

# LEITRIM AND THE GREAT HUNGER

*"... a temporary  
inconvenience ..."*



GERARD MacATASNEY

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Carrick on Shannon County Leitrim

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For the descendants of all those who were forced  
from Leitrim through hunger, disease and eviction.

## FOREWORD

From early childhood the Guckian household in Gowel, outside Carrick-on-Shannon, has been my second home.

It was there that my mother, Maura, was born and from there that she, together with two sisters and four brothers, emigrated to England. The inevitability of their departure is as real for Leitrim people today as it was then - a sad legacy of the Famine years.

Many books have been written on the Famine, yet few focus on events at the local level. In this book I have mentioned local names and townlands in the hope that those reading it will gain an appreciation of the events of that terrible time in their own localities. Although meant primarily for Leitrim people, both resident and non-resident, I hope that this volume will also serve as a study in the regional impact of the Great Famine and thus increase further our understanding of a traumatic period in Irish history.

Gerard MacAtasney  
Carrick-on-Shannon  
April, 1997

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*By the same author:*

'This Dreadful Visitation': The Famine in Lurgan/Portadown.  
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## INTRODUCTION

*An Gorta Mor* or the Great Irish Famine of 1845-52, was the greatest social catastrophe in the history of modern Ireland. Whilst the Famine was triggered by the appearance of a mysterious potato blight in Ireland, the factors which transformed this potato failure into a famine are far more complex. The political, economic and social context in which the Famine took place needs to be placed within a longer-term view of Irish history. At the same time, it is only with detailed research at the local level that the complexity of events during the Famine years can be fully understood.

The political relationship between England and Ireland began in the twelfth century, prompted by a conflict between the kings of Ireland. The conquest of Ireland took many centuries to complete, reflecting the intermittent interest of the English monarchs and the tenacious resistance of the native Irish. Numerous attempts were made to erode the economic base and culture of the Irish, with varying degrees of success. These included the Statutes of Kilkenny (1366) which endeavoured to limit the use of the Irish language, native customs and laws. In 1541, Henry VIII declared that the English monarch should also be king of Ireland.

From the sixteenth century, attempts were made to colonise Ireland through a system of 'plantations'. The most successful one took place at the beginning of the seventeenth century when six of the nine counties in Ulster (Armagh, Cavan, Coleraine - which later became Londonderry after the merchants of London - Donegal, Fermanagh and Tyrone) were 'planted'. English and Scottish settlers were offered cheap land in these areas and, to ensure that the settlement was permanent, new towns were built and walls were erected around the city of Derry. To ensure segregation between the native Irish and the new settlers, the latter were forbidden to socialise or marry the former, or to learn their language. The Penal Laws, which were introduced between 1692 and 1729, was a body of anti-Catholic legislation which restricted the rights of Catholics to own property, become involved in politics, receive an education, or practise their religion. Although not enforced rigorously, they were symbolic that Catholics were second-class citizens within their own country. By 1685, the settlers controlled almost 80 per cent of land in Ireland. Following defeat at the battles of the Boyne and Aughrim, the area of land controlled by Catholics fell to 14 per cent.

Throughout all of these difficulties, Ireland maintained its own parliament in Dublin, even though its powers were subservient to the London parliament. The revolutions in America in 1776 and France in 1789 gave a new spur to demands for greater Irish political independence. This demand met with some success. In 1782, the Irish parliament led by Henry Grattan, was granted more independent

powers, including the right to legislate for Ireland. These political concessions, however, did not satisfy those who believed that total separation from England was necessary. Their movement was led by Theobald Wolfe Tone, a middle-class Protestant from Dublin who had been a vigorous campaigner for Catholic rights, despite disliking Catholic 'priesthood and superstition'. His ideas received strong support from a number of Protestants in Belfast, including Henry Joy McCracken, Mary Ann McCracken and Thomas Russell.

This alliance of Protestants and Catholics was viewed by the British government as a serious threat to their position. They responded by forcing the Irish parliament (which was exclusively Protestant) to pass a number of conciliatory measures towards Catholics. These measures included allowing property-owning Catholics the right to vote and to serve in the army. Also, a seminary for the training of Catholic priests was established in Maynooth. These concessions to Catholics did not please all Protestants. The 1790s were marked by religious conflicts in a number of localities. The most serious occurred in County Armagh, which was populated by an almost equal number of Anglicans, Catholics and Presbyterians. Armagh was the most densely populated county in Ireland and there was immense competition for land. In 1795, a clash took place between local Catholics and Protestants at 'The Diamond' near Loughall. A number of people were killed in the skirmish and in its wake, the Orange Order was founded as a means of defending Protestant interests.

From 1793, Britain was at war with France and Wolfe Tone and his followers decided to take advantage of Britain's vulnerability by organising a series of uprisings. This culminated in an uprising in 1798, for which Tone had enlisted the support of French troops. But they arrived too late to be fully effective. Overall, the uprising lacked cohesion and although the movement won a number of initial victories, it was ultimately defeated. Approximately 30,000 lives were lost, including that of Wolfe Tone, who took his own life rather than be publicly executed. Although the 1798 rebellion failed, it left a romantic legacy of revolutionary struggle. In the short-term, it convinced the British government (and a number of Protestants in Ireland) that the political relationship of Ireland and Britain needed to be strengthened.

The Act of Union of 1800 resulted in a major shift in the political relationship between Ireland and Britain. As a consequence of this legislation, Ireland lost her own parliament in Dublin and instead sent 100 MPs to the parliament in Westminster. Overall, the Union got off to an inauspicious start. The promise that Catholic Emancipation would follow therefrom was not kept. Furthermore, the financial benefits of being part of the British empire, proved to be illusory.

Following the Act of Union, the economic disparity between the islands became more evident. British agriculture had already undergone a process of

modernisation and her industrial sector was undergoing a similar transformation. As a consequence, Britain was the leading industrial and commercial nation in the world. The Union resulted in the removal of various trading restrictions, which made Ireland more vulnerable to competition from her economically powerful neighbour. This was especially true after 1815 when the Napoleonic Wars ended and a number of small industries in Ireland collapsed. The exception to this was Belfast, where the successful linen industry was based, and which benefited from access to new overseas markets.

Dissatisfaction with the Union was soon evident in the uprising of Robert Emmet in 1803, even though it was quickly crushed and Emmet and twenty-one of his supporters were put to death. A more serious threat to the British establishment was provided by Daniel O'Connell who led a movement for Catholic Emancipation in the 1820s. O'Connell was a constitutional pacifist who did not want to resort to violent means to achieve his ends. His main tactics were 'monster meetings', collecting a small subscription and putting pressure on all Irish parliamentary candidates to support Emancipation. These tactics were successful and in 1829 the Catholic Emancipation Bill was passed. For the first time, Catholics could become members of the Westminster parliament. In the early 1840's, O'Connell became involved in a movement for repeal of the Act of Union. Again, he favoured peaceful, constitutional methods to achieve this end - tactics which had proved successful in winning Catholic emancipation. This approach was increasingly disliked by a number of his followers. This division was most apparent in 1843 when O'Connell agreed to call off a monster meeting in Clontarf. Following this, a clear division emerged between the supporters of O'Connell and a group of radical nationalists known as the 'Young Irelanders'. It was this latter group - which included Thomas Davis, Charles Gavan Duffy and John Blake Dillon - who were responsible for the unsuccessful uprising in 1848. O'Connell, by then was already dead, having died en route to Rome in 1847.

By the 1840s, the British government were not only worried about the political difficulties in Ireland, they were also concerned that the Irish agricultural sector had failed to follow the British example of modernisation. There was a fear that unless the Irish economy improved, Irish people could become a drain on the resources of Britain. In general, Ireland was regarded in Britain as being a poor, under-developed country. Potatoes, the main subsistence crop of the poor, were looked down upon as being a 'lazy crop' grown by a 'lazy people'. Furthermore, potatoes tied the peasants to the land and encouraged a sub-division of estates whilst allowing the Irish population to grow rapidly.

By the 1840s, approximately two-fifths of the Irish population depended on

potatoes as their staple crop. Potatoes had first been brought to Ireland in the sixteenth century. Initially they were used as a vegetable by the gentry and it was not until the eighteenth century that they became the main item of diet of the poor. There were various reasons for this. Potatoes were easy to grow and could flourish even in poor quality or rocky soil. They could also be used to feed pigs and farmyard fowl. Oats, which had been a traditional part of the diet, were increasingly required as a cash crop to be sold to pay for rent. Potato yields were able to keep pace with the population explosion after 1750 and, although the potato crop did fail intermittently, it was unusual for this to occur for more than one season. Potatoes were also highly nutritious, especially when eaten in large quantities. As a consequence of this diet, Irish peasants were amongst the healthiest, tallest and most fertile people in Europe. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was concern that the quality of the potato crop had deteriorated, especially as lumper potatoes (regarded as being of low quality and watery) were replacing more traditional varieties of potato.

The growth of the population in Ireland was also a cause of concern to the British government. By 1841, the population had reached almost eight and a half million people, whereas the population of Britain (England, Scotland and Wales) was approximately eighteen million. At the same time, Irish landlords were disliked on the grounds that few of them had invested in their estates or even resided on them. Their apparent apathy of Irish landlords was viewed as a major contributory factor to Ireland's economic backwardness. Overall, dependence on the potato, the large population and the indifference of landlords were viewed as the major obstructions to progress.

Whilst potatoes played a major role in Irish agriculture, the Irish economy was diverse. On the eve of the Famine, Ireland was not only growing enough food to feed her own population, but was also a major exporter of food to Britain. The key item of export was corn and, by 1845, Ireland was annually exporting to Britain sufficient corn to feed two million persons. Large quantities of livestock, dairy products (especially butter) and fowl were also exported each year. At the same time, Ireland was also the world market leader in linen production.

The immediate cause of the Irish Famine was ecological: a previously unknown potato blight appeared in Ireland 1845. It was thought to have originated in America and from there made its way to Continental Europe and then to Ireland via England. In 1845, the impact of the potato blight, resulting in a loss of some 40% of the crop, was most severe in the east of Ireland where the local population was less dependant on the potato than in the west of the country. Sir Robert Peel was Prime Minister in 1845 and he quickly put into operation a programme of relief measures which were highly successful. Food (Indian corn or 'Peel's Brimstone') was brought into the country and public works were

established in the poorest areas. This policy was successful and nobody died in the first year of shortages.

The blight returned in 1846, and its spread was far more rapid and destructive than in the previous year. Over ninety per cent of the potato crop was destroyed, its impact being most severe in the west of the country where there was high dependence on the crop. However, as this book demonstrates, the impact was also severe in other parts of the country including County Leitrim. Peel's Government had fallen in the summer of 1846 and he was replaced by Lord John Russell, the leader of the Whig Party. Russell decided to restructure the relief policies to make public works the main form of relief. More controversially, he also decided not to continue Peel's policy of importing corn into Ireland, but to leave the supply to market forces. These policies were disastrous. At the end of 1846, the Famine took hold as disease, emigration and mortality spiralled upwards. During this winter hundreds of thousands of people died on the public works, unusually harsh weather (snow falling as late as April 1847) contributing to this death toll.

These months also marked the beginning of an exodus from Ireland, with those who had the energy and the resources desperate to be anywhere but the land of their birth. For those who emigrated, however, the horror of the Famine had not ended. The emigration trade was largely unregulated and conditions on the ships were cramped, over-crowded and unhealthy. Moreover, those who did reach their destination were often unwelcome and regarded as health hazards and a burden on the local system of taxation.

The failure of the public works to save lives, combined with the high cost of this relief programme (approximately £5 million), contributed to another change in policy. In the spring and summer of 1847, the public works were replaced by government soup kitchens. Whilst the quality of the food provided was often of low quality, the main contribution of this scheme was that it directly tackled the problem of hunger. In the summer of 1847, over three million people (about 40 per cent of the population) received daily rations of food from the soup kitchens. Unfortunately, the soup kitchens were only a temporary measure and they were closed during the harvest of 1847. Instead, the Irish Poor Law was made responsible for both Famine relief and ordinary destitution.

The Poor Law (or workhouse system) had been introduced into Ireland in 1838. Following this, 130 workhouses were built throughout the country. These institutions were very unpopular with the poor and on the eve of the Famine many of them were almost empty. Each workhouse was administered by an elected Board of Guardians who were generally local landlords, wealthy farmers or rich traders. The administration of the local workhouses varied from area to area and they often became a focal point for local landlords to engage in their own power

struggles. Following the first appearance of blight in 1845, the Government had decided to keep the Poor Law separate from other Famine relief measures. By 1847, however, the Government were determined that Irish tax-payers should be forced to contribute more toward Famine relief. The Poor Law, which was financed by local rates, was regarded as an ideal way of achieving this.

In 1847, there was little blight within the country although the size of the crop sown had been small. This provided the British Government with an opportunity to declare the Famine to be over and to state that future relief had to be paid for by Irish taxpayers. That the Famine was not over was evident from the fact that in 1848, over one million people were still dependent on poor relief. The transfer to Poor Law relief in 1847 was marked by a new stringency in the provision of relief. One of the harshest aspects of the new relief policy was the Gregory Clause (named after an MP for Dublin) which stipulated that anybody who occupied more than a quarter of an acre of land was not eligible to receive relief. This Clause caused much hardship and contributed to the increase in homelessness after 1847.

After 1847 also, there was a marked increase in evictions as landlords sought to clear their estates of small holders and cottiers. This was partly motivated by the fact that the tax burden on the landlords had increased sharply and many of them had not received rents for two years. Yet, there is evidence that a number of landlords used the Famine as an opportunity to get rid of tenants who were no longer financially viable. Between 1849 and 1854 (when official figures began to be kept) almost one quarter of a million people were permanently evicted from their holdings.

In 1848 blight returned to Ireland and, in parts of the west, the destruction was as extensive as it had been in 1846. The appearance of cholera in the country, especially in areas close to ports, contributed to a further sharp rise in the death rate. As a consequence, in 1849, mortality was almost as high as it had been in 'Black '47'. In 1849 and 1850 blight again returned, though its impact was localised and it was primarily confined to counties Clare, Kerry and Tipperary. In County Clare, mortality was so high that the Government appointed a special committee to investigate the reasons. The committee was critical of both the role of the central government and the actions of the local landlords. In their conclusion, they offered the opinion that such suffering 'would not have been allowed to occur in any union in England.'

By 1852, the blight had virtually disappeared from Ireland though emigration, mortality and disease remained far higher than their pre-Famine levels. Within the space of six years, the population of Ireland had fallen to six-and-a-half million people. More people had died of Famine-related diseases than of actual starvation during these years. For most, death was slow, painful and

frequently took place without the traditional rites of passage or even a coffin. These images left an enduring impression on those who survived. Moreover, Ireland did not recover from this demographic shock and by the end of the century, the Irish population had been reduced even further to just over four million. This fact alone demonstrates that the effects of Famine did not end when good harvests returned to Ireland. Indeed, the impact of the Famine on social, political and cultural life lasted well into the twentieth century.

The value of this book is that it demonstrates clearly that even within one county, the range of Famine experiences was extensive. It was not only the potato blight which caused the suffering but a complex interplay of local conditions, personalities and power struggles that determined the outcome of those tragic years. To do this, the author looks at a range of sources that have been little used previously. Whilst the Famine was a national tragedy, a local study such as this one provides an insight into the impact of the crisis on the local community and on individual families. Gerard MacAtasney's study of the Famine in County Leitrim is a valuable contribution to the growing body of literature on the Irish Famine and to a clearer and deeper understanding of the history of those tragic years.

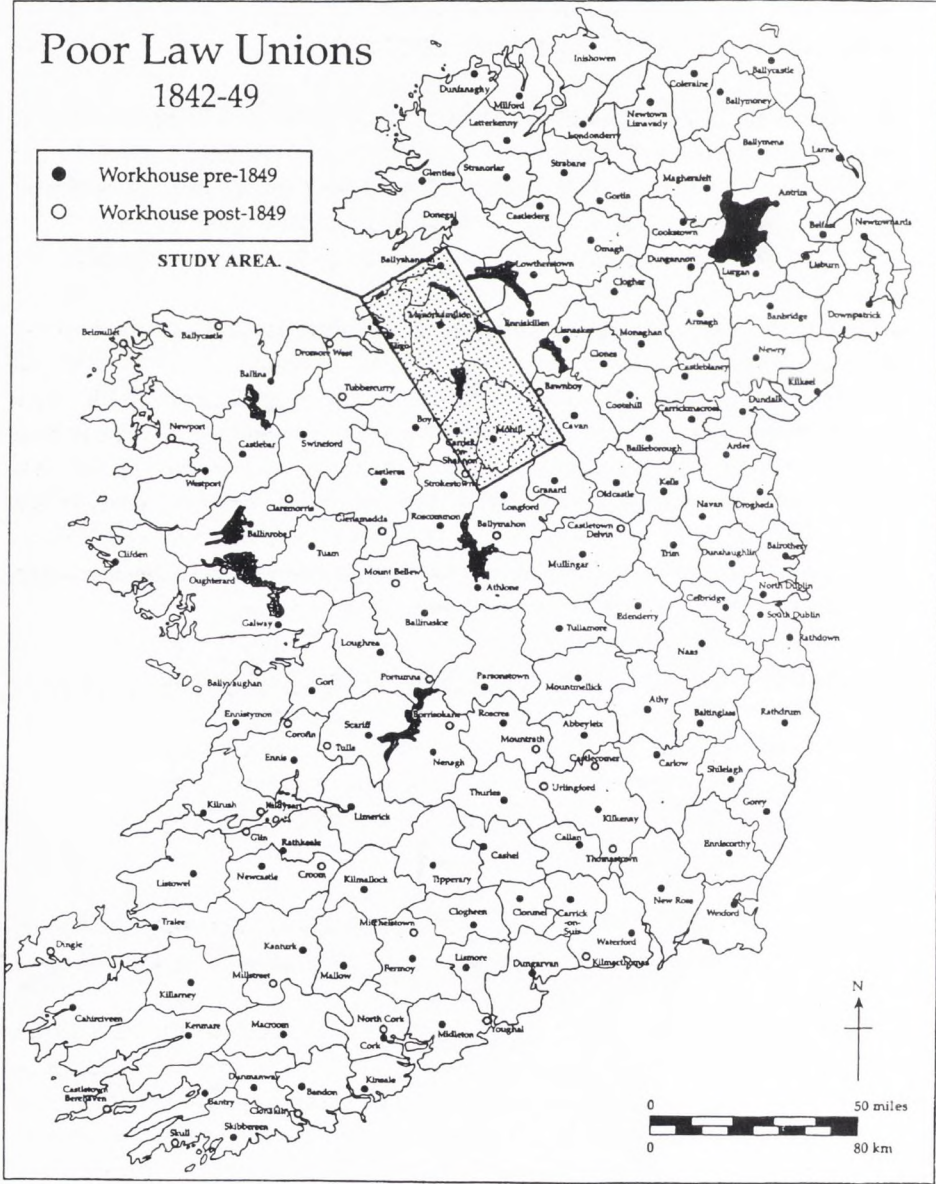
Christine Kinealy is author of *This Great Calamity. The Irish Famine 1845-52* (Gill and MacMillan, Dublin, 1994) and the forthcoming *A Death-Dealing Famine. The Great Hunger in Ireland*, (Pluto Press 1997).

She is a Fellow of the University of Liverpool.

# Poor Law Unions 1842-49

- Workhouse pre-1849
- Workhouse post-1849

STUDY AREA.



(Based on map by Paul Ferguson, Trinity College Dublin, redrawn by Brian MacDonald.)

Figure 1: Map of Ireland, by Poor Law Union.

## CHAPTER ONE PRE-FAMINE LEITRIM

To properly understand the impact of the Great Famine on County Leitrim, it is necessary to examine the infrastructure of the area in the period prior to the 1840s. Hence, by looking at systems of land-holding, tenure, agricultural techniques, alongside a general assessment of the standard of living enjoyed by the population, one can comprehend why the county suffered to the extent that it did in the late 1840s.

The main administrative system in nineteenth-century Ireland was the barony, of which there were five in Leitrim - Carrigallen, Dromahair, Leitrim, Mohill and Rossclogher. The principal county town was Carrick-on-Shannon with other major centres being Manorhamilton, Drumshanbo and Mohill. The area in and around Carrick supported a trade in coarse linen, frieze and coarse flannel. Of more importance, though, was its function as a centre for the provisions trade; large quantities of butter and yarn were sent to markets in Dublin and Newry. However, Lewis' Topographical Dictionary of 1839 believed that the town had failed to develop its potential as a thriving market town, stating:

Though advantageously situated for trade with a great extent of circumjacent country, and though occupying a site peculiarly capable of commanding a large proportion of the trade of the Shannon, the town seems quite reckless of its advantages and does not appear to be developing any promise of improvement.

Given that Carrick was also the administrative centre of the county, with the county jail, courthouse and infirmary sited there, this failure was all the more marked.

It is arguable however, that such promise was hindered by the lack of an industrial infrastructure in the county. Apart from a small domestic spinning industry, the vast bulk of the community was dependent upon agriculture for its livelihood. Of 27,192 families in the county, 21,663 (75.3%) were reported as being chiefly employed in agriculture. More significantly, perhaps, the majority of these lived on small plots of land with many owning five acres or less, as the following table illustrates:

<u>Farm Size</u>	<u>Number</u>
1 - 5 Acres	9,373
5 - 15 Acres	7,971

<u>Farm Size</u>	<u>Number</u>
15 - 30 Acres	877
30 and above	202

Such small holdings did not allow for much diversification in terms of crops grown, in many cases the potato being the sole vegetable. In spite of attempts by agricultural innovators such as Lord Leitrim, techniques such as crop rotation, were largely ignored by the owners of these plots and the practice of husbandry in the county was described as being in a wretched condition. The Parliamentary Gazetteer of 1846 remarked as follows:

The very idea of a rotation of crops is generally unknown and hardly any of the farmers have even the remotest notion either that a greater quantity might be raised by a proper variation of crops or that alteration of artificial pasture and tillage will allow this.

If the gains to be made by agricultural innovation were so obvious, we may wonder why they were being ignored: The possible reasons may be found in a number of government publications of the 1830s and 1840s - the Enquiry into the condition of the Poorer Classes (1836); the Census of 1841; and the Enquiry into the Occupation of Land in Ireland - Devon Commission (1844). By analysing such sources we can gain an insight into the daily lives of many of those living in Leitrim at this period.

The 1841 Census graded houses into the following categories: Fourth class - all mud cabins having only one room: Third class - a better description of cottage, still built of mud but varying from two to four rooms and windows: Second class - a good farm house, or in towns, a house in a small street having five to nine rooms and windows: First class - all houses of a better description than the preceding classes.

In Leitrim the number of families living in the fourth class was 11,199, just under 50%. Overall the total living in both third and fourth class housing was 22,539 out of a total of 25,912.

Fr. O'Farrell of Bornacoola described these homes as 'wretched buildings' with some built of clay, mortar or bog-sods or, in some cases, of stone without mortar. Such abodes contained little in the way of furniture - maybe a pot, shelf and small table. The majority had no beds and the people slept on straw, hay or green rushes with Fr. Heslin of Murhane commenting: 'In most cases there is no covering, except the almost worn cloak of the mother or big coat of the father.'

The same source reported that, as regards clothing, 'the people are reduced to a state of nudity', while Fr. Slevin of Kiltoghert and Gowel remarked that clothing generally consisted of either one old suit of light covering or frieze coats with corduroy breeches.

Such poverty of attire applied equally to diet, which in summer consisted of potatoes and buttermilk and in winter, potatoes and salted herrings. Occasionally, when employed by larger farmers, butter and eggs could be obtained whilst in the area around Rossinver, cabbage, oatmeal and oatbread was available.

In general, labourers worked only in harvest periods, being unemployed between the months of June and August, and December and March. However, even when they were employed, remuneration was meagre, with the average daily wage being 6d with diet and 9d without. Only in busy harvest periods did wages reach a maximum of 10d per day.

Thus, with an average annual wage of about £8 and a yearly food expense of between £5 and £10 it can be seen that many only just managed to eke out an existence for their families. Those who were aware of the situation had no doubts as to the position of labourers, with Fr. George Gearty of Annaduff remarking: 'I think labourers cannot be worse off in any country in the world than they are at present' while Dr. John Duke of Mohill stated: 'The situation of the labourers is wretched beyond anything I could say, both as to diet and accommodation. They would be delighted to emigrate if given the chance.'

If labourers maintained a precarious existence, those immediately above them on the social ladder, the small farmers, were little better off. Indeed in the opinion of Lord Leitrim there was no difference between them: 'The farmers are all labourers and the labourers are all farmers.'

Theophilous Jones of Drumard believed that agriculture in the county was in a very poor state and argued that the fault lay in the practice of sub-division of land. He gave the following example to the Devon Commission:

If a man thinks he is near his death, and he has six acres and three sons, he will give them two acres apiece and they will do the same; so that the holding is dwindled away to a cabbage garden.

As a consequence of such measures, families of five and six, or more, were being forced to live on ever-smaller plots of land. Indeed, Thomas Little, agent to Morgan Crofton of Mohill, remarked that a family holding from between six and ten acres was reported to be 'very comfortable'.

Such sub-division may have been prevented or discouraged if the local landlords had been resident. However, most of them were absentee, either in other counties or England; for example, Lord Leitrim only spent a part of the year in Mohill while Morgan Crofton, with an annual rent around Mohill of £7,000, lived in England. Such estates were managed by agents who, for the most part, were more interested in obtaining rents than in promoting improved agricultural practice. However, there were exceptions - such as Charles Manners St. George who owned over two thousand acres around Carrick, as well as estates in Roscommon, Waterford, Tipperary and Offaly (Kings Co.).

Through his agent, Charles Cox, he demonstrated both concern for the welfare of his tenants and a willingness to reward them for improvements made to their land. The following extracts from his account books are typical examples of money disbursed in this manner:

28 October, 1844

To M. Foley, Carrick

£2 paid in consolidation of his misfortune in losing a cow by distemper and the death of his wife by fever.

9 November, 1844

To Martin Curren, Ballynamony

£14 13s being the cost of timber and slates used for roofing and slating an excellent barn built by him on his holding.

15 June, 1846

To seven tenants in the townland of Attirory

£23 for reclamation of bog land.

However, the efforts of St. George and Cox were not typical of other areas of the county and, for the most part, people lived in wretched conditions with little or no chance of an improvement. Reliance on the potato, constituting as it did the staple diet, was almost total and when James Cowain of Cartown, near Carrick, was asked what happened in the event of a potato failure he replied:

They must go and beg, for they would rather do anything than go into the poorhouse.

Given that resorting to begging would have meant a complete abandonment of personal dignity we must enquire as to why the workhouse offered an alternative that few were willing to take.

## CHAPTER TWO THE WORKHOUSES: PRE-FAMINE YEARS

The Poor Law, a system for administering care of the poor in Ireland, became law in July 1838. It provided for the division of the country into a series of Poor Law Unions - 130 in total - to be based on market towns. Each union was to have a workhouse into which everyone seeking assistance from public funds would have to go - the old, the sick, the disabled and even the able-bodied poor. To obtain relief they had to abandon their houses and farms. The money for the workhouses came from rates levied on the property-owners of the union and the system was administered by Boards of Poor Law Guardians elected by the rate-payers of each union.

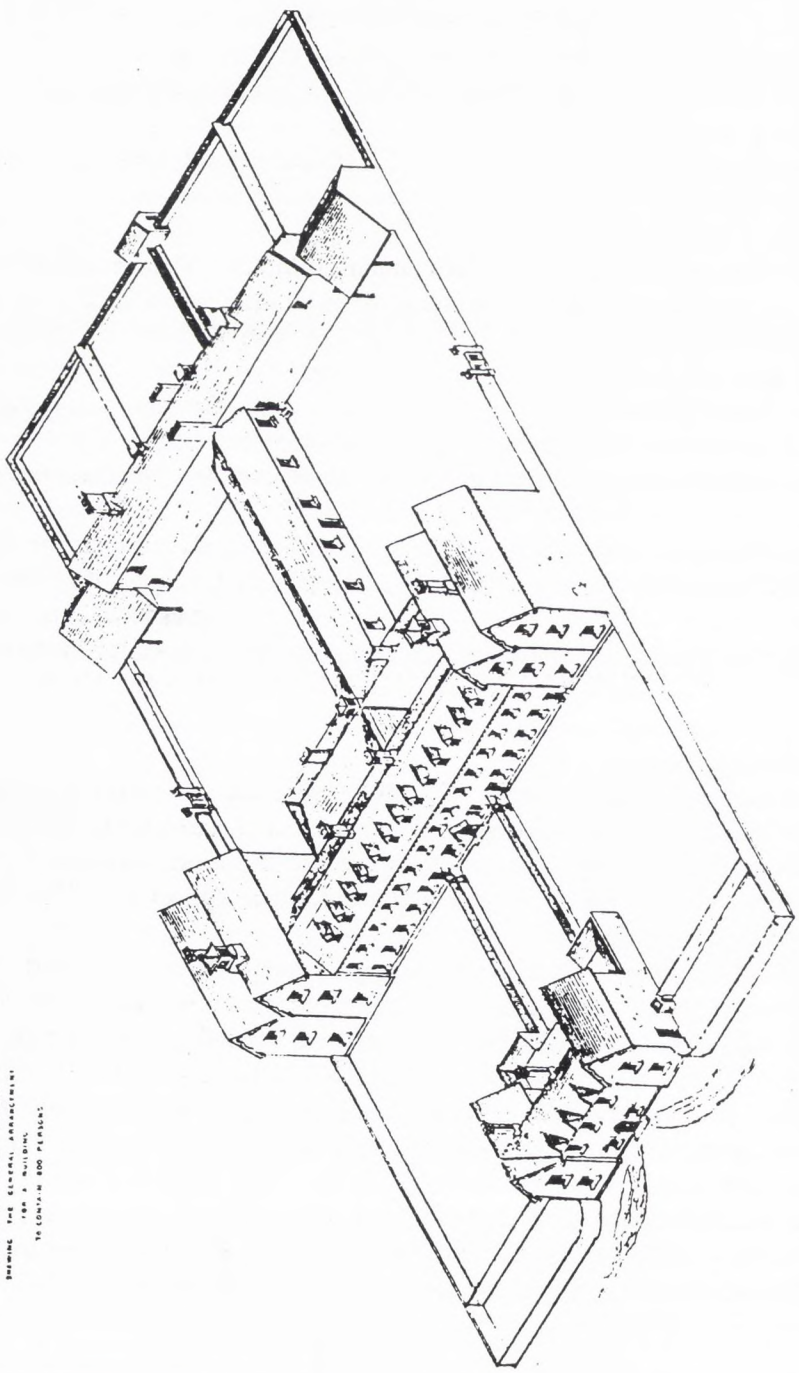
Workhouses were almost all built to standard and very detailed plans drawn up by the architect, George Wilkinson. They were plain and functional: inside the rough stone walls were not even plastered, just white-washed; while there were no ceilings, just bare rafters. Wilkinson also managed to make the Irish workhouses cheaper than their equivalents in Britain with two innovations of his own:

Firstly, the floors were made of mortar rather than boards or flagstones; secondly, instead of bedsteads he introduced sleeping platforms which were simply continuous raised wooden floors on either side of the dormitories, where the inmates slept on straw mattresses.

The Poor Law Commissioners, who administered the system, laid down a strict and detailed set of regulations to be followed in every workhouse. These were enforced by the master, the official responsible under the Guardians for the daily running of the institution. On entry, the paupers were segregated by sex, age and physical condition and sent to different wards, each with their own yard for work. As a consequence, families were broken up - wives separated from husbands, parents from children, sisters from brothers. They were allowed to meet again only at times appointed by the Guardians - usually a short period once a week. All paupers had to wear distinctive workhouse clothes and obey prison-like rules and restrictions. Boys could be flogged and adults put in the lock-up if they disobeyed regulations. Everybody had to work - the women doing most of the chores around the house while the men broke stones or picked oakum - i.e. unravelled the fibres in old lumps of rope.

Hence, the workhouse was meant to be a deterrent, to keep out all but the really destitute. The attitude of those in authority was epitomised by the Resident Commissioner for Ireland, George Nicholls:

BIRD'S EYE VIEW  
SHOWING THE GENERAL ARRANGEMENT  
OF THE BUILDING  
IN CONNECTION WITH PERILS.



I wish to see the poorhouse looked to with dread by our labouring classes, and the reproach for being an inmate of it extend downwards from father to son ... Let the poor see and feel that their parish, although it will not allow them to perish through absolute want, is yet the hardest task-master, the closest pay-master and the most harsh and unkind friend they can apply to.

Co. Leitrim was divided into three unions - Mohill, Manorhamilton and Carrick-on-Shannon, the latter containing several electoral divisions in the neighbouring county of Roscommon. The union of Ballyshannon, Co. Donegal contained the northern divisions of Glenade and Kinlough.

The Leitrim workhouses were completed in 1842 and the first paupers admitted in the same year. Although built to a standard format their sizes varied, with Manorhamilton having capacity for 500 paupers, Mohill 700, and Carrick 800.

From their inception, the buildings gained notoriety for the harshness of their regimes and hence they were to become the last resort of the desperate - usually widows and orphans living in extreme poverty. These examples from each union illustrate the sorry condition in which applicants for relief presented themselves in 1844:

### Carrick-On-Shannon

Anne McDermott, aged 50 - Catholic - mendicant - widow - admitted January 18th - bodily infirm - cripple - in a most deplorable state, with filth, vermin and disease - brought to workhouse in a cart - present condition, in bad health - in infirm ward. This woman formerly lived in the town of Carrick in comfortable circumstances.

James, Mary, Patrick and Bernard Hogan, aged 10, 8, 4 1/2 and 2 1/2 respectively - Catholic - admitted January 25th - deserted by father - the first, clothes in rags, dirty and apparently neglected - the second, clothes in rags and dirty - the third, very ill - clothed, dirty and apparently neglected - and the fourth, clothes bad, dirty and covered with skin disease - came to workhouse from Carrick. (The mother of these children is at present an inmate of the lunatic asylum at Ballinasloe.)

Sarah Kelaher, aged 20 - Catholic - mendicant - single - epileptic - admitted February 15th - bodily and mentally infirm - nearly naked, shivering and in rags, and in a deplorable state - present condition - in bad health - in infirm ward.

John Lavin, aged 47 - Catholic - labourer - widower - one child alive - admitted March 28th - in rags, filthy and diseased, and his appearance most wretched - present condition, in bad health - in hospital.

### Manorhamilton

Pat McNulty, peasant, and Bridget, his wife, aged 55 and 50 respectively - Catholic - admitted January 18th with their four children. Father, filthy and in rags - mother, hungry and filthy - children, almost starved - infested with vermin and in rags, and two in bad health - present condition, parents and two children in good health - one in bad health in hospital - youngest child dead.

Bridget Regan, aged 27 - Catholic - mendicant - married - deserted by husband - admitted March 14th (with her three children) - in rags and dirt - infested with vermin and otherwise filthy - present condition, in good health.

Owen Maguire, aged 67 - Catholic - single - admitted March 14th - destitute - bodily infirm - very filthy and unwell. (Died on the day he was admitted).

### Mohill

Edward Heslin, aged 40 - Catholic - mendicant - widower - admitted February 15th (with one child) in rags and bad health. (Since dead).

James, Margaret and Catherine Moffatt, aged 13, 11 and 9 respectively - Catholic - mendicants - orphans - admitted March 7th - all in rags and almost starved - present condition, one in bad health, in hospital; the rest in good health - at school.

Mary Gorman, aged 35 - Catholic - mendicant - widow - admitted March 19th with five children, all nearly starved and in rags - discharged March 22nd voluntarily, in good health, except one child. (They were found lying by a wall, and supposed to have fever).

For many in need, a combination of pride and fear ensured that they remained well away from the workhouse environs and from 1842 to 1845, numbers in these buildings rarely attained more than one-quarter of total capacity. In such circumstances, and with little pressure on resources, the workhouses in Manorhamilton and Mohill coped reasonably well, with nothing occurring to arouse the ire of the Commissioners. However, the same could not be said of the Carrick workhouse. Almost as soon as it opened, the building was experiencing serious financial difficulties. By March 1844 actions were being brought against the Guardians by their creditors and in one case the sheriff impounded the furniture of the house under a writ of execution (See appendix B). Prior to this, in November 1843, the Guardians reported:

The funds of this union are in such a distressed state, we have not sufficient funds to meet any further increase to the number of paupers.

As a consequence, in the five weeks that followed, relief was refused to all persons who applied. The reasons produced by the Guardians for such extraordinary action were that they were unable to secure a collection of the poor rates and hence were not in a position to oversee the maintenance of the workhouse. Such a course of action led to what the Commissioners termed 'consequences of a most lamentable nature'. One such case involved that of a schoolmaster from Estersnow called Darby Gormley. On December 14, 1843, having been evicted from his home, he applied for admission to the workhouse with a valid ticket from his local warden which stated he was suffering from dropsy. However, his application was rejected by the Guardians - as was a further one on December 21. In an attempt to obtain shelter he wandered from cabin to cabin and eventually died on a heap of straw outside the house of a man named Patrick Higgins. His body was then allowed to lie by the side of the main road during Christmas until money was obtained to bury it.

Whilst expressing 'deep regret' at these circumstances, the Commissioners were not surprised at their occurrence. In early November, Mr Otway, Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, had visited the workhouse, reporting:

The Guardians not only do not admit the poor at their weekly meetings, but endeavour to prevent admissions taking place by any other means.

Towards the end of the month he again sat in the Board-room:

It was with great difficulty that I could get the Guardians to admit the poor into the Board-room, and to investigate each case - all the applicants were rejected and it was heart-rending to see and hear the poor applicants when rejected. As strongly as language could state, I urged on the Board to consider the duties they were called on to perform under the provisions of the Irish Poor Relief Act, and the moral and legal responsibility they would incur if any of the poor who were rejected, perished through their default.

The Guardians remained aloof from such concerns however, and maintained that without a loan of £1,200 the workhouse would have to close. The

Commissioners described their actions as 'illegal' and 'contrary to the dictates of humanity' and initially refused to grant the loan.

Eventually, after much correspondence on the matter between the Guardians, the Commissioners and various banking establishments, a loan was approved on the basis that it would be repaid after a 'prompt collection of the rates.' Thus, for the time being, the Carrick workhouse remained open under the control of the local Board. Nevertheless, at a time when most workhouses were being run efficiently, the events in Carrick did not augur well for the dark years closing in.

### CHAPTER THREE THE FIRST BLIGHT 1845 -'6

The autumn of 1845 approached, as in other years, with the expectation of a good harvest. The *Roscommon and Leitrim Gazette* of August 8 reported that the crops had 'a most promising appearance' with farmers anticipating 'an abundant harvest.'

September witnessed the annual agricultural-society shows in Manorhamilton and Carrick at which were exhibited fine breeds of cattle, together with butter, potatoes, turnips and fowl.

In Carrick the Drumsna Amateur Band played 'several enlivening airs', while after the show the competitors dined at Churches' Hotel on beef, mutton, lamb and fowls, washed down with ale. In an after-dinner speech, Lord Leitrim informed the audience, amid great cheering, that the South Leitrim Agricultural-Society had become affiliated to the Royal Agricultural Improvement Society of Ireland; he further stated that great progress had been made in agriculture in the county. However, in a short speech, almost enveloped by toasts to Queen Victoria, Prince Albert, the Lord Lieutenant, etc, William Smith of Mohill attempted to address the realities of life for those living in poverty. He argued that tenants should be regarded as fellow-men, not slaves, and treated with humanity. He also appealed for compassion as it appeared that, alongside distemper in cattle and disease amongst pigs, there was the possibility of a failure of the potato crop. Smyth's words, lost in a sea of self-indulgence, were to prove to be the most significant of that evening.

By October the *Roscommon and Leitrim Gazette* was reporting a 'disease affecting the potato' in the Netherlands and in the same month commented:

When it is considered that millions of our poor countrymen wholly subsist upon the potato and that the present failure has extended itself all over Europe, we cannot shut our eyes upon the consequences which may follow a general failure of the staple food of this Kingdom.

The sense of panic in this article was justified, as in the weeks that followed, reports from throughout the county confirmed that damage to the potato crop had occurred. John Veevers, writing from Mohill, stated that rot had developed amongst all types of potatoes and forecast that approximately one-sixth of the crop would be lost. William Wray disagreed but shortly afterwards revised his opinion, commenting:

The injury is discovered to be much greater than previously thought. The late heavy rains have accelerated the disease with between one-sixth and one-quarter of the general crop unfit for use.

However, reports varied to a great extent and whilst agreeing that a portion of the crop had been lost, many commentators felt that a panic situation had been engendered by exaggeration on the part of speculators. Thus in Manorhamilton, Drumkeeran and Ballinamore 'an abundant crop perfectly free from disease' was forecast. Indeed Denis Booth, writing from Lavagh, near Drumsna, at the end of November, reported that there would be plenty of food available until next summer and that 'the panic that had been created in this county has in a great measure subsided.'

Nevertheless, the Rev. Montgomery of Drumkeeran emphasised that if food was to remain plentiful, proper storage of potatoes was vital. He cited a case where a local doctor had stored a disease-free crop in an outhouse only to find, one week later, that one half had rotted away with the remainder expected to follow suit.

By this time, reports regarding failure throughout the country were reaching Dublin and the Poor Law Commissioners, obviously aware of the dependency on the crop, issued a circular to all unions. They authorised Guardians to depart from the established diets by substituting the use of oatmeal, rice, bread, or other food in lieu of potatoes. In fact the Carrick Guardians, having unsuccessfully tendered for potatoes in September, were forced to advertise for a supply of cups and lumpers with the explicit guarantee that they be free from disease. By the end of March, 1846, the paupers were receiving stirabout, instead of potatoes, three days per week.

Thus, in spite of the optimistic reports emanating from throughout the county, the partial failure was beginning to have a noticeable effect, especially in the period between December and March when labourers were unemployed. Indeed, when estimates were revised in February/March 1846, the levels of crop failure, as the following table illustrates, were much worse than at first anticipated. The table also shows the large numbers of labourers without work and with little or no prospect of gaining any.

AREA	CROP LOST	LABOURERS UNEMPLOYED
KINLOUGH	1/10	1/4
OUGHTERAGH	1/3	4/5
BALLINAMORE	1/3	4/5
NEWTOWNGORE	1/3	1/2
CARRIGALLEN	1/3	3/4
DRUMREILLY	1/3	4/5
DRUMSHANBO	1/4	A11
KILTUBRID	2/3	40/41
CLOONE	1/3	1/2
AGHAVAS	1/3	1/16
RINN	1/3	1/3
ANNAGHVEAGH	1/3	1/4
ANNADUFF	1/3	1/4
ESLIN	1/3	1/16
LEITRIM	1/2	A11
KESH CARRIGAN	1/2	50/51
CARRICK	1/3	2/3
DRUMSNA	1/2	3/4
ELPHIN	1/2	1/4
FENAGH	1/3	29/30
MOHILL	1/3	1/8

It is possible either that early reports had been much too hopeful, or that the Rev. Montgomery's fears concerning storage had been realised. Whatever the reasons, the early months of 1846 offered only the prospect of unmitigated hardship for much of the population of the county.

Writing from Annaduff on 17 March, the Rev. George Shaw stated:

The distress of the population of this district is great from the failure in the potato crop, not alone during the past season, but five or six years previously.

He reported that he had engaged many men in draining his glebe lands, in order to give them work and money, but was finding it impossible to employ all those who applied. The Rev. King of Kilmore, near Drumsna, commented on the 'unspeakable distress prevailing in this neighbourhood' while Fr. Brennan, parish priest of Rooskey told how he was being appealed to on a daily basis by

hundreds of starving people many of whom were reduced to one meal of potatoes per day. In Carrick, distress was said to prevail to 'an alarming extent' with many people being in 'actual want.' However, it was not only individuals who were revealing details of distress. On March 19, the Mohill Board of Guardians sent the following resolution to the Commissioners in Dublin:

We entertain serious apprehensions as to the means in the power of the poor to provide their families with food. There can be no doubt of the extensive failure of the potato crop and that the people will not have potatoes for seeding their land. Cottiers at present are almost destitute and we are of opinion that the best mode of meeting the emergency will be by Public Works for immediate money repayment and establishing a depot of Indian Corn in the principal towns in the union, to be sold at the lowest possible rate.

With such reports becoming common-place, the government had established a Temporary Relief Commission in November 1845. The main role of this body was to organise food depots and co-ordinate the efforts of local relief committees. The latter were to act as a medium for the purchase and re-selling of Indian corn imported by the government from America and to oversee the provision of employment on small local works-schemes. It was recommended that the committees consist of resident gentry - landlords, agents, magistrates etc - together with clergymen of all persuasions and local Poor Law Guardians. However, such stipulations proved difficult to enact in an area where many of the landed gentry were absentee proprietors. This problem was addressed by Lord Leitrim, writing from Lough Rynn, near Mohill. Having received a copy of 'The Instructions to Committees of Relief' he replied thus to Dublin:

The instructions to committees are totally inapplicable to this district where landlords are almost unknown, the rector of Cloone absent, and agents frequently non-resident.

Further to this, it is evident that gentlemen such as his Lordship were experiencing teething problems in establishing such committees. On several occasions he wrote to Dublin enquiring as to whether they were to be established on a county or baronial basis and if they could act independently of each other. Gradually, however, relief committees emerged in Mohill, Carrick, Carrigallen and Manorhamilton. They were chiefly concerned with obtaining Indian meal - the cheapest food available - and selling it at as low a price as possible. Despite

repeated requests to establish meal depots throughout the county, the government refused to furnish Leitrim with such an outlet and the nearest depots were sited in the towns of Longford and Sligo. The situation was exacerbated by the further refusal of the government to deviate from its policy of non-interference in the market. Hence they would not encourage the release of large amounts of meal for fear it would lower the prices then being obtained by private traders. On April 22, the Rev. St. George of the Carrigallen Relief Committee wrote to Capt. Kennedy in Dublin enquiring about the price to be paid for Indian meal from the government depots. The reply reflected the opinion of the administration that supplies should be released at as late a date as possible, in order to avoid any price reduction:

Indian meal is not at present in the course of distribution. It is thought that early June will be time enough in that part of the country.

Similarly, when the Rev. James Franks of Manorhamilton reported that money had been collected in Kinlough for the purchase of four or five tons of Indian meal at Sligo, he was informed that 'the state of that area does not require such assistance from the depot before the first of June.' In this way, procedure often took precedence over provision, and when private suppliers eventually ran out of stock, the government released large quantities of meal onto the market when demand was high and people were willing to pay inflated prices. Indeed meal increased to such an extent that relief committees, attempting to sell as cheaply as possible, were actually incurring losses on food purchased. The Rev. Montgomery of Innismagragh, writing on behalf of the Drumkeeran Relief Fund, stated that the local committee was selling at £10 per ton which represented a loss to them of £4 per ton. He also gave the following account of the aid they were affording to the poor:

We distributed three tons, 13 cwt of meal to one hundred and eighty-eight families and were obliged to reject from fifty to sixty - there not being sufficient meal from the great and unexpected number of applicants. If we are not afforded further pecuniary aid, we must cease from affording any relief whatsoever in the course of two or three weeks.

In Ballinamore, the local committee was selling oatmeal and Indian meal to around six hundred families, twice weekly. The former was retailed at less than

half price - 1s per stone - with the latter at 6d per stone. In cases of severe hardship, families were supplied free of charge. However, the latter course of action was frowned upon by the Commissioners who reminded the committee that:

No relief is to be given gratuitously to able-bodied persons and no such relief should be given even to the aged and infirm so long as there is room for them in the workhouse of the district.

Thus, in spite of the reports of distress, hardship and even starvation, the Commissioners adhered to the principle that food had to be paid for.

Consequently, there were two options available for those in distress: either relief by means of food rations which had to be purchased; or removal to the workhouse. This attitude stemmed from the belief of those in the government that gratuitous relief would engender increased laziness and dependence on the authorities. The government also believed that the potato failure of 1845 was temporary in nature and that the new harvest of 1846 would produce a healthy crop and eradicate the need for relief measures. Their thinking was to be proved mistaken on both counts.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### 'BLACK '47'

In the autumn of 1846, in order to gain an accurate picture of the condition of the new crop, the Relief Commissioners sent questionnaires to members of the police constabulary throughout the country. Each reply contained details of the crop planted in 1844, '45 and '46; the area planted in con-acre; other crops grown, and finally the extent of the potato crop damaged by blight in August and September of the present year, 1846. Unfortunately, the correspondence from Leitrim made grim reading.

The crop in Ballinamore was said to be blighted to 'an alarming extent' with around 80% lost, the reporter commenting:

The state of the crop is deplorable - there is scarcely a sound potato to be had in the district and the decay is rapidly progressing.

Around Manorhamilton the loss was in the region of 75% with barely a field escaping the blight and 'the leaves and stalks which ought to be green are now black and withered.' Carrick's crop was said to be 'totally destroyed' while Mohill had a deficit of around three quarters. In Dromahair the potatoes had been 'blighted very considerably' with many found to be 'utterly unfit for use.' From Drumkeeran came the following depressing report:

It is firmly believed that if the disease continues for one month, there will be no potatoes in this locality.

The returns from Leitrim were matched by similar accounts from all parts of the country, offering conclusive evidence that the blight of 1846 was almost total and much more serious than the partial failure of the previous year. Given that the latter had caused so much hardship, we can only surmise how the labourers and small farmers would have felt on discovering that their only source of food was decimated. They must have looked to the winter of 1846 - 7 with a terrible sense of foreboding.

The local relief committees, which had been established in March and April, were once again reactivated. The Mohill committee, in estimating that over 6000 families were totally reliant on the potato, wrote to the Lord Lieutenant stating that unless assistance was afforded to the area without delay, the result would be 'disastrous in the extreme.' For his part Andrew Hogg, rector of Cloone, reported that thousands were on the point of starvation and surmised that the

Mohill committee would be unable to meet the increasing demands of those in distress. Loftus Tottenham, writing from Glenfarne Hall, Manorhamilton, stated that north Leitrim was in a 'lamentable state' and pleaded for a depot of Indian meal and oatmeal to be established in the town.

Increasing hardship, together with rising prices meant that the work of relief committees became even more important than before. However, much as they attempted to offer some respite, they were limited by the tight parameters enforced by the Relief Commissioners. The following extract, from one of many letters written by Tottenham, offers us an insight into the feelings of someone genuinely concerned for the welfare of those around him, but constantly constricted by bureaucracy and dogmatic adherence to principle:

I beg to bring again under your notice, the necessity of a depot of Indian meal and oatmeal at Manorhamilton. The state of the people here cannot be conceived - they will be absolutely starving before two weeks. Little or no corn is grown in these mountain districts and the potatoes are totally diseased. The Government stores at Sligo are too distant and the supply there dwindled to a mere nothing this week. With difficulty, two tons of Indian meal were given to our committee, but the moment it was sold, the shopkeepers in the town instantly raised oatmeal from 20s to 24s per cwt - hundreds had to go home without getting any. The whole district around Manorhamilton, for seven or eight miles, is dependent on imported food, and surely when plenty of storage room can be had in the town, the people will not be forced eighteen or twenty miles to Sligo to buy two or three stone of meal or left dependent on a few huxters who charge what they please and raise the price to an exorbitant height the moment the market is left dependent on them alone. Surely it is high time for Government to step in now.

The Commissioners' reply, in which they stated that depots could only be established in areas 'where peculiar circumstances render them indispensable' gives an idea of the opinions which prevailed in the government at that time and the fact that laissez-faire doctrine was to prevail beyond the needs of a starving population:

The certain consequence of depots is to check trading enterprise and the public welfare so that a permanent evil

would be inflicted in relieving a temporary inconvenience which in such a town as Manorhamilton requires only that persons of local influence should unite in exerting to have additional supplies of food brought to the market. It is not intended to interfere with trade prices by Commissariat sales.

Similar replies were received by other committees requesting the establishment of depots. Consequently some decided to develop alternative methods of supplying their needs. Andrew Hogg, together with some of the local gentry, established the Cloone Relief Association, independent of the local relief committees which were under the auspices of the government. By October they had raised £220 and were endeavouring to supply the poor of Mohill and the surrounding district. The Manorhamilton committee, having raised £300, sent an agent to Liverpool to purchase 100 tons of Indian meal and contracted for further supplies from the Mediterranean.

Another method of raising money was that attempted by the Rev. Robert King of Kilmore. He addressed letters to his 'esteemed and respected brethren' in England through the columns of newspapers. He related how he was attempting to combat the 'agonising pangs of hunger' of his 'fellow-creatures' which had been sharpened by the 'afflicting clamorous wails of their children.' To this end he appealed for 'kind interference and assistance towards furnishing aid for the relief of such famishing fellow-creatures.'

With levels of suffering increasing on a daily basis, relief committees themselves underwent important changes. Whereas before there were perhaps one or two in each barony, these sub-divided in the hope that they would be able to refine their operations and devote more energy to the needs of particular areas or parishes. Thus, by the end of the year, there were committees in the following baronies:

<u>CARRIGALLEN</u>	<u>ROSSCLOGHER</u>	<u>LEITRIM</u>	<u>DROMAHAIR</u>	<u>MOHILL</u>
CARRIGALLEN	GLENCAR	CARRICK	DRUMKEERAN	KILMORE
BALLINAMORE	GLENADE	FENAGH	DROMAHAIR	CLOONE
OUGHTERAGH	KINLOUGH	DRUMSHANBO	KILLARGA	AGHAVAS
	LURGANBOY		GLENFARNE	
			MANORHAMILTON	

As 1846 moved into 1847, the grim reports of distress and hardship throughout the county gave way to the horrifying details of deaths by starvation. The following report from Pat Browne, a Poor Law Guardian from Aughrim, on February 22, 1847, was to become all too familiar in the months ahead:

The deaths from actual starvation during the last week were sixteen. The previous week nearly the same number and three unfortunate creatures were found in the fields dead, not having the strength to make their miserable dwellings. The corpses are in many instances uninterred for some days until they become putrid for want of means to purchase coffins. In some instances the unfortunate people actually tramp on the dead to create compassion from the charitable and humane. They go about collecting money to bury the dead but in fact the small sums they are able to procure are expended in purchasing food for the surviving starving family. The corpse is in many instances enclosed in straw, tied round with hay ropes, and in this manner interred.

Apart from relief committees and workhouses, the main form of restitution favoured by the government was that of relief works. (See Appendix D). Under this system the local Grand Jury applied to the Lord Lieutenant through a special presentment session for a work of public utility to be introduced to the area. In Leitrim the overwhelming number of presentments related to the construction and maintenance of roads, regarded by the government as the most useful way of providing simple, yet extensive, employment. Such works were to be financed by local taxation in the form of the county cess, although in the first instance it was usually provided by the Treasury in the form of a loan. Interest was charged on the latter at 5% per annum, payable in half-yearly instalments of not less than four and not more than twenty payments. In total there were two hundred and three works recommended in the county, amounting to an expenditure of £84,776. They were dispersed between each of the five baronies as follows:

**TABLE 1**

<b>BARONY</b>	<b>NO.OF WORKS RECOMMENDED</b>
CARRIGALLEN	43
DROMAHAIR	35
LEITRIM	26
MOHILL	39
ROSSCLOGHER	60

The scale of such works, together with the numbers employed, may be gauged from the following tender for implements from the Board of Works:

**TABLE 2**

DEPOT	IMPLEMENTS REQUIRED				
	<u>WHEEL</u> <u>BARROWS</u>	<u>HAND</u> <u>BARROWS</u>	<u>CLAY</u> <u>PICKS</u>	<u>QUARRY</u> <u>PICKS</u>	<u>FULLING</u> <u>BAR</u>
DROMAHAIR	500	10	250	25	50
JAMESTOWN	1000	20	500	50	100

Alongside road-building, the other major source of relief work was land drainage. Unlike the former, the costs were made a charge on each electoral division concerned, rather than the larger baronial unit. This method was regarded as a way of encouraging landlords to provide relief employment whilst simultaneously ensuring lasting improvements on their estates. Although drainage accounted for only a fraction of the total of relief work in the county, it provided employment in the following areas: Eslin, Bunduff, Glencar, Lurganboy, Ballaghameelig, Shriff, Drumhierny and Drumcliff. Some four thousand acres along the rivers Rinn/ Blackwater on the Leitrim/Longford border were also drained. Further drainage work was initiated under the auspices of the Shannon Commissioners who provided work at Jamestown, Ballinamore, Carrick and Coothall.

Relief work was the preferred option of an administration which was determined to see that people should work for any food or money they were to receive. The average wage on such works was 7d per day, which in a time of food shortage and subsequent rising prices was hardly enough to support a family of five or six for a week. Indeed, Capt. Bull, government inspector on works in Kinlough and Dromahair, remarked that, 'the wages gained by the people ... are quite inadequate to purchase a sufficiency to feed many large families.' In fact, as Table 3 illustrates, the price of food in the Mohill market spiralled between 1845 and 1847.

**TABLE 3**

	<u>Dec 1845</u>	<u>Dec 1846</u>	<u>Jan 1847</u>	<u>March 1847</u>
Oats (per barrel)	11s to 13s	19s to 22s	22s to 24s 6d	28s to 32s 6d
Oatmeal (per cwt)	13s to 13s 6d	22s to 24s	24s to 26s	28s to 29s 4d
Potatoes (per cwt)	1s 10d to 2s	8s to 10s	8s to 8s	7s 6d to 8s

Allied to the meagre remuneration level was the fact that from December 1846 to April 1847, the winter was very severe, with heavy snow falls accompanied by ice. Hence, much relief work was interrupted and on days when no work was possible, people were sent home with half a day's pay. In spite of such shortcomings, the relief works were oversubscribed, with people willing to

do anything to obtain money for food. A typical scenario was described by Capt. Lardner, government inspector for the Drumkeeran area:

The number of persons requiring employment amounts to about two thousand, out of which, with a great deal of difficulty, seven hundred have been employed on the new works. The remainder traverse the county in columns of two and three hundred, interfering with the works now in progress and threatening the peace of society.

One of the main criticisms of the public works scheme was that it allowed for large congregations of people, many of whom were suffering from fever, and thus only served to exacerbate the spread of disease. Consequently, many died on the works through contracting disease or through sheer fatigue. In February, Capt. Layard, writing from Mohill, related how the assistant engineer had reported the deaths of two men who had fallen dead from exhaustion having finished a day's work.

However, many people, either through illness, disease, or old age, were unable to participate on such schemes, and for them the result was predictable. On a visit to Carrick, John Hack-Tuke, one of the Quaker representatives touring the country, wrote of the plight of the people as follows:

The streets were thronged with poor half-starved creatures, who had come in from the country hoping to obtain some relief for their famishing families. Although first-day, the meal shops were in some cases open; many were buying their halfpenny or pennyworth of oat or Indian meal to make a little thin gruel for the day's food, as no one will give them credit even for a day. It was truly a piteous sight to see half-naked children and women walking about barefoot on the snow, sobbing with hunger and distress.

In Ballinamore, a similar scene presented itself:

We entered many cottages by the roadside, the inmates of which were generally huddled together for warmth around a few turf embers. Their emaciated forms and sunken features testified but too truly to their statement, 'that they were nearly starved,' and many told us 'that they had tasted nothing that day', and knew not where to get anything, and

that they had lived on one meal of cabbage or a few ounces of oatmeal gruel for many days together.

Not surprisingly, in the light of such occurrences, death by starvation was to become a common experience, and areas such as Carrick and Ballinamore witnessed it to a 'frightful extent'. The papers abounded with reports of such occurrences - the following extract is taken from the *Freemans' Journal* of May 13, 1847:

In the parish of Kilglass this week, the skeleton bodies of seven wretches were found inside a hedge. The dogs of the surrounding villages had the flesh almost eaten off. The police stationed in the place were called out and shot seven dogs, in the mouth of one of which there was a heart and a portion of the liver.

During this period, the same paper elicited reports from parish priests throughout the county, and the figures they provided give an indication of the level of mortality therein:

**TABLE 4**

PARISH	NUMBER OF DEATHS	
	1/10/45 - 1/4/46	1/10/46 - 1/4/47
Cloone	27	260
Killanummery	26	172
Kiltoghert	98	320

In the midst of such horror, relief committees, under increasing pressure, worked zealously to ensure some respite. Meal was largely superseded by soup as the main form of food relief. In Mohill a Benevolent Relief Society was established for supporting a soup kitchen. A sixty-gallon boiler, supplied by the government, was used to distribute soup to between 200 and 300 people daily at 1d per quart, or gratuitously, depending on circumstances. The town also developed a small bakery for providing white and brown bread with the soup.

In Cloone, Mrs Hogg, wife of the local rector, oversaw the work of the 'Cloone Soup Shop' which in January was distributing 1,500 quarts of soup gratuitously to 400 people on a weekly basis. Andrew Hogg anticipated that at least 4,000 gallons would have to be distributed 'to prevent thousands perishing of starvation.' At the same time the Carrick soup kitchen was servicing about 2,500 people while that of Fenagh fed 400 on a daily basis. Other kitchens were established in Glencar, Drumkeeran, Carrigallen, Manorhamilton, Ballinamore,

# CLOONE SOUP-SHOP.

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## Days of Distribution:

WEDNESDAYS AND SATURDAYS,  
WEEKLY.

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RULE 1.—That Mrs. HOGG be requested to act as Treasurer, and superintend the management of the Cloone Soup Shop.

2.—That Soup be sold to the destitute at 1d. per Quart.

3.—That, in order to provide some Subsistence for the totally destitute, who are *wholly* without means, a copy of these Rules be sent to the Clergy, Gentry, and Farmers of the Parish of Cloone, to afford them an opportunity of supporting this benevolent object, and providing substantial relief for the Poor in their localities.

4.—That each Subscriber shall have power to recommend persons for gratuitous *weekly* supplies of Soup, according to the following order:

Subscribers of £1, to dispose of 16 Quarts of Soup, weekly, for 16 weeks, on Recommendation Tickets, to be supplied by the Treasurer.

Subscribers of 10s., to dispose of 8 Quarts, weekly, for 16 weeks, &c.

Subscribers of 5s., to dispose of 4 Quarts, weekly, for 16 weeks, &c.

Subscribers of 1s., to dispose of 2 Quarts, weekly, for 6 weeks.

The Glebe, Cloone,  
December, 1846.

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P.S.—Bailiffs to have power to recommend on the Subscriptions of absentee Landlords, as above.

[BENNAN, Printer, Cl.-on-Shannon.]

Figure 3: Advertisement for Cloone Soup Shop, 1846.

Annaduff, Jamestown, Leitrim Village, Dromod, Derrycarne and Lara. In addition, Coote Mulloy established a rice shop in Carrick, believing that this was the only way of preventing deaths from diarrhoea in the area.

As well as distributing food, relief committees also attempted to provide for the future. To this end they supplied large amounts of seed - barley, carrots, rye, parsnip and turnip - in the hope that people would be able to plant and cultivate them for the new harvest.

1846, as we have seen, witnessed mercenary activities by ruthless traders, determined to exact a profit from the calamity in their midst. In the terrible months of 1847 their 'modus operandi' remained the same. In Annaduff and Kiltoghert it was reported that prices were so dear in the immediate vicinity that, even allowing for transport costs, provisions were cheaper in Longford. As the following letter from Fr. O'Brien of Killarga illustrates, many businessmen realised that buyers were at their mercy:

The supply from Belturbet for which I contracted is exhausted to less than fifteen tons and Mr Dixon has both broken his contract with me, and supplied me with a very bad quality on one or two occasions. In fact he feels that we are in his power and it would be most important to keep him in order by having the command of the stores at Longford. It is much more convenient, however, to get wheat and meal from him as he is within a day's journey from Carrigallen, so that the men can return at night whereas Longford is two or even three days' journey in the present state of the roads, and the carts have to pass through a very bad country.

Many correspondents emphasised the fact that a local depot for Leitrim would greatly facilitate the purchase and distribution of food. Without this, areas such as Dromod, Drumsna and Killarga, which were all a great distance from any ports, were unable to buy large quantities of corn and meal. Indeed Arthur Birchill, writing from Blackrock House, Drumshanbo, stated that due to such difficulties 'it has sometimes occurred that many persons who have had money could not get food to buy.' After much persuasion, with even their own inspecting officer, Captain Legard, imploring the need for a depot, the Commissioners eventually opened a store in Carrick in March, with oatmeal being sold at 3s per stone.

By this stage, however, the government, realising the inadequacies of the public works system as a means of relief, altered its policy. In February 1847 it rushed through special legislation - the Temporary Relief Act, known locally as

the Soup Kitchen Act - for the setting up of relief committees under the auspices of a new Relief Commission. Consequently the public works were run down as food was provided for those unable to enter the workhouse. However, the sudden closure of public works and the tardiness in opening the soup kitchens resulted in a hiatus in relief provision. In Kinlough this saw large numbers of people being left unemployed and without hope. David Mansfield, writing on behalf of the Kiltubrid and Keshcarrigan relief committee stated that 'men who can dig but who are ashamed to beg, are literally in the grasp of famine and cannot extricate themselves.' Complaining about the system of public works he continued:

Roads begun without discretion or forethought have been abandoned without reflection and men who were known to be supporting themselves and their families by their earnings are now cast off to perish. Give work to men who are more willing to receive your wages than your alms.

Such heartfelt pleas were dismissed by officials who stated that relief was now only to be offered by means of cooked food.

For many, the shut down of the public works was the last straw and they endeavoured to obtain food or money by whatever means necessary. This point was alluded to in a petition from the gentry of Carrigallen when they stated that they apprehended 'the most fearful consequences to life and property, should the slightest obstacle arise to prevent the people from prosecuting their employment on the relief works.'

Such apprehension was well-founded as crime levels increased dramatically throughout the county. Most numerous were cases of theft of food, money and animals. In a typical example at Derrycarne, near Dromod, two sheep were stolen and killed, with most of the flesh carried away. In the townland of Ballygeer, Clooncarne, James Cannon and Michael Winters broke into the house of Eleanor McDermott, beat her with a shovel and stole a sack containing six stones of oatmeal. As the following examples from the Ballinamore sessions of April 1847 illustrate, the penalties for such crimes, by today's standards, were extremely harsh. Ironically, though, those sentenced to transportation, usually to Van Dieman's land, were probably fortunate, in that they managed to escape the terrible misery of their homeland:

NAME	OFFENCE	SENTENCE
Edward Flynn	Cow stealing	7 years transportation
James Gilmartin	Stealing meal from a mill	7 years transportation
John Cobreavy	Cow stealing	12 months and 3 whippings
Thomas Henry	Horse stealing	7 years transportation

Many offences were also committed in relation to the collection of rents and poor rates. John O'Brien, Chief Collector of poor rates in Cloone, reported that one of his collectors had nearly been killed in the course of his duty. Asking for police protection for his men he stated:

I cannot get any person to serve summonses from the lawless state of that parish - no man's life would be safe to serve them without the aid I ask for.

Similarly in Drumsna, James Kane, receiver for the estate of Mr. Percival, asked for a 'sufficient force' of either the military or the police to accompany himself and his bailiffs in making seizures. This latter method, involving seizure of property or livestock, was the usual means of forcing people to pay rents. However, in many cases, bailiffs were beaten off amid a 'rescue' of the goods by locals. Indeed, William Peyton asked for police patrols at night around Carrick as farms that were to be 'seized' for rent were being visited by parties in the darkness who 'carried off the crops and threatened violence to the bailiffs should they resist them.'

The extent of such danger was illustrated in Derrywillow, Annaduff. Terence Boyle, a 'rent warner' on the Derrycarne estate, had an attempt made upon his life by two men 'in consequence of his zeal in the discharge of his duties.' Luckily for him their shots missed and the men fled, later to be apprehended.

The *Roscommon and Leitrim Gazette* also reported that Lord Leitrim had been forced to leave his residence at Lough Rynn 'in consequence of the base conduct of some characters who think proper to threaten the lives of their best friends.'

These 'characters' were invariably members of either the Molly Maguires or the Whiteboys, two groupings which appeared to enjoy considerable support amongst the population. Such was their influence that anybody who 'crossed' them could not live in safety afterwards. Indeed on several occasions safety could only be guaranteed by removal from the country. For example, after giving evidence which led to the conviction of leading Whiteboy, Philip O'Reilly, John Holmes and his family left Mohill with their passage to America financed by the government. On arrival he received £50 in order to help him to settle.

# ADDRESS FROM "MOLLY MAGUIRE" TO HER CHILDREN

MY DEAR CHILDREN,

With a heart full of sorrow I am obliged to give <sup>you</sup> this public warning, from the numerous shabby acts that is daily committing by paltry and vile miscreants, and those acts are left on my Dear Children, who are as innocent of them as those unborn, for I hope I have given you better instruction, than to disgrace myself and Milesian Name, now in my old days. I have, thank God, learned you to bear with christian patience your many privations more than any other children on the face of the earth; but in the end I have a set of men called *Landlords*, having less regard for you than for their dogs, not caring if you had not enough of Dry Potatoes to Eat, or a Bag to cover you by Night, that a heap of Manure and a Pig was your only property, and a Drink of Water your only beverage. I have lived to see you, so reduced and in now too plain, there is no redress, for even after all the fuss about the *Land Commission*, it now turns out to be the greatest delusion was ever attempted on any people. I am my dear little ones, old enough to see *Lord Stanly's Humbug Bill* about old ditches, it now lies with yourselves my dear children, not to starve in the midst of plenty, and to obtain that end, and to obtain your fond Mother's Blessing; may I beg of you my Dear Children, to observe the following Rules, viz:—

- 1—Keep strictly to the Land Question, by allowing no Landlord, more than fair value for his tenure.
- 2—No Rent to be paid until Harvest.
- 3—Not even then without an abatement, where the Land is too high.
- 4—No undermining of Tenants, nor Bailiff's Fees to be Paid.
- 5—No turning out of Tenants, unless Two Years Rent due before Ejectment served.
- 6—Assist to the utmost of your power the Good Landlord, in getting his Rents.
- 7—Cherish and respect the Good Landlord, and Good Agent.
- 8—Keep from traveling by night.
- 9—Take no Arms by day, or by night, from any man, as from such acts a deal of misfortune springs, having, I trust you buye, more Arms than you ever will have need for.
- 10—Avail coming in contract with either the Military, or Police, they are only doing what they cannot help.
- 11—For my sake then, no distinction to any man, on account of his Religion, his acts alone you are to look to.
- 12—Let bygones be bygones, unless in a very glaring case; but watch for the time to come.

My Dear Children—I have laid down the above Rules for you guidance, and by strictly observing them, you will have the well wishes of every good man, except the heartless *Landlord*, and by it you will be known to be true Sons of mine; but the wretch that will violate this, my parental command, inflicts on him a salutary chastisement; but above all my dear little ones, the *Landlord* that will treat those Rules of mine with contempt, it grieves me to the heart to bid you commit mortal sin, but my patience is early worn out; but before you do so, for God sake, and my sake, and take no life, or limb, without first giving your victim their written warnings, should they be not regarded let him that loves the danger perish in it, but I hope none will be found so obstinate for all the Military or Police under Her Majesty will not save the <sup>life</sup> of the wretch, that will have no feeling for my Starving Children. Attend my Dear Little Ones, to these Rules of mine and the Lord will prosper you cause, which is the prayer of your affectionate Mother,

"MOLLY MAGUIRE,"  
Maguire's Grove, Parish of Cloone.

To a large extent the increased lawlessness within the county was a symptom of the distress of the times with people breaking the law both to obtain provisions and to protect their property due to their inability to pay rent and, or, poor rates.

Some landlords however did attempt to alleviate pressure on their tenants by reducing rents on their estates. Major Blackall allowed for reductions of between 5% and 20% while Charles St. George instructed his agent, Captain Charles Cox, to make the following reductions on his Carrick-on-Shannon estate:

**TABLE 5**

HOLDING	REDUCTION		
< 5 acres	10s	in the pound .....	(50%)
< 10 acres	6s 8d	“ .....	(33 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>3</sub> %)
< 15 acres	5s	“ .....	(25%)
< 20 acres	3s	“ .....	(15%)
< 30 acres	2s	“ .....	(10%)

No reduction was made for those holding more than thirty acres as it was felt they would be ‘very well able’ to pay their rents ‘from the very high price the produce of their farms have realised.’

In spite of such reductions, St. George’s bailiff, Richard Threlfall, received a ‘Christmas box’ in December 1846 of £2 and two shillings ‘as an encouragement to the performance of his duties ... which have been very arduous this year.’

The new government soup kitchens opened in May and June, with most being closed in mid August. Cooked food was the favoured option, as it was less likely to be exchanged than either money or raw oatmeal or Indian meal. However, in some areas it was felt that the government deadline of August 13, in advance of the new harvest, was premature. John Kane, Chairman of the Drumsna relief committee, wrote to Dublin pleading that the kitchen be kept open until at least the middle of September ‘otherwise the sacrifice of human life will be most deplorable’. As will be seen from Table 6, which details the maximum number receiving relief in that period, all such kitchens in the Carrick Union remained open until the middle of September:

**TABLE 6**

**BALLYSHANNON UNION**

Electoral Division	Pop In 1841	Max No.	No. when Ceased	Period of Relief
Glenade	4,234	685	205	6 May - 12 Sept
Kinlough	4,646	1,097	274	“ “
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>8,880</b>	<b>1,782</b>	<b>479</b>	

### MOHILL UNION

<b>Electoral Division</b>	<b>Pop In 1841</b>	<b>Max No.</b>	<b>No. when Ceased</b>	<b>Period of Relief</b>
Mohill	7,990	1,705	1,073	20 May - 26 Aug
Aghavas	4,779	1,463	928	20 May - 29Aug
Annaduff	6,469	1,563	888	" "
Annaveagh	5,627	1,106	672	" "
Ballinamore	6,970	1,606	857	" "
Carrigallen	4,763	2,032	1,428	" "
Cloone	7,038	1,287	903	" "
Drumreilly	3,700	1,231	953	" "
Eslin	3,095	388	118	" "
Fenagh	4,374	429	423	" "
Newtowngore	3,337	976	685	" "
Oughteragh	4,714	1,051	914	" "
Rinn	6,003	1,322	994	" "
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>68,859</b>	<b>16,159</b>	<b>10,836</b>	

### MANORHAMILTON UNION

Manorhamilton	8,074	1,600	1,246	7 June - 15 Aug
Cloonlogher	2,451	255	252	17 June - 15 Aug
Dromahair	4,182	471	459	31 May - 15 Aug
Drumkeeran	5,923	1,275	1,275	25 June - 15 Aug
Innismagrath	3,712	954	945	11 June - 15 Aug
Killannumery	4,605	711	571	7 June - 15 Aug
Killarga	3,616	508	506	17 June - 15 Aug
Kiltyclogher	4,728	637	626	16 June - 15 Aug
Lurganboy	4,011	480	171	17 May - 15 Aug
Rossinver	4,686	534	526	15 June - 15 Aug
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>45,988</b>	<b>7,425</b>	<b>6,577</b>	

### CARRICK-ON-SHANNON UNION

Carrick-on-Shannon	5,695	1,640	457	1 May - 12 Sept
Aughrim	4,469	2,628	1,143	15 May - 12 Sept
Creeve	2,827	1,257	686	" "
Drumshanbo	6,000	1,682	1,143	10 May - 12 Sept
Drumreilly	3,735	1,402	1,143	15 May - 12 Sept
Drumsna	3,028	649	182	9 May - 12 Sept
Elphin	5,363	3,544	990	10 May - 12 Sept
Gilstown	4,600	3,244	1,108	13 May - 12 Sept
Keshcarrigan	4,932	1,829	775	17 May - 12 Sept
Kilglass	5,759	3,147	571	29 May - 12 Sept
Killukin	3,863	2,015	890	6 May - 12 Sept
Kilmore	5,164	2,692	457	28 May - 12 Sept

**CARRICK-ON-SHANNON UNION Cont'd**

<b>Electoral Division</b>	<b>Pop In</b>	<b>Max</b>	<b>No. when Ceased</b>	<b>Period of Relief</b>
Kiltubrid	3,949	1,151	709	18 May - 12 Sept
Leitrim	4,244	2,669	743	17 May - 12 Sept
Tumna	3,449	2,541	745	18 May - 12 Sept
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>67,077</b>	<b>32,090</b>	<b>11,742</b>	

The huge numbers receiving relief under the Act demonstrate the total destitution of those in the county and their reliance on others for sustenance. However, the Act, as its name suggests, was temporary, and despite the success of such direct government intervention the authorities decided to impose the full burden of the Poor Law on local unions. This was achieved by the Poor Law Extension Act which meant that unions now became responsible for all relief - both inside and outside the workhouse.

## CHAPTER FIVE THE VICE-GUARDIANS

The new Act came into operation in the autumn of 1847, and it served only to worsen the plight of many financially crippled unions throughout the country. In Leitrim, as we shall see, only one union was able to maintain control of its finances during this period, with the others coming directly under the auspices of the Poor Law Commissioners.

### i) MANORHAMILTON

The workhouse in Manorhamilton was the smallest in the county, with capacity for 500 paupers. However, within three years that capacity would more than double as workhouse administrators struggled to cope with the huge burden occasioned by the famine.

In common with most workhouses, the first indication of the problems caused by the blight of 1845 was a gradual diminution of potatoes in the workhouse diet. Prices were so expensive locally that in April 1846 a carter was being sent to the market in Sligo to obtain a week's supply of potatoes. Eventually meal made its way into the diet and was first used in conjunction with potatoes - each being served for dinner on alternate dates. However, with the failure of the potato crop in 1846, Indian meal became a standard dish in the house. In August a ton of it was ordered and over the next three years the paupers had to endure various mixtures of oatmeal, Indian meal, often made into stirabout, and rice. The use of Indian meal was advocated by the Guardians as it was the cheapest potato substitute available. Indeed, in November they requested that the medical officer, Dr James Dundass, devise a new diet 'based on the most economical principle - to include as much Indian meal as possible.' He was also asked to substitute molasses for milk.

By January of 1847 the workhouse was reported as being full to capacity - whereas in the pre-famine years it had rarely been more than half-filled. Indeed in the last week of January and the first week of February a total of 134 paupers were refused admission, being offered instead a place on the public works.

Many of those admitted were found to be suffering from fever, and the Guardians were forced to obtain as much extra accommodation in the building as possible. The straw and turf sheds were converted into fever wards with the dead house being put to a similar use later. By April, a temporary fever building had been erected on the workhouse grounds with room for thirty patients. Nevertheless between February 11 and June 3



# MANORHAMILTON UNION.

Figure 5: Map of Manorhamilton Union.

there were 110 deaths as a result of fever, dysentery and diarrhoea. This, in spite of the fact that a nurse had been employed to look after the sick, while Dr. Dundass had received an increase in wages, from £50 to £60 per annum, as a consequence of increased duties.

Although the collection of rates did not present the problems witnessed in other unions, still it was not enough to finance the over-burdened union's commitments. In March, the union treasurers, the Ulster Bank, refused to honour the Board's cheques in light of the balance due to them. On April 1, a special meeting of ten Guardians discussed the possibility of actually closing the workhouse due to lack of funds and liabilities of £1,300. However, such a drastic step was avoided and instead the rate-collectors were urged to intensify their efforts. At the same time the Poor Law Commissioners were requested to sanction a loan of £800 to be repaid out of the rates.

Despite such financial difficulties the Guardians were determined to obtain additional accommodation in order to cope with the increasing numbers applying for relief. A house belonging to James Geren in Donaghmore was rented for one year to accommodate old and infirm women. In January 1848 Christopher Wilson's house 'at the bridge' in Manorhamilton was occupied, while in February a house adjoining Robinson's Hotel in the town was converted into the main auxiliary workhouse for the union, with capacity for 220 paupers. By April, Commons Cottage on the outskirts of the town had been occupied by the boys of the main workhouse under the care of the schoolmaster.

In an attempt to relieve pressure on the medical facilities in the workhouse, temporary hospitals were established in various areas of the union. A house in Skreeny was adapted as a fever hospital with room for 130 patients. Interestingly, and perhaps indicative of the financial constraints of the union, this hospital was open to non-paupers at a rate of two shillings per week. In Drumkeeran, Grouse Lodge, about a mile from the village, was rented as a temporary fever hospital, while a similar establishment was obtained in Dromahair.

As a result of these requisitions, accommodation in the union was created for over 1,000 paupers. Given the effort entailed in obtaining such, the Guardians were determined to see that it was put to full use. Hence, the other major form of relief, distribution of food to those not admitted to the workhouse, was strictly limited to widows with children, together with orphans. This 'outdoor relief' was regarded by the Guardians and the Commissioners' temporary inspectors - Gilbert and Halliday - as a 'last resort'. Indeed to ensure that able-bodied men received relief solely

through the workhouse 'test', women and children were moved out of the workhouse and placed on the outdoor relief lists. In conjunction with this policy, boys were made available for employment by farmers on the understanding that they were fed and clothed in return for their labour. In this way increased accommodation was available for able-bodied men in the house. Gilbert commented on what he termed this 'very praiseworthy vigilance on the part of the Guardians in attempting to prevent imposture on the outdoor relief.

As we shall see, praise of local Guardians was not commonplace in these years but the Manorhamilton Board seems to have gained the respect of the temporary inspectors, as the following statement illustrates:

The Guardians seem disposed to exercise a proper economy and vigilance in their expenditure - at the same time they do not evince any tendency to disregard the claims of the destitute.

Nevertheless, the stringency of measures adopted by the Board was illustrated in March, when supper was withdrawn from the children's diet and adults were given lump sugar in place of milk.

Outside the workhouse, people were suffering greatly and Halliday, in stating that Drumkeeran was the worst-affected division in the union, added:

That area is more akin to areas of the south than any other in the union.

Consequently, Drumkeeran was the only locality in which outdoor relief was sanctioned to the able-bodied - being given to heads of families in aid of wages. A testament to such poverty was the assertion by Dr. Davis that people sent dying relatives to Skreeny Fever hospital 'clearly for the purpose of obtaining coffins and the attendance of the priests.'

The determination of the temporary inspectors to effect as many savings as possible resulted in an interesting intervention by them. On examining the contracts for outdoor relief they found that the suppliers were 'playing into each others hands' with the Guardians seemingly prepared to benefit certain of them. Indeed an examination of the minutes shows that some members of the Board, Corscadden, Johnston, Armstrong and Geren, for example, all gained contracts. However, the inspectors



## ***BALLYSHANNON UNION.***

*Figure 6: Map of Ballyshannon Union.*

succeeded in obtaining contracts for Indian meal at £8 per ton, as opposed to the previous rate of £11 per ton.

With such an effective administrative procedure it is perhaps not surprising that in the latter part of 1848 events took a turn for the better: in June there had been 108 paupers receiving medical care in Manorhamilton; by November this figure had fallen to 35. Nevertheless, numbers in all branches of the workhouse remained high and in the week of February 15, 1849, there were seventy-six admissions to the main workhouse. Mortality levels also increased dramatically in the middle of this year, due no doubt to the outbreak of cholera which had swept across the country. Between April and October there were 320 deaths, with 230 of those being children; in July alone 100 deaths occurred. However, this final 'sting in the tail' could not disguise the fact that the worst of the famine was over. In May the clerk was instructed 'to advertise for sale at the market house yard ... several steaming apparatuses in use by the late relief committee and now in store at the workhouse.' On November 1, a number of sixty-gallon soup boilers, used by the same committee, were auctioned. Prior to this, in September, the Guardians had adopted a significant resolution:

Resolved: to strike off all the recipients of outdoor relief except the truly old and impotent and offer to all others admission tickets to the workhouse in which there is at present ample room.

Thus, by the first week of January, 1850, there was a total of fifty names on the relief lists. In November, 1849, the auxiliary workhouses in Donaghmore and Manorhamilton were returned to their owners. The Commons Cottage was the only building retained and it served as a schoolhouse for one hundred and fifty boys. Hence, by 1850, the Manorhamilton workhouse returned to some form of 'normality', having experienced few of the problems which beset its fellow-Boards in Mohill and Carrick.

## ii) MOHILL

One of the most pressing matters in the Mohill union was the unreliability and dishonesty of those appointed to collect rates. In January, 1846, George Crofton, Edward Donnelly and James Moran were prosecuted for appropriating rates to their own purposes. Indeed Moran was found to have been in possession of money collected in 1843, while

Joseph Hearan, collector for the Drumreilly division, had not made a lodgment since 1842.

Such deceit was also to be found within the workhouse itself where 'gross deception' on the part of various officers had enabled them to obtain undue allowances in relation to supplies of turf. The Guardians lamented this occurrence and believed that it had resulted from 'great neglect on the part of the master.' Such developments did not augur well for those who were forced in the coming years to place their fate in the hands of such people.

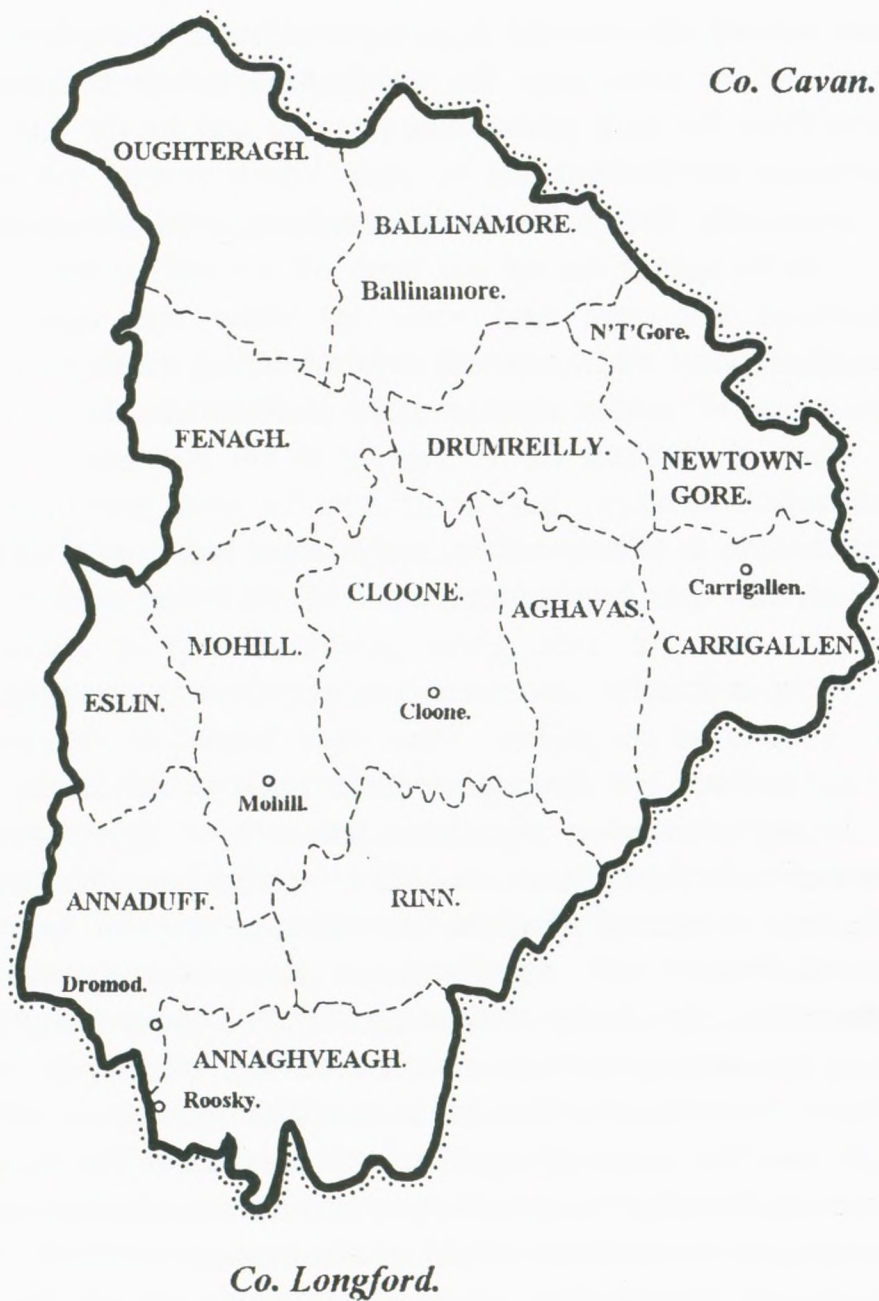
In March, 1846, the Guardians were complaining to the Commissioners about the very high prices to be paid for potatoes, and commented that they held serious fears about the consequences of the blight:

We entertain the most serious apprehension as to the means within each of the poor of this union to provide for their families. There are few persons in the union who employ, or are able to employ, the people. Cottiers are almost destitute and very soon will be. Farmers of six and seven acres are in great want - they have provisions until May, that is all.

On April 2, potatoes ceased to be used in the diet and the new dinner diet consisted of 8oz of oatmeal for adults and 4oz for children. The increasing hardship faced throughout the union was demonstrated by a huge increase in admissions to the workhouse. Indeed, in one week in October, 132 paupers were admitted and by the end of the month the house held more than 400 inmates, compared to a pre-famine average of about 220.

Increasing numbers meant greater expenditure, with over £50 per week being required to maintain the house. However, the weekly poor rate amounted to only £30 and the Guardians had no doubt as to where the blame lay. They pointed to the 'great neglect' on the part of the collectors in not enforcing defaulters and appealed to the Commissioners for extraordinary assistance in collecting the rate. Otherwise, they claimed, they would be 'unable to fulfil the provisions of the law for the maintenance of the poor.'

Concurring with this opinion, the Commissioners sanctioned the dismissal of the present collectors and their replacement by more competent persons. However, in spite of advertisements for such people, only one name emerged as a collector - John O'Brien, vice-chairman of the



COUNTY BOUNDARY SHOWN:  
**MOHILL UNION.**

*Figure 7: Map of Mohill Union.*

Board of Guardians. After a month of appealing to the Commissioners to send 'outsiders' from Dublin to collect the rate, O'Brien's tender of 2s in the pound was finally accepted in December. In the meantime admissions continued unabated: in that same month, in order to procure more space, fever patients were moved from the workhouse to the fever hospital in the town. At the same time, the military were requested to withdraw their stores from the male probationary wards and by the end of the year the workhouse was filled.

In January 1847 a diet based entirely on meal was agreed as follows:

**Adults:**

Breakfast: 4 oz oatmeal and 5 oz Indian meal

Dinner: 4 oz oatmeal and 5 oz Indian meal

**Children:**

Breakfast: 2 oz oatmeal and 2 1/2 oz Indian meal

Dinner: 2 oz oatmeal and 2 1/2 oz Indian meal

Those in hospital also received soup which was supplied by the Mohill soup shop at 4d per gallon. They were deemed as requiring extra rations due to the fever and dysentery which was now rife in the workhouse and which had claimed a significant casualty - the medical officer, Dr. O'Beirne who died after a long illness. The same fate befell the master, Kelly, and in light of what the Guardians termed the 'present emergency' Edward Voden was appointed as an apothecary, while O'Beirne's replacement, Dr Duke, was requested to choose suitable nurses from among the many paupers now in the building.

In a letter to the Commissioners, the Guardians acknowledged the urgent need for construction of a fever hospital on the workhouse grounds but stated that they were 'wholly unable to provide the means,' given that no individual or company would advance money on credit of the rates. As a temporary measure, the Commissioners authorised the barracks master at Longford to send 300 sheets, 200 blankets, 100 rugs, 100 bolsters and 100 pillowcases to the workhouse. However, the deteriorating state of the union's resources was illustrated by the following resolution adopted by the Board on April 1:

Resolved that considering the very heavy debt of the union, and the difficulty of collecting sufficient rates to feed the poor, we consider it absolutely necessary

that the dead should for the present be interred without coffins, and we direct the clerk to procure a bier for the purpose of carrying the dead to the place of burial.

This move was strongly objected to by the Commissioners but the Guardians justified it as follows:

In the present awful state of the union it is more advisable, if possible, to feed the living than to provide coffins for the dead and we are further of the opinion that while the poor who have not been admitted to the workhouse are obliged to bury their dead without coffins, their feelings cannot be more hurt than they are at present by the melancholy and distressing state of destitution and hopelessness in which they have been thrown. The union is at present upwards of £950 in debt and without any visible means of the Guardians being able to meet the demands of the contractors.

Thus, the Board persevered in their action and a tender was accepted from Garrett Beggs for the construction of a bier to convey the dead. This article was to be used regularly in the course of the next year. Between the first week in January and the last week in July there were more than twenty-six deaths each week; a total of 712. The worst month was April which saw the burial of 162 paupers while May witnessed the death of Dr Voden the apothecary. The Guardians were simply unable to cope with both the large numbers in the workhouse and the fever rampant therein. On April 29, all admissions were stopped 'on account of the sickness prevailing in the house, the want of proper officers and confusion of accounts.' Attempts were made to combat the disaster with the erection of fever sheds at the workhouse while a loan of £1,500 from the Commissioners enabled the construction of a permanent fever hospital on the grounds, although Matthew Gardiner, the contractor, was extremely late in completing the building.

As winter approached, the financial position of the union worsened. Many contractors were owed money and refused to supply goods unless they were paid on delivery. George Church of Carrick began legal proceedings against the Board in September, and in the same month the master was forced to purchase supplies of meal on a weekly basis - the

contracts for such having previously expired. Some of the Guardians obviously believed that the union was in such a hopeless state that they could do little to improve the situation. August witnessed the resignations of John Reynolds, Farrel Kernan and John Gannon; while Thomas Masterson followed suit in September.

Obviously concerned with the situation, the Commissioners appointed Major Halliday as temporary inspector on November 2 'with power to take part in the proceedings of the Board.' Within a couple of days Halliday was able to give the Commissioners a detailed report on the condition of the workhouse, and it made for depressing reading. The union was £2,500 in debt and contractors were owed over £1,200. The building itself was in a terrible condition: holes had been broken through the walls 'during the time that the house was ravaged by fever', leaving the wards, dormitories, schoolrooms and dayrooms 'open to the weather'. The pump in the well was not working so that paupers had to carry water from a well 'in the public street.' In fact things were so bad that the schoolmaster could not afford ink with which to write. Halliday concluded his report thus:

The house may justly be designated as little better than a large shed, a bare protection from starvation to 700 ill-sheltered paupers, and it is liable to be absolutely closed any week.

This report moved the Commissioners to more direct action and on December 8 the Board of Guardians was dissolved and replaced by two paid Vice-Guardians - Robert Duncan and James O'Reilly.

Having allowed a week for an assessment of their task, the Vice-Guardians offered a report which only served to accentuate the problems outlined by Halliday:

Every department of the workhouse is in a lamentably neglected and disorganised state. The building itself is most dilapidated and fast advancing to ruin. Everything is out of repair - the cess pools are full of filth and every ward is filthy to a most noisome degree. The paupers are defectively clothed, with many still in their own rags and impurity. Dietary is not adhered to, the food is given in a half-cooked state and breakfast is not completely dispensed until late in the evening. The school children are in a diseased and

emaciated state and there are no means for the proper treatment of the sick.

It was further ascertained that the books of the establishment had either not been kept up to date or had been completed defectively. The clerk had been replaced in May and there were no accounts existing for the half year to September.

Such conditions demanded immediate action and the workhouse was closed against further admissions 'until contagion is arrested and discipline restored.' It was also decided to put the outdoor relief system into operation, which was available to all while the workhouse was closed. To facilitate this, grants were made available from the British Relief Association to be repaid out of rates collected.

The workhouse was cleansed and white-washed and supplies of clothes and furniture were ordered. At the same time contracts were sent out for repairs to the windows and walls in the house. In an attempt to 'restore decency in the burial of deceased paupers' coffins and shrouds were ordered to be once again used in interments. However, the Vice-Guardians soon realised that the task facing them would not be easily accomplished. In comments that were to become frequent in the coming months, they complained of the attitude of both local contractors and the officers of the workhouse:

Interminable difficulties arise to us in the prosecution of our duties. The workmen of this place are the most worthless set possible and can be got to do almost nothing, so that the execution of the repairs is proceeding but slowly. The uselessness of the workhouse officers is another source of great discouragement.

In order to increase workhouse accommodation, a number of buildings were hired on a temporary basis. Two houses were obtained in the town: one an infirmary for those suffering from infectious diseases, the other to be occupied by infant children and their mothers. The British Relief Association also initiated a system of feeding children in schools and by March 1, 1847, 1,853 children in 25 schools were receiving bread rations. A temporary fever hospital was established in Carrigallen while attempts to establish a similar hospital in Ballinamore met with many difficulties and the idea was eventually abandoned.

Collection of rates remained a serious problem and no-one could be found to undertake the task. It appears that the Cloone area in particular had achieved notoriety and the Vice-Guardians regarded it as 'the worst in the union as regards poverty and lawlessness.' However, contrary to what might be thought, the main defaulters were not the small cottier tenants, whose holdings were 'absolutely destitute of anything to distrain', but the large-scale landowners. Halliday complained of 'the impossibility of recovering payment of rates due by immediate lessors who are either not resident in Ireland or have their land under the Court of Chancery'. A typical example was that of Francis Nisbett of Derrycarne, Annaduff, a deputy lieutenant and magistrate of the county. He owed £42 as rates due on his demesne and grounds and yet when the rate-collector called he found the gates always locked and admittance refused to him. It was also alleged that Nisbett had employed men to keep a 'look out' for collectors and prevent them gaining admittance and distraining goods.

In spite of such difficulties, the union was able to offer relief largely due to the regular grants from the British Relief Association. Such disbursements were vital as the numbers on outdoor relief increased dramatically. On January 8, 1848 there were almost one-thousand people on the lists at a weekly cost of just over £30; by February 29, this figure had reached over seven-thousand, with the cost at £218 per week.

The Vice-Guardians, in their determination to obtain rates, gained the assistance of the police to accompany collectors on their rounds. This policy achieved significant results, and as the year progressed, amounts averaging over £200 were lodged into the union accounts on a weekly basis. Reputations were of no consequence to the new regime and the solicitor to the Board, O'Brien, was dismissed for non-payment of rates on estates for which he was agent and receiver.

A policy adopted by the Vice-Guardians, similar to that at Manorhamilton, was the restriction of the workhouse to able-bodied men, allowing only women and children to receive outdoor relief. This policy had two consequences: firstly, it was found that many men deserted their families in order that the latter would obtain outdoor relief; secondly, large numbers of able-bodied men in the workhouse made for much unruly behaviour and difficulty in bringing about discipline. Indeed, in February, Halliday complained of this problem, remarking:

Gaol has rather attractions than terror for the wretched and degraded individuals who form the

majority of the inmates and to whom the food and warmth of the gaol are actual comforts.

Emphasising this point was the fact that the county gaol in Carrick, built to hold 80, contained over 340 inmates and was reported to be rife with fever and dysentery

Halliday subsequently requested the assistance of the military to maintain discipline within the workhouse and lamented that magistrates were not empowered to make 'prompt convictions.' Perhaps it was this anger and frustration which resulted in the following vitriolic attack on its poor of the union:

The deeply-rooted habit of idleness for many months in the year, and of preferring to lie all day on straw, fed on a weekly dole of relief meal rather than subsist in comfort by their own industry, and the infatuated attachment to the possession of a small bit of that land which is lying absolutely waste in large tracts all over the country, are the very worst and discouraging symptoms of the low social state of this country which exceeds in wretchedness any part of Ireland I have yet seen.

Irrespective of such opinions, the reality of life for those living in absolute destitution in the union was illustrated by the discovery of three bodies in the workhouse burial ground. They had been left by their families in the hope that they would receive a decent burial. In the end they were allowed to lie for three days before being buried, by order of the Vice-Guardians, without coffins.

Nevertheless, as the year moved on, matters improved decidedly. The employment of efficient officers, together with regular rate collections, led to improved conditions in the workhouse and in May, Halliday described the sanitary state as 'improving' while all the paupers were said to be 'tolerably clothed with union clothing.'

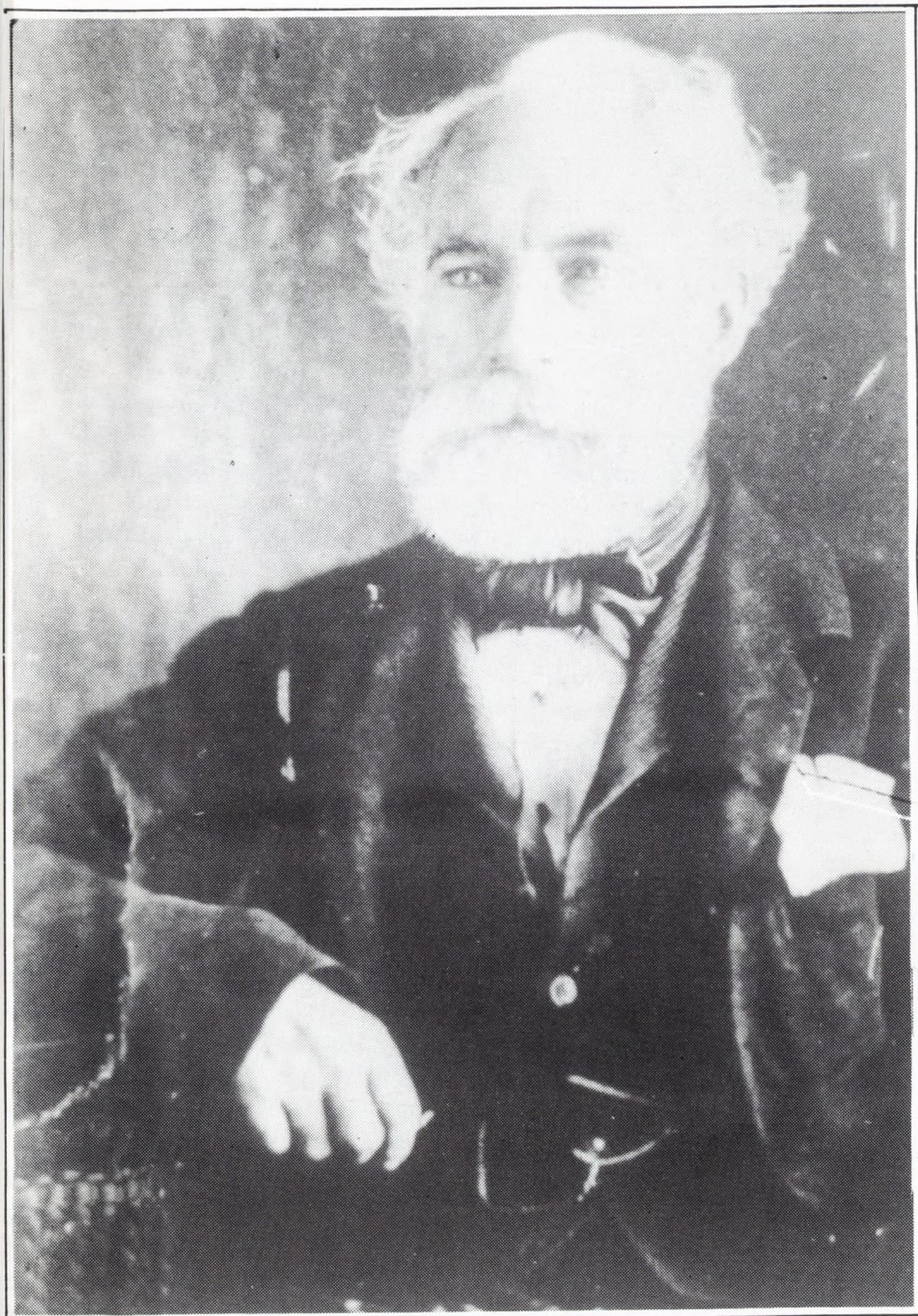
By the end of the year temporary sheds had been constructed in the male and female yards, bringing total union capacity to 1,300. In the first week of January 1849 there were 1,189 receiving indoor relief and 4,496 on the outdoor lists. The outdoor figure gradually increased to a peak of 11,357 on June 31, but by September 29, it had been reduced to 1,575.

The area around Ballinamore saw much improvement due to the employment in drainage and land improvement offered by four landowners. Further work was engendered by the extension of canal cutting in the district.

The workhouse itself had improved to such an extent that on July 24, 1849, Dr O'Higgins, Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise attended to confirm four hundred Catholic children in the building. He gave the following glowing report on what he found:

I was much pleased and edified by the orderly and religious demeanour of all the paupers who presented themselves for Confirmation - all of whom seemed well instructed in the principles of faith and morals. On the termination of the ceremony I made enquiry as to the cause of the order, decorum and cleanliness I had witnessed with so much pleasure. I found that they were clearly attributable to the integrity and zeal with which the several officers of the establishment have uniformly performed their respective duties. I have minutely examined the several departments of the establishment and I feel bound in justice to state that I was most agreeably surprised to find that the letter and the spirit of the law was carried out to perfection in the workhouse. The harmony and high-minded feeling which evidently exists among all those connected with the administration of the house guarantees the continuance of discipline, good order and efficiency. The progress made in fancy work by the female children is really surprising and the medical department does honour to the highly educated and indefatigable gentlemen who conduct it with signal success.

Others, however, did not feel quite so inclined towards the Vice-Guardians and the improvements they had effected. At the end of October they vacated their positions and the elected local Board resumed control on November 2. Almost immediately, recriminations surfaced from the local members in relation to the tenure of the Vice-Guardians. The following letter from Lord Leitrim, newly-elected chairman to the Board,



*Figure 8: Oil Painting of Lord Leitrim.*

demonstrates the anger felt by those whose positions had been usurped by the Vice-Guardians:

On December 8, 1847, the Poor Law Commissioners made my temporary absence from home a pretext to dismiss the Board of Guardians. They have now for two years superseded your Constitutional Right and have exercised the most unbounded arbitrary and despotic power over your property and welfare. You are aware that while you required hands to save your harvest, you were taxed for the support of able-bodied people in idleness, and you are aware that what was absolutely necessary for the support of the family of the industrious man has been taken from him to foster idleness, sloth and vice. I regret to add that I have no confidence in the Poor Law Commissioners, but on the contrary, I entertain the deepest distrust of them.

Such strong words no doubt emanated from a desire to strike back at those who had removed his Lordship and the Board from their position. However, other factors played a part - the main one being a substantial increase in rates during the time of the Vice-Guardians. It emerged that in some electoral divisions the poor-rate was as high as eight shillings in the pound, which included sixpence in the pound as a rate-in-aid of other distressed unions. It was also claimed that before their departure, the Vice-Guardians had not effected the proper bonds and securities for rate collectors; hence the new Board determined not to collect the new rate.

Further to this, the union was left with a debt of £5,881, more than double the amount owed when the Vice-Guardians had taken charge. The Board argued that the debt had arisen as a result of the 'squandering and misapplication' of funds which had brought the union to 'the verge of ruin'. Their case was strengthened by the fact that one of the Vice-Guardians, Bunbury Archer, had been arrested and imprisoned in Carrick gaol for debt.

In a memorial to the Lord Lieutenant, the Guardians stated that all debts which had been incurred were the responsibility of officials acting under the auspices of the government; therefore, they should be paid out of the government exchequer. They also expressed the hope that the government would 'circumscribe, as much as possible, the unjust powers of the Poor Law Commissioners which they have so grievously abused.' In

this way they would be able to enjoy 'the common rights of free men to manage their own affairs'.

Together with the memorial, a legal opinion was sought from Joseph Napier QC. as regards both the propriety of refusing to collect the new rate and the possibility of prosecuting the Vice-Guardians and the Commissioners. On December 28, Napier gave his opinion, stating that any attempts to quash the rate as fraudulent and void would be difficult in the courts. He also advised against attempting to prosecute the Commissioners or their officials as this could have serious repercussions for the Board.

Having placed so much faith in this judgment, the Guardians acquiesced, and they voted nine to four in favour of collecting the new rate. The Commissioners, acknowledging the severity of the rate, agreed to allow it to be collected in two instalments over a period of months.

Nevertheless, the Board's sense of grievance may be illustrated by a letter to them from Lord Leitrim on January 2, 1850:

While we have been given the semblance of free institutions, we live, in point of fact, under a despotism which neither respects the rights of industry or of property engaged in the cultivation of the land. With an unjust law so administered, it is vain and hopeless to expect prosperity or happiness.

Not all Boards were so amenable to the wishes of the Commissioners, however, and in the Carrick union, they found a Board that was implacably opposed to any interference in its affairs.

### iii) **CARRICK-ON-SHANNON**

We have already seen how the Carrick union was in severe financial difficulties in 1843-4. By 1845 matters had not improved and in August of that year the Guardians wrote to the Commissioners to state that their funds were not adequate to meet the demands being placed on them.

In January 1846, they struck off £500 of rate arrears in an acknowledgment of the fact that the occupiers of land were simply unable to pay. As in the Mohill union, problems were encountered with dishonest rate collectors; James Reynolds and Darby Giblin both being suspended for not lodging amounts they had collected. Not surprisingly, therefore, the Guardians refused to comply with an order from the Commissioners to erect a fever hospital. With the cost being estimated at a minimum of



COUNTY BOUNDARY SHOWN:   
 LEITRIM SECTION SHOWN: 



Figure 9: Map of Carrick-on-Shannon Union.

**CK-on-SHANNON UNION.**

£1,000 they argued that 'from the very distressed state of the union' such a sum would be impossible to repay. However, they did add that the hospital could be built if a loan were advanced from the government's 'consolidated fund'. The Commissioners refused to accede to the request and in doing so blamed the Guardians for failing to make rates sufficient to meet their expenditure. They further claimed that if loans were to be made by the government to meet current expenditure, the probable result would be that such default would become general.

As 1846 progressed, Carrick, like Manorhamilton and Mohill, was forced into purchasing oatmeal and Indian meal in place of potatoes, as a consequence of the first blight. By July, the paupers' diet was as follows:

**Adults:**

Breakfast: 8 oz Indian meal made into stirabout.

Dinner: 8 oz Indian meal made into stirabout.

**Children:**

Aged 9 - 14: 4 1/2 oz of each.

Under 9 years: 3 oz of each.

As the workhouse moved into the winter of 1846-7, its condition was described as being 'critical' by the Guardians. Debts to the extent of almost £2,500 were owed to both present and former contractors, together with salaries outstanding to workhouse officers.

Several contractors had refused to supply any further goods whilst some had offered tenders which 'exceed the present very exorbitant market prices by fifty per cent.' Indeed, Michael Costello and R. Bourns - the latter owed almost £800 - had placed the matter in the hands of solicitors who were threatening to take legal proceedings against the Board.

The Guardians, desperate to obtain supplies, attempted to attract suppliers with the promise of a payment of 6% interest after one year on the price of goods immediately delivered. Interestingly, this offer did not apply to those threatening legal proceedings against them. However, the Carrick suppliers had had enough of the Board and only one tender for thirty tons of oatmeal was offered by Mr. Lawder, which, in the circumstances, was gratefully accepted.

By October, the average weekly cost of the workhouse was £90 while the poor rate collection totalled only £40. It was reported that there was £7 in hand, with the master having only enough Indian meal to feed the paupers for eight days. The Guardians wrote to the Commissioners stating that unless funding was made available to them, they would have no

alternative but to 'throw out' more than seven hundred paupers now in the building. So serious was the situation that one of the Guardians, Mr. Dockery, loaned the Board £60 to buy meal.

With numbers in the house increasing rapidly, pressures on the staff soon told. In November, the schoolmaster, matron, porter, schoolmistress and Protestant Chaplain, R. S. Clifford, all resigned, while the Catholic Chaplain, Fr. Thomas Fitzgerald, was granted an assistant to perform his duties.

By January, 1847, the house was filled to capacity and the following huge numbers were turned away as a consequence of what was termed 'want of accommodation':

2 January	-	227
9 January	-	147
16 January	-	216
23 January	-	283
30 January	-	214

The condition of those applying for relief is graphically illustrated by an account offered by a member of the Society of Friends who was travelling through Leitrim at the time:

At this place our first visit was to the poorhouse; and as the Board of Guardians were then sitting for the admission of applicants, a most painful and heart-rending scene presented itself; poor wretches in the last stages of famine imploring to be received into the house; women who had six or seven children begging that even two or three of them might be taken in. Some of these children were worn to skeletons, their features sharpened with hunger, and their limbs wasted almost to the bone. From a number of painful cases, the following may be selected. A widow with two children, who for a week had subsisted on one meal of cabbage, each day; another woman with two children, whose husband had left her a month before to seek for work, stated that they had lived for the whole of this week upon two quarts of meal and two heads of cabbage. Famine was written in the faces of this woman and her children. Some of those who were

rejected were so far spent that it is doubtful if they would all reach their houses alive, as several of them had to walk five or six Irish miles. William Forster, having expressed a wish to distribute bread to these poor creatures, that they might not go quite empty-handed to their desolate houses, procured forty pounds of bread. On this being given to them, the ravenous voracity with which many of them devoured it on the spot, spoke strongly of starvation, or of a state nearly approaching to it. One woman, however, was observed to eat only a very small portion of her bread, giving as a reason, that she had five other children at home to whom she was taking the bread, as without it there would not have been a morsel of food in their cabin that night.

Unfortunately the conditions endured by those inside the workhouse were little better than those experienced by their friends and relatives clamouring for admission. In February the medical officer, Dr. Munns, reported that several areas of the house, and especially the dormitories, were in 'a disgraceful and filthy state' due to 'most unpardonable neglect' on the part of the officers. At the same time, the matron, porter and master were suffering from fever, the latter eventually dying, while Dr. Munns himself was ill with dysentery. The Guardians, only too aware of the danger of the situation, moved their weekly meetings from the workhouse to the local courthouse. Even the weather conspired against them - the Shannon was frozen solid and the surrounding area covered in a blanket of snow and frost. Consequently the clerk had to travel to buy bread to feed the paupers.

The condition of the building was so bad that in April it was decided to refuse further admissions until it was 'in a fit state to admit without endangering human life.' By September there were only 158 inmates and 645 vacancies; in spite of this the workhouse was only maintained by means of weekly disbursements of £95 forwarded by the Commissioners, who had decided that this was the only method by which they could save the house. However, this aid stopped in that same month and the Guardians, in their desperation, asked the Commissioners to appoint paid Guardians to administer the union. As in Mohill, the Commissioners took the preliminary step of appointing a temporary inspector to the union, and in November, Capt. Edmund Wynne arrived in Carrick.

In his first report, on November 27, Wynne stated that approximately 1,600 people were 'wandering about the union,' most of them having given up their houses and lands and waiting to be admitted to the workhouse. His influence in the Board-room appears to have been significant, as on that same day there were 387 admissions to the house and by the end of the year it was once again full.

However, vast numbers remained outside the environs of the workhouse and Wynne offered the following depiction of the extreme state of destitution in which they found themselves:

Their cries may be heard all night in the streets of this town; and since my arrival here I have constantly been obliged to procure shelter in the stables in the neighbourhood for persons whom I have found perishing in the streets at 12 o'clock at night. A considerable number of temporary huts may be seen erected against the backs of ditches on the road-side; and even these, I find, are rarely inhabited two consecutive weeks by the same family.

In light of such reports, the Commissioners eventually acceded to requests for outdoor relief to be made available to every class, including the able-bodied. To enable this system to be introduced, Wynne felt that the Guardians should meet each day at the workhouse in order to properly administer it. However, despite initially agreeing to this request, they failed to attend as promised and on January 19, 1848, he wrote to the Commissioners as follows:

I have the honour to state, that I can no longer hope to get on with the present Board of Guardians, who appear to have completely deserted their post, at a time when increased exertions and energy are required to meet the increasing difficulties on the commencement and daily extension of outdoor relief.

In reply, the Commissioners dissolved the Board that same day and replaced them with the two Vice-Guardians already in place at Mohill, Robert Duncan and James O'Reilly. As their first report illustrates, the conditions in which they found the workhouse were almost identical to those previously discovered in Mohill:

Most of the inmates were without union clothing and remained in the tattered and miserable garments which form the dress of the pauper population. The supply of bedding was so meagre that many of the inmates were huddled together in the dormitories and, with the animal heat generated by close contact, tried to make up for the absence of covering. The serving of meals was most irregular, accomplished without system and not until an advanced period of the day and calculated, sadly, to augment the progress of disease.

The well of the workhouse was found to be inadequate, with the supply of water being dependent on its conveyance from the river Shannon. The drains around the building were blocked so that, in heavy rain, some wards became flooded. Doors and locks were out of order and, as a consequence, the sick and healthy mixed freely. The administrative aspect of the establishment also left much to be desired - many vital accounts books and ledgers not having been kept up to date.

The Vice-Guardians set about rectifying these various problems immediately. The building was white-washed, the yards cleansed and manure gathered into heaps. Food was cooked earlier and served on a regular basis throughout the day. Old clothing was fumigated, the paupers washed, and new clothing, purchased by Wynne, supplied. A new well was sunk, though this was later found to have proved ineffectual. In a rather ambitious proposal to solve the constant problem of water supply to the house, it was suggested that a canal be dug out of the river Shannon, ending in a basin at the bottom of the hill on which it was built. However, this idea was rejected by the Commissioners.

As in the other unions, two methods were used in attempting to relieve the vast numbers clamouring for relief in early 1848 - outdoor relief and the hiring of buildings to ease workhouse pressure.

Outdoor relief was given in bread, oatmeal or Indian meal, depending on price and availability. On February 5, there were 2,268 paupers on the lists and in the weeks that followed, numbers increased to an average of 11,000 per week, reaching a peak on March 11 of 14,821. The cost averaged £350 per week with forty tons of food being distributed on each occasion. Further to this, school children were being supplied with bread by the British Relief Association - on March 1 this number stood at 4,690 pupils in 67 schools. Despite these efforts Wynne lamented:

In some areas our efforts are scarcely perceptible. Destitution is assuming a more formidable character than during any period of the past year.

Consequently the second measure, the hiring of new buildings, was pursued with equal vigour and urgency. In March, a three-storey house was hired from Mrs. Jane Dockery in Carrick, to provide accommodation for one hundred female paupers. However, attempts to rent the Smithhill stores in Elphin proved fruitless and it was decided to enquire of the Shannon Commissioners as to the availability of Jamestown Mill. After lengthy negotiations, the mill was eventually obtained and converted into the main auxiliary workhouse for the union with room for an extra five-hundred inmates. In February 1849, another three town houses were rented from Arthur A. Bournes in Carrick, providing accommodation for two hundred boys.

Another essential requirement was a fever hospital. The Vice-Guardians investigated the possibility of acquiring Liscarban House, near Drumshanbo, for the purpose, but opted instead for a new construction on the workhouse grounds. Their anxiety to improve conditions for fever patients can be understood when one reads a description of the condition of the old fever hospital:

Accommodation is of a most miserable kind - eleven wooden huts formed of thin boards, rags and mud, capable of containing three patients each, resting on a bog, surrounded by manure heaps ... without proper nurses and no fixed dietary. We think that persons would be more likely to acquire diseases therein caused by cold and wet than be cured of fever.

The contract for the building was awarded to Thomas Dillon of Ballina, Co Mayo, and it was completed in early August, 1848.

Due to the number of deaths in both 1847 and 1848, the original burial ground was filled to capacity and a new one was opened at the north of the workhouse grounds in June.

In spite of the endeavours of both the Vice-Guardians and Wynne, incredible poverty persisted throughout the union. The following report was made by Wynne after visiting the Kilmore electoral division:

We found a fearful amount of suffering from want of shelter and from fever among the adults and dysentery among the children. The sufferers were all, without exception, in receipt of outdoor relief but they were in the ditches, with a few sticks and a little straw thrown over them, forming their sole shelter from the severe weather that has just passed. In one of these abodes of misery we found the mother dead, with five children around her. She had been dead some time and no doubt would have remained unburied but that I gave money to procure a coffin.

Those in distress were certainly not helped by the Gregory Clause, which had become law in April 1847. This measure stipulated that anybody who owned more than a quarter acre of land had to give up possession of their holding before becoming eligible for relief. In some areas it allowed for the wholesale clearance of occupiers of small plots of land. On October 25, 1848, for example, twenty-two families - a total of one hundred and thirty-two people - gave up their land in Kilmore and had their houses levelled in order to obtain relief. On witnessing such occurrences Wynne commented:

The wretched inhabitants are sent wandering through the union half-naked, without any means of subsistence. In many cases not a single cabin remains; thus people will remain in ditches as they are. We can do nothing but supply them with food.

One of the anomalies of this law was illustrated by the case of those tenants on the property of a Mr. Waldron, whose estate was under the Court of Chancery. No agent or receiver had been appointed and the bailiff refused to deal with them. Thus, despite the fact that they were willing to give up possession of their land, the law did not facilitate them and through no fault of their own they were left to starve.

In most cases however, tenants were ejected without such difficulties and Wynne reported that the union was filled with a vast number of houseless wanderers. The streets in Carrick were thus crowded with beggars and groups of half-naked children roaming around at twelve o'clock at night. Wynne gave them temporary overnight accommodation in the workhouse, but this move was deprecated by the Commissioners who

believed that it would be 'productive of many evils and tend directly to encourage mendicancy.'

As in other unions, attempts to furnish relief were frustrated by insufficient collection of the poor rate. Although the services of four collectors from outside the county had been engaged, the collection throughout 1848 and 1849 was said to be 'extremely tardy'. It was reported that the poorest class were paying whenever they were able to. However, little rate was received from the more affluent class with 'every gentleman's door shut against the collectors.' Indeed, in some cases, collectors were beaten and threatened with murder.

However, the union finances were regularly replenished with loans from the British Relief Association, which more than compensated for the poor collection of rates. The question of rates, though, was to prove a highly contentious subject, bringing into question the entire credibility of Wynne and the Vice-Guardians during their tenure of the union. On May 11, 1849, Lord Westmeath wrote to the Commissioners complaining about a recently-struck rate, and the bona-fides of those accepted as collectors. He claimed that the new rate, coinciding as it did with collection of the county cess, would 'bring many solvent persons to such a state as to be unable to use their lands.'

The Commissioners, while stating their regret at the course taken by the Vice-Guardians in the recovery of rates, argued that no improper motives had been discovered in the appointment of collectors. They concluded by stating their refusal to interfere with the choice made of particular candidates. Nevertheless, Westmeath would not relent and as the following comments illustrate, it is probable that complaints about irregularities in rate collection were just one way of exacting retribution on Capt. Wynne:

As long as the Commissioners permit the reckless conduct of Captain Wynne to go on unchecked, ruin and despair must prevail. There is a great dissatisfaction ... with Captain Wynne ... who has the absolute disposal of the property of the country unchecked and unpunished. If what I have accused him of be true, a ferment will brew, which will break out in transactions which I am sure the Commissioners will deplore as the results of their delay or forbearance.

On November 1, 1849, the local elected Board was reinstated with Westmeath as chairman, and over the next nine months the threatened ferment did indeed brew.

## CHAPTER SIX THE SELECT COMMITTEE

The new Board in Carrick acted with vigour in the course of the next few months. Committees and sub-committees were established in order to ascertain the condition of the workhouse upon the removal of the Vice-Guardians. Hence, the books of the house were examined together with all matters relating to contracts, collection of rates, and clothing.

Having established what they referred to as 'the gross negligence and culpability' of the Vice-Guardians, the Board sent a petition to the House of Lords demanding an enquiry into the regime which had operated under Capt. Wynne. The document, signed by each of the thirty-six Guardians under the chairmanship of Lord Westmeath, made the following allegations:

- 1) Serious waste of union funds and resources had accrued under the Vice-Guardians.
- 2) One of the Vice-Guardians had proved to be a person of questionable character and should not have been appointed.
- 3) The Temporary Inspector - Capt. Wynne - had behaved reprehensibly and used his influence to gain sexual favours from female paupers.
- 4) The books of the workhouse were found to have been in a state of total confusion.
- 5) Massive fraud had resulted from insufficient checks being made on supplies to the workhouse.
- 6) Rate collectors and relieving officers had been allowed to perform their duties without proper execution of their bonds.
- 7) Straw in the paupers' beds had been unchanged for seven months while linen clothing had been left unwashed for a similar period and allowed to rot in a cupboard.

The House of Lords, under Lord Beau, instituted an enquiry into the allegations which lasted from May 6 to July 16, in the course of which they examined twenty-eight witnesses. The full list of those who attended was as follows:

John B. Clark	Clerk of the workhouse
Col. William Clarke	District Inspector
William Laird	Relieving-Officer
Alfred Power	Chief Commissioner of the Poor Law Board
James Kirkwood	Local land owner

Charles R. Peyton	Ex-officio local Guardian
John McCreavy	Ex-porter at the workhouse
Francis Creamer	Asst. Matron at the workhouse
Earl of Rosse	Land owner
Capt. Philip Haymes	Temporary Inspector
Bridget Gibbons	Nurse at the workhouse
Francis Latouche	Local Guardian
Capt. Edmund Wynne	Temporary Inspector
Harmer Devereux Spratt	Vice-Guardian
Stephen Woulfe Flanagan	District Inspector
Mary Owens	Nurse
Mary Cannon	Nurse
Ann Glancy	Nurse
James Kelly	Servant to Thomas Kirkwood
Andrew Kirkwood	Son of Thomas Kirkwood
Ann Cresswell	Servant to Thomas Kirkwood
Marquis of Westmeath	Chairman of Carrick Board of Guardians
Patrick Coyne	Leather-cutter in Boyle (Wynne's landlord in 1849)
James Gannon	Pauper
John Armstrong	Master at Jamestown auxiliary workhouse (acting master at Carrick)
Rodolphus Mortimer	Vice-Guardian
George Little	Hotelier in Mohill

The problems the enquiry faced in establishing the truth may be gauged from their comments in the preface to the conclusion:

From the discrepancies between many of the public documents submitted to the committee - discrepancies to be found even in reports made by the same party - from the contradictory nature of much of the parole evidence, and also from the suspicion which attaches to the testimony of some of the witnesses examined, the committee have experienced great difficulties in sifting the statements made before them and in distinguishing those portions of the evidence which can be justly considered as trustworthy and entitled to credit.

In spite of such difficulties the committee endeavoured to offer an opinion on each of the alleged offences.

In relation to the first charge, it was ascertained that the Vice-Guardians had placed a severe strain on the rate-payers of the union: upon entering their duties, the union liabilities stood at £3,264; on leaving, they had reached £5,215. The committee determined that this expenditure had resulted from what it termed the 'abuse of the system of outdoor relief.' They claimed that a considerable number of those on the relief lists did not meet the necessary criteria and cited an example of two thousand applicants being accepted on the one day. Thus, 'all necessary discrimination became impossible' and 'this wholesale system of relief extinguished all habits of frugality or industry.' On this charge then, the committee concurred with the Guardians, although they did not charge the Vice-Guardians with extravagance in relation to contracts, believing that the prices obtained were no higher than could be expected for a union in the financial and geographical position of Carrick.

The second charge related to the appointment of Rodolphus Mortimer as Vice-Guardian in February, 1849. It was claimed that he owed money to several parties in the area, in particular rent to Charles Cox. It also emerged that he had established illegal contacts with local businessmen, leaving himself open to manipulation in contracting for goods. In spite of the evidence, the committee concluded that Mortimer's private dealings had not operated to the detriment of the union and they refused to condemn him. However, they added an adjinder by stating that 'distressed or insolvent parties ought never to be entrusted with the wide discretion and unlimited power of Vice-Guardians.'

The committee expressed regret that the next charge should come before them at all, believing that 'the moral character of a public officer should never become the subject of a Parliamentary inquiry.' As a temporary inspector, Capt. Wynne was one of the highest placed officials in the Poor Law Commission, with both the Guardians and Vice-Guardians subject to his control. However, the allegations made against him could easily have been accommodated in a romantic novel of the time.

There can be little doubt that Wynne felt considerable compassion for the distressed people of the union and his actions, as previously outlined, bear this out. Unfortunately, however, his authority led him to abuse his position and enable those in the union who opposed him to gain an opportunity to vilify him.

The basis of the case against Wynne was that he had used his authority to gain sexual favours from female paupers. On one occasion, he was accused of breaking the law by insisting that a woman be placed on the relief list on three separate occasions. On another, he was observed entering the grounds of Lakeview, the property of the Kirkwood family, and witnessed in a

compromising position with a woman. Further to this, Bridget Gibbons, a nurse in the workhouse, claimed to have found Wynne lying drunk on the matron's bed, in the presence of the matron, Mrs Kelly, and her assistant. One of the most serious allegations was that he had frequented the female apartments of the workhouse at night and carried on an affair with a pauper, who was subsequently, and at Wynne's request, sent to Australia.

In attempting to answer these charges, Wynne produced evidence which was peppered with inaccuracies and contradictions. For example, the charge relating to his being in the workhouse at night referred specifically to the period of January 1849. Wynne reported that he had contracted fever at that time and had not been in the workhouse for almost a month. However, an examination of the minutes ascertained that he had attended several Board meetings during that same period. Similarly, in relation to the pauper sent to Australia, Wynne offered various explanations and reasons, none of which corresponded. Consequently, the committee had great difficulty in ascertaining the truth of the matter. However, whilst stating that they were unable to examine the subject in detail, they lambasted the Poor Law Commissioners for not doing so. Indeed it transpired that Thomas Kirkwood had written to the latter to complain of Wynne's behaviour and demand an inquiry. However, they referred the charges to Wynne who was able to rebuff them. The Lords' committee described such behaviour as 'neither politic nor just.' In this way the case against Wynne could be argued as 'not proven'. Nevertheless, the number of witnesses against him, and his inability to provide an adequate defence, suggested that there was some truth in the allegations.

The next assertion by the Board, that the books of the workhouse had been found in a state of disorder, led to a rebuke both for them and the Vice-Guardians. Although the committee agreed that 'no sufficient checks' were made on the accuracy of the books by the latter, they reprimanded the current Board, finding that the confusion had remained for months after the removal of the Vice-Guardians.

The next charge related to fraud connected with supplies to the workhouse. In particular it was stated that supplies of coal and turf had been tampered with. Capt. Haymes, Wynnes' replacement, discovered that a pauper had been left in charge of the coal and turf store. His method of recording deliveries was to measure one cart-load of turf and take the rest for granted. Charles Peyton, meanwhile, ascertained that the coal contractor had, for a lengthy period, obtained weigh certificates which showed a figure of 8 cwt more, per ton, than was actually in each cart. Hence, the suspicions of the Board were proved beyond doubt, with Haymes asserting that 'an amazing deal of fraud' had been carried on with the collusion of the master and various officers.

In relation to the bonds required by rate-collectors and relieving officers, the committee concluded that 'great irregularity and neglect of duty' had existed under the Vice-Guardians. Whilst agreeing that such conduct did not result in pecuniary loss to the union, they nevertheless regarded it as 'reprehensible'. Similarly, they objected to the level of rate paid to collectors - up to 2s 6d in the pound - which had subsequently been reduced to 9d by the new Board. They also censured the Vice-Guardians for accepting tenders without security, specifically those of a Mrs. Sidley who obtained orders for £2,000 under such circumstances.

The final accusation related to the condition of clothing and straw in the workhouse, both of which were found to have been in a disgusting state. However, this last charge led to some embarrassment for the Board as it was revealed that the Vice-Guardians had changed the straw at the beginning of September. Under the regulations of the Poor Law it was to be changed every two months which meant that this duty fell to the restored Board in early November. Likewise, the linen clothing had been placed in storage a week before the Vice-Guardians vacated the premises and should have been dealt with much earlier by the Board. Indeed, the committee, in conclusion, offered this admonition to the Board:

It is clear that some of the irregularities complained of in the internal economy of the workhouse originated during the administration of the present Board; some were permitted by them to remain uncorrected, and others were considerably aggravated.

In acknowledging the irregularities which had developed under the Vice-Guardians, the committee thought it important to differentiate between those who had, and those who had not, worked for the benefit of the union:

Messrs. Duncan and O'Reilly seem to have been zealous and efficient public servants, to have done much for the reformation of the Carrick workhouse; but the administration of Messrs. Mortimer and Robinson does not lead to the same satisfactory result.

In relation to the books of the establishment, Duncan and O'Reilly had employed an assistant clerk - a Mr. Armstrong - specifically for the purpose of correcting them, and subsequently effecting 'a very considerable improvement.' However, under Mortimer and Robinson, the situation worsened: between January 27 and June 30, 1849, the clerk's books were inspected on three

occasions only, while scrutiny of the medical report-books also seemed to have been overlooked. In fact, in relation to the upkeep of the register of deaths, Mortimer stated that he considered this duty to be 'not very important.' It later emerged in evidence to the committee that this individual's conduct had been under consideration for some time. Having refused to admit a starving girl to the workhouse, preferring instead to offer her a 'severe lecture on idleness', Capt. Wynne was asked to investigate his suitability as a Vice-Guardian.

Wynne, believing his conduct to have been 'irregular from beginning to end', gave a blunt assessment of both Mortimer and Robinson:

I do not consider the Vice-Guardians competent to discharge their duties efficiently or satisfactorily. The duties of Vice-Guardians at Carrick-on-Shannon present, at this moment, difficulties of no ordinary magnitude, with which the gentlemen referred to seem quite incompetent to deal.

Recommending that at least one Vice-Guardian should be replaced, he added:

The officers express their dissatisfaction of the want of attention their regulations receive from the Vice-Guardians. A great mis-understanding and want of confidence exist between the Vice-Guardians which must militate against the interests of the union.

Perhaps the most startling manifestation of this incompetence was the 'breakfast riot' of October 1849, just prior to the removal of the Vice-Guardians.

James Kirkwood reported that after visiting the workhouse he left for the town, whereupon he was followed by a crowd of some three hundred women, armed with sticks. On questioning them, they told him that they had broken out of the workhouse and were refusing to eat the food that was served to them. Half the crowd then left and headed for Jamestown, hoping to gain admission to the auxiliary workhouse; the rest implored Kirkwood to return to the workhouse and examine the food they were forced to eat, a request he accepted. He reported on seeing a 'wretched' breakfast being served between two and three o'clock in the afternoon:

The gruel they were getting was wretchedly bad, and not half sufficient in quantity or quality. The milk was very bad ... it appeared to me to be half water. The stench in the kitchens was very bad ... the boilers did not appear to have

been cleansed for a considerable length of time, and there was some of this wretched porridge at the bottom of one of the boilers which it really was offensive to go near.

Ironically, no action was taken against the officers involved or the Vice-Guardians, but three of the women who had broken out of the workhouse were charged with inciting a riot.

Some weeks earlier, on August 7, another strange and unexplained occurrence further highlighted the lack of accountability of the workhouse regime. On that evening, the matron, Mrs. Kelly, went into the hospital at ten o'clock and withdrew four nurses and a head nurse from the four male infirmary wards. They were subsequently taken to the female side of the house and locked inside. Meanwhile, the male patients were left to the care of two male paupers.

On being re-admitted to the wards early the following morning, two witnesses - Bridget Gibbons and James Gannon - claimed to have found the bodies of two children in their beds. No explanation was offered for the withdrawal of the nurses, a move which was not sanctioned by the workhouse authorities. Shortly afterwards, Cicely Owens, the nurse in whose ward the fatalities had occurred, was selected for emigration to Australia while the others were dismissed by Capt. Wynne.

At the time of their enquiry, the Lords' Committee ascertained that a vital witness was unavailable. Dr Rutherford, the medical attendant, had taken written statements from the nurses involved, but he was no longer living anywhere in Europe. Consequently they were unable to obtain an explanation of what they called 'this most extraordinary, but barbarous transaction.'

Such events only served to accentuate the incompetence of Mortimer and Robinson and left the committee to conclude:

A stronger proof could not well be given of the imperfect discipline prevailing under the control of Capt. Wynne and the Vice-Guardians.

Irrespective of the truth, or otherwise, of the accusations levelled against the Vice-Guardians and Wynne, there is little doubt that the losers were those poor people who suffered, regardless of who was in control. Many, having witnessed the starvation and death of loved ones and friends, took the only alternative available - the steamship to foreign lands, leaving the ravages of famine in 'the old country' far behind them.

## CHAPTER SEVEN LEITRIM'S DIASPORA

Emigration to a vast extent is prevailing here; some are unceremoniously deserting homes, land, etc and repairing to the seaport town of Sligo in order to embark for America.

This quote by Fr. MacGill of Killanummery in May, 1847, reflected the almost daily occurrence of people leaving their native townlands and parishes, and moving to foreign shores in the hope of a better life. Indeed, there were few counties which suffered as greatly in the post-famine years, in terms of numbers leaving, as that of Leitrim. Between 1841 and 1891 the population of the county fell by almost fifty percent, from 155,297 to 78,618, with the vast majority of those who departed, moving either to Britain or America. In the post-famine decade of 1851-'61 alone, 16,820 people felt they had no option but to leave their homeland. Their determination to emigrate is illustrated by the numbers leaving from the following ports between 1851 and 1855, some of which were at least one hundred miles from Leitrim:

### PORTS OF EMBARKATION

PORT	YEAR				
	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855
BELFAST	66	165	227	121	217
DERRY/MOVILLE	207	441	301	297	315
DROGHEDA	710	922	641	483	202
DUBLIN	722	998	529	622	272
DUNDALK	26	9	40	4	1
KILLALA/BALLINA	266	516	380	262	183
SLIGO	-	2	-	-	-
WARRENPOINT/NEWRY	-	1	4	2	-

Ironically, perhaps, the most detailed information relating to emigration is to be found for those moving to the most distant location - Australia.

In late 1847 and early 1848, the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners in London made enquiries about using Irish workhouses as a source of female migrants. They initially drew up a plan for the implementation of a scheme which also allowed for the selection of young males; in the end though, it was restricted to females alone. By October, 1848, the first shipment had arrived in Australia, and between then and August, 1850, over four thousand female orphans arrived from the workhouses.

Two workhouses in Leitrim participated in this scheme - Carrick and Mohill; the former sending sixty girls, the latter forty-five. Such movement created space within the overcrowded workhouses, whilst Capt. Wynne was subsequently accused of sending girls who may have proved something of an embarrassment to him at a later date. From the point of view of the girls themselves, Trevor McClaughlin in *Barefoot and Pregnant?* offers this explanation for their willingness to depart:

Reports of conditions in Australia, in Irish newspapers, painted a glowing, and attractive picture of life in the Antipodes - of colonists wanting females as domestic servants at high rates of wages. Australia was a land where, above all, food was in plentiful supply. It was a land whose prospects were infinitely more enticing than the hunger and despair around them.

The girls chosen had to be of 'good moral character', with the workhouse master, matron and chaplain, responsible for their selection. Quite detailed information is available in relation to the Carrick orphans, but not, unfortunately, for those in Mohill.

For a voyage lasting around four months, each girl was provided with the following clothing:

- 6 shifts
- 6 pairs of stockings - 2 worsted and 4 cotton
- 2 pairs of shoes
- 2 gowns, one of warm material (woollen plaid)
- 2 short wrappers
- 2 night wrappers
- 2 flannel petticoats
- 2 cotton petticoats
- 1 stout worsted shawl and a cloak
- 2 neck and 3 pocket handkerchiefs
- 2 linen collars
- 2 aprons
- 1 pair of stays
- 1 pair of sheets
- 1 pair of mitts
- 1 bonnet

Day and night caps  
 2 towels  
 2lbs of soap

Other articles, such as combs and brushes, needles, thread, tape etc were also supplied, along with prayer-books and bibles. All these supplies were placed in individual boxes, each of which had to be 2 foot long, 14 inches wide and 14 inches deep. Rodger McGuire was paid £12.8.6 for making the boxes while Anthony Sweeny made the orphans' shoes at a total cost of £9.

The Carrick girls left for South Australia on February 27, 1849. They were brought first to Mullingar, by William Sweeny, where they stayed overnight in the workhouse; they then moved on to Dublin. From there they sailed to Plymouth to begin the long journey to Australia. No such details are available for those leaving the Mohill workhouse, but judging by the date of arrival of the first ship, the *Inchinnan*, on February 20, 1849, it is likely they departed around October 1848. The lists which follow give the names of many who made those journeys, as well as stating the names of their parents and the areas from whence they originated:

The following girls arrived in Sydney on February 20, 1849 aboard the *Inchinnan*:

NAME	AGE	TOWNLAND/ PARISH	PARENTS
Catherine Beirne	17	Clonoghill	Pat/Margaret
Mary Beirne	15	Clonoghill	Pat/Margaret
Biddy Callery	18	Mohill	Edward/Nally
Anne Cane	17	Leitrim	Michael/Catherine
Mary Connor	16	Drumbane	James/Mary
Margaret Flannigan	16	Clontobret	John/Biddy
Mary Flynn	17	Mohill	Thomas/Anne
Mary Flynn	18	Aughaugh	Michael/Mary
Ellen Fox	16	Mohill	James/Mary
Ann Gaffney	17	Mohill	Pat/Catherine
Honora Mullerne	16	Mohill	Pat/Ann
Ann Kelly	18	Mohill	Pat/Mary
Bridget Kerrigan	15	Co. Leitrim	Michael/Peggy
Betty Kerrigan	15	Cloonturk	Michael/Margaret
Mary McGowan	16	Killrock	Daniel/Winney

NAME	AGE	TOWNLAND/ PARISH	PARENTS
Jane McGowan	16	Killrock	Roger/Elizabeth
Mary McGuinness	18	Mohill	Hugh/Bessy
May McGuire	17	Drumroghain	Thomas/Mary
Margaret Mulranerty	15	Mohill	Philip/Mary
May O'Neil	17	Co. Leitrim	Pat/Mary
Mary Owens	15	Co. Leitrim	Pat/Kilty
Mary Reynolds	18	Cloone	Woody/Catherine
Ellen Rourke	18	Mohill	Phelim/Sarah
Bridget Rourke	16	Mohill	Phelim/Sarah
Margaret Shanley	18	Co. Leitrim	James/Margaret
Anne Slattery	16	Co. Leitrim	Michael/Margaret
Margaret Sweeny	18	Co. Leitrim	Edward/Ann
Catherine Sorahan	15	Co. Leitrim	Michael/Rosa

The Carrick orphans arrived in Sydney aboard the *Lady Peel* on July 3, 1849:

Bridget Cannon	16	Carrick	John/Biddy
Elizabeth Donlon	17	Killukin	James/Ellen
Elizabeth Dunn	19	Annaduff	Bernard/Susy
Catherine Flannagan	16	Carrick	James/Mary
Catherine Foley	18	Kiltoghert	Pat/Bridget
Mary Foley	15	Kiltoghert	Pat/Bridget
Bridget Kavenny	18	Annaduff	Pat/Ellen
Bridget Kilroy	17	Annaduff	Anthony/Mary
Mary Lee	16	Drumshanbo	Lachlan/Mary
Catherine Lee	14	Drumshanbo	Lachlan/Mary
Ann McClean	18	Annaduff	Pat/Bridget
Mary McGluin	18	Kiltoghert	Francis/Barbara
Biddy McQueeney	18	Maraney	Hugh/Mary
Mary McQueeney	17	Kiltoghert	Michael/Ann
Bridget McQueeney	16	Kiltoghert	Michael/Ann
Ellen Mahon	18	Drumshanbo	Bart/Bridget
Maria Moolack	18	Carrick	Cornelius/Bridget
Biddy Moran	16	Carrick	Patrick/Celia
Celia Moran	18	Carrick	Patrick/Celia

More than one year later, another shipload of immigrants arrived aboard the *Tippoo Saib* in Sydney on July 29, 1850:

NAME	AGE	TOWNLAND/ PARISH	PARENTS
Mary Bigane	17	Annavoslar	Hugh/Ann
Bridget Boyle	13	Mohill	Pat/Bridget
Ann Burke	17	Carrick	William/Mary
Mary Carroll	16	Mohill	Anthony/Catherine
Mary Cline	16	Mohill	James/Elizabeth
Rose Connoffry	18	Gatskate	John/Mary
Bridget Donnelly	16	Mohill	Arthur/Mary
Mary Duignan	16	Tourna	Owen/Bridget
Jane Early	16	Kilsuppa	Anthony/Ellen
Ellen Carroll	15	Drumahair	Thomas/Rose
Catherine Gannon	19	Mohill	Charles/Catherine
Catherine Gilroy	19	Drumsna	Anthony/Mary
Rose Hogan	15	Mohill	Michael/Bridget
Ellen Kelly	16	Mohill	Pat/Mary
Mary Kelly	18	Mohill	James/Ellen
Mary Kenny	16	Leitrim	James/Jane
Bridget Lenehy	17	Drumsnannock	Thomas/Ellen
Ellen Lenehy	16	Drumsnannock	Thomas/Ellen
Mary McCann	16	Mohill	Hugh/Sarah
Catherine McCullough	14	Clonbouey	Robert/Elizabeth
Ann McEniff	16	Ballinamore	Hugh/Nancy
Teresa McGoey	15	Leitrim	Edward/Catherine
Maria McHugh	15	Mohill	Mick/Bridget
Bridget McHugh	16	Mohill	Barney/Catherine
Ellen McKeon	19	Mohill	Edward/Ann
Bridget McParland	17	Ballinamore	Joseph/Mary
Rose O'Brien	14	Leitrim	Thomas/Mary
Catherine Reid	17	Mohill	Alexander/Susan
Bridget Reynolds	18	Drumdeade	James/Ann
Alice Reynolds	18	Tymond	Terence/Nancy
Mary Reynolds	16	Mohill	Thomas/Catherine
Maria Wrinne	16	Toomare	John/Mary

Two other Leitrim girls arrived on board ships at Port Philip, although their details are not as well documented as those above.

Catherine Kelly, aged sixteen, arrived on December 12, 1848 on the *Lady Kennaway* while Jane Liddey was aboard the *Diadeim* which docked on January 10, 1850.

Details are thus plentiful for those orphans who left as part of this 'assisted emigration scheme' to Australia. However, for the many thousands who went to Britain and America, it is often difficult to obtain substantial information in relation to background, date of arrival etc. Nevertheless, some details are available. In 1847, the emigration agents at Quebec and Grosse Ile enquired as to the reasons for the huge numbers of Irish immigrants arriving on their shores. The following deposition, given by Robert Symes JP. on September 12, 1847, on behalf of Bryan Prior, a labourer from the parish of Drumreilly, offers an example of the plight of such migrants:

He has a wife and four children under twelve. He farmed five acres on the estate of Collins. For six weeks before leaving he had nothing. Collins' agent, Benson, promised to give him relief if he gave up his land. The minute he did this his house was pulled down. Then Benson said the land was of insufficient value, therefore he could give them nothing. Benson refused to send wife and children to America, it was expensive enough to send him, 'and be thankful for it'. The wife and children are now in Ireland without a house or a home, as far as this deponent has any knowledge of their condition, and he now declares that he is in a most distressed state of mind, without money, clothing or food.

Other sources of assistance are the advertisements which were placed in an American Catholic newspaper, the *Boston Pilot*, throughout the 1840s and 1850s. (See Appendix F). Such adverts represented attempts by, in most cases, recently-arrived immigrants, to find relatives who were already known to be in America and Canada. As they nearly always included the name of the individual and his/her place of origin, they are an important source for those seeking to obtain accurate data about emigration. As will become evident from the lists which follow, emigration from Leitrim, to both America and Canada, was, to use Ruth-Ann Harris' term, 'sporadic' in the 1830s and early 1840s. As the ravages of the famine gripped the country in 1845, numbers leaving Leitrim increased dramatically. A number of points may be made by examining the lists; firstly, early emigration rarely involved whole families, with individuals or couples being the most likely candidates for removal; secondly, this pattern changed from the mid-1840s onwards when families, and indeed extended families, decide to leave, seeing no future for themselves. Another point worth making is the increased familiarity with American place names - for example, areas such as Providence, Rhode Island and Lowell, Massachusetts, crop up regularly throughout the

period. Obviously these were the initial 'stopping-off' points for new immigrants. Indeed, certain addresses within these areas indicate that they were known to emigrants prior to their leaving, as places to which they should go on arrival. One such address was that of George Mulloy, Catholic Bookseller, 25 Market St., Lowell Ms, which occurs repeatedly throughout the literature.

Lists of names in themselves can be quite bland. However, they have been abstracted from adverts and the following examples of such offer us an insight into the sad and distressing conditions in which some emigrants and their relatives often found themselves:

### **September 5, 1846**

Information wanted about James McGown of Rossinver, Co Leitrim - emigrated 9 years ago - last heard of in Baltimore, Md. - An aged and distressed father and mother are anxious to hear from him.

### **November 11, 1847**

Information wanted about Patrick Riley of Co Leitrim - His sister Bridget is now in Boston, and is in great distress.

### **September 15, 1849**

Information wanted about Francis West, fourteen years old, parish of Cloone, Co Leitrim. He landed in New York in company with his mother, two brothers and four sisters in May 1847 - was missed in the middle of the same month and has not been heard-of since. Any information respecting him will be thankfully received by his afflicted mother.

### **November 15, 1851**

Information wanted about Catherine (aged 14) and Andrew (aged 15) Prior of Cloone, Co. Leitrim. They left home with their parents - who died on the passage - about five years ago and landed in Quebec.

### **May 1, 1852**

Information wanted about Margaret McKiernan, daughter to Barney and Bridget McKiernan, Ordra, parish of Drumreilly, Co Leitrim, who landed in some of the British settlements about six years ago. When last heard of she was in North America. Her mother, brothers and sisters died - some of them previous to landing, the rest immediately afterwards.

The names listed total approximately 440 - and thus represent only a tiny fraction of those who left the county at that time. However, even a cursory glance illustrates the impact on particular areas as a result of this movement. In 1846, Felix and Margaret McMorrow left Tawnymanus in Cloonclare. They were joined in the following year by John McMorrow and Bryan McMorrow with their families. Similarly, between 1848 and 1850, the three Mahon brothers left

Gowel, outside Carrick, never to return. In May, 1847, Fr. James McKernan of Cloone stated that 'a great number' had emigrated to America 'leaving their fatherland without any compensation.' Two years later on March 24, 1849, with emigration levels intensifying, the *Roscommon and Leitrim Gazette* reported that 'the former tenants of Lugganhammer in the parish of Cloone have nearly all emigrated to America'.

The departure of so many young men and women, together with their families, represented an unnatural drain on the resources of the county and perpetuated in the minds of the young the realisation that, sooner or later, they, too, would have to leave their native county in order to make a decent living. The tragedy, and indeed irony, of such events, is that they could have been considerably ameliorated by those who owned vast tracts of land in the county, yet chose to live abroad. Their failure to respond in the famine years, together with the maladministration of the Poor Law, needs to be examined if we are to explain the calamity that struck Leitrim in these years.

## CHAPTER EIGHT CONSEQUENCES AND EXPLANATIONS

The consequences of the Famine years are most starkly represented by an analysis of pre and post-famine population levels. In 1841, the population of Leitrim stood at 155,297; by 1851, it had fallen to 111,915. In the same period, population density decreased from 253 to 183 persons per square mile.

The population figures for each barony were as follows:

**TABLE 1**  
**POPULATION BY BARONY**

	1841	1851
Carrigallen	28,293	20,469
Dromahair	35,836	28,557
Leitrim	32,658	22,515
Mohill	35,714	22,164
Rossclogher	22,796	18,210

The 1851 Census figures can be broken down to reveal more in-depth analysis of the period. Particularly relevant are the significant changes in the standard of housing, as detailed below:

**TABLE 2**  
**STANDARD OF HOUSING**

	1841	1851	1841	1851	1841	1851	1841	1851
	<b>1st class</b>		<b>2nd class</b>		<b>3rd class</b>		<b>4th class</b>	
% of Population	0.5	0.9	11.1	20.3	41.6	56.0	46.8	22.8

From the above table it is obvious that those occupying the one-roomed cabins of the fourth-class category bore the brunt of the famine, with their numbers falling from almost 50% in 1841 to less than 25% ten years later. Alongside this is the fact that in the same period, those families registered as being dependent solely on manual labour fell from 75.3% of the population to 35%.

At the same time, many people benefited as a result of this devastation: those occupying third-class housing, increased by more than one-third, while numbers living in second class housing almost doubled. Thus it can be argued that the famine, far from representing an all-embracing catastrophe, was, to a large degree, class-based in its effects, with the vast majority of those affected being cottiers, labourers and small farmers living in one-roomed huts.

A matter of debate amongst historians is the effect of the famine on the Irish language. Some believe that it sounded the death-knell for the language while

others maintain that it was already slowly dying-out. In the case of Leitrim, the census data for 1851 appears to offer support for both views. Table 3 relates to proficiency in Irish in Connacht in that year. The province had the highest number of native speakers in the country, at 50.77% of the population:

**TABLE 3**  
**IRISH SPEAKERS IN CONNACHT AS % OF 1851 POPULATION**

	<b>Irish Only</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Irish and English</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Total %</b>
Mayo	49,643	18.08%	130,435	47.52%	65.60%
Galway	75,586	19.47%	146,658	46.05%	65.55%
Sligo	10,584	8.23%	38,644	30.07%	38.30%
Roscommon	1,326	0.76%	44,970	25.93%	26.69%
Leitrim	144	0.13%	14,859	13.28%	13.41%

Thus, by 1851, Leitrim had the smallest proportion of Irish speakers in Connacht. Indeed the figures for the county were lower than the national average of 4.88% for Irish speakers and 18.38% for those speaking both Irish and English. Of the total number of 15,003 who spoke the language to some degree, they were represented in the baronies as follows:

**TABLE 4**

	<b>IRISH</b>	<b>IRISH AND ENGLISH</b>
Carrigallen	-	997
Dromahair	1	8,947
Leitrim	-	886
Mohill	-	824
Rossclogher	143	3,205
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>14,859</b>

Indicative of the serious decline in the use of the native tongue is the fact that of the 144 who claimed to speak only Irish, eleven were aged under thirty. This demise may be traced to a number of factors. There is little doubt that the famine carried off many old people, the majority of whom would have spoken the language. At the same time many of those who emigrated were probably in their thirties and forties. Under normal circumstances they could have been expected to have passed their knowledge of the language to their children. However, an important element may have been the influence of national schools which had been established in 1831. They represented the first attempt by the British government to foster a non-denominational primary education system. One of the tenets of the system was that the children should learn to read and write in English. The chief opponent of this curriculum was Archbishop John MacHale of Tuam, a stout defender of the Irish language and Gaelic tradition. He refused

to allow any national schools to be established in his archdiocese, as he believed they cultivated a love of all things English. Many parents, not having received any education themselves, nevertheless wished to see their children learn to read and write, and were prepared to send them to such schools, regardless of the ethos therein. However, MacHale's fears appear to have been well-founded as within less than a generation, the language was dying out amongst the young people. Thus, a combination of death and emigration occasioned by the famine, together with an English-based educational curriculum, led, to a large extent, to the death of the language.

If the famine hastened the demise of the Irish language, its effects in relation to the Poor Law were no less devastating.

As is obvious from previous chapters, the operation of the Poor Law in Leitrim was disastrous during the famine period. Of three unions only one, Manorhamilton, remained in local control throughout these years. Given the problems with lack of attendance at Board meetings by the Mohill and Carrick Guardians, it could be presumed that the reason for the relative success of Manorhamilton was due to much more regular attendance by the Guardians in this union. However, as Table 5 illustrates, the various statistics extracted from local minute books do not support this possibility.

**TABLE 5**

	<b>Average Attendance of Guardians</b>		<b>Highest Attendance of Guardians</b>	
	<b>1846</b>	<b>1847</b>	<b>1846</b>	<b>1847</b>
Carrick	6	8	16	22
Manorhamilton	7	7	18	23
Mohill	4	5	11	21

	<b>Number of Attendances Below Average</b>		<b>Days of no Attendance</b>	
	<b>1846</b>	<b>1847</b>	<b>1846</b>	<b>1847</b>
Carrick	21/52	28/55	1	-
Manorhamilton	19/47	29/53	1	-
Mohill	19/50	25/49	3	2

The record of attendance of each Board does not point to any obvious conclusions regarding ability to manage their affairs. Carrick was almost on a par with Manorhamilton, while the figures for Mohill were not as bad as one might expect. However, there does appear to have been a vital difference in that Manorhamilton had a much more purposeful and diligent group of people involved in vital aspects of the union activities. Although there was occasional

trouble with rate collectors, the situation was not nearly as bad as in Carrick and Mohill, where widespread fraud and corruption ensured severe difficulties in obtaining money. Thus, the financial difficulties which were endemic in both of these unions, did not impact to anywhere near the same extent in Manorhamilton. The following figures give an indication of the financial standing of the unions in early 1846:

**TABLE 6**  
**ARREARS OF POOR RATE ON APRIL 9, 1846**

	<u>Amount Due</u>
Carrick	£1929 : 11 : 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Manorhamilton	£430 : 4 : 8
Mohill	£1401 : 19 : 9

This relatively strong financial basis thus allowed for a proper administration of the Poor Law in Manorhamilton. Although the union workhouse was the smallest in the county, it faced similar difficulties to those encountered by the other two. By 1849, extended accommodation, through the hiring of houses and construction of additional buildings, enabled the Board to provide shelter to numbers which were more than double that of the original capacity. The workhouse staff appear to have been competent and Halliday, the temporary inspector, described the master as being 'zealous, efficient and intelligent'. He praised the Board in similar fashion and reported them to be 'intelligent and disposed to discharge their functions with a view to the interests of the union.' An example of this attitude was the formation of a finance committee, separate from the Board but comprising some of its members, which met each Tuesday to examine the accounts of the union. In this way the 'Board Day', Thursday, was left free to scrutinise the long lists of applicants for relief, together with the books of the relieving officers. Such industry, in a time of crisis, did not manifest itself in either Carrick or Mohill where, at vital periods, both Boards displayed total indifference to the needs of the poor. In Carrick, the final insult for Wynne, was the non-attendance of the Board members to administer the initial distribution of outdoor relief. This was all the more frustrating for him as they had originally agreed to attend on a daily basis, for a couple of weeks, in light of the extreme seriousness of the problem at that time.

At Mohill, the situation was little better, as Halliday, himself, experienced in November, 1847:

It was with much difficulty and only by the exertions of the master seeking for, and inducing, three of the Guardians to attend that a quorum could be formed and but for this, the

master would not have had the means of procuring food for the inmates during the ensuing week. It appears that the Guardians are resigned to having the house closed and it is difficult to get a sufficient number to form a Board.

Further evidence of such apathy emerged later that same month. Two Guardians had previously signed a requisition calling an extraordinary meeting of the Board to discuss the lack of food for the paupers. On the day assigned for the meeting only three Guardians felt disposed to attend.

At the same time, both Carrick and Mohill witnessed a bewildering turnover of staff due either to death, illness or sheer incompetence. Obviously such constant changes did little to ensure the implementation of an effective administration. One example which epitomises the ineptitude of the staff and Guardians of these unions was the appointment of John Clarke to position of clerk in Carrick workhouse in June, 1847. As clerk he was entirely independent of the Board of Guardians with only the Commissioners able to dismiss him. His role in checking all the books of the house was vital to the running of the institution. Amazingly, however, Clarke had previously been sacked from his position as clerk of the Mohill union in May 1847 with the Board having described him as being 'unfit for office'. They were later forced to take legal proceedings against him as he had failed to keep accounts between September 1846 and the time of his dismissal. It is incredible to think that this same man was then appointed to a similar position in Carrick. Who supplied his references or did the Guardians even bother asking for such? This particular episode offers one illustration as to why the Carrick and Mohill unions found themselves incapable of administering the Poor Law in late 1847 and justifies, to a large extent, their subsequent removal and replacement by paid Vice-Guardians.

The attitude of both Boards in 1846-'7, was in stark contrast to that displayed by them upon re-election in November, 1849. In the latter period, various committees were formed to examine clothing accounts, relieving officers' books, contracts with local suppliers, etc. As we have seen, this diligence resulted in serious questions being raised about the role of the Vice-Guardians in both unions and the convening of a House of Lords' Committee to enquire into the Carrick union. It is ironic that such forthright action was not displayed by either Board in their dealings with the poor. However, their exertions appear to have been motivated more by vengeance than by genuine concern for the running of the unions. Undoubtedly the Boards, comprised of the local 'squirearchy' and business class, felt they had been snubbed by the Commissioners when being replaced, by what they termed 'strangers'. Indeed, any intervention from outside

the locality appears to have been resented. Capt. Layard noted this at a meeting in Carrick in December, 1846, when he commented:

The suspicious feeling of hostility shown by some parties against the government officers was most uncalled for and annoying.

At a later meeting in January, 1847, he told how 'a Mr W. Peyton called on me for information relative to certain roads, such as estimates, expenditure, amount of work done, etc. I declined giving it.' It is not difficult to imagine how such actions would have inflamed the passions of local gentlemen such as Peyton on seeing their authority usurped by non-resident officials. Under the latter there was no favouritism, as they had no ties to the area. Thus, in the matter of rate collection, a source of great annoyance to the Boards, all classes were pursued with equal vigour. For example, on January 6, 1849, Morgan Crofton, Pat Barry, Hugh Church, Myles Bartley, Pat Monaghan and William Armstrong all appealed to the Quarter Sessions against rates which had been imposed on them. All but Barry had their claims dismissed.

The question of rates was central to the accusations levelled by both Boards as, under the Vice-Guardians, they had spiralled to very high levels. This was due, in large measure, to the huge distribution of outdoor relief throughout the years 1848-9, particularly in the Carrick union. Doubtless this policy, chiefly the responsibility of Wynne, saved many lives; however it resulted in a huge cost to the ratepayers, with some facing a tripling or quadrupling of their rates. With Wynne being the dominant, some would say, domineering, figure, he came to epitomise everything that the Carrick gentry resented. When the chance came to vilify him they took it with glee. In Mohill, no figure dominated to the extent that Wynne did and this, coupled with the latter's alleged sexual impropriety, offers an explanation as to why the affairs of Carrick were scrutinised by the Lords, while those of Mohill were not. Wynne aside, Mohill would appear to have warranted such an enquiry: it had incurred huge debts as a consequence of outdoor relief; the Vice-Guardians were accused of bias in selecting rate-collectors; there were accusations of improper management of the workhouse with books being badly kept or not kept at all. Finally, as in the case of Robinson in Carrick, one of the Mohill Vice-Guardians, Bunbury Archer, was accused of being in debt to local people. Indeed, unlike Robinson, Archer was actually imprisoned. The claims against Wynne, a public servant in Ireland, appear to have been the difference in the reaction by the authorities to both Boards.

Nevertheless, it is worth emphasising that if the actions of these Boards, prior to their removal, had been characterised by the vigour they displayed after their re-appointment, it is likely that they would not have been replaced in the first place. However, bearing in mind that Carrick and Mohill were two of thirty-three Boards which were dissolved, out of a total of one hundred and thirty, the question has to be posed - was the machinery of the Poor Law adequate to deal with a disaster such as the Great Famine?

In his 1856 *A History of the Irish Poor Law*, George Nicholls stated that 'the Irish Poor Law was in its origin no more than a branch or offshoot of the English Law.' The latter, aimed at reducing destitution and vagrancy, was framed in such a fashion as to deter all but the most destitute from applying for relief. Its central ethos was that the unemployed were lazy and if they were shown charity, would simply abuse it. Although this is a somewhat dubious assertion, such a law may have been applicable in a rapidly-industrialising country where expanding towns were faced with the problems of increased vagrancy and unemployment. However, Irish society was the antithesis of that in England, being overwhelmingly agrarian in nature. Consequently, the vast majority of those unemployed were in that situation due to the seasonal nature of agricultural employment, and through no fault of their own. It was into such an environment that the Irish Poor Law was introduced. As we have seen, the law was to be financed by local ratepayers, but in a county as desperately poor as Leitrim, this was just not practical. Although high rates and financial problems were evident throughout the country in the famine years, even in the supposedly prosperous north-east, the Leitrim unions were experiencing severe financial difficulties from the beginning. Almost from the day it opened the Carrick workhouse struggled to provide relief. It has been noted in chapter three that as early as 1843, the Guardians were pleading for assistance from the Commissioners and, in an effort to reduce costs, had adopted a policy of non-admittance to the workhouse. Their problems stemmed directly from an inability to obtain adequate rates to maintain the building - with the Commissioners constantly urging 'a more vigorous rate collection' by the Guardians.

As the famine progressed, the Poor Law was altered in order to cope with the increasing demands being placed on it. However, measures such as the Temporary Relief Act of February 1847 and the Poor Law Extension Act of the following August only served to further exacerbate the intense pressures on the hard-hit unions and in particular the rate-payers. Under such legislation, areas in greatest distress received proportionately more funding than others. This extra funding came, not from the government exchequer, but from the pockets of the local rate-payers. Thus, in such areas, a vicious circle was created whereby areas with the highest levels of poverty and destitution were forced to pay higher

levels of rate to support their poor. This system was underpinned by a growing belief in Britain that Irish property should pay for Irish poverty. Nevertheless, many property owners in Leitrim refused to pay until obliged by the courts to do so.

These difficulties were further exacerbated by the phenomenon of the non-resident, or 'absentee', landholder. Such people owned large areas of land in Leitrim but lived elsewhere. Obtaining rates from them was virtually impossible, a point noted by Halliday in November, 1847 when he remarked that 'very large amounts of rates are due from non-resident proprietors.' Their absence resulted in an equally absurd situation in relation to the Gregory Clause where, as has been noted, tenants, who were prepared to give up land to obtain relief, were unable to do so as the landlords were absent.

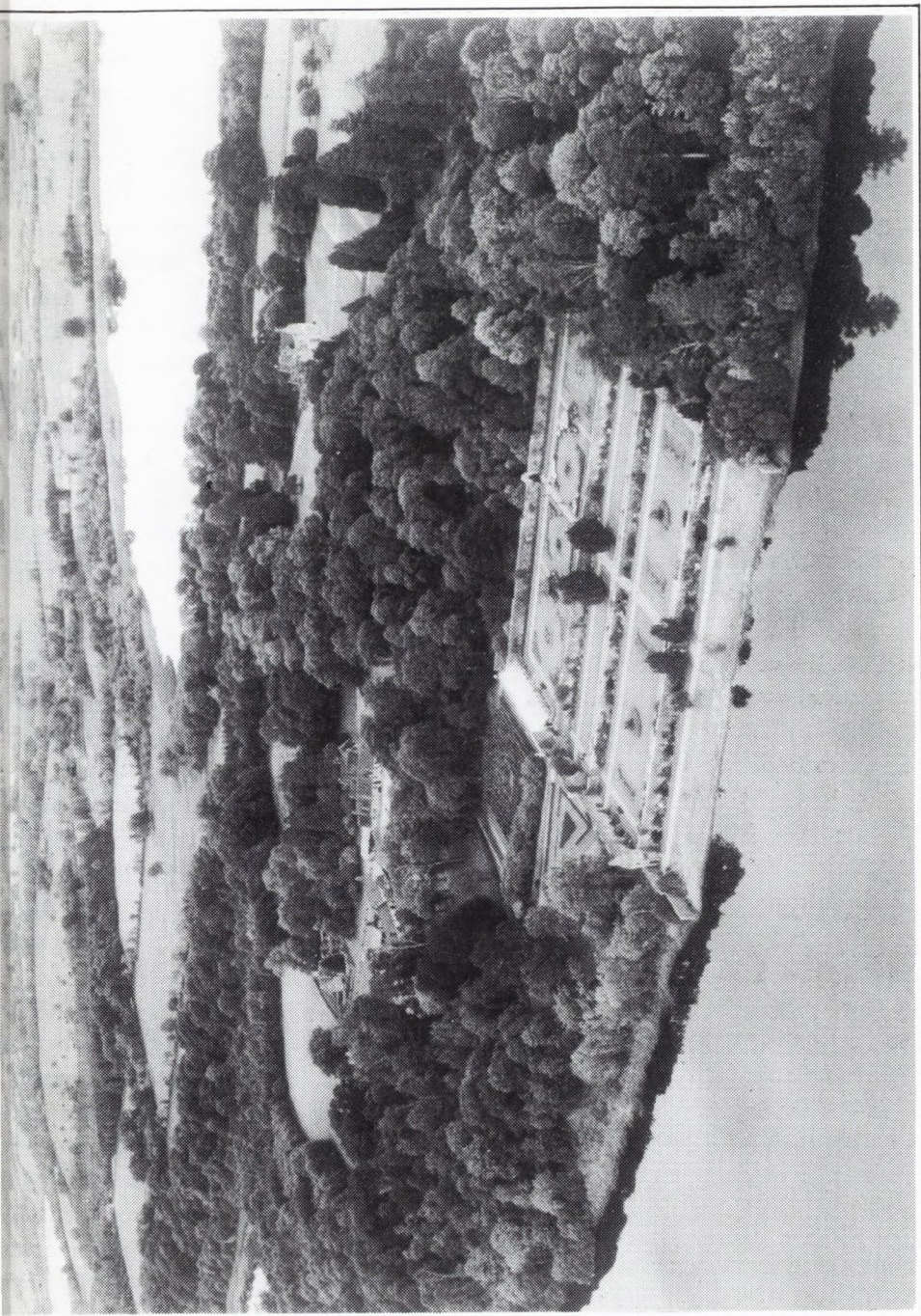
Both Lord Leitrim and Loftus Tottenham alluded to problems created by absenteeism in communications with the Commissioners. They believed that the lack of such influential personalities reduced the potential effectiveness of the Poor Law, whilst making relief committees much less efficient. Many correspondents also lamented the fact that there were few local landowners able to offer work to their tenants in these years.

The following example of subscriptions to a local relief committee demonstrate how it was largely dependent on the support of the local clergy, with only one major landowner making a contribution:

#### **Subscriptions to the Carrick-on-Shannon Relief Committee March 26, 1847.**

Charles M. St. George	£30 0 0
Revd. Doctor Slevin	£25 0 0
Captain Layard	£5 0 0
Captain Cox	£3 0 0
Master Carter	£2 10 0
Revd. W. A. Percy	£2 0 0
Revd. Richard Slevin	£1 10 0
Doctor Hamilton	£1 0 0
Captain Williams	£1 0 0
William J. Peyton	£1 0 0
Alexander Faris	£1 0 0
Revd Fitzgerald	£1 0 0
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>£74 0 0</b>

However, it would be a generalisation to state that local landlords did little or nothing for their tenancy. Both Leitrim and Tottenham wrote prodigiously to the Relief Commission in order to obtain help for the poor of their areas. Indeed, Tottenham, in his role as chairman of the Manorhamilton Guardians, was described by Halliday as a 'zealous and able assistant' in the Boardroom. For



*Figure 10: Aerial photograph of Lough Rynn Estate.*

their part. St. George of Carrick and Major Blackall offered reductions in rent to their tenants in an attempt to alleviate distress.

Nevertheless, the landed class maintained their privileged lifestyles in the midst of the suffering. Their huge residences, some of which still stand, bear testimony to the wealth obtained from rents. Indeed Leitrim, who was himself often absent from the county, notes in his account book that on a trip to London on May 31, 1847, he spent £130, which was more than the total subscribed to many relief funds.

The activity, or inactivity, of local landlords may remain a matter for debate. However, what is indisputable is that without the indefatigable efforts of many local clergymen, Leitrim would have suffered much more grievously than it did. The names of the Rev. George Shaw of Drumsna, Andrew Hogg of Cloone and Fr. Peter Dawson of Kiltoghert, amongst others, appear regularly in correspondence of the time. They wrote letters to the Commissioners and the newspapers, appealed to various people in England and Ireland for aid, and acted as important members of local relief committees. Their efforts were effected with zeal, regardless of religious affiliation and were matched only by those of the Quakers.

As has been noted the Quakers travelled throughout the country in order to ascertain levels of destitution. Their description of those clamouring for relief outside the Carrick workhouse is particularly striking. However, their most important role was in the supply of food, money and clothes to distressed areas. The extent of this assistance is detailed in appendix E.

Amidst the suffering and death there were those who actually gained during the famine years. Death and emigration resulted in availability of land and this was taken by those who had somehow managed to survive. It has already been noted how the increase in second and third-class housing, at the expense of those occupying the fourth-class, supports the hypothesis that there were some who improved their standing as a consequence of the famine.

Amongst those who benefited most were suppliers of vital goods during those years. Many of them, such as Dixon of Belturbet, had a monopoly in particular areas. Buttressed by a government which refused to interfere with their profits, and in their profiteering, they were able to charge extortionate prices for life-saving necessities. For example, in one week in June, 1849, Michael Murphy received over £360 for supplies of Indian meal for outdoor relief in the Mohill union. Some, realising the strength of their position vis-à-vis impoverished and dependent Boards, exploited the situation to an alarming extent. This was particularly so in Carrick, where contractors for coal and turf, apparently with the connivance of workhouse officials, supplied amounts which were less than those agreed upon. The milk brought in was often little more than water with

chalk added while Kernaghan, the supplier of rice, often furnished food which was 'much complained of' by the inmates. Even Manorhamilton was not above claims of 'jobbing' and as we have seen it required the intervention of Halliday to reduce the almost total monopoly on the supply of goods by members of the Board of Guardians. Little wonder then, that Fr. MacGill of Killanummary could state in 1847:

Typhus Fever and dysentery are rife in this district: there are daily victims; and the purport of the verdict of each inquest is death occasioned by the monopoly of breadstuffs allowed to the merchants by Lord John, and the advocacy of political economy by Sir Randolph Routh.

Many will argue that the Poor Law was not designed to cater for a disaster such as that of the Great Famine. However the determination of a government to restrict relief within the guidelines of that law and to make local people pay for local distress resulted in the deaths of many thousands of people. This parsimonious attitude was epitomised in their reference to the distress of 1846 as 'a temporary inconvenience'. Such a doctrinaire approach by those immersed in the teachings of political economy ensured that the minimum was done for the huge number forced to subsist on a disease-prone root in a county of absentee landlords.

This combination of political indifference, together with local ineptitude and greed, resulted in thousands of Leitrim people either dying or scattering to all corners of the globe and its consequences were effectively encapsulated in the conclusion of the House of Lords Select Committee thus:

What in more fortunate countries may produce danger, cannot fail to lead to absolute ruin in Ireland, where the difficulties of administering a Poor Law are so great and the consequences of failure so fatal.

## APPENDIX A FAMINE FOLKLORE

Most of the history written about the Great Famine is based either on contemporary government records, or letters emanating from those of stature within local communities. However, one source which is gaining recognition as being of importance is that of folk tradition.

In 1945, the Irish Folklore Commission sent collectors throughout the country to interview people whose relatives had lived through the famine - occasionally their parents, but more often their grand-parents. The fact that such tradition had been passed down through one or two generations led some 'serious' historians to dismiss it as being of dubious worth. They pointed out that 'selective memory' would have led to a biased account being passed on. Indeed in the pages which follow we will see evidence of what has been termed the 'othering' of victims i.e., those who contribute always relate how other people, not family members, were found starving or dead.

Even allowing for such discrepancies, these accounts offer a rare opportunity for the ordinary people to relate their experience of the famine. Unfortunately for Leitrim, the bulk of the evidence is skewed in that it relates to the Tullaghan area - but even here there is a compensation in that we are able to learn of the diet in this coastal area, which proved to be much more varied than that enjoyed further inland.

The accounts which follow have been divided into two main sections: the pre-famine era and the Bad Times, the phrase by which the famine was known locally. The names of the person or persons, together with their ages, where available, precede each contribution.

### THE PRE-FAMINE ERA

#### DIET

**Wm O'Dowd, Pat Martin McGowan and Liam O'Brian, Tullaghan. Michael McSharry, Mullogh, Dromahair.**

The main crops grown were potatoes, wheat and oats. Cabbage and turnips were also cultivated, though in smaller quantities. Potatoes were the mainstay of the diet with breakfast consisting of potatoes and griddled oats; while for dinner they had potatoes with raw onions and salt and pepper, with occasional additions of a boiled egg. All meals were served with large amounts of butter which was both cheap and plentiful. Once or twice a week there was a dinner of bacon and cabbage or turnip. Wednesdays and Fridays were days of abstinence. The use of meat was rare, being used only at special times such as Christmas, Easter, a wedding or the return of an emigrant. There was generally little demand for bull

calves at that time so they were killed when about three weeks old and their flesh used as food, being boiled along with potatoes. Other alternatives included fowl, which was generally roasted in summer and boiled in winter, or game, such as hares and rabbits. Champ - mashed up potatoes, egg and butter - was considered great feeding for children, especially when recovering from sickness.

A treat at Hallows Eve was Concannon, or bruitin. The mashed up potatoes were flavoured with sliced onions, blended with hot milk, pepper and salt and thoroughly pounded. This was then served hot on dishes alongside wells of butter. In winter, when milk was scarce, the milky juice of oatmeal called 'Bull's milk' was consumed with potatoes.

Along the coast a more varied diet was enjoyed. With much sea-fishing going on around Tullaghan, the people often consumed herring, mackerel, whiting, pollock, haddock, lobster and periwinkles. Dulse was widely eaten, both fresh and dried, and was regarded as a cleanser for the stomach. Likewise, crannie shells were boiled and their juices used as a worm killer in children and a blood purifier.

Slovie was an edible growth found on the high-water mark on sea rocks around Christmas. It consisted of dark brown strips which were like silk ribbons, 6' to 8' in length. These were scraped from the rocks with a knife and slowly cooked for three hours. They were eaten with onions and salt and pepper and were great for Lent.

## SWAPPING

**Phelim McGuire, 106, b. 1838.**

Swapping was very important to the people here. Neighbours, with surpluses of hay or potatoes, would swap with each other, balancing the superior quality of one by a greater quantity of the other, for example, ten cwt of turf for one cwt of hay. If two pipes of different value were swapped, the difference was made up by giving something else with the inferior article, for example, a knife, or pieces of tobacco.

Another important factor in the community was the sharing of work. A man would give another a day's labour at a set job such as building or roofing a house that had to be finished quickly. He would then be paid back at some time with similar work. This gave rise to the phrase, 'its on us' i.e., I am indebted to him; hence, 'he has a day on us in the bog, or at the haystack'. A man counted as good as a horse; therefore, if a man came with his horse and cart - carting hay for the day - the recipient had to give him two days' single labour i.e., without a horse. Likewise on fishing boats, in a team of five men, seven shares of a catch would be given - one for each of the men along with one each for the owners of the boat and the tackle.

Another social convention was that if somebody attended a funeral of your family's, you had to go to a funeral of his relations.

Goods bought in shops were paid for on credit, by labour. Wages were very small, a man getting 4d for working from sunrise to sunset and having to feed himself.

When digging potatoes, the diggers were allowed a 'cast' - as many of the large potatoes as they could eat. These were then roasted in fires they had lit in the fields for their pipes.

Landlords were able to call days of free labour when tenants had to do work of any kind which was required. This work was not in lieu of rent. They supplied the workers with one free meal - a dinner - of soup, boiled meat and potatoes. Peadar Clancy of Slievenakilla, relates a story his father told him of one such day. In the rush for dinner, the first man to the table took a slug out of the soup and burned himself, but pretended to the next man that the soup was cold and hardly worth drinking. When this fella grasped his bowl to gulp the soup down, he burned himself badly. In anger, he threw the bowl and its contents at the first fella, who returned the complement. A fight between the two ensued, which soon became general and resulted in broken delph, furniture and windows. This ended the free labour in Slievenakilla.

## THE BAD TIMES

### THE BLIGHT

**Anna M. Heslin, 71, Mohill**

The blight struck very suddenly in these parts. Whole fields of potatoes were left as black as your shoes in less than four hours. Some farmers cut down the affected stalks and a ridge of two or three adjoining and removed the cut stalks. Others lit fires to purify the air, but it seems to have been of little use as most of the potatoes melted and there was nothing left only rotten ones. Ann Whelan was going to milk cows an evening before blight struck. She passed a fine field of potatoes on the way and said she saw lumps of fire rolling on the ground. The next day all the stalks had been killed.

### RELIEF WORK

**James McGrath, 70, in 1907.**

I worked at the building of a new road and we used to get two feeds of stirabout in the day - one in the morning before starting and another in the evening after quitting. I used to bring some oatbread in my pocket, and that, along with the stirabout was my food for the day.

Women and men both worked on the roads, the women barrowing clay and stones for 1d per day; men got 2d. I often saw the women falling in the barrows, weak with hunger.

### **Biddy McGuire, 82, Tullaghan.**

My father worked on a stretch of road to Sligo for 4d per day. He had to feed himself and used to bring a can of porridge - 'Indian buck' - with him in the morning, and eat it during the day.

## **FOOD**

### **Thomas Flynn, 85, Carntulla, Ballinaglera.**

In the summers of '46 and '47 the people started bleeding cattle on the mountains where they were plentiful. They carried the blood in cans and boiled it for food.

In Dromod, the Shanleys of Johnstone's Bridge, Glooneagh, distributed Indian meal got from Cloonart. The meal was free, a gift from England or America, and the people took it and made stirabout.

In Annaduff, people cooked meal in large stoves or pots at the roadside and carried it home in 'porringers' and tins. People tried to eat anything to keep alive - 'chicken weed', dandelions, nettles dressed with gruel, grass, and 'moonogs' or berries gathered from heather and turf banks. Wild birds of different kinds were killed, as follows: a stick about 12' to 18' long and about 1' across, with each end bored and filled with lead to give extra weight, was thrown at a bird or a flock of birds. It was thrown with such accuracy that it seldom failed to bring down one or two.

No shop bread was used and the people ate oat griddle cakes. These were put in the middle of a table and served with butter and a noggin of milk. Butter was used to soften the oatcake as it was supposed to have been very severe on the insides. It was said that you could hear a man crunching oatcake a hundred yards away and see the dust flying out of his mouth.

## **DEATH**

### **Liam O'Brian, Tullaghan**

My father remembered the roll being called on the relief works one day and a man, a good worker, being absent. The priest went to his house and found him dying, lying alongside his dead wife and children. Before the priest left, the man died and the priest ordered the roof to be let in and the windows and doors built up. He then blessed it and marked it as a grave.

In Tullaghan, many died from disease brought on by bad and improper food. Some along the sea-front died from eating too much fish and their bodies turned

black afterwards. Coffins were scarce in Bornacoola and Annaduff. Corpses were bound in boards and tied with ropes.

### **Anna Heslin, Mohill**

Corpses were rolled up in mats and thrown on donkeys' backs and taken to be buried. One woman, Mrs Haritch, walked to Farnaught cemetery to die there.

Coffins with false bottoms were used around here. They were lowered into the grave and a lever was pulled to allow the body out. The coffin was then brought back. Corpses were also buried by the roadside.

### **Hugh Morris, 80, in 1901, Cloone**

I worked on the relief roads - you would be talking to a man one day and he would be dead the next.

### **James McGrath**

Several times every day, funerals used to pass the relief works. A couple of old people and children would be carrying the naked remains, wrapped in sacking on an old hand-barrow. The gaffer used to allow the squad of workers to carry the remains to the next squad, and so on as far as the workers went, but the old people had to finish the journey on their own.

## **STARVATION**

### **James McGrath**

A little woman was brought into our house from the dunghill where she had been found searching out and eating pieces of potato peel. You couldn't tell whether she was young or old as her face - which had lost all its natural colours - was wrinkled and puckered and covered with a white, downy hair.

### **Willie Feely, 70.**

My father saw a man staggering along the road one day about a hundred years ago. He fell on the street and at first my father thought he was drunk. He lifted him and found he had fainted from hunger. He brought him in and gave him warmed milk and water, mixed with a little of the juice of oatmeal. The man eventually came to and told how he had hardly eaten anything for more than a week. He said he would have been dead long ago, only for an odd turnip he pulled in fields along the road.

### **Biddy McGuire**

My mother said she often saw poor people going along the road eating the rotten potatoes teemed for pigs outside houses.

## **'GOMBEEN MEN'**

### **John Michael McGourty, 68, Tullynahaha.**

Much money was lent in the parish at rates of between 2s and 10s in the pound.

## **Thomas Flynn**

There were a few 'gombeen men' who charged the poor pound for pound, but Fr. Brian Keany, P. P. of Ballingalera, brought the interest down to 2/6 'under pain of absolution.' A high interest rate was obtained in the following way: A man would borrow £1 in spring on the promise of a firkin of butter to the 'gombeen man' in November. However, by that time a firkin would be worth £6. Fr. Keany also did his best to stop this abuse.

## **EMIGRATION AND DE-POPULATION**

### **James McGrath**

The passage to Britain by sea was cheap and many people availed of it; for example, Sligo to Glasgow 4/6; Derry to Glasgow 3/0; Dublin to Liverpool 2/1. People often walked fifty-two miles in the one day on their way to a port.

### **Wm O'Dowd**

I can count twenty houses from Tullaghan chapel, and the site of another thirty-seven which stood seventy to seventy-five years ago. Around 1840 there were more than eighty inhabited houses on a two-mile stretch of road from Tullaghan to Sligo. There were about six or ten in each family, often twelve or fourteen. The old school contained about eighty children, now there are about forty-seven.

### **Liam O'Brian**

Moneyduff school in Dromahair has about thirty-five pupils - in the 1850s/60s there were on average between eighty and a hundred.

### **Michael McSharry**

In the last sixty years homes have declined by a third in the lowlands and a half in the mountains.

## **LANDLORDS**

### **Wm O'Dowd and Pat Martin McGowan**

As a rule, dogs were not allowed to be kept by the people. The landlord kept a pack of beagles which he billeted on the tenants, one to each. The dogs had to be looked after and kept in fine condition, otherwise a tenant could be evicted.

The local landlord was Dickson, he died about fifty years ago. He had two houses - a big house in Tawley, of which not a stone remains, and a summer residence in the village, called Dickson's Lawn. After he died, his land was divided between the tenants.

### **James McGrath**

The landlords were not a bad lot in these parts, though as a rule they were fairly exact and had to be paid the rent in money or kind. The agents were the

mischievous makers - always out to make the most of every situation to feather their own nests.

### **Michael Lorgan**

My father told me about the eviction of an old woman - the widow McNulty - from Upper Wardhouse, about one hundred years ago. The landlord's men went around the area the evening before, warning the people not to appear out and to blind their windows - which in those days were only about 6' to 8' square - from then until ten o'clock the following morning. Anyone who disobeyed would themselves be evicted. An old woman, who had no windows in her cabin, but a small peephole in the wall, saw the landlord's men knocking down the widow's cabin and destroying her little field of grain crops.

She had no home for herself and her two children, so the neighbours got together and put up a little one-roomed structure for them on the side of the road. It was built in one day and made of stone, timber and clay.

### **Anna Heslin**

The local landlord - Lloyd of Croghan - visited the area to witness the condition of the people. They scattered rotten potatoes about so that he might see them. He told them to gather them up as they would make good bread for children.

## **PERSONALITIES**

### **Biddy McGuire**

Fr. Sheridan was a great and generous friend of the poor. When a tenant was being pushed for the rent and in danger of eviction, he went to see the landlord and usually succeeded in gaining an extension of time until the tenant was able to pay. He was made P.P. and died about forty-six years ago. Fr. McGuire D.D. in Manorhamilton was a very charitable man. He used to call on the poor of the parish and relieve them out of his own slender means.

The clergy backed up the people in their demands for fair rents and generally acted as their councillors and advisers until the split came in Parnell's time and then they didn't take sides here.

### **Thomas Flynn**

The P.P. of Ballinaglera, Rev. Brian Keany, who built Ballinaglera church in 1841-2, gave relief to the people. He sent a man and horse with seed oats to sow the fields which would have lain waste. He also gave some seed potatoes to people.

### **Anna Heslin**

People were sent from Mohill workhouse to Australia by free passage. The journey took eleven months and the conditions were very bad. One of the

Gortletteragh priests, Fr. McGivney, complained bitterly of the treatment of the emigrants and tried to get their conditions improved.



*Figure 11: Contemporary photograph of Famine Pot.*

**APPENDIX B**  
**SUMS DUE TO CREDITORS OF THE CARRICK UNION UP TO**  
**MARCH 25, 1844**

<u>No</u>	<u>Name of Creditor</u>	<u>Description of Article</u>	<u>Supplied Amount</u>		
			£	s	d
1	Thomas H. Williams	Bed-ticks and bolster-ticks	26	16	5
2	C. Neil and Sons	Blankets	184	1	6
3	Edward Costello	Oatmeal, potatoes and sweetmilk	72	12	4
4	Patrick Cosgrove	Clothing, sheets and coverlets	353	3	9
5	Baleous Brothers	Medicines	63	15	2
6	P. J. Brennan	Printing and stationery	40	11	11 1/2
7	John Byrne	Butcher's meat	11	18	5
8	James Murray	Turf and straw	62	1	6
9	Michael Lee	Coals	113	14	6
10	Robert Jones	Bread and straw	31	11	10 1/2
11	James Reynolds	Buttermilk and turf	103	4	0
12	Patrick Smyth	Clothing materials, groceries etc	41	5	6 1/2
13	Charles Lidley	Clothing materials, groceries etc	8	8	6
14	John Smyth	Bread	26	18	4 1/2
15	George Church	Groceries, soap, candles etc	23	14	8 3/4
16	R. W. Bourns	Potatoes, oatmeal and sweetmilk	896	15	4 1/4
17	James Reynolds	Supplying workhouse with water	88	9	2
18	John Bromell	Advertisements in local paper	7	7	6
19	Charles M. St George	Rent on workhouse site due Nov, '43	21	2	8
20	John Bohan	Making boundary ditch	16	12	6
21	Officers and Porter	Salaries	216	17	9 3/4
22	Exchequer Commissioners	Instalment of workhouse loan due July 1, 1843	420	0	0
23		Sundry small items	10	0	0
		Amount due for vaccination	33	5	0
		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>£2,374</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6 3/4</b>

## APPENDIX C

### BALLINAMORE RELIEF COMMITTEE THE ACCOUNTS OF THE BALLINAMORE RELIEF COMMITTEE ENDING AUGUST 15, 1846

#### Debits

Local subscriptions	£203	12	6
Government subscriptions	£171	0	0
Amount realised by Sale of Indian Meal, etc	£347	17	4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>£722</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>

#### Credits

By 27 tons of Indian Corn Meal at average rate of £10 15 1 per ton	£290	7	3
By 23 tons of oatmeal at average rate of £14 13 4 per ton	£337	6	0
Loss by selling under cost price as sanctioned in the past season	£45	10	2
Gratuitous relief permitted in the past season to persons wholly destitute for whom there was not room in the Poor House of the Union	£4	17	4
Amount paid for labour, etc, on works of local utility	£15	0	0
Transport of meal, etc	£2	0	0
Stationery, printing, advertising, postage	£10	17	4
Salary of Secretary	£6	0	0
Balance remaining on hand	£10	3	1
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>£722</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>

**APPENDIX D**  
**RELIEF WORK IN LEITRIM**  
**BARONY OF CARRIGALLEN**

<b>DATE</b>	<b>WORK</b>	<b>COST</b>
13. 01.47	Cutting a hill on the road from Newtowngore to Carrigallen	£60
26. 01.47	Repair of roads in townlands of Lavareen, Derrindrehid, Aghalough and Keeldrabeg	£100
"	Replacement of old road from Corraneary to Lugganammer	£50
"	Replacement of old road in Bundarragh and Lugganammer	£50
"	To improve the road in Drumerkeane and Aghavas	£100
"	To continue the road from Fenagh to Annagh	£212
"	To drain 50 acres in the townland of Clogher, the property of Peter David Latouche	£240
"	To drain 30 acres in the townland of Aughadockin, the property of David Latouche	£160
"	To drain 30 acres, in the townland of Curraghnawall, the property of Peter David Latouche	£150
"	To drain 30 acres in the townland of Lisroughty, the property of Lord John Beresford	£250
"	To drain 15 acres in the townland of Aughatawny, the property of Alexander Percy	£56
"	To drain 26 acres in the townland of Oughteragh, the property of Acheson O'Brien	£150
"	To drain 40 acres in the townland of Garadice Boeshil, the property of William Percy	£256
"	To drain 30 acres in the townland of Tomloskan, the property of Peter David Latouche	£150
"	To drain 30 acres in the townland of Drumkeen, the property of Michael Jones	£150
28.01.47	To drain 33 acres in the townland of Boggaun, the property of Michael Jones	£189
"	To drain 46 acres in the townland of Keelrin, the property of the Earl of Leitrim	£300
"	To drain 11 acres in the townland of Woodford, the property of Robt. J. Gore	£60
"	To drain 18 acres in the townland of Corglass, the property of Mrs Catherine Rowley	£100
"	To drain 11 acres in the townland of Corcople Clooncoose, the property of John Brown and John Unsworth	£60

DATE	WORK	COST
28.01.47	To drain 9 acres in the townland of Aghavilla, the property of David Jackson	£50
"	To drain 4 acres in the townland of Aghavilla, the property of Acheson O'Brien	£20
"	To drain 11 acres in the townland of Longfield, the property of Richard Nash	£65
"	To drain 10 acres in the townland of Kilnamarve, the property of William A. O'Brien	£60
"	To drain 25 acres in the townland of Killygar, the property of John Galley	£157.16.5
"	To drain 15 acres in the townland of Mullaghboy, the property of Dr. John Keim	£100
"	To drain 30 acres in the townland of Gortachoosh Killameen, the property of Dr John Brown and John Unsworth	£150
"	To drain 30 acres in the townland of Gubs and Doochorran, the property of Dr. Robert Collins	£200
"	To drain 17 acres in the townland of Mullaghmore, the property of Mr. Godley	£103.19.4
"	To drain 100 acres in the townland of Aghawillin Beaghbeg, the property of John Latouche	£500
"	To drain 4 acres in the townland of Killahurk, the property of Revd. Patrick McGovern	£20
"	To drain 6 acres in the townland of Killahurk, the property of James Kiernan	£25
"	To drain 3 acres in the townland of Killahurk, the property of Michael Kiernan	£15
"	To drain 10 acres in the townland of Mullandarragh, the property of James, William and Thomas Rourke	£60
"	To drain 15 acres in the townland of Cornaferst Bredagh, the property of Captain Robert Story	£80
"	To drain 31 acres in the townland of Calloughs, the property of Ormsby Gore	£193
"	To drain 10 acres in the townland of Aughavore, the property of Richard O'Brien	£50
"	To drain 20 acres in the townland of Clooncorick, the property of Pierce Simpson	£100
13.02.47	To make a road from Ballinamore to Ballinaglera between Gubnaveagh and Tullywana	£2500
29.03.47	To improve the road from Ballinamore to Belturbet and Killeshandra	£2500

<b>DATE</b>	<b>WORK</b>	<b>COST</b>
08.04.47	To make a new road from Ballinamore to Swanlinbar	£250
02.06.47	To drain 34 acres in the townlands of Cornacreegh and Tully, the property of Mrs Catherine Jones	£250
23.06.47	To complete the road through the townlands of Leeverew Deernacbroly	£200

### **BARONY OF DROMAHAIR**

<b>DATE</b>	<b>WORK</b>	<b>COST</b>
06.01.47	To make a new road from Bardaldeighu Road at Lisacoghil to the main road at Corduff	£800
"	To make 242 perches of drains from the river Shannon at Gorteen	£100
12.01.47	To make a new road from Skenada Bridge to Enniskillen between the bridge and the junction of the Enniskillen Road	£1800
13.01.47	To finish and complete the new road from Dromod Bridge to Drumkeeran	£300
"	To finish and complete the new road from Quay at Lough Allen to Drumkeeran	£150
"	To finish and complete the new road from Thomas McDermott's house at Barrs to Edward McManus' house at Loughros	£1250
"	To finish and complete the road from Pat Horans' to the mearing of the barony of Dromahair	£200
"	To finish and complete 300 perches of new road from Dowra Road to Cora Bay and erect a boat quay	£245
"	To finish and complete 900 perches of new road from Killadiskert to Aughrim	£1700
"	To finish and complete 850 perches of new road, 16 feet wide, from Allygowlinn to Bargowla	£1100
"	To finish and complete a new road from Carrick-on-Shannon to Manorhamilton Road at Drumkeeran	£947
"	To finish and complete a new road from Drumkeeran to Ballyshannon	£280
"	To finish and complete a new road from the road leading from Dromahair to the Church of Killarga	£105
"	To finish and complete a new road from Manorhamilton to Drumkeeran	£850
"	To finish and complete the new road on the lands of Lughmaskeenán, Mullaghmore and Cornamarve	£300

DATE	WORK	COST
13.01.47	To finish and complete 180 perches of new road from Mr. Montgomery's road at Mullaghmore to meet the Manorhamilton Road at Killarga	£100
"	To finish and complete the road from the new line road at Killarga to the grave yard	£40
"	To finish and complete the road from Fawn Bridge to the Sligo Road at Shriff	£450
"	To finish and complete the new road at Tawnylea	£217
"	To finish and complete the new road at Lavagh	£60
13.01.47	To complete the new line of road at Socks	£500
"	To complete the new road at Greaghnafarna	£200
"	To finish and complete 220 perches of road from Ballinabreagh to the graveyard at Tawley	£45
"	To improve the road from Drumkeeran to Aughrim	£900
27.01.47	To make a new road from Belhavel to Ballyfarne between Belhavel and Tullynascreen	£2500
"	To make a new road from Manorhamilton to Dromahair by Cornastauk and Dromahair	£2000
22.04.47	To make a new road from the chapel at Ballinaglera to Ballinamore between the bounds of the barony and Mennagh in Drumlease	£1800
"	To complete a road from Drumkeeran to Ballyfarne	£400
"	To complete a road from Killea to Blacklion	£300
"	To complete a road from Miletown to Mallaun	£100
"	To complete a road from Ballinaglera to Fahy graveyard	£165
"	To complete a road from Mullaglinne to Killarga	£260
"	To complete a road to Killarga graveyard	£30
23.04.47	To make a new road from Dromahair to the county boundary of Sligo at Carrickfad	£740
"	To make 800 perches of new road from Fivepoundland to Mulcaun near Glencar	£500

### BARONY OF LEITRIM

DATE	WORK	COST
12.02.47	To make a new line of road from Ballinamore to Drumshanbo	£1300
"	To improve the road from Kilclare to Drumshanbo	£510
"	To repair the old road from Leitrim to Drumshanbo	£150
22.02.47	To make a new road from Drumshanbo to Mohill	£300
05.03.47	To finish and complete the road from Drumsna to Drumshanbo between Major Kepple's road and Kilclare	£375

DATE	WORK	COST
05.03.47	To finish and complete the improvement of the post road from Carrick-on-Shannon and the crossroads at Drumaleague	£150
"	To carry out improvement of road from Drumshanbo to Keshcarrigan between the Drumshanbo and Kiltubrid roads	£340
"	To finish and complete a road from Carrick-on-Shannon to Drumshanbo between Leitrim Bridge and Drumshanbo	£420
"	To complete repairs of road between the corner of Priests' Lane in Carrick-on-Shannon and the Hartley Road	£45
"	To finish and complete widening and deepening the river from Kilmoden Lake to Lake at Carrickaveril	£80
"	To finish and complete a road from Drumcree to Laish	£120
"	To finish and complete a road from Drumshanbo to Lavaur Mill	£60
"	To finish and complete a new road from Drumgownagh Bridge by Attimanus to crossroads at Kilnagross	£600
"	To finish and complete a new road from Major Kepple's at Lislea to road at Lismoyle	£160
"	To finish and complete a new road from Keeloge to road at Annaghnaddeo	£160
"	To finish and complete a new road from Colonel Kepple's Road at Annaghradican to the road at Gowel Chapel	£160
"	To finish and complete repairs of the road from Drumsna National Schoolhouse to Headford	£80
"	To finish and complete a road from Coolathoona Road to Mr Geost's Road	£185
"	To finish and complete a new road from Newbrook to Leitrim	£275
"	To finish and complete scanning the river from Greagh Bridge to the bridge at Owen McCann's	£60
25.03.47	To finish and complete a new road from Fenagh to Cloone through Knockmullen, Drumhaskin, Ardagh and Cornajostra	£320
"	To finish and complete a new road from Gowly to Drumparsons	£185
"	To finish and complete the road from Carrick to the Mail Coach Road at Annaduff	£205
"	To finish and complete a road from Aghameeny to Ballynamony	£50

DATE	WORK	COST
25.03.47	To finish and complete a new road from Carrick-on-Shannon to Ballinamore between McKeon's house in Drumleague and the barony boundary of Carrigallen	£680
14.04.47	To complete the road from Kilnagross to Annaghamaddoe	£100

### BARONY OF MOHILL

DATE	WORK	COST
04.01.47	To make a new road from Gort to Drumdoo	£1150
"	To carry out the road from Drumcollagan to Eslin Bridge	£350
"	To make a new road from Drumshanbo to the Aghamore Road	£600
"	To make a road from the road leading from the road in Forcussa to the Cloontighe main road	£450
"	To improve the road from Mohill to Ballinamore	£700
"	To make a new road from Cullinadrumin to join the Cloone Road	£250
"	To repair 605 perches of road from Keshcarrigan to Drumsna	£231
11.01.47	To complete the road from Mohill to Longford between the road at Tulcon and the junction at Bellageehar	£1325
"	To complete the road from Drumshanbo to the Aghamore Road by Anskert	£575
"	To complete the road from Curraun to the Keshcarrigan Road	£600
"	To complete the road from the main road in Fearglass to Breanross	£600
"	To complete the road from Fenagh to Annagh	£550
"	To complete the road from Drumsna to Drumlish between James Moran's of Featheroe and Curragowey	£230
"	To complete the road between Cloonboniagh Crossroads and Corrascoffy Bridge	£23
"	To complete the road leading to Fearglass	£120
"	To complete the road between Mr C. Farrel's house in Cloonmorris and the county Longford boundary	£50
"	To complete the road leading through Cloonbo and Mucklougher leading from Drumsna to Mohill	£360
"	To complete the road from Esker to the crossroads at Michael Mitchel's of Drumcurving	£70

DATE	WORK	COST
11.01.47	To complete the road between Gortletteragh and the burying ground in Farnaght	£75
"	To complete the road from Aghamore to Derrycaw	£230
"	To complete the road from Wm. McLoughlin's to the crossroads at Pat O'Connor's	£20
20.01.47	To repair 451 perches of road between the road newly made from Gortletteragh Chapel to Drumhirk River at Cloone	£459
05.02.47	To make a footpath in the town of Mohill	£150
25.03.47	To finish and complete a new road from Cashel to Rooskynamona by Liscloonadea	£1030
"	To continue the road from Loughserill through Cloonfinnan	£100
"	To continue the road from Mount Ida to Kiltyclogher police barracks	£500
"	To complete the new road from Stuck to Corrabeach	£1900
"	To complete a new road from Mohill Pound to the Cloone new road	£110
"	To finish and complete cutting of the hill of Cloontumpher and repair and widen the road between Johnston's Bridge and the Co. Longford border	£60
"	To finish and complete repairs of 240 perches of road from Drumgowla to Gortnalougher	£60
"	To finish and complete the new road from Mullynadrumman through Mullaghbrack to join the Cloone Road in Gortnarah	£150
"	To finish and complete the widening and sinking of 242 perches of drains from the River Shannon at Gortinee to the barony of Mullagh	£150
"	To finish and complete the repairs of the road from Annaghderg Mill through Drumhirk to the old road from Fenagh to Cloone	£120
"	To finish and complete the widening and repairs of the road at Ardava through Cattan to the road leading to Fearglass	£150
"	To finish and complete the road from Roosky to Mohill	£400
"	To finish and complete 50 perches of new road in the townland of Liscloonadea between Dr. Kelly's house and the present road	£70
13.04.47	To complete the continuation of road from Loughorill through Cloonfinnan Clooncolry to Corrascoffy Bridge	£650

DATE	WORK	COST
13.04.47	To complete improvements of road from Drumsna to Dromod between Aghamore and Mount Shannon	£650
“	To complete widening and repairing of road from the road at Ardva through Cattan to the road leading to Fearglass to pass through Cattan to the road at Cornageeha	£100

### BARONY OF ROSSCLOGHER

DATE	WORK	COST
14.01.47	To improve the road in Glencar between the junction of the new line in Diffreen and the mearing of Formoyle	£290
“	To make a new line of road from Loughmuirran to the mearing of Co. Sligo at the townland of Aghamore	£1500
“	To make 800 perches of new road through Glenariff, Aghnahaha and terminating at the Mount Prospect Road	£1000
26.01.47	To finish and complete a new road from Ballyshannon to Sligo	£1130
“	To finish and complete the post road in Gortnagrogerny and Sligo	£100
“	To finish and complete a new post road in Diffreen	£50
“	To complete the improvement of a road from Lattone to Rossinver	£734
“	To complete the road from Manorhamilton to Kinlough to avoid Castlehill	£2212
“	To complete a new road in Glencar	£100
“	To complete the road from Kinlough to Rossinver	£1120
“	To complete the road from Killea quarry to Kiltyclogher	£700
“	To finish widening the road from Sraduffy to Laghty	£200
“	To complete the improvements between Jonefillia and Kiltyclogher	£150
“	To complete the new road from Fanghary to Meenaphuill	£150
“	To complete 150 perches from Garrison in Arnamore to old road at Garrison	£250
“	To complete 400 perches from Mulkaun through Corglass to the new chapel at Gortnagarn	£355
“	To complete 90 perches from Aghanlish to join the road at Conwal	£130

DATE	WORK	COST
26.01.47	To complete 20 perches of road from Diffreen to Kilmore	£18
"	To widen and fence the road at Hugh McFarland's of Derrynogul	£55
"	To complete 154 perches of road from Garrison to Kiltyclogher and Kilcoo	£272
"	To complete 340 perches of road in Derryherk and Boyannagh	£400
"	To complete the old road from Tawley to Tullaghan through Derrinloughan	£410
"	To complete 600 perches of road from Manorhamilton to Garrison	£150
"	To complete 540 perches between Sligo and Muckrum	£150
"	To complete 25 perches from Rossinver Road to the grave yard	£30
"	To complete the improvement on the road from Tullaghan to Mullanaleck bridge	£1050
"	To finish cutting hills from Blair's Bridge to Kiltyclogher	£500
"	To complete the new road to connect with the old one now working in Fermanagh	£131
"	To complete the road from Castle Wall Road to Killea	£150
27.01.47	To make a new road from Glenariff to Rossinver	£450
"	To make 1040 perches of new road and other improvements to avoid hills on the road from Lattone to Blair's Bridge	£2140
"	To make a new road from Brackary-more to Cullionboy through Mullanyduffy and Liscally	£1950
08.04.47	To complete the road from Garrison to Ballyshannon	£600
09.04.47	To carry out the road from Kinlough to the mearing of Co. Sligo between Kinlough and Cloonty	£800
"	To carry out the road from Francis Stuart's house in Diffreen to Kilmore burying place	£36
22.04.47	To complete a road from Kinlough to the mearing of Sligo	£100
"	To complete the cutting of a hill in Derringal	£50
"	To complete 240 perches of new road between the mearing of counties Leitrim and Donegal	£106
"	To complete 540 perches of new road from Muckrum to Kinlough	£545
"	To complete the new road through Glenariff	£500
"	To complete 25 perches of road from Rossinver Road to grave yard	£20

DATE	WORK	COST
23.04.47	To complete 310 perches of new wall from Manorhamilton to the sea	£250
“	To complete new road from Sligo Road to Kinlough	£540
“	To complete 252 perches of road from Carry to Mr. Folliott's road	£189
“	To complete the road from Kinlough to the mearing of Co. Sligo	£500
13.05.47	To make a new road from Tawnyunshinagh school-house to Manorhamilton	£400
“	To clear and open the river at Sracreeghan	£100
“	To clear Glenade river	£100
“	To make 25 perches of road from Rossinver Road to grave yard	£15
“	To make a new road from Hugh Clancey's house in the townland of Tomrud to the old road at Killea	£850
“	To make 300 perches of road from Castlemoyle Road to Killea Road	£600
“	To complete the improvement of the road between Torrelfield and Kiltyclogher	£1230
“	To complete road between Shasmore and the road from Manorhamilton to Garrison	£150
“	To carry out the new road to connect the old road with the post road in Diffreen	£90
“	To carry out the road from Sraduffly to Loughros	£280
“	To carry out the road from Edward Kearney's land in Faughry to widow Crawford's in Mullpark	£180
“	To carry out the road from the new road at Garrison in Carrafour to the old road at Garrison in Skreeny	£75
“	To carry out the repairs and making of 154 perches of road to connect with the road granted in Co. Fermanagh from Garrison to Kiltyclogher	£122
“	To carry out the gravelling and fencing of 252 perches between the mail coach-road at Corby and Mr Elliott's road at Arvagh	£300
“	To carry out the making of 300 perches of road to connect a road making in Fermanagh in Tullintloy and Aughnacarry	£50

**APPENDIX E**  
**PETITION OF INHABITANTS OF MOHILL**

Among the Distress Papers and Relief Commission Papers we often find petitions of individuals or groups of people to the Lord Lieutenant. The purpose of such appeals was to highlight the particular suffering of the petitioner and to appeal to his Lordship for assistance. The following petition of inhabitants in the Mohill area, dated January 9, 1847, is particularly interesting as it lists the individuals involved, together with their present condition, by townland. The comments in the list have been copied verbatim from the original document.

Several families have applied to get into the workhouse but they were refused, on the plea that they are able to work - but they are starving and have no work. Hence they are induced to apply to your Excellency in their tossed about, famishing situation, hoping you, in your goodness, would look to them and order them employment from which they and their distressed families shall pray able to work. They are living on cabbages and turnips; and their little available means being now exhausted, they have no alternative but robbery or death. They most sincerely abhor crime, but the foregoing wants of their families are driving them to distraction. They have repeatedly applied to the local authorities, but without avail.

**DRUMGARN**

<b>NAME</b>	<b>NO. IN FAMILY</b>	<b>NO. ABLE TO WORK</b>	<b>OBSERVATIONS</b>
Michael Flynn	11	2	Michael and Patrick
Matthew Flynn	-	A poor servant boy	Out of place
Widow Alice Flynn	6	2	William and James
Michael Keating	6	2	Andrew and Michael
James Murphy	6	2	Peter and John
Thomas Castles	5	2	Himself and little son
Nicholas Moran	A poor widow's son and her only support		

**LISDRUMAGIRL**

<b>NAME</b>	<b>NO. IN FAMILY</b>	<b>NO. ABLE TO WORK</b>	<b>OBSERVATIONS</b>
Peter Reynolds	5	Orphans	
Dan Reynolds	5	Orphans	Himself
Michael Casey	6	-	Himself
James Casey	-	-	Himself
Andrew Casey	-	-	Himself
John Casey	2	-	Himself
Francis Hoy	7	-	Himself
John Doherty	3	-	Himself
John McNulty	5	-	Himself
Anthony McNulty	4	-	Himself
John McAuren	6	-	Himself
Michael McNulty	3	-	Himself

These poor people all have no land to cultivate for themselves.

**CORNAGEEHA**

<b>NAME</b>	<b>NO. IN FAMILY</b>	<b>NO. ABLE TO WORK</b>	<b>OBSERVATIONS</b>
Michael Woods	4	1	Himself
Patrick Cronouge	5	1	Himself
Pat Gilroy	4	1	Himself
Michael McAuran	6	1	Himself
Charles Woods	3	1	Himself
James Marshall	8	a widow's son and only himself	

**MOHERNAMEILA**

<b>NAME</b>	<b>NO. IN FAMILY</b>	<b>NO. ABLE TO WORK</b>	<b>OBSERVATIONS</b>
Patrick Wynne	5	A widow's son and only himself	
Matthew Wynne	5	1	Himself
Thomas Winters	4	-	An orphan
Pat Winters	3	1	Himself
James Wynne	9	2	Pat and Himself
Peter Wynne	4	1	Himself

**BONNYMORE**

<b>NAME</b>	<b>NO. IN FAMILY</b>	<b>NO. ABLE TO WORK</b>	<b>OBSERVATIONS</b>
Widow Mary Gilroy	3	1	Her son John

**DRUMOWLA**

<b>NAME</b>	<b>NO. IN FAMILY</b>	<b>NO. ABLE TO WORK</b>	<b>OBSERVATIONS</b>
Joseph York	7	1	Only himself
Andrew Shanley	3	2	Francis and himself
Thomas Low	An orphan	-	-
James Shanley	An orphan	-	-

**APPENDIX F**  
**EMIGRATION TO AMERICA/CANADA**

The following list has been drawn up by parish and includes the name of the immigrant, the date of their arrival, the townland, if specified, from which they originated, and the area in which they were last reported to have been, in America - if no area is specified, this is indicated by N/S. The list has not been arranged in chronological order so that the reader can establish when relatives followed previous emigrants out to America or Canada.

**AREA:**

**ANNADUFF**

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>	<u>Townland/Parish</u>	<u>Area in U.S.</u>
James Conboy	1842	N/S	Upper Canada
John Conboy	1848	N/S	Pa
Mary Hannan	1849	N/S	New Orleans
William Hannan	1849	N/S	New Orleans
James Hannan	1849	N/S	New Orleans
Mary Ann Hannan	1849	N/S	New Orleans
John Hannan	1850	N/S	MS
Michael Kelly	1842	N/S	NJ
Hugh Kelly	1842	N/S	NY
Mary Moloney (nee Kelly)	1850	N/S	Boston Ms

**BALLINAMORE**

James McAterney	1842	Boggaun	Boston
Patrick Flynn	1848	N/S	Blackstone
Michael Flynn	1848	N/S	Worsc Co
Mary Harvey	1849	Waugh	St. John NB
Isabella Harvey	1849	Waugh	St John NB
Michael Harvey	1850	Waugh	Mass
Patrick Reynolds	1847	N/S	St Louis MO
Francis Reynolds	1852	N/S	Boston
James Cox	1852	Lismakeegan	Baltimore
Timothy Cox	1852	Lismakeegan	Indiana
Michael Leonard	1853	Mayo	N/S
Patrick Leonard	1853	Mayo	Miss
Peter Callaghan	1853	N/S	N/S
Michael Callaghan	1853	N/S	Lowell Ms

**CARRICK-ON-SHANNON**

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>	<u>Townland/Parish</u>	<u>Area in U.S.</u>
Catherine Kelly (nee Conlon)	1849	Killucan	New Orleans
Patrick Conlon	1850	Killucan	Vermont
Edward Lavin	1845	N/S	NY
Margaret Lavin & child	1850	N/S	Lowell Ms
Owen Byrne	1850	N/S	NY
Anne Byrne	1850	N/S	NY
Thomas Handley	1847	Lactugh	Boston Ms
Maria Handley	1852	Lactugh	Lowell Ms
Hugh Ryan	1846	N/S	N/S
Anne Lane (nee Ryan)	1846	N/S	Cincinnati

**CARRIGALLEN**

Michael Nesden	1835	N/S	Pa
Mary Nisdell	1835	N/S	Boston
Matthew McGovern	1836	N/S	Ohio
James McGovern	1845	Tully	Ms
Matthew Flood	1844	Tully	New Haven
Bernard Flood	1846	Tully	Lowell Ms
Hugh Ford	1847	N/S	Providence RI
Andrew Hutchinson	1847	N/S	Providence RI
Philip Crosson	1848	N/S	Ct
Hugh Burke	1841	N/S	N/S
Catherine Cuffe	1848	Drumloona	NY
William Cuffe	1850	Drumloona	Ms
Michael Dowlan	1849	N/S	Boston
James Dowlan	1849	N/S	Boston
Ellen Hand	1850	N/S	NY
John Calary	1841	N/S	Boston
Edward Burke	1850	N/S	Baltimore MD

**CLOONE**

John Tague	1842	N/S	NY
Catherine Tague	1842	N/S	Providence RI
Ann McKoan	1843	N/S	Springfield Ms
Mary McKoan	1843	N/S	Springfield Ms
Bridget McKoan	1843	N/S	Providence RI
Bridget Mulvey	1842	N/S	Quebec

**CLOONE Cont'd**

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>	<u>Townland/Parish</u>	<u>Area in U.S.</u>
Michael Mulvey	1845	N/S	RI
Con O'Rourke	1844	Tuma	Pennsylvania
Danie O'Rourke	1845	Tuma	Lowell Ms
Peter McKenna	1847	Cankeel	Virginia
Bridget McKenna	1847	Cankeel	NY
Francis West	1847	N/S	NY
Catherine West & 2 sons & 4 daughters	1847	N/S	NY
Bridget McGuire	1850	Cankeel	New Orleans
Ann Byron	1850	Cankeel	New Orleans
Catherine McGuire	1851	Cankeel	Providence RI
Bridget Farrell	1851	N/S	N/S
Catherine Prior	1846	N/S	Quebec
Andrew Prior	1846	N/S	Quebec
Patrick Farrell	1849	N/S	Virginia
Edward Farrell	1851	N/S	Lowell Ms
Ann Conly	1851	N/S	NY
Mary Conly	1852	N/S	Lowell Ms
Michael Flynn	1848	Kileneha	NY
Alice Flynn	1852	Kileneha	Va
Ann Flynn	1852	Kileneha	Va

**DROMAHAIR**

John McGarry	1851	Drumlease	N/S
Bridget McGarry	1851	Drumlease	NY
John Cannon	1849	N/S	NY
James Cannon	1851	N/S	Boston Ms
Anne Cannon	1851	N/S	Boston Ms
John Gallagher	1851	Kilkenumery	NY
Ann Gallagher	1852	Killenumery	Indiana
Michael McGrath	1849	Drumlease	Ohio
Denis McGrath	1850	Drumlease	Pennsylvania

**DRUMREILLY**

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>	<u>Townland/Parish</u>	<u>Area in U.S.</u>
Patrick McCarton	1847	N/S	Montreal
Edward McCarton	1847	N/S	Montreal
Ann McCarton	1848	N/S	Providence RI
John McFarland	1840	N/S	NY
Philip McFarland	1849	N/S	Boston
John McFarland	1849	N/S	Boston
Patrick Prior	1849	Drumbrick	NY
Thomas Prior	1849	Drumbrick	NY
Catherine Prior	1849	Drumbrick	NY
Betsy Prior	1849	Drumbrick	NY
Ann Prior	1850	Drumbrick	Ohio
Felix McPharlan	1850	Annagh	Illinois
Margaret McPharlan	1850	Kilmore	Providence RI
Francis Baxter	1851	Kilmore	Ms
Bridget O'Loughlin	1845	N/S	NY
Ann O'Loughlin	1845	N/S	NY
James O'Loughlin	1852	N/S	Canada East
Bridget Keleher	1847	N/S	N/S
Michael Kelder	1852	N/S	Lowell Ms
Margaret McKiernan	1846	Ordra	N/S
John McGovern	1852	N/S	Providence RI
James McGovern	1852	N/S	Providence RI
Michael Tiernan	1849	N/S	St Louis
James Tiernan	1852	N/S	Ohio
Lackey Flinn	1848	Drummeske	N/S
Betty Farell (nee Flinn)	1848	Drumneske	N/S
Alice Flinn	1852	Drumneske	Lowell Vt
John Rourke	1849	Drumlea	NY
Terry Moran	1847	Gubs	NY
Mary Moran	1850	Gubs	Providence RI

**DRUMSHANBO**

Saunders Byrne	N/S	N/S	New Orleans
Rose Byrne & Sister and Brother in Law	1844	N/S	Worcester Mg
Cecilia McGurty	1847	Derrintiguero	Quebec
Margaret McGurty	1847	Derrintiguero	Quebec
Owen McGurty	1848	Derrintiguero	NY

**DRUMSHANBO Cont'd**

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>	<u>Townland/Parish</u>	<u>Area in U.S.</u>
Owen Foley	1833	Aughagrano	Pennsylvania
Honor Foley	1849	Aughagrano	Wisconsin
Ann Rourke	1849	N/S	Boston
Bridget Rourke	1849	N/S	Boston
Mary Foley	1849	N/S	Boston
Mary Foley	1849	N/S	Boston
Patrick O'Brien	1843	N/S	Newark
John Lavin	1851	N/S	Boston
Bridget Lavin	1853	N/S	Lowell Ms
Winny McManus	1852	N/S	NY
Mary Ann McManus	1853	N/S	Petersburg Va
Peter Gray	1848	N/S	NY
May Gray	1848	N/S	NY
Mary Hunt (nee Gray)	1853	N/S	Louisville Ky
Patrick Quinn	1848	Moucrira	NY
Bryan Keleher	1849	N/S	Pittsburgh
James Keleher	1853	N/S	Lowell Ms
May Quinn	1853	Cornacamphry	N/S
Catherine Gilmartin	1853	Cornacamphry	N/S
Patrick Quinn	1853	Cornacamphry	Middlesex Ms
Thomas McGee	1853	N/S	Marlboro Ms
Michael Scott & Family	1852	Murhan	Upper Canada
Thomas Scott	1852	Murhan	NY

**FENAGH**

Francis McLaughlin	1818	Drumcarra	Baltimore Md
Charley McLaughlin	1818	Drumcarra	Baltimore Md
Honara McLaughlin	1848	Drumcarra	Lowell Ms
Bernard McLaughlin	1848	Drumcarra	Lowell Ms
Thomas Fanning	1849	N/S	NY
Mary Fanning	1849	N/S	NY
Bernard Whelan	1832	N/S	Cincinnati
Anne Whelan	1832	N/S	Cincinnati
Bridget Whelan	1832	N/S	Cincinnati
James Whelan	1832	N/S	Ms
Mary King	1852	N/S	NY
Catherine King	1853	N/S	Boston
James Shanley	1853	Drumroosk	Providence RI

## GLENCAR

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>	<u>Townland/Parish</u>	<u>Area in U.S.</u>
Mary Gilmartin	1839	N/S	St John NB
Ann Gilmartin	1846	N/S	Boston Ms
Mary O'Connor	1830	N/S	St John NB
Bridget O'Connor	1830	N/S	St John NB
Ellen O'Connor	1830	N/S	St John NB
Catherine O'Connor	1839	N/S	N/S
Rodger O'Connor	1849	N/S	N/S

## GLENFARNE

Thomas O'Neil	1848	N/S	Boston
John O'Neil	1848	N/S	Boston
James O'Neil	1848	N/S	Boston
Barney McGrisken	1848	N/S	Boston
Patrick Rogan	1848	N/S	Boston
Honora O'Neil	1848	N/S	Cabotville Ms
Thomas McGovern	1847	Cornacreeve	NY
John McGovern	1853	Cornacreeve	Ms

## INNISMAGRATH

Mary Corristine	1847	Killadiskert	Montreal
Patrick Corristine	1847	Killadiskert	Montreal
Peter Bartley	1852	Tullyveame	N/S
Philip Bartley	1852	Tullyveame	Pennsylvania
Miles Dougherty	1849	N/S	NY
Ann Dougherty	1853	N/S	St Louis MO
James McConnell	1851	N/S	NY
Patrick McConnell	1851	N/S	NY
Thomas McConnell	1853	N/S	Alleghany Co VA

## JAMESTOWN

James McGovern	1842	N/S	Illinois
Michael Hackett	1849	N/S	NY
John Gallagher	1845	Kilbride-Gilmore	NY
Margaret Gallagher & child	1850	Kilbride-Gilmore	Lowell Ms
James Farmer	1848	N/S	Mexico
Jane Farmer	1851	N/S	Boston

## KILLARGA

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>	<u>Townland/Parish</u>	<u>Area in U.S.</u>
Michael McTernan	1837	N/S	Indiana
Robert McTernan	1837	N/S	Indiana
Michael McMorrow	1837	N/S	Indiana
John McTernan	1837	N/S	Boston Ms
Mary Gallagher	1849	Gowlaun	Philadelphia
Thomas Gallagher	1853	Gowlaun	Vermont
Terence Cosgrove	1848	N/S	New Orleans
Bridget Cosgrove	1849	N/S	Boston Ms
Hannah Cosgrove	1849	N/S	Boston Ms

## KILTOGHERT

Michael McGovern	1843	Dromore	Louisville Ky
Bernard McGovern	1845	Dromore	Philadelphia
John Gray	1845	N/S	New Orleans
Michael Gray	1846	N/S	Lexington Ky
Thomas Monaghan	1847	N/S	Pawtucket RI
James Monaghan	1848	N/S	Roxbury Ms
Michael Moran	1847	Drumgorman	NY
John Moran	1847	Drumgorman	NY
Thomas Moran	1848	Drumgorman	NY
Margaret Farrell	1845	N/S	Quebec
James Burke	1841	Aughrim	Vermont
Thomas Burke	1841	Aughrim	Ohio
Patrick Burke	1841	Aughrim	Ohio
Jane Burke	1850	Aughrim	Ms
Patrick Mahon	1848	Gowel	Boston
Michael Mahon	1850	Gowel	Iowa
Thomas Mahon	1850	Gowel	Iowa
Michael Gibson	1847	N/S	Boston
William Hiland	1847	N/S	Boston
James Hiland	1857	N/S	New Haven
Patrick Shanley	1847	Liscallyroan	Montreal
Catherine Shanley	1847	Liscallyroan	Montreal
Francis Shanley	1852	Liscallyroan	Boston
Thomas Hunt	1852	Drumlumman	NY
Mary Hunt	1853	Drumlumman	Louisville Ky
Timothy Rourke	1852	N/S	N/S
Catherine Rourke	1847	N/S	N/S

**KILTOGHERT Cont'd**

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>	<u>Townland/Parish</u>	<u>Area in U.S.</u>
Patrick Rourke	1853	N/S	Baltimore Md
Margaret Farrell	1845	N/S	Quebec
Mary Dougherty	1846	Derrintober	NY
John Dougherty	1847	Derrintober	Worcester Ms

**KILTUBRID**

Francis M Reynolds	1832	N/S	Ms
William Reynolds	1846	N/S	Ms
Terrence O'Neil & sister	1845	Drummindeane	Toronto
Hugh O'Neil	1845	Drummindeane	Toronto
Ellen Moran	1847	Rossy	Boston
Catherine Moran	1847	Rossy	Boston
Francis Moran	1847	Rossy	Ohio
Patrick Tighe	1841	Laheenpeyton	Ohio
Thomas Tighe	1847	Laheenpeyton	NY
Bridget Cain	1845	N/S	Quebec
James Moran	1852	Drumbullog	NY
Ellen Moran	1853	Drumbullog	Ms
James McLoughlin	1853	N/S	N/S
Mary McLoughlin	1853	N/S	Ms
Thomas O'Brien	1851	Curlough-Murrane	M/S
Anne O'Brien	1853	Curlough-Murrane	Boston
Edward Moran	1851	Kilteboran-Aughtra	Canada
Daniel Moran	1851	Kilteboran-Aughtra	Canada
Patrick Moran	1851	Kilteboran-Aughtra	Canada
Mary Moran	1851	Kilteboran-Aughtra	Canada
Bridget Moran	1853	Kilteboran-Aughtra	Canada
Bridget Moran	1853	Kilteboran-Aughtra	Cincinnati
James O'Hara	1843	Clooncahir	N/S
Patrick Early	1853	N/S	Boston Ms
William Shanley	1848	Bornacoola	Louisiana
Margaret Shanley	1853	Bornacoola	Cincinnati
Michael Reilly	1853	Bush Hill	N/S
Margaret Reilly	1853	Bush Hill	Baltimore Md
Peter McQueeny	1849	N/S	Savannah
Catherine McQueeny	1850	N/S	Boston
Christopher Connor	1846	Bornacoola	N/S
Mary Riley	1846	Bornacoola	N/S

**KILTUBRID Cont'd**

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>	<u>Townland/Parish</u>	<u>Area in U.S.</u>
Anne Riley	1857	Bornacoola	NY
Patrick Farrell	1838	Carrickaport	NY
Ellen Farrell	1838	Carrickaport	NY
James Farrell	1845	Carrickaport	Boston
William Farrell	1845	Carrickaport	Quebec

**MANORHAMILTON**

John Ske	1830	N/S	Little York
Mary Mitchel (nee Ske)	1830	N/S	Little York
Edward Ske	1848	N/S	NY
William Kearney	1849	N/S	Ohio
Edward Kearney	1849	N/S	Ohio
Margaret Kearney	1849	N/S	NY
Rose Kearney	1849	N/S	NY
Thomas O'Neil	1841	N/S	Nova Scotia
John McGowan	1841	N/S	Nova Scotia
Honora O'Neil	1849	N/S	Ms
Bridget Gilligan	1844	Gorthian Grubbagh	West Troy
Hannah Gilligan	1850	Gorthian Grubbagh	Indiana
Margaret Gilligan	1850	Gorthian Grubbagh	Indiana
Mary McMorragh	1847	Meenamore	Boston
Felix McMorragh	1850	Meenamore	Illinois
Owen Rooney	1850	Corneane	N/S
Moden Meehan (nee Rooney)	2852	Corneane	NY

**MOHILL**

Ann Sweeny	1834	N/S	Montreal
Bridget Mulligan	1834	N/S	Montreal
Thomas Shanley	1842	N/S	St Louis Mis
Patrick Shanley	1845	N/S	New Haven
James Shanley	1837	N/S	Alabama
Timothy Shanley	1846	N/S	Baltimore Md
Bridget Gunshannon	1848	N/S	NY
Catherine Neeson	1848	N/S	NY
Owen Gunshannon	1848	N/S	Lawrence Ms
Michael Lynch	1849	Tulcon	NY
Patrick Lynch	1850	Tulcon	NY

**MOHILL Cont'd**

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>	<u>Townland/Parish</u>	<u>Area in U.S.</u>
Maria Creegan	1850	M/S	Boston
Patrick Creegan	1852	M/S	Alleghany Co
Thomas Falkner	1852	M/S	Alleghany Co
Bridget Moran (nee Flynn)	1853	Drumgownagh	N/S
Patrick Flynn	1853	Drumgownagh	N/S
Mary Ann Rogan	1853	N/S	N/S
John Rogan	1853	N/S	N/S

**OUGHTERAGH**

Michael McCabe	1849	N/S	Ms
Catherine McCabe	1849	N/S	Providence RI
Peter King	1848	Minkill	NY
Hugh King	1851	Minkill	Pa
Margaret Flanagan	1852	Cricklahan	N/S
Anne Flanagan	1852	Cricklahan	Providence RI
Mary Dolan	1846	Drumrackan	NY
Margaret Dolan	1844	Drumrackan	NY
Anne Dolan	1848	Drumrackan	NY
Bridget Dolan	1852	Drumrackan	NY

**ROSSINVER**

Thomas Cavannagh	1827	N/S	Philadelphia
John Cavannagh	1836	N/S	Mass
James McGown	1837	N/S	Baltimore Md
James Foley	1842	Arrath	N/S
Bartholemew Foley	1848	Arrath	Ms
Terence Mooney	1848	Duncarbry	New Orleans
Mary Ann Mooney	1850	Duncarbry	Boston Ms
Michael McGloyne	1831	N/S	Boston
Mary McGloyne	1851	N/S	NY
Francis McHugh	1848	Drummod	Virginia
Catherine McGown	1846	Redlevay	Stonington
John McGown	1850	Redlevay	Boston Ms
Francis O'Rourke	1841	Corraleskin	Quebec
Michael O'Rourke	1841	Corraleskin	Quebec
John O'Rourke	1852	N/S	Vt
John Monahan	1850	Gobacreeny	Boston
Thomas Monahan	1853	Gobacreeny	Boston

The following list consists of names of individuals either scattered throughout various townlands and parishes or who were not listed as being from any area in particular:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>	<u>Townland/Parish</u>	<u>Area in U.S.</u>
James O'Beirne	1826	N/S	Washington
Anne O'Beirne	1844	N/S	Boston
Becky Connors	1842	N/S	Augusta
Mrs Logan (nee Connors)	1844	N/S	NY
Bridget McGay	1845	N/S	New Orleans
Patrick Meehan	1846	N/S	New Orleans
Bryan Meehan	1846	N/S	Quebec
Patrick Farrell	1846	N/S	N/S
John Byrl	1844	N/S	Vermont
Michael Byrl	1846	N/S	Ohio
Bridget Cain	1847	Drumkeelan	Montreal
Mary Cain	1847	Drumkeelan	Rhode Isl
Peter Cannon	1847	N/S	Tennessee
James Cannon	1847	N/S	Tennessee
Michael Cannon	1847	N/S	Boston
William McFarland & wife	1840	Ballinaglera	St John NB
Thomas McGreal	1847	Ballinaglera	New Hampshire
Thomas Barrett	1846	Kiltslert	N/S
Patrick Barrett	1847	Kiltslert	Lowell Ms
Patrick McGroarty	1847	Lianagraugh	Iowa
Bridget McGroarty	1847	Lianagraugh	Iowa
Felix McMorrow	1846	Tawnymanus Cluencloough	Boston
Margaret McMorrow	1846	Tawnymanus Cluencloough	Boston
John McMorrow & family	1847	Tawnymanus Cluencloough	Boston
Bryan McMorrow & family	1847	Tawnymanus Cluencloough	Boston
James Clancey	1846	Cloonclare	Boston
Patrick Riley	1847	N/S	Boston
Bridget Riley	1847	N/S	Boston
Bernard McKenna	1836	Kiltycreevagh	Pennsylvania
Francis McKenna	1839	Kiltycreevagh	Ms

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>	<u>Townland/Parish</u>	<u>Area in U.S.</u>
Thomas Dolan	1847	Kiltuam	NY
Patrick Dolan	1847	Kiltuam	Ms
John McGowan	1847	Kinlough	NY
Bartley McGloinn	1847	Kinlough	Boston
Michael Cassidy	1842	Tawley	New Jersey
Mary Cassidy	1847	Tawley	Ms
James Foley	1848	N/S	N/S
Stephen Foley	1848	N/S	Ms
Mary McCabe	1847	Drumduflia	Providence RI
Owen McCabe	1847	Drumduflia	Quebec
John Prior	1848	N/S	Providence RI
Robert Ford	1837	Mullaghcashel	Florida
Hugh Ford	1841	Mullaghcashel	Ms
John Dunnigan	1836	N/S	Pennsylvania
Esther Kiernan	1843	N/S	Ms
Andrew O'Brien	1848	N/S	N. Carolina
Michael Moran	1848	N/S	Ohio
Ellen Early	1849	N/S	Cape Cod
Mary Cox (nee Early)	1849	N/S	Augusta Me
Francis M. McReynolds	1831	Keshcarrigan	Illinois
William M. Reynolds	1849	Keshcarrigan	Ms
Peter Little	1849	N/S	Savannah Ga
Catherine Newton (nee Little)	1949	N/S	Lower Falls Ms
Daniel Flynn	1849	Keshcarrigan	NY
Bernard O'Neil	1842	Gortletteragh	NY
Ann Mitchel (nee O'Neil)	1850	Gortletteragh	Michigan
Bernard Cunningham	1831	Newtowngore	N/S
Luke Rooney	1851	Newtowngore	Litchfield Ct
James McGreal	1849	Ballinaglera	Chicago Illinois
Catherine McGreal	1850	Ballinaglera	Boston Ms
Patrick Foley	1850	Deragoon	NY
Catherine Foley	1850	Deragoon	Boston Ms
John McParlan	1851	Dowery	Boston Ms
Thomas McParlan	1851	N/S	Connecticut
Mary Macauley	1849	N/S	NY
William Macauley	1849	N/S	Lawrence Ms
Patrick Fox	1835	N/S	N/S
Mary Fox	1835	N/S	N/S

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>	<u>Townland/Parish</u>	<u>Area in U.S.</u>
Bridget Fox	1835	N/S	N/S
Julia Fox	1835	N/S	N/S
Francis McGovern	1852	N/S	Lowell Ms
Mary McGovern	1852	N/S	Lowell Ms
Ann McGovern	1852	N/S	Lowell Ms
James Gray	1852	Gortletteragh	N/S
Mary Gray	1852	Gortletteragh	Portland Me
James Newell	1852	Killasney	N/S
Jane Newell	1852	Killasney	N/S
Elizabeth Newell	1852	Killasney	Boston Ms
Patrick McGowan	1848	Inchenough	N/S
Winnifred McGowan	1845	Inchenough	St John NB
Michael McGowan	1852	Inchenough	New Hampshire
Anne Notley	1852	Bornacoola	Connecticut
Catherine Notley	1852	Bornacoola	NY
Jane Brady (nee Notley)	1852	Bornacoola	Philadelphia
Thomas Brady	1852	N/S	Philadelphia
Miles Calagher	1852	Ballinaglera	N/S
Owen Foley	1852	Kinlough	N/S
Bartley Foley	1852	Kinlough	Boston
Henry Reid	1822	N/S	Boston
Edward Reid	1822	N/S	Boston
Thomas Keenan	1848	N/S	NY
Matthew Quinn	1840	Lugganammer	N/S
Michael Quinn	1853	Lugganammer	Kentucky
John Rogan	1851	Drumkeeran	Philadelphia
Bridget Rogan	1853	Drumkeeran	Boston
Charles Scanlan	1849	N/S	Michigan
John Scanlan	1853	N/S	St Louis Mo
Patrick Conway	1840	N/S	Tennessee
Catherine Gartland (nee Conway)	1853	N/S	Pittsburg Pa
William Drury	1839	Killumery	Quebec
Con Drury	1853	Killumery	RI
Owen Rooney	1846	Sravannies	Vermont
Catherine McCormack	1849	Kilmore	NY
Catherine Doyle	1850	Kilmore	Alleghany
Bridget McLaughlin	1839	Newtowngore	N/S
William McLaughlin	1850	Newtowngore	Boston

## APPENDIX G

### THE QUAKER RELIEF SCHEME

The role played by the Quakers in Leitrim has been briefly referred to in Chapters Four and Five. However, the importance of their contribution to the relief efforts in the county deserves more detailed analysis.

The relief offered by the Quakers was, unlike that under the Poor Law, given free of charge. Therefore, they took great pains in ascertaining the conditions of those areas applying to them. Application forms had to be completed and those signing them were carefully vetted as regards position in the community, trustworthiness, etc.

On completion of such details, grants were disbursed in three ways - money, clothing and food. As will become obvious from the pages which follow, it was usually one person in each district who received the grants. Those in Mohill, Carrick and Drumshanbo were transported by either McCann's or Pillsworth's boat. Occasionally goods destined for Carrick were also brought by canal to Longford. Similarly, those being moved to Drumkeeran, were brought by Pillsworth's boat to Longford, while supplies to Drumsna came aboard Farley's boat. The relief to be distributed by James Kirkwood of Lakeview was transported there by means of either the Boyle day-coach or the Sligo coach.

## GRANTS OF MONEY

DATE	GRANTEE	AREA	AMOUNT
07.01.47	Andrew Hogg	Cloone	£20
13.01.47	N Lawder	Fenagh	£20
29.01.47	W A Percy	Carrick	£20
29.01.47	Arthur Hyde	Glebe House, Mohill	£20
08.02.47	George Shaw	Drumsna	£10
09.02.47	Loftus Tottenham	Glenfarne Hall	£15
15.02.47	J H Stream	Carrick	£15
20.02.47	Loftus Tottenham	Glenfarne Hall	£4. 7s
22.02.47	Penelope Johnston	Kinlough House	£10
16.03.47	W H Foster	Mohill	£20
01.04.47	S Hudson	Glaslough (For Leitrim)	£15
01.04.47	Loftus Tottenham	Glenfarne Hall	£20
12.04.47	Francis Nesbitt	Derrycarne, Dromod	£15
16.04.47	William Noble	Drumshanbo	£20
26.04.47	Penelope Johnston	Kinlough House	£3
17.06.47	Penelope Johnston	Kinlough House	£20
23.06.47	William Noble	Drumshanbo	£30
24.06.47	William Noble	Drumshanbo	£50
03.07.47	Penelope Johnston	Kinlough House	£10
06.07.47	Penelope Johnston	Kinlough House	£10
28.08.47	Jane Isabella Banks	Dromahair	£5
	To aid her when endeavouring to promote female employment.		
02.10.47	F Irwin	Tarmonbarly, Rooskey	£2.17.6
06.10.47	Isabella Parke	Clogher, Drumsna	£2.15.0
23.10.47	James Kirkwood	Carrick	£2.10.7
30.10.47	Emma Lawder	Lowfield, Drumsna	£2.10.10
10.11.47	Emily Auchmuty	Kilmore House, Drumsna	£4.15.0
10.11.47	Isabella Parke	Clogher House, Drumsna	£2.12.6
25.12.47	Anne Corbet	Carrick	£10
25.12.47	William A Percy	Carrick	£10
07.01.48	Thomas Fitzgerald	Carrick	£5
16.01.48	Lady Louisa Tenison	Carrick	£15
18.01.48	W A Percy	Carrick	£20
25.02.48	J S Franks	Ballaghameehan	£10
10.06.49	Francis Gibbons	Mohill	£20 in aid
	funds for defraying the outfit of 20 persons in the Mohill Union whose passage has been paid to America		
12.07.49	George Shaw	Drumsna	£30
		for relief of small farmers	
31.07.49	Penelope Johnston	Kinlough	£20
		for relief of small farmers	

## CLOTHING GRANTS

The standard clothing grant was referred to as 'No 1' and contained the following articles:

- 10 Guernsey Frocks
- 2 Grey Calico
- 2 Blue Print
- 1 Flannel
- 1 Fustian
- 1 Corduroy
- 20 Rugs
- 10 Pairs of Sheets
- 1 Bundle of Leather

In the list which follows, variations to the above grant were sent to certain areas:

DATE	NAME	AREA	GRANT
27.10.47	Mary Johnston	Aghacashill, Keshcarrigan	No. 1
27.12.47	Matilda Shanley	Riversdale, Ballinamore	Omit leather and add ready-made shoes.
18.12.47	Penelope Johnston	Kinlough House	Omit Guernsey Frocks
29.12.47	George Shaw	Annaduff	No. 1
30.12.47	Anadelia Slack	Annadale, Keshcarrigan	No. 1
01.01.48	E Lawder	Mongh House, Fenagh	Omit leather
04.01.48	William Noble	Prospect, Drumshanbo	Omit leather, fustian and corduroy. Add 40 men's garments
06.01.48	Francis Kane	Drumsna	20 children's garments, no guernseys, fustian, corduroy, sheets or leather.
08.01.48	Elizabeth Peyton	Driney House, Keshcarrigan	No. 1
25.01.48	Letitia Veevers	Mohill	No. 1
31.01.48	Emma Lawder	Lowfield, Drumsna	Omit guernsey frocks
01.02.48	Anne Percy	Gerashie, Ballinamore	No. 1
11.02.48	W J Peyton	Springfield, Carrick	No. 1
11.02.48	W Whyte	Dromahair	Omit rugs and blue print
12.02.48	Matthew O'Connor	Mt Allen Island, Drumshanbo	No. 1

DATE	NAME	AREA	GRANT
16.02.48	Thomas Hayes	Mohill	Omit rugs, sheets, leather and frocks.
22.02.48	William Slack	Ballinamore	Omit frocks, rugs and sheets
29.02.48	Letitia Veevers	Mohill	40 garments
29.02.48	Emma Lawder	Drumsna	No. 1
29.02.48	W J Peyton	Carrick	No. 1
29.02.48	Matthew O'Connor	Drumshanbo	No. 1
06.03.48	Andrew Hogg	Cloone	No. 1
08.03.48	Thomas Hayes	Mohill	No. 1
15.03.48	W H Kelly	Glencar	No. 1
23.03.48	M Kirkwood	Lakeview, Carrick	No. 1
23.03.48	Andrew Hogg	Cloone	No. 1
24.03.48	Richard S Clifford	Drumdarton, Ballinamore	Omit fustian
24.03.48	Penelope Johnston	Kinlough House	Omit frocks
24.03.48	Matilda Shanley	Riversdale, Ballinamore	Omit leather
05.04.48	C L Montgomery	Innismagrath Glebe	Omit leather
08.04.48	Mary Johnston	Aghacashill, Keshcarrigan	Grant of leather
10.04.48	Clara Dickson	Glenade	Omit frocks, fustian and corduroy
17.04.48	C L Montgomery	Drumkeeran	No. 1
27.04.48	Andrew Slack	Keshcarrigan	No. 1
27.04.48	E Anchmuty	Kilmore House, Drumsna	No. 1
01.05.48	Anadelia Slack	Annadale, Keshcarrigan	Omit frocks and rugs
30.11.48	Penelope Johnston	Kinlough House	No. 1 together with eighty garments
30.11.48	Edward Semple	Drumkeeran Glebe	No. 1 together with sixty-four garments and four blue gowns
04.12.48	Letitia Veevers	Mohill	No. 1 together with twenty-four garments

DATE	NAME	AREA	GRANT
16.12.48	Anadelia Slack	Annadale, Keshcarrigan	No. 1 together with two quilts, four grey frocks, twelve children's dresses, five pairs of shoes, twelve pairs of trousers and sixty garments.
23.01.49	Edward Semple	Drumkeeran Glebe	Eighty-four yards of flannel

## GRANTS OF FOOD

DATE	GRANTEE	AREA	GRANT
03.02.47	Marsha Brown	Kiltoghert	1/2 ton of rice
03.02.47	William Noble	Kiltoghert	20 barrels + 1 ton of rice
03.02.47	G. M. Peyton	Kiltubrid & Oughteragh	1 ton of Indian meal
21.04.47	J. M. Kirkwood	Carrick-on-Shannon	1 ton of Indian meal
23.04.47	Ann Devenish	Rushhill, Carrick	1/2 ton rice + 1 1/2 ton Indian meal + 14-lbs pepper
24.04.47	Penelope Johnston	Kinlough House	£3 grant for boiler to make soup
24.04.47	Letitia Veevers	Mohill	1 ton rice + 10 barrels Indian meal
29.04.47	N. H. Foster	Mohill	2 cwt sugar + 14lb of ginger powder
05.05.47	C. S. Montgomery	Drumkeeran	2 ton Indian meal
05.05.47	Henry O'Brien	Carrigallen	3 ton Indian meal
05.05.47	Thomas Warren	Cloone	2 ton Indian meal cooked with rice
08.05.47	Fr. Peter Dawson	PP Kiltoghert	1 ton Indian meal
08.05.47	Francis Kane	Drumsna	1/2 ton rice + 1/2 ton Indian meal
08.05.47	George Thomas	Annaduff	1 ton Indian meal + 1 ton barley meal
08.05.47	R J Clifford	Ballinamore	3 ton cooked indian meal
08.05.47	Letitia Veeves	Mohill	2 tons Indian meal
12.05.47	Richard Connolly	Newtown Forbes	2 tons Indian meal
12.05.47	Samuel Hoops	Mohill	2 tons Indian meal
12.05.47	George Mansfield	Keshcarrigan	1 ton Indian meal
12.05.47	G.H.C. Peyton	Keshcarrigan	1/2 ton Indian meal
12.05.47	John O'Brien	Mohill	1 ton Indian meal
15.05.47	Patrick & Martin Browne	Clonfad, Drumsna	8 sacks barley meal +8 sacks Indian meal
15.05.47	Thomas Lawder	Augharnose Drumsna	6 sacks barley meal + 6 sacks Indian meal
15.05.47	Penelope Johnston	Kinlough House	2 tons Indian meal + 1 ton biscuit
15.05.47	John R. Dickson (for Tawley Rossclougher)	Woodville, Ballyshannon	1 1/2 tons Indian meal
18.05.47	Fr. Edward Keogh	PP Clondiff, Drumsna	8 sacks Indian meal
19.05.47	J. M. Kirkwood	Carrick	1/2 ton rice + 1 cwt sugar

DATE	GRANTEE	AREA	GRANT
22.05.47	George Beresford	Fenagh	1 ton Indian meal
22.05.47	Jane Isabel Banks	Carrick	1 ton Indian meal
24.05.47	Ann Devenish	Carrick	1/2 ton Indian meal + 1/2 ton rice.
24.05.47	Robert King	Kilmore Glebe, Drumsna	8 sacks Indian meal + 4 sacks barley meal + 5 cwt biscuit.
26.05.47	Fr. D. Mac Gill P.P.	Dromahair	2 ton Indian meal
29.05.47	Jane Corbett	Carrick	1/2 ton Indian meal
29.05.47	Denis Booth	Drumsna	1 ton Indian meal + 1/2 ton rice
29.05.47	Mary Johnstone	Aghacashill, Keshcarrigan	1/2 ton Indian meal + 1/2 ton rice
29.05.47	Annadelia Slack	Annadale	1/2 ton Indian meal
02.06.47	Francis Kane	Drumsna	1 ton Indian meal + 1 ton Barley meal
05.06.47	Alicia Crofton	Lakefield, Mohill	1 ton Indian meal + 5 cwt biscuit
09.06.47	Jane Ellis	Brooklawn, Ballinamore	1/2 ton Indian meal
09.06.47	George Shaw	Drumsna	1 ton Indian meal
12.06.47	Anne Percy	Garadice, Ballinamore	1 ton Indian meal
12.06.47	Mary Anne Noble	Prospect, Drumshanbo	1/2 ton Indian meal + 1/2 ton rice
16.06.47	Ellen Lawder	Fenagh	1/2 ton Indian meal
23.06.47	Loftus Tottenham	Manorhamilton	1/2 ton Indian meal + 1/2 ton rice
23.06.47	Fr. D. Mac Gill P.P.	Dromahair	1 ton Indian meal
23.06.47	L. H. Stream	Carrick	1 ton rice
23.06.47	George Gray	Glenfarne	10 Barrels Indian meal
23.06.47	Richard J. Clifford	Ballinamore	1 ton rice
30.06.47	Catherine Godley	Newtowngore	1 ton Indian meal
30.06.47	Francis Kane	Drumsna	1 ton Indian meal
30.06.47	George Beresford	Glebe, Fenagh	1/2 ton Rice
03.07.47	Penelope Johnston	Kinlough House	1 ton Indian meal + 1 ton rice
03.07.47	Jane Isabel Banks	Carrick	1/2 ton Indian meal + 1/2 ton rice
03.07.47	G.H.C. Peyton	Keshcarrigan	1 ton Indian meal
10.07.47	Julia Fanny Burke	Drumkeeran	1/2 ton Meal + 5 cwt rice
10.07.47	Jane Corbett	Carrick	1/2 ton Indian meal + 5 cwt rice + 5 bags biscuit

DATE	GRANTEE	AREA	GRANT
10.07.47	George Hindes	Killarga Glebe, Dromahair	1 ton Indian meal
14.07.47	Thomas Parke	Drumsna	1 Firkin of rice for Kilmore dispensary
14.07.47	George Shaw	Annaduff Glebe, Drumsna	1 ton Indian meal
17.07.47	Mary King	Drumsna	1/2 ton rice
17.07.47	E Lawder	Fenagh	1/2 ton Indian meal
17.07.47	Denis Booth	Drumsna	1 ton Indian meal
21.07.47	Mary A. Noble	Carrick	1/2 ton Indian meal + 1/2 ton rice
22.07.47	Emily Auchmuty	Kilmore House, Drumsna	1/2 ton cooked rice
28.07.47	Letitia Nesbett	Derrycarne, Dromod	1 ton rice for sick and convalescent
28.07.47	Andrew Hogg	Mohill	1 Firkin of rice + 1 ton meal
28.07.47	Denis Maguire	Kiltubrid	1 ton Indian meal
31.07.47	Francis Kane	Drumsna	1 ton Indian meal
11.08.47	Denis Booth	Drumsna	1/2 ton wheaten meal
19.08.47	George Shaw	Annaduff, Drumsna	1 ton Indian meal
21.08.47	Mary Anne Noble	Drumshanbo	12 cwt rice
21.08.47	George Beresford	Fenagh	12 cwt rice
25.08.47	Richard Corwilly	Newtownforbes, Clooncumber	12 cwt rice
25.08.47	Anne Percy	Ballinamore	12 cwt rice
28.08.47	Penelope Johnston	Kinlough House	10 barrels Indian meal + 2 barrels flour + 10 bags peas
01.09.47	Matilda Shanley	Riversdale, Ballinamore	6 cwt rice
06.09.47	Emma Lawder	Lowfield, Drumsna	1/2 ton rice
08.09.47	Margaretta Kirkwood	Carrick	1/4 ton rice
09.09.47	Emily Auchmuty	Drumsna	1/2 ton rice
17.09.47	Thomas Parke	Drumsna	1/2 ton rice
25.09.47	Mary Anne Noble	Drumshanbo	6 cwt rice - recommend that she make it go as far as possible
01.10.47	James Kirkwood	Carrick	1/4 ton Indian meal
02.10.47	George Shaw	Annaduff, Drumsna	1/2 ton meal for school children only + 6 cwt rice for those recovering from fever
11.10.47	Jane King	Drumsna	1/2 ton rice
16.10.47	Penelope Johnston	Kinlough House	8 sacks Indian meal + 8 bags peas

DATE	GRANTEE	AREA	GRANT
18.10.47	Emily Auchmuty	Drumsna	3 cwt rice + 1/2 ton Indian meal
19.10.47	James Kirkwood	Carrick	5 cwt Indian meal
26.10.47	Thomas Parke	Drumsna	1/2 ton rice + 1/4 ton Indian meal
26.10.47	Emma Lawder	Lowfield, Drumsna	1/4 ton Indian meal
30.10.47	Mary Anne Noble	Prospect, Drumshanbo	1/2 ton rice
30.10.47	Mary Johnston	Keshcarrigan	5 cwt rice + 4 stone sugar for sick and convalescent
03.11.47	Julia Fanny Burke	Drumkeeran	1/2 ton Indian meal to aid in promoting employment of women and children
06.11.47	Emily Auchmuty	Drumsna	1/2 ton Indian meal
08.11.47	Thomas Parke	Drumsna	1/4 ton Indian meal
08.11.47	Belinda Hanley and Mary Conroy	Drumsna	1/4 ton rice and 1/4 ton Indian meal
20.11.47	Jane King	Drumsna	2 sacks of Indian meal
27.11.47	Jane Ireland	Drumsna	3 cwt rice
02.12.47	Thomas Parke	Drumsna	1/4 ton Indian meal + 1/4 ton rice + 1/4 ton rye meal
08.12.47	Jane Isabella Banks	Collooney, Dromahair	1/2 ton Indian meal in aid of her efforts to promote female employment
08.12.47	Penelope Johnston	Kinlough House	1 ton Indian meal to aid her efforts to promote female employment.
09.12.47	Cathy McDermott	Carrick	1/4 ton rice + 1/4 ton Indian meal + 1/4 ton rye meal + 2 bags of biscuits
14.12.47	H. N. Lawder	Drumsna	1/4 ton Indian meal + 1/4 ton barley meal + 1/4 ton rice + 3 bags of biscuits.
20.12.47	M. A. Noble	Drumshanbo	1/2 ton rice
22.12.47	Jane Ireland	Drumsna	5 cwt rice
23.12.47	Emma Lawder	Lowfield, Drumsna	1/4 ton rice + 3 barrels of Indian meal + 2 sacks of rye + 2 barrels of biscuits

DATE	GRANTEE	AREA	GRANT
27.12.47	Anne Percy	Ballinamore	1/2 ton rice
28.12.47	Emily Auchmuty	Drumsna	1/4 ton rice + 1/4 ton Indian meal + 1/4 ton rye meal
10.01.48	I. J. Parke	Drumsna	1/4 ton Indian meal + 1/4 ton rye meal + 1/4 ton rice + 2 bags of biscuits and 1 cwt soup + 1/2 cwt sugar
14.01.48	George Shaw	Drumsna	1 ton Indian meal + 1 ton rice
17.01.48	Margaretta Kirkwood Carrick		1/4 ton rice + 1/4 ton Indian meal + 1/4 ton rye meal + 2 bags of biscuits
19.01.48	Letitia Veevers	Mohill	5 cwt rice
20.01.48	Jane King	Drumsna	1/4 ton rice + 1/4 ton Indian meal + 1/4 ton barley meal + 2 bags of biscuits
29.01.48	M. J. Peyton	Springfield, Carrick	4 barrels of Indian meal + 2 barrels of biscuits + 1/4 ton rice
29.01.48	Jane Isabella Banks	Rose Bank, Dromahair	5 cwt rice for sick, young children
30.01.48	Penelope Johnston	Kinlough	1/2 ton rice + 1/2 ton Indian meal for providing soup for school children
31.01.48	Jane Ireland	Drumsna	5 cwt rice + 3 barrels of meal + 1/4 cwt soap + 1/2 cwt sugar for the sick, convalescent and children
09.02.48	J. M. Kirkwood	Woodbrook Lodge, Carrick	1/2 ton rice + 1/2 ton Indian meal
12.02.48	Belinda Hanley and Mary Conroy	Ballycommon House, Drumsna	1/4 ton rice + 1/4 ton Indian meal + 1/4 ton rye + 2 bags of biscuits
22.02.48	Emily Auchmuty	Drumsna	1/4 ton rice + 1/4 ton Indian meal + 1/4 ton rye meal + 2 bags of biscuits

DATE	GRANTEE	AREA	GRANT
23.02.48	Letitia Nisbett	Derrycarne, Dromod	1/2 ton Indian meal to assist school children
04.03.48	Eleanor Lloyd	Kilglass Glebe, Dromod	5 cwt rice
04.03.48	I. J. Parke	Drumsna	1/4 ton rice + 1/4 ton Indian meal + 1/4 ton rye meal + 2 bags of biscuits
06.03.48	Emma Lawder	Drumsna	1/4 ton rice + 2 bags of biscuits + 4 sacks of Indian meal + 1/2 cwt soup + 1/2 cwt sugar
18.03.48	Robert King	Drumsna	1/4 ton rice + 1/4 ton Indian meal + 1/4 ton rye meal + 2 bags of biscuit
18.03.48	Penelope Johnston	Kinlough House	5 barrels beef or pork + 10 bags peas
22.03.48	C. C. J. Cullin	Manorhamilton	1 ton Indian meal
29.03.48	Emily Auchmuty	Drumsna	1/4 ton Indian meal + 1/4 ton rye meal + 1/4 ton rice + 2 bags of biscuit
07.04.48	Margaretta Kirkwood Carrick		1/4 ton rice + 1/4 ton Indian meal + 1/4 ton rye meal + 2 bags of biscuit
12.04.48	Belinda Hanley and Mary Conroy	Drumsna	1/4 ton rice + 1/4 ton Indian meal + 1/4 ton rye meal + 2 bags of biscuit
15.04.48	I. J. Parke	Drumsna	6 barrels of meal + 3 barrels of biscuit + 1/4 cwt sugar + 1 box of arrowroot
25.04.48	Emma Lawder	Drumsna	1/4 ton rice + 6 barrels Indian meal + 3 barrels of peas + 2 barrels of biscuit + 1/4 cwt sugar + 1/4 cwt soup
26.04.48	Penelope Johnston	Kinlough House	1 ton Indian meal
02.05.48	J. Mansfield	Kiltubrid, Keshcarrigan	5 cwt rice
08.05.48	W. Parke	Drumsna	10 barrels of rye

DATE	GRANTEE	AREA	GRANT
10.05.48	Emily Auchmuty	Drumsna	1/4 ton rice + 5 barrels Indian meal + 2 barrels of biscuit
16.05.48	George Shaw	Annaduff	1/2 ton rice + 1/2 ton Indian meal
21.05.48	I. J. Parke	Clogher House, Drumsna	1/4 ton rice + 6 barrels Indian meal + 3 barrels of biscuit
22.05.48	Jane King	Drumsna	1/4 ton rice + 1/4 ton Indian meal + 1/4 ton rye meal
02.06.48	Francis Kane	Drumsna	5 cwt rice + 1/2 cwt sugar
06.06.48	J. M. Kirkwood	Woodbrook, Carrick	1/2 ton rice + 6 barrels Indian meal
07.06.48	Penelope Johnston	Kinlough House	5 cwt rice + 2 cwt sugar + 4 cwt of biscuit + 10 bags peas
09.06.48	Mary Percy	Ballinamore	5 cwt rice
17.06.48	Mary Johnstone	Aghacashill, Keshcarrigan	3 cwt rice + 1/4 cwt sugar
03.07.48	Margaretta Kirkwood	Carrick	1/4 ton Indian meal + 1/4 ton rye meal + 2 bags of biscuit
05.07.48	Isabella J. Parke	Drumsna	1/4 ton rice + 5 bags of peas + 5 barrels of biscuit + 1/2 cwt sugar
08.07.48	Penelope Johnston	Kinlough House	1 ton Indian meal
11.07.48	Belinda Hanley and Mary Conroy	Drumsna	1/4 ton rice + 4 barrels Indian meal + 2 barrels of beans + 2 bags of peas + 4 barrels of biscuit
25.07.48	Emma Lawder	Drumsna	1/4 ton rice + 3 barrels of biscuit + 3 barrels of Indian meal
25.07.48	Robert King	Drumsna	1/2 ton rice + 4 barrels of biscuit + 6 barrels meal

DATE	GRANTEE	AREA	GRANT
27.07.48	Francis G. Gilbert	Manorhamilton	5 cwt rice + 5 barrels of biscuit
01.08.48	Emily Auchmuty	Drumsna	1/4 ton rice + 5 barrels of biscuit + 3 barrels Indian meal
03.08.48	George Shaw	Drumsna	1/2 ton rice + 5 barrels Indian meal
20.11.48	George Shaw	Drumsna	1/2 ton rice + 8 barrels Indian meal
25.11.48	Penelope Johnston	Kinlough	10 bags of peas
12.03.49	James Kirkwood	Carrick	2 bags of peas + 1/2 ton rice

The Quaker records are so detailed that we can ascertain the names of individuals who benefited from their relief effort. The following list illustrates the extent of such relief in Ballinamore, Drumsna and Mohill in 1848.

### BALLINAMORE

<u>Date</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Residence</u>	<u>Article</u>	<u>No. in Family</u>
01.04.48	John Arnold	Druminshin	Suit of Fustian	8
"	Jane Anderson	Newtowngore	Child's dress and shirt	6
"	Jane Boothe	Lugnagon	Gown	5
03.04.48	June Irwin	Cloonboygher	Gown, well-lined	7
"	Humphrey Woods	Lugnagon	Pair of shoes	8
04.04.48	James Anderson	Newtowngore	Corduroy Trousers	5
05.04.48	S. Reilly	Newtowngore	2 Chemises	9
06.04.48	Rachel Woods	Lugnagon	Petticoat	8
08.04.48	George Anderson	Newtowngore	Shirt	5
20.04.48	J. Roseman	Aghaleague	Shoes	7
02.06.48	Mary Logan	Lugnagon	Chemise	4

### DRUMSNA

08.03.48	John Feeny	Lowfield	Coats and trousers	8
"	James Fitzgerald	Lowfield	A suit	8
09.03.48	Michael Oats	Clogher	Trousers and gown	4
"	Patrick Shanley	Clogher	Flannel shirt	3
11.03.48	William Shanley	Clogher	6 yards of calico	4
18.03.48	Mary Conlon	Fenagh	3 yards of flannel and 1 sheet	7
"	Widow McLaughlin	Skeagh	Pair of sheets	5
24.03.48	Kitty O'Hare	Kilmore	Quilt and sheets	6
"	William Shanley	Lowfield	Pair of shoes	5
03.04.48	Widow Oats	Clogher	Sheets	4
04.04.48	3 beggars	None	3 quilts	-

### MOHILL

15.04.48	Michael O'Beirne	Mohill	Pair of shoes	2
"	Elizabeth Price	Mohill	Pair of boots	4
"	Patrick Brady	Mohill	Pair of shoes	1
17.04.48	Edward Moran	Tamlaght	Pair of shoes and girl's frock	6
"	John Casserly	Tamlaght	Pair of shoes and girl's frock	1
19.04.48	Mary Beirne	Mohill	Petticoat and shift	2
"	Patrick Carroll	Mohill	Pair of trousers	3
"	Widow Cullane	Mohill	Bed gown, shift and rug	1
20.04.48	Mary Conniffry	Mohill	Pair of shoes and shift	1
24.04.48	Thomas Reynolds	Mohill	Shift, blanket and rug	8
25.04.48	Mary Conlan	Cornagher	Pair of shoes	5

## APPENDIX H THE FAMINE DISEASES

The following table illustrates the number of deaths in Leitrim in the famine era:

1842	1127
1843	1161
1844	1171
1845	1363
1846	2313
1847	6004
1848	4601
1849	3155
1850	2111

The years 1847-'8 witnessed a tremendous increase in deaths, many of which occurred as a consequence of diseases which resulted from malnutrition, brought on by lack of proper food.

The most significant diseases to appear in Leitrim at this time are briefly outlined below:

### 1. TYPHUS FEVER

A disease of the small blood vessels caused by tiny organisms of the Rickettsia group. The vessels of the skin and brain are especially liable to attack, thus explaining the delirium and stupor which is so prominent a feature of the disease. It is inoculated by scratching and lasts for approximately fourteen days resulting in almost inevitable death. One of its most notable manifestations was the dusky hue of the skin of the sufferer, hence such names for it as *fiabhras dubh* or black fever.

### 2. RELAPSING FEVER

This ailment is caused by spirochete, a thread-like spiral organism. Infection takes place commonly through the skin. It is accompanied by a violent rigor, together with sickness and vomiting. The initial fever lasts for five days, and after an interval of about one week, a relapse occurs before the attack terminates. During attacks jaundice is very common, hence this fever was known as *fiabhras bui* or yellow fever.

### 3. **DYSENTERY**

Caused by one or other of a group of bacilli and spread by flies, polluted water, fingers and food. After being swallowed the organisms produce inflammation and ulceration in the intestinal wall, sometimes so intense as to end in gangrene. The main symptom is violent diarrhoea, usually accompanied by the passage of blood. There may also be nausea and aching pain in the limbs.

### 4. **SCURVY**

A disease resultant from lack of vitamin C contained in fresh fruit and vegetables. Despite the overwhelming reliance on potatoes it was virtually unknown in the country prior to the famine. The major symptoms are spongy swellings and ulceration of the gums, resulting in eventual loss of teeth. In advanced cases there are massive effusions of blood into the muscles and under the skin, causing tension and severe pain - indeed the legs may turn completely black up to the middle of the thigh.

### 5. **FAMINE DROPSY**

This condition results from a lack of certain food elements which are necessary to maintain the balance of fluids in the body tissues. Throughout the famine period its occurrence was evidence of extreme and prolonged want - being limited to those suffering starvation. In many cases, it appeared as a sequel to fever, the condition showing itself first in the lower extremities, and increasing until the victim became water-logged. This resulted in the appearance of a huge swollen stomach.

## APPENDIX I

### RELIEF COMMITTEE MEMBERS, MARCH/APRIL, 1847

#### **AGHACASHILL**

Rev. George D. Mansfield; Fr. Malachi Fanning; Capt. Mustard; John R. Peyton J.P.D.L.; George H. C. Peyton J.P.D.L.; Joseph Johnston J. P.

#### **AGHAVAS/CLOONE**

Viscount Clements - Chairman;

Mr. Roth; Rev. Fanning; D. Croftan; Owen Lloyd; Dominic Quinn.

#### **ANNADUFF**

Francis Nisbett; Rev. George Shaw; Fr. George Gearty; Rev. Arthur Hyde; Rev. George Evers; Fr. James O'Farrell; Lieut. Primrose; Rev. Richard Connolly; Viscount Clements; James A. Thompson; John Notley; Francis Mulvey; John Shanley; John Halfpenny; William Halfpenny; Edward Carleton; Fr. Malachi Fanning; Christopher Nisbett; James Farrell; John Brennan; Rev. McCormack.

#### **ANNAVEAGH**

Rev. Richard Connolly; Fr. Malachi Fanning; Francis Mulvey; John Shanley; John Halfpenny; Edward Carleton; William Halfpenny; Michael Shanley; John Thompson.

#### **AUGHRIM**

William Lloyd D.L.J.P. - Chairman

Robert Devenish J. P.; Horatio Lawder J. P.; Rev. John Lloyd; Fr. Thomas King; John Balfe; Luke O'Connor; Thomas O'Connor; Patrick Browne; Martin Browne; Owen Lloyd; H. K. Waldron J. P.; Fr. Edward Keogh; Fr. Felix Connolly.

#### **BALLINAMORE**

William C. Percy - Chairman

Alexander Percy; Capt. B. G. Layard; Rev. William Clifford; Fr. P. Freeman; Fr. Hugh Cassidy; Nicholas Kelly R.M.; Fr. Thomas Maguire; Rev. Thomas Knott; Thomas Moreton; Thomas Connolly; William Shanley; Charles Gerrard.

#### **CARRICK-ON-SHANNON**

J. H. Peyton - Chairman

Capt. Charles Cox J. P.; Francis Waldron J. P.; William Peyton J. P.; J. Peyton J. P.; Fr. Clifford; Fr. Fitzgerald; Rev. W. A. Percy; J. I. Banks; Fr. Gearty; Fr. Slevin; Rev. Rutherford; Francis Beirne J. P.; Alexander Faris; Fr. Dawson; George Church; John Moreton; Edward Costello; Peter Horan; Wynne Peyton; Charles Peyton; John M. Peyton; Henry Cox; Capt. Musters.

#### **CARRIGALLEN**

Acheson O'Brien - Chairman

Rev. W. B. Lauder; Fr. P. Maginness; Rev. J. Fisher; John Barry; Alexander Faris; Samuel Faris; M. McKiernan; Lieut. J. M. Primrose.

#### **DROMOD**

Francis Nesbitt D.L.J.P. - Chairman

Rev. George Shaw; Fr. George Gearty; Fr. Francis Kane; Bernard Moran; James A. Thompson; Thomas Nesbitt; Coote Nesbitt.

## **DRUMDARTON**

Richard Clifford - Chairman

Nicholas Kelly R. M.; Alex Knoté; Nicholas Rorke; Nicholas Creamer; Nicholas Knoté.

## **DRUMKEERAN**

Rev. C. L. Montgomery - Chairman

Fr. J. Ford; J. Fawcett J. P.; T. Cullen J. P.; William Hamilton; P. Palmer; James Gillhooly; William Palmer; Rev. C. Higgins; H. Palmer J. P.; F. Rogan.

## **DRUMREILLY**

John Godley - Chairman

Rev. Thomas Pentland; Fr. Freeman; Mr. Percy; Rev. Lawder; Rev. Henry O'Brien.

## **DRUMSHANBO**

Lindley Birchall; J. R. Peyton; W. Peyton; Francis La Touche; Robert Thurston; Fr. Michael Heslin; Fr. Michael Fanning; Rev. George Mansfield; Rev. W. Roth; Francis McKeon; Rev. Louis Maguire; Capt. Lagard; Capt. Dent; Joseph Godby; Rev. William Noble; Rev. B. Keaney; James Reynolds; Bryan Noble; Adam Elliott.

## **DRUMSNA**

W. Lawder - Chairman

Rev. Francis Kane; Fr. Edward Moran; F. Waldron J. P.; H. Burns J. P.; Fr. George Gearty; C. Ireland; P Brennan; R. Notley; Rev. George Shaw.

## **ESLIN**

John O'Brien - Chairman

A. Lawder; James O'Brien; James Simpson; John Reynolds; Rev. Hyde; Rev. Evers; William O'Brien; Lieut. Primrose.

## **FENAGH**

Rev. George D. Beresford - Chairman

John O'Brien; William Lawder; Fr. Francis Reynolds; M. N. Lawder; Rev. Evers; Fr. McKeon; Capt. Layard; Thomas Moreton; Andrew Johnston; John Lawder J. P.

## **GLENFARNE**

N. L. Tottenham - Chairman

Simon Armstrong; Thomas Nixon.

## **KILLANUMMERY**

Michael Gallagher; Adam Elliott; Joshua Kell; John Stuart; Robert O'Donnell; James Gallagher; Fr. D. MacGill.

## **KILLARGA/CLOONLOUGHER**

Rev. George Hindes - Chairman

Henry Palmer J.P.; John O'Donnell J. P., Fr. Patrick O'Reilly; William Conboy; William Stewart; John Palmer; John Acheson; Robert Holmes; Thomas Flynn; Thomas Baird; William Filgate; Joshua Kell.

## **KILMORE**

William Lloyd J. P. D. L. - Chairman

Gilbert King J. P.; Rev. Robert King; Thomas Lloyd; Francis Irwin; Edward Keogh; Henry Brennan; J. P. McNally; Gilbert Hogg J. P.; Herbert K. Waldron J. P.; Francis Waldron J. P.; R. I. Hanley J. P.; John Corry; Bernard O'Beirne; John Hogg.

## **KINLOUGH**

Capt. Johnston - Chairman

Rev. Archibald St. George; H. J. Johnston; John R. Dickson; Fr. A. O'Neill; Rev. Franks; Fr. I. Maguire; Fr. I. O'Neill; Fr. J. Gormtry.

## **MANORHAMILTON**

N. L. Tottenham - Chairman

Capt. Slain; Rev. John Hamilton; Fr. John Hogan; Simon Armstrong J. P.; General Armstrong J. P.; Louis Algeo J. P.

## **MOHILL**

Major Jones - Chairman

Rev. J. T. Warren; Dominic Quinn; Fr. J. Bohan; Rev. Hughes; Fr. M. Fanning; Rev. A. Hogg; Rev. J. W. Newman; George West; John Veevers; Fr. I. Evers; Rev. A. Hyde; John O'Brien J. P.; Lord Clements; Rev. James Hoops; William Lawder; Dr. Duke; Rev. George Shaw; Fr. J. O'Farrell; Fr. G. Gearty; R. J. Mulvey; Fr. J. McKiernan; Capt. Walsh.

## **NEWTOWNGORE**

John Godby - Chairman

Rev. Henry O'Brien.

## **TAWLY**

Capt. Johnston - Chairman

John R. Dickson; Luke White; N. L. Tottenham.

## **CLOONE RELIEF ASSOCIATION**

George West J. P.; Rev. J. T. Warren; Rev. Andrew Hogg; Rev. J. Newman.

## APPENDIX J

### DE-POPULATION BY PARISH AND TOWNLAND

Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851	Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851
CARRIGALLEN P			CARRIGALLEN P <i>Cont</i>		
Aghaleague	60	33	Druminuff	29	23
Aghawillin	238	188	Druminshin Glebe	60	58
Aghavilla	89	88	Druminshingore	165	134
Aghavore	205	152	Drumkeelwick	120	74
Annagh	36	47	Drumleevan	123	87
Ballynamony	34	23	Drumloona	90	17
Beagh-beg	123	104	Drummucker	66	36
Beagh-more	240	191	Drumshangore	84	39
Bredagh	160	135	Drumsillagh	51	48
Calloughs	132	57	Errew	173	122
Carrickatcane	18	19	Gortermone	277	202
Cloonboygher	148	89	Gulladoo	310	172
Clooncorick	37	38	Keelrin		
Clooncose	129	131	Kilbrackan	104	62
Cloghlough	125	100	Killahurk	299	252
Coranagh	116	70	Killerrin	24	31
Corglass	187	121	Killydrum	96	24
Cornaferst	132	145	Killygar	81	51
Cornaghy	83	67	Kilnamarve	80	53
Corracar	59	39	Kivvy	128	117
Corracreeny	27	35	Laheen	181	120
Cullen and Brownhill	165	106	Longfield	49	32
Cullies	111	65	Lugnagon	124	105
Curraghaboy	37	33	Mullanadarragh	280	137
Derrylahan	6	6	Mullyaster	53	30
Derryniggin	92	45	Newtowngore	29	44
Drumanure	172	132	Sessiagh	34	22
Drumbreanlis	243	157	Sonnagh	63	63
Drumbrick	134	108	Tully, North	70	63
Drumcanon	128	94	Tully, South	189	154
Drumderglin	230	154	Unshinagh	34	23
Drumeela	108	79	Woodford Demesne	26	17
Drumergoole	32	25	<i>Cherry Island</i>	-	-
Drumercross	44	26	<i>Church Island</i>	-	-
Drumahalry	68	46	<i>Crane Island</i>	-	-
			Carrigallen T	473	387
			Newtowngore T	187	193
			<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>8,100</b>	<b>5,940</b>

Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851	Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851
CLOONE P., part of Acres	65	8	DRUMREILLY P, pt of Cont		
Aghadruminshin	76	61			
Aghalough	189	98	Corduff	8	24
Agharann	274	214	Corgloghan	54	28
Aghavas	224	136			
			Cornacreeve	10	-
Bundarragh	147	47	Corralahan	6	5
Carrickavohor	246	140	Corrala	115	88
Corduff, North	141	99	Corraleeahan	74	71
Cornamucklagh	81	64	Corramahan	144	90
Corraneary	294	206			
			Corrawaleen	108	87
Corriga	170	145	Crockawaddy	76	36
Derrindrehid	121	71	Crookeen	102	27
Diffin	77	45	Cully	79	56
Dromore	41	27	Cuilmore	114	88
Drumbinnis	48	47			
			Curraghatawy	92	89
Drumerkeane	314	221	Derradda	155	113
Drumgunny	93	58	Derrinivver	79	45
Drummanbane	128	91	Derrygoan	78	69
Gorteen	144	83	Doochorran	166	132
Gortnacamdarragh	466	247			
			Drumahira	35	27
Gradoge	73	70	Drumarigna	37	39
Killyfea	204	145	Drumbrick	70	43
Kilmakenny	86	130	Drumconlevan	61	46
Lavareen	139	73	Drumcoura	312	243
Lugganammer	292	157			
			Drumcullion	83	65
Miltron Glebe	156	132	Drumderg	105	84
Rassaun	374	161	Drumdiffer	245	131
Sunnaghconner	116	47	Drumlea	141	108
			Drumreilly	91	54
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4,779</b>	<b>3,023</b>			
			Garadice	91	73
			Glebe	178	168
DRUMREILLY P, pt of			Glennanbeg	-	3
			Gortachoosh	133	85
			Greaghnaloughry	90	53
Aghalough	188	164			
Aghawillin	41	30	Gubs	115	89
Aghoo	62	15	Keelrin	125	89
Arderry	126	89	Keenheen	235	157
Ardunsaghan	185	142	Killameen	124	101
			Killaphort	118	81
Boeshil	125	74			
Carrickmakeegan	104	82			
Coragh	170	117			

Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851	Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851
DRUMREILLY P., part of cont			OUGHTERAGH P., Cont		
Kilnacreevy	71	62	Cloverhill or Corglass	-	5
Knocks	74	73	Clogher	150	113
Leckan	85	80	Corgar	69	55
Leganamer	38	21	Cornabroher	54	66
Lisgruddy	117	57	Cornacreegh	40	27
Lislahy	32	30	Cronacreeve	62	33
Lisroughty	35	20	Cornageeragh	80	51
Mullaghboy	213	177	Corrabeegher	68	60
Mullaghmore	81	85	Corrachole	24	14
Sradrinan	51	50	Corramartin	23	19
Sraloaghan	75	23	Creevy	74	35
Sranadarragh	134	91	Cromlin,	71	44
Stroke	90	91	Curraghashillaun	23	25
Toome	152	75	Curraghnabania	285	190
Whiterock	9	15	Curraghnawall	161	100
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>6.107</b>	<b>4,450</b>	Dernahely-beg	51	30
FENAGH P., part of			Dernahely-more	180	151
Drumany (Beirme)	52	33	Dernasmallan	74	77
OUGHTERAGH P.			Derrinkeher (Brady)	55	37
Aghadark	-	41	Derrinkeher (M'Don- nell)	142	126
Aghaleague	6	10	Derrinkeher (Ray- croft)	118	101
Aghatawny, Lower	9	21	Derrynawana	53	25
Aghatawny, Upper	52	19	Dromore	61	55
Aghoo, East	142	63	Drumany	89	37
Aghoo, West	36	82	Drumbad	58	64
Aghlin	123	117	Drumbibe	115	98
Aghyowla	52	39	Drumcroman	123	148
Altakeeran	65	57	Drumdartan Glebe	69	56
Ardmeenán	140	66	Drumgownagh	79	83
Ardrum	168	133	Drumkeen	110	73
Ballynameeltoge	19	18	Drumlónan	40	28
Boggaun	32	33	Drumrackan	144	105
Bolganard	12	11	Drumraine Glebe	126	96
Callowhill	127	101	Fohera	88	30
Canagh	66	15	Glennan-beg	27	8
Cannaboe	93	178	Glennan-more	28	23
Castlerogy	77	20	Greaghglass	134	114
Cleenaghoo	73	75	Greaghrevagh-beg	47	27
Cleendargan	75	53	Greaghrevagh-more Glebe	119	106
			Gubnaveagh	166	137

Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851	Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851
OUGHTERAGH P., Cont			CLOONCLARE P., part of		
Kildorragh	82	67	Aghlacon	28	37
Killadough	52	23	Annagh	57	71
Killaglasheen	43	24	Ardmoneen	135	90
Killaneen	192	76	Ardvarney	252	240
Kilnamaddyroe	108	49	Ballaghnahehy	156	86
Kilrush	30	18	Barrs, East	201	168
Kiltybardan	183	123	Barrs, West	150	113
Kiltycreevagh	46	44	Barr of Farrow	221	156
Kiltygerry	77	64	Blackmountain	104	106
Kiltyhugh	114	54	Briscloonagh	254	146
Kiltymoodan	106	96	Brockagh, Lower	130	117
Kiltynashinnagh	84	72	Brockagh, Upper	130	128
Knockanroe	32	21	Bronagh	116	81
Knockacullion	254	232	Camderry	164	140
Lahard	195	118	Carrickleitrim	104	87
Liscuilfea	81	15	Carrickrevagh	146	149
Lisnatullagh	179	140	Cleggan	27	15
Lissacarn	153	115	Cloonaghmore	63	68
Longstones	13	12	Cloonclare	-	-
Mayo	212	158	Cornacloy	100	81
Miskaun Glebe	195	144	Cornaman	66	60
Moher	86	45	Cornastauk	70	68
Mulnasillagh	39	35	Cornavannoge	51	32
Mulnavannoge	43	33	Cuilties	25	16
Oughterahg	95	70	Cullentragh	128	118
Pottore	77	52	Curraghfore	41	23
Prabagh	84	88	Donagh-beg	18	12
Seltanahunshin	39	36	Donagh-more	119	41
Stradermot	117	118	Druminshin	35	12
Stralongford	72	82	Glenboy	219	188
Tomloskan	47	35	Gortnalibbert	274	217
Tully	74	61	Gubnacurrafore	35	39
Tullylackan-beg	22	5	Kilylcloghan	41	35
Tullylackan-more	31	32	Kilmakerrill	56	37
Tullyoscar	74	48	Lacoon	215	197
Tullywana	38	33	Laghty	132	67
Unshinagh	93	57	Laghty, Barr	109	113
	8,309	6,319	Loughros	205	188
			Lughawnagh	23	17
			Lurgan	22	24
Ballinamore T.,	946	704	Manorhamilton	-	21
			Meenagh	89	112
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>9,255</b>	<b>7,023</b>	Meenkeeragh	158	153

Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851	Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851
CLOONCLARE P., part of Cont			DRUMLEASE P.		
Meenymore	180	148	Aghameelta	53	44
Moneenageer	68	28	Aghameelta, Barr	4	23
Moneenlom	99	77	Ballynaboll	24	41
Moneenshinnagh	257	173	Banagber	144	105
Moneyduff	34	32	Boiby	178	232
Mallaun	76	63	Carrickacroghery	121	106
Munakill	113	105	Carrickanurroo	99	66
Munnagashel	30	29	Carrickfad	97	119
Ramooney	93	46	Carrigeencor	290	194
Ross	134	76	Cartron	72	71
Skreeny	-	7	Conaghil	143	107
Skreeny, Little	90	13	Conray	58	39
Sradrine	176	178	Cornalaghta	178	162
Sranagross	168	205	Corrudda	86	62
Sravrannies	79	78	Corrycullen	27	24
Tawnymanus	92	60	Curraghan	81	65
Tuckmillpark	7	17	Doonkelly	96	101
Tullyskeherny	203	154	Doonmorgan	15	41
<i>Bilberry Island</i>	-	-	Drumahaire	-	-
<i>Crannoge Island</i>	-	-	Drumlease	112	64
<i>Creevaghern Island</i>	-	-	Faslowart	7	4
<i>Patrick's Island</i>	-	-	Fawn	232	208
<i>Trawnish Island</i>	-	-	Fawnarry	29	25
	6,568	5,358	Fawnlion	151	99
MANORHAMILTON	1012	880	Gleneige	81	117
T., part of			Gortnaskeagh	104	82
Do <i>Workhouse</i>	-	552	Greenaun, North	49	41
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>7,580</b>	<b>6,790</b>	Greenaun, South	23	22
CLOONLOGHER P.			Kilcoosy	257	155
Boggaun	324	76	Killaleen	91	61
Buckhill, Barr	51	44	Killenna Glebe	21	29
Cloonaquin	153	141	Kilmore	51	39
Cloonlogher	86	51	Kinnara Glebe	27	27
Gortgarrigan	106	79	Leckaun	72	56
Larkfield	223	138	Leean	21	20
Lisgorman	186	272	Lugalustran	48	26
Pollboy	80	72	Magurk	65	61
Srabrick	39	37	Moneyduff	55	22
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,248</b>	<b>910</b>	Morerah	159	131
			Mullagh	162	158
			Rubbal	22	42
			Sramore	51	41
			Sriff	89	80
			Stonepark	89	97
				3,834	3,309

Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851	Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851
Dromahair T	348	346	INNISMAGRATH P:		
TOTAL	4,182	3,655	Acres	56	27
DRUMREILLY P., Pt of:			Aghamore	72	37
Annagh, Lower	68	69	Alteen	63	55
Annagh, Upper	75	46	Alteenacres Glebe	23	21
Aughrim	203	163	Altiquin	15	14
Carntullagh	109	98	Annaghgerry	33	27
Cleighran-beg	111	60	Ardlougher	57	47
Cleighran-more	138	157	Aughrim	48	51
Corglass	81	53	Bargowla	39	35
Cornageeha	68	64	Barragh-beg	-	10
Cornaguillagh	105	69	Barragh-more	88	44
Cornamucklagh, Nth	117	129	Boleybaun	33	15
Cornamucklagh, Sth	151	132	Boleymaguire	26	30
Cortober	147	129	Braudphark	11	11
Cuiltia	49	49	Bundiveen	17	16
Derreenageer	97	86	Camalt	36	28
Derrinwillin	108	98	Canbeg	96	87
Derrynahona	48	49	Carrowlaur	69	37
Druminalass	76	45	Cartronbeg	31	27
Drumnafinnila	84	90	Cavan	87	34
Drumnafinnila Barr	24	20	Cloonamurgal	49	17
Drumristin	125	147	Clooneen	100	89
Eden	64	73	Cloonmeone, Lower	52	25
Fahy	73	54	Cloonmeone, Upper	84	69
Greaghnafarna	274	211	Coollegreane	176	168
Kilgarriff	109	22	Corchuill, Lower	94	65
Kilmore	92	78	Corchuill, Upper	71	20
Largandill	65	59	Corcormick	117	54
Slievenakilla	149	120	Corderry	105	87
Sradrinagh	80	59	Corduff	30	36
Sranagarvanagh	184	170	Corglass	31	6
Tullynahan	190	186	Corloughcahill	59	58
Tullynapurtlin	114	116	Corloughtomalty	8	2
Tullyveacan	250	191	Cornacloy	51	33
Urbal	63	39	Corralustia	64	40
Urbal Barr	54	47	Corrawechil Glebe	142	82
<i>Inishmagrath</i>	-	-	Corry	168	103
TOTAL	3,745	3,178	Curraghs, North	26	16
			Curraghs, South	62	12
			Derreens	79	26
			Derrindangan	60	41
			Derrintawy Glebe	80	76
			Derrinum	100	53
			Derrinvoher	61	52
			Derrinvoney, Lower	78	40

Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851	Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851
INNISMAGRATH P, Cont			INNISMAGRATH P. Cont		
Derrinveyne, Upper	102	86	Knockatecan	105	87
Derriniewer	94	31	Knocknacoska	14	5
Derrinwillin Glebe	79	88			
Derrybofin	24	10	Larga	28	3
Derrycullinan	88	30	Lavagh	29	16
			Lecarrow or		
Derrycullinanbeg	20	3	Strandhill	11	4
Derrylustia	126	112	Leckaun	69	28
Derrynahinch	36	20	Letter	140	68
Derrynalurgan	16	6	Lisacoghil	163	120
Derryvalannagher Glebe	92	95	Lisadloocy	12	14
			Liscuillew, Lower	115	29
Doolargy Glebe	66	38	Liscuillew, Upper	89	62
Drumbrahade	62	44	Lisdrumgran	39	25
Drumkeeran	18	50	Lisfuitaghan	173	81
Drummanacappul	17	6			
Drummanasooan	18	19	Lisnanaw	68	39
			Lisnanorris	30	43
Drummanfaughnan	51	17	Lugmeeltan	112	96
Drummangarvagh	8	-	Lugmeen	7	2
Drummans, Lower	32	35	Lugmore	6	9
Drummans, Upper	51	25			
Drumrewy	170	86	Mahanagh	75	65
			Modorragh	93	56
Falty	108	20	Moncenatieve	161	93
Fingreagh, Lower	14	14	Moneenreave	72	59
Fingreagh, Upper	59	66	Mullaghbaun	55	56
Geaglom	115	128	Mullaghcashel	41	30
Glackaunadarragh	174	154	Mullaghfadha	61	3
			Ross	16	20
Glasdrumman-beg	110	36	Rossbeg Glebe	21	21
Glasdrumman-more	103	80	Rossmore	66	28
Glassalt	42	24			
Gortacorka	132	76	Seltan	32	13
Gortnasillagh, East	175	144	Seltannasaggart or		
			Corry Mountain	20	28
Gortnasillagh, West	71	48	Seltannaskeagh	10	13
Gowlaunrevagh	8	10	Shass	74	53
Greaghnadarragh	71	54	Sheena	36	29
Greaghmaglogh	185	161	Shivdelagh	88	83
Greaghnaslieve	167	77	Stangaun	19	11
Greyfield	59	32	Tawnycorrach	89	48
Gubb	-	8	Tents	100	72
Killadiskert	132	107	Tinnybeg	43	30
Kilmore	50	41	Tonlegee	45	32
Kilnagarns, Lower	53	86	Tullaghans	88	54
Kilnagarns, Upper	42	14	Tullintowell	87	89
Kiltyfeenaghty Glebe	60	59	Tullyclevaun	55	59
Knockacosan	59	21	Tullycorka	193	92

Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851	Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851
INNISMAGRATH P. Cont			KILLANUMMERY P Cont		
Tullymurray	55	34	Flughanagh	102	75
Tullynamucduff	8	5	Friarstown	71	77
Tullynarooog	73	35	Garvagh	117	105
Tullyveame	13	14	Garvagh Glebe	329	251
Turpaun	31	29	Greaghnafarna	140	115
Ummera	74	53	Kilcoon	53	48
Unshinagh	24	10	Killananima	9	24
<i>Corry Island</i>	-	-	Killanummery	178	103
<i>Drummans Island</i>	-	-	Killavoggy	437	307
			Killeen	82	76
	9,134	6,232	Mullaghdoe	68	48
Drumkeeran T.	469	400	Mullanaskcagh	136	78
			Rathbaun	121	117
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>9,603</b>	<b>6,632</b>	Sliganagh	62	41
			Sracummer	163	75
KILLANUMMERY P.			Sradoon	112	90
Ardakip-beg	49	41	Tully	47	21
Ardakip-more	63	82	Tullycoly	93	71
Ardvarney	67	36	Tullynascreen	90	159
Bawn	12	7	<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>4,605</b>	<b>3,719</b>
Beagh	305	249	KILLARGA P:		
Caddagh Glebe	124	125	Altavra	143	118
Carrigeen	114	90	Annagh	42	21
Carrowcrin	53	76	Annaghboy	11	8
Cashel	43	29	Barlear	61	14
Cleen	76	51	Belhavel	20	20
Cleighran	63	36	Blackgardens	85	53
Cloonbannive	138	86	Boleybrack	-	-
Corcusconny	103	67	Brockagh	32	17
Corglancey	122	152	Carrickmurray	-	26
Corratimore Glebe	251	188	Carrickoghil	18	10
Creevelea	9	25	Cloonagh	119	88
Derrinagher	43	44	Corderry	61	63
Derrybrisk	41	49	Cornamarve	127	65
Dromore	88	38	Corrasra	83	76
Drumany	51	47	Corratawy	98	61
Drumconor	77	85	Cunnion	54	34
Drumduff	81	71	Curry	111	91
Drummary	54	37	Darkvalley	34	14
Drumrane	79	50	Dergvone	328	243
Edergole	84	77	Derrinatawy	31	39

Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851	Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851
KILLARGA P: Cont			KILLARGA P: Cont		
Drumany Glebe	120	75	Tullynacross	62	37
Drumcashlagh	88	57	Tullynamoyle	129	137
Drumderg	46	34	Tullynasharragh	62	35
Drumduffy	86	47			
Drumillion	26	16	TOTAL:	4,873	3,673
Drumkeel	155	87			
Drumlumman Glebe	45	6			
Fenagh	56	68			
Geskanagh Glebe	48	27			
Gortahork	96	71			
Gortatresk	109	87			
Gorteen	28	33			
Gortermone	129	105			
Gortnacorkoge	189	86			
Gowlaun	91	49			
Greagh	24	26			
Greaghnagon	26	31			
Gubaderry	51	68			
Killarga	69	69			
Killooman	67	48			
Knocknacullion	59	33			
Lackagh	25	16			
Leamaskally	63	55			
Leonagh	101	95			
Lisgavneen	99	76			
Lisnagown	49	37			
Lugmaskeehan	109	84			
Mullaghmore	189	168			
Shancarrick	15	19			
Sheskin	22	16			
Sleveen	12	8			
Socknalougher	36	21			
Socks	31	28			
Sranacrannaghy	77	43			
Sweetwood, Little	61	52			
Sweetwood, Lower	56	68			
Sweetwood, Upper	65	40			
Tawnahoney	110	92			
Tawnyhoosy	37	31			
Tawnylea	81	67			
Treannadullagh	124	79			
Tullinloughan	45	43			
Tullinwanna	42	41			
Tullinwillin	77	87			
Tullycreevy	28	14			

Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851	Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851
ANNADUFF P., part of:			FENAGH P., part of		
Aghintober	4	5	Aghavadden	95	40
Annaduff	184	108	Ardagh	62	43
Annaduff Glebe	334	187	Aroddy	68	37
Cankeel	38	31	Ballycalleen	73	37
Carrick	184	110	Branra	19	18
			Churchfield	-	-
Coolcreeve	41	23	Cloodrumman-beg	23	26
Corlisheen	142	91	Cloodrumman-more	69	48
Cornagillagh	34	18	Coldrumman	24	25
Correish	63	22	Commons	13	24
Crickeen	-	4	Corlough	96	64
			Cornabrone	142	81
Curraghmartin	57	47	Cornafestra	30	36
Derreen	48	22	Corrabegagh	80	48
Derrybrack	37	32	Corrachosaun	141	28
Derrylaur	31	13			
Derryoughter	49	9	Corrabort	77	43
			Costrea	74	74
Drishoge	13	7	Cuillagh	88	62
Dristernan	122	31	Derreen	37	39
Drumgilra	62	47	Derrinkip	50	43
Drumkeeran	40	7	Derrymacoffin	19	15
Drumnacot	63	17	Drumcarra	82	69
			Drumcattan	105	25
Drumsna	19	46	Drumeanan-beg	22	8
Fargrim	81	33	Drumeanan-more	41	32
Foxborough	25	4			
Gortaggle	12	13	Drumharkan	53	54
Gortconnellan	34	21	Drumkirwan	74	47
			Drumlaheen	123	90
Gortinty	146	42	Drumlitten		
Headford	65	46	(Besborough)	53	14
Lavagh	56	41	Drumlitten (King)	20	8
Lislea	14	5	Drumroosk, North	120	65
Lisduff	53	21	Drumroosk, South	78	43
			Fenaghbeg	140	110
Lismannagh	66	53	Glasdrumman	149	84
Lismoyle	89	23	Glebe	9	11
Millpark	18	5	Greagh	105	51
Mountcampbell	48	24	Knockmullin	111	122
Mucklaghan Glebe	88	39	Laragh	81	10
Mullaun	63	18	Mough	60	36
Taash	89	44	Muckros	60	51
	2,512	1,309	Mullaghnameely	76	45
			Sruhaun	104	90
Drumsna T.,	516	384	Tully	123	78
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>3,028</b>	<b>1,693</b>	<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>3,069</b>	<b>1,974</b>

Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851	Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851
KILTOGHERT P:			KILTOGHERT P Cont		
Acres	26	18			
Adereen	70	23	Cormeeltan	34	30
Aghagrania	251	204	Cormongan	164	94
Aghakilconnell	47	47	Cornacorroo	91	45
Aghameeny	27	28	Cornacranaghy	69	27
			Cornamucklagh	41	8
Aghancarra	22	14			
Aghnagollop	146	109	Cornamuddagh	65	39
Annaghasna	105	87	Cornaroy	155	133
Annaghbradican	100	83	Cornashamsoge	357	255
Annaghearly	119	71	Cornaslieve	6	4
			Corrachuill	73	45
Annaghkeenty	106	62			
Annaghnammadoe	69	64	Correen	121	29
Annaghseihery	141	116	Corryard	37	23
Ardcolum	48	46	Corryolus	78	19
Ardlougher	72	48	Creenagh	98	61
Attifinlay	99	70	Crey	24	47
Attirory	104	67			
Aughriman	88	65	Deffier	200	190
Aughriman, South	151	84	Derrintober	87	19
Balinwing	137	86	Derrintonny	102	88
			Derryhallagh	66	25
Ballynacleigh	122	60	Derrynageer	27	22
Ballynamony	69	54	Derrytoigoro	40	28
Barnameenagh	63	31	Dorrusawillin	83	33
Barnameenagh, West	65	47	Dristernaun	34	28
Bellagart	33	23	Dromore	79	35
			Drumcoora	57	24
Bellanaboy	219	123			
Blackrock	123	69	Drumcroman	105	41
Caidragh	30	33	Drumderg	163	62
Carrickaveril	17	19	Drumduff, North	115	58
Carrickbaun	65	43	Drumduff, South	11	27
Carrickevy	16	23	Drumgeaghloam	96	70
Carricknabrack	14	24			
Carrickslavan	105	74	Drumgorman	166	122
Cartown	43	45	Drumgowla	128	71
Clogher	31	27	Drumgownagh	113	56
Cloonfeacle	31	27	Drumhalwy	21	9
Cloonmulligan	49	33	Drumhauer	49	35
Cloonsheebane	23	25			
Cloonsheerevagh	86	49	Drumheckil	78	16
Coraughrim	74	6	Drumherriff	129	110
Corbally	58	45	Drumhierny	13	10
Corhawnagh	48	21	Drumkeelan-beg	109	71
Corlona	53	44	Drumkeelan-more	71	32
Corlough	76	63			
Corloughlin	77	47	Drumkeeran	131	94

Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851	Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851
KILTOGHERT P: cont			KILTOGHERT P: cont		
Drumleague	220	94	Lisduff	45	23
Drumliffin Glebe	93	82	Lisgarney	69	46
Drumlumman	104	48	Lismakeegan	101	32
Drummagh	70	57	Lisnabrack	29	7
Drummaunroe	98	31	Lisngat	39	10
Drumnadober	125	166	Lisnagea	121	79
Drumshanbo	58	75	Lisseceghan	84	65
Effrinagh	154	157	Lustia	94	73
Fahymore	8	8	Mackan	30	43
Farnagh	150	117	Mahanagh	150	55
Fawn	70	36	Minkill	51	30
Finisklin	248	134	Moheracreevy Glebe	69	66
Garvlough	139	46	Moneynure	6	-
Gort	232	95	Mong	47	28
Gowel	225	174	Mullaghsallagh	82	40
Grange	104	90	Murhaun	102	85
Greagh	16	4	Newbrook	45	45
Greaghfarnagh	87	80	Pollnagappul	28	24
Greaghaguillaun	412	268	Port	26	14
Grove	7	5	Portaneoght	20	9
Hartley	20	11	Rinnacurreen	92	53
Jamestown	-	-	Roscunnish	103	71
Keonaghan	111	61	Rue	57	49
Koonbrook	20	22	Sallaghan	16	13
Kilboderry	71	52	Shancurry	158	126
Kildorrigh	56	40	Sheemore	130	36
Killarcan	152	53	Sheffield	90	83
Killasanowl	113	34	Sheskinacurry	55	47
Kilmaddaroe	88	70	Tawnycurry	67	12
Kilmaghera	10	8	Tirmactierman	28	21
Kilnagross	111	102	Tonnagh	44	31
Kiltoghert	-	242	Townparks	195	345
Kiltycarney	117	47	Tully	79	67
Knocknasawna	95	31	Tullylannan	82	207
Largan	90	76	<i>Inishmucker</i>	-	-
Largan Mountain	53	54	<i>Two other Islands</i>	-	-
Lavaur	110	106		14,143	9,823
Leitrim	-	256			
Lisbrockan	43	36	Carrick-on-Shannon		
Liscallyroan	159	67	T. part of	1,716	1,100
Lisconor	75	59	Do <i>Workhouse</i>	-	552
Lisdauky	115	58	Do <i>Gaol</i>	-	88
Lisdromafarna	102	73	Do <i>Infirmary</i>	-	44
Lisdromarea (North)	132	108	Drumshanbo T	517	522
Lisdromarea (South)	42	14			

Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851	Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851
KILTOGHERT P: cont			KILTUBRID P: cont		
Jamestown T.,	315	212	Drumgud	43	34
Kiltoghert T.,	484	-	Drumhubbrid	61	53
Leitrim T.,	406	256	Drumineigh Glebe	47	49
<i>Auxiliary Workhouse</i>	-	182	Drumingna	123	72
TOTAL:	17,581	12,779	Drumparsons	124	86
KILTUBRID P:			Drumruekill	46	1
Aghacashel	118	83	Edenavow	23	16
Aghcashlaun	69	79	Edenmore	43	34
Aghaginny	187	130	Funshinagh	35	14
Aghakilbrack	106	108		142	89
Aghakilmore	44	8	Garvagh		
Aghnahoo	77	48	Gortnagullion	49	35
Annagh	14	12	Gortnawaun	212	147
Annaghkeenty	46	34	Gowly	198	73
Aughrim	41	30	Keshcarrigan	61	29
Bunrevagh	142	111	Kilclare-beg	84	85
Carrick	64	28	Kilclare-more	160	135
Carrickaport	53	36	Kiltubrid	138	102
Clooney	-	-	Kiltynashinnagh	19	8
Corderry ( <i>Morton</i> )	101	44	Laheen	33	26
Corderry ( <i>Peyton</i> )	252	117	Laheen ( <i>Peyton</i> )	14	9
Corglass	85	68	Leitra	-	-
Cornaleck	53	45	Leitrim	99	78
Corrasmaghooil	39	28	Letterfine	67	53
Crummy	248	241	Liscarban	45	57
Corragha	127	72	Lisdromacrone	76	48
Derreen ( <i>Johnston</i> )	180	153	Loughconway	54	46
Derreen ( <i>Lloyd</i> )	89	52	Loughscur	44	19
Derreen ( <i>Southwell</i> )	6	6	Moher ( <i>Gregg</i> )	12	8
Driny	60	54	Moherrevogagh	229	176
Drumad ( <i>Beirne</i> )	83	49	Mullaghaneigh	107	45
Drumad ( <i>Moran</i> )	65	43	Mullaghboy	41	40
Drumadykey	12	10	Mullaghgarve	51	31
Drumaleague	73	91	Mullaghycullen	259	176
Drumany	40	35	Mullaun Glebe	78	47
Drumaragh	114	56	Prughlish	82	78
Drumaweel Glebe	75	66	Rantoge Glebe	212	122
Drumbranned	111	98	Roscarban	137	128
Drumbullog	102	104	Roscunnish	159	169
Drumcong	74	51	Rossy	26	30
Drumcromaun	59	39	Scardaun	144	121
				130	72

Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851	Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851
KILTUBRID P. Cont			ANNADUFF P., part of:		
Scrabbagh			Aghamore	88	38
Seltan ( <i>M'Donald</i> )	33	51	Aghintass	110	52
Seltan ( <i>Moran</i> )	44	42	Antfield	111	28
Shanraw	27	25	Aughry	18	5
Sheebeg	33	26	Corduff	193	95
	47	39			
Toomans			Cuilmore	93	28
	196	117	Derrycarne Demesne	24	27
	7,096	5,170	Derrywillow	200	86
Keshcarrigan T.,			Doora	57	30
	132	117	Drumcoora	62	44
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>7,228</b>	<b>5,287</b>	Drumcree	106	43
MOHILL P., part of:			Drumlom	153	35
Attimanus			Drumod-beg	67	45
Bunny-beg	135	101	Drumod-more	245	22
Bunny-more, Lower	94	25	Faulties	35	31
Bunny-more, Upper	78	5	Fearnaght	261	136
Cartron	53	39	Fedaro	35	4
	46	-	Finnalaghta	156	80
Corboghill			Furnace or Bleankillew	143	80
Corlaskagh	34	23	Gortinee	188	125
Corlea	65	43			
Cornagecha	99	38	Killyfad	134	57
Corracramph, North	52	11	Moher	118	41
	13	10	Moherrevan	104	49
Curraghoaghry			Mullagh	173	59
Drumdart	74	38	Ummera	75	21
Drumgownagh	81	40			
Drumoula	151	10	<i>Inchmurrin or Rabbit Island</i>	-	-
Drumrahan	35	20	<i>Otter Island</i>	-	-
	75	50	<i>Sallow Island</i>	-	-
Gortanure, North			<i>Three other Islands</i>	-	-
Gortavacan	112	49		2,949	1,261
Greenaun	24	11			
Keeloge	88	70	Drumod T.,	185	213
Laheen, North	30	24			
Lisdrumgivel, Lower	84	9	<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>3,134</b>	<b>1,474</b>
Lisdrumgivel, Upper	65	23			
Meelick	45	21			
Mohernameela	78	46			
Skeamartin	51	36			
	18	9			
Tulcon					
	72	31			
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>1,752</b>	<b>782</b>			

Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851	Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851
CLOONE P., part of:			CLOONE P., part of cont		
Adoon .	343	168			
Aghamore	225	146	Edenbaun	101	73
Annaghmaconway	169	83	Edergole	137	84
Annaghmacullen	266	174	Errew	146	49
Annaghmore	272	164	Esker	31	22
			Farnaght	249	189
Annaghoney	34	25			
Anskert	231	98	Fearglass, North	191	150
Beihy	710	436	Fearglass, South	132	63
Bellakiltyfea	275	178	Gorteenoran	60	30
Breanross, North	85	44	Gortinure	93	62
			Gortletteragh	165	97
Breanross, South	214	127			
Cattan	595	407	Gortnalougher	74	93
Clooncoe	154	94	Gortnarah	104	53
Clooncose	219	166	Gubadorris	183	104
Cloone	99	56	Halls	106	101
Cloonce	120	81	Keeldra	104	63
Clooncumber	235	130	Killyvehy	341	244
Cloonlaughil	388	176	Lear	67	108
Cloontubbrid	79	71	Lecknagh	33	31
Corduff, South	213	129	Lisgillock Glebe	507	239
			Lissagarvan	562	335
Cornageeha	203	129			
Cornagher	422	120	Lurga	59	36
Cornulla	251	116	Muckanagh	89	53
Creenagh	151	78	Mullaghbrack	207	128
Drumadorn	130	105	Mullynadrumman	65	50
			Racullen	221	144
Drumbad	116	81			
Drumboher	247	102	Rinn	82	46
Drumconny	183	139	Ross-beg	80	42
Drumdarkan	91	33	Ross-more	94	51
Drumgilra	147	75	Sunnagh-beg	119	94
			Sunnagh-more	765	477
Drumgowla	251	119			
Drumgownagh	123	79	Tawnaghmore	129	64
Drumgrania	177	104	Tooma	134	93
Drumhallagh	248	167	Tooman	524	322
Drumharkan Glebe	299	259	Trean	165	28
Drumhass	107	76	Tulcon	258	157
Drumhirk	231	135			
Drumkeilvy	296	192	Tullyoran	37	10
Drumlaggagh	156	86			
Drummeen	113	73		16,275	9,726
Drumua	130	48			
Drumshanbo, North	212	151	Cloone T.,	171	123
Drumshanbo, South	470	245			
Dunavinally	181	71	<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>16,446</b>	<b>9,849</b>

Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851	Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851
FENAGH P., part of			MOHILL., part of		
Aghaboneill	149	72	Cloonboniagh, South	244	165
Annaghaderg	89	78	Clooncahir	21	9
Boneill	51	44	Clooncarreen	488	284
Cornagon	54	48	Cloonclivvy	220	123
Cornavad	117	62	Clooncolry	296	125
Corrabarrack	151	125	Clooneagh	208	150
Corragoly	8	7	Cloonfinnan	143	110
Drumany ( <i>Tenants</i> )	83	40	Cloonlaughil	13	3
Drumany ( <i>O'Brien</i> )	46	28	Cloonmorris	226	176
Drumcollop	90	64	Cloontumpher	169	119
Garadice	32	32	Cloonturk	225	155
Gubroe	35	13	Coolabann	34	38
Kilmacshervell	82	109	Corduff	70	24
Kiltyfinnan	60	39	Corduffhill	19	-
Knockroosk	92	60	Corgallion	44	33
Leamanish	166	103	Corgar	64	29
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>1,305</b>	<b>924</b>	Cormore	40	8
MOHILL P., part of			Cornagillagh	9	3
Acres	33	18	Cornagresha, North	73	55
Aghadrumcarn	106	78	Cornagresha, South	83	28
Aghadrumderg	28	25	Cornee	104	60
Aghakilfaughna	10	7	Corrabeagh	199	63
Aghamore	22	19	Corracaboon	39	24
Aghinteeduff	31	20	Corracramph, South	186	121
Aghnacross	12	4	Corrascoffy	122	24
Aghnahunshin	53	6	Corrateriff, North	21	12
Aghnamona	48	29	Corrateriff, South	25	20
Annaghderg, Lower	94	22	Crossdrumman	50	45
Annaghderg, Upper	50	21	Curragha	100	69
Bellageeher	295	206	Curraun	304	142
Boeeshil	23	6	Derreen	92	60
Breandrum ( <i>King</i> )	81	52	Doonarah	46	31
Breandrum ( <i>Peyton</i> )	70	43	Drimna	69	25
Breanress	45	20	Drumard ( <i>Jones</i> )	78	43
Bunkilleen	71	24	Drumard		
Cappagh	49	39	( <i>Magerrau</i> )	163	134
Carrick	42	41	Drumbeighra	89	41
Carrigeen	93	55	Drumboy	315	163
Cashel	147	99	Drumcollagan	118	66
Cavan	56	42	Drumcroy	52	26
Clarashinnagh	7	6	Drumdoo	240	74
Cloonbo	60	44	Drumgam	59	38
Cloonboniagh, North	161	47	Drumhany	46	36
			Drumhany, North	36	20
			Drumhany, South	101	49
			Drumhirk	39	28

Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851	Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851
MOHILL., part of: cont			MOHILL P., part of: cont		
Drumkilla	39	34	Moher	55	19
Drumkilleen	75	13	Mohill	15	-
Drumlara	183	78	Moneyroe	29	14
Drumlowan	90	34	Mucklougher	64	41
Drumnid	104	55	Mullaghgrigny	42	10
Drumoghty-beg	37	54	Mullaun	47	37
Drumoghty-more	39	21	Oghill	64	49
Drumraghool, North	105	60	Rinnagowna	50	17
Drumraghool, South	123	86	Roosky	60	42
Drumreask	66	23	Rooskynamona	172	123
Drumregan	69	69			
			Rosharry	144	112
Esker, North	88	56	Rosdoowaun	102	61
Esker, South	92	44	Seltan	35	35
Finiskil	139	90	Shannagh	102	74
Garvagh	204	122	Shivdilla	65	37
Georgia or			Shoalmore	106	46
Gorteenoran	-	-	Springfield	45	27
Glasdrumman	82	50	Sragam	164	80
Gortanure, South	77	58	Sratrissaun, North	77	64
Gortfadda	80	49	Sratrissaun, South	105	31
Gortnalamp	115	101			
Gortnalug	48	33	Stuck	78	70
			Tamlaghtavally	134	105
Gortyclery	62	45	Tamlaght-beg	88	61
Gubadruih	104	70	Tamlaght-more	214	95
Gubagraffy	51	34	Tawnyeely	13	5
Keelagh	95	56			
Kildoo	39	7	Treanmore	163	70
			Tullybradan	37	9
Killamaun	354	164	Tullyoran	53	35
Killinaker	78	45	Tulrusk	72	27
Knockadrinan	29	34	Ussaun	39	33
Knockalongford	90	47			
Knockmacrory	30	31		13,166	7,562
Labbyeslin	17	14	Mohill T.,	1,626	1,217
Laheennamona	25	15	Do, <i>Workhouse</i>	-	1,101
Laheen, South	119	34	Do, <i>Fever Hospital</i>	-	6
Leitrim, Lower	91	82	Roosky T., part of,	37	31
Leitrim, Upper	114	58			
			<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>14,829</b>	<b>9,917</b>
Liscloonadea	152	20			
Lisdadanan	129	103			
Lisomadaun	141	72			
Meelragh <i>Nagur</i>	44	35			
Meelragh <i>Saggart</i>	44	13			

Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851	Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851
CLOONCLARE P., part of			KILLASNET P, Cont		
Aghavanny	62	78	Clooneen	55	33
Boleyboy	336	289	Corglass	50	38
Carraun	96	82	Cornagillagh	109	72
Carrigeengeare	33	24	Cornaneane	98	72
Cashelaveela	119	110	Cullionboy	54	49
Cherrybrook	82	54	Curraghfore	231	110
Corraclona	175	193	Deerpark	142	115
Glenkeel	75	57	Diffreen	154	129
Killea	162	128			
Kiltyclogher	528	445	Dromore	28	36
			Drumdillure	41	22
Lissinagroagh	248	137	Drummahan	81	63
Loughaphonta	48	23	Drummans	100	75
Loughaphonta Barr	78	63	Drumnacross	31	25
Lugasnaghta	123	106			
Sraduffy	90	66	Fallacarra	49	52
			Fanghary	252	181
Tawnyfeacle	125	90	Fenagh	56	59
Tawnylust	27	24	Fivepoundland	25	10
Tawnylust Barr	-	19	Formoyle	-	-
Tawnylust Barr, Upper	31	-			
Tawnyunshinagh	113	76	Glasdrumman	98	91
			Glebe	189	157
Tullintaggart	16	16	Gorteenaguinnell	105	105
Tullintoy	133	112	Gortinar	178	139
			Gortnagam	70	71
	2,700	2,192	Gortnagrogerny	29	31
			Gubinea	80	53
Kiltyclogher T.,	244	321	Killymeehin	28	22
			Kilroosk	217	126
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>2,944</b>	<b>2,513</b>	Knocknaclassagh	26	14
KILLASNET P:			Launtaggart	55	43
Aghamore	25	20	Largandoon	31	14
Amorset	49	48	Largantemple	3	12
Ballyglass	77	99	Largy	120	80
Barracashlaun	79	46	Leckanarainey	92	96
Barrackpark	34	42			
			Lisnabrack	288	244
Brackary-beg	129	111	Lugnafeaghery	86	54
Brackary-more	95	82	Meenaphuill	40	25
Carrickeeny	150	116	Milltown	41	27
Carrickgoan	57	36	Mountaintbird	19	35
Cartronatemple	74	43	Mulkaun	151	87
			Mullanyduffy	66	59
Castletown	49	32	Mullies	48	46
Cloghmeen	-	-	Nure	92	61
			Poundhill	18	5

Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851	Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851
KILLASNET P. Cont			ROSSINVER P, part of: Cont		
Raheenduff	16	5	Ballymore	94	82
Rassaun, East	86	80	Bomahas	31	17
Rassaun, West	57	45	Boyannagh	190	164
Shancurragh	6	-	Buckode	83	70
Shancurragh (Barr of)	10	12	Bunduff	12	15
Shanvaus	35	41	Carrowboy	31	24
Skreeny	39	5	Carrowduff	56	26
Sracleighreen	63	62	Carrowkeel	32	22
Sracreeghan	82	59	Carrownoona	175	170
Sraneá	50	43	Carrowrevagh	48	41
Tawnamachugh	122	106	Cartrongibbagh	98	62
Tawnymoyle	223	167	Cleighragh	72	59
Tomrud	85	72	Cloghan	97	47
Treanakillew	67	46	Cloodrevagh	38	6
Tully	91	76	Cloonawillin	37	71
Tullynasharragh	17	15	Cloone	136	110
Twigspark	14	14	Cloonty	106	77
	5,607	4,361	Cloontyprughlish	92	98
Lurganboy T., Manorhamilton T., part of,	184	-	Conray	140	114
	495	347	Conwal, North	94	42
TOTAL:	6,286	4,708	Conwal, South	-	56
ROSSINVER P., part of:			Coolodonnell	137	65
Aghaderrard, East	111	86	Corbeg	85	83
Aghaderrard, West	76	65	Cordiver	185	125
Aghadunvane	170	80	Corlea	89	80
Aghalateeve	136	128	Cornagawna	85	67
Aghamore	60	44	Cornageeha	37	
Aghanish	220	199	Cornaglah	97	
Agharroo	156	178	Corraleskin	115	
Agharoosky	91	70	Creevelea	57	
Aghavoghil	202	159	Crumpaun	60	
Aghnahaha	242	236	Derrinloughan	173	
Aghnahoo	50	39	Derryduff	71	
Ardagh ( <i>Gilbride</i> )	49	39	Derryherk	205	
Ardagh ( <i>Sheeran</i> )	67	52	Derrynahimmirk	123	
Arroo	-	-	Derrynaseer	150	
Askill	238	124	Dooard	83	
			Doobally	169	
			Doostroke	39	
			Drumacolla	25	

Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851	Parishes, Townlands, and Towns	Population in 1841	Population in 1851
ROSSINVER P., part of: cont			ROSSINVER P., part of: cont		
Drumanure	66	52	Meenagraun	43	23
Drumcashel	164	139	Moher	64	35
Drumgane	18	32	Mollynadinta	20	21
Druminargid	80	49	Moneen	180	136
Drummans	94	103	Moneengaugagh	23	31
Drungan	48	38	Muckrum	87	76
Duncarbry	290	62	Mullanaleck	84	74
Eden	73	65	Mullanavockaun	46	23
Edenvella	303	248	Mullanyduff	47	42
Erriff	54	39	Park	55	73
Fortagh	102	112	Raheelin	139	130
Gannavagh	20	19	Redbrae	133	102
Gargrim	83	61	Roosky	90	59
Glack	72	32	Rosclogher	71	56
Gorteenachurry	61	70	Rosfriar	63	53
Gortcendarragh	144	112	Shasgar	37	33
Gortnacrieve	91	39	Shasmore	25	13
Gortnaderrary	165	128	Shecan	10	10
Gortnasillagh	71	53	Shesknan	139	118
Gubacreeny	389	341	Sracummer	72	36
Gubalaun	103	87	Sragarve	7	8
Gubanumera	47	20	Sraud ( <i>Connolly</i> )	62	44
Gubmanus	39	33	Sraun ( <i>Ferguson</i> )	20	22
Gubnageer	65	68	Tawly	565	477
Keeloges	120	88	Tawnalock	89	56
Kinkillew	60	55	Tawnytallan	40	28
Kinlough	38	47	Tullaghan	43	40
Knockanroe	12	10	Tullyderrin	50	36
Knockbrack	37	16	Tullysheherny	185	130
Laghta	345	217	Unshinagh	194	158
Lareen	191	135	Uragh	136	123
Larganavaddoge	48	50	Wardtown	535	479
Lurganugh	106	82	Inisheher	-	-
Largydonnell	101	84	Inishkeen	4	8
Lattone	231	170	Inishmean	-	-
Lisdarush	124	95	Inishtemple	-	-
Lisgool	19	17	<i>Four other islands</i>	-	-
Lissiniska	80	96		13,289	10,658
Loughmuirran	122	84	Kinlough, T	277	217
Magheramore	47	39	Tullaghan, T	-	114
Mautiagh	93	92			
			<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>13,566</b>	<b>10,989</b>

## SUMMARY BY POOR LAW UNIONS

Union	Population in 1841	Population in 1851
Ballyshannon, part of:	10,349	8,785
Bawnboy, part of:	18,408	13,640
Carrick-on-Shannon, part of:	31,617	22,962
Manorhamilton	44,038	34,804
Mohill	50,385	31,724
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>155,297</b>	<b>111,915</b>

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## NOTES

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Often referred to as Ireland's "Cinderella County", Leitrim saw its population halved in the years 1851 - 91. The catalyst for this exodus was the potato blight of 1845 which together with successive crop failures devastated the county for five years.

This book catalogues the events of those years on a county-wide basis - From the building of Workhouses through eyewitness accounts of hunger and starvation, to the government investigation into the scandals in Carrick Workhouse. An in-depth analysis of the role played by the Quakers is offered, while the evidence of folklore is also examined.

Using previously unused material, Gerard MacAtasney argues that local attitudes and conditions, combined with government indifference, produced a disaster from which Leitrim has never recovered.

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