

Kilmashogue

A townland in south county Dublin

1840 - 1860

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In fulfilment of the requirements for the
College Diploma in Local History.

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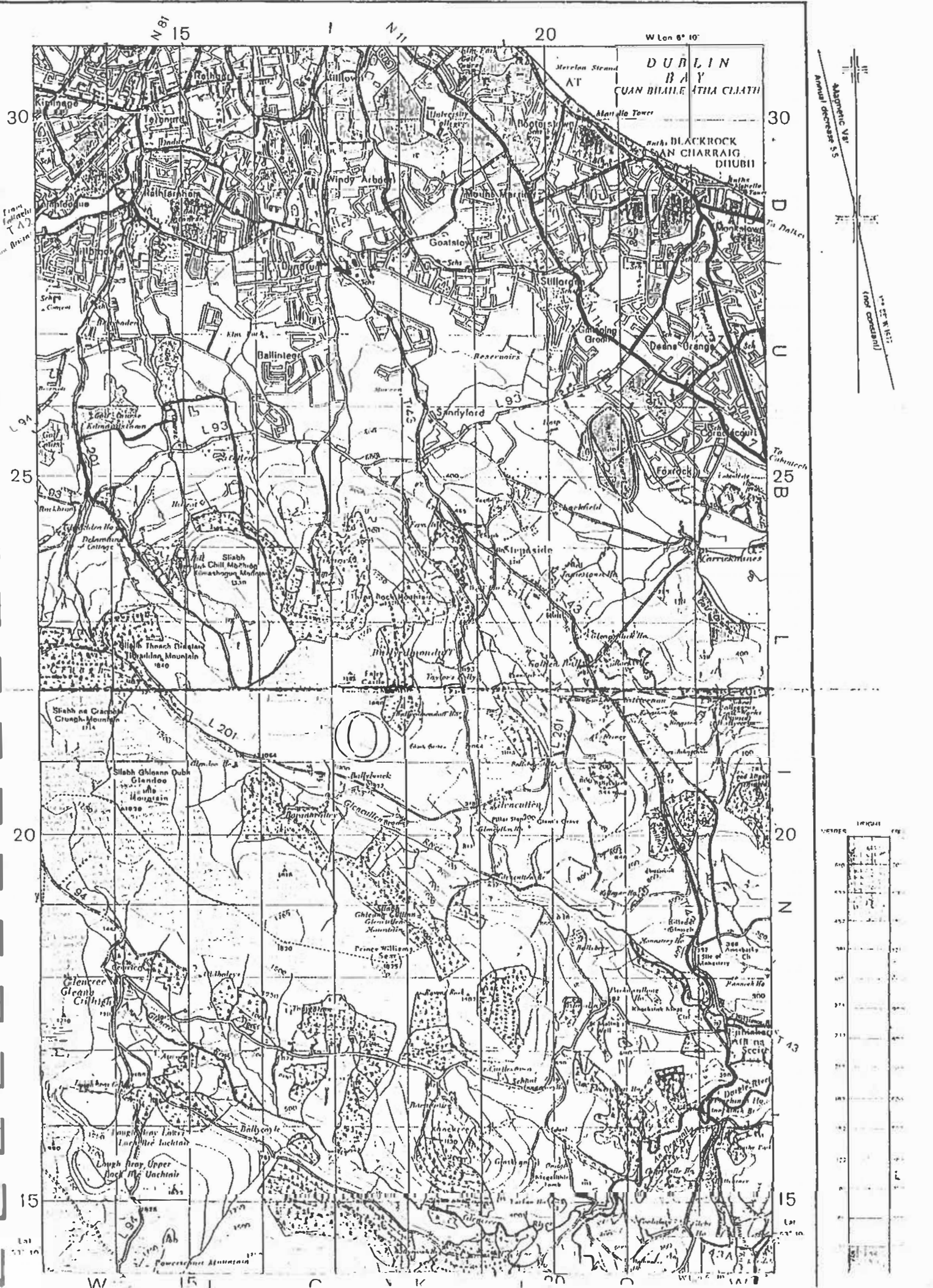
The staff of the National Library of Ireland, the Valuation Office in Ely Place, and the Gilbert Library were also particularly helpful, as were those of the National Archives and the Representative Church Body Library. A special mention must be made of the people of Kilmashogue - Seamus Courtney, Hugh and Alice Talty, Theresa Ryan, and the late Willie Ryan in particular. The work could not have been completed without the assistance of Richard Lennon - County Librarian who gave me encouragement and rearranged my working hours. I would like to thank my family, my husband Pat and children - and friends for listening, especially my classmate Clara Ui Rinn.

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CHAPTER 1.

INTRODUCTION and BACKGROUND.

The essence of local history is not just a sense of place, but also a sense of social networks evolving within a socially distinctive region. We shall never recapture the past only those parts of it which written records or collective folk memories have preserved. This study utilises state Valuations, Census and Map records, Church records, oral evidence and a variety of other sources to reconstruct the landscape of Kilmashogue in the period 1840-1860. This straddles the Great Famine of 1845-49 one of the most significant and tragic events in Irish History.

Situated in a rural area only 6 miles from the G.P.O., at 1408 acres it is the largest townland in the civil parish of Whitechurch, barony of Rathdown and county of Dublin. It is in the middle of the parish bounded on the east by Ticknock and Stackstown, on the west by Tibbradden and Rockbrook, on the north by Edmonstown and Whitechurch townlands, and on the south by the townland of Ballybrack in the modern parish of Glencullen. Kilmashogue Mountain rises to a height of 1339 feet and forms the base of the northern range of the Dublin and Wicklow mountains,¹ its outline is rounded and it consists of Leinster granite - a quartz-microcline-mica rock -² which has weathered into a series of round backed moorland hills. The white rock shows freely through furze and woodland. The land/soil type varies from poor moorland and bog at the top through rough grazing to arable pasture and tillage-land on the lower slopes.

The area has been lived in from Neolithic/Bronze Age times. A recent study by Geraldine Stout shows a network of dry-stone built walls on the northern and western

¹'Handbook to the Dublin District, British Association 1908' Dublin 1908 page 13.

²ibid.

slopes of Kilmashogue Mountain.³ The scale of the system, the occurrence of megalithic tombs in the townland, and the fact that the system is well above the modern line of agriculture and run out under peat down-slope which suggest that they are prehistoric in date. This combines with the two well-documented megalithic tombs, one close by the stream in the grounds of Larch Hill, the other at the entrance of the road leading to the quarry and the recently document fulacht fiadh in the area know as Kellys Glen.⁴

References to Early Christian settlement are few, and apart from the townland name there is no local tradition of a church site in the area. Published books refer to Dr. Joyce who said he saw the remains of an early church here which he described as a 'venerable little building'.⁵ Dr Joyce's son Weston St. John Joyce quoted from 'Neighbourhood of Dublin' 'Some forty years ago there stood on the northern slope of Kilmashogue, a diminutive church ruin with little of the walls standing, and probably it has either fallen down or been dismantled for building purposes'.⁶ In all likelihood it was the original Kilmashogue (the church of St Moshamhog). A small cross-slab now in St. Columba's College, is thought may have come from this site.⁷

Rocques map of 1756 (Fig 1.) shows a village settlement called Kilmashogue, the mountain and the glen to the north of it called Glanduff, it is poorly drawn and barely recognisable.⁸ An early map of Kilmashogue was one of 1808, (appendix 1.) drawn up by the estate of the landlord William Caldbeck. This map only included the

³Geraldine Stout 'Field Report on field system and enclosure in the townland of Kilmashogue' written report for site and monument records, Office of Public Works 51 St. Stephen's Green.

⁴ibid

⁵Ball F.E. 'History of the County Dublin' Dublin 1902 page 63.

⁶W.S. Joyce. 'Neighbourhood of Dublin' 1912 Dublin page 118.

⁷O'hEalidhe, P. and Prendergast, e. 'Two unrecorded graveslabs in Co. Dublin.' Journal Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland 1977 no 107 page 139.

⁸Rocques Map part 4 Gilbert Library.

mountain portion and the demesne that William Caldbeck had developed for himself, Larch Hill.⁹

The lands of Kilmashogue owned by William Caldbeck esq. of Larch Hill¹⁰ were bequeathed to the eldest son of his eldest son at his death on 14th September 1803.¹¹ This was William Eaton Caldbeck born 1789 and who died in 1858.¹² Like his grandfather he was a barrister.¹³ William E. Caldbeck was a very active grand juror being on the Dublin Grand Jury for the entire time of this study until his death. He was High Sheriff of Dublin in 1844.¹⁴ Records of the grand jury show that he rarely missed a meeting and was responsible for many presentments,¹⁵ all in the area he himself owned.¹⁶ Local lore has no stories at all about him. Apart from leases to other local gentry he had mostly small farmers as tenants and in some cases they acted as middlemen or agents.

Both William and his son Thomas who succeeded him in 1858 were members of the Orange Institution and the Dublin Protestant Association.¹⁷ In 1848 William E. Caldbeck subscribed £2-0-0 for the publication of a tract titled 'Refusal of the Orangemen of Dublin to Fraternise with Repealers.'¹⁸ a quote from it runs.... 'It is a fact Ireland was prosperous when Papist had no power and when Protestant ascendancy was the order of the day, as it shall be again, please God. Since then,

⁹Longfield Map Co Dublin Barony of Rathdown. Page 49 no 1, (21F 53) National Library of Ireland Manuscript Room.

¹⁰Dublin Historical Record noxxi page 49.

¹¹Registry of Deeds. Dublin Abstract of wills. No. 281. Ellis and Eustace, solrs.

¹²Dictionary of National Biography page 95.

¹³Kings Inns admission papers 1837.. Gilbert Library.

¹⁴Dublin Grand Jury Minute Books, 1844 - 1860, Fingal County Council Archivies.

¹⁵ibid.

¹⁶ibid.

¹⁷Orange Institution and Protestant Association Pamphlets, series p1665. No. 8. page 16. National Library of Ireland.

¹⁸ibid. No 3. page 8.

however, your pernicious system of religion has been fostered and its existence and the national support of it, in addition to the natural evils which spring there from, has most certainly called down the plagues of heaven on our ill-fated country'. He is also recorded as attending an Orange Rally in Lisburn on July 21st 1848.¹⁹

The place he held in the hierarchy of the Orange Institution is documented in a certificate signed by him and his son Thomas on behalf of the Orange Institution of Ireland permitting the formation of a new lodge in Belfast dated 23rd may 1848.²⁰ His politics were not much different from the other local gentry. The 1835 Dublin City election, which Daniel O'Connell contested had two pro-union candidates, George A. Hamilton and John. B. West, the electors of Whitechurch included William Caldbeck, David LaTouche of Marlay, Charles Davis of Cloragh House and a landlord of part of Kilmashogue, and Lundy Foot a gentleman leesee of Caldbecks in Holly Park - they all voted pro-union.²¹ In offering himself for election George A. Hamilton appealed to the electorate thus...'I offer myself to afford you, Electors, the opportunity of proving your devotion to our most gracious and constitutional King - your willingness to co-operate with him in establishing good government and social order - in repressing agitation - and in restoring tranquillity and peace to this distracted country.'²²

The Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland at a meeting passed the following resolution in January 1835. 'That we pledge ourselves, by every means in our power, to support at the forthcoming election for the city of Dublin, the constitutional candidates, George A. Hamilton, and John B. West, who have so fearlessly come forward to rescue this city from the hands of the enemy of his country.'²³

¹⁹Pamphlets on Orangeism Collection' The Protestant Watchman page 165 series P1673 pamphlet No. 4. Nat. Lib.

²⁰R.J. Hayes (Ed) 'Manuscript Sources for the History of Irish Civilisation' First Supplement vol. 1 page 98. Compiled in the Nat. Lib. of Ireland. 1979.

²¹City of Dublin election 1835 list of electors and how they voted, Griffith Collection in the Griffith Library. page 75.

²²ibid page 43.

²³ibid page 43.

William E. Caldbeck donated the site for the church and school when they were built in 1824, but the vestry minute books show him playing no part in running the parish except for the purchase of a second pew for £15-0-0 from a former tenant of his at Larch Hill in 1852. The annual sermon held in Whitechurch Parish Church for the support of the school appears to have been a major social event. The account books of 1840-1859 show William Caldbeck attending from 1845 to 1856 and subscribing to the fund the total of £1-0-0 per annum, the same as Mr. Charles Davis, the owner of Cloragh House and all of the neighbouring townland of Tibbradden as well as part of Kilmashogue. Mr. D. LaTouche, the prominent banker and owner of Marlay House, donated £2-0-0 p.a. and for the period 1840-48 Mr. Simon Foot the lessor of Holly Park a large property, partly in Kilmashogue donated £5-0-0.²⁴

As Grand Jurors both William Caldbeck and Charles Davis were responsible for the roads in their respective areas. At different times presentments were made for improvements, and Daniel Farrell and Thomas Keogh, both tenants of Caldbecks sometimes acted as contractors²⁵.

I have been informed by Mr. Seamus Courtney, that his ancestors who ran the quarry on behalf of the Caldbecks had a contract to provide paving slabs for the city of Dublin during the 1850's but I could find no evidence to support this.

The relationship of William Caldbeck and his heir, Thomas with Charles Davis is documented in the fact that Thomas Fulton Caldbeck was the joint trustee of the will of Charles Davis after his death in 1864.²⁶

²⁴Whitechurch School Account Books 1840-1859. Museum of Education, Upper Rathmines Road, thanks to Harold Hislop Curator.

²⁵Dublin Grand Jury Presentment books Barony of Rathdown Easter Presentment 1845.

page 97.

²⁶Will of Charles Davis of Tibbradden T11548/9. Nat. Archives.

William Caldbeck's attitude to his tenants is unfortunately undocumented. Notes written into the margins of the field and house books by the surveyor, James Carolan in July 1847 say, 'Charles LaTouche pays £3-5-0 per acre to William Caldbeck, he has offered him £5-0-0 to renew the lease but was refused.' 'He has also refused Simon Foot (Holly Park) a renewal of his lease'.²⁷

In fact, he must have come to some arrangement with LaTouche as he continued as his tenant. Simon Foot, however lost his house to the college of St. Columba in 1849, who reputedly paid £4,000 for part of Holly Park.²⁸ 'The Founders', which included the Dean of Armagh, and had as a benefactor Lord John George Beresford - Primate of all Ireland - aim was to set up a classical or public school, which would be governed by a community of Warden and teaching Fellows; to run the college on the principles of the Oxford Movement; and to teach Irish to its Pupils (so that some might later be ordained and, through that medium, convert Roman Catholics to Anglicanism).²⁹

William Caldbeck kept the gate lodge and some farmland and leased it back to St. Columbas.³⁰ After 1849, when he acquired Dr. Stubbs and Dr. Johnson's properties, his largest tenant farmer, Nicholas Jenkins and his brother John, who held an old lease from Dr. Johnson, were given extra land and by 1860 they held most of the good land in the townland.³¹ Both Nicholas and John Jenkins were Roman Catholics.³²

²⁷Manuscript field and house books by James Carolan Valuations Office Barony of Rathdown Co. of Dublin. Valuations Office, Ely Place, Dublin 2.

²⁸'Behind the Scenes' by Ernie Shepherd. Dublin 1982, page 19.

²⁹'A plan for an Irish Collegiate School and Institution in a letter to a Friend' quoted on page 5 of 'A Portrait of St. Columbas's College 1843-1993' by Patrick Wyse Jackson & Ninian Falkiner. Dublin 1993.

³⁰Field and House books Valuations Office, Rathdown Barony, Co. of Dublin.

³¹first and second valuations books and maps, valuations office Ely Place - manuscript copies.

³²Rathfamham Roman Catholic Church, parish records, baptisms 1817-1845.

The 1808 map showed clearly the 18th cent. development of a spa with its adjacent lodge and large house. The spa here came into vogue about 1750, immediately after the decline of Templeogue Spa at Spawell House, but its distance from town and the height at which it stood, greatly militated against its popularity.³³ The following quotation from Dr. Rutty MD and authority on mineral springs at that time.

'This spring was first taken notice of about the year 1748, being in my opinion superior to that of Templeogue, even when this last was in its utmost perfection, though not so easy of access. It is a perennial spring, about nine inches deep, and about twelve inches over, situate in a small glyn on Kilmashogue Hill, a mile south from Kilmashogue, and five miles from Dublin, and consequently, Templeogue spring now failing, is the nearest of any to the city, and not unworthy the notice of our citizens, who though probably by the badness of the road they may be deterred from going to the fountain, may be daily supplied with this water conveyed to them early in the morning in bottles well corked, and so it deserves a cover from the rain.'³⁴

Dr. Rutty himself took this water for three seasons, and gives a detailed account of the beneficial effects he experienced from it.³⁵ For some years it was brought to the city daily, and the house adjoining the spa is said to have been originally built to accommodate visitors desirous of staying there to take the water.³⁶

The 1808 Longfield map shows the road network and the occupier is given as a Dr. Stubbs. One other tenancy, that of Christopher Keating at the quarry, the balance is in owners hands.

³³'Mineral Waters of Ireland' Dr. John Rutty M D. Dublin (1757) page 86.

³⁴ibid. page 90.

³⁵ibid. page 91.

³⁶ibid. page 91.

The Royal Dublin Society statistical survey done in 1801 by Lt. Archer mentions 'Kilmashogue, a small village four miles from the castle of Dublin.'³⁷ and 'Counsellor Caldbeck informs me that he has planted near 200,000 of the various kind of forest trees at Kilmashogue; I fear they have been taken no care of, as what I have seen of them, they were in a bad way.'³⁸

From this evidence the hill was cleared of tenants at this time in the hope of developing it as a spa resort. Only one other name is written on the map that of 'Barney McCoy' crossed out, and the field in question is still known locally as Barneys hill or Barneys field. The remains of all the houses built at that time including the four slated cottages built in the bog are still visible.³⁹ Local tradition has it that ladies and gentlemen used to ride on the roads to take the air.⁴⁰

Caldbeck castle (in ruins) written on all the O.S. maps is in fact the lodge let to Dr. Stubbs in 1808 with a driveway clearly visible going up the side of the mountain.

The tenancy of the quarry is interesting because the name of the tenant Christopher Keating is not a local name but a name associated with Caldbecks other enterprise in Clondalkin where the name Christopher Keating appears as a principle tenant in the Griffiths valuation of 1849. He could have been imported from Clondalkin after the Gun Powder Mill owned by Caldbeck blew up in 1787.⁴¹ Someone with a knowledge of gunpowder and explosives would have been a useful person to develop the quarry.

In Lewis Topographic Dictionary done in 1837, the village is called 'Whitechurch, and the mountain land produces pasturage, and about 550 acres of it are barren waste, but they supply inexhaustible stores of granite, which is in great demand for the public buildings and more ornamental dwelling houses in Dublin and the

³⁷'Statistical Survey of County Dublin' by Lt. Archer. Dublin 1801. page 92.

³⁸ibid. page 212.

³⁹Longfield Map page 49 of Co Dublin Index book, Nat. Lib.

⁴⁰personal communication Mr. Seamus Courtney of Kilmashogue 10th March 1996.

⁴¹'Generation to Generation' by R.H. Byrne and Ann Graham. Dublin 1989 page 58.

surrounding country.⁴² Another contemporary account mentions 'a picturesque village of Whitechurch' with the new church being 'a handsome structure with lancet windows and situated on a splendid eminence, at the opposite end of the village from the old site.'⁴³

John O'Donovan in the Ordnance Survey name books about 1837 mentions the townland of 'Kilmashogue; the property of Mr. Caldbeck, about 536 acres of mountain. The largest farm about 80 Irish acres in possession Messrs Jones and Jenkins at 4 guineas per acre, cess 5/- per annum per acre. The parish church is situated near the north end of the townland. An excellent male and female school attached to the church where about 45 children of each sex are instructed. These schools are supported by contributions from the children, and also the money collected at an annual sermon preached in the parish church for the support of these schools. At the north east corner of the townland is a small burying place belonging to the Moravians of the City of Dublin. There is a corn mill at cross roads. There is excellent granite found in different parts of the mountain.'⁴⁴ He also mentions a public house and grocers shop in the 'very poor village' of Rockbrook.⁴⁵

The 1837 Ordnance Survey map shows the settlement pattern is rural dispersed, with pockets of settlement around the mill and church. The patterns correlation with the road system is strong, indicating that accessibility seems to be the important factor in the siting of houses especially in the more hilly area. The roads are now public roads - Kilmashogue Lane only being tarred in 1962 - the road to the quarry is

⁴²'History and Topography of Dublin city and county' Mercer Press 1980 (abstracted from Lewis 'Topographical Dictionary of Ireland' 1837) page 240-242.

⁴³'History of the County Dublin' J. D'Alton, Dublin 1838 page 397.

⁴⁴Ordnance Survey Namebooks Vol. 4 Dublin county Whitechurch Parish. page 289-90.

⁴⁵ibid. page 302.

unchanged still steep and stony but accessible by car, the roads in the Glen are overgrown with only the stone walls indicating their presence.

The pattern of settlement reflects the proximity to Dublin and the desire of the middle classes to live in the healthier suburbs, as a result this small area contained diverse elements within it. The Kilmashogue community was not static but changed over time in response both to internal forces and to pressure from outside. This investigation of the community from 1840-1860 will try to define these elements, the impact of the landlord on all of his tenants, the social conditions and influences which a rural community came under because of its scenic and apparently healthy location, its attraction to the Dublin middle-class and how this impacted on the small farmers and cottiers of the area. It cannot be definitive - there remains much further work to be done.

CHAPTER 2

THE ECONOMY OF THE AREA

The exodus of the middle-class to the healthy suburbs started long before 1840 but the city's problems were getting worse.⁴⁶ The city population had grown from just over 202,000 in 1831 to 233,000 by 1841. Indeed at this time Dublin was more densely populated than London, and housing conditions were worse than in the British Capital. In Dublin in 1845, there were 11.57 persons to each house; in London only 7.46.⁴⁷

The growing disparity in price between some Irish goods and the cheaper competing products of a rapidly industrialising Britain brought collapse and unemployment to Irish industries. In 1821 there was 32.7% of the Dublin County labour force working in manufacturing industry, by 1841 that was down to 19.5%.⁴⁸ This was reflected in the mills operated by water-power on the fast-flowing mountain streams and by 1840 the mill in Kilmashogue was 'in chancery'. The Ordnance Survey name-books and maps give this as a woollen mill, but local tradition has it that it was a 'mill' used seasonally for what was needed. A new tenant, Samuel Raynor, took it over for £30 p.a. in 1843. He rented a small cottage and garden for himself paying £6 p.a. in rent, and charged 3 workmen 1/- a week each rent, for accommodation attached to the mill. He also let out-offices to a local smallholder, Pat Cullen. He played no part in parish affairs and no records of him donating money to the school or church exist. He appeared to have run a very small operation probably serving a local need only.

The other local industry was the quarry. It does not appear to have been worked in the 1840's. The parish cess lists from 1840 clearly shows it as a farm with a quarry,

⁴⁶The Social and Sanitary conditions of the working classes in Dublin' Rev. Thomas Willis, Dublin 1845 page 42.

⁴⁷ibid. page 42.

⁴⁸'Ireland before and after the Famine' Cormac O'Grada, Manchester University Press 1992 page 44.

but only the farmland is valued. At this time it was let to a Widow Hyland 'at a rack rent.'⁴⁹ The stone is suitable for kerb and paving stones and when Christopher Keating took it over in 1849, it was revalued for rates as a quarry. Widow Hyland married a Richard Adams in 1848⁵⁰ and they briefly hold a tenancy from Caldbeck before disappearing from the records in 1850.⁵¹

The situation close to Dublin with good roads for the time, combined with its elevation and reputation for clean air allowed the building of the fine houses of the gentry. The houses were large with walled gardens and outside privies.⁵² They combined with the middle-classes who rented the larger properties from William Caldbeck, employed the local people as lodge-keepers, gardeners and servants. Combined with agriculture, that was the source of income. Because of the survival of old field boundaries, grazing and not tillage appears to be the dominant form of agriculture in the hilly area. Stone is plentiful on the thin soil, so there is no scarcity of material for walls to enclose sheep and goats. The wool would have been an important supplementary source of cash for the hill farmers. Remains of cultivation ridges or lazy beds can still be seen on high ground in Kelly's glen. The land is too steep and the rocks too numerous to be cultivated by anything but a spade. The better land on the lower slopes, would have held cattle and forage crops. There was plenty of work at certain times of the year, and combined with the local custom of giving potato ground in exchange for labour the population survived.⁵³ There is evidence in the South Dublin Union workhouse admission books, of servants from the parish of

⁴⁹House books by James Carolan; note in margin.

⁵⁰Marriage Records Rathfarnham Roman Catholic Church Register.

⁵¹Valuation book and records of cess paid to Whitechurch civil parish.

⁵²House books Whitechurch Parish Kilmashogue townland, valuation office, Ely Place.

⁵³Report of the Devon Commission page 42

Whitechurch being admitted for the winter months.⁵⁴ So the work was seasonal and temporary and the landless were vulnerable even before the Famine.

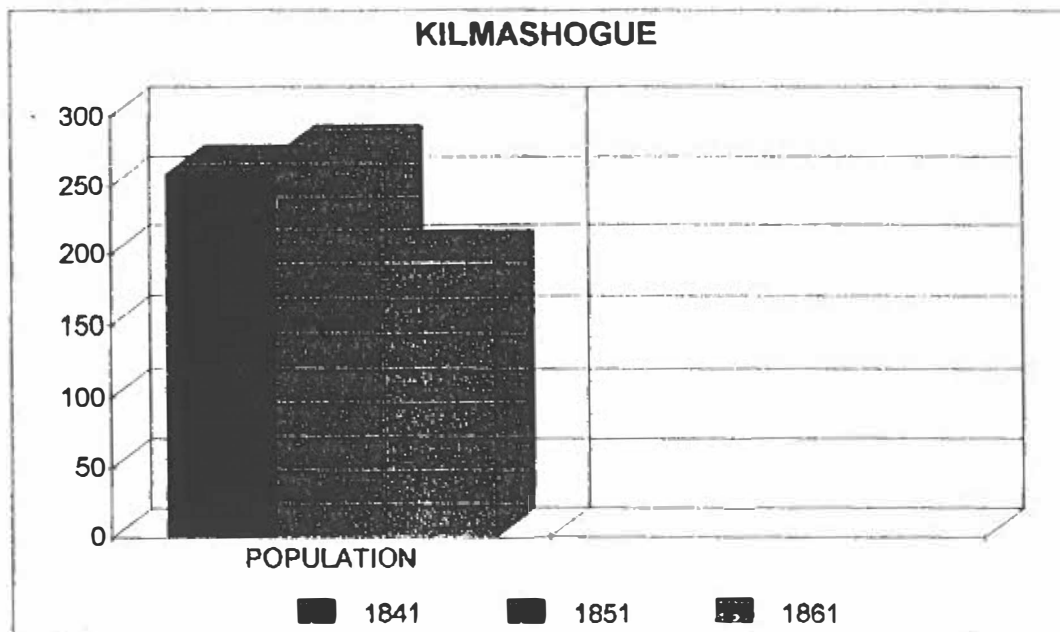


Fig 3..... population of the townland of Kilmashogue.⁵⁵

The slight increase from 1841 to 1851, is not reflected in the Civil Parish of Whitechurch which showed a decline. I cannot account for the increase in the population recorded, except that local tradition has it that Mr. Caldbeck brought 'West of Ireland' men into the area to clear the land by building stone walls. Evidence of a different kinds of stone walls - with corballing - do exist in the vicinity of Larch Hill ⁵⁶and valuation records show that the holding of land attached to Larch Hill increasing in this period after the re-letting of Larch Hill to Courtney K. Clarke. This includes the land held by Richard Adams until 1850.

⁵⁴Admission and Discharge books, South Dublin Union BG1 to BG9 National Archives.

⁵⁵Census Statistics, National Archives.

⁵⁶personal observation.

The 1841 census and the house books list 38 inhabited houses in the townland of Kilmashogue.

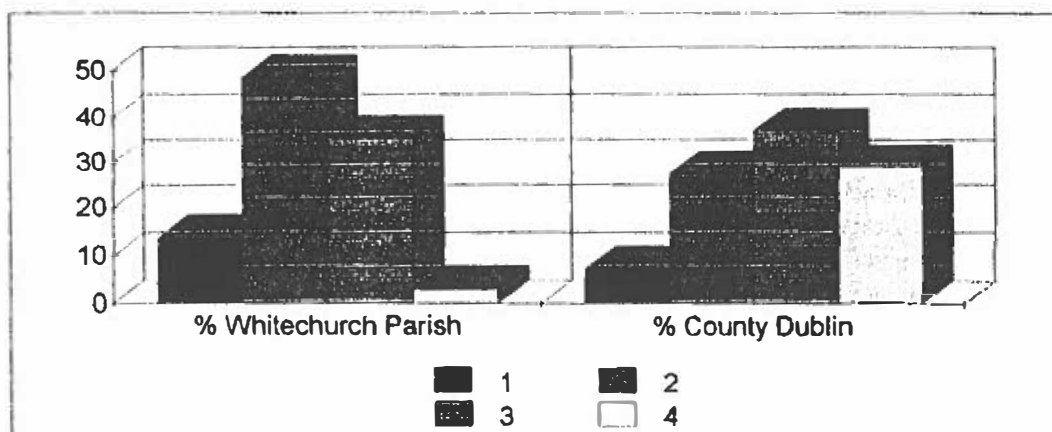


Fig. 4..... The percentage distribution of house categories 1-4 in the 1841 census comparing Whitechurch Civil Parish and County Dublin as a whole.⁵⁷

The census compilers used a fairly simple system of 'points' for various aspects of the actual structure, (stone or brick walls = 1 point; mud walls = 0 points) such as walls, roof, number of rooms, number of windows in front of house. The addition of the points gives the category into which the dwelling is placed.

1 or 2 points = 4

3, 4 or 5 points = 3

6,7 or 8 points = 2

9 or better = 1

4th class houses will generally be mud-walled, thatched, one-roomed houses with only one window. 3rd class houses will have mud walls and thatched roof with not more than three rooms and with 2 windows to the front, although stone-walled, slate-roofed houses with only one room and one window to the front will also fit into this category. I am of the opinion that none of the houses in Kilmashogue fell into category 4, as stone was noted as the material in all the houses in the house books

⁵⁷Census of Population Statistics National Archives. Vol 1 of 1861 page 38.

and on personal observation I was able to note that stone walls exist at the sites listed, indeed some of the houses are adapted and still used as dwelling houses. The high percentage of class 2 houses could be accounted by the fact that a lot of the cottagers lived in stone walled and slated houses, built by the gentry as lodges and cottages for gardeners and labourers. These figures can best be put in context by pointing out that, using the same criteria for classification, even the most modest of the old slate-roofed Council cottages in the townland to-day would be classed as 2nd class while the more modern Council houses would be actually in class 1.

The 38 houses were divided up as follows;

8 landless cottages

4 lodges with gardens

3 cottages for workmen at the mill

1 cottage rented by the mill owner from St. Thomas (with small garden)

4 cottages with small gardens for farm labourers

9 small holders (one a joint holding)

3 large farmhouses

6 large houses Larch Hill, St Thomas, Oldfield, Marymount, Cloragh Cottage and Kilmashogue House.

Of the large houses only 1 (Larch Hill) had a water closet, all the others had privies, as had the farmhouses. None of the cottagers, lodges or small holders had either⁵⁸.

The cottages were very small, the largest 14'6" x 19'0" by 6'6" high to the smallest 12'6" x 18'0" by 5'6" high. The houses occupied by the small holders on the hill were larger 39'0" x 16'0" by 6' high being the average plus one or two outoffices.⁵⁹ At this time there was no cottage mentioned in the garden adjoining the Moravian Burial

⁵⁸House books, July 1847 by James Carolan. Kilmashogue townland, parish of Whitechurch, barony of Rathdown, county of Dublin. Valuation Office, Ely Place.

⁵⁹ibid.

Ground but the school master is listed as living in accommodation attached to the school.⁶⁰ This was not described as it was exempt from rates.⁶¹ The rectory was a large house rented by the select vestry approx. 1 mile from the Church and school and outside the townland.⁶²

The lodge-keepers were noted as paying no rent, the rent of the cottages without gardens and at the mill were listed as 1/- per week. Most rents were not listed individually, but one farmer Nicholas Jenkins is listed as paying £3-0-0 per acre from Dr. Johnson on an old lease, he had one cottage and garden let to John Gilligan at £6-0-0 per year who in turn had let a cottage without a garden to James Byrne at 1/- per week.⁶³ This same John Gilligans widow Hannah was listed among the poor Protestants getting parish relief of 1/- to 1/6d per week from 1848 on, she also got 7/6 to rethatch her house.⁶⁴ A Mary Byrne giving her address as Kilmashogue and her occupation as 'weeding' is admitted to the workhouse on many occasions - she is a single woman aged 49 in January 1849, the first time she was admitted - as James Byrne is the only one with this surname in the townland she was probably part of this household.

The names of the other landless cottagers were John Hughes, John Toalen and James Maddox at the mill. John Mulligan, Widow Power, Charles Deegan and James Dunne renting from farmer James Farrell. Denis Murray and Margaret May from the leaseholder of the large house, St. Thomas - these cottages were beside the mill. These may have been old people depending on younger members of their families, or those unable to work and depending on charity. Indeed Margaret May appears as a 36 year old servant, married, with ragged and dirty cloths according to the Admittance

⁶⁰ibid.

⁶¹ibid.

⁶²Whitechurch Select Vestry Minute Books 1840-1860. United Church Library, Braemor Road, Churchtown.

⁶³House Books

⁶⁴Parish Records

Book of the South Dublin Union workhouse in 1857, she gave birth to a child Eliza May and was discharged 2 months later.⁶⁵

All of the cottages let by James Farrell were vacant by the time the Valuation Book was compiled in 1849, Indeed they may have been the remnants of the redundant mill-workers as those cottages had a small bridge leading to Rockbrook, where there was many redundant and derelict paper and woollen mills described in both the Ordnance Survey name-books and maps of 1837.⁶⁶ The lodge-keepers were Nicholas Lawlor at the back lodge of Marlay House, Thomas Byrne at the lodge of Holly Park (later St Columbas College), Roger Mahon at St. Thomas and Mark Russell at Cloragh.⁶⁷ The 3 cottages let with gardens at annuals rents, were Pat Kenny and George Bryan both listed as workmen at St. Thomas, and Michael Murray directly from Nicholas Jenkins. None of the gardens exceeded 1 rood.⁶⁸ While George Bryan is listed as a workman in St. Thomas in the house books, he appears many times in the select vestry account books as receiving charity from the parish in 1847 and 1848 - as a poor Protestant - because of sore hands and the illness of his wife.

The amount of different tenants in St. Thomas is documented in the Parish Records. so it is likely that this house at any rate was let at a yearly rent, but the name Milliken appears from 1838 on, as the tenant of Marymount, both of these houses were let by Charles Davis and had middling to good grazing land. After Larch Hill - St. Thomas was the most impressive house in the townland with high demesne walls and parkland. It had the lodge and 4 cottages let. Many outoffices indicate that it was farmed extensively. According to a birth registered in 1840 the tenant of St. Thomas was a Physician and Surgeon, James Chapman, and succeeding tenant John Fox as a merchant, he was in turn succeeded in 1851 by a Dr. Thornhill, a medical doctor

⁶⁵Admission and Discharge Books B.G.9 admission no 3890. National Archives.

⁶⁶O.S. Map no 22 County of Dublin.

⁶⁷House books

⁶⁸House Books.

with a position in both Kilmainham Jail and the South Dublin Union,⁶⁹ who stayed for the remainder of the period under study. The house is now the property of Major McDowell - the owner of the Irish Times.

The Tenant of Larch Hill - Mr. O'Neill an Alderman of the city of Dublin - died in 1843,⁷⁰ the house remained in Mr. Caldbeck's hands until 1849,⁷¹ when he re-let it to Courtney K. Clarke with an enlarged portion of farm-land, for the remainder of this study.⁷² The amount of rent is not quoted.

The house Cloragh Cottage, still standing, is a villa type single storey over basement house on a small garden, this was let to Surgeon Porter, through a middle-man James Farrell, who had a lease from Dr. Stubbs,⁷³ and after 1852 directly from Caldbeck when he purchased Dr. Stubbs lease,⁷⁴ he also re-let part of the Farrell farm to Nicholas Jenkins at this time,⁷⁵ and the other small holder disappears from the records.⁷⁶ The only rent of Cloragh Cottage quoted is £14-0-0 per annum by Mr. Carolan in July 1847 and the fact that the lease was for 3 years.⁷⁷ In the margin the surveyor had the comment 'Farrell family stately' Cloragh could have been the original farmhouse, which they subsequently sub-let. James Farrell had good farmland and the tenant is listed from 1848 as Mrs. Farrell his wife or mother,⁷⁸ the tradition locally is that this family was Protestant.⁷⁹

⁶⁹Grand Jury Records.

⁷⁰Memorial headstone in New Whitechurch Cemetery personal observation.

⁷¹Parish cess lists Whitechurch Select Vestry account books 1840-1859.

⁷²Valuation Lists

⁷³House books

⁷⁴Valuation Books and parish cess list

⁷⁵Valuation Books and parish cess lists.

⁷⁶ibid.

⁷⁷house books

⁷⁸Valuation book and Parish cess lists

⁷⁹Personal communication Mr Hugh Talty 2 February 1996.

Kilmashogue house was a large house with middling to good farmland 'suitable for all purposes' let to Robert Jones in 1847⁸⁰ Sarah Wyckham from 1848 to 1850,⁸¹ and Edward Elwin from then on to the end of this study.⁸²

Oldfield was another large house with many changes of tenant, it had a small farm attached and was the nearest house to the mill, still standing but much changed.

The original Kilmashogue house and Larch Hill are now demolished.

The farmhouse let to Nicholas Jenkins is a villa type house over-basement still in good condition. The original farm buildings and the other large house on the land - let to his brother John - are now in ruins. They give evidence of extensive industry with the remainder of a workshop/forge in evidence. A perfectly intact privy at this site to-day shows that the stream was diverted into a small drain to run directly under the privy. The cottage let to John Gilligan is separate to the farm and two cottages are still on this site. This is part of Lot no 3. in the Valuation list of 1857.

⁸⁰house books

⁸¹parish cess list

⁸²valuation list.

CHAPTER 3

THE AFFECT OF THE GREAT FAMINE ON KILMASHOGUE

When the potato failed first in 1845, the Rathfarnham constabulary reports were optimistic ⁸³but gradually by the end of October they were admitting widespread failure.⁸⁴ by the 27th of October the constable noted ...'With few exceptions the people find their potatoes more or less diseased. The average proportion of discarded potatoes is one fifth. In two instances potatoes apparently sound, became rotten and "melted away" in a few days after being pitted. Large quantities are sent into the Dublin Market where the tainted ones are readily sold.' This seems to indicate widespread planting of potatoes in the general Rathfarnham area, belief locally in good potatoes from mountain land is common.⁸⁵ However in October 1846 the clerk of the South Dublin Union writes 'The disease has appeared in every part of the division; the mountain lands, that were unaffected, and but partially affected last year, are reported to be very much affected by the disease this year.'⁸⁶

Evidence of how things were in Kilmashogue during the Famine years is difficult to find. Despite the fact that both Mr. Caldbeck and Mr. Davis were grand jurors there was no extra presentments⁸⁷ and no evidence exists of any relief work. There is no

⁸³Relief Commission Papers series Z. No. 14276 and nos 14514 and 14706. Abstract from Constabulary Reports Rathfarnham September and October 1845. National Archives.

⁸⁴ibid.

⁸⁵personal communication Willie Ryan, Hugh Talty and Seamus Courtney of Kilmashogue whose ancestors were the Keogh and Keating families of Kilmashogue hill. 6th December 1995.

⁸⁶13th Report of the Poor Law Commissioners. Returns relating to potato crop in Ireland. Abstracts of replies from clerks of unions in Ireland. South Dublin Union page 185.

⁸⁷Grand Jury Presentment books 1845-1850. Rathdown barony, County of Dublin. Fingal County Council Archive.

documentary evidence or folklore about outdoor relief i.e. soup kitchens. There was a Relief Committee formed in Rathfarnham - with David LaTouche as Chairman - on 23rd February 1847 they sent a list of subscribers to the Relief Commission. The total collected was £243-2-6 with 108 individual subscription. The rector of Whitechurch Rev. Saunders Barton gave £2-0-0, William Caldbeck gave £5-0-0, as did David LaTouche and Simon Foot, Charles Davis gave £3-0-0.

The largest donation was £25-0-0 by the Marquis of Ely of Rathfarnham Castle.⁸⁸

The vestry minute and account books show for the first time Rev. Barton giving relief to a poor boy calling at his house 5/-.⁸⁹ Local folklore collected in 1937⁹⁰ give the following accounts.

The informant is a Mr. Ryan aged 86 years.

"The Government did not give relief to the people of this country until it was too late. Some did not die from starvation, but from disease and fever which they got from the dead people lying about the roads, because their friends were too weak to bury them."

Informant Mary Holmes no age given.

"Mrs Brownes father died as a result of the famine. Mrs Browne lives in Edmonstown now, when he died the people made a trolley and brought him to the Churchyard to bury him. People were lucky if they got Indian meal to eat, and most people brought their corn to the mill to be ground but most people had to eat weeds, turnips and mangles and their own animals. The Government got flour and seeds for potatoes from other countries. They made bread from the flour and gave so much to the people according to their families and they sold the potato seed for a new crop of

⁸⁸Relief Commission Papers. barony of Rathdown, county of Dublin RLFC3/2. National Archives.

⁸⁹Select Vestry Account Books 1840-1859. Whitechurch Parish R.C.B. library.

⁹⁰Schools Collection Kilmashogue and Edmonstown national schools collected in 1837. The Dept of Irish Folklore U.C.D.

potatoes. Cholera, smallpox and consumption and other diseases followed the famine and it was called Black '47."⁹¹

Mr Brown himself gave the following account.

"During the famine the people were very glad to eat raw turnips, weeds and often many people went through the fields gathering weeds of every kind, and bringing them home and boiling them with salt. They also lived on Indian Meal which people now give to hens. Great sickness followed the starvation."⁹²

The bad winter months of January and February 1847 are noted in the vestry minute books with snow preventing people coming to church, and the non attendance of children at the parish schools. In January and February the Vestry account books list the following alms, Jimmy Mulrooney got 4/- on the 10th. The parish paid for his burial on the 17th. January. On February 7th -note snowing heavily- Jo Thornton 5/-, Peggy Lambert 1/6 and Mrs Miley 1/6. February 22nd has Mrs. Miley getting 1/6 Mrs Rainsford 5/-, Mrs Ottley and Mrs Sinclair 2/6. This was extra to the weekly money given to 'poor Protestants'⁹³ On 20th February the select vestry allowed £3-6-2 to buy clothing for the children of the parish school.⁹⁴ Also a lock was bought for the church gate.⁹⁵

The register of admissions to the South Dublin Union Workhouse from July 1845 to Aug. 1848 is unavailable. The admission book of September 1848 to May 1849 list from January to March 1849 a family called McDonnell, occupation labourer, they

⁹¹Schools collection ms no 797B.

⁹²ibid.

⁹³Select Vestry Account Books Whitechurch Parish. Representative Church Body Library, Braemor Park, Dublin 14.

⁹⁴School account books Whitechurch parish schools. Museum of Education, Rathmines.

⁹⁵Select Vestry Account books

were later re-admitted in April 1849 and all died in the cholera sheds between Mar 4th and May 9th. A May Roberts an 28 year old widow and her 2 children were admitted on 9th October 1848 died on the 27th October and the children died on the 4th and 8th of December 1848. Mary Dunne listed as a servant in Holly Park aged 23 was admitted on 20th November 1848 and discharged 8 August 1849. A May Clarke a 65 year old widow admitted in September 1848 and died in the workhouse in January 1849. A Thomas Kelly aged 12 described as a labourer admitted in September 1848 discharged March 1849. Two other child labourers Charles Byrne aged 13 and John Brien aged 14 were admitted in September 1848 and January 1849 and also discharged in March 1849. A stonecutter Andrew Doyle aged 50 his wife and 2 children were admitted also for the winter months discharged 23 Feb. 1849. Anne Gaskin a 40 year old widow described as destitute died shortly after admission in January 1849. Patrick Moran aged 50 described as in rags admitted from January to August 1849. 3 people described as 'destitute servants' James Devitt age 67, William Loughlin age 73, and Bridget Whelan age 80 died in March 1849 in the workhouse.⁹⁶

There were no death records kept in either the Whitechurch Parish records or Rathfarnham Roman Catholic Parish records, but burials for the period are recorded in the burial register of Whitechurch from 1844 to 1852.

This shows none in 1844, 3 in 1845 - including young Charles Davis of Cloragh House aged 11 (family tradition has this child suffering from Downs Syndrome)⁹⁷ the other deaths record a Mrs Flavelle of Grange and a Charles Graydon of Marlay. 2 in 1846 both children, aged 5 weeks and 5 years from Ballinteer and Willbrook. In 1847

⁹⁶South Dublin Union Admission and Discharge book BG79 G5, the parish of each pauper is noted and all of the above and many more gave their address as Whitechurch Parish, very few came from the townland of Kilmashogue I estimate. The servants names would not appear in any valuation or cess list as they would have lived in the big houses in the main.

⁹⁷oral communication from Mr Charles Guinness whose great grandmother was Mary Davis the heir to Charles Davis of Cloragh House after the death of his son Charles.

there were 10 burials all from the parish except a 5 year old child whose address was noted as unknown - name George Curtis - the other 9 burials included 3 children under 3 years. 1848 there was only one burial - Letitia Jones - aged 69 from Kilmashogue House. There was none in 1849, 1850 or 1851, 2 burials in 1852, Mrs Fox late of St. Thomas, and Mrs Frances Rainsford wife of a labourer in Marlay, this woman had got parish relief in February 1847 and before that 3/- after a confinement in 1845. The parish records show she married in Whitechurch Parish Church in 1836 giving her occupation as a servant in Marlay House.⁹⁸

The burials list does not include anybody from the townland of Kilmashogue, but the list remains only as a guide, as Old Whitechurch was still in use as a burial ground for both Catholics and Protestants. Cruagh cemetery in the adjoining townland was the traditional burial ground for most Catholics, but burial records of these graveyards do not exist.

The school account books list the annual subscriptions for the running of the school plus the amount collected at the annual sermon.

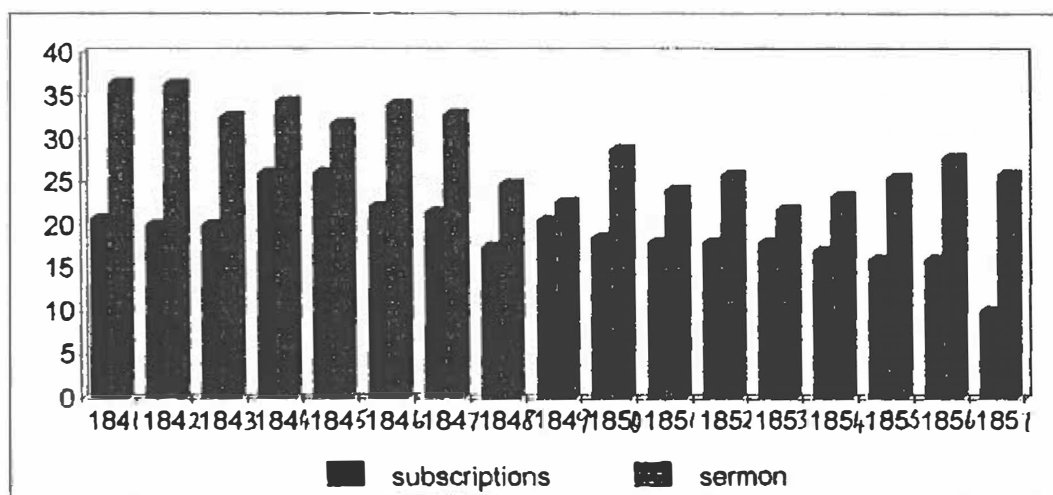


Fig.5..... Whitechurch Parish school total subscriptions per year and total collected at parish sermon per year. The totals show a sharp drop especially in the parish

⁹⁸Baptismal Marriage and Burial records original manuscripts of Whitechurch Parish, R.C.B. Library.

sermon total for 1848. This 25% drop indicates that the area was suffering much distress during this period and that even the comparatively well-off who made those subscriptions, were affected by the Famine.

The first valuation book dated approx. 1849 show some changes from the field and house books dated July 1847. All of the cottages on the good land sub-let by Mr. Farrell are now gone and so too is the smallest landholder.

The lots on the hill show consolidation, with Christopher Keatings holding being amalgamated into Keoghs and Keating moving into the quarry. The housebooks indicate that Keating had a blacksmiths shop on his holding on the hill so he would have been a useful tenant of the quarry. Quarry tools and horses would have required regular maintenance - the present owner of this house tells me he remembers horses dragging stone from the quarry in the 1950's.⁹⁹ The Roman Catholic parish records in Rathfarnham show Margaret Hyland marrying Richard Adams in May 1847, and from then until 1850 they lived on a small 9 acre holding at the beginning of the road to the quarry.¹⁰⁰ Where they went from there is impossible to know they did not turn up in any other holding in the townland and were not listed as paupers in the South Dublin Union. The name Adams is unknown locally.

Over the next few years until 1854, the parish cess lists show Christopher Keating alternating the quarry with a John Fitzgerald and in 1854 Christopher Keating holds the quarry with 29 acres of land, twice the size of the holding that Margaret Hyland had at the same lot. In 1854 also the hill was being let to two families the Farrells and the Keoghs; with Denis Lawlor and John Power holding on to two small farms. From 1850 to 1860 a holding of 90 acres in the vicinity of the old spa was let to a Dr. O'Brien, this passed to Keoghs in 1861. Caldbeck retained in his possession, 100

⁹⁹personal communication 3rd April 1996 Mr. Seamus Courtney.

¹⁰⁰Valuation book and parish cess lists.

acres of the worst boggy mountain land.¹⁰¹ The tradition locally is that this was cut for fuel by all the locals.¹⁰²

The two bridges built over the stream in the area let to Dr. O'Brien probably date from this time as one of them has 1850 carved in roman numerals into a stone set into it. This could have been another effort by Caldbeck to reactive the spa and the house that was occupied by Farrells in the house-books could have been let to Dr. O'Brien for this period. He paid cess for the ten years with Farrells paying slightly less cess in 1850 than they had in 1849.¹⁰³

The major beneficiary of the change in land after - Mr. Caldbeck - was Nicholas Jenkins now his principle^a farming tenant. After Caldbeck bought out Dr Stubbs and Dr Johnson, he increased Nicholas Jenkins holding, Nicholas Jenkins also had land holdings from Charles Davis. When the small farmers James and Patrick Cullen holding land adjacent to Larch Hill, disappear from the parish cess lists in 1855,¹⁰⁴ Nicholas Jenkins also gets their holding. He gets 21 of the 66 acres attached to Marymount in 1857¹⁰⁵ and continued to hold the land adjacent to Oldfield owned by Charles Davis.¹⁰⁶ He held the best land in the townland, his house - which still stands - was impressive and his outbuildings show considerable industry, with cottages for workers and another large house occupied by his brother John. The census records of 1901 list a Nicholas and John Jenkins at this house, aged 75 and 78, John unmarried and Nicholas married to Jane but childless. They both give their occupations as farmer/land agent.¹⁰⁷ The family died out and nobody locally has any

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*

¹⁰² personal communication Willie Ryan, Alice and Hugh Talty and Seamus Courtney 17th Mar 1996.

¹⁰³ Parish cess list, Whitechurch Parish.

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ Census of Ireland 1901, manuscript copy townland of Kilmashogue, Parish of Whitechurch.

National Archives.

memory of them. Despite the fact that he was a Roman Catholic at birth and marriage records in Rathfarnham Catholic Church testify, he may have been Caldbecks agent.

From 1849 on the records show a cottage in the garden attached to the Moravian Burial Ground,¹⁰⁸ the tenants changing frequently.¹⁰⁹ When the Moravians purchased this ground in 1756 they intended it to be used as an extension of their graveyard. It was never needed and in 1960 the Whitechurch Select Vestry purchased it and built a modern Rectory on this site. No ruins or any evidence of any cottage exist there now.

¹⁰⁸Valuation book.

¹⁰⁹ibid.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

The economy of Kilmashogue was mainly pastoral based on sheep production with woollen cloth making important up to the 1820's. Labour was cheap and plentiful with potato ground being given in exchange and some labourers living in cabins provided by the farmers who employed them. The area was dominated by large landholders with fine houses with enclosed demesnes and a few large farmers encouraged by the landlord William Caldbeck. He was in the main an absentee landlord for the period of this study - I believe dividing his time between Dublin and Lisburn. Along with Charles Davis - the other principal landlord - and the leaseholders of the 'big houses' he was Protestant and anti-repeal in nature.

Their Church dominated the area and I have to conclude that the installation of St. Columbas College in the parish was an indication of this. The High Church principles that dominated St. Columbas was probably indicative of the area as a whole with attempts to proselytise locally being a pattern of notes in the Select Vestry Minute books, a feature of this was the removal of the 1/- a week from 'poor Protestants' for 'not keeping the Sabbath day'. Alms were given out strictly on sectarian lines I could not find a single instance of the Church giving charity or parish funds to Catholics even during the worst of the Famine of 1847.

The limited examination of the Workhouse admissions show that all the people admitted were Roman Catholic. There was a high percentage of Protestant labourers in the townland and parish as a whole and the Select Vestry helped them in a very limited way.

The landscape and people of Kilmashogue was profoundly affected by its proximity to Dublin, with its ready access to markets and seasonal labour. It also made it easier

and cheaper for those that wanted to emigrate to do so. Parish records show a small portion of Protestant labourers getting help to go to England in the late 1840's.

The rise of William Caldbeck as the principal player in the area started before the Famine - but it was greatly accelerated by it, he had the business acumen to take advantage of the general decline in the landlord class and he also recognised the value of the main tenant Nicholas Jenkins despite his Roman Catholicism.

It is now impossible to assess how much of the change can be attributed to Famine but the drop in population and the decrease in the number of land lots from 32 to 20 indicates profound change. If tradition is correct, the quarry was prospering however. All of the changes that took place were orchestrated by William Caldbeck, if there was opposition from his tenants there is no evidence now. The only documented sign of unrest in the townland in that time was the malicious burning of one of the vacant houses in Larch Hill in July 1854, Mr. Caldbeck claimed £10.0.0 compensation from the Grand Jury for this.¹¹⁰

The people of the hill were an integrated unit who looked to areas like the adjacent valleys of Ticknock and Glencullen. The local tradition is that they went to Mass in Sandyford not Rathfarnham and an old mass path can still be found. The climate of the high ground meant that their sheep came to market later than the lowland farmers. The common assumption of the people of the hill today is that they are descendants of communities displaced from earlier more prosperous lowland homes. The proximity of the area to the capital city made the land attractive for investment as an asset rather than as a livelihood and the attractions of the capital city enticed landowners and the more successful middle-class to built villas on the periphery of Dublin. Kilmashogue was the diverse community it was because of this attraction.



¹¹⁰Grand Jury Presentment Books

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APPENDIX 1.

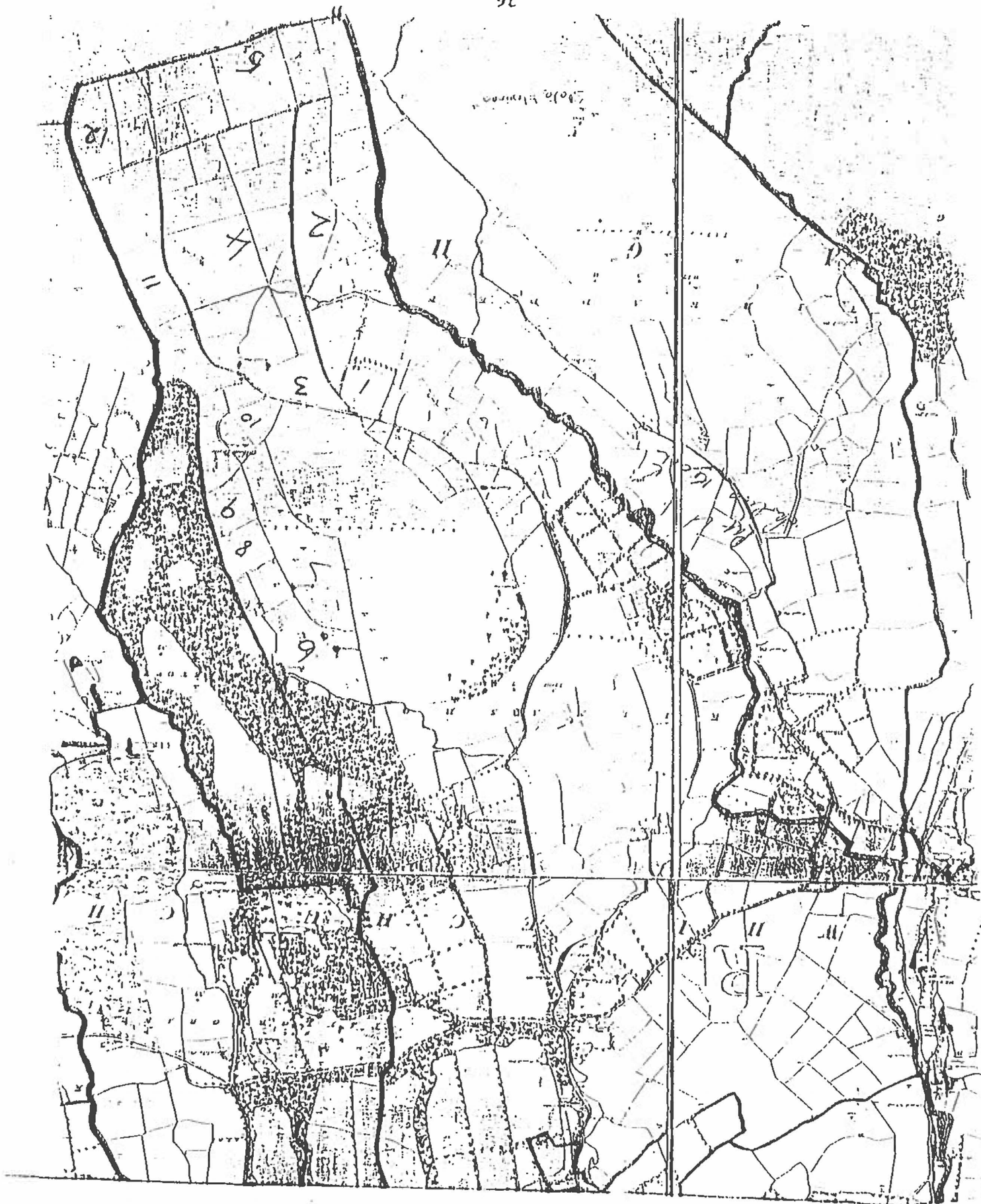
A survey of the estate of the lands of Kilmashogue in the Barony of Rathdown and County of Dublin. (part of the estate of William Caldbeck esq.).

1808 Longfield Maps - National Library of Ireland.

1. Lodge Division - arable pasture and meadow.
 2. Lodge Division - heathy mountain pasture.
 3. Arable and pasture (Barney McCoys - crossed out).
 - 4 Lodge division heathy mountain pasture.
 5. Lodge division boggy mountain.
- all above let to Dr. Stubbs.
6. Christopher Keating.
 7. Rocky furzy mountain (part of the hill).
 8. The paddocks - rocky mountain pasture.
 9. The paddocks - rocky mountain pasture.
 10. House division arable and pasture.
 11. Boggy heathy furzy mountain pasture.
 12. Boggy mountain.

lots 7 to 12 in owners hands.

The lodge referred to in the above survey as being let to Dr. Stubbs is the house referred in W. St. Joyce in his 'Ramble around Dublin' in 1890 as a strange looking house in rather ruinous condition, with granite pillars and portico in front and curiously shaped lattice windows, inhabited by a herd. This is the house occupied by Farrells in the 1847 housebooks. The Miss Hannah Farrell in the news cutting from 1937 refers to the same family.



Map referring to appendix I.

SHE IS 112 TO-DAY

MISS HANNAH FARRELL
HAS SEEN MUCH
IRISH HISTORY

MISS HANNAH FARRELL, celebrates her 112th birthday to-day— at St. Mary's Hospital, Harold's Cross, Dublin.

Born in 1825, she has seen much of Irish history.

She remembers the Famine, and



Miss Hannah Farrell.

O'Connell and Parnell vividly.

She attended Mass for over seventy years at Whitefriar Street Church.

Born in The Glen, Rathfarnham, Co. Dublin, she was one of a family of ten, the others of whom are now dead.

FIRST HOLY COMMUNION FROM FATHER TOM BURKE.

She received her First Holy Communion from Father Tom Burke, the famed Dominican patriot and lecturer.

Miss Farrell speaks and hears distinctly, reads newspapers, and detests modern fashions of all kinds.

She has been in the Hospital for two years.

When about to receive a visitor she superintends the preparation of the ward and they must wait until she is quite ready. Reporters are included.

Appendix 2.

How I mapped the houses and land of Kilmashogue.

The Valuation office in Ely Place had house and field books dated 24th July 1847 and signed by

James Carolan. In the misc section of Valuation Office records in the National Archives I

came across an observation book (undated) by the same surveyor. Some of the notes in the

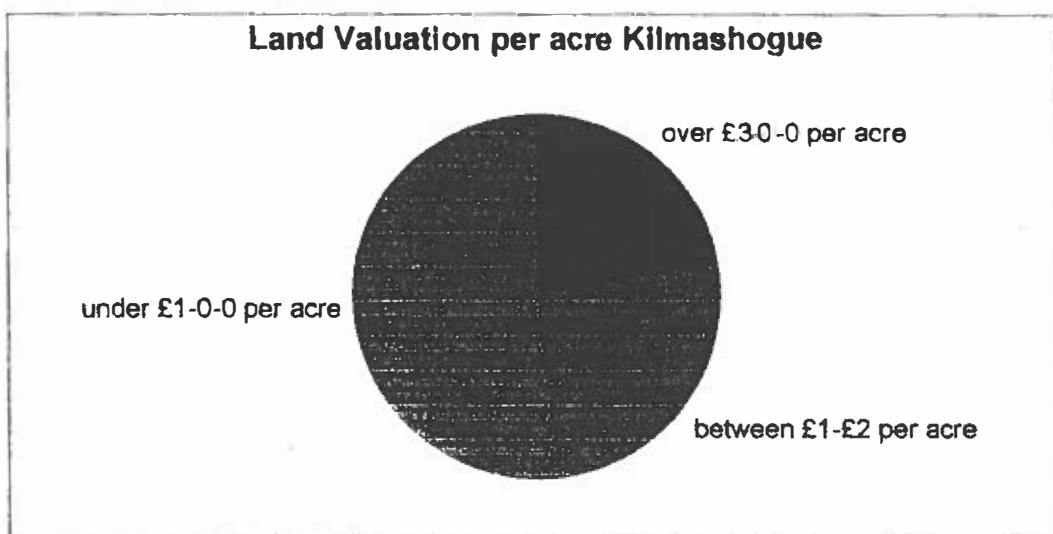
house and field books contained similar observations but there was additional information in these which I used. All of the above were numbered in a different way to the First Valuation Book and map in the Valuation office, but careful comparison led to the conclusions. I also used the Select Vestry Account Book of Whitechurch Parish which was in manuscript form in the Representative Church Body Library in Braemor Park . These were very valuable as they gave a yearly account of cess payers from 1840-1856, the amount of cess they paid and the acreage held. From 1856 to 1859 had more limited information as the threshold for collection cess was increased. These did not have any detail on cottagers or land held from middlemen as the first lessor paid the cess.

The Valuation office first maps were in very poor condition with a section of Map no 22 missing altogether. Map number 25 was in fair condition. Accordingly I used the original Ordnance Survey maps of 1837, of which I got a photocopy of a manuscript copy from the Gilbert Library. I used the lot numbers and acreage's' from the valuation book and maps to compile a map showing the original 32 lots. The printed valuation of Griffiths was dated 1849 and it showed only 30 lots for which there was no corresponding map. The second valuation office map had 20 lots with the numbers changed from the original 32 to 20 marked on it , although parts were again missing it was very valuable in compiling the changes. The field and house books I used again to help plot the changes in occupiers. These changes showed a first date

of 1857, but the parish cess payers gave me a more detailed time as cess increased or decreased as occupation of land changed.

The map detailing ownership of the land in 1847 is based on data compiled from the field and house books as well as the first valuation book. The second map detailing ownership is based on data from the second valuation book with an estimated date of 1857 - being the earliest date in the book.

The following valuation graph information I took from the first valuation book.



Appendix 3.

The house book compiled by James Carolan in July 1847....

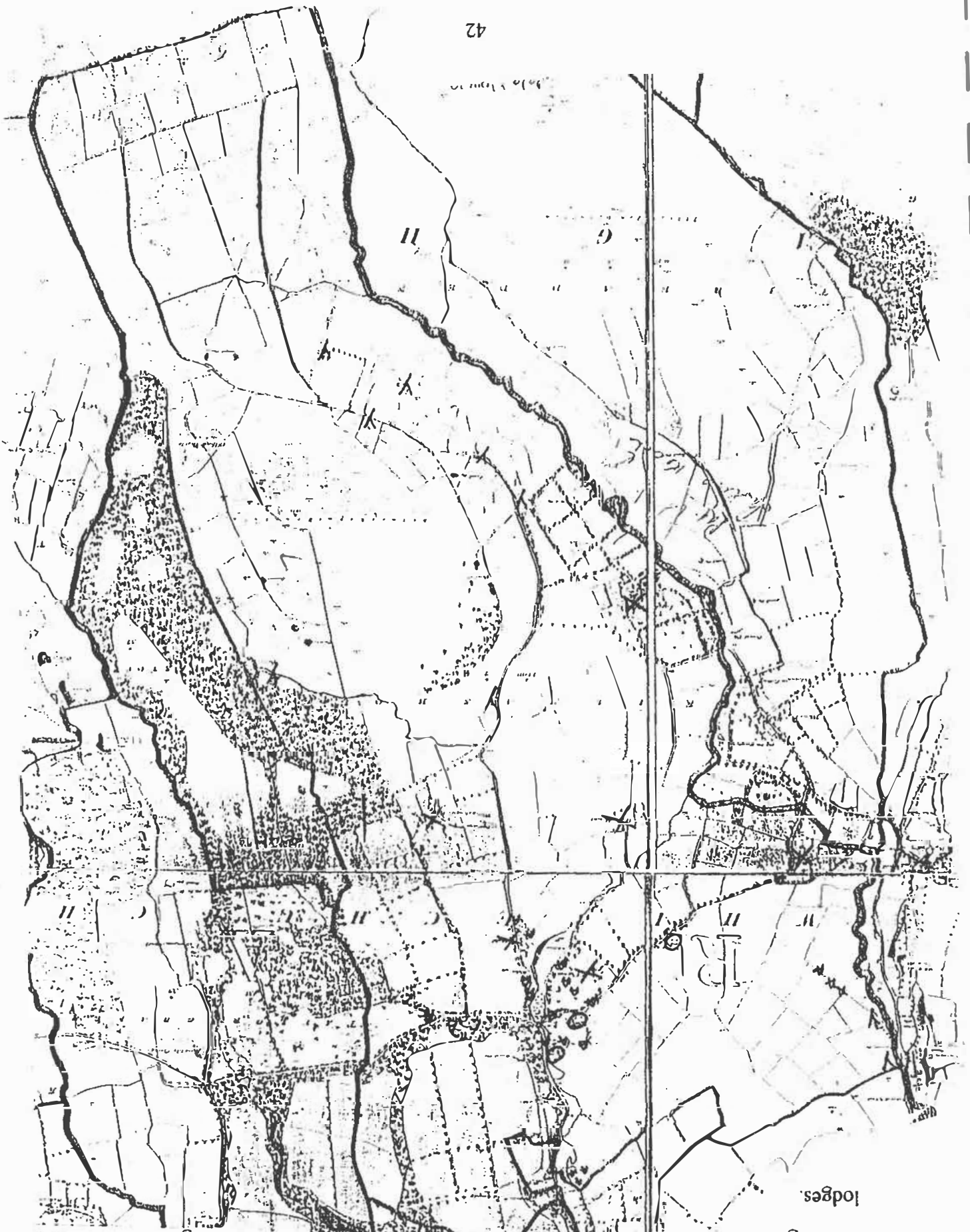
<u>occupiers</u>	<u>observations</u>
Charles Deegan	cottage (or cabin)
John Mulligan	do
Widow Power	do
John Kavanagh	small holder with cottage
Robert Jones	Kilmashogue Houses
John Gilligan	Cottage from Nicholas Jenkins
James Byrne	cottage from John Gilligan (no garden)
Michael Murray	cottage with garden from Nicholas Jenkins
James Farrell	Farmhouse
Surgeon Porter	Cloragh Cottage
James Dunne	cottage
Nicholas Jenkins	farmhouse
John Jenkins	farmhouse
Margaret May	cottage or cabin
Denis Murray	do
Nicholas Lawlor	lodge no garden (from Marlay)
Simon Foot	Holly Park later St Columbas (part)
Thomas Byrne	lodge no garden (from Holly Park)
George Murray	Oldfield
Thomas Murphy	cottage
Samuel Raynor	Mill
John Hughes	mill cottages
John Toalan	do
James Mallix	do
James and Pat Cullen	small holder with cottage
Mary Fox	St. Thomas

Roger Mohan	cottage
Patrick Kearney	do
George Bryan	do
Mark Russell	lodge no garden (from Cloragh House)
Robert Jones	cottage
Joseph Milliken	Marymount
Margaret Hyland	land at quarry
William Caldbeck	Larch Hill
Denis Lawlor	small holder on hill with cottage
Thomas Keogh	do
James Parker	do
John Power	do
Christopher Keating	small holder on hill with cottage and forge
Patrick Farrell	small holder on hill with house (old lodge)
Daniel Farrell	small holder on hill with cottage.

Map showing the houses and cottages on appendix 3.

X = large house O = farmhouses V = small holders and hill farmers A=c stages &

lodges.



Appendix 4

1847 land ownership

yellow	William Eaton Caldbeck
blue	Charles Davis
green	Rev. Dr. Stubbs
gold	Dr. Johnson
red	Moravian Burial Ground and adjoining garden & Church, school and teachers house.
pink	Mill owned by the minors of Mr. Drumgool (in chancery)

(as appendix 4)



Appendix 5.

First Valuation of the townland of Kilmashogue 1850.

lot no.	occupier	observation
1	David LaTouche	part of Marlay
2	Moravian Burial Ground	
3	Nicholas Jenkins	
4	Church and School	
5	Nicholas Jenkins	
6	Nicholas Jenkins	
7	John Delaney	
8	Bridget Farrell	
9	Bridget Farrell	includes Cloragh Cottage
10	Nicholas Jenkins	
11	John Kinsella	Oldfield
12	St. Columbas College	
13	Ed. Taylor	land let to St Columbas
14	Sarah Wyckham	Kilmashogue House
15	Samuel Raynor	mill and mill cottages
16	Nicholas Jenkins	
17	Thomas Thornhill	St. Thomas
18	Charles Davis	part of land of Cloragh Hse
19	James and Pat Cullen	
20	James Milliken	Marymount
21	William H. Clarke	Larch Hill and parkland
22	Margaret Adams	
23	Christopher Keating	now at quarry
24	Dr. O'Brien	
25	William H. Clarke	additional land to Larch Hill
26	Denis Lawlor	

27	Thomas Keogh
28	Thomas Keogh
29	Thomas Keogh
30	Thomas Keogh
31	Daniel Farrell
32	William Caldbeck

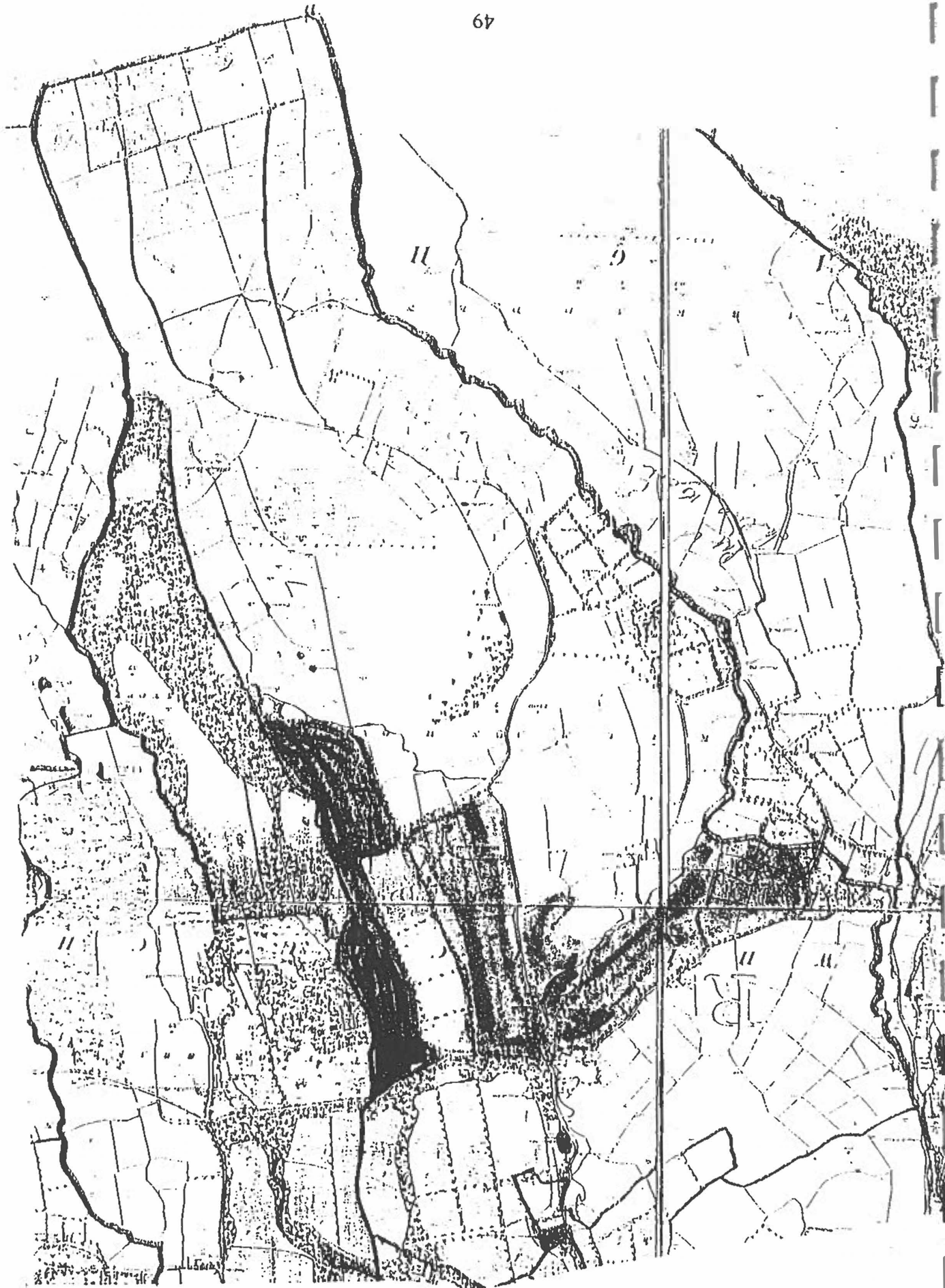


First Valuation map lot numbers as on appendix 5

Appendix 6

1857/60 Land ownership

yellow	William E. Caldbeck to Thomas Caldbeck (his son) in 1858
blue	Charles Davis to Mary Davis Guinness (his daughter) in 1862
red	St. Columbas College
pink	Moravian burial ground and garden Church school and teachers house



1857/60 land ownership map as appendix 6.

Appendix 7.

Second Valuation book of the townland of Kilmashogue approx. 1857.

<u>lot no.</u>	<u>occupier</u>	<u>observations using parish cess lists</u>
1.	Jos Lenihan	part of Marlay let from La Touche
2	Patrick O'Brien	cottage in Moravian garden
3	Nicholas Jenkins	
4	Daniel Farrell	from Bridget Farrell in 1851
5	Charles Davis	
6	John Smithson	Cloragh Cottage now with larger garden
7	Charles Davis	
8	Thomas Thornhill	St Thomas
9	Peter McIntyre	Mill from Raynor in 1856
10	Thomas Thornhill	Oldfield
11	St Columbas College	
12	E. Elwin	Kilmashogue House
13	Nicholas Jenkins	
14	J Milliken	Marymount
15	C H Clarke	Larch Hill
16	Christopher Keating	quarry
17	Denis Lawlor	
18	Thomas Keogh	
18a	Dr. O'Brien	to Thomas Keogh in 1860
19	Daniel Farrell	
20	William Caldbeck	



1857/60 lot numbers as in valuation book Map of appendix 7