out much hope of a settlement¹⁹⁰. In March Mr Hurley solicitor for the tenants applied to the court on their behalf and obtained a postponement of the eviction to October 1888, subject to the rent being paid plus costs, all offers to sell were at this stage withdrawn¹⁹¹.

When October 1888 came the tenants were in no position to meet the rent and Fr Kinsella wrote to Maher stating that the tenants were in a state approaching starvation¹⁹². Seizures continued. On Monday 12 November 1888 a sale took place at Naas pound of a quantity of tenants effects that had been seized, including wheat, oats, five calves and a horse¹⁹³. The tenants affected were: John Fulham, William Fagan, Ann Kelly, Mary Kelly, John Fox (Ghrah), John Fox (Glory), John Coffey, and Peter Fulham¹⁹⁴. The *Leinster Leader* describes that 'At about one o' clock Rutledge and his under-strappers arrived, in possession, on five jarvey cars from Dublin, bearing the following registration numbers: 923, 1,046, 1,064, 1,216, and 1,664. A burley individual named Samuel Pickering, from Dublin performed the duties of auctioneer in a bellicose manner, which at times caused great amusement. Hurley protested that the goods and animals had been consigned to such an unsanitary hole. A quantity of mud was flung at the faces of the emergency-men. A young boy named Lee was arrested on the charge of mud-sliding. A group of people surrounded the policeman who became anxious and the boy escaped the clutches of the constable. Fr Kinsella and another priest by their presence averted a serious melee. The auction was halted and the procession of agent and under-strappers

¹⁹⁰ Mansfield Papers. PC 12764. Folders 6 & 6a. National Library of Ireland . Dublin

¹⁹¹ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report* 1892. p. 33-44.

¹⁹² *Evicted Tenants Commission Report* 1892. p. 33-44.

¹⁹³ *Leinster Leader*. 17 November 1888.

¹⁹⁴ *Leinster Leader*. 17 November 1888.

departed¹⁹⁵. This illustrates the depth of feeling in the county and the distaste in which the actions of the landlord were viewed at every opportunity the sale of tenants effects were frustrated. This was not an isolated incident as the poster published by the 'Petroleum Limited Liability Co.', Barretstown Yard¹⁹⁶, testifies. When an auction of tenant effects was advertised this satirical poster also appeared. (Fig. 26). Kinsella in his endeavours to settle the problem suggested that the solicitor Hurley write to Maher, the now acting principal trustee, offering to pay two years rent in November at a reduction of 35 percent¹⁹⁷. On 22 October 1888 the proposal was rejected¹⁹⁸. The gloves were off!. Even the bishop of Limerick, *The Leinster Leader* reported in 1888 'could no longer find heart to restrain them' from using the 'people's own honest and useful home spun method of redress'¹⁹⁹. Relations further deteriorated in November when the National Land League became involved in the events at Clongorey. There were many branches of the land league in county Kildare, such as Kildare town branch under the leadership of Mr John T. Heffernan²⁰⁰. A branch incorporating, Allen, Prosperous/Caragh, was under the leadership of Fr Kinsella. When the difficulties arose in Clongorey the league became active. The league held a number of meetings in Clongorey and many plans were devised to avert the attention of the police. One particular meeting was reported in the *Leinster Leader* newspaper 11 November 1888²⁰¹. The police had made elaborate arrangements to suppress any demonstration that might be attempted in Clongorey.

¹⁹⁵ *Leinster Leader*. 17 November 1888.

¹⁹⁶ Kildare County Library. It has not been possible to identify the 'Real' source of this poster.

¹⁹⁷ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report* 1892. p. 33-44.

¹⁹⁸ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report* 1892. p. 33-44.

¹⁹⁹ *Leinster Leader* 17 November 1888.

²⁰⁰ Heffernan was a farmer and businessman in Kildare town and later a member of Kildare County Council. He attended five central land league meetings between 18 May 1880 and 18 October 1881. Heffernan Papers. National Library of Ireland. Dublin. MS. 21910. Minutes of the Kildare Branch of the National Land League.

²⁰¹ *Leinster Leader*. 11 November 1888

Police armed with rifles were on the spot prepared to disperse any assembly²⁰², but as a result of the seizure of cattle and crops which had taken place on Monday 3 October 1888, it was determined that a meeting be held in Clongorey on the following Sunday 5 November 1888²⁰³. By coincidence a meeting was announced for Nurney on that day, the meeting for Clongorey was then advertised for another occasion, to concentrate the minds of the police on the south Kildare venue, thinking that the Clongorey meeting was cancelled. The secret appears to have been well kept²⁰⁴. Deputations came from Kilcullen, Prosperous, Staplestown and Kildare²⁰⁵. By arrangement each district led its contingent into the 'Bawn' at Clongorey at 2 pm to the consternation of police who were guarding the seized crops²⁰⁶. The crowd was estimated to be 4,000²⁰⁷. Dr Tanner MP for mid Cork addressed the crowd to shouts of cheers for 'Rebel Cork'²⁰⁸. There are uncorroborated reports that Michael Davitt attended this meeting after first hearing mass at Caragh parish church.²⁰⁹ The meeting passed off peacefully. The unofficial policy of the land league that became known as the 'Plan of Campaign' was published, anonymously, in the *United Ireland* on 23 October 1886, its author Timothy Harrington secretary of the parliamentary party²¹⁰. The 'Plan of Campaign' was a device for collective bargaining on individual estates, where landlords to refuse to lower the rent voluntarily, the tenants were to combine to offer a reduced rent. If he refused to accept they were to pay no rent but lodge the money in an 'Estate Fund' this fund would be used to support tenants certain of eviction for adopting the 'Plan'. The plan also called for 'land grabbers' to be

²⁰² *Leinster Leader*. 11 November 1888

²⁰³ *Leinster Leader*. 11 November 1888

²⁰⁴ *Leinster Leader*. 11 November 1888

²⁰⁵ *Leinster Leader*. 11 November 1888

²⁰⁶ *Leinster Leader*. 11 November 1888.

²⁰⁷ It was not possible to verify this estimate.

²⁰⁸ *Leinster Leader*. 11 November 1888.

²⁰⁹ Interview with descendants of Evicted tenants

²¹⁰ Laurence .M. Geary. *The Plan of Campaign*.(Cork 1986). p1-40.

boycotted²¹¹. Traitors were to be expelled from the league²¹². One such expulsion took place in Kildare when one tenant on the O' Kelly estate in Clongorey was found to have paid his rent²¹³. The plan was condemned by many. The most notable being Parnell and the Vatican²¹⁴. Regular meetings of Prosperous and Caragh branch of the National Land League took place, and at the meeting held on 22 December 1888. Fr. Kinsella in the chair passed a motion supporting all the arrested supporters of the evicted tenants of Clongorey that would be spending that Christmas in jail²¹⁵.

Between 12 and 23 November 1888 the Plan of Campaign was adopted by the tenants of Clongorey and the tenants who could afford it banked their rents when they had money at a reduced rate of 30 percent with the 'Estate fund'²¹⁶. This fund would be used to support tenants sure of eviction for adopting the 'Plan'.

Relations between the landlord and the tenants deteriorated rapidly after the seizures of goods and the involvement of the National Land League. The first evictions took place on 23 November 1888; six holdings were involved²¹⁷: By using a combination of the reports of the *Leinster Leader* and the Evicted Tenants Commission it is possible to obtain a detailed insight into the events as they unfolded on the occasions of the evictions. This gives a snapshot of the community at a particular point in time, which would be lost in the bland analysis of the larger picture. Such an approach allows us to note the reaction of tenants being evicted and the general atmosphere of

²¹¹ Laurence .M. Geary. *The Plan of Campaign*. (Cork 1986).p1-40.

²¹² Laurence .M. Geary *The Plan of Campaign*. (Cork 1986). p1-40.

²¹³ Heffernan Papers. National Library of Ireland. Dublin. MS.21910. Minutes of the Kildare Branch of the National Land League.

²¹⁴ Heffernan Papers. National Library of Ireland. Dublin. MS.21910. Minutes of the Kildare Branch of the National Land League.

²¹⁵ *Leinster Leader*. December 1888.

'And as for the brave men who have gone to gaol for Clongorey. - Mr Malone, Mr Hurley, Mr Heffernan and Mr Nannetti, we fervently wish them that joy of heart which brings them in their prison cell a happy Christmas. We wish the same to the other martyrs. Who although spending the festival at their homes have prospect before then of commencing the new year on the plank bed and the starvation diet which for a few years longer will be the position of those, who are willing to make sacrifices for the suffering tenantry of Ireland'

²¹⁶ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report* 1892. p. 33-44.

²¹⁷ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report* 1892. p. 33-44.

the gathered crowd which strange as it may seem for such a sombre occasion appeared at times almost comical and the actions of the eviction forces theatrical. In the absence of the police reports of the time it is difficult to verify the accuracy of these scenes. What is clear is that without the *Leinster Leader* the tenant's viewpoint would not have been recorded no matter how exaggerated it may appear.

The table below sets out the names of the tenants evicted on that occasion the acreage of the holding the annual rent before the eviction and the rent due on eviction.

Tables of eviction on 23 November 1888²¹⁸:

Tenant	A.R.P	Rent before eviction	Arrears at eviction
		£. s. d	£. s. d
Peter Fulham	12.4.8	9.0.0	9.0.0
John Fox(The Grah).	18.0.28	12.9.3	12.9.3
Andrew Fox	25.3.30	16.4.4	16.4.4
Mary Kelly	17.1.38	14.13.6	14.13.6
William Fagan-	12.3.23	10.8.8	10.8.8
John Fulham	9.2.27	8.1.9	8.1.9

The *Leinster Leader* of 1 December 1888 reported that the evictors arrived about eleven o'clock. The sub-sheriff Mr H.A. Lee and the agent, Rutledge headed the procession. They were supported by eighteen emergency men headed by Woods, and controlled by a man by the name of Filgate, said to be the secretary of the Emergency Association²¹⁹. Two hundred policemen under the charge of County Inspector Lock and a company of the Black Watch (from the Curragh), provided protection²²⁰. The paper suggests that 'The soldiers with few exceptions did not relish their position.

²¹⁸ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report* 1892. p. 33-44.

²¹⁹ *Leinster Leader* 1 December 1888.

²²⁰ *Leinster Leader* 1 December 1888.

Showing that they felt acutely, the anomaly of men enlisted as warriors, being told to protect with their bayonets and rifles and all the paraphernalia of war, a dozen and a half of the biggest ruffians in society turning a couple of defenceless women out of their homes²²¹. The crowd the report suggested observed it too and accordingly, when a highlander stumbled in the rain and fell on his face in the gutter, the laughter, which would naturally arise under any other circumstances, was suppressed and the onlookers even expressed concern for him²²². The police the paper reports beat and cuffed men, women, and children indiscriminately and drove the people off from each eviction scene²²³. The report suggests that these people did nothing to provoke such brutality in the police. The emergency men were not very popular with the crowds and were described as a 'sorry pack of corner-boy species'²²⁴. All the appliances to be used at the eviction were loaded on a cart, together with planks, which would be converted into a 'ram' to batter down the houses²²⁵. Hurley the solicitor, on behalf of his clients demanded that Sub-sheriff Lee show the documents under which he proceeded, but Stocks, one of the sub-sheriff's assistants, forbade him to do so²²⁶. Another member of the eviction team, the paper reports, pounced on a tiny chap about eight years old gave him a blow on the shoulder and felled him to the ground²²⁷.

Marching from Barrettstown farmhouse each emergency man was armed with a baton and revolver, and the police in two bodies one with rifles and the other with batons²²⁸. A piper accompanied the highlanders²²⁹. About fifty yards from the avenue

²²¹ *Leinster Leader* 1 December 1888.

²²² *Leinster Leader* 1 December 1888.

²²³ *Leinster Leader* 1 December 1888.

²²⁴ *Leinster Leader* 1 December 1888.

²²⁵ *Leinster Leader* 1 December 1888.

²²⁶ *Leinster Leader* 1 December 1888.

²²⁷ *Leinster Leader* 1 December 1888.

²²⁸ *Leinster Leader* 1 December 1888.

²²⁹ *Leinster Leader* 1 December 1888.

leading to the farmhouse they came to the bridge over the 'Mearing' drain²³⁰. The bridge was broken down. The tenants in an attempt to frustrate the proceedings would have done this²³¹. A halt was called while planks were laid across the bridge²³². With a great deal of trouble, the cart carrying the battering ram was got over the planks²³³. Further along the route three large trees, were felled across the road, and needed cutting through, and after some delay the procession began to move again²³⁴. They marched straight to the two-story slate house²³⁵ of Mr Peter Fulham. This Fulham family numbered eleven persons, their farm consisted of 12 acres, the judicial rent was £8 and the amount due on the foot of the decree was £9 plus £2.7s costs²³⁶. All the windows were barricaded and bags of potatoes and trunks of trees were stored inside against the door²³⁷. Mr Hurley solicitor for the tenants demanded the eviction documents for examination²³⁸. The highlanders were then marched to the back of the house and after a delay were brought back to the front again²³⁹. Lee then knocked on the door and said 'I demand possession'. There was no reply. He knocked again and then turning to the emergency men said 'Now you can ply away'²⁴⁰. The emergency men then tried to shove in the door but failed and were equally unsuccessful in trying to beat it in with their hammers. Three of them then turned to the barricaded windows but were ordered back to the door by Fligate who said 'Don't do unnecessary damage'²⁴¹. Having got hatchets they began to ply them

²³⁰ *Leinster Leader* 1 December 1888. The 'Mearing' drain marked the boundaries of the townlands.

²³¹ Discussion with the descendants of evicted tenants.

²³² *Leinster Leader* 1 December 1888.

²³³ *Leinster Leader* 1 December 1888.

²³⁴ *Leinster Leader* 1 December 1888.

²³⁵ *Leinster Leader* 1 December 1888.

²³⁵ *Leinster Leader* 1 December 1888.

²³⁶ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report*. p. 33-44.

²³⁷ *Leinster Leader* 1 December 1888.

²³⁸ *Leinster Leader* 1 December 1888.

²³⁹ *Leinster Leader* 1 December 1888.

²⁴⁰ *Leinster Leader* 1 December 1888.

²⁴¹ *Leinster Leader* 1 December 1888.

to the door until they cut through and broke it in pieces²⁴². The emergency men removed the bags and tree trunks with some labour then entered the house²⁴³. The furniture was thrown out of the house with boxes, and tables, being broken, and the chinaware smashed to pieces²⁴⁴. (Fig. 25). The bedding was flung in the mud in the dirtiest part of the yard²⁴⁵. The furniture being cleared out the sub-sheriff guarded by two policemen went into the house and put out Mrs Fulham and Miss Fulham²⁴⁶. Richard Fulham son of the tenant was put out of the house cheering for the Plan²⁴⁷. A Similar scene took place at John Foxes' (the Grah) home, a one- storey wretched cabin consisting of three rooms and a thatched roof²⁴⁸. A crowbar was inserted under the door lifting it up through the thatched roof off the hinges as it was pulled out²⁴⁹. At the house of Andrew Fox when the door came off a young child was seen leading out a very old woman who seemed even too weak to move²⁵⁰, (Fig. 27). Mrs Ann Kelly was evicted in spite of a certificate from Dr Richard Murphy stating that to be put out of her home would have adverse affect on her health²⁵¹. A thatched hovel consisting of two rooms in which a family of seven of Mr William Fagan lived was opposite the school, which the 'army' broke into and cleared before descending on the Fagan holding. They battered in the door and the son came out and called 'Three cheers for the Plan'²⁵². John Fulham was the final eviction on that day²⁵³. The work

²⁴² *Leinster Leader* 1 December 1888.

²⁴³ *Leinster Leader* 1 December 1888.

²⁴⁴ *Leinster Leader* 1 December 1888.

²⁴⁵ *Leinster Leader* 1 December 1888.

²⁴⁶ *Leinster Leader* 1 December 1888.

²⁴⁷ *Leinster Leader* 1 December 1888.

²⁴⁸ *Leinster Leader*. 1 December 1888.

²⁴⁹ *Leinster Leader*. 1 December 1888.

²⁵⁰ *Leinster Leader*. 1 December 1888.

²⁵¹ In interviews with descendants of evicted tenant however it has been suggested that Mrs Ann Kelly may not have been an invalid as thought, because one of the conditions for non-eviction was serious illness, Mrs Kelly may have taken to the bed to try to save the homestead. At night she gave shelter to evicted tenants who slept on the floor, and she was reported to have said on numerous occasions 'Whose head am I standing on to night' when she got up in the night to exercise.

²⁵² *Leinster Leader*. 1 December 1888.

²⁵³ *Leinster Leader*. 1 December 1888.

concluded at four o'clock²⁵⁴. When the police and emergency men departed, a meeting was held in Mr D Kelly's field. Many speeches were made by such as Mr J Heffernan, Mr John Malone, and Fr Kinsella who commended the people of Clongorey on the conduct during the day particularly the fact that no blood was spilled²⁵⁵. The following Friday and Saturday night the tenants were huddled in neighbours' houses, as many as twenty girls sleeping together in one room, in another house twenty- two boys in one apartment.²⁵⁶ On Sunday the girls and their mothers sought shelter in their own homes²⁵⁷. About mid day they re-entered the houses²⁵⁸. Shortly afterwards the police and emergency men went round the houses calling on the inmates to leave and on their refusing to do so took their names²⁵⁹. The tenants in each case protested that the houses were their own and that they had offered to pay fair rent and which they were morally if not at law the owners²⁶⁰. The police said that they would proceed against the people by summons²⁶¹. There was a lot of support for the tenants of Clongorey, which was evident from numerous letters to the *Leinster Leader* offering accommodation²⁶². The winter passed and in March 1889 the eviction resumed.

Thirteen evictions took place on 26 March 1889²⁶³. The table below shows that most of the tenants owed in excess of two years and Patrick Fulham owed four years rent.

²⁵⁴ *Leinster Leader*. 1 December 1888.

²⁵⁵ There was a suggestion that one person was killed during this time but it was not possible to verify this.

²⁵⁶ *Leinster Leader*. 1 December 1888.

²⁵⁷ *Leinster Leader*. 1 December 1888.

²⁵⁸ *Leinster Leader*. 1 December 1888.

²⁵⁹ *Leinster Leader*. 1 December 1888. Not possible, to verify, due to the absence of police reports.

²⁶⁰ *Leinster Leader*. 1 December 1888.

²⁶¹ *Leinster Leader*. 1 December 1888. Not possible, to verify due to the absence of police reports.

²⁶² *Leinster Leader*. 22 November 1888. An example: *Dear Sir. If there chance to be any of the tenants who are evicted that can not get a house or place of shelter. I would willingly give them a room, that I have unoccupied. John Fulham brother of the hero of Clongorey knows the room perfectly well. Your humble servant C. Cox. God save Ireland.*

²⁶³ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report* 1892. p. 33-44

The temperature in Clongorey was now at boiling point and the time for serious action by the trustees had come and while the eviction in November appeared to have been a jovial affair this time matters took a serious turn.

Tenants Evicted on 26 March 1889.²⁶⁴

Tenant.	A.R.P.	Annual Rent	Arrears on Eviction
John Fox (Glory)	12.0.23	8.17. 1.	30.19. 0
Patrick Fox	4.2.25	3.18. 0	13. 13. 0
Thomas Stanley	4.2.25	4. 2. 8	6. 4. 0
James Heavey	49.0.19	27. 6. 4	68. 5.10
Ann Fulham	23. 0.14	12. 0. 0	23. 4. 4
Patrick Kiely	12.0. 34	6.16. 0	37. 8. 0
Eliza Heavey	9.0.37	6.19.11	13. 2. 9
Peter Keogh	21.2.28	3. 2.10	2. 9 59.
Daniel Donnelly	13.0.04	6. 6. 4	22. 2. 2
John Ross	54.1.19	45. 0. 0	50. 1. 5
Patrick Fulham	90.1.18	59. 6. 9	237. 0. 0
John Connolly	5.2.26	3. 0. 0	14.12. 6

Ruttledge the agent and some emergency men arrived at 12 o'clock at night with paraffin and torches. The home of Mr James Heavey²⁶⁵ stood on an elevated site in relation to the other holdings. At the appointed time it was set alight as a signal to burn the other homes which were situated within half mile radius. The whole neighbourhood it was reported was illuminated by the yellow glare of the light from

²⁶⁴ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report 1892 p. 33-44.*

²⁶⁵ *Grandfather of Mr Patrick Heavey of Woodbine House Clongorey.*

the burning homes²⁶⁶. There was no violence reported in the local press²⁶⁷. After the evictions each holding was left in the possession of emergency men and police. The houses were then burned because it was found that after the evictions when the police had left the people moved back in.²⁶⁸ (Fig. 28).

A story told by Mr Patrick Heavey handed down from that time of the evictions recalls, that having received information on the time of the seizure, the tenants sent messages to neighbouring parishes requesting help. The people came with horses and carts, from as far away as Rathangan and Prosperous the night before the evictions and cleared all the stock and crops to a piece of land owned by the Heavey's which was out side the jurisdiction of O'Kelly²⁶⁹.

The eviction of the family of Peter Fulham took place on 25 September 1889²⁷⁰. The Fulham's were very strong tenants as they held 45 acres 2 roods 21 perches²⁷¹. The rent before eviction was £23.10.0, arrears on eviction £23.10.0²⁷². This eviction lives on in the memory of the children attending school at 'Clongorey' schoolhouse at the time. The school being in close proximity to the Fulham house, the principle teacher, Mr McGrath, let the children out of class to witness an event that would go down in history²⁷³. The children stood at the wall beside the house. The police, army and emergency men came accompanying the agent. The agent knocked on the door but no reply was forthcoming, he knocked again and again but still no reply from within. The children from their vantage point could see the figure of a woman at the upstairs window, the police continued to knock to no avail, suddenly the upstairs window

²⁶⁶ Interview with descendants of evicted tenants.

²⁶⁷ Due to the absence of police reports it was not possible to verify this.

²⁶⁸ General situation after eviction.

²⁶⁹ Interviews with descendants of evicted tenants.

²⁷⁰ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report*. 1892 p. 33-44.

²⁷¹ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report*. 1892 p. 33-44.

²⁷² *Evicted Tenants Commission Report*. 1892 p. 33-44.

opened and the contents of a vessel was emptied on the heads of the agent and his entourage²⁷⁴.

On 7 February 1890 the homes of ten families were pulled down and rendered uninhabitable, and on 27 May sixteen families were evicted²⁷⁵. By this time the whole area was almost cleared. In the aftermath of the evictions families took shelter on the holdings of tenants that had not been evicted. One such tenant was Mrs Mary Kelly of Iron Gate; she held 30 acres and had paid her rent.²⁷⁶ Mrs Kelly hired artisans to repair outhouses on her farm to accommodate some of the evicted families.²⁷⁷ This resulted in a precept being issued against her for the waste of the landlord property.²⁷⁸ Slates were removed from the roofs to accommodate chimneys this appears to have constituted waste²⁷⁹. The *Leinster Leader* reported that on Monday 25 February 1890 the police arrived and arrested fifteen tradesmen working on the outhouses.²⁸⁰ On Tuesday 26 February 1890 twenty- nine tradesmen were arrested. On Wednesday, 27 February 1890 seventeen additional tradesmen were arrested.²⁸¹ On Thursday 28 February 1890 fifteen tradesmen were arrested, these included Fr Kinsella²⁸². Those arrested on Tuesday and Wednesday were not detained, but those arrested on Thursday were held in the 'Black Hole' at the police barracks in Newbridge and sent to jail in Kilkenny.²⁸³ It appears that the local authorities not wanting to make a hero of Fr Kinsella approached him with an offer that in return for his release that he would not go back to erect houses for the evicted

²⁷³ Interviews with descendants of evicted tenants.

²⁷⁴ Interviews with descendants of evicted tenants

²⁷⁵ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report*. 1892 p. 33-44.

²⁷⁶ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report*. 1892 p. 33-44.

²⁷⁷ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report*. 1892 p. 33-44.

²⁷⁸ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report*. 1892 p. 33-44.

²⁷⁹ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report*. 1892 p. 33-44.

²⁸⁰ *Leinster Leader*. 25 February 1890.

²⁸¹ *Leinster Leader*. 25 February 1890.

tenants, but he refused and was sent to jail for two months.²⁸⁴ While in jail, Fr Kinsella was visited every day by the mayor of Kilkenny, Alderman Coyle.²⁸⁵ The events in Clongorey were frequently on the agenda for debate in the House of Commons and the proceedings reported in the local press. At one of these debates Mr Balfour MP put forward an argument that the precept, under which the arrests at Clongorey had been made, had not been correctly served. As a result an inquiry followed. The lord lieutenant made an order for the release of the prisoners.²⁸⁶ The release of the prisoners caused great jubilation in Newbridge where the local Temperance Brass Band turned out to welcome home the 'Heroes' but which also resulted in the Temperance Brass Band being disbanded.²⁸⁷

The case against Mrs Mary Kelly of Iron Gate was pursued through the courts. The case finally went against her, on the grounds that she removed twenty- two slates from the out offices (that she built herself), in order to put up sheet-iron chimneys through the roof for the people to have fires. The removal of the twenty- two slates it appears constitute waste and she was evicted together with those in the house with her²⁸⁸. Kelly's house was not burned but was used along with a number of other houses to accommodate emergency men.²⁸⁹ (Fig. 30). Another Mrs Mary Kelly had built huts on her land to house evicted families, she too was served with an injunction to remove the huts. She refused. She was arrested and sent to Kilmainham jail together with her adopted daughter Mrs Mary Morrissey and a grandchild Thomas Morrissey, nine weeks old²⁹⁰. Her daughter's husband Mr Michael

²⁸² *Leinster Leader*. 25 February 1890.

²⁸³ *Leinster Leader*. 25 February 1890.

²⁸⁴ *Leinster Leader*. 25 February 1890.

²⁸⁵ *Leinster Leader*. 25 February 1890.

²⁸⁶ *Leinster Leader*. 25 February 1890.

²⁸⁷ Local lore records that the members took sustenance in the local hostelleries of which there were quite a number in Newbridge and got quite drunk after which the parish priest disbanded the band.

²⁸⁸ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report* 1892. p. 33-44.

²⁸⁹ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report*. 1892 p. 33-44.

²⁹⁰ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report*. 1892 p. 33-44.

Morrissey in whose field some of the 'Wooden Huts' from the Curragh Army Camp were erected was sent to Kilkenny jail for contempt of court and kept there for twelve months.²⁹¹

By May 1890 the whole area was cleared and Maher it appears had got his way. All the land and the bog lay silent. For the rural community of Clongorey life would never be the same it seemed these relatively independent people were now dependent on the generosity of the townspeople of Newbridge. The flood of 1886 was the turning point in their lives. They had been content to farm the cutaway bog and sell the turf from the bog that was so much a part of their lives. The future now looked very uncertain for these tenants.

Now with vacant possession the future for the estate and the trustees looked assured. The land could be sold the trust settled and Maher could be rid of the headache of this inefficiently run estate. As earlier outlined in most cases only one years rent was due. This begs the question as to why such harsh measures were taken for relatively small amounts of money. Both the landlord and the tenants (for the first time) were aware of the political nature of the position they both found themselves. The tenants through growing nationalist press were aquatinted with the mood in the country. They knew that theirs was not an isolated incident and took strength from the National Land League to become organised and voice their demands. The landlord knew that their days in power were numbered and so endeavoured to take steps to secure their future. So in many ways both sides took advantage of the opportunities that presented themselves.

²⁹¹ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report*. 1892 p. 33-44.

Chapter Three- The Aftermath of the Evictions.

This Chapter discusses the aftermath of the events in 'Clongorey'. The affect on the community, the official response to eviction in the country generally, the response of the wider community in their support of the evicted tenants, and the response and attitude of the O'Kelly 'Trust' to the procedures of the Evicted Tenants Commission is examined. The setting up of the Evicted Tenants Commission in 1893, its functions, its findings and recommendations are considered. The most important recommendation was the granting of greater powers to the Land Commission to make funds available to enable tenants to purchase their holdings.

The following poem written in response to the events in Clongorey and while it refers to Clongorey it also sums up the sentiment in the country at the time. It praises the people in their struggle and leaves the tyrant to the retribution of God.

OH CLONGOREY!²⁹²

With dread clouds of smoke and flame,

Oh Clongorey!

That from thy burning home-

Stead's came

Heavenward soared the tyrant

Shame.

That heavenly justice shall dis-

Claim.

That sheds a lustre on thy name

A

Halo of undying fame,

Oh Clongorey!
Cries of anguish and despair
Oh Clongorey!
From thy children rent the air
Through the roof-tree's sickening
Flare
And the torch's fiery glare
Welled to heaven's one voice of
Prayer
Of fervent, wild and anguished
Prayer
Oh, Clongorey!
Sad now, the golden sunbeams
Fall
Oh, Clongorey!
On each weird and blackened
Wall;
And the despots one and all
Revel in their mansions tall
While thou groan'st in thy thrall
In thy direful rueful fall
Oh, Clongorey!
Though bitter, bitter, thou did'st
Wail

²⁹² *Leinster Leader* 3 October 1987. p. 3. W. Collum of Kiltyclogher Co. Letrim wrote this poem and it was originally printed in the *Leinster Leader*. 12 September 1892. There is no other information on his background.

Oh, Clongorey!
The woe-crushed and noble-
Hearted Gael
From every hill and hallowed
Vale
Rejoices that thou would'st not
fail
In freedom's cause for Innisfail
Thou would'st not, could'st not, ne'er
shall fail
Oh, Clongorey!
Then weep not though each bitter
thought
Oh, Clongorey!
With agonising woes is fraught
Dungeon, sword, and flame or
nought
When freedom for our isle is
sought
And with they woes thy free-
dom's bought
Sad and dear, yet nobly wrought
Oh, Clongorey!

Support for the evicted tenants came from a myriad of sources, and forms; many visitors came from England to see for themselves the plight of the tenants²⁹³.

The *Leinster Leader* in covering the events in Clongorey published the following notice in the issue of 8 December 1888²⁹⁴.

‘We must claim the indulgence of the readers this week. When we state that a third of our staff is under arrest under the coercion act. We are sure that there is no need to ask the kindly consideration of any reader of the *Leinster Leader* for not being able to present the important News of the week in the form that we would wish’. The races in Wexford were boycotted because Matthaus Maher of Enniscorthy was a steward of the course²⁹⁵. The sale of emergency - cattle from the estate in Clongorey, at Salford in England, was halted when an agent of the tenants and a newspaper reporter were assaulted²⁹⁶.

The events in Clongorey appears to have captured the imagination of a wider public as the following extract concerning this incident taken from the *Pall Mall Gazette*²⁹⁷ shows.

The Crime of the Baby

‘An old woman named Kelly had allowed her farm at Clongorey to be used for huts for evicted tenants. She was ordered to remove them and did not. In the morning at six, she, her son and her sons wife and baby were hauled out of bed, driven to Newbridge and thence taken to Dublin and to Prison - Baby and all’

‘Twas in court- To his men did the magistrate
say,

²⁹³ *Leinster Leader*. 26 April 1890

²⁹⁴ *Leinster Leader* 8 December 1888.

²⁹⁵ *Leinster Leader*. 8 December 1888.

²⁹⁶ *Leinster Leader* 20 September 1890.

²⁹⁷ *Leinster Leader* 5 April 1890.

'Who's the culprit you want me to punish
To day'?

'Tis a babe from Clongorey,' the constable said,
'It was early this morning we seized it in bed.'
Said his worship,' the district I well recollect,
There were constables drafted the place to
protect;

As was right, for in open contempt of the law
There was Father Kinsella at work with a saw.
'So the infant , no doubt, has a taint in its blood,
And there's nothing like nipping a babe in the
bud;

And before I can act, you must give me your
Know,
Some account of the facts upon which I may go'.
Said a bobby, ' This baby will grow to a man.
which it's doing already as fast as it can;

'Twould be best, Sir, at once to convict it of
crime,
For sedition, like clods, should be taken in time.
'I myself, I may boast, am a judge of a child,
And this babe, as it grows, will be safe to go
wild

If you do not believe it , why, here, as you see,
Is a man ready primed to corroborate me'
Said another, 'Your worship, the cross little

cuss

Has been making most horrible faces at us;

We may yet see it fill up the cup of its guile

By attempting a humbugging sort of a smile.

'There's a look in its eyes, you can easily see,

That's a long sight more 'cute than a baby's

should be;

If you trace its career you will notice, I think

That the first thing this baby will learn is a wink,

'Its the kind of a babe that as soon as it's big

Would at once go and wink at a boycotted pig,

So before, its characters formed for the

worse,

Let us clap it in prison along with its nurse'

Said his worship, 'My men you have done

very right

To attack and arrest such a baby at sight;

And the law of conspiracy will do

For the babe and its mother and grandmother

to.

'As to what may be legal I own I'm at sea,

But for what's to be done with it, all will agree,

E'en without much concern for the facts of the

case,

That a jail for a patriot's child is the place'

Thomas Morrissey the child subject of the poem and his mother Mrs Mary Morrissey

had been arrested with Mrs Mary Kelly this child's grandmother for erecting huts on their land to shelter evicted tenants. Their plight became the subject of a debate in the House of Commons.

The Chief Secretary, - Mr Balfour was questioned in the House of Commons. 'As to whether or not his attention was drawn to the report of Mr McCarthy a visiting justice of Grangegorman prison regarding Mrs Mary Morrissey and whether he [chief secretary] will recommend that the mother and child be released forthwith'. . McCarthy commented that 'I notice a marked change for the worse in the appearance of Mary Morrissey's child. Long confinement in a small cell is evidently telling on him and if continued will in my opinion have a very serious effect. There was uproar in the House of Commons about the infant prisoner of Clongorey and an order was made for his release²⁹⁸ .

By the 1890s the level of evictions through the country generally was causing concern to the government, in terms of the number of displaced persons, and the violence against landlord and property. But more importantly the cost of evictions to the exchequer was giving concern, as the courts, the police and army were involved in the enforcement of evictions. To evaluate the cost and to try to formulate a solution to the growing crisis in the land war, a royal commission was set up. A Royal Commission being a body of persons appointed by the crown to inquire into the subject named by royal warrants, such as evictions. Unlike select committees which would comprise of members of parliament a Royal Commission comprised of people whom were considered to be expert on the subject to be investigated or of experience in public affairs generally and who need not necessarily be MPs. The

²⁹⁸ *Leinster Leader* 26 April 1890.

royal commission also had a longer time to complete their study²⁹⁹. The Evicted Tenants Commission was convened in 1892 to enquire into the circumstances under which tenants were evicted from estate in Ireland³⁰⁰. The members of the commission were: Sir James Charles Matthew, Christopher T. Redington, John Roche, Edmund Murphy, and Morrrough O' Brien. The Commission sat at Dublin Castle³⁰¹. Its function was to report on: (1.) The number of tenants evicted from their holding since 1 May 1879, the annual rent of each holding, and any other information deemed necessary. (2.) The number of holdings re-lets or sold. (3.) The number of tenants re-instated. (4.) Proposal for re-instatement made by tenant or landlord. (5.) The cost of the evictions to the Exchequer.(6.) To make recommendation to bring about re-instatement to enable the ' Purchase of Land (Ireland)' Act to be effected. The first public sitting was held on Monday 7 November 1892, twenty-six sittings were held in all and one hundred and eighty five witnesses examined, they consisted of, evicted tenants, dignitaries, clergy, and members of Parliament³⁰². The following table lists the names of the fifteen estates which were examined by the commission detailing the number of farms evicted, the number of tenants evicted and the cost to the state of official involvement in the evictions. The greatest number of evictions took place on the estate of Ponsonby at 241 farms and the smallest number on the estate of Arthur Langford at 4. The total number of farms affected on the fifteen estates was 1,350 and the total cost £115,418 an average of £85 per farm evicted. These costs would have become a drain on the exchequer and this was the spur needed for the government to take steps to resolve

²⁹⁹ Lecture Notes Dr Bernadette Cunningham. 1996. Maynooth.

³⁰⁰ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report*. 1892. p. 33-44.

³⁰¹ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report*. 1892. p. 33-44

the situation.

³⁰² *Evicted Tenants Commission Report*. 1892. p. 33-44

Estates examined by the Evicted Tenants Commission.³⁰³

Estate	No. Evicted	No. of Farms	Cost to the State. £
Clanricarde	238	203	£27,895
DePenthony O'Kelly	51	51	£708
C. W. T Ponsonby	358	241	£6,465
A.H. Smith-Barry	103	99	£16,214
Marq. Lansdowne	87	60	£5,132
G.F. Brooke	114	83	£7,663
Visc. Massereene and Ferrard	94	66	£11,955
Lord Cloncurry	72	37	£10,778
Mrs Hannah Lewis	56	46	£4,627
Den Keating	12	9	£5,357
The O' Grady	31	15	£867
James E. Byrne	11	9	£1,330
Arthur Langford	4	4	£295
Wybrants Olphert	447	232	£15,847
John H. Swiney	17	17	£100
Mrs Ann Stewart	61	53	£110
William Ancketill	41	34	£70
	1,797	1,350	£115,418

Fifteen of the estates had adopted the 'Plan of Campaign'³⁰⁴. At the commission

³⁰³ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report. 1892. p. 33-44*

³⁰⁴ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report. 1892. p. 33-44*

hearings held at Dublin Castle, the main body of evidence on behalf of the tenants, relating to the Clongorey eviction was given by, Fr Kinsella, Peter Fulham, John Coffey, John Fox and William Fagan. A police constable James J. Moore gave evidence as to the number of police present at the evictions³⁰⁵. No evidence was entered either by or on behalf of the landlord except for a letter written on his behalf to the trustees of the Clongorey estate by Mr Matthaüs Maher³⁰⁶. In this letter he commenced by ingratiating himself with the members of the commission, before accusing the judge of being partisan in favour of the tenants. He also stated that he had no intention of putting himself in the position where he felt that he could not adequately defend himself or have adequate representation. He would, he claims, on receipt of the full evidence given by the tenants publish the facts as he saw them³⁰⁷. Such a publication has not come to light³⁰⁸.

One of the main functions of the Evicted Tenants Commission was to inquire into the cost of the eviction to the state.³⁰⁹ Examining the range of costs listed it is apparent that the cost of an individual eviction was not related to the number of farms evicted on the particular estate. Using the estate of Clongorey as an example, the cost of evicting one farm was £14, the same cost pertained to the estate of the Marquess of Clanricarde³¹⁰. The cost on the estate of A.H. Smith-Barry was £164, and the highest cost resulted from the estate of Michael and Maurice Den Keating £595 and the lowest £2 on the estate of Mrs Ann Stewart and William Arcketill³¹¹. While the commission was principally concerned by the overall cost of the evictions to the state, it is interesting to note that the figures point to factors other than the number of

³⁰⁵ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report*. 1892. p. 33-44

In the absence of the police reports it was not possible to verify this independently.

³⁰⁶ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report*. 1892. p. 33-44

³⁰⁷ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report*. 1892. p. 33-44

³⁰⁸ No letter came to light in the course of this research.

³⁰⁹ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report*. 1892. p. 33-44

³¹⁰ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report*. 1892. p. 33-44

farms evicted playing a major roll in increasing the costs to the state. This would primarily have been the amount of resistance met by the agent and emergency men resulting in greater numbers of police and army engaged in the operation. The eviction of fifty-one farms in Clongorey represented only 4 per cent of the total cost of eviction in the country to the state.³¹² (Fig. 31).

The conclusion reached by the Evicted Tenants Commission was that the Land Commission should be given the powers to settle disputes between landlord and tenant. The tenants could petition the Land Commission for re-instatement on terms to be agreed and to make application for the purchase of their holdings. The Land Commission was empowered to set the paying arrangement on such purchases³¹³. This had the affect of freeing the courts and allowing land to change hand more efficiently.

In correspondence with Mansfield relating to the deteriorating situation in Clongorey Maher, the now acting principal trustee, commented in 1888 that he 'would rather see the land idle rather than have to negotiate with the National Land League'³¹⁴. His words became a reality the land on the estate remained idle for almost fourteen years. Many attempts were made by the trustees to lease the house and home farm at Barrettstown and a number of more viable farms on the estate. All attempts failed due in part to fear on behalf of the prospective leaseholder of local reaction³¹⁵, even though there was no history of intimidation in the area³¹⁶. The idle holdings at Clongorey were now under the management of the agent Rutledge but it was not all

³¹¹ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report*. 1892. p. 33-44

³¹² *Evicted Tenants Commission Report*. 1892. p. 33-44

³¹³ *Evicted Tenants Commission Report*. 1892. p. 33-44

³¹⁴ Maher commented in 1888 to Mansfield that he 'would rather see the land idle than to negotiate with the National Land League'. Mansfield Papers. PC 12764. Folders 6 & 6a. National Library of Ireland . Dublin

³¹⁵ Mansfield Papers. PC 12764. Folders 6 & 6a. National Library of Ireland . Dublin

³¹⁶ Mansfield Papers. PC 12764. Folders 6 & 6a. National Library of Ireland . Dublin

plain sailing as was reported by the *Leinster Leader* on 25 October 1890 under the heading 'Petroleum' Rutledge Fined³¹⁷. At Newbridge Petty Sessions, before Colonel Forbes, the Naas Board of Guardians prosecuted Mr T.H.B. Rutledge, agent of the Clongorey estate, for neglecting to report the existence of sheep scab (a notifiable disease), and was fined £115.

Faced with mounting debts, idle land and pressure from the trustees Maher had no option, but to negotiate with representatives of the tenants, for the purchase of their holdings.

Fr Kinsella and C.J.Engledown³¹⁸ Esq. M.P. for North Kildare headed the negotiations. The final settlement in relation to the Clongorey estate was agreed under the Land acts 1881-87 at twenty years purchases of the valuation of the holdings³¹⁹. The greater powers given to the Land Commission on the recommendation of the Evicted Tenants Commission allowed in 1901 all of the tenants on the Clongorey estate who wished to, obtained long term loans to purchase their properties³²⁰, (Appendix. 1). In all the tenants were out of their holdings for fourteen years, but some never returned³²¹. The memory of the turbulence passed down through the generation is still a source of resentment in the area³²². On examining the Electoral Register for the area, some names prominent³²³ in the period of the eviction are in existence in the area today but other names³²⁴ have gone³²⁵. The O' Kelly name only lives on in fading memory and on the grave stone in

³¹⁷ *Leinster Leader* 25 October 1890.

³¹⁸ C.J. Engledown M.P. for North Kildare.

³¹⁹ Land Commission Return of Advances H.C.1901. Vol. LX1 p. 656, p. 657, p.658.

³²⁰ Land Commission Return of Advances H.C.1901. Vol. LX1 1901. p. 656, p.657, p. 658.

³²¹ County Kildare Register of Electors 1996

³²² Interviews with descendants of evicted tenants.

³²³ Heavey, Fox, Kelly, Keogh and Donnelly.

³²⁴ There were no Fulham, Stanley, or Ross families living in Clongorey in 1996.

³²⁵ County Kildare Registrar of Electorate 1996.

Barrettstown graveyard. (Fig. 30) The 'Trust' was finally settled in 1918 with the proceeds of the sale of the Barrettstown property, which was sold in four lots³²⁶. The 'Mansion' and 'home farm', were purchased by Major George Mansfield in 1901 and he lived there until his death³²⁷. Fr Kinsella suffered no such fate. In 1988 the community with the G.A.A. football club opened a club house on the site of one of the evicted houses on the one hundred anniversary of the eviction and dedicated it to the memory of the 'Brave Soggar' Fr Austin Kinsella.³²⁸ (Fig. 32).

The land of Clongorey mainly cutaway bog it was not sufficient to sustain many families in the modern Ireland. Few were prepared to work the land in the way that their forefathers did and so many moved away but still retain a binding affinity to the place that made them what they are.³²⁹

³²⁶ Mansfield Papers. PC 12764. Folders 6 & 6a. National Library of Ireland . Dublin

³²⁷ Mansfield Papers. PC 12764. Folders 6 & 6a. National Library of Ireland . Dublin

³²⁸ Interviews with descendants of evicted tenants

³²⁹ Interviews with descendants of evicted tenants.

Conclusion

CONCLUSION

In the introduction a number of questions were posed. Was there an orchestrated plan in Clongorey to take over the land?. Were all the tenants involved?. Was there a degree of opportunism exercised by the Kildare Branch of the National Land League?. Was the outcome a coincidence?.

At the outset it appears that the tenants would have been satisfied with a reduction in rent, to get them through the first bad years harvest in 1885, which placed greater dependence on the turf harvest and the sale of the turf. The tenants appear to have enjoyed a good relationship with George O'Kelly³³⁰ up to the time of his death and who in the past would have granted a rent reduction. The relationship changed when John O' Kelly became in charge of the estate. The trustees of the estate through Mansfield, the principal trustee and later assisted by Maher took a more active interest in the running of the estate. Mansfield himself an amicable man was agreeable in the early stages to granting rent reductions but as time went on Maher became very aggressive towards the tenants. As the general agricultural depression of the 1880s deepened and the weather did not improve the turf could not be harvested both the tenants and the estate came under pressure. Mansfield also came under increasing pressure from the other trustees particularly Maher, which resulted in his resignation. The second bad year's harvest and no turf stretched the tenants to the limit. Their request for further reduction were denied and offers to purchase were either on terms which were impossible to meet or refused. The tenants then applied to the land court to fix a fair rent. The results of applications to fix fair rents were unsatisfactory to the tenants and so they felt that they had no other option but to withhold rent. At this point no formal plan appears to have been in place and the action spontaneous. As the relationship between the tenants and the trustees deteriorated

³³⁰ This gives strength to the argument that not all landlord's fell into the rack- renting category).

further the Land League became involved which resulted in the tenants adopting the Plan of Campaign on the promise that funds would be available to support evicted tenants. In spite of promises not all of the tenants participated fearful of losing what little they had and struggled to pay the rents demanded. Fifty -one of the seventy-one tenants adopted the Plan and were eventually evicted. Fr Kinsella the parish priest negotiated on behalf of the tenants but to no avail. For his part in helping the evicted tenants he was jailed. Because Clongorey was not an isolated incident but mirrored events in other parts of the country the government commissioned a special committee to enquire in to the circumstances under which tenants were evicted from estates in Ireland. As a result of this commission the Land Commission was given powers to grant the funds necessary to enable tenants who wished to do so to purchase their farms. In 1901 the tenants of Clongorey took up this offer and fourteen years after their eviction they regained their farms. Tenants who did not participate in the Plan of Campaign also took up loans with the Land Commission and so benefited from the action of the other tenants, so for these tenants it was a coincidence but for the other families it was fourteen years of hardship.

Having undertaken this project a Sunday drive around this peaceful part of the county will never be the same again, to the unfamiliar it is just another stretch of bog, but there is a story in every field from the Bawn lane, to the peninsula of Tankards-Garden. Clongorey has a proud, sad history, but a triumphant history. The history of a community that defied, the expected trend, adds an additional dimension to the aims of the study of a local historian ie. 'To re-enact in his, own mind ... the origins,

growth, decline, and fall of a local community'.³³¹ This community overcame adversity and survived. (Fig. 33, 34, 35, 36).

³³¹ H.P.R Finberg, *The local historian and his theme*. (Leicester 1952). p52.

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Illustrations

Appendix. 1

Schedule of loans advanced on 25 May 1900 to the tenants of Clongorey.

Name	Townland	Purchase price £	Loan advanced £
Lawrence Sweeney	Barrettstown	375	375
Patk, Shaughnessy	Barrettstown	125	125
John S. O Grady	Barrettstown	70	70
James Dunne	Barrettstown	10	10
John Kelly	Barrettstown	105	105
Margaret Coffey	Barrettstown	85	85
Myles Kelly	Barrettstown	326	326
Mary Kelly	Barrettstown	25	25
John Kelly Grocer	Barrettstown	237	237
Denis Morrissey	Barrettstown	165	165
Thomas White	Barrettstown	154	154
Michael Morrissey	Barrettstown	116	116
Patrick M'Entee	Barrettstown	120	120
Patrick Coffey	Barrettstown	10	10
Mary Nolan	Barrettstown	54	54
Ch. Engledown & FR Kinsella	Barrettstown	16	16
James Heavey Big	Blacktrench	337	337
Patrick Sweeney	Blacktrench	20	20
John Coffey	Blacktrench	165	165
Peter Keogh	Blacktrench	155	155
Wm Rourke	Blacktrench	87	87
John Fox	Blacktrench	50	50
Daniel Donnelly	Blacktrench	85	85
Peter Fulham Jr.	Blacktrench	350	350
James Owens	Blacktrench	30	30
John Stanley	Blacktrench	125	125
Mary A Hannon	Blacktrench	175	175
Peter Fox	Blacktrench	119	119
Peter Fox	Blacktrench	85	85
Thomas Kelly	Blacktrench	40	40
Wm Rourke	Blacktrench	40	40
Anne Gunnan	Blacktrench	8	8
James Heavey Little	Blacktrench	89	89
Ch. Engldown & Fr Kinsella	Blacktrench	15	15
Peter Fulham	Blacktrench	170	170
William Fagan	Blacktrench	160	160
James Tyrrell	Clongorey	70	70
Peter Kenny	Clongorey	113	113
Matthew Lycence	Clongorey	25	25
John Conlon	Clongorey	28	28
Joseph Dunne	Clongorey	10	10
Bryan Dunne	Clongorey	35	35
John Dunne	Clongorey	30	30
Ch. Engledown & Fr Kinsella	Clongorey	54	54

Henry Lynham	Clongorey	205	205
Michael Kelly	Clongorey	100	100
Patrick Geraghty	Clongorey	45	45
Mary Fox	Clongorey	100	100
Patrick Fulham	Clongorey	145	145
John Stanley	Clongorey	70	70
John Kelly Bawn	Clongorey	280	280
Patrick Fox	Clongorey	58	58
Ester Leahy	Clongorey	10	10
John S. O' Grady	Tankards Garden	3400	3400
Elizabeth Morrissey	Tankards Garden	15	15
John Bardon	Tankards Garden	25	25
John Connolly	Tankards Garden	15	15
Michael Morning	Tankards Garden	30	30
Mathew Cummins	Tankards Garden	72	72
Philip Murphy	Tankards Garden	35	35
Catherine Dillon	Tankards Garden	10	10
Michael Pearce	Tankards Garden	15	15
Denis Hanlon	Tankards Garden	15	15
Margaret Bardon	Tankards Garden	24	24
Christopher Coyle	Tankards Garden	21	21
Patrick Geraghty	Tankards Garden	5	5
Matthew Fulham	Tankards Garden	1127	1127
John Ross	Barrettstown	752	752
John Fox	Blacktrench	200	200
Margaret Fox	Blacktrench	210	210
John Kelly Bawn	Clongorey	230	230
Daniel Kelly	Barrettstown	675	675

Appendix 2.

Population of Clongorey 1841.

Area	Population 1841			Houses
	Male	Female	Total	No. Inhabited
Clongorey	168	132	300	41
Blacktrench	87	78	165	28
Barrettstown	69	58	127	20
Tankards'gn	55	58	113	19
	379	326	705	108

Appendix 3.

Population of Clongorey 1851

Area	Population			Houses
	1851			
	Male	Female	Total	No. Inhabited
Clongorey	140	118	258	39
Blacktrench	75	76	151	25
Barrettstown	62	65	127	22
Tankards'Gn	42	50	92	14
	319	309	628	100

Fig. 1. Ordnance Survey Map 1851; Clongorey, Barrettstown, Blacktrench. Tankardsgarden.

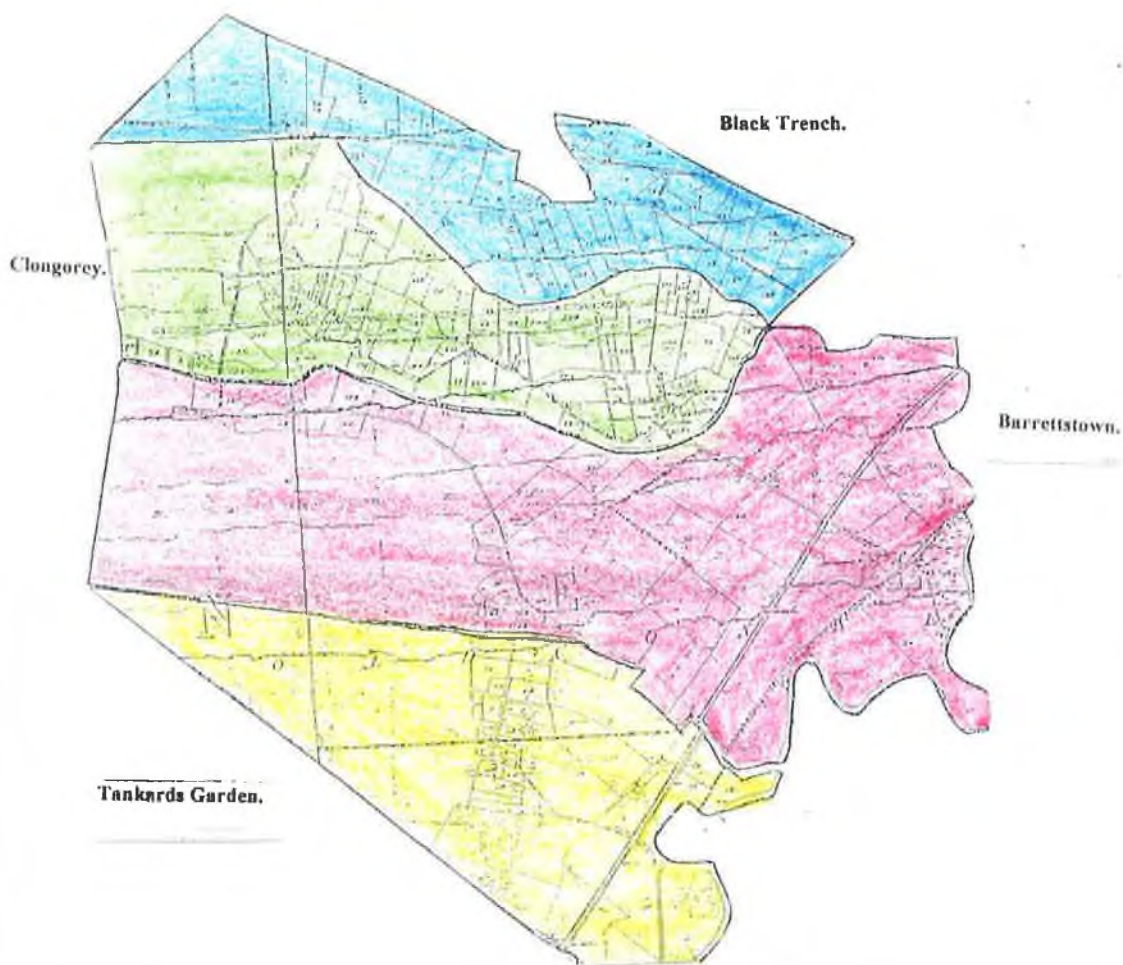


Fig.2. Key to Ordnance Survey Map 1851. Clongorey.

BARONY OF CONNELL.

UNION OF NAAS.

PARISH OF FEIGHCULLEN.

No. and Letters of Reference to Map.	Names.		Description of Tenement.	Area.	Historic Annual Valuation.		Total Annual Valuation of Rateable Property.
	Townlands and Occupiers.	Immediate Lessors.			Land.	Buildings.	
CLONGOREY. (Vol. S. 18.)							
1	George O Kelly,	In fee.	Land (bog).	140 2 6	1 8 0	—	1 8 0
2 A	Martin Tyrrell.	George O Kelly,	Turbary.	—	—	—	10 0 0
— B			Land.	1 2 4	0 5 0	—	—
3	Same.	Same.	House and land.	2 8 6	0 8 0	0 6 0	0 18 0
4	Michael Flynn.	Same.	Land.	1 8 30	0 5 0	—	0 5 0
5 A	Patrick Fennell.	Same.	House and land.	2 2 18	0 8 0	0 6 0	0 13 0
— B			Land.	1 3 34	0 5 0	0 6 0	—
6	Henry Follis.	Same.	Land.	1 3 5	0 12 0	—	0 12 0
7 A	John Tyrrell.	Same.	House, offices, and land.	3 0 10	1 0 0	0 10 0	1 10 0
— B			Land.	7 0 15	1 10 0	—	—
8	Patrick Heavey.	Same.	House and land.	1 1 32	1 0 0	0 6 0	0 16 0
9	John Dunne.	Same.	House, office, and land.	34 0 34	12 0 0	0 10 0	12 10 0
10	Michael Dunno.	Same.	House.	—	—	0 6 0	0 6 0
11	Patrick Dunno.	Same.	Land.	0 3 0	0 5 0	—	0 10 0
12 A	John Dunno.	Same.	House, office, and land.	3 2 10	1 10 0	0 6 0	1 16 0
— B			Land.	3 0 5	1 5 0	—	—
13 A	Ellen Daly.	Same.	Land.	2 1 0	0 7 0	—	0 7 0
— B			House, office, and land.	0 3 20	0 0 0	0 6 0	—
14 A	John Drophy.	Same.	Land.	5 3 15	2 0 0	—	2 0 0
— B			House and land.	1 0 3	0 7 0	—	—
15 A	Judith Lyman.	Same.	House and land.	8 0 25	0 0 0	0 6 0	3 5 0
— B			Land.	4 0 20	2 0 0	—	—
16 A	Judith Lyman.	Same.	House, office, and land.	0 1 33	3 15 0	0 10 0	10 5 0
— B			Land.	12 3 15	4 0 0	—	—

No. and Letters of Reference to Map.	Names.		Description of Tenement.	Area.	Historic Annual Valuation.		Total Annual Valuation of Rateable Property.
	Townlands and Occupiers.	Immediate Lessors.			Land.	Buildings.	
CLONGOREY— <i>continued.</i>							
15 A	James Kelly.	George O Kelly.	House and land.	5 2 8	4 5 0	0 10 0	5 10 0
— B			Land.	1 3 25	0 15 0	—	—
16 A	Batholomew Kelly.	Same.	House, office, and land.	10 1 0	3 15 0	1 10 0	12 10 0
— B			Land.	11 3 5	7 5 0	—	—
17 A	Thomas Kelly.	Same.	House, office, and land.	5 3 10	3 0 0	1 0 0	7 0 0
— B			Land.	3 0 10	2 0 0	—	—
18 A	John Kelly.	Same.	House, office, and land.	1 1 35	1 0 0	—	1 0 0
— B			Land.	13 3 35	0 10 0	1 5 0	—
19	Andrew Keogh.	Same.	Land.	2 0 26	0 16 0	—	0 16 0
20	Peter Fullham.	Same.	House, office, and land.	18 2 6	0 5 0	1 10 0	4 5 0
21 A	John Fullham.	Same.	Land.	1 3 25	1 0 0	—	1 0 0
— B			House, office, and land.	0 1 35	3 15 0	0 10 0	—
22	John Murray.	Same.	House, office, and land.	3 3 14	2 5 0	0 6 0	2 10 0
23	John Fox.	Same.	House and land.	8 0 20	4 10 0	0 10 0	6 0 0
24	Peter Kenny.	Same.	Land.	4 2 2	2 5 0	—	2 5 0
25 A			House.	—	—	0 5 0	—
25 B	Mary Kenny.	Same.	House and land.	2 1 23	1 15 0	0 10 0	2 15 0
— C			Land.	5 3 28	2 15 0	—	—
26 A	Patrick Fullham.	Same.	Land.	6 1 0	3 0 0	—	3 0 0
— B			House, office, and land.	30 3 15	22 5 0	1 0 0	—
27 A	John Carly.	Same.	Land.	1 1 22	1 0 0	—	1 0 0
— B			House and garden.	0 0 30	0 3 0	0 5 0	—
28 A	James Fagan.	Same.	House, office, and land.	1 2 0	0 15 0	—	0 15 0
— B			Land.	7 0 35	5 10 0	0 10 0	—
29	John Fullham, junr.	Same.	House, office, and land.	0 3 27	7 5 0	0 6 0	8 10 0
30	Martin Heavey.	Same.	House, office, & land.	2 3 5	1 0 0	0 5 0	1 5 0
31	John Heavey.	Same.	House, office, & land.	2 3 5	1 0 0	0 5 0	1 5 0
32 A	Thomas Stanley.	Same.	Land.	1 3 10	3 8 0	—	3 8 0
— B			House and garden.	0 0 16	0 2 0	0 5 0	—
33 A	Anne Kelly.	Same.	Land.	10 0 23	10 18 0	—	10 18 0
— B			Land.	1 3 24	1 10 0	—	—
34	Peter Kelly.	Same.	House, office, and garden.	0 0 17	0 2 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
35 A			Land.	17 1 8	11 0 0	—	—
36 A	Lawrence Fox.	Same.	House, office, and garden.	0 0 30	0 1 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
— B			Land.	3 0 19	1 5 0	—	—
37 A	Lawrence Fox.	Same.	Land.	2 3 15	0 0 0	—	0 0 0
— B			Land.	3 1 22	1 0 0	—	—
38 A	Lawrence Fox.	Same.	Land.	1 2 32	0 11 0	—	0 11 0
— B			Land.	3 0 16	1 10 0	—	—
39 A	Lawrence Fox.	Same.	Land.	0 3 20	0 14 0	—	0 14 0
— B			House, office, & garden.	0 0 10	0 2 0	0 15 0	—
40 A	Patrick Fox.	Same.	Land.	6 1 25	3 0 0	—	3 0 0
— B			Land.	2 1 16	1 0 0	—	—
41 A	Margaret Fox.	Same.	Land.	1 1 32	0 15 0	—	0 15 0
— B			House, office, and land.	1 2 13	1 5 0	0 10 0	—
42 A	Margaret Fox.	Same.	Land.	2 2 23	1 6 0	—	1 6 0
— B			Land.	1 1 13	0 10 0	—	—
43 A	Michael Fox.	Same.	House, office, & garden.	0 1 25	0 8 0	0 10 0	0 18 0
— B			Land.	1 3 12	0 10 0	—	—
44 A	Michael Fox.	Same.	Land.	1 1 2	1 0 0	—	1 0 0
— B			Land.	2 0 32	1 0 0	—	—
45 A	Cornelius Fox.	Same.	House and garden.	0 1 5	0 8 0	0 5 0	2 10 0
— B			House and garden.	0 0 31	0 4 0	0 5 0	—
46 A	Cornelius Fox.	Same.	Waste.	0 3 30	—	—	—
— B			Land.	—	—	—	—
Total.				610 3 23	104 10 0	18 17 0	223 0 0

Fig.3 Key to Ordnance Survey Map 1851. Barrettstown.

PARISH OF OLDCONNELL.								
BARRETTSTOWN. (Ord. S. 18.)								
1 A	}	Bartholomew Victory,	George O'Kelly,	Land,	21 2 21	10 0 0	—	80 0 0
2 B		Patrick Fullam,	Same,	House, offices, and land,	69 2 4	68 0 0	2 0 0	47 0 0
3 A	}	James Rush,	Same,	House, offices, and land,	35 1 15	29 0 0	1 0 0	39 0 0
4 B		Peter Kehoe,	Same,	Land,	19 0 4	15 0 0	—	—
5 A	}	Patrick Sweeny,	Same,	House, offices, and land,	6 2 18	3 0 0	0 15 0	9 15 0
6 B		William Guilfoyle,	Patrick Sweeny,	House and land,	2 0 26	1 0 0	0 10 0	1 10 0
7 A	}	Patrick Fullam, sen.,	George O'Kelly,	House,	—	—	0 5 0	0 5 0
8 B		Grave-yard,	Rev. Francis Langford,	Grave-yard,	70 0 35	45 10 0	1 15 0	47 5 0
9 A	}	George O'Kelly,	In fee,	House, offa. steward's house, offa. and land,	182 0 35	100 0 0	20 0 0	345 0 0
10 B		James Shaughnessy,	George O'Kelly,	Land,	164 2 0	155 0 0	—	—
11 A	}	Patrick Rourke,	Same,	Turbury,	316 9 36	—	—	55 0 0
12 B		Thomas Kelly,	Same,	Land (waste),	2 1 5	—	—	—
13 A	}	Bartholomew Kelly,	Same,	House, office, & garden,	0 1 25	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 10 0
14 B		John Kelly,	Same,	House and land,	2 9 30	0 9 0	0 5 0	0 8 0
15 A	}	Lawrence Morrissy,	Same,	Land,	2 9 13	1 0 0	—	—
16 B		Bridget Morrissy,	Same,	Land,	6 9 6	2 5 0	—	3 10 0
17 A	}	Bartholomew Kelly,	Same,	Land,	4 0 38	0 5 0	—	—
18 B		John Kelly,	Same,	Land,	13 0 37	4 15 0	—	8 0 0
19 A	}	Lawrence Morrissy,	Same,	Land,	7 0 9	1 5 0	—	—
20 B		Bridget Morrissy,	Same,	Land,	6 0 17	2 10 0	—	2 10 0
21 A	}	James M'Entee,	Same,	House, offices, & land,	94 8 10	7 10 0	0 15 0	8 5 0
22 B		William Nolan,	Same,	House, offices, & land,	—	7 10 0	0 15 0	—
23 A	}	Anne Gannon,	Same,	House, offices, and land,	11 3 31	5 15 0	0 10 0	6 10 0
24 B		Bridget Neill,	Same,	Land (bog),	8 1 0	0 5 0	—	—
25 A	}	Catherine Moonoy,	Same,	Land,	1 1 2	0 2 0	—	—
26 B		Elizabeth Kennedy,	Same,	House, offices, and land,	4 2 9	1 3 0	0 15 0	2 0 0
27 A	}	Matthew Walsh,	Same,	House and land,	3 0 21	0 10 0	0 5 0	0 15 0
28 B		Peter Kelly,	Same,	House and land,	1 2 3	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 10 0
29 A	}	Richard Flood,	Patrick Hanlon,	House and land,	1 0 10	0 2 0	0 5 0	0 7 0
30 B		O. S. & W. Railway Co.,	In fee,	House and land,	1 1 23	0 2 0	0 5 0	0 7 0
31 A	}	O. S. & W. Railway Co.,	In fee,	Railway and waste land (448 lineal perches),	1 0 37	0 4 0	—	—
32 B		O. S. & W. Railway Co.,	In fee,	Railway and waste land (448 lineal perches),	0 3 0	0 4 0	0 5 0	0 19 0
33 A	}	O. S. & W. Railway Co.,	In fee,	Herd's-ho., off., & land,	14 1 37	7 5 0	—	7 5 0
34 B		O. S. & W. Railway Co.,	In fee,	House and garden,	87 1 11	30 0 0	—	30 0 0
35 A	}	O. S. & W. Railway Co.,	In fee,	Railway and waste land (448 lineal perches),	0 2 0	0 7 0	0 5 0	0 12 0
36 B		O. S. & W. Railway Co.,	In fee,	Railway and waste land (448 lineal perches),	15 0 30	—	—	0 16 0
				Total,	1145 2 9	610 12 0	99 0 0	1314 12 0
				EXEMPTIONS:				
				Grave-yard,	1 2 7	1 10 0	—	1 10 0
				Total, exclusive of Exemptions,	1144 0 2	609 2 0	99 0 0	1313 2 0

Fig.4. Key to Ordnance Survey Map 1851. Black Trench.

VALUATION OF TENEMENTS.
PARISH OF OLDCONNELL.

No. and Letters of Reference to Map.	Names.		Description of Tenement.	Area.	Rateable Annual Valuation.		Total Annual Valuation of Rateable Property.
	Townlands and Occupiers.	Immediate Lessors.			Land.	Buildings.	
	BLACKTRENCH. (Ord. S. 18.)			A. R. P.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1 A	George O'Kelly.	In fee.	Land (bog),	57 2 15	0 0 0	—	—
1 B			Land (bog),	17 8 0	0 0 0	—	0 15 0
2 A	Edward Donnelly.	George O'Kelly.	Garden,	0 1 36	0 0 0	—	—
3 A			House and land,	1 9 5	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 10 0
4 A	Patrick Heav.	Same.	Land,	0 3 20	0 10 0	—	—
5 A			Land,	4 1 34	1 10 0	—	2 0 0
6 A	Andrew Donnelly.	Same.	House and land,	1 2 05	0 0 0	0 5 0	0 5 0
7 A			House and land,	3 1 11	1 0 0	0 5 0	1 5 0
8 A	John Dalton.	Same.	House and land,	1 1 25	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 10 0
9 A			Land,	4 8 15	0 5 0	—	—
10 A	Michael Dunno.	Same.	House, offices, and land,	12 0 37	5 0 0	0 10 0	5 10 0
11 A			Land,	8 0 10	3 5 0	—	—
12 A	Thomas Coffey.	Same.	House, offices, and land,	11 9 18	8 10 0	0 10 0	4 0 0
13 A			House and land,	3 0 20	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 10 0
14 A	Mary Daly.	Same.	House, office, and land,	2 1 50	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 10 0
15 A			Land,	3 1 7	0 10 0	—	—
16 A	Denis Ennis.	Same.	House, offices, and land,	10 0 0	3 10 0	0 15 0	3 10 0
17 A			Land,	2 0 34	0 15 0	—	—
18 A	Mary Keely.	Same.	House and old roadway,	0 1 10	0 1 0	0 5 0	0 5 0
19 A			House,	—	—	0 5 0	0 5 0
20 A	Edward Flood.	George P. L. Mansfield	House and land,	4 2 15	1 3 0	0 10 0	—
21 A			Land,	2 2 5	0 15 0	—	—
22 A	Ellen Heav.	George O'Kelly.	Garden,	0 0 18	0 2 0	—	2 10 0
23 A			House and land,	13 0 4	4 5 0	0 15 0	5 0 0
24 A	Judith Owen.	Same.	Land,	24 2 14	5 10 0	—	—
25 A			Land,	3 2 30	1 5 0	—	0 15 0
26 A	Peter Fullam.	Same.	House and land,	1 3 4	0 10 0	0 5 0	0 15 0
27 A			House, offices, and land,	0 0 13	1 15 0	0 5 0	2 10 0
28 A	James Foran.	Same.	House and land,	11 3 8	3 15 0	0 15 0	3 0 0
29 A			Land,	10 2 80	3 10 0	—	—
30 A	Edward Foran.	Same.	Land,	13 3 10	4 15 0	—	4 15 0
31 A			Land,	7 0 1	2 10 0	—	—
32 A	Patrick Fox.	Same.	Land,	7 2 38	2 15 0	—	6 5 0
33 A			House, office, and land,	7 1 0	2 15 0	0 15 0	3 10 0
34 A	William Fullam.	Same.	Land,	4 0 23	1 10 0	—	1 10 0
35 A			Land,	4 3 32	1 15 0	—	1 15 0
36 A	Margaret Fox.	Same.	House, office, and land,	2 0 14	0 15 0	0 5 0	1 0 0
37 A			House, offices, and land,	11 2 23	4 5 0	0 15 0	5 0 0
38 A	Peter Kehoo.	Same.	House and land,	5 1 21	2 0 0	0 10 0	2 10 0
39 A			House and land,	5 2 22	2 0 0	0 10 0	2 10 0
40 A	Daniel Toole.	Same.	House and garden,	0 0 38	0 0 0	0 5 0	0 5 0
41 A			Land,	0 0 2	2 5 0	—	2 5 0
42 A	Catherine Dunno.	Same.	House and garden,	0 1 80	0 4 0	0 0 0	0 10 0
43 A			Land,	8 2 10	3 5 0	—	3 5 0
44 A	Martin Heav.	Same.	House and land,	2 1 14	0 15 0	0 5 0	1 0 0
45 A			Land,	3 3 7	1 5 0	—	1 5 0
46 A	Catherine Toole.	Same.	Land,	3 3 28	1 10 0	—	1 10 0
47 A			House and land,	3 0 30	1 5 0	0 10 0	1 15 0
48 A	Michael Kelly.	Same.	Land,	4 3 28	1 0 0	—	1 0 0
49 A			Land,	—	—	—	—
50 A	James Fagan.	Same.	Land,	—	—	—	—
51 A			Land,	—	—	—	—
52 A	Daniel Donnelly.	Same.	Land,	—	—	—	—
53 A			Land,	—	—	—	—
54 A	Lawrence Fox.	Same.	Land,	—	—	—	—
55 A			Land,	—	—	—	—
Total.				334 3 23	80 16 0	10 10 0	91 12 0

Fig.5. Key to Ordnance Survey Map 1851. Tankards Garden.

No. and Letters of Reference to Map.	Name.		Description of Tenement.	Area.	Rateable Annual Valuation.		Total Annual Valuation of Rateable Property.
	Townlands and Occupiers.	Immediate Lessors.			Land.	Buildings.	
TANKARDS-GARDEN. (Ord. S. 18 & 23.)							
1 A	George O'Kelly,	In fee,	Land (bog),	196 3 15	2 10 0	—	179 5 0
2 B			Herd's-bo., off., & land,	164 3 2	95 0 0	1 15 0	
3 C			Land,	98 0 24	80 0 0	—	
4 D	John Dillon,	George O'Kelly,	Turbary on 1 A,	—	—	—	10 0 0
5 A			House and garden,	0 0 21	0 2 0	0 5 0	0 7 0
6 B	Rosa Morrissey,	Same,	House and land,	8 2 9	0 10 0	0 5 0	0 15 0
7 C	Patrick Fullam,	Same,	Land,	8 0 18	4 0 0	—	4 0 0
8 D	Mary Peyton,	Same,	House, office, and land,	3 2 87	1 5 0	0 5 0	1 10 0
9 A	William Kenny,	Same,	Land,	4 3 5	0 10 0	—	1 5 0
10 B			House, office, and land,	0 3 21	0 5 0	0 10 0	
11 C	John Morning,	Same,	Land,	1 1 25	0 5 0	—	2 0 0
12 D	House, offices, and land,	3 3 7	1 5 0	0 10 0			
13 A	Francis Bannon,	Same,	House and land,	3 0 36	1 0 0	0 5 0	1 3 0
14 B	Thomas Bannon,	Same,	House and sm. garden,	—	—	0 5 0	0 5 0
15 C	Patrick Bannon,	Same,	House and land,	3 0 26	1 5 0	0 5 0	1 10 0
16 D	Hugh Cummins,	Same,	House and land,	2 0 0	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 10 0
17 A	James Walsh,	Same,	Land,	1 0 35	0 8 0	—	1 3 0
18 B			House, office, and land,	1 1 7	0 10 0	0 10 0	
19 C	Maurice Connor,	Same,	Land,	1 0 2	0 5 0	—	2 0 0
20 D			Land,	1 0 17	0 10 0	—	
			House and land,	0 2 10	0 2 0	0 8 0	
			Land,	1 2 33	0 15 0	—	
TANKARDS-GARDEN—continued.							
21 A	Thomas Coyle,	George O'Kelly,	Land,	0 3 0	0 5 0	—	1 0 0
22 B	Bridget Keeffe,	Same,	House and land,	1 1 12	0 10 0	0 5 0	0 15 0
23 C	John Cummins,	Same,	House and land,	0 3 37	0 7 0	0 8 0	1 15 0
24 D	G. S. & W. Railway Co.	In fee,	House and land,	3 2 17	1 5 0	0 10 0	—
25 A	Laurence Flood,	Charles Colthurst,	Railway & waste land, (207 lineal perches),	3 2 30	—	—	254 10 0
26 B			Land,	1 3 26	1 5 0	—	1 5 0
Total.				507 3 0	183 18 0	6 11 0	495 0 0

Fig.6. List of Tenants and Dates of Evictions.

<p><u>16th February 1883</u></p> <p>James Shaughnesy</p> <hr/> <p><u>23rd November 1888</u></p> <p>Peter Fullam John Fox Andrew Fox Mary Kelly William Fagan John Fullam</p>	<p><u>7th February 1890</u></p> <p>Patrick Coffey Thomas Fox William Rourke Margaret Dunne Mary Kelly Patrick Murray Bryan Dunne Etty Kelly James Kelly</p>
<p><u>26th March 1889</u></p> <p>John Fox Patrick Fox Thomas Stanley James Heavy Anne Fullam Patrick Keily Eliza Heavy Peter Keogh Daniel Donnelly John Ross Patrick Fullam John Connolly Peter Fullam</p>	<p><u>27th May 1890</u></p> <p>Patrick Daly James Dunne Mary Cooke Mary Kelly John McEntee John Toole Patrick Sweeney Matthew Bardon John Bardon Catherine Dillon Michael Pierce Denis Hanlon Philip Murphy Michael Merring Peter Morrissey Michael Geraghty</p>
<p><u>1st September 1892</u></p> <p>Mary Kelly</p>	<p><u>14th May 1891</u></p> <p>Peter Kenny Myles Kelly John Coffey Dan Kelly</p>

Fig.7 Clongorey Landscape.



Fig. 8. The Baronies of County Kildare

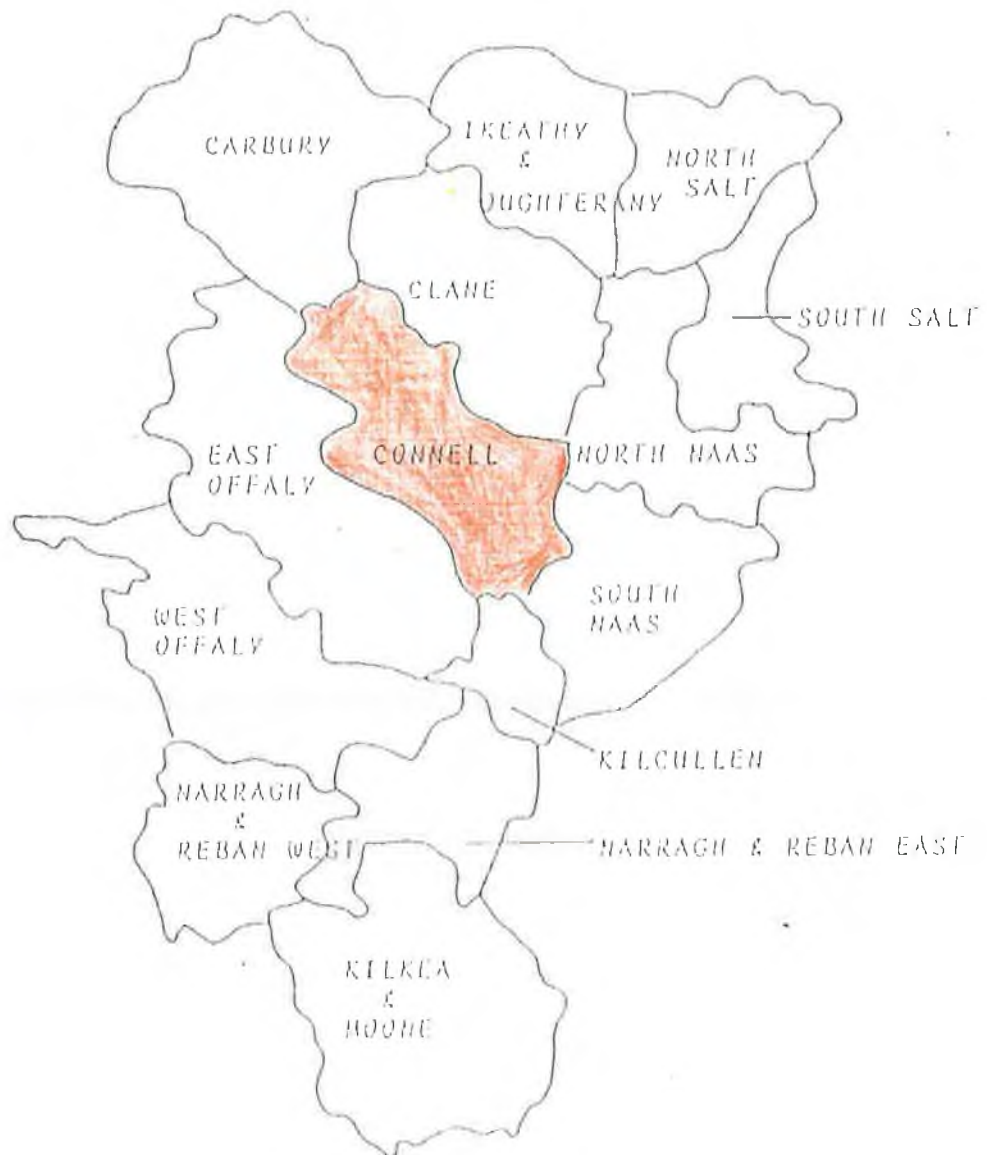


Fig.9. The Civil Parishes of County Kildare.

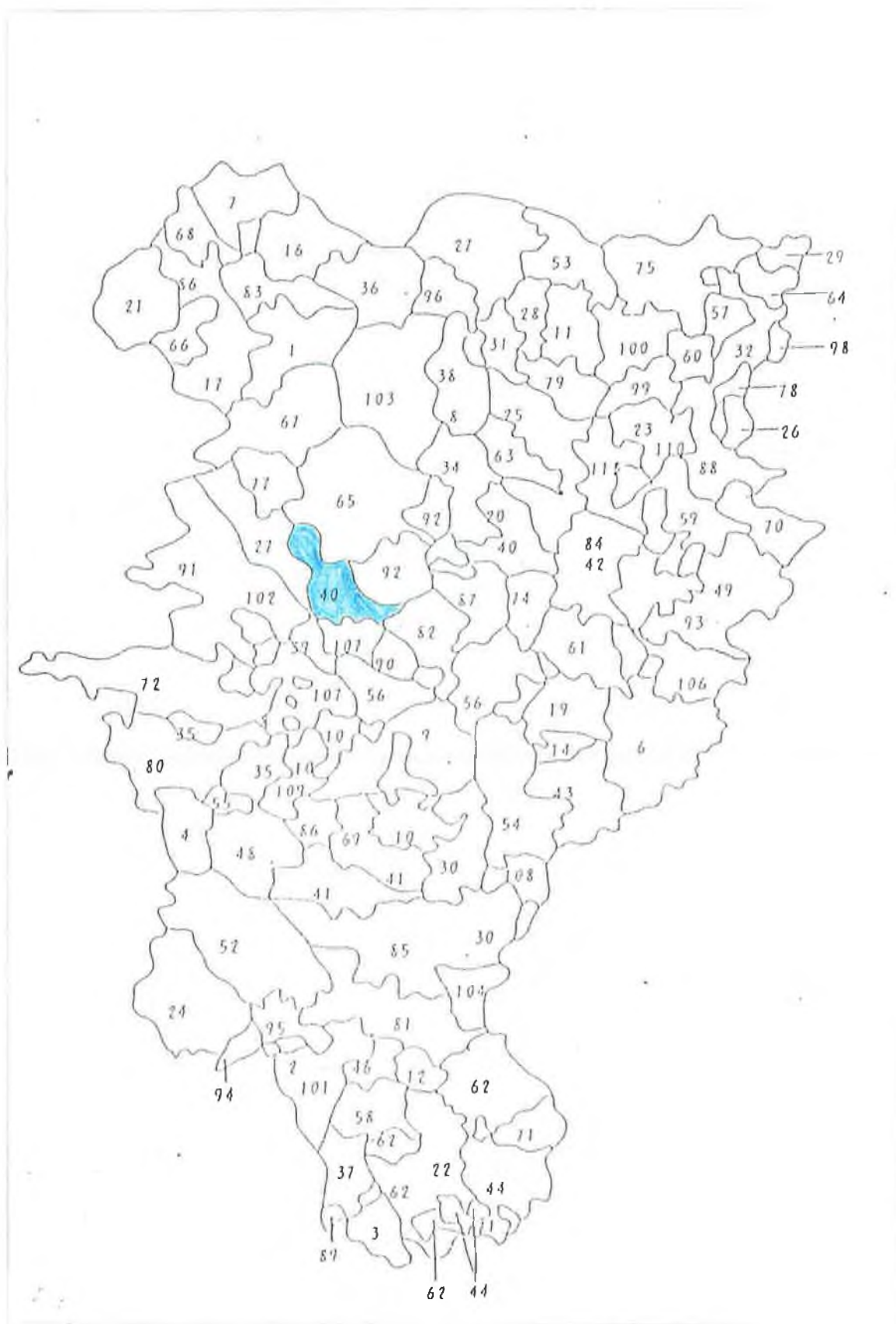


Fig.9a. Key to Fig.9.

LIST OF CIVIL PARISHES OF CO. KILDARE

1. Ardkill	38. Dummurraghill	75. Laraghbryan
2. Ardree	39. Dummurry	76. Leixlip
3. Ballaghmoon	40. Leixliffen	77. Lullymore
4. Ballybrackan	41. Fontstown	78. Lyons
5. Ballymany	42. Forenaughts	79. Mainham
6. Ballymore Eustace	43. Gilltown	80. Monasterevan
7. Ballynadrummy	44. Graney	81. Moone
8. Ballynalagh	45. Grangeclare	82. Morristownbiller
9. Ballysax	46. Grangenolvan	83. Mylerstown
10. Ballyshannon	47. Great Connell	84. Naas
11. Bahaheen	48. Harristown	85. Narraghmore
12. Belan	49. Haynestown	86. Nurney
13. Bodenstown	50. Johnstown	87. Old Connell
14. Brammochstown	51. Kerdliffstown	88. Oughterard
15. Brideschurch	52. Kilberry	89. Painstown
16. Cadamstown	53. Kileoek	90. Pollardstown
17. Carbury	54. Kilocullen	91. Rathangan
18. Carn	55. Kildangan	92. Rathernan
19. Carnalway	56. Kildare	93. Rathmore
20. Carragh	57. Kildrough	94. St. John's
21. Carrick	58. Kilkea	95. St. Michael's
22. Castledermot	59. Kill	96. Scullogestown
23. Castledillon	60. Kildoon	97. Sherlockstown
24. Churchtown	61. Killashee	98. Stacumny
25. Clane	62. Killelan	99. Strahan
26. Clonaghlin	63. Killybegs	100. Taghadee
27. Cloncurry	64. Kilmaeredock	101. Tankardstown
28. Clonshambo	65. Kilmeague	102. Thomastown
29. Confey	66. Kilmore	103. Timahoe
30. Davidstown	67. Kilpatrick	104. Timolin
31. Donadea	68. Kilrainy	105. Tipper
32. Donaghcumper	69. Kilrush	106. Tipperkevin
33. Donaghmore	70. Killeel	107. Tully
34. Downings	71. Kinneagh	108. Usk
35. Duneany	72. Knayinstown	109. Walterstown
36. Dunlith	73. Lackagh	110. Whitechurch
37. Dumanoge	74. Ladytown	

Fig.10. Roman Catholic Parishes of County Kildare.



Fig.11 Wall painting of the Clongorey area on the wall of Clongorey G.A.A clubhouse.



Fig. 12. Tower on Hill of Allen.



Fig. 13. Site of Old School.



Fig. 14. Clongorey School Clock

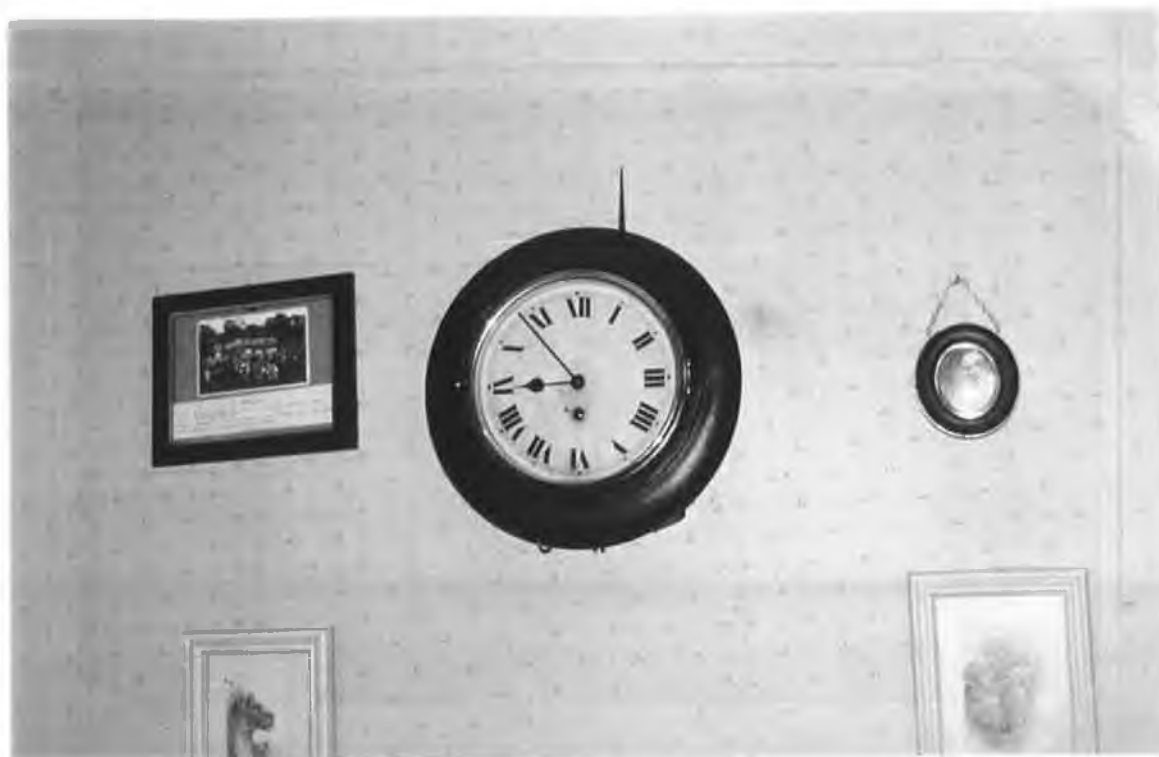


Fig. 15. Tenants House.



Fig. 16. Tenants House.



Fig. 17. Tenants House



Fig. 18. Fr. Austin (Augustine) Kinsella.

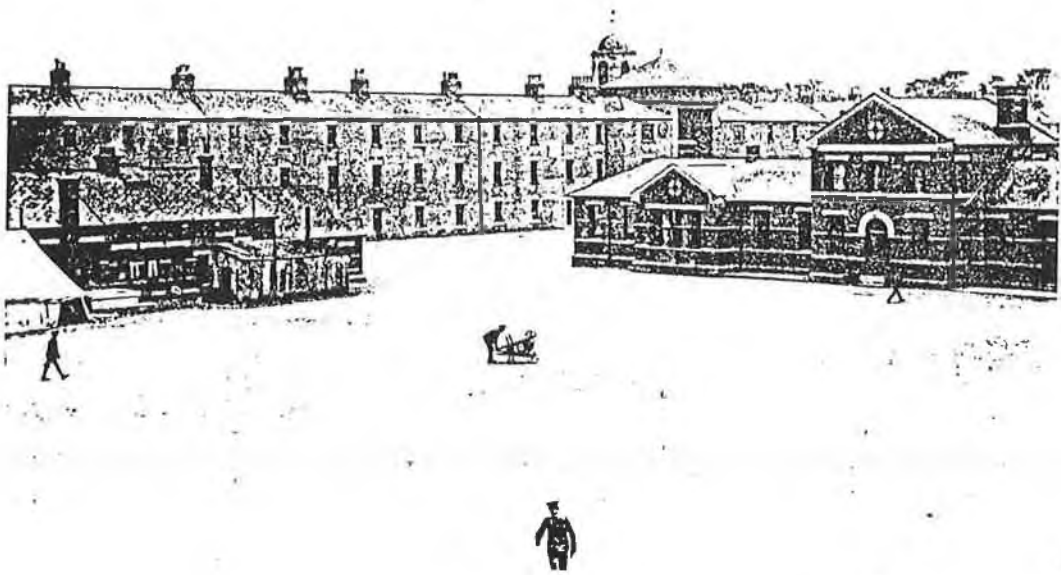


*Fr. Augustine Kinsella, P.P.,
Caragh 1875-1905.*

Fig. 19. Fr. Kinsella's Grave at Caragh Cemetery.



Fig. 20. British Army Barracks. Newbridge. 1900.



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Fig. 21. Map of British Army Barracks. Newbridge. 1908.

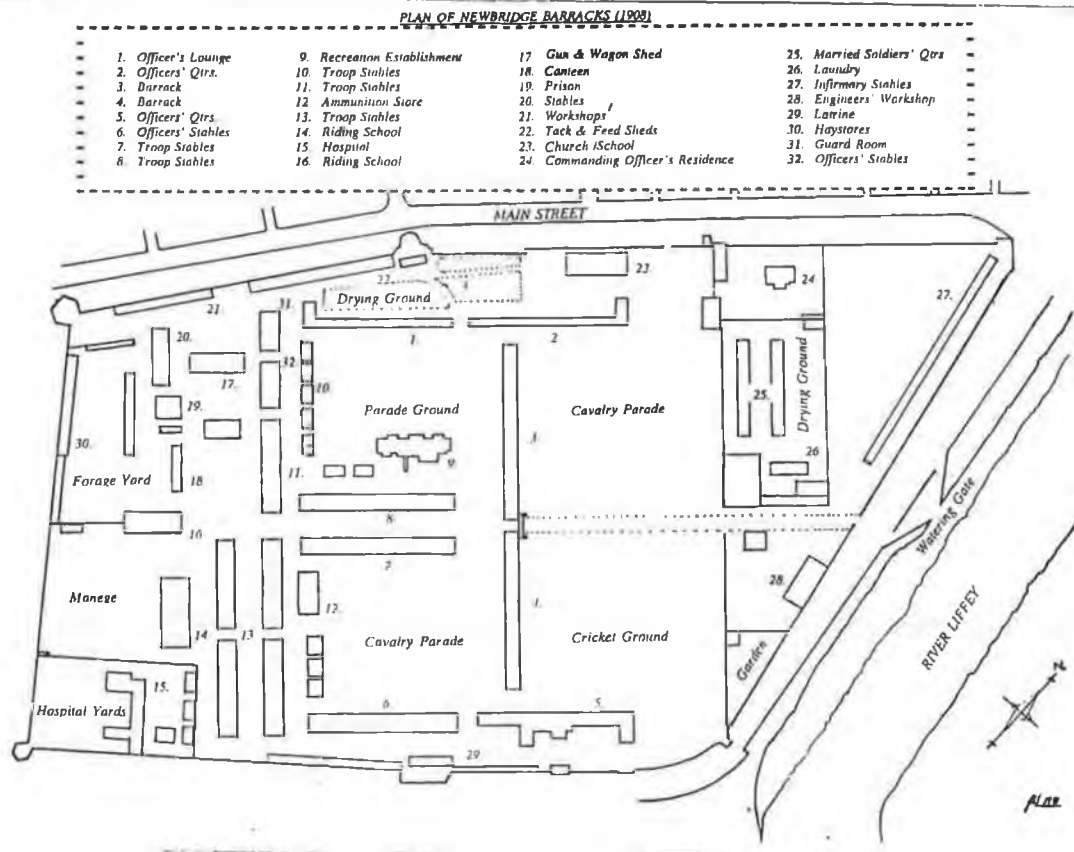


Fig.22. Painstown House.



Fig.23. Barrettstown House.

A Nineteenth century house with Gables, Barge boards, Hooded mouldings, Turret, and Spire.



Fig. 24. Barrettstown House.



Fig. 25. O' Kelly Coat of Arms and Crest.



Fig. 26. Satirical Poster of the time.

The following Notice has been posted on all the bills of Battersby's Auction at Barretstown, Clongorey on Tuesday and Wednesday next.

COME AND SEE! COME AND SEE!

Great Sale by the celebrated Auctioneer, Battersby, on Tuesday and Wednesday Next, Oct. 28th and 29th at

BARRETSTOWN HOUSE, CLONGOREY

With the kind permission of "Dove" Grabber, Routledge Agent to the House Burner, Matty Maher, Ballinkeale, Enniscorthy, All That and Those the Embers and Ashes of the ruined & burned Homes of the Evicted Tenants.

Sale to commence sharp on the arrival of the Battering-Ram, Woods, &c.

Printed by the Petroleum Limited Liability Co., Barretstown Yard.

Fig. 27. Example of Crockery of the period.



Fig. 28. Homes of Patrick Fox and Andrew Fox Clongorey March 1889.



Homes of Patrick Fox and Andrew Fox Clongorey. Evicted March, 1889.

Fig. 29. Clongorey Bawn, in the aftermath of the eviction.



Fig. 30. Remains of Mary Kelly's dwelling at the Iron Gate. (1996).



Fig. 31. Pie Chart showing the evicted tenants of Clongorey as a percentage of the total number of tenants evicted on estates examined by the Evicted Tenants Commission.

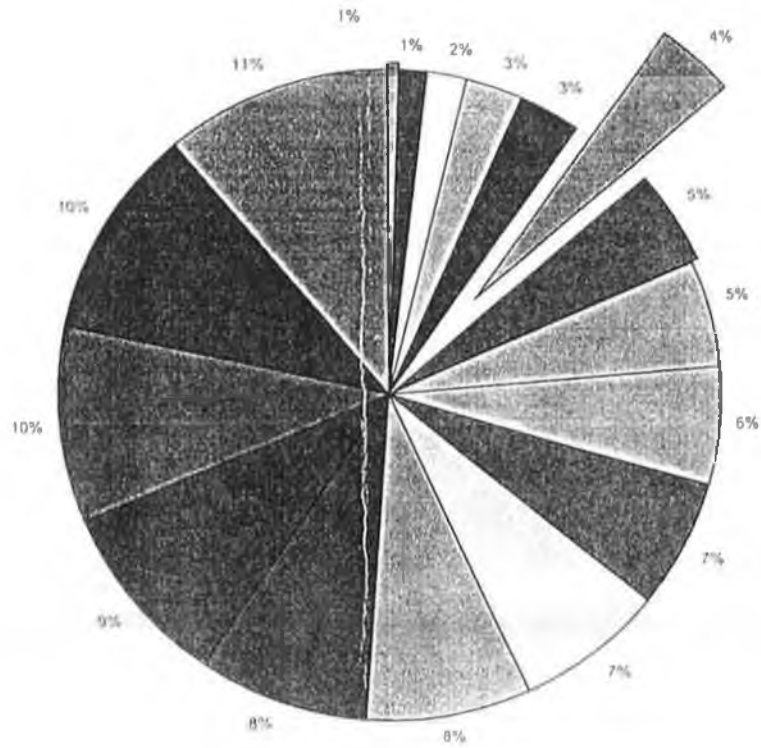


Fig. 32. O' Kelly 'Mausoleum' in Barrettsdown Cemetery



Fig. 33. Clongorey G.A.A. Clubhouse.



Fig. 34. Mr Patrick Heavey (Sappy). 1997.



Fig. 35. Billy Morrison, cutting turf on Clongorey Bog in the traditional manner.



Fig. 36 Billy Morrison, cutting turf on Clongorey Bog in the traditional manner.

