



NUI MAYNOOTH

Ollscoil na hÉireann Má Nuad

The burning of Kilboy House, Nenagh, County Tipperary, 2 August 1922

by

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Abbreviations

HC	House of Commons
HL	House of Lords
IAA	Irish Architectural Archives
IAA	Irish Unionist Alliance
IRA	Irish Republican Army
IRB	Irish Republican Brotherhood
NA	National Archives
NLI	National Library of Ireland, Dublin
PRO	Public Record Office, Dublin
RIC	Royal Irish Constabulary
TD	Teachta Dala (a member of Dail Eireann)

Introduction

During the revolutionary period 1919-23, landlords' houses in Ireland came under physical attack from social and political revolutionaries. Landlords suffered outrage and intimidation because of their socio-political and economic backgrounds. Big houses such as Kilbooy in County Tipperary were subject to incessant raids and sheep and cattle and lands were commandeered. Much activity centred round the burning of big houses, which was a major feature of intimidation and on a scale landlords had not experienced before, not even at the height of the Land War in the 1880s.¹

Kilbooy House was built during the lifetime of the fifth Henry Prittie, (1743-1801) who later became the first Lord Dunalley. The house is situated in the civil parish of Kilmore, in the barony of Upper Ormond and in the village of Dolla five miles from Nenagh, County Tipperary. It was the most imposing of several substantial mansions enhanced by lawns and lakes, ornamental shrubs, and trees erected in northwest Tipperary during the last half of the eighteenth-century. Built in stone, it stood three storeys high over a basement with a central feature of pediment and four giant Doric columns. It had a broad flight of steps to the front door, which opened unto a large square hall. The house had a very fine interior with good plasterwork and imperial staircase.² Kilbooy House was designed around 1771 by William Leeson and is described in *The Vanishing Houses of Ireland* as the most important house that Leeson designed. It was a spacious mansion writes James Fleming and stood in a chastely beautiful demesne.

¹ Terence Dooley, *The decline of the big house in Ireland* (2001), p. 171.

² The Knight of Glin, David J. Griffin, Nicholas K. Robinson, *Vanishing country houses of Ireland* (Ireland, 1989), p. 134.

Kilboy demesne contained the richest land in the fertile valley of Silvermines and was adorned with large oak and ash tree. The mountainous country, which immediately surrounded it, presented many remarkable combinations of romantic and striking scenery.³



Kilboy House

In the beautiful grounds of Kilboy House and attractively sited across a small artificial lake to the east of the house is the fifteenth-century Dolla Church, where interesting stones from an earlier church were uncovered in 1987. The ruin was cleaned, conserved and partially reconstructed for the new landlord now in residence.⁴

A mid to late eighteenth-century house is how Mark Bence-Jones describes Kilboy House, the following is from his publication *A guide to Irish country houses*:

³ *The Weekly Times*, 11 Nov. 1939.

⁴ Etienne Rynne, 'The excavation of Dolla Church, Kilboy, Co. Tipperary' in *Tipperary Historical Journal* 1988 pp 44-52.

5 bay entrance front with central feature of pediment and four giant engaged Doric columns; Doric entablature running the full length of the front, supported at the sides by coupled giant Doric pilasters; top storey treated as an attic above the cornice. Ground floor windows with rusticated surrounds and alternate triangular and, segmental pediment, rusticated basement, broad flight of steps up to the entrance door. Side elevation almost plain; with no entablature or cornice, of five bays with central Venetian windows; keystones over the windows and some simple blocking in the windows surrounds. Large square hall with heavy frieze of rather unusual plasterwork, combining putti and foliage with husk ornament and neo-classical motifs; niche with entablature on console brackets; marble chimneypiece with swags of drapery, plasterwork panel over. A bifurcating staircase adorned the back hall. The house was burned in 1922 and afterwards rebuilt without the top storey. The principal rooms, as rebuilt, had oak paneling in early eighteen-century style. The bifurcating staircase was replaced by simple oak staircase. Around 1955 the house was demolished and a single storey in a vaguely Georgian style was built on the original basement.⁵

There were two avenues leading up to Kilboy House, which were guarded by lodges and elaborate gateways. The gateway to the Dolla- Silvermines road had a limestone pedimented arch with attached small arches. The other entrance gateway had a central 'triumphal arch with two smaller detached ones in similar style beside the Nenagh-Dolla Tipperary road. It is known locally as the 'Buck gate' because at one time the central arch was surmounted by the figure of a male deer inspired by the Dunalley coat of arms. Lewis's *Topographical dictionary* (1837) describes Kilboy as the splendid seat of Lord Duanalley with a well planted demesne of more than 600 Irish acres that contained a fine sheet of water and a deer park and is backed by a range of mountains. The church in Silvermines is a very neat edifice and the Board of First Fruits lent £900 in 1809 for its construction. In Kilboy there is also the ruins of an old church with a burial ground attached.⁶

⁵ Mark Bence-Jones, *A guide to Irish country houses* (revised ed. London, 1988), p. 222.

⁶ Samuel Lewis, *A topographical dictionary of Ireland* (2 vols, London, 1837), ii, p. 222.



The Buck Gate

The years 1780-1840 were a great period of demesne development in Tipperary and the embellishments and ornamentation of the precincts of the big house created a contrived landscape, which highlighted place and identified the refinement of the proprietor. Landlords such as Henry Prittie were established travellers and brought back collections of unusual plants and paintings and other collectables to display in their demesnes.⁷ Most of the big houses belonged to the classic Irish house of the middle size as defined by Craig who noted that Tipperary was one of the nine counties in Ireland with the highest density of such houses.⁸ Kilboy House is also noted on a list of protected structures in the townland of Kilboy.⁹

⁷ William Nolan, (ed.), *Tipperary: history and society* (Ireland, 1985), pp 304-5.

⁸ William Nolan, (ed.), *Tipperary: history and society* (Ireland, 1985), p. 302.

⁹ Kilboy House, 'Protected structures' in *North Tipperary county development plan* (Oct. 2004), p. 128.

The builder of Kilbooy House in 1771 was Colonel Henry Prittie the first of this family to be associated with Tipperary and the first of a long unbroken line bearing the Christian name of Henry. He was one of the chief officers of Cromwell's Irish campaign. Later in the Cromwellian regime in 1658-9, he was sent over to Ireland on duty and was Captain in Cromwell's new regiment of Horse. He was at one time Governor of Carlow and also one of the commissioners of the precincts.¹⁰ He was High Sheriff for Tipperary in 1659.¹¹ From 1769-76 he was M.P. for Gowran and was also M.P. for Tipperary from 1776-90. Henry Prittie was confirmed in the ownership of his lands by Charles 11 and was granted 3,642 acres in Upper Ormond and Owey and Ara under the Act of Settlement 1667.¹² Lands in Upper Ormond in which Kilbooy is situated were traditionally held by kinship groups of native origin, names such as Gleasons, Kennedy, O'Brien and O'Meara.¹³

The Pritties were amongst the most resident of all landlords and a common thread ran throughout the generations which was constant residence at Kilbooy, intermarriage only with families of similar religion and social backgrounds and prominence in local political, cultural and social affairs.

The Cromwellian transfers of ownership of land saw the establishment of single ownership estates.¹⁴ This came by way of lands forfeited in North Tipperary, which were reserved for division among the army. Henry Prittie added to his original land grant by

¹⁰ Dermot F. Gleeson, *The last lords of Ormond*, (Ireland, 2001), p. 100.

¹¹ William Hayes and Art Kavanagh, *The Tipperary gentry* (vol 1, Ireland, 2003), p. 196.

¹² E.H. Sheehan, *Nenagh and its neighbourhood* (Ireland, 1949), p. 40.

¹³ R.C. Simmington, (ed.), *The civil survey 1654-56* (10 vols, Dublin, 1931-36, ii, p. 187.

¹⁴ J.G. Simms, 'Cromwellian settlement of Tipperary' in *Tipperary Historical Journal*, 1989, pp 27-32.

purchasing debentures for land from soldiers'. Very few of the soldiers settled in Tipperary because their debentures ascertained by commissioners were worth very little and the lack of capital would have prevented development of their land.¹⁵ This unexpected development presented itself because as Englishmen they wanted to return home so the sale of the debenture became a trade. Though this practice was prohibited, it was tolerated nonetheless and the land of the smaller man was sold to officers and various brokers such as Henry Prittie, and often for paltry sums.¹⁶ This then entitled the Cromwellian settlers not just to large demesnes but often, to huge estates as in the case of Henry Prittie.

The Pritties stood for the established order in church and state, as reflected in their marriage patterns for they had established direct marriage links with nine leading families with yet further links to another thirty major and minor families. The joining of the Harrison and the Prittie estates, had important political benefits for the Prittie family since by the extension of landed interest it gained in freeholder strength in an area where rural Protestants were more numerous than elsewhere in the country.¹⁷ This major Protestant colony was in the nineteenth century part of the Dunalley estate, which totaled 18,000 acres of land in 1876 spread over the civil parishes of Kilmore, Dolla, Templederry, Kilnaneave, Killoscully and Kilcomenty, in the baronies of Upper Ormond and Owey and Arra and in Modreeney in lower Ormond.¹⁸ His income was estimated at

¹⁵ Bruce S. Elliot, *Irish migrants in the Canadas: a new approach* (Belfast, 1988), p. 16.

¹⁶ Dermot F. Gleeson, *The last lords of Ormond* (Ireland, 2001), p. 98.

¹⁷ Dermot F. Gleeson, *The last lords of Ormond* (Ireland, 2001), p. 103.

¹⁸ Bruce S. Elliot, *Irish migrants in the Canadas: a new approach* (Belfast, 1988), p. 19.

£8,000 per annum.¹⁹ It is no surprise therefore that Henry Prittie in advertising land for letting in the town of Silvermines stated that good encouragement would be given to Protestant families.²⁰ On the Dunalley estate, in Cloughjordan and Borrisokane there was a high concentration of Protestants.

Tipperary received a high proportion of new peerages for its support of the union.²¹ Pensions, places and peerages were distributed to those whose votes were up for auction and the Government outlay paid to patrons for their support was estimated at over one and a quarter million pounds.²² The receivers saw the union as their guarantee of protection the thing to be for or against.²³ The fifth Henry Prittie was elevated to the peerage as the 1st Baron Dunalley in 1800 for his support.²⁴ Dunalley Castle in Tipperary gives its grand title to Lord Dunalley.²⁵ The number of male children in the Prittie family was usually just one and very seldom two but although small in number the gentlemen of the Prittie family left their mark on the developing, social and economic entity that became modern Tipperary.²⁶ Henry O'Callaghan Prittie the 4th Baron Dunalley (1851-1927) followed the predictable path of the sons of the gentry. He was educated at Harrow and at Trinity College, Cambridge and he was a member of both the St Georges yacht club and the United Services club.²⁷ Lord Dunalley was the resident landlord at Kilbooy House in 1922. He had married Mary Francis Farmer in 1876 and the press

¹⁹ Thomas U. Sadlier, 'Manuscript at Kilbooy, Co. Tipperary in the possession of Lord Dunalley' in *Analecta Hibernica* no. 12 (1943), pp 113-54.

²⁰ *Clonmel Gazette*, April. 3-7 1788.

²¹ Thomas P. Power, *Land politics and society in eighteenth-century Tipperary* (Oxford, 1993), p. 46.

²² Gearoid O'Tuathaigh. *Ireland before the famine, 1798-1884* (Ireland, 1992), p. 32.

²³ R.F. Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600-1972* (England, 1988), p. 290.

²⁴ Bruce S. Elliot, *Irish migrants in the Canadas: a new approach* (Belfast, 1988), p. 19.

²⁵ Rev. John Gleeson, *History of the Ely O'Carroll territory* (Dublin, 1915), p. 481.

²⁶ William Hayes and Art Kavanagh, *The Tipperary gentry*, (vol. 1, Ireland, 2003), p. 197.

²⁷ John Bateman, *The great landowners of Great Britain and Ireland* (Leicester, 1971), pp 249-50.

reported the festivities at Kilboy House for the marriage of the Hon. Mr Prittie.²⁸ Kilboy House was the big house in Nenagh, County Tipperary, the occupants lived within their demesne making a privileged world of their own with the rest of Ireland outside the gates.

The focus of this study is the burning of Kilboy House on the 2 August 1922. It will explore the wider motivation for and the lead up to the burning of Kilboy. It will address some of the following questions: Did the raiders use other forms of intimidation prior to the burning of Kilboy? Were there problems with landlord tenant relationships? Who were the raiders? What was the attitude of the local community to the burning? What were the repercussions for the people who lived and worked on the Kilboy estate? Was the landlord compensated adequately for the great destruction to property, parkland and trees at Kilboy? Did he rebuild Kilboy House and what was the cost of rebuilding it? What were the landlord's own feelings and how did he react to the burning of Kilboy House?

Secondary Sources

Joost Augusteijn's publication, *From public defiance to guerrilla warfare* (Ireland, 1996), deals with the experiences of the ordinary volunteers in the Irish War of Independence 1916-21. In tracing the developments of violence in Ireland in each county Augusteijn records that violence was quite high in Tipperary reaching a bloody summit in the final quarter of 1920. For instance Dublin city had a level of crown force casualties similar to that of Tipperary.²⁹ Another publication and edited by the same author is *The*

²⁸ *Nenagh Guardian*, 30 Sept. 1876.

²⁹ Joost Augusteijn, *From public defiance to guerrilla warfare* (Ireland, 1996), pp 162,180.

Irish revolution 1913-1923 (New York, 2002), it contains a number of chapters by leading historians of the period and chapter seven informs us that many of the landed class found the new Ireland insufficiently attractive to keep them and led many of them such as Lord Dunalley to Britain for the duration or part of the conflict.

Chapter seven of Terence Dooley's, *The decline of the big house in Ireland* (Ireland, 2001) offers a survey of the extent and timing of house burnings in both the War of Independence and the Civil War periods. Chapter seven also deals with big house burning between 1920-3 and is of special benefit to this study. '*The land for the people*' *the land question in Independent Ireland* (Ireland, 2004), by the same author, suggests that young men particularly the sons of small farmers were attracted to the Irish Republican Army (IRA) by the prospect of securing land in the event of the establishment of an independent Irish republic.³⁰ The motivation behind burnings as set out by others does not cover Kilboy House in any great detail.

Green against green the Irish Civil War (Ireland, 1988), by Michael Hopkinson states, that the British government's failure to achieve a Home Rule settlement during complex negotiations in late 1916-7 did much to further demand for a much greater degree of independence.³¹ *The Irish War of Independence* (Dublin, 2004) also by Hopkinson argues that the Soloheadbeg ambush in January 1919 is generally accepted as

³⁰ Terence Dooley, *The land for the people the land question in Independent Ireland* (Ireland, 2004), p. 35.

³¹ Michael Hopkinson, *Green against the Irish Civil War* (Dublin, 1988), p. 3.

the beginning of the armed conflict and he adds it anticipated what occurred in the rest of the country from mid 1920.³²

Primary Sources

The primary sources for research for this thesis are the Dunalley papers on deposit in the manuscript room of the National Library Kildare Street, Dublin. The library acquired the collection from the Prittie family as a gift from the sixth Baron in the 1960s. The manuscripts deal with the different aspects of estate administration. An example is the considerable number of letters from the steward Samuel Doupe on the Dunalley estate, informing Lord Dunalley of the current news and activity in and around Nenagh. They supply information on the day to day running of the Kilboy estate. Doupe's letter informing Lord Dunalley of the burning of Kilboy displays a sense of loss, a sense of panic and the hopelessness of the whole situation. His letters also reveal his own feelings of despondency.³³ There are many letters from the two family solicitors who are Dudley and Nolan of Nenagh and R.J. Walker in Dublin. The letters tell Lord Dunalley a great deal about the situation in Tipperary and in setting the case before him offers professional advice on matters such as the issue of compensation. The solicitor had a realistic view of the whole situation and advises Lord Dunalley as regards returning to Kilboy House.

Tipperary is a large county, which published different newspapers at various times. The two most important newspapers covering Nenagh were the *Nenagh Guardian* published from July 1838, and the *Tipperary Vindicator* published from January 1844. A

³² Michael Hopkinson, *The Irish War of Independence* (Dublin, 2004), p. 115.

³³ Samuel Doupe to Lord Dunalley 6 Aug. 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (17)).

later newspaper was the *Tipperary Star* published from 1908 and a sister paper of the 'Nationalist' it held those views also. Like some newspapers of today the press reflected the views of the proprietors and editors. Both the *Nenagh Guardian and the Tipperary Star* were mainly used for this study as they carried reports in 1922 of the burning of Kilboy House.³⁴

Witness statements compiled and printed by the *Bureau of Military History* cover the period 1913-21. This source is a collection of statements from people who had an intimate knowledge of events and happenings in Tipperary and elsewhere, for example the ambush at Soloheadbeg, County Tipperary.

The County Inspector's confidential monthly reports were consulted on microfilm at N.U.I. Maynooth. The originals are on deposit in the National Archives, London. They provide an indication of the extent of lawlessness in County Tipperary between 1913-21. There are reports of assaults on the person and property and the official correspondence relating to the political activities of the I.R.A. during the revolutionary period in County Tipperary.

The compensation files for Munster consulted at the National Archives, Dublin contain claims for damage to property and the amount awarded to Lord Dunalley for the burning of Kilboy House.

³⁴ *Nenagh Guardian*, 5 Aug. 1922.

Henry Cornelius Graham Prittie in his book *Khaki and rifle green* (London and Melbourne, 1940) reveals his disappointment with the rebuilt Kilboy House inherited by him in 1927. Terence Prittie the son of Henry Cornelius and grandson of the 4th Baron Dunalley of Kilboy eventually got his chance to live there which apparently was for this family their first real home. Terence's book *Through Irish eyes* (London, 1977) records some aspects of life at Kilboy, which he shared at times with his grandparents. He states that the first 'Karate-chop' to his family's future was the burning of Kilboy House by the Sinn Feiners in 1922.³⁵

The thesis is set out in three chapters and a conclusion. Chapter one deals with the lead up to the burning of Kilboy House and the background to the War of Independence. Chapter two concentrates on the actual burning of Kilboy House, and the considerable amount of correspondence between the steward, the land agent, the bank manager and the solicitors. It also refers to the threats and intimidation which were ongoing and the general situation that followed the burning. Chapter three deals with the question of compensation that was awarded to Lord Dunalley for the burning of Kilboy House.

³⁵ Terence Prittie, *Through Irish eyes* (England, 1977), p. 29.

Chapter One

The lead up to the burning of Kilboy House

'Arrange for some vans to have the furniture removed from Kilboy House and stored in Dublin for I am greatly afraid the house will be burned or destroyed'.³⁶

The threats

Research shows that Tipperary and surrounding counties were in a state of turmoil in the years before the burning of Kilboy House. People lived in fear caught between the Volunteers and the forces of law and order. In the days leading up to the burning of Kilboy House, Howard Dudley, solicitor for the Dunalley estate was aware of the intense activity in Tipperary and had made the above request before the burning of Kilboy House, which occurred on the 2 August 1922. For Tipperary, particularly South Tipperary most of all, was strongly identified with the War of Independence. The actions in Tipperary in early 1919 reflected what happened in the rest of the country from mid 1850 to the mid 1920s'.³⁷

Background

The aftermath of Easter Rising of 1916 had a profound impact on Tipperary. 1913 saw the formation of the Nationalist Volunteers because of opposition from northern Unionists to Home Rule.³⁸ Ireland was granted Home Rule in 1914 with partition but the process was delayed for the duration of the First World War. The Home

³⁶ Howard Dudley to Lord Dunalley, 17 July 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (17)).

³⁷ Michael Hopkinson, *The Irish War of Independence* (Dublin, 2004), p. 115.

³⁸ Pdraig O'Haicead, *Keep their names ever green* (Tipperary, 2003), p. 12.

Rule bill was to Redmond the fulfillment of a lifelong dream and as he told the House, 'if I may say so reverently I personally thank God that I have lived to see this day'.³⁹ However, this split the National Volunteers as Redmond and the Home Rule party supported the British war effort, which saw at first much support from County Tipperary.

The Irish Volunteers were formed under the Republican movement but supporters of the two viewpoints trained separately. Both the Irish Republican Brotherhood (I.R.B.), and the volunteer meetings were held in Jack McCarthy's of O'Brien Street, Tipperary and a branch of the newly formed Gaelic League was held at Eaton's cottages also in Tipperary in 1917.⁴⁰ The uprising was planned and carried out and saw fifteen leaders of the rebels executed which shocked and angered the country resulting in much sympathy for the Republican movement.⁴¹ Sinn Fein, helped in no small way by the conscription crisis continued to grow in strength. They won 73 out of 105 seats, an overwhelming majority in the general election of 1918. The aim of Sinn Fein who made no pretense about their intentions was in short independent sovereignty for Ireland.⁴²

Twenty-six of its representatives made arrangement to convene a parliament when they met in Dublin's Mansion House on 7 January 1919. On the 21 January this national parliament met and declared the independence of Ireland and aimed to make Sinn Fein's rule effective throughout Ireland.⁴³ The actions of the local I.R.A. leader Dan Breen in

³⁹ A.T.Q. Stewart, *The Ulster crisis resistance to Home Rule, 1900-1914* (London, 1967), p. 58.

⁴⁰ Maurice Crowe, 'Irish Volunteer in Tipperary 1913-21' in *Bureau of Military History, 1913-21* W.S. No. 517 S. 1777.

⁴¹ Pdraig O'Haicead, *Keep their names ever green* (Tipperary, 2003), p. 12.

⁴² Eoin Neeson, *The Civil War in 1921-23 Ireland* (Dublin, 1966), p. 17.

⁴³ Lawrence W. McBride, *The greening of Dublin Castle* (U.S.A., 1991), P. 261.

the Soloheadbeg ambush on the same day in January 1919, was accepted as the beginning of the armed conflict.⁴⁴ It was the first ambush to cause fatalities and it coincided with the sitting of the first Dail and this, gave it added significance.⁴⁵ These shootings were among the first in the War of Independence which dragged on for two and a half years.⁴⁶ The press reported the sensational occurrences in Tipperary.⁴⁷ After the Soloheadbeg ambush the R.I.C became more aggressive still, and night after night they raided the houses of Volunteer suspects. This increased activity had the effect of stimulating even further activity amongst the Volunteers.⁴⁸ Sean Treacy's experiment with gelignite at Soloheadbeg produced the desired results for him and he remarked to his comrade Jerome Devlin 'this Jerome will be part of our equipment for the attacks on R.I.C. Barracks'.⁴⁹ In that summer of 1919 few would have contemplated that within a year attacks on R.I.C. Barracks would be a feature of I.R.A. activity as a large number of raids for arms and attacks on the crown forces were carried out.

There was widespread defiance of the authorities, which worried the police especially in Tipperary where the inspector reported 'general feelings towards the police is one of hostility if not hatred leading to much anxiety in the police stations.'⁵⁰ In

⁴⁴ Jerome Devlin, 'Irish Volunteer in Tipperary 1913-21' in Bureau of Military History, 1913-21 W.S. No. 517 S. 1777

⁴⁵ Michael Hopkinson, *The Irish War of Independence* (Dublin, 2004), p. 116.

⁴⁶ Eoin Neeson, *The Civil War in 1921-23 Ireland* (Dublin, 196), 9. 17.

⁴⁷ *Nenagh Guardian*, 25 Jan. 1919.

⁴⁸ Michael Dalton, 'Irish Volunteers in Tipperary 1913-21' in Bureau of Military History, 1913-21 W.S. No. 1116 S. 2425

⁴⁹ Jerome Devlin, 'Irish Volunteers in Tipperary, 1913-21' in *Bureau of Military History, 1913-21 W.S. No. 1350 S. 2674*. (The gelignite captured in Soloheadbeg was used by Sean Treacy and Jerome Devlin to create 'mud bombs' with the added ingredient of sticky clay and linseed oil to give it greater tackiness, the combination held the gelignite in position much better on slate roofs).

⁵⁰ County Inspector's confidential monthly report, Co. Tipperary, May 1920. (P.R.O., Colonial Office Papers, CO904/116).

Tipperary violence was quite high for instance the level of crown force casualties there matched that of Dublin city.⁵¹ A response to these attacks was the recruitment in 1920 of ex British soldiers into the R.I.C. forces.⁵² They formed the famed Black and Tans and Auxiliaries.

In October 1920 a number of events occurred which was to have a serious effect on Irish and world opinion. Sean Treacy a significant member of the 3rd Tipperary Brigade was shot dead in Talbot Street, Dublin in a shootout with crown forces along with his assistant Lieutenant Price. After his death one of his ideas was put into practice, the building of dugouts in Tipperary which were never discovered by the British forces although during one round up, troops walked over two of them while eleven men slept underneath.⁵³ Kevin Barry's death by hanging for an alleged attack on British soldiers set the stage for the terrible events of 21 November 1920 the worst month in the entire Anglo-Irish War.⁵⁴ Sir Hamar Greenwood, the Chief Secretary for Ireland when questioned about this case by Mr MacVeigh in the H.C. answered: 'Kevin Barry was a man who murdered a soldier in cold blood and was captured redhanded'.⁵⁵ Tipperary was playing Dublin in a Gaelic football match when the Black and Tans invaded the sports grounds and fired indiscriminately at the players and supporters killing thirteen

⁵¹ Joost Augusteijn, *From public defiance to guerilla warfare* (Ireland, 1996), p. 180.

⁵² The R.I.C. was the manifestation of British presence and authority that Irish people encountered most commonly, probably on a daily basis. They were hired because they had the qualification to successfully do the job, and they were stationed throughout Ireland in towns and villages and tangibly represented the traditional connection between rural establishment and the United Kingdom.

⁵³ Maurice Crowe, 'Irish Volunteers in Tipperary, 1913-21' in *Bureau of Military History, 1913-21* W.S. No.517 S. 1777.

⁵⁴ F.S. Lyons, *Ireland since the famine* (Great Britain, 1973), p. 418.

⁵⁵ *Tipperary Star*, 27 Jan. 1921. .

people and leaving sixty wounded.⁵⁶ A member of the team was Michael Hogan from Grangemockler in Tipperary. He was shot dead in Croke Park playing with the Tipperary team on the 21 November, an event known forever more as 'Bloody Sunday'.⁵⁷ This event followed the assassination by the Collins 'squad' of fourteen British intelligence agents living in various parts of Dublin. The attacks by armed raiders were practically simultaneous and most of those shot were according to Dublin Castle reports, military officers associated with the government's policy in Ireland.⁵⁸ The squad was at this time a very effective counter intelligence organization established by Michael Collins. It spread a wave of terror throughout England and Ireland.⁵⁹

Before his death Sean Treacy had been busy organizing several new companies by outlining the boundaries of each battalion and company areas on an Ordnance Survey map in and around County Tipperary. The Rosegreen area of Tipperary for instance housed the brigade headquarters where a system of communication was established through which units kept in touch with brigade headquarters. Officers would frequently visit so there was a deliberate policy to keep activities in the area to a minimum.⁶⁰ There were certain houses where messages could be left. As well as communications, an intelligence system was organized, whereby an officer in each area was appointed to collect information in each local area and pass it on to the brigade headquarters.⁶¹ Sean

⁵⁶ F.S. Lyons, *Ireland since the famine* (Great Britain, 1973), p. 419.

⁵⁷ Peter Tobin, 'Irish Volunteers in Tipperary, 1913-21' in *Bureau of Military History, 1913-21* W.S. No.1123 S. 2527.

⁵⁸ *Tipperary Star*, 27 Nov. 1920.

⁵⁹ Pdraig O'Haicead, *Keep their names ever green* (Tipperary, 2003), p. 13.

⁶⁰ Jerome Devlin, 'Irish Volunteers in Tipperary 1913-21' in *Bureau of Military History, 1913-21* W.S. No. 1350 S. 2674.

⁶¹ Frank Drohan, 'I.R.A, activity in Tipperary, 1900-21' in *Bureau of Military History 1913-21* W.S. No. 702 S. 407.

Treacy was arrested while acting as bodyguard for DeValera and Frank Fahy, at a meeting in County Tipperary. He was imprisoned in Mountjoy jail, although he had already spent many spells there some of which coincided with hunger strikes by political prisoners. This association gave Treacy significant prominence among his revolutionary friends and inspired his followers and thus gained widespread support for the movement.

Tipperary town and the Cashel district were two areas of strong support for Volunteer activity and here the police experienced much hostility from the population during 1919. People were afraid to talk to them and reacted with glee to the killing of two policemen, at Knocklong in County Tipperary.⁶² The arrest of Volunteer Sean Hogan on an ill advised trip home took place at a dance and an opportunity arose for what Seamus Robinson a brigade commander was later to call 'the follow through of Soleheadbeg'.⁶³ Hogan's transfer was by train from Thurles to Cork on 13 May. The place of rescue was arranged for Emily but faulty intelligence necessitated the switch to the next station called Knocklong. Travelling on the train also, were some Volunteers who gave the signal for Treacy and Breen to overpower the guard. Two R.I.C. men were killed during the rescue and both Breen and Treacy were wounded and forced to take refuge in Dublin, where both men engaged themselves in activities and assisted with the attempted assassination of Lord French at Ashtown.⁶⁴ County boundaries counted for little as in October while in Dublin they were tracked down by intelligence agents and involved in a shootout at the home of professor Carolan in Drumcondra. Carolan was

⁶² Joost Augusteijn, *From public defiance to guerilla warfare* (Ireland, 1966), p. 272.

⁶³ Seamus Robinson had come to Kilshanane to reside with Eamonn O'Dwyer, and to organize the Volunteers in South Tipperary after they had both been released from prison when the general amnesty took place at Christmas in 1916.

⁶⁴ Michael Hopkinson, *The Irish War of Independence* (Dublin, 2004), p. 117.

killed and Dan Breen was seriously wounded. Breen was attended by Alice Barry a close friend to the I.R.A. leader at a safe house in Herbert Street with the assistance of Surgeon Barnaville from the Mater who had earlier attended him. Breen having had to flee the Mater private nursing home where British forces were becoming persistent in their search for him.⁶⁵ Sean Treacy was killed nine days later in Dublin. His death according to Commandant Jerome Devlin was the biggest blow the 3rd Tipperary Brigade could or would receive.⁶⁶

Tipperary was declared by the British authorities to be a military area at this stage.⁶⁷ Throughout the spring of 1921 fighting continued and a state of guerilla war developed. This tit for tat cycle of violence would be repeated many times with other policemen killed in the south of Tipperary, especially notorious was the assassination of District Inspector Hunt in June at the town centre in Thurles. Inspector Hunt was shot by Jim Stapleton among a crowd of people returning from the local races, yet not one person came to his aid.⁶⁸ Hunt was thought to have information on the Knocklong killings. Locally unpopular he personally conducted raids on the homes of the local population and made himself most obnoxious. In May as Sinn Fein members were preparing to address a crowd in Milestone, Hunt with a group of R.I.C men moved in and baton charged the gathering seizing the 'tricolour' from the platform. Two weeks later an exact repetition of this episode was repeated by Hunt and his men at an advent in Upperchurch,

⁶⁵ Dr Alice Barry, 'Raid by Auxiliaries' in *Bureau of Military History, 1913-21* W.S. No 723 S. 303028.

⁶⁶ Jerome Devlin, 'Irish Volunteers in Co. Tipperary 1913-21' in *Bureau of Military History 1913-21* W.S. No. 1350 S.2674.

⁶⁷ Michael Hopkinson, *The Irish War of Independence* (Dublin, 2004), p. 117.

⁶⁸ Michael Hopkinson, *The Irish War of independence* (Dublin, 2004), p. 33.

Tipperary.⁶⁹ Such events created a response and some days later the military in great strength invaded and terrorized the countryside and demolished houses in the immediate vicinity in the ambush area.⁷⁰ Leaders of the ambush and civilians were arrested and severely beaten, interrogated and jailed. Seemingly this practice was a daily occurrence.

The casualties and killings continued especially in Nenagh. For example from January 1921 the following ambushes took place. In Portroe, Sergeant Patrick Connor of the Nenagh district was fired at and wounded on returning to the barracks, which were subsequently raided.⁷¹ Sergeant Jones with eleven men left their station at Borrisokane, to attend the petty sessions at Cloughjordan.⁷² They were immediately bombarded with rifle and gunshot fire, hand grenades and bombs from the woods at Kylebeg Cross. The fight lasted over an hour during which time eight constables and one sergeant were killed.⁷³ Constable McCarthy of Nenagh was fired at and his leg was badly wounded.⁷⁴ Constable Sullivan suffered the same fate in the town of Nenagh.⁷⁵ Constable Maxwell was shot dead in a public house in Cloughjordan by four armed and masked men from the Nenagh Company the constable and his men were unarmed.⁷⁶ Again in Tipperary a Sergeant Mc Donnell was suddenly confronted by four masked men, he was shot in the

⁶⁹ Pdraig O'Heicead, *Keep their names for ever green* (Tipperary, 2003), p. 33.

⁷⁰ Jerry Ryan, 'Irish Volunteers in Co. Tipperary' in *Bureau of Military History 1913-21* W.S. No 1487 S. 1028.

⁷¹ County Inspector's confidential monthly report, Co. Tipperary, Jan. 1921 (P.R.O., Colonial Office Papers, CO904/150).

⁷² *Tipperary Star* 11 June 1921.

⁷³ County Inspector's confidential monthly report, Co. Tipperary. June 1921 (P.R.O., Colonial Office Papers, CO904/150).

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, Nov. 1921 CO904/149.

⁷⁵ *ibid.*

⁷⁶ *ibid.*

head and died, his revolver taken from his body afterwards.⁷⁷ There seemed no escape at all from such casualties in these operations or the many smaller ambushes that took place on a daily basis. Counter reprisal for these attacks occurred as a large force of military surrounded the Silvermines Catholic Church while mass was being celebrated. After mass all males attending were rounded up in an effort to stamp out the murder gangs who were shooting at crown forces.⁷⁸

Throughout Tipperary intimidation in the form of boycotting came in cautionary messages such as 'from the firing party' to Edward O'Toole husband of Bridget a servant at Rearcross, R.I.C. Barracks warning, 'unless you withdraw the services of your wife you shall undergo extreme penalty i.e. death, remember Finns eyes were missing so mind yours'. Constable Finn was murdered and his eyes were blown away near Rearcross Barracks.⁷⁹ Alice Crowley worked at the Kilcomen R.I.C. Barracks and received her last and final warning stating 'your existence will be short and sharp' and signed 'final'.⁸⁰ Women like Maggie Lacey from Tipperary were gagged, bound and blindfolded, and dragged through fields, she had her hair cropped for associating with the police force.⁸¹ Alice and Maggie Donovan were convicted by members of the Irish Republican Army (I.R.A.) for walking and talking with the 'peelers'.⁸² Mrs Donellan was warned that her house would be burned for allowing a policeman's wife to stay in her home.⁸³ Nina

⁷⁷ County Inspector's confidential monthly report, Co. Tipperary, Nov. 1921. (P.R.O., Colonial Office Papers, CO 904/148).

⁷⁸ *Tipperary Star*, 5 Feb. 1921.

⁷⁹ County Inspector's confidential monthly report, Co. Tipperary, April 1920. (P.R.O., Colonial Office Papers, CO904/148).

⁸⁰ *ibid.*

⁸¹ *ibid.*, July 1920. CO904/149).

⁸² *ibid.*

⁸³ *ibid.*, 16 Apr. 1920 CO904/148.

Wright a nineteen year old returning home from early mass when three men hopped over the convent gate and cut all her hair off.⁸⁴ A milkman delivering a milkround for over thirty years was told to 'prepare for death' for talking to police.⁸⁵

Volunteers who were hardened in the fighting abused their position of power by mistreating civilians in this way who did not readily cooperate.⁸⁶

A threatening notice was posted on the gates of the local church in Thurles warning that people must take the penalty if found talking to police.⁸⁷ The church at Donoughmore displayed a proclamation naming two individuals as Philip and Thomas Barrett who were engaged in trade with the R.I.C. The notice emphasized 'that there be no misunderstanding, any person dealing with the enemy forces either directly or indirectly will incur the full penalty'.⁸⁸ Of a even more serious nature was the statement issued by the Guardians of Clonmel Union who unanimously passed a resolution stating, 'that in the future no member of the British Army, or the R.I.C, was to be admitted to the hospital no matter who recommended them, and called on all public bodies to do the same' yet many of these men were frequently ordinary Irishmen.⁸⁹ In fact hundreds of people all over Tipperary who supplied the police force or the R.I.C. in any way whether repairing uniforms or letting houses were intimidated and targeted constantly by their

⁸⁴ *Tipperary Star*, 22 Jan. 1922.

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, 13 April 1920.

⁸⁶ Joost Augusteijn, *From public defiance to guerrilla warfare* (Ireland, 1996), p. 278.

⁸⁷ County Inspector's confidential monthly report, Co. Tipperary, 16 April 1920. (P.R.O., Colonial Office Papers, CO904/148).

⁸⁸ County Inspector's confidential monthly report, Co. Tipperary, 21 Mar. 1920 (P.R.O, Colonial Office Papers, CO904/148).

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, 13 April 1920.

own people and thus filled with an accumulation of fear with much occurring in Nenagh town itself. This included physical violence forcing civilians to cooperate and comply.

The I.R.A. on occasions complied with certain decent conventions such as returning the belongings of a prisoner to the next of kin. For instance, in the case of District Inspector Potter of the R.I.C. On receiving Potter's belongings from the I.R.A. the occasion was for his wife the first indication of what had become of him since he was ambushed on 23 April 1921. For under flying column leader Dinny Lacy and his men an ambush position was prepared at Garrymore Cross junction. Expected to pass near Garrymore Cross in Tipperary but which in fact never passed was an exceptionally large British convoy. Later on however, Inspector Potter did pass with a small party in a motorcar. He was taken prisoner and held for several days and was then executed as a reprisal for the hanging of Thomas Traynor by the British who did not accept an offer for the release of Potter for the reprieve of Traynor.⁹⁰

There was always a response to such happenings and the reprisal for this was the burning of Tincurry House in Tipperary by the military. The Commander-in-Chief of the police reported that this house was marked as one of the divisional headquarters of the I.R.A. The house he said 'was destroyed because of the murder of Inspector Potter'.⁹¹ In a remarkable debate that arose in the (H.C.) following this house burning by the military not a single member supported the 'reprisals policy'. Hamar Greenwood the Chief Secretary practically accepted a proposal for the abandonment of the policy except in

⁹⁰ Michael Dalton, 'Irish Volunteer in Tipperary, 1917-21' in *Bureau of Military History* W.S. No. 1116 S. 2452.

⁹¹ *Tipperary Star*, 4 June 1921.

cases of military necessity. Some members though saw the government as practicing blundering stupidity and brutality and it was made clear also by Lord Bentinck and Colonel W. Guinness that reprisals such as this were losing England her few remaining sympathizers in Ireland even though Tipperary was in their opinion one of the most disturbed counties in Ireland.⁹² The burning of houses in Ireland had no advantage for the military they stated and should be stopped. However, no question of the conduct of the troops or police or the auxiliary forces was raised as they it was reported had acted on orders strictly in accordance with and in an entirely proper manner.⁹³

Guerilla activity in the north of the country soon matched that of the south as Sean Traynor rose to prominence. Paddy Ryan a commander Volunteer inspired wonder and reverence in his followers and hatred in the British because the British had burned his family home in 1921 and had carted his father around as a hostage. Ryan sought revenge in the savage killing of District Inspector Biggs and a Miss Winifred Barrington in May 1921. The I.R.A. maintained that they only intended to shoot Biggs however the view of Mark Bence-Jones was that it was rash to go driving with a police inspector who was such an obvious target.⁹⁴ Hostage taking was a common sight as William O'Brien a County Council official was arrested and carted around too in a lorry through Nenagh.⁹⁵

In 1920 hundreds of men were required in Tipperary to block roads in an attempt to capture arms. This required a huge amount of organization and the ordinary people

⁹² *Tipperary Star*, 4 June 1921.

⁹³ *Tipperary Star*, 4 June 1921.

⁹⁴ Mark Bence-Jones, *Twilight of the Ascendancy* (Great Britain, 1987). p. 207.

⁹⁵ *Tipperary Star*, 8 Jan. 1921.

were not inclined to clear the roads out of sheer fear and in some cases the civilians themselves were forced to dig the trenches.⁹⁶ In 1920 the widespread attacks on barracks were coming to an end, they emptied and were abandoned and while not always fruitful in securing arms, such attacks did provide crucial experience under fire for I.R.A. recruits. The total number of police barracks and courthouses destroyed or damaged from the beginning of the campaign to the end of April 1921 was over 800.⁹⁷

A regime of repression existed along with the fighting and killings. There was a great scarcity of milk in Nenagh due to the cutting of supplies caused by the destruction of the local creamery.⁹⁸ In Tipperary, all fairs, markets and meetings and assemblies were banned unless permission was sought from the R.I.C. Inspector. Saturday markets were stopped and country people were turned back with their produce, which the town needed badly, consequently Nenagh Urban Council requested exemption for the town so that markets and fairs might be resumed.⁹⁹

Conditions in Ireland led to an exodus of ascendancy families from around the country and North Tipperary.¹⁰⁰ Many landlords went to England such as Lord Bandon and Lord Mayo, J.M. Wilson of Currygrange and Desmond Dames had gone for good.¹⁰¹ The raiding of country houses for arms was a frequent occurrence. Kilboy House was raided and robbed on several occasions and Lord and Lady Dunalley were threatened.

⁹⁶ Michael Dalton, 'Irish Volunteers in Tipperary, 1917-21' in Bureau of Military History W.S. No. 1116 S. 2425.

⁹⁷ Pdraig O'Haicead, *Keep their names ever green* (Tipperary, 2003), 13.

⁹⁸ *Tipperary Star*, 8 Jan. 1921. (The Nenagh Creamery was burned by crown forces as a reprisal for the shooting of Captain Hambleton on 4 November 1920).

⁹⁹ *Tipperary Star*, 27 Sept. 1919.

¹⁰⁰ Terence Prittie, *Through Irish eyes* (London, 1977), p. 52

¹⁰¹ Terence Dooley, *The decline of the big house in Ireland* (Ireland, 2001). p. 199.

Following a long series of raids they too went to live in England.¹⁰² On the 28 May 1922 ten shots were fired while Lord Dunalley was on route to church services in his pony and trap, the pony was injured.¹⁰³ Other worrying and unpleasant warnings came at the railway station in Nenagh, when, Lord Dunalley himself was forewarned by 'Ryan rabbit' and others that they were trying to kill him. To add to their troubles four more attempts were made on their lives. One such attempt happened as Lord and Lady Dunalley were standing on the steps of Kilboy House. A volley of shots were fired by a concealed marksman from bushes just twenty yards away.¹⁰⁴ Landlords such as Dunalley, their houses and property isolated, became vulnerable to attacks as the R.I.C. lost the ability to protect them and their property during the troubles. In Tipperary the police reported that 'well disposed persons were terrorized and could not be given adequate protection'.¹⁰⁵ As Tipperary became increasingly lawless a letter from Howard Dudley, solicitor for the Kilboy estate read:

'I have seen the Brigadier who cannot go out today but he will attend tomorrow morning. He will make the arrangements you desire. He has been very busy with elections. The course you suggest I think is very wise. We were all awfully sorry to hear you had again been fired at, but Brigadier Hoolan seems to think it may have been a stray shot fired by one of the guards while bent in sporting in the grounds and not intended for you at all. He added do you think this could be the true explanation? I never thought things could go on like this it is really terrible and God alone knows what the end of it all will be. Nobody seems to know how long its first candidate will last. I wish to assure you and Lady Dunalley of my sincere sympathy in all your troubles, which you have met with such courageous pluck and sheer courage'.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² *Nenagh Guardian*, 5 Aug. 1922 and *Freeman's Journal*, 4 Aug. 1922.

¹⁰³ *Tipperary Star*, 3 June 1922.

¹⁰⁴ Terence Prittie, *Through Irish eyes* (London, 1977), p. 14.

¹⁰⁵ Terence Dooley, *The decline of the big house in Ireland* (Ireland, 2001), p. 179.

¹⁰⁶ Howard Dudley to Lord Dunalley, 19 June 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29, 810(17)).

In July, the consequences of the withdrawal of protection from outlying districts such as Nenagh are exemplified in a letter from Dudley as he reported 'that things were not any better at Kilboy':¹⁰⁷

'The fences were completely down with sections of the land actually being grazed by trespassers. It was imperative he re-emphasised 'to send down some vans and have as much as possible of the furniture and effects removed from Kilboy House and stored in Dublin'. He recognized that it would not be 'easy for the couriers to manage it as in many places the roads were blocked off'. If possible however, the removal should be effected in one day and he reemphasized his fears and the importance of the matter'.¹⁰⁸

As a result of the abnormal times no markets were held again and prices had soared almost out of reach and very little business of any kind had been done in Nenagh for the last two weeks. Things were greatly upset all about as Dudley added, 'I think it was just as well you left when you did'.¹⁰⁹ The assaults on the roads by the I.R.A. paralysed travel, in every parish around Tipperary. The types of offences were the trenching of roads and railway lines, mail hold-ups and the dismantling and larceny of telephone apparatus.¹¹⁰ Indictable offences committed and recorded in June 1921 were eighty while thirty-five were recorded for July.¹¹¹

The raiding of big houses for arms became a frequent occurrence and protection was called for. For example at Coolmore House twelve masked men entered searching for guns but they left empty handed. The elderly widow Henn was raided repeatedly and

¹⁰⁷ Howard Dudkey to Lord Dunalley, 19 June 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (17)).

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, 19 July 1922.

¹⁰⁹ Howard Dudley to Lord Dunalley, 19 June 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (17)).

¹¹⁰ County Inspector's confidential monthly report, Co. Tipperary, July 1921. (P.R.O., Colonial Office Papers, CO904/116).

¹¹¹ *ibid.*

field glasses and fishing tackle was stolen.¹¹² Their guns like those of Lord Dunalley's had been handed over to the police force at their request around 1916, although two had already been stolen in a raid at Kilboy House. In Tipperary the first arms secured by the Kilruane Company were shotguns collected from the civilian population and numbered about sixteen. Volunteer Richard Dalton carried out a series of raids on the houses of farmers and others known to be in possession of shotguns. He raided McGraths's of Abbeyfarm and Bett's and Moore's in the Glenconnor district where he collected four shotguns.¹¹³ Guns and ammunition were immediately handed over by the terrified owners on being approached for them by the raiding parties. In five instances the houses of Loyalists was raided at night by about ten to twelve men under the leadership of Con Spain of the North Tipperary Brigade. In a few raids the raiding party wore masks, as many of the Volunteer members were known to the people whose houses were being searched. Four guns were seized from Captain Graham Toler, Beechwood. Lieutenant George Jackson, Mountpleasant handed over two and Mr Thomas Biggs-Atkinson, Ashley Park and Howard Dudley, Southhill solicitor to Lord Dunalley handed over one double-barreled shotgun each. Training classes in the use of firearms were held regularly at the institute in Nenagh town.¹¹⁴

A special prize for the fifth Battalion was the capture of arms, ammunition and shells from a temporary magazine used by the British forces in Fethard. It took three nights to bore through the walls, which was part of the Town Hall and three feet thick

¹¹² Mark Bence-Jones, *Twilight of the ascendancy* (Great Britain, 1987), pp 188-90.

¹¹³ Richard Dalton, 'Irish Volunteer in Tipperary, 1917-21' in *Bureau of Military History* 1913-21 W.S. 1116 S. 2524.

¹¹⁴ Con Spain, 'Irish Volunteer in Tipperary, 1917-21' in *Bureau of Military History* 1913-21 W.S. No 1464 S. 2798.

picking out the mortar between the stones to loosen them. The prize though was well worthwhile and consisted of two Lewis machine guns, a first for the fifth Battalion. Buddy Donoghue knelt down and solemnly kissed them. There were cases upon cases of stuff containing thousands of rounds of .45 revolver and .303 rifle ammunition including eighteen boxes of powder shells. The booty was carried by relays to the yard of McCarthy's Hotel in Clonmel where cars were waiting to take it to prearranged dumps.¹¹⁵

Henry C. Prittie recalls that his parents were getting decidedly jumpy whenever he came to visit as they did not like the responsibility of his family's presence at Kilboy. On one occasion Lord Dunalley had met him at the station and instructed him saying: 'better take my pistol' fumbling in his pocket. But Henry had come prepared armed with one of his own. Shortly after that the British Government asked all Loyalists to hand in their weapons. Lord Dunalley being Lieutenant of the county handed in all the weapons held at Kilboy including his sons to set a good example. In May Henry decided he had had enough of Ireland and so with his family departed to France.¹¹⁶

The first raids on the garages at Kilboy were carried out in the first week of June 1921. This incident was remembered by Samuel Doupe as he had purchased a blowlamp a replacement for Lord Dunalley on 13 June in Dublin.¹¹⁷ On the 13 November 1921, the first raid on Kilboy House itself took place and a variety of goods were looted by armed raiders including silver pots, cuff links, overcoats and a silk muffler with a valuation of

¹¹⁵ Richard Dalton, 'Irish Volunteer in Tipperary, 1917-21' in *Bureau of Military History 1913-21 W.S.* No. 1116 S. 2425.

¹¹⁶ Henry C. Prittie, *Khaki and rifle green* (London and Melbourne, 1940), p. 233.

¹¹⁷ Samuel Doupe, to Lord Dunalley, 7 Aug. 1921 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (17)).

£136 10s. 0d. Other lots stolen were valued at £276 10s. 0d. These included such items as brass finger bowls, safety razor, torches, among a host of house hold items.¹¹⁸ In February 1922 armed raiders stole a horse and cart, motor cushions, tools and clothes valued at £150. In March 1922 forty head of cattle valued at £800, and fifty sheep valued at £50, were stolen from the Kilboy estate. Between April and May 1922, 165 panes of glass were broken with a price of £1,500. The house was raided and furniture was stolen along with sixteen window sashes, grates, and four marble chimneypieces. Four herds of cattle were driven from the lands at Silvermines into a river with a total loss to the estate of £3000.¹¹⁹ In May 1922 plate, clothes and tools were stolen and a harness valued at £200. Malicious damage was caused to 779 trees and the theft of 400 yards of stake and wire nursery fence and 400 yards of four inch netting and valued at £900.¹²⁰ Malicious destruction of the inside and outside wall of a house and that part of the roof which, remained standing, was valued at £237. 11s. 0d.¹²¹

Raids on Kilboy House were ongoing during 1921-2 and the lists of stolen articles indicate that they must have been a serious drain on the estate finances.

More unpleasant things started to happen as the nocturnal knocking began on country houses. Doors were now bolted having previously stayed open all night long. About midnight on the 29 July a party of men came to Kilboy and demanded beds for the night. The strangers were armed with rifles and revolvers. There were two men and

¹¹⁸ Kilboy House, 'Inventory' 13 Nov. 1921 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (16)).

¹¹⁹ Samuel Doupe to Lord Dunalley, 23 Apr. 1922. (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (17)).

¹²⁰ Samuel Doupe to Lord Dunalley, 10 Jul. 1922. (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (17)).

¹²¹ *ibid.* 15 July 1922.

three women in residence in the house. The raiders locked up the men and women and then proceeded to ransack the house turning out dressers and presses and stole linen, boots and clothing and goods valued at £150. When finished raiding a Protestant lady was assaulted and this stopped only when money was offered. The men were apparently known in the parish and the whole thing had apparently been well planned beforehand. The incident left the whole household distressed and terrified.¹²² The inspector general reported in July and wrote: 'that not only had they got out of touch with current happenings but the rebels and the ill disposed are seizing the opportunity to swoop down on houses that escaped the attention of marauders during the stormiest period'.¹²³



The fourth Lord Dunalley 1851-1927

¹²² Samuel Doupe to Lord Dunalley, 15 July 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (17)).

¹²³ County Inspector's confidential monthly report, Co. Tipperary, Jul. 1921. (P.R.O., Colonial Office Papers, CO904/116).



Lord and Lady Dunalley were both held in high regard and seemed to have an easy relationship with people in general. They were especially admired and respected by their grandson Terence who describes his grandparents as a ‘strangely’ contrasting couple. He describes his grandfather as a towering figure with a mane of white hair and a big white walrus-moustache, which tickled intolerably when he kissed you. Lord Dunalley took a liking to Terence and called him ‘buzz-fuze’. He was a man who showed tremendous rage when driving a car thinking he was lord of the road as well as the manor. Apart though from all of this Terence says he was a steady, sensible and hard working citizen. His grandmother Lady Dunalley seemed completely colourless though she had a character of iron. She was English and inhibitingly reserved. She dominated her proud and patriarchal husband. Terence realized later while staying at Kilboy for holidays that in fact she was quite an affectionate lady, however she hid this affection behind a chilly reserve.¹²⁴ Lord and Lady Dunalley were fired at while engaged in conversation on the imposing front steps of their home, the bullet lodged in the sill. The concealed marksman was hidden behind bushes and obviously felt that a clearer message of intimidation was necessary in the case of the Dunalleys. Somehow though the bullets

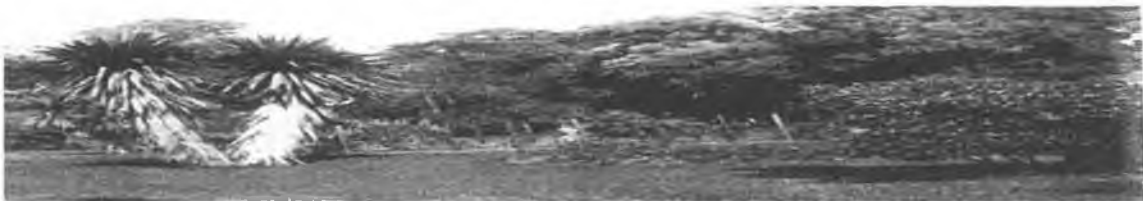
¹²⁴ Terence Prittie, *Through Irish eyes* (London, 1977). p. 25.

miraculously missed these two unarmed and absolutely harmless elderly people and in consequence of these attacks they were driven from Kilboy House and forced to flee from Tipperary and Ireland into exile.¹²⁵



The imposing steps of Kilboy House

It was not just individual families such as the Dunalleys who had had their boundaries thoroughly violated but in North Tipperary according to the Bishop of Killaloe 'there was in fact scarcely a Protestant family who had indeed escaped molestation'.¹²⁶ The Inspector General from the Nenagh office added and stated: 'that the R.I.C. were now so hampered in their work that they had seized to be the eyes and ears of the government'.¹²⁷



The countryside around Kilboy House

¹²⁵ Terence Prittie, *Through Irish eyes* (London, 1977), pp 27-8.

¹²⁶ Peter Hart, *The I.R.A. at war: 1916-23* (Oxford, 2003), p. 237.

¹²⁷ In spector General's confidently monthly report, Co. Tipperary, Aug. 1921. (P.R.O., Colonial Office Papers, CO904/116).

Chapter Two

The burning of Kilboy House

*'My lord, Kilboy House is in ruins and the front yard is burnt to ashes I don't know what to do.'*¹²⁸ *The raiders threatened to shoot me and they gave me one month to get out.*

*They looked for me all night long'*¹²⁹

The above was the tragic, sad and devastating news, which reached Lord Dunalley by letter from his steward Samuel Doupe on 6 August 1922. The attack on Kilboy House was carried out during the hours of darkness by unnamed persons who, offered no reason or excuse for their actions.¹³⁰

It was raided on thirteen occasions during the troubles and it was finally burnt to the ground in 1922. On 6 August 1922 the *Nenagh Guardian* reported the burning of Kilboy House with the headlines 'local mansions gutted, Kilboy and Castleotway in ruins'.¹³¹ On the night of the 2 August at about two o'clock in the morning a party of men arrived at Kilboy House banging loudly at the door challenging those inside to open up. Unwilling to wait they succeeded in smashing the door down and entered the house. The steward Samuel Doupe, along with his wife and some of the servants who lived in the house were all gathered together into his quarters and kept there while the main part of the house was thoroughly set alight. The burning party brought with them gallons of

¹²⁸ Samuel Doupe to Lord Dunalley, 6 Aug. 1922 N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810(17)).

¹²⁹ *ibid.*

¹³⁰ Peter Hart, *The I.R.A. at war: 1916-23* (Oxford, 2003), p. 237.

¹³¹ *Nenagh Guardian*, 6 Aug. 1922.

petrol to burn Kilboy House. They made a bonfire out of the house a huge building of striking design, which continued to burn throughout the night and all day Thursday as floor after floor collapsed.¹³² Word was conveyed to the Military and lorries of armed men immediately proceeded to the district, but nothing was done for nothing could be done. Further destruction was to follow for Kilboy House was attacked again on Thursday night while the remains of the house, a symbolic shell stood still smouldering from the previous night. The raiders had returned to complete the unfinished job and burned the outhouses to the ground.¹³³ The work of two nights had utterly destroyed this Georgian mansion, its art treasures and valuable furniture and a great number of historical manuscripts. Among the articles destroyed were some massive tankards made of silver, which was taken by Lord Dunalley's ancestor from the mines in 1730.¹³⁴ Some weeks later the raiders returned again and another raid was carried out which caused even further destruction at Kilboy for a large haystack was burned creating another bonfire. Damage was estimated to be £60.¹³⁵

When the fire took hold the first night the raiders left and disappeared back into the night. The staff then applied the water hose and set about saving what they could. They manage to salvage two pianos and stored them in the stables in the front yard but they were burned the next night. Samuel Doupe in his reports to Lord Dunalley wrote:

'The inner yard next to the Mansion House was destroyed and the outer farmyard was looted of all agricultural machinery and implements, in fact everything of value. The raiders have broken into every possible place. The stables, the main conservatory and the kitchen conservatory, the kitchen and the main gardens are

¹³² *Nenagh Guardian*, 6 Aug. 1922,

¹³³ *ibid.*

¹³⁴ *ibid.*

¹³⁵ *ibid.*, 28 Aug. 1922.

all looted, broken and destroyed. They have threatened us and given me one month to clear out of the place. The raiders threatened to shoot me and afterwards they searched for me during the night so I now go to Nenagh every night for personal safety'.¹³⁶

Following the fire he wrote to the agent Charles Maude and he also wired him but as yet he had not heard from him. Finally he reported the matter to the solicitor Howard Dudley and every day he reported to the Brigadier at the barracks but he got no assistance there at all'. The cook with the laundry lady and his wife had stayed in the gardener's house on the Friday night and they too were raided three times in one night. The raiders took a pair of boots and leggings belonging to him out of his wife's case and he reported: 'they are still searching for me, meanwhile I have only one pair of boots now'.¹³⁷ In the meantime he adds:

'Tomorrow I will try to sell some cattle. Most likely I will have to go over to England as a refugee, perhaps you will be able to get me some job I may be able to do. There is no point in my going back to Limerick as it too is in a state of war and I would have to leave there anyway as things stand. Some news I heard today is that Joe Curran is getting married to Gleeson and Conroy is leaving Kilboy. What will I do with the cows? From the address you can see I'm staying in Nenagh. Every day I go out to Kilboy but all the roads are blocked by felled trees. Everywhere but especially at Curreeney many hundreds of trees young and old have been cut down. I have made a report to Howard Dudley concerning the matter. Meanwhile I would like to hear from your lordship as soon as you can and let me know what is best to be done. This place is just sheer hell. With the machinery gone I don't see how we can carry on. I forgot to mention that they took my watch and my purse the night they burned Kilboy House'.¹³⁸

Further correspondence from Doupe relates:

'My Lord, I wrote to you a letter from here last Sunday night informing you of the goods that we saved at Kilboy House and which are now lodged in the Provincial bank in Nenagh for safekeeping. The manager Mr White kindly provided storage for this purpose in the bank premises. As already conveyed to you the two pianos

¹³⁶ Samuel Doupe to Lord Dunalley, 6 Aug. 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers MS 29,810 (17)).

¹³⁷ *ibid.*

¹³⁸ Samuel Doupe to Lord Dunalley, 9 Aug. 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810(17)).

we put in the stables in the front yard and some furniture in the coach house along with some of my own furniture which too were burned on Thursday night'.¹³⁹

Any goods that were saved Samuel Doupe had them deposited in the bank in Nenagh for Lord Dunalley. Such items were two cases of linen, a leather trunk and about seven loads of chairs, tables and sofas including the front stairs and hall carpet. The dogs went with the Mollinson's to Birr.¹⁴⁰ Having failed to extinguish the fire the people living on the Kilboy estate gallantly dragged out mahogany wardrobes believed to be her ladyships favourite piece leaving all decent furniture behind for it was impossible to remember what one most wanted saved.¹⁴¹ The family pictures were laboriously cut out of their frames, which were worth more than the pictures inside.¹⁴² The whole range of implements from the harness room, the iron room and houses were burned and totally wrecked. On Thursday night the raiders tried to burn the laundry but they failed. The looting afterwards Doupe wrote was just terrible.¹⁴³ The conservatory was again broken and looted. All the garden houses were destroyed and the garden machinery was gone. The raiders broke into the chemistry room and wrecked it all. The iron roofing, the traps and the all the harnesses were stolen. Tools and benches and other items disappeared from the workshops. Engines and dynamos were all destroyed. Barrels of oil were looted and taken away. Workshops and storehouses were burned along with several stacks of hay in the keeper's yard. Doors and locks of the cellars and storerooms were smashed and every pane of glass broken. The cellars were looted and cleared of

¹³⁹ Samuel Doupe to Lord Dunalley, 9 Aug. 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (17)).

¹⁴⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁴¹ Terence Prittie, *Through Irish eyes* (London, 1977), P. 27.

¹⁴² *ibid.* pp 27-8.

¹⁴³ Samuel Doupe to Lord Dunalley, 9 Aug. 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29, 819(17)).

everything.¹⁴⁴ Doupe again wired and wrote to Charles Maude but had no reply. He informed Howard Dudley on the matter and he pleaded, 'I don't know is gone from the place for everything seems to be gone'.¹⁴⁵

In one particular raid by armed men at Kilboy the looting included a 'mare' valued at £30, a cart and a lot of goods from the garage and the harness room. The raiders then coolly put the mare under the cart and carried off the booty. When a workman appeared he was warned to clear off.¹⁴⁶ These blatant robberies, threats and intimidation serve to emphasize the conditions prevailing at Kilboy as the County Inspector stated: 'that people in general were still shy of coming forward to the police and will not give evidence willingly'. This posed immense problems for them'.¹⁴⁷

On Monday Doupe sold forty-two head of cattle and he sold sheep on Wednesday and stated:

'Tomorrow I may be able to sell some more provided there are any left but what will I do with the cows, he asks. Will I sell for the best price I can get though I think it's a bad time to sell animals, what will I do with the pure bred ones? We do not have a beast on the upper side of the road and all the gates on the upper side are gone too.¹⁴⁸ We have very bad weather now and I think it is better to sell all the cattle now if I can. The crops are doing very badly and the ground is so wet you cannot imagine all the destruction that is done. I don't see how we can carry on any work. I fear our hay will be burned again'.

¹⁴⁴ Samuel Duope to Lord Dunalley, 9 Aug. 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29, 810 (17)).

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*, 20 Aug. 1922.

¹⁴⁶ *Tipperary Star*, 4 Mar. 1922.

¹⁴⁷ County Inspector's confidential monthly report, Co. Tipperary, July 1921. (P.R.O., Colonial Office Papers, CO904/116).

¹⁴⁸ Samuel Doupe to Lord Dunalley, 20 Aug. 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810(17)).

Such wanton destruction was never witnessed and Doupe could not get any help from the troops so he was he said powerless.¹⁴⁹ There were no trains from Nenagh and the roads around Nenagh and Kilboy were all blocked. He also reported that Conroy a worker on the estate turned out to be the greatest thief he had ever met with and declared:

‘I sold him three calves for £14 3s. 6d. On Tuesday he told me he was stopping in the mines and would settle with me the next day. He came into Nenagh the following day and said the calves were taken off him and wanted his pay from me so I got him arrested and he was kept in the barrack for the night. There is £8. 15s. due to him and £2. he said he got for the fowl so he paid back the balance of £7.7s. 6d’.¹⁵⁰

There were many windows broken in MacCormacks house and Doupe was unsure if anyone could or would live in it. ‘We’ll all have to go to England I suppose on the refugee system’ he adds. His impassioned plea to Lord Dunalley was for someone please to come and give him a helping hand.¹⁵¹

The practice of hay burning continued to be used as a form of intimidation at Kilboy and elsewhere and the Inspector General reported that some of the crimes smacked of agrarian trouble, for example in one case twenty one cocks of hay were burned and several sheep were maliciously wounded and the dwelling house was fired following a civil prosecution for trespass.¹⁵² Other examples saw twenty-five tons of hay the property of Catherine Martin and Joe Dwyer completely destroyed by fire because

¹⁴⁹Samuel Doupe to Lord Dunalley, 9 Aug. 1922. (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (17)).

¹⁵⁰ Samuel Doupe to Lord Dunalley, 22 Aug. 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (17)).

¹⁵¹Samuel Doupe to Lord Dunalley, 9 Aug. 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (17)).

¹⁵² Inspector General’s confidently monthly report, Co. Tipperary, Aug. 1921. (P.R.O., Colonial Office Papers, CO904/116).

Dwyer had let a house to a Sergeant at Cashel.¹⁵³ Two houses belonging to Lord Dunalley at Silvermines and Dolla, which had been let to and used as a barracks by the R.I.C., were burned in late August 1922.¹⁵⁴ This perhaps could and may account for the burning of hay at the Kilboy estate and led to remarks from Judge Moore at Clonmel Quarter Sessions which stated: 'It is appalling that these things are occurring throughout the country' on hearing evidence of the burning of farmers hay and premises.¹⁵⁵

William Harkness a friend to the Dunalley's came to assess the damage at Kilboy on his behalf where he found things far worse than he expected. The new motor, the engine the dynamos were all burned and rendered useless. The damage was so extensive that in fact it became easier to say was left rather than what was gone. He did manage to salvage two steam pumps, some wrenches and a motor mower, a threshing machine, a pulper, and a fishing rod. While there, he saw no one in charge and saw people openly coming in and carrying away timber from the long store house with no one to stop them.¹⁵⁶ In late August he managed to salvage an engine, some lengths of timber, a supply tank, a copper cyclinder, a boiler, some overhead copper cables and odd bits of electric wiring. He sold all of this at his own valuation to Mr Mackey and Mr Cutbert. He thought that many 15"(inches) cement pipes could be used by the County Council for road filling and that a good deal of scrap iron and lead pipes could be sold as salvage. He thought this was the only way forward as looters seemed to come out of everywhere.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵³ County Inspector's confidential monthly report, Co. Tipperary, May 1922. (P.R.O., Colonial Office Papers, CO904/148).

¹⁵⁴ Samuel Doupe to Lord Dunalley, 28 Aug. 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810(17)).

¹⁵⁵ *Tipperary Star*, 22 Jan 1921.

¹⁵⁶ William Harkness to Lord Dunalley, 12 Aug. 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810(17)).

¹⁵⁷ *ibid.* 22-3 Aug. 1922

Harkness wrote: 'there is so much looting about nothing will be left. The cattle and hay sheds are still intact, they may or may not burn them and I think it wise to sell them. Things are very disturbed here, we have no railway, post or telegraph service. The whole thing would make a grown man cry'.¹⁵⁸

In the Nenagh district due to the abnormal times a postman had not been seen for weeks and papers were very scarce in fact to get a daily paper two or three days old was quite a treat. Unemployment was rampant in Nenagh which prompted chairman Mr Gleeson to state their financial grievance in that the £400. allocated to Nenagh out of the Dail Eireann grant of £8,000. to Tipperary for unemployment was inadequate. Thurles got a £300. grant and Templemore got £200. Despite this however, the chairman insisted that Nenagh was entitled to more Cleeves, the extensive milk factory and practically the only industry in the town with over 400 employees was burned which evoked general indignation and was universally condemned, it's loss was severely felt.¹⁵⁹ In addition to all the coal stores closed down everyone was beginning to feel the pinch of the scarcity of supplies due to the curtailment of the railway service and many of the big houses were even reducing their staff.¹⁶⁰

Howard Dudley writes:

'My Lord I had already written to Mr Maude and received a reply to lodge claim for the same amount as you mentioned, £100,000. Mr Doupe, will call this evening to let me know any further particulars so that I may be able to tell you something more before this letter goes out to you. We are now in Nenagh cut off from the outer world owing to a railway bridge near Beechwood having been

¹⁵⁸ William Harkness to Lord Dunalley. 13 Sept. 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (17)).

¹⁵⁹ *Freemans Journal*, 18 July 1922.

¹⁶⁰ *Tipperary Star*, 22 July 1922.

blown up last week and so mails and papers have to be sent by motor to Rocrea. The railway people I think are getting tired of the line'.¹⁶¹

Dudley continued in his letter:

'The whole business is too sad for words and we are all profoundly grieved that your beautiful residence has been destroyed and that you have lost so much that is valuable that no money could compensate you. Please convey all our sympathy to Lady Dunalley, also I will try to do my best to get you fair compensation as far as that part of the business goes.'¹⁶²

Richard Walker too was, distressed to learn of the burning of Kilboy House. He was anxious to assure Lord Dunalley that he had done everything possible to arrange protection to get something done at Kilboy. He had as his solicitor made representations to the Minister for Defence at Portobello Barracks on eight occasions. It was he declared very unfortunate that no steps had been taken in pursuance of his application with the result that Kilboy House had been destroyed.¹⁶³ Support came too from Thomas Sadlier who stated that ' he was absolutely disheartened and full of sympathy for the Dunalleys, at the destruction of Kilboy'. He offered some photographs of oil paintings from Kilboy House, which he had in his possession and looked for confirmation as to whether the old Sadlier deed box and the Ponsonby papers had been destroyed also.¹⁶⁴ Meanwhile further raids continued as reported by Doupe:

'My Lord, the whole place at Kilboy is in commonage and I cannot describe the scene of destruction that took place. For when Mollison left on Saturday his house was looted and is now totally destroyed. He got three days to clear out. The same fate is in store for the James' as they are leaving today. Today I have sold seventy-two heads of cattle and I intend sending to Mrs Bernell four pure-

¹⁶¹ A fishing day trip proved cover under which the Battalion engineer surveyed and measured the bridge spanning the rivers so that arrangements could be made to demolish them at short notice should such action arise

¹⁶² Howard Dudley to Lord Dunalley, 12 Aug. 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (17)).

¹⁶³ Richard J. Walker to Lord Dunalley, 4 Aug. 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810(17)).

¹⁶⁴ Thomas U. Sadlier to Lord Dunalley 28 Aug. 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (17)).

bred cattle and one pure bred heifer calf tomorrow, that is provided I still have them'.

This was a constant worry for Samuel Doupe while living away from Kilboy in these times, would there in fact be anything left at all when he arrived for work the next day. The previous week there were twenty-eight sheep and eight bullock yearlings stolen so he had done his best to sell off the rest. All the sheep were sold. Howard Dudley had advised him to sell off the cattle that could be sold but now that he was away Doupe had no one to talk with or to advise him on matters. He advised Lord Dunalley that: 'Conroy had now left Kilboy for good for he had turned out to be the greatest crook going'. A mine explosion occurred in the barracks on Barrack Street, the people are gone mad and it breaks my heart to see the place now for I hardly know what I am doing'.¹⁶⁵

Lord Dunalley was kept well informed about all transactions concerning the Kilboy estate and much correspondence passed between him and his steward whose role was of even greater significance in the case of an absentee landlord. Doupe was asked for and supplied a breakdown list of the stock at Kilboy. In August, Doupe wrote:

'My Lord the breakdown for the twenty-eight sheep were as follows, fourteen lambs, seven ewes and seven fat sheep. On the 11 August eight yearling bullocks were stolen while on the fourteenth eighteen milk cows were stolen but returned on the sixteenth. The fifteenth saw seven yearlings, two cows and two bull calves stolen. Ten of the cows have been sold and the purebred ones are at Mrs Bernell's premises. Charles Going took two purebred cows, two calves and one cow that is, nearing calf to one of his farms. At Kilboy now are eight cows, sixteen calves, three bulls and the working horses, the price for horses are bad, however I sold 104 sheep'.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ Samuel Doupe to Lord Dunalley, 14 Aug. 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (17)).

¹⁶⁶ Samuel Doupe to Lord Dunalley, 19 Aug. 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers MS 29,810(17)).

Charles Maude advised selling the horses, the colt fetched £20, but unfortunately it was thrown back again the next day. Charles Going and Mrs Bernell had housed some stock on their lands such as the milking cows and some heifers and calves.¹⁶⁷ At Kilboy there were three old bulls 'will I sell them at a bad price asks Doupe and what about the pure-bred cows will I see what I can get for them as Howard Dudley is still away at present'.¹⁶⁸ Due to the troubled times, at Kilboy very heavy losses were incurred by having to sell stock at less than their real value because the ordinary market price was not to be had.

The good news was that looting had slackened at the Kilboy estate from the middle of August 1922.¹⁶⁹ The easing of hostilities lifted a tremendous weight of the minds of the civilian population. The County Inspector reported that 'the average householder can now go to bed at night without any fear of being molested'.¹⁷⁰ However, while looting at Kilboy had eased somewhat some looting and much harassment still continued and the employees were often targeted and forced to give up their jobs in order to make life more difficult for the landlord and his agents. For example at Kilboy House the terrified servants were locked in a room in one of the raids while the house was ransacked. The servant girl Bridget Hogan experienced many such happenings at Kilboy and consequently moved and secured a position with Lady Lambert of Beau Park in County Meath. A sequence of events followed as demesne workers were also targeted

¹⁶⁷ Samuel Doupe to Lord Dunalley, 19 Aug. 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 917)).

¹⁶⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ County Inspector's confidential monthly report, Co. Tipperary. Aug. 1922 (P.R.O., Colonial Office Papers, CO904/116).

and houses occupied by them were burned too.¹⁷¹ On Monday the fourteenth of August the houses of the guardsman, the yardsman and the herdsman, were burned leaving this little community not only traumatized but homeless and destitute. These men were given three days to clear off the estate. The Stewards house 'Happygrove' was destroyed and the floorboards ripped up and stolen.

This led the county inspector to declare that: 'the hunger for land is great those who are landowners want more, while those who have none and who have been gun men believe that the estates of Loyalists such as Kilboy once cleared will be divided up amongst them'.¹⁷² For example the occupation of 'The Priory', the baronial residence of Sir J. Cardens by the Auxiliaries meant that people in Templemore and districts who expected and looked to the immediate distribution of the estate would have to wait until pleasanter conditions prevailed as a majority awaited the break up of that estate.¹⁷³

Others employees were forced to leave such as the Stapleton's after their house in Curleen were attacked. Matt Stapleton had fired a shot at the raiders, which triggered a response and they made a return visit to burn his trap and take the slates from his roof but despite this, he still went to Kilboy every day to report to Doupe. The Reddings's house was also completely wrecked, and it was reported that the looting party was mostly operating around the mines and Boherbee. Some men had been caught looting and were

¹⁷¹ Terence Dooley, *The decline of the big house in Ireland* (Ireland, 2001), p. 168.

¹⁷² County Inspector's confidential monthly report, Co. Tipperary, Aug. 1921 (P.R.O., Colonial Office Papers, CO904/116).

¹⁷³ *Tipperary Star*, 22 Jan. 1922.

sent for trial. This prompted a response from Samuel Doupe who stated that 'he never thought he was living among such thieves'.¹⁷⁴

All of the plate from the cellars had disappeared but some plate and several bottles of wine were found by workmen in the fences down the Buck Avenue. The plate was sent to the bank for safekeeping, as for the wine he added: 'I leave that matter up to your lordship's imagination as to what purpose it was used for'. At present he was trying to compile a list of machinery and such things, in fact everything that was about the place in Kilboy but it was proving impossible to think of everything. The tennis courts and grounds were full of debris so too were the peach, tomato and vinery houses so nothing could be recovered there.¹⁷⁵ The press reported 'the arrest of robbers' as National troops from Nenagh made a swoop on Kilboy where a number of men had their cars loaded with all kinds of stuff from the Dunalley estate. Six men were charged at a special court in Nenagh.¹⁷⁶

The local news relayed from Doupe to Dunalley, was that Michael Collins had called to the Nenagh Barracks and had given the Brigadier much harassment asking what the hell they were doing by giving no assistance to anyone and the whole country falling into desolation.¹⁷⁷ The visit to Nenagh was part of his inspection tour of the South Western command before Collins was interrupted by the death and funeral of Arthur

¹⁷⁴ Samuel Doupe to Lord Dunalley, 20 Aug. 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (17)).

¹⁷⁵ Samuel Doupe to Lord Dunalley, 20 Aug. 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 917)).

¹⁷⁶ *Tipperary Star*, 26 Aug. 1922

¹⁷⁷ *ibid.*

Griffith.¹⁷⁸ The queries and correspondence from Lord Dunalley continued and in his reply Doupe stated:

‘The violence continues, Kilmore Bridge was blown up and more trees yet again were destroyed between the Dolla area and Silvermines. The stock on hand at Kilboy consists of three old bulls while Charles Going had nine cattle and Mrs Bernell was holding six cows. The chest of drawers was unfortunately burned because it proved impossible to salvage anything from the bedrooms while Kilboy was burning and the linen from the servant’s hall was lodged in the bank in early August’.¹⁷⁹

There were still no trains to Nenagh so people motored to Dublin. Samuel Doupe was confronted daily by difficulties and clearly took his stewardship seriously. He was deeply attached to the Kilboy estate on which he had expended much labour and he appeared to have a very good relationship with Lord Dunalley.¹⁸⁰ He seemed to carry the whole weight of Kilboy on his shoulders discharging his responsibilities in a most efficient, effective and faithful way towards his employer. He kept the accounts in order and paid wages and bills that fell due for example, one to Moynan’s garage, the harness bill to O’Haras and the farm bill to Hodgins. The military he reported was in attendance at Kilboy and the engineers were expected soon to attend to all the houses.¹⁸¹ Of concern to him now was that he had not heard from Charles Maude for some weeks and therefore was unsure if he would get the promised appointment from Maude’s uncle at Fivemilestown in County Fermanagh.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁸ Michael Hopkinson, *Green against green* (Dublin, 1988), p. 166.

¹⁷⁹ Samuel Doupe to Lord Dunalley, 23 Aug. 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,820(18)).

¹⁸⁰ Samuel Doupe to Lord Dunalley, 23 Aug. 1922 N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (18)).

¹⁸¹ *ibid.*, 23 Oct. 1922.

¹⁸² *ibid.*

It proved difficult to gather information in relation to the various damages caused from time to time at Kilboy. Samuel Doupe was still in Nenagh but owing to the state of the country he was very slow to visit Kilboy at all and indeed for him to do so would prove extremely dangerous. He therefore had to a great extent to rely on reports from Stapleton and MacCormack as to what was going on there. These men, Howard Dudley reports, tell him little or nothing of events taking place there and often not for days or weeks after things had happened at Kilboy. However, Doupe managed to dispose of all the remaining stock except a couple of medium horses. In consequence of the perpetual raids and theft of cattle and other articles, all the stock at Kilboy was sold off during 1922. Doupe was expected to take up his new position if the railway strike permitted very soon. A request from Dudley was that he required confirmation that the rent for the Silvermines Barracks was paid up to October 1921.¹⁸³ At this time the Nenagh railway men were paid off owing to the regrettable prevailing conditions in the country adding still further to the already big list of the unemployed.¹⁸⁴ Samuels Doupe's time at Kilboy was coming to an end and he wrote:

'My Lord, I expect to be leaving this week for Mrs Montgomery's place and I will lodge the balance to your account of £658. 7s. 9d. It is my intention to write out the account and send it to you. Enclosed are receipts for bills paid including £200. which I lodged to C.H. Maude's account on 12 October, as per your instructions. All that now remains are a couple of horses I was unable to sell and I intend writing to Charles Going to take one, for horses were never so cheap. Enclosed also are receipts for her Ladyship's lodgment'.¹⁸⁵ His letter continues: 'today I am finished with all the cattle and I cannot sell the horses. In fact I cannot sell anything for they out there won't buy anything'.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ Howard Dudley to Lord Dunalley, 8 Nov. 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (18)).

¹⁸⁴ *Tipperary Star*, 14 Sept. 1922

¹⁸⁵ Samuel Doupe to Lord Dunalley, 12 Nov. 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (18)).

¹⁸⁶ *ibid.*

Samuel Doupe's account was cleared and acknowledged by Richard White and the balance lodged to Lord Dunalley's account as instructed. White confirmed that Doupe had left Kilboy and Nenagh and had motored to a new position in the north and with his wife and family had arrived safely.¹⁸⁷ Having been shot at and given one month to clear up the steward was the last of the Kilboy estate administrative employees to leave. During this period of increased competition for land from farmers sons, the landless, and the penniless who, above all else wanted to be the occupiers of the land, the final departure of the steward perhaps was now making it possible for the estate to be divided up amongst those who desired it so.¹⁸⁸

What was the motivation for the burning of Kilboy House? Lord Dunalley was at a loss to know and declared: 'I do not know why I should be persecuted I have had no quarrel with anyone, I have always lived at Kilboy, and my income has been spent on the place'.¹⁸⁹ However, Richard Walker in his dealings with the secretary to the Minister for Defence while repeatedly requesting protection for Kilboy House pointed out that Lord Dunalley had evidently received some information that Kilboy was in special danger and this was the purpose of Dunalley's urgent telegram to him seeking this protection.¹⁹⁰

Terence Prittie stated that Sinn Fein selected their home as a target simply because it was vulnerable and supposedly important.¹⁹¹ It was the first serious blow to their already uncertain family fortunes. Only the outside walls of this 200, year old house

¹⁸⁷ Richard White to Lord Dunalley, 16 Nov. 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,820 (18)).

¹⁸⁸ Terence Dooley, *The decline of the big house in Ireland* (Ireland, 2001), p. 27.

¹⁸⁹ Lord Dunalley to W.T. Cosgrave, 10 Jan. 1924 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810(19)).

¹⁹⁰ Richard Walker to Lord Dunalley, 18 Jul. 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (17)).

¹⁹¹ Terence Prittie, *Through Irish eyes* (London, 1977), p. 27.

were left standing. His grandfather had been Lord Lieutenant of County Tipperary in 1905 and had discharged his duties in a most honest and straightforward manner. According to Terence Prittie the record of the family was reasonable. The Lord Dunalley of the day had provided money to buy food for the needy, and employment for men by building famine roads, up the mountains so that the poor people could cut peat to warm their homes.¹⁹² There was he says a feeling of real friendship between the landlord and the employees and no hideous rack-rents although some tenants often lived in hovels. The rent for a cottage then was five shillings a year, so Kilboy House, he believes was not burned by them but, he insists by an I.R.A. 'flying column' sent down from Dublin.¹⁹³ The views of Terence Prittie are exactly that, his views, and are perhaps liable to be emotionally biased following such a tragedy. These he has set down unhesitatingly.

It was decided to auction the meadows at Cooleen and Dolla but on the previous night warning notices had been put up cautioning people not to take the meadows.¹⁹⁴ The possibility arose of arranging lettings or sales on the Kilboy lands but Dudley was told quite plainly that nothing at all in this direction could be attempted in the present circumstances even though there were several prospective purchasers who could put down the money they will not be allowed to do so by the turbulent locals living in the mountains. These people understand perfectly well that the most the government can do for some years at any rate is to clear off the uppercased tenancies by a compulsory bill but that they have not sufficient funds to attempt to finance the purchase of untenanted land or large tracts formerly in the owners hands which they call 'ranches'. They expect

¹⁹² Terence Prittie, *Through Irish eyes* (London, 1977), p. 27.

¹⁹³ Terence Prittie, *Through Irish eyes* (London, 1977), p. 27

¹⁹⁴ Howard Dudley to Lord Dunalley, 20 Aug. 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (17)).

that later on the government will be in a position to do this and then they will be put into possession of such lands without payment of any fine whatever but simply under the annuity which will pay off principal and interests after a certain number of years just as under the old Land Purchase Acts. This is what is in their minds and though it will be several years before the government can attempt any such thing they prefer to wait for this eventuality and calculate that it will pay them to do so rather than pay anything like a fine now for the fee simple, cash down, however small. It follows therefore that they will not allow anyone into possession in the meantime fearing that such persons might get some sort of hold on the place adverse to their expectant interest therein so that lettings of any kind are also out of the question. Dudley emphasized that this information was correct, as his source of information on the subject was impeachable.¹⁹⁵

If one considers that Petty Sessions were listed for Cloughjordan up to the 2 June 1922 and were signed by His Majesty's Lieutenant Lord Dunalley of Kilboy. Then clearly what emerges from this document is that Dunalley was still seen as representing the crown.¹⁹⁶ But apart from his political identity there were other possible reasons for the burning of Kilboy House. Two houses at Silvermines and Dolla had been attacked and burned. The obvious and most likely reason was because they were let to and used by the R.I.C. One could interpret from this that the lesson to be learned was that consorting with the enemy could put one's own house at risk.¹⁹⁷ Perhaps it was thought that Lord and Lady Dunalley had gone to live in England on a more permanent basis and

¹⁹⁵ Howard Dudley to Lord Dunalley, 18 May 1923 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (18)).

¹⁹⁶ Return of Petty Session of Cloughjordan, Feb. – June 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (17)).

¹⁹⁷ County Inspector's confidential monthly report, Co. Tipperary, Sept. 1921 (P.R.O., Colonial Office Papers, CO904/149).

this might have led some people to think that Kilboy House could or would be used as a substitute for the destroyed barracks at Silvermines and Dolla. These houses too were owned by, Lord Dunalley. This idea however, was a delusion according to Mr Justice Dodd addressing the grand jury assembled at Mullingar. He had made enquires regarding such matters and was certain not one of them was to be taken over by the military.¹⁹⁸

But according to Michael Dalton a Volunteer who with his comrades from the fifth Battalion destroyed by 'burning' a large furnished but unoccupied mansion, the property of an ex-British army officer named Perry. This mansion was completely spoiled and laid bare and was burned as a result of a brigade order and he claimed the reason for it's destruction was to prevent it being occupied by British forces. Patrick Dalton the Battalion O/C, was in charge of the operation and the fifth Battalion, was assisted by members of the Newcastle Company in whose area the mansion was situated.¹⁹⁹ On the twenty fifth of June 1920 at two o'clock in the morning a party of between 200 and 300 men called at 'Annesgrove House' and ordered the caretaker out of the house at the point of a revolver. They then proceeded to burn Annesgrove down the house was totally gutted. The motive here according to the County Inspector at Nenagh was to prevent occupation by the military.²⁰⁰ Another example is 'Summerhill'. The motivation behind this burning was simply to prevent military occupation by the British forces and secondly because of its strategic position located on high ground thus enabling the Auxiliaries with field glasses to have swept the countryside. These were the claims

¹⁹⁸ Terence Dooley, *The decline of the big house in Ireland* (Ireland, 2001), p. 174.

¹⁹⁹ Richard Dalton, 'Irish Volunteer in Tipperary, 1917-21' in *Bureau of Military History 1913-21* W.s. No. 1116 S. 2524.

²⁰⁰ County Inspector's confidential monthly report, Co. Tipperary, June 1920. (P.R.O., Colonial Office Papers, CO904/148)

according to an official report issued from Dublin Castle. The order to burn was carried out by Michael Graham captain of the Summerhill Company.²⁰¹

Landlord tenant relationships are also to be considered: On lands at Curreeny, Lord Dunalley, was considered good by some of his tenants and bad by others.²⁰² He charged a number of tenants with burning and skinning land in 1838 as it was considered detrimental to the land.²⁰³ Although these events took place a long time ago it is generally believed that ancestral grievances were handed down from generation to generation. The first exercise of Dunalleys ownership according to a report by a, Fr Glynn was to serve middlemen and tenants with writs of ejectment the second, was to raise rents.²⁰⁴ Thirdly, although he conceded considerable rent reductions to his tenants he refused to lower them to Griffith's valuation, which brought him into confrontation with the Land League. Fourthly, evictions took place at Commaun and Curreeny on farms belonging to the Dunalley estate in 1884. The protection party under the command of Lieutenant Amber and Gerald Fitzgerald the sub sheriff evicted Ellen Ryan and her son Timothy who farmed fifty-three acres between them. The claim for three years rent from both amounted to £83. 2s. 1d. The eviction party then proceeded to and took possession of two outlying farms in the possession of Thomas Ryan and James Murphy. J.F. Lynch, Resident Magistrate (R.M.) was in charge, there was no disturbance during the proceedings.²⁰⁵ Although these evictions had taken place thirty years previously perhaps there were old scores waiting to be settled with the Dunalley family and with

²⁰¹ Terence Dooley, *The decline of the big house in Ireland* (Ireland, 2001). pp 172-3.

²⁰² Miriam Lambe, *A Tipperary landed estate Castle Otway, 1750-1853* (Ireland, 1998), p. 55.

²⁰³ Daniel Grace, *The great famine in Nenagh poor law union* (Ireland, 2000), p. 37.

²⁰⁴ Miriam Lambe, *A Tipperary landed estate Castle Otway, 1750-1853* (Ireland, 1998), p. 18.

²⁰⁵ *Nenagh Guardian*, 30 June 1884

County Tipperary in chaos it is possible that some people seized the opportunity to settle them. For example a Mr George Frewl was shot dead for evicting tenants as in his capacity as Magistrate and land agent according to his son he had taken proceedings against several persons for refusing to pay rent.²⁰⁶

It is worthwhile here mentioning that in early 1922 steps were been taken in Tipperary to establish for Clanwilliam and all other districts a strong branch of the 'Evicted Tenants Associations'. Reparations were to be made to the descendants of the evicted even back to the famine clearances. Persons having any claim in respect of the evictions of their forebears were encouraged to secure particulars.²⁰⁷ The time lapse presented no obstacles at all.

It is also appropriate however to present another view of the Dunalley's through the years. For instance the Dispensary in Silvermines opened its doors in 1810 and was financed mainly by them. In 1822 with a neighbour General Carroll they devised an ingenious system of tithes by consensus in Kilmore parish. They had arranged the collection of tithes for the Established Church Rector Gilbert Holmes in an atmosphere of peace and all round good will, cut out the oppressive tithe proctor and relieved the tenant farmers almost all Roman Catholics by voluntarily increasing their own share.²⁰⁸ The Lord Dunalley of the day contributed almost half of the finances for the local famine relief committee.²⁰⁹ The Nenagh Guardian was critical of estate owners who gave no aid

²⁰⁶ *Tipperary Star*, 22 Jan. 1921.

²⁰⁷ *Tipperary Star*, 25 Mar. 1922.

²⁰⁸ Donal A. Murphy, *The two Tipperarys* (Tipperary, 1994), p. 66.

²⁰⁹ Daniel Grace, *The great famine in Nenagh poor law union Co. Tipperary* (Ireland, 2000), p. 66.

to the Nenagh fever hospital or the Dispensary, and equally critical of the fact that patients were often from local estates. Lord Dunalley himself subscribed half of the annual total needed for the Cloughjordan Dispensary.²¹⁰ Lord Dunalley also made arrangements with his tenants in the Borrisokane Union through his agent Maurice C. Maude and the *Nenagh Guardian* reported that 'the following arrangements cannot fail of being most satisfactory to the tenants. Taking the valuation as a basis, the new rent was the same as Griffiths valuation in three cases, and under it in eleven. In the remainder of the cases the new rent was substantially under the old one, according to the area of the holding'.²¹¹

Other big houses burned in this period were Lorcan Park House, however about 200 families were evicted from this estate about sixty years earlier.²¹² The Abbey, in Templemore was gutted in 1921. It was one of the finest residences in Ireland almost as large as Dublin's Custom House containing everything that would contribute to the comfort and enjoyment of it's occupiers. The fire having first had three hours of uninterrupted progress saw the house reduced to a total wreck and enveloped in devastating flames and beyond control by the time people gathered.²¹³ Also destroyed was Strasbourgh House, Ennis; Meton House, Roscarberry; Grange House, Carlingford; Union Hall Custom House, Wexford; Fifteen houses were burned at Knockcraghery, Roscommon, leaving only four houses left in the village. Castle Bernard the residence of

²¹⁰ *Nenagh Guardian*, 12 Dec. 1840.

²¹¹ *Nenagh Guardian*, 18 July 1884.

²¹² *Tipperary Star* 2 July 1921

²¹³ *Tipperary Star*, 25 June 1922.

the Earl and Countess of Bandon was gutted and Lord Bandon was kidnapped.²¹⁴ The home of, Mr O'Kelly-Lynch a bank manager was burned by about thirty to forty men. Other mansions burned were Lisheen Castle, Templemore and Moydrum Castle, the residence of Lord Castlemaine. Lady Castlemaine and her three daughters were woken up at about three in the morning and told: 'were burning your house as a reprisal for the recent shootings and burnings at Cossan and Mount Temple'.²¹⁵ It too was gutted as the fire gained a firm hold.²¹⁶

The motives then behind the burning of big houses and others are complex and varied. The owner of Kilboy House represented the crown and was perhaps seen as 'always ready to help the government'. Dunalley was the Lord Lieutenant of Tipperary and practically every male in the family had worn the King or Queens uniform. He rose to the rank of Colonel in the 3rd Royal Irish Regiment. His son Francis Reginald Dennis Prittie was a Captain in the British army and had fought and died in the European War in France in 1914.²¹⁷ The members of this family had all played a prominent part in Irish administration.²¹⁸ The British forces used three houses owned by him as Barracks for the R.I.C. Evictions were carried out on behalf of the Lord Dunalley of the day and he was unable to sell land because of the more turbulent spirits particularly the men who lived in the surrounding mountainside who would not allow anyone to touch these lands.²¹⁹

²¹⁴ *ibid.*, 25 June 1921.

²¹⁵ (A number of Black and tans burned five farmhouses in Coosan, Mount Temple, and Moydrum as a reprisal for the shooting of Col. Cmdt Lambert).

²¹⁶ *Tipperary Star*, 9 July 1921.

²¹⁷ G.E., Corkayne, *Complete peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom* (ed), Vicary Gibbs (vol. iv London, 1916).

²¹⁸ Henry C. Prittie, *Khaki and rifle green* (London and Melbourne, 1940). p. 231.

²¹⁹ Howard Dudley to Lord Dunalley, 18 May 1923 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (18)).



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Other houses were burned because they were the homes of Free State Senators; some as a reprisal or revenge for atrocities carried out against civilians during the War of Independence. Some like Summerhill and Annesgrove House were certainly burned to prevent occupation by the British forces; some by the local people who wanted the land of the landlord, 'they' wanted the land for the people. This was made very clear in a local newspaper report, which published the following article: 'Land for the I.R.A.' This plea was made by Mr Dennis Quinlan at the Tipperary District County Meeting in Nenagh. Mr Quinlan mentioned certain unemployed ranchers in his plea that cry out for divisions amongst the people. A reply concerning Quinlan's plea was sent to the editor of the Tipperary Star from 'a landless, penniless soldier of Ireland' and stated:

'I deeply support this powerful plea. Hundreds of us have not a perch of land nor a peep at the prospect of an industrial livelihood in the country we fought for. We cannot all become clerks, police, or soldiers. There are many other ranches besides the Clanwilliam areas for distribution, what about the areas around Dundrum and Cappawhite and lands elsewhere in Tipperary'.²²⁰

There can be little doubt then as to the call and claim of the landless labourers, they wanted access to land, they wanted jobs, they looked with envy on the big house, they looked at the land surrounding it and they saw a symbol of alien rule and they felt a sense of grievance. Landlordism to them was a symbol of alienation. They felt that Irish people had the right to hold the land as they did in the beginning and the right too to till it. Perhaps in the final analysis the motivation for the burning of big houses such as Kilboy House in 1922 was a deliberate strategy to enable Sinn Fein recruit Volunteers to their cause to realize it's main aim of an independent Irish Republic. Some Volunteer leaders were not particularly interested in the land question but they understood it's importance and more significantly they understood that Volunteers expected to be rewarded by land. Historians have acknowledged that agrarian issues played some part in motivation young men to this cause. According to Terence Dooley both the land question and the struggle for independence were seen as one and the same and had close connections with previous generations. The main reason therefore for young men joining the Volunteers (later the IRA) particularly small farmers or farmers' sons destined for the labouring class or the emigrant ship was the prospect of securing land is not without reason.²²¹

²²⁰ *Tipperary Star*, 4 Mar. 1922.

²²¹ Terence Dooley, *The decline of the big house in Ireland* (Ireland, 2001), p. 35.

Compensation

Chapter three

Lord Dunalley received compensation for his house from, the Free State Government under the Damage to Property (Compensation Act 1923). Lord Danesford and the Irish Claims Compensation Association considered that Irish Loyalists like Lord Dunalley were treated infamously because they did not get full compensation.²²² This association, were willing to use Dunalley's case for propaganda purposes, as it would prove most beneficial to Irish Loyalists.²²³ The Free State Government was concerned about limiting the amount of money spent on claims stated: 'our aim must be to be in a position to oppose every claim when it comes for hearing without applying for an adjournment'.²²⁴

Lord Dunalley had his mansion house and estate insured for a total of £25, 550. He paid insurance from 1902 to mid 1923.²²⁵ Logically it would seem that his advisors had considered this adequate cover for his property. Lord Dunalley's compensation claim on the mansion house alone was more than three times the amount he was insured for. This writer thinks that the Free State Government aware of the hundreds of claims had a responsibility to contest every claim and apart from the fact that 'big houses' were a source of employment for a few they represented a very unequal and an unjust society.

²²² Lord Danesford to Dunalley, 17 Jan. 1925 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810(20). see also pamphlet for information for both Houses of Parliament (published by Irish Claims Compensation Association, Lennox St. London WC2 (N.L.I., *ibid*).

²²³ Thomas Barker to Lord Dunalley, 24 Oct. 1922 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (17)).

²²⁴ J.J. McElligot to M.A. Corrigan, 14 May 1923 (N.A. Dept. of Finance files, FIN/1/2895).

²²⁵ Northern Assurance policy No. 3176137 N.L.I., Dunalley papers, 29,810 (19)).

Would an independent Free State and a society exposed to egalitarian ideas in the revolution period wish to see big houses and occupants return to their exact position of pre-burning importance and privilege? The Land Commission was purchasing estates from landlords to make it possible for local people to purchase land and leads one to think that perhaps some good did come from the ruins of big houses, for instance the Land Commission conducted an average of ten thousand transactions a year after 1922 an annual addition of some two thousand over previous years.²²⁶

Dunalley's claim for the mansion house and contents was over £70,000.²²⁷ He had though written a letter to the authorities stating: 'I beg to enclose a list of claims I am making or which may have originally been sent to the Provisional Government £115,000. applied for'.²²⁸ He had the mansion house insured for £20,000.²²⁹ This writer considers this claim exorbitant as evidence from the Compensation Claims Registers for this period indicates that Tipperary and the North Riding, was in turmoil.²³⁰ Kilboy House had no resale value. President W.T. Cosgrave was at pains to point out that houses such as Kilboy were not only out of date but in fact were not easily marketable at all.²³¹ In 1924 Lord Dunalley's solicitor informed him that 'the Northern Assurance Company would not pay out at the time of the occurrence (the burning of Kilboy) on the grounds that it

²²⁶ Lawrence McBride, *The greening of Dublin Castle* (U.S.A., 1991). P. 309.

²²⁷ Terence Dooley, *The decline of the big house in Ireland* (Ireland, 2001), p. 205.

²²⁸ Lord Dunalley to Irish Provisional Government 12 Aug. 1922) N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (17)).

²²⁹ Compensation Claims Registers, (N.A., O.P.W., files 2/62/60-9 Munster Registers 1,2 and 3.

²³⁰ *ibid.*

²³¹ Terence Doley, *The decline of the big house in Ireland* (Ireland, 2001). p. 203.

was due to civil disturbance'.²³² He did however, receive decrees for the mansion house, furniture and outhouses from the government in 1924.²³³

Senator Barrington raised a motion in the Senate on the 26 July 1923. He was concerned that insurance companies and underwriters were endeavoring to place their liabilities on the rates. He urged the government to introduce legislation that would preclude insurance companies or underwriters who repudiated the liabilities they had assumed from carrying out business in Saorstát Éireann.²³⁴ Joseph Brennan in a letter to the Minister in connection with this motion said 'I cannot say what is the inspiration of the motion'. He also mentions in the letter 'that insurance companies and underwriters could pay out (under fire policy) claims to policy holders with cover for loss or damage by fire, riot or civil commotion and later recoup by subrogation of the rights of the insured under the Criminal Injuries Acts'. He adds 'the companies are of course quite entitled to recover from rates in this way and fix their premiums with due regard to this fact'. As insurance companies charged especially high premiums in these cases liability on the part of the exchequer should be denied. On the other hand it must be admitted that this is equally true of all cases in which insurance policy covers risk or riot or civil commotion and that in many cases where such an insurance was affected, we shall, 'I'm afraid have no option but to pay'.²³⁵ It is clear that the Government Ministers were not exactly sure what should happen. State solicitors were instructed to oppose every claim in court and judges were limited in the decrees they could award. Full compensation

²³² Howard Dudley to Lord Dunalley, 20 May 1924 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810(19)).

²³³ Compensation Claims Registers, (N.A., O.P.W., files 2/62/60-9 Munster registers 1,2, and 3).

²³⁴ Compensation Claims Registers, (N.A., O.P.W., files, Munster Registers 1,2, and 3).

²³⁵ Compensation (Ireland) Commission (N.A. Dept. of Finance files, FIN/ 1/3093).

allowed under old acts was no longer possible under the Damages to Property (Compensation) Act 1923.²³⁶ The government was determined to limit the amount of compensation paid because of the state of the economy. Lord Dunalley could have availed of the 1903 Act but he left it too late despite the generous incentive that it offered in the form of a 12% cash bonus. His agent later wrote to the commissioners informing them that Lord Dunalley was most anxious his tenants would benefit from the 1903 Act.²³⁷

Lord Dunalley claimed £75,508 1s.6d. for destruction of the mansion house and the contents. He received a decree of £17,395. for the building and £9,534. for the furniture. He claimed £18,403. for the destruction of the outhouses he received a decree for £5,105.²³⁸ (a breakdown follows)

Amount	Building	Reinstatement
£1,755.	Out offices and yard	Partial
£1,800.	Gamekeepers house	Full
£600.	Vinery	Partial
£750.	Stewards house	Full
£200.	Herds house	Full
£5,105 in total		

Source: Compensation Claims Register, (N.A., O.P.W., files 2d/62/60-9).

²³⁶ Compensation Claims Registers, (N.A., O.P.W., files 2D/62/60-9 Munster Registers 1, 2 and 3).

²³⁷ Terence Dooley, *The decline of the big house in Ireland* (Ireland, 2001), p. 114.

²³⁸ Compensation Claims Registers, (N.A., O.P.W., files 2D/62/60-9 Munster Registers 1, 2 and 3).

He also claimed £978. for the destruction of the R.I.C. Barracks at Ballygowan but received a decree of £530. for full reinstatement.²³⁹ There was a further award for £1,203. this came about when a new consent was achieved between the Burkes and the Collins families of Curryquin, providing for the division of a plot long in dispute, which would in fact have meant that the unsold part of the estate would have been liable to compulsory purchase. This transaction would be advanced by the Land Commission and paid over to Dunalley by the judge in the ordinary course. Dunalley was advised to sign immediately in order to get the money for 'you never know what developments may take place in this country'.²⁴⁰ Lloyd's insurance offered £192. in settlement for the cattle.²⁴¹ He received £250. compensation for the Silvermines Barracks reduced from £1,200. and £1,010. compensation for the Dolla Barracks. This led to words between Lords Eustace Percy and Dunalley about the reinstatement clause to which Dunalley replied: 'why should he be expected to replace for £250. damage which the judge after hearing the necessary evidence assessed at £1,200'.²⁴² Further disappointment followed as a claim of £220. for Lady Dunalley's jewellery was reduced to £20 with costs by Mr O'Brien after it came up for rehearing under the Damage to Property Act (1923). Dunalley was particularly unhappy with this settlement but as Dudley stated:

'I point out to you that all jewellery looted are expressly excluded and with reference to all other articles taken the applicant must be in a position to state that the parties who took them represented themselves as belonging to the I.R.A. I have looked up your original instructions with references to this claim taken from you on the 14 November 1921 and from persuing same I find you stated that five or six men entered Kilboy by the kitchen door having imprisoned maids by locking them in a larder and then ransacked the house and looted the articles mentioned. I also notice that you said they were coming for arms but did not

²³⁹ Compensation Claims Registers, (N.A., O.P.W., files 2D/62/60-9 Munster Registers 1, 2 and 3).

²⁴⁰ Richard Walker to Lord Dunalley, 22 Dec. 1923 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (18)).

²⁴¹ Howard Dudley to Lord Dunalley, 25 Jan. 1923 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (18)).

²⁴² *Morning Post*, 12 Nov. 1923.

mention that they were I.R.A. Now I think that if you are not in a position to prove that they were, the claim under the Act would fall through on rehearing. Let me know in view of this whether you are willing to accept the amount offered which is intended only to cover damage by raiders. I hardly think you will be successful if the case has to be reheard'.²⁴³

Dudley also pointed out that this applied also to the iron taken off a shed at Lisgeenly for the same remarks apply in this case also and unless you can prove it was the I.R.A. it will be struck out. Compensation for farm implements and a large portion of other claims were disallowed as again the loss was due to larceny and not malicious injury and dismissed by the county judge, his solicitor wrote:

'We were unable to prove that the things were taken by the irregulars and as a matter of fact I believe they were not taken by these people for the whole place was plundered principally by the mountainy people after the burning and told to me by men in you employment who were afraid to say more'.²⁴⁴

It would seem that Lord Dunalley was still dissatisfied with his compensation as his solicitor went on to explain:

'In other words to enable us to succeed we have to prove that they were not common ordinary robbers or burglars, but in determining this question the Judge takes into account the manner and appearance of the raiders, how they were dressed, whether in uniform or in leggings, trench coat, bandoliers, rifles etc and also whether they appear to acting under orders from a leader, so that often a slight piece of evidence or a chance remark just turns the scale.'²⁴⁵

Lord Dunalley made efforts to contact people and organizations with political influence who were concerned with the plight of the Irish Loyalists. Danesford, in a letter to Dunalley's son Henry mentions that he is going to raise a debate in the House of Lords (H.L.) after Whitsuntide on the subject of compensation to Irish Loyalists for property destroyed. Danesford letter mentions also that he had brought up his fathers

²⁴³ Howard to Lord Dunalley, 13 Mar. 1924 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (19)).

²⁴⁴ Howard Dudley to Lord Dunalley, 27 May 1924 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (19)).

²⁴⁵ Howard Dudley to Lord Dunalley, 10 Apr. 1924 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (19)).

case on 16 July 1924 and the answer he got from the Labour government was that there did not appear to be any unnecessary delay in paying the awards.²⁴⁶ This suggests that the Labour government thought things were progressing satisfactorily. However members expressed deep dissatisfaction at the tedious delay of the workings of the Commission. Out of 10,000 pre Treaty cases the Commission had adjourned on only ten leaving claimants in a distressful circumstances.²⁴⁷ Henry C.C., Prittie declared that in his opinion the British government behaved very badly towards them.²⁴⁸ Lord Dunalley had written also to the President of the Free State requesting his influence to have his cases brought on soon.²⁴⁹ The Irish Claims Compensation Association published a pamphlet '*for information for members of both houses of parliament*' in which it describes the Damage to Property Act as iniquitous and its administration still worse. The main complaints or grievances in the pamphlet were that full compensation was no longer possible, instead the Act fixed the compensation at market value, the attachments or rebuilding conditions meant that some people who were not willing to return and live in the country would not get compensation, and worse of all payments for those returning would be withheld or were refused if there was income tax arrears and also if there were rates or other arrears outstanding.²⁵⁰

Lord Dunalley owed arrears for income tax, rates and land purchase annuities. A letter from the Ministry of Finance on 9 January 1925 showed that an award of £23,030.

²⁴⁶ Lord Danesford To Henry Prittie 25 May 1925 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (20)).

²⁴⁷ *Irish Times*, 27 Jul. 1922.

²⁴⁸ Henry C. Prittie, *Khaki and rifle green* (London and Melbourne, 1940), p. 245.

²⁴⁹ Lord Dunalley to W.T Cosgrave, 10 Jan. 1924. (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810(19)).

²⁵⁰ Pamphlet for information for members of both Houses of Parliament, published by Irish Claims Compensation Association, Lennox House, Norfolk St. London WC2, (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (20)).

was equal to the amount of arrears owed and all that was due to him was £576.9s.9d. for costs and expenses.²⁵¹ Another decree obtained was for £873. but again the Ministry listed the same type of arrears and all that was owed to him was £94.7s. for costs and expenses.²⁵² Howard Dudley in a letter to Lord Dunalley at this time reminds him that 'from previous correspondence you will not be surprised to see that the Minister of Finance is retaining the actual sums awarded as against arrears of rates due'.²⁵³ He had a decree for £60. but received £40. under the 1923 Act. Matt Stapleton an employee submitted a claim for a shed on his behalf for £25. He received £18.²⁵⁴

The estate agent Charles Maude paid rates in March 1922 but none for 1922-3 or 1923-4 or 1924-5 as all the arrears for these years had accrued after the destruction of Kilboy. Maude refused to pay and continued to think that Lord Dunalley should not be liable although he acknowledged that council's opinion 'is against us'. Under the old system he was allowed to claim for vacant houses.²⁵⁵

In Dail Eireann Domhnall O'Muirgheasa, asked the Minister for Lands and Agriculture whether 'the Land Commission had or propose to acquire the lands at the Dunalley estate the progress made if any and when they would be in a position to parcel out the lands between uneconomic holders and labourers'. Mr Hogan, the Minister replied: 'Steps were being taken by the Land Commission to acquire the lands under

²⁵¹ Ministry of Finance to Dudley and Nolan, 9 Jan. 1925 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (20)).

²⁵² *ibid.*

²⁵³ Howard Dudley to Lord Dunalley, 12 Jan. 1925 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (20)).

²⁵⁴ Compensation Claims Register, (N.A., O.P.W., files, 2D/62/60-9 Munster Register 1,2, and 3.

²⁵⁵ Charles Maude to Lord Dunalley, 21 Jan. 1925 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (20)).

section 36 of the Land Act, 1923, and a proposal had been issued to the owner. When the lands are acquired they will be allotted as expeditiously as possible.²⁵⁶

The Land Commission offered £16,000 for lands at Kilmore, Clonmore, Coleen, Curraghatneem, Deerpark, Lahid and Lisnageerily including £500. for timber.²⁵⁷ Dunalley was expected to clear all arrears of rates up to the closing of the sale however under the 1923 Act charges on an estate which sold under it could be paid in Land Bonds at their face value. £5,000. of the £16,000. was to be transferred to the Provincial Bank and Richard Walker informed Lord Dunalley that 'the bank can sell these bonds in order to produce whatever sum is required for income tax'.²⁵⁸ It was suggested that the price named by Mr Wood, is a fair and reasonable one, and that under the circumstances the Land Commission might fairly increase their offer to say £18,000 as this case particularly deserved much sympathetic consideration.²⁵⁹ Money received in early February 1925 amounted to £609.5s.10d. after £208.10s.11d. income tax had been deducted, this may have been rent arrears from the tenants on the Cloughjordan estate.²⁶⁰ He was enabled to buy woodland for £1,600. because the Land Commission proposed to advance him funds under the Land Purchase Acts repayable by an annuity of £76. at a rate of 4.3/4%. He also received rights to enable him and his heirs to take out timber and bring in young trees. He received a grant for fencing but he with his neighbours would be responsible

²⁵⁶ Dail Eireann, Questions: (30 Oct. 1924 <http://historical-debates.oireachta.ie/D.0009.192410300008.html>) (26 Apr. 2005).

²⁵⁷ Irish Land Commission to Lord Dunalley, 27 Dec. 1924 N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (20)).

²⁵⁸ Richard Walker to Lord Dunalley, 23 July 1926 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (20)).

²⁵⁹ H.H. Woods to Richard Walker, 23 Jul. 1926 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (20)).

²⁶⁰ *ibid.*, 29 May 1925.

for its maintenance.²⁶¹ The Land Commission transferred £1013. 3s 11d. guaranteed stock to Dunalley's account in the Bank of Ireland He received an award from the Ministry of Finance in October 1925 for £254.13s. but still had arrears of income tax so only received a paying order for costs and expenses of £54. 7s.²⁶²

Work began on the reinstatement of Kilboy House in early September 1925. The contract was awarded to Charles Doyle of Mullingar, who made a mistake in his original calculations but submitted a corrected tender of £17,018.5s.11d. yet still less than the reinstatement decree. Dudley visited the house regularly as did the architect maintaining contact and submitting plans for approval and changes if necessary.²⁶³ Reinstatement carried out in the case of building states that 'application may be made for payment by instalments according as the work progresses but that architect certificates were required'.²⁶⁴ Sheehy had provided for £500. in the contract for contingencies which could be made available towards payment and hoped to arrange with the B.O.W. that portion of the £1,755. decree for the yard could be used to meet any shortage. In this way Dunalley would not be called on to supplement the government grant.²⁶⁵ The basement was blocked up and the top storey was not rebuilt to reduce costs. Concrete was used around the windows instead of dressed stone and the Doulton factory was acquainted for sanitary fittings. October saw much improvements with thirty men employed on the rebuilding of Kilboy House. Sheehy reported that work was progressing very

²⁶¹ Irish Land Commission to Lord Dunalley, 3 Aug. 1926 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (20)).

²⁶² *ibid.*

²⁶³ Howard Dudley to Lord Dunalley, 12 Sep. 1925 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 920)).

²⁶⁴ Department of Finance to Dudley and Nolan, 4 Sept. 1924 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (20)).

²⁶⁵ John Sheehy to Lord Dunalley, 14 April 1925 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (20)).

satisfactorily and that the best of materials were being used.²⁶⁶ The interest of B.O.W. officials in the reinstatement ensued that the work was properly carried out as according to Howard Dudley 'they will not certify for payment to the builder unless they are satisfied that the work is properly done'.²⁶⁷ A difference of opinion however developed later for when Lord Dunalley's son came into possession of Kilboy House, he found that some very necessary conveniences had been excluded in the house by his parents. There was no strong room, no box room, no larder and no dairy and these had to be added on. In his opinion 'the contracting firm had done the work as badly as they possibly could' and even worse was the fact that the builder, had gone bankrupt and the architect had gone soft in the head, they had he added no comeback.²⁶⁸

Preparations were being made to get the estate into order before the return of Lord Dunalley to Kilboy House. Howard Dudley had advised Maude against letting the land to trespassers because if they let parties into it now even by eleven months it would be a possibility and more than a probability that these people would try and hold on to the lands permanently no matter what agreements they sign for.²⁶⁹

Walter Thompson was a man described without fear he therefore was employed to manage the Kilboy estate. He undertook to guarantee a profit and to clear the place of trespassers. Recommendations were made to Dunalley and Maude to restock the estate,

²⁶⁶ John Sheehy to Lord Dunalley, 16 Apr. 1926 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (20)).

²⁶⁷ Howard Dudley to Lord Dunalley, 16 Apr. 1926 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS28,810(20)).

²⁶⁸ Henry C. Prittie, *Khaki and rifle green* (London and Melbourne, 1940), p. 233.

²⁶⁹ Howard Dudley to Charles Maude, 1 May 1923 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,820 918)).

for once cleared the guards would help keep it that way.²⁷⁰ It was decided to let this be publicly known as it was expected that there might be a little trouble at first but Dudley advised; 'that Thompson was the man to deal with it' and if dealt with quickly it would 'fizzle out' as it had done elsewhere.²⁷¹ The Bank of Ireland Nenagh opened an account for Thompson for 2,500. but held an insurance policy for Duanlley as guarantee.²⁷²

Within two days of starting work Thompson had sufficient fencing in place to put cattle on the land.²⁷³ By June there was seventy-one cattle on land, by August the fencing was almost complete and a pair of working horses and some necessary machinery for hay cutting was purchased.²⁷⁴ By mid October the hay was in but to keep down expenses some men were let go although some were needed to see to drainage as important drains were choked causing flooding. Both Stapleton and MacCormack were retained by the contractor for the, rebuilding of Kilboy House.²⁷⁵ There were now 149 cattle on the land but Thompson expected to sell seventy before Christmas and buy in more as he had enough hay to winter more than the remainder, the estate made a profit in January 1925.²⁷⁶ Dudley's letters suggest that the estate was running well under Thompson.²⁷⁷ In contrast to Dudley's opinion Lord Dunalley's son Henry the fifth Baron on taking control of Kilboy remarked that: 'he had to pull the place together' as 'both gardens were wilderness and the fences consisted mainly of gaps'.

²⁷⁰ Howard Dudley to Lord Dunalley, 18 Mar. 1925 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (20)).

²⁷¹ Howard Dudley to Lord Dunalley, 23 May 1925 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (20)).

²⁷² Richard White to Lord Dunalley, 27 May 1925 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (20)).

²⁷³ Howard Dudley to Lord Dunalley, 30 May 1925 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (20)).

²⁷⁴ *ibid.* 6 Aug. 1925

²⁷⁵ *ibid.*, 17 Oct. 1925.

²⁷⁶ The Land Commission, (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29, 810 (20)),

²⁷⁷ *ibid.*, 20 Oct. 1925.

In February Dudley was aware of Lord Dunalley's plan to return to Kilboy House. Among the many changes he would encounter would be the new laws relating to holding guns. He advised him of the necessity of obtaining a permit and a license for his two guns from the Minister of Justice (Kevin O'Higgins), and the local Superintendent of the guards. These would cost £2. for the first and £0.5s. for the second. The licences' would enable Lord Dunalley to use either gun in the areas and shoot any kind of game.²⁷⁸ Lord Dunalley was a 'dap maniac', he was simply devoted to fishing and would spend eight hours on the water. He owned a five ton yacht, a good sea boat so he could sail up wherever he thought the trout were rising. Good days however were not the rule even then and a bad day his son recalls was sitting for hours cramped in a boat and staring mesmerically at the floating dap and getting one's face burned by the blazing sun. 'It would daunt all but the very keenest'.²⁷⁹

Lord Dunalley had made application to The Irish Grants Commission for advances on several occasions. The Treasury had already advance £10,000. on two separate occasions.²⁸⁰ A further £500 was received in January 1923 with yet a further £5,000 in November 1923 being advances on decrees for compensation awarded to him in Ireland for the destruction of property by the Colonial Office Irish Branch.²⁸¹

Dunalley was most persistent in having the Minister for Defence trace firearms surrendered by him to the authorities under the British regime in Ireland, which had been

²⁷⁸ Howard Dudley to Lord Dunalley, 11 Feb. 1927 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (20)).

²⁷⁹ Henry C. Prittie, *Khaki and rifle green* (London and Melbourne, 1940), p. 160.

²⁸⁰ P.D., Shine, to Lord Dunalley, 26 Oct. 1923 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (18)).

²⁸¹ P.D., Shine to Lord Dunalley, 5 Nov. 1923 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 (18)).

displaced by them. After intensive and apparently exhaustive searches a letter from the Secretary of State read: 'that he was in communication with the Government of the Irish Free State with a view to securing the return of your guns and revolvers'. They had been located since displaced by the military in 1916.²⁸² Lord Dunalley was a hardliner that is as far as persuing compensation claims and his firearms property. He was a member of the Irish Unionist Alliance (I.U.A.).²⁸³ An Irish Loyalist whose great, great grandfather received the title Baron because of his loyalty to the crown at the time of the Union.²⁸⁴ He had enormous power in the country and had lived a life of privilege and ease



Kilboy, a handsome home in the trees.

²⁸² C.H., Whiskard to Lord Dunalley, 11 May 1923 (N.L.I., Dunalley papers, MS 29,810 918)).

²⁸³ Terence Dooley, *The decline of the big house in Ireland* (Ireland, 2001), p. 232.

²⁸⁴ The petition of Henry Prittie Lord Baron Dunalley, (N.L.I., GO MS. 152 P 8298 P. 204.

Conclusion

Kilboy House was reinstated but the new house was not an exact replica of the old one, it was rebuilt minus the attic story and the basement was blocked up in order to make the house more manageable. There were changes to the shutters, the room sizes, and the dado rails and decisions pondered upon as whether to paper or distemper the walls. Lord and Lady Dunalley determined to make Kilboy their home once more returned to Tipperary in 1927. Ireland was now the Free State.



Kilboy in 1939.

In the late spring of 1927 the excitement, the anxieties and the dangers which he had experienced in the last few years was too much for Lord Dunalley and his heart, which he had strained some years previously began to give him trouble. The press reported that the health of Lord Dunalley had been much impaired by the large tumour formed behind his lordship's left ear, that it was deemed necessary to have the opinion of

Sir Philip Crampton who had arrived at Kilboy.²⁸⁵ He was attended to also by, Dr Johns of Nenagh but died only a few months following his return to Ireland. The press printed the death notice and the funeral was to the family plot at Kilmore graveyard.²⁸⁶ He was succeeded by his son the Hon. Richard Cornelius O'Callaghan Prittie and the now fifth Baron who had arrived at Kilboy from Wales.²⁸⁷ Henry C. Prittie states: 'that the British government behaved very badly towards his father allowing only a fraction of the claim for the burning of Kilboy House'. They had on more than one occasion declared: 'that it was part of their policy to try and induce the resident gentry to remain'. Lord Dunalley was never so to speak 'relieved of his command and to the day of his death did not know whether he was still entitled to sit in the House of Lords or not'.²⁸⁸ The community seemed really glad to have them back there was no unpleasantness.

There is little doubt but that the burning of Kilboy House was motivated for agrarian reasons as the perilous conditions presented an opportunity to secure land for the people.²⁸⁹ The growth in burnings in the Munster area was probably linked also to the government policy of executions in 1922 as part of the Public Safety Act.²⁹⁰

Along with Kilboy House a number of large houses in Tipperary were burnt in the spring and early summer of 1922. Algar's manor was destroyed on 2 February; a large house in Newport was destroyed on 9 March; Ballycahill House was destroyed on 19

²⁸⁵ http://www.irish-independent.com/nenagh_guardian/index.php3?ca=45&issue_id=11...(26 Apr. 2005).

²⁸⁶ *Nenagh Guardian*, 6 Sept. 1927.

²⁸⁷ *ibid.*

²⁸⁸ Henry C. Prittie *Khaki and rifle green* (London and Melbourne, 1940), p. 245.

²⁸⁹ Terence Dooley, *The decline of the big house in Ireland* (Ireland, 2001), p. 177.

²⁹⁰ Terence Dooley, *The decline of the big house in Ireland* (Ireland, 2001). p. 190.

April; a large house in Kilmore was destroyed on 30 May; and Castlefogarty was destroyed on 17 June. Lord Dunalley must have been aware of the destruction of these houses and considered it to unsafe to remain at Kilboy. He left for England on 21 June 1922.²⁹¹ It would not have been surprising if after what they had gone through they had decided to end their days in England in security and peace. A total of twentynine big houses were burnt in Tipperary between January 1922 and April 1923.²⁹² It seems that every R.I.C. barracks in the country was destroyed. Nineteen were destroyed and burned starting with Cappawhite and Golden Barracks on 29 June 1922 and most were destroyed in June, July and August of that year. Clogheen Barracks was destroyed on 23 November 1922 and again on 6 February 1923. Courthouses at Clogheen, Killenaule and Carrick-on-Suir were also destroyed.²⁹³ The administration Justice and the agents of Law and order were no longer in control. They had the County Inspector declared: 'got out of touch to some extent with current happenings'.²⁹⁴

However, Kilboy House stood as a massive structure in the countryside. It was a constant reminder of the past, power and privilege. Everything it represented was being undermined by people who demanded change and who were prepared to struggle to achieve their aims. It was only one of many historic monuments from Tipperary and Ireland's troubled history that was sacrificed by people of vision and courage who, were determined to change Ireland. It is not necessary to approve of their methods to appreciate the fact that changes were needed. Sir Alfred Cope was Assistant Under

²⁹¹ Compensation Claims Registers, (N.A., O.P.W., files 2/D/61/69-9 Registers 1,2 and 3 for Munster).

²⁹² Terence Dooley, *The decline of the big houses in Ireland* (Ireland, 2001), p. 287.

²⁹³ Compensation Claims Registers, (N.A., O.P.W., files 2D/ 61/60-9 Registers 1,2 and 3 for Munster).

²⁹⁴ County Inspector's confidential monthly report, Co. Tipperary, July 1921. (P.R.O., Colonial Office Papers, CO904/116).

Secretary for Ireland between 1920-2 and when asked to contribute his viewpoint on this phase of Irish history he refused stating: 'it is not possible for this history to be truthful the job is beyond human skill. Ireland has too many histories: she deserves a rest'.²⁹⁵

Finally, in this study I have attempted to open a window on an era of immense change of past politics and events to gain an insight on peoples thoughts and feelings prior to and after the burning of Kilboy House in Tipperary. Today, big houses are seen as part of Ireland's cultural heritage the 'Irish big house' is increasingly valued for its architectural significance; for the wealth of design created for the most part by Irish craftspeople; and for the valuable insight it offers us into an era that had such an influence on shaping our history'.²⁹⁶ The burning of Kilboy House in Tipperary although significant for the Prittie family and the people in the area was only one incident among many that occurred during a time of enormous radical upheaval in Ireland.



Kilboy, a handsome home in the trees.

²⁹⁵ Sir Alfred Cope to Mr Mc Dumphy, 5 Jan. 1950 copy of letter from Irish Embassy London, W.S. No. 469 in 'Bureau of Military History 1913-21'.

²⁹⁶ An Taoiseacht Mr Bertie Ahern, T.D. At the opening of the third Annual Historic Houses of Ireland Conference: N.U.I., Maynooth 9 Sept. 2005.

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