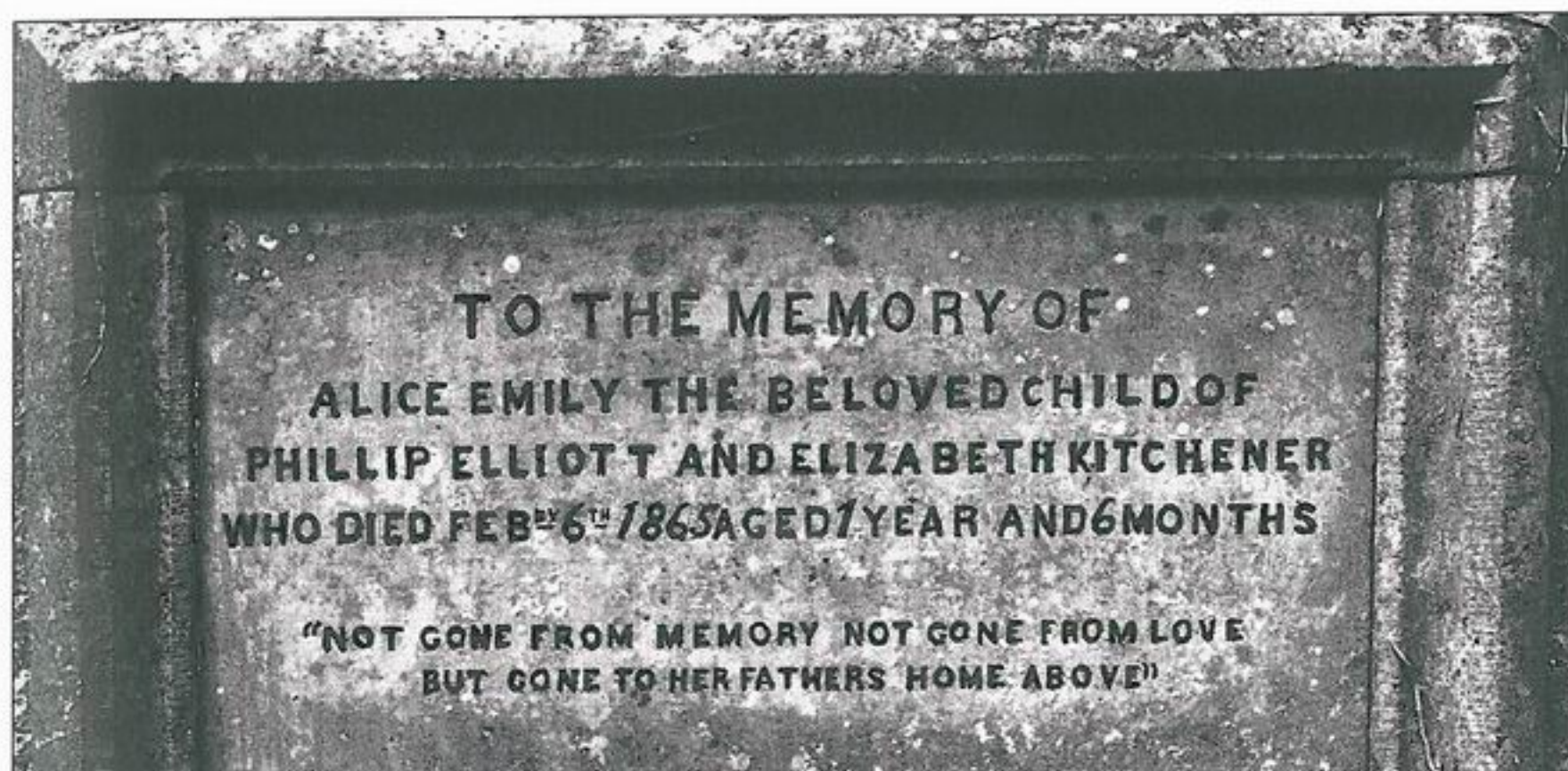


Phillip Elliott Kitchener and Adare

MILO SPILLANE

The present writer was always intrigued how it came to pass that an infant by the name of Alice Emily Kitchener came to be buried in the old St Nicholas Church in the grounds of the Adare Manor Golf Club. Interest was heightened when it was discovered that she was a first cousin of the great English Field Marshal, Horatio Herbert, 1st Earl Kitchener of Khartoum (1850-1916). This article is the result of my investigations.

When Windham Henry Wyndham-Quin the second earl of Dunraven died in August 1850, he was succeeded by his eldest son and heir, Edwin Richard Windham Wyndham-Quin, Viscount Adare¹ (hereafter referred to as Edwin). Not only did Edwin become the third earl but he also became the proprietor of a vast estate in County Limerick, Clearwell Court² in Gloucestershire and the substantial property that was part of the Dunraven Castle holding in Southern Glamorganshire, mearing with the Bristol Channel. The running and management of each estate was the duty of the chief administrator, the estate agent, who was simply styled the agent. James Barry JP was the Adare agent having been appointed in 1847. Like many of his kind, Barry held a number of agencies³ and admin-



Inscribed stone in Old St Nicholas Church, Adare

¹ Edwin (1812-71), a noted historian, antiquarian and archaeologist is best remembered for *Memorials of Adare Manor* (1865) written in collaboration with his mother, Caroline, and *Notes on Irish Architecture* (1875) published posthumously by his son.

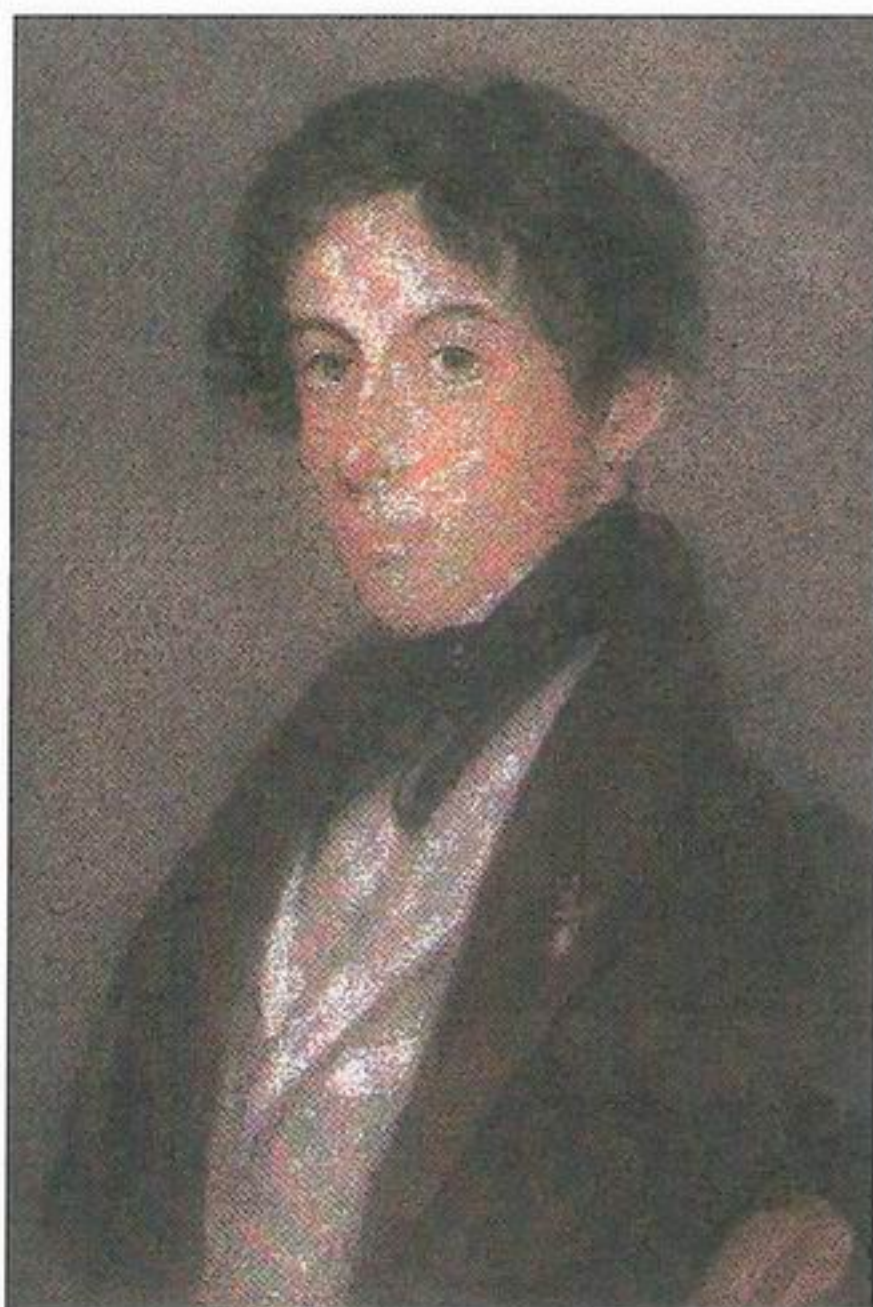
² Caroline, Countess of Dunraven later gave Clearwell and a portion of the Dunraven Estate in Wales, to her second son, Windham Henry. As the 4th earl (1841-1926) left no male heir the 5th, 6th, and 7th earls of Dunraven were descended from this branch of the family.

³ Barry was also agent to the Monsell estate and that of Archdeacon Gould in Co Limerick, to Augustus Stafford and Stafford O'Brien in Co Clare, and to the Stafford owned Blatherwycke estate in east Northamptonshire, about 6 miles north-east of the town of Corby *Limerick Chronicle* (L.C., 3 Sept. 1856).

istered them from his office and home in Upper Mallow Street, Limerick. In September 1856 Barry's body was taken from the River Shannon at Steamboat Quay, Limerick.⁴

Barry was succeeded by Thomas Ball, JP, sometimes referred to as Captain Ball, a native of Dublin and second son of Mr Justice Nicholas Ball.⁵ He, unlike Barry, became a resident of Adare and lived in Mondellihiy House, built in 1859. Ball was of a delicate disposition and died aged 43, on 10 August 1864 at his father's residence, 85 St Stephen's Green, Dublin.⁶

Even before the death of Ball the hunt for his successor had begun. The spotlight was fixed firmly on Edward Curling, who had acted in an advisory capacity to the Adare estate since 1850⁷ but who was agent, since 1848, of the wide-cast estate, in West Limerick, of the earl of Devon, consisting of 22,000 Irish acres with 1,200 holdings, as well as the town of Newcastle, wherein Curling lived. Curling was 'in many ways the epitome of the able, dutiful and benevolent Victorian administrator...there were scarcely any evictions on the estate...and every tenant on the estate was perfectly willing to pay rent to his or her utmost ability'.⁸ By early July 1864, some five weeks before Captain Ball died, the management of the Adare portfolio had been offered, at least twice, to Curling. On 6 July he wrote to Edwin 'again I cannot accept.'⁹ A month or two after the death of Ball, Curling was again approached. This time he did not reject the offer out of hand but travelled to Adare, on Wednesday 26 October, to discuss the matter with Edwin and the



Edwin, 3rd Earl of Dunraven
as a young man

⁴ On the night of Wednesday, 3 September, Barry was walking on Russell's (now Charlotte's) Quay. Due to poor lighting and his defective ocular vision, he did not see where it ended and fell into the Shannon. The coroner's inquest found that his death was accidental. He was survived by his wife and six children and was buried at Rockstown Cemetery (*L.C.*, 3,6,10 September 1856). Barry, a strong supporter of Daniel O'Connell, was a one-time resident of Cherrygrove House, Banogue and, according to Griffith's Primary Valuation, 1852, was the lessor of more than 635 acres in the townland of Ballyphilip, Banogue, see *Banogue Remembers*, (Banogue, 2008) pp 202, 229.

⁵ Judge Nicholas Ball (1791-1865) was a Catholic, educated at Stoneyhurst College and Lincoln's Inn and called to the Irish Bar in 1814. He became Liberal MP for Clonmel in 1836, Irish attorney-general in 1838 and a judge in 1839. Judge Ball frequently heard city and civil cases in Limerick during the Assizes, see Patrick Howard, *To Hell or to Hobart* (New South Wales, 1993) p. 40.

⁶ Captain Ball, was interred in the family vault under the Pro-cathedral, Dublin. No Adare presence was noted at the interment (*LC*, 16 August 1864). On Friday, 17 February 1865, the contents of Mondellihiy House, together with farm animals, implements and produce, etc. were sold at an unreserved auction (*L.C.*, 10 February 1865).

⁷ Theresa Hereward-Ryan, 'Edwin Wyndham Quin: his agents and the management of his estate, 1850-71', (unpublished MA thesis, University of Limerick, 2002), p. 121.

⁸ John Cussen, 'The Curling Family – agents to the Devon Estate, Co. Limerick, 1848-1943', *Newcastle West Historical Journal*, no. 1, (1990) pp 32-5:32.

⁹ Curling to Edwin, 6 July 1864 (U.L. Dunraven Papers D/3196/F/23 C).

Countess.¹⁰ The following day he wrote two letters, from his home in Newcastle, to Edwin.¹¹ In one letter, which can be taken as being the first and sent to Adare by a special messenger, Curling said that it would be wiser for him to decline. He pointed out that it was most important for the agency to have the services of a person of intelligence and zeal who could devote his whole time to the management of the estate. The second letter indicates a change of heart. Now he felt that the only arrangement, by which he could manage the property satisfactorily, was to have an adequate substitute living and operating in Adare while he himself continued to live in Newcastle. That idea had struck him on the way to Adare the previous day, something from which Edwin did not demur when the subject was broached with him at the subsequent meeting. His first choice for that position was his own son, Charles, then, unfortunately from his own point of view, in India. That being the case, and because he had already identified a person

who might act in such a capacity, he was minded to take the post in Adare, initially for a period of six months. Contact was made with that person and arrangements were made to meet with him in Cork City. On Friday, 28 October 1864, Curling met with Phillip Elliott Kitchener¹² in T. McCormick's Victoria Hotel, Cork and then wrote to Edwin as follows:

On my return to Newcastle on Wed. evening [from Adare] I stopped at the Rathkeale Hotel and wrote to Mr Kitchener requesting him to meet with me some time today. I have now seen him and he and I have made up our minds that with our joint efforts we can satisfactorily manage the Adare property, and though he does not wish to give a definitive reply until he has consulted with Mrs Kitchener, I am persuaded that he will accept my proposal...I am now disposed to accept the offer of your agency because even if Mr Kitchener should not be able to assist me I will do the best I can with the assistance of your bailiff. I will give at least 6 months



Edward Curling

¹⁰ Curling to Edwin, 27 October 1864 (Dunraven Papers D/3196/F).

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Kitchener was an English occupational surname derived from one in charge of a kitchen or a servant therein.

notice before I resign. I have explained to Mr Kitchener, whose deafness, I am glad to say, has much diminished, that his employment will not be permanent unless my son should decline to return from India.¹³

The background and experience of Curling suited him for any such job. He told a select committee of the House of Commons in 1865 that prior to his taking up the position in Newcastle in 1848 he was agent to Sir Edward Bunbury in Suffolk for sixteen years; previous to that he was director of a colony for the improvement of agriculture in the Greek island of Cephalonia, before that again he learned farming from his father in Van Diemen's Land (now Tasmania) on their own farm of 600 acres.¹⁴

Phillip Elliott Kitchener was born in London on 27 April 1807, the youngest of five sons born to William Kitchener (1768-1807) and his second wife, Emma Cripps. The family had risen recently to gentility from small farming origins in Hampshire and later, East Anglia, as a result of the enterprise shown by William, in leaving Lakenheath, near Mildenhall, Suffolk, to become a tea merchant in London.¹⁵ What profession Kitchener firstly engaged in is unknown but in the 1840s he was noticed as a farmer or more correctly, a tenant farmer. In a local newspaper in August 1844 Kitchener was arraigned for unlawfully taking toll on a load of straw grown on a neighbour's farm.¹⁶ He married a fellow Londoner, Elizabeth Thornton (born 20 February 1827) in Islington in that city on 5 October 1847. In *White's Directory of Essex, 1848*, he is noted as a farmer living at Little Warden Park, close to the village of Saffron Walden. At the end of that same year, as he was quitting the farm,¹⁷ he auctioned the entire farm stock, consisting of 17 horses, 5 year-old colts, milch cows, 2 Norfolk bulls, 20 homebred steers and heifers, 120 half-bred lambs, and shearlings (sheep only once sheared). His movements between that year and the early 1850s have not yet come to light. It appears that he resided in or near Cork City by the mid-1850s as his two eldest daughters (and possibly his third daughter, Alice Emily) were christened in Frankfield Church, Cork.¹⁸

What business, if any, Kitchener was engaged in before he met with Curling in the Victoria Hotel on 28 October 1864 is not clear. However some deductions can be made from that meeting. When Curling made his offer to Kitchener he received no definitive answer as the latter first wished to consult with his wife, Elizabeth. There was no mention of needing also to consult with any proprietor of land or land agent so clearly he was not engaged, at that time, in any level of estate management nor was he farming on rented land. It is therefore possible that he was not in employment at that time. Another difficulty Kitchener had at that meeting was that by his going to Adare he would be leaving his wife and family in what Curling described as a 'lone cottage' until suitable accommodation was arranged for the family in Adare. That description of their residence would indicate that it was neither desirable nor luxurious. When, later on, Edwin began to question Kitchener's farming ability Curling defended him; telling Edwin that 'many of the best farmers in Cork are delighted to have his advice as to tillage and management

¹³ Curling to Edwin, 28 October 1864 (Dunraven Papers D/3196/F).

¹⁴ Cussen, 'Curling family', p. 32.

¹⁵ Philip Magnus, *Kitchener, Portrait of an Imperialist* (London, 1958) p. 1.

¹⁶ *Bury and Norwich Post*, 21 August 1844.

¹⁷ *Norwich Chronicle*, 23 September 1848.

¹⁸ Frankfield Church is now included in Douglas parish. The christenings reference was sourced on Google but, on enquiry at the Frankfield Church, St Fin Barre's Cathedral, Cork and the Church Representative Library in Dublin, this information could not be verified.

of stock.¹⁹ Taking this at face value it could be inferred that Kitchener, prior to the hotel meeting, had been or was engaged in some form of farm advisory service, though it is difficult to see who precisely, amongst landowners or tenants, were in a position to avail of such services.

There is no doubt, from the reference to deafness that Curling not only knew Kitchener before the meeting in Cork in October 1864 but that he was well acquainted with him and his capabilities and therefore his potential. How then did it happen that Curling, a native of Van Diemen's Land first came across Kitchener, a Londoner? It is doubtful that they worked together in the model colony in Cephalonia before Curling left there in 1832. As the father of our subject, William Kitchener, the tea merchant, died in 1807 the same year as his son, Phillip, was born, any future for his sons in trade or commerce also ended. It is possible that William's widow, Emma, moved her young family back to Suffolk either to be near her own father, who was the vicar at Aspell, Suffolk, or to be near the children's paternal grandparents, Thomas (died 1821) and Martha (died 1836), who farmed near Mildenhall, Suffolk. Henry Horatio Kitchener, our subject's older brother and father of the famous field marshal, a career officer in the army till 1848, came to West Limerick and by his knowledge, foresight and perspicacity converted an almost derelict stretch of land, in Ballygoghlan, Glin, into a fertile productive farm.²⁰ If the former army officer learned his farming techniques in the plains of Suffolk, then surely his younger brother, reared in the self same environment, must have done likewise. When the older brother settled in Ballygoghlan, he brought over two young English gentlemen,²¹ to assist him and, more importantly, to learn the skills of best farming practice. In a similar manner Philip Kitchener could have gone to the estate of Lieut.-General Sir Henry Edward



Horatio Herbert Kitchener

¹⁹ Curling to Edwin, 5 Nov. 1869 (Dunraven Papers D/3196/F).

²⁰ It is frequently stated (most recently by Donal J. O'Sullivan, 'The World's best known Kerryman, Field Marshal H. H. Kitchener', *The Kerry Magazine* (2012) p. 49) that Henry Horatio Kitchener came to West Limerick at the suggestion of his brother, Phillip, then in Adare. However Phillip did not come to Adare until 1864 the year after his brother had departed for Switzerland. The manner in which the farm was bought is as follows. In 1848, on holiday in Ireland, Henry Horatio went into the Landed Estates Court [Encumbered Estates Court] in Dublin, just as a large tract of land was selling which, as bidding was low, he obtained for about £3,000. When he sold out in 1863 it fetched £16,000 (Letter of Major L. J. Kiggell, Glin, *Kerry Evening Post*, 12 October 1898). Conversely, it could have been he who suggested that Phillip come to Ireland to try his luck.

²¹ They were Mr Harris and Mr Thomas W. Peile, T. Donovan (ed.), *The Knights of Glin* (Glin, 2009) p. 31. Harris and Peile, separately, purchased portions of the Ballygoghlan farm when it was sold. W. T. Peile, Hampstead, London, is listed as owning 1,669 acres of land in Co Limerick in 1871.

Bunbury in Great Barton, Suffolk, where Curling was agent from 1832 to 1848, to learn farming practices and to apprentice himself to one who, by then, was adept in the art of estate management. Estate management was considered a suitable occupation for young men of no great means who were unfit, for some reason or other, for a career in the army or in the Church. That provides a plausible explanation as to where and when Curling and Kitchener first came into contact with each other.

When Curling came away from the Victoria Hotel that day it put an end to many hours of calm and anxious consideration that he had given to the question as to whether or not he should accept the Adare offer. He was caught between loyalty to his employer, the earl of Devon, and reluctance to pass up the emolument as well as the opportunity that the Adare agency presented. With Kitchener as his assistant he could accept the offer on his terms. Having got a positive response from Kitchener, Curling finally accepted the Adare offer on 2 November 1864 and Kitchener took up duty in Adare on 8 November when he received all the necessary directions from Curling. Because Curling did not reside in Adare and Edwin spent much time in England, either at his London residence or at Dunraven Castle in Glamorganshire, a system of communication evolved, and was in use for some time, whereby instructions, replies or observations passed by letter, on a two way basis, from landlord to agent²² and *vice versa*. This also applied to lesser line managers on the estate. Kitchener also wrote to Edwin if, on an urgent matter, Curling was not available. Curling generally spent a day and a half or so in Adare leaving Kitchener to oversee and carry out such instructions as he had been given.

For the first two months Curling and Kitchener travelled the entire estate meeting tenants and observing their methods of farming and gauging how production could be improved. Following this tour Kitchener was enabled to make, what Curling called, valuable suggestions. One such was that tenants should be encouraged to grow one acre of furze, which was excellent winter food for horses and cattle. Later on, Curling encouraged Kitchener to go over the entire estate and enter in a book the particulars of the cropping on each farm, take the opportunity of giving salutary advice, with the help of instructional leaflets brought specially from Cork, and also warning the tenants of the consequences of persisting in injurious systems of farming. In addition Kitchener also supervised building works and drainage schemes on corcass²³ land or on the river and attendant streams; settled disputes between tenants or between tenants and the estate office; adjusted changes in occupation in farms or in houses belonging to the estate; checked accounts of the lesser estate managers and, on occasions, collected rents, either from farm tenants or house tenants in the village.

Curling was much appreciative of Kitchener's enterprise and drive and, whenever an opportunity arose commended his efforts to Edwin. Phrases such as 'he is much attentive and energetic,' 'no better man could be found to whom to refer a dispute than Kitchener who has a thorough knowledge and is much experienced in horse dealing,' 'I left Mr Gerrard's essay (advocating compensation for tenants who voluntarily surrendered their holdings) for Kitchener's careful consideration.' As one would expect both Kitchener and Curling were abreast of new farming technology. They considered purchasing a mowing

²² The correspondence from Curling to Edwin, survives ((Dunraven Papers D/3196/F) and forms the basis of much of this paper. The letters to Curling from Edwin were in the possession of Richbell Curling, grandson of Edward, and the then agent to the Devon estate, up to the time of the Civil War, 1922. His residence in Newcastle West, known as Castle House, in which they were stored, went up in flames, on 7 August 1922, during fighting between Pro-Treaty and Anti-Treaty forces. (Cussen, 'Curling family', p. 34).

²³ A salt marsh is land liable to be overflowed by tidal water: the river Maigne is tidal to Adare Manor.

machine²⁴ but as its utility had not been proved to their satisfaction they suggested, for that year at least, hiring a machine from one of the two Christy brothers, tenants on the estate. Thrift was uppermost, a sentiment close to Edwin's heart if not his purse.

During his time in Adare Kitchener never occupied any rung on the estate management ladder nor had he any official title.²⁵ When, in March 1866, James Walsh, bailiff and agriculturist, died, a number of candidates expressed interest in the vacancy, including John Upton, a highly qualified person not on the estate staff. This prompted Kitchener to consider applying for the post, for while it would be a come-down for him it would guarantee stability and permanence. He decided to consult Curling but, for some reason, not stated, the latter described any such application as being impracticable.²⁶ In the end neither Kitchener nor Upton was appointed, the post falling to Michael Fitzgerald, an internal candidate, at a salary of £60 per annum with a house rent free. Kitchener was apparently miffed at his losing out as he questioned Fitzgerald's ability when he wrote 'he has no experience in measuring tradesmen's work.'

We know little about Kitchener's personality or how he dealt with problems in the course of his work. One instance is apparent where he showed sympathy with a distressed tenant. On 21 February 1867 he reported to Curling that the Widow Cavanagh, on 15 acres of land, and with eight children, the eldest a girl of twelve, found herself unable to support her family and feared that thereby she would be forced to quit the land. Kitchener described it as a lamentable case; that it afforded another instance of the evils of subdivision, and that it would be harsh should the widow be driven into the workhouse, where, he opined, she and the children would be better off than remaining at home. She was still in possession of her farm when she was again visited prior to 3 April of that year. The widow then disappears from the estate papers but one can assume, based on the caring philosophy of Curling and indeed Edwin, that she was tended to.

Kitchener may not have been in rude health during his spell in Adare. In 1867 he suffered a lengthy bout of illness. On 3 April Curling informed Edwin that Kitchener had nearly recovered his health implying that he was away from work for some time prior to that date. The expected recovery was not sustained as on 16 April Curling reported that although Kitchener was looking well, Dr Gelston²⁷ had ordered him to Queenstown for a break to secure his perfect health and restore his nervous system. By 4 May he had returned from Queenstown, apparently perfectly restored to health. Yet again, by 14 May, Kitchener was said to be quite well and strong as he was prior to his illness. Despite that encouraging comment it was the middle of June before Kitchener was back in action.

When Kitchener and Elizabeth took up residence in Adare they had three children, all girls; Jane Penelope, probably born in Cork on 14 December 1855 and christened in Frankfield Church (no date found); Ellen Mary, born 26 January 1860 in Cork and christened in the same church on 19 February 1860; Alice Emily, born in Cork (c. August 1863) and buried in the Old Cemetery, Adare. Her death on 6 February 1865 was the

²⁴ Curling to Edwin, 23 May 1866, (Dunraven Papers D/3196/F). The first mowing machine in Ireland was in operation at the short-lived commune at Ralahine, 1831-3, E.T. Craig, *An Irish Commune, the experiment at Ralahine, County Clare*, (Shannon, 1983) p. ix.

²⁵ The pecking order generally was landlord, agent, accountant or paymaster, bailiff and agriculturist, land and farm steward, warden, watchman, ranger, Hereward-Ryan, 'Edward Wyndham Quin', p. 44.

²⁶ Curling to Edwin, 26 March 1866, (Dunraven Papers D/3196/F).

²⁷ After graduating in Glasgow University Dr Robert Ringrose Gelston, came to Limerick in 1838 to open a medical practice. He lived in 22 Upper Cecil Street until around 1869 when he moved to 68 George Street. He died on 11 February 1908 and is buried in St Munchin's Graveyard. Dr Gelston was prominent in the medical, philanthropic and church (Church of Ireland) life of his adopted city.

result of remittent fever for fourteen days, pneumonia for six days and meningitis for one day.²⁸ Two further children, both boys, were born in Adare: Elliott, born 25 December 1865, christened in the local parish church (Anglican) and Henry Thornton, born 22 July 1868, christened on 13 September 1868.²⁹

Despite the high opinion of him held by Curling and the many notes of commendation sent to Edwin on Kitchener's work and aptitude, dark clouds soon appeared on the horizon. Edwin made an important ruling regarding the running of the estate:

I have had a very satisfactory conversation with Mr Murphy³⁰ and I have explained to him that it is his lordship's wish that I should undertake the general superintendence of the farming operation on the demesne and it has been arranged that he and Kitchener shall consult together on any important question such as the sale and purchase of stock and fattening of cattle and if there should be difference of opinion between them as to the course most desirable to be pursued to your lordship's advantage that I should hear the argument on both sides and settle the question to the best of my ability. Kitchener will not interfere in any way with the labourers and others under Mr Murphy's authority.³¹

Kitchener's range of power and responsibility was being curtailed but worse was to follow. Edwin soon afterwards decided on important and far reaching changes in the management of the estate. Curling was to have a new assistant, his son Charles, who was either summoned from India for that purpose or just happened to return to Ireland of his own volition. This was to be done without any additional cost to the estate as seen below:

My son [Charles] will remain permanently in Ireland and will reside chiefly in Adare. For the present it is probable that he will be joint occupier with Dr Francis Peirce of the house lately held by Dr Worrell.³² I shall continue to be responsible for the correct management of the estate although I shall hand over to him the emoluments.³³

The die was cast with regard to Kitchener's future in Adare by 5 November 1869. By then he had already been informed that his services were no longer required. It will be recalled that when Curling first met Kitchener in Cork, in October 1864, he pointed out to him that the permanence and continuance of his employment in Adare was related to Charles's absence abroad. That fateful day had now arrived. Curling made a last attempt, unavailing as it happened, to continue Kitchener's employment in Adare:

I have been under the impression (perhaps erroneously) that your lordship has taken a dislike to Kitchener and would prefer that I had some other assistant. I can safely say that you have no person in your employment who is more zealous in your service and as to his honesty and uprightness in any respect there can be no

²⁸ Death Certificate issued 10 February 1865, signed by Hannah Cregan, present at death. There is no reference in Dunraven Papers D/3196/F to the death of this child.

²⁹ In the case of each of these two Baptismal Certificates the father is described as a gentleman and no address but Adare is entered.

³⁰ William Murphy held the position of land steward.

³¹ Curling to Edwin, 7 September 1869 (Dunraven Papers D/3196/F).

³² Dr Worrell was the physician attached to the old Adare hospital or dispensary, which had recently been converted into the Christian Brothers' school and residence.

³³ Curling to Edwin, 5 November 1869 (Dunraven Papers D/3196/F).

question. I differ with your lordship as to his farming abilities. Many of the best farmers in Cork are delighted to have his advice both as to tillage and management of stock. If the imputation to which I have alluded to above be removed I can easily arrange with him to remain at a reduced salary, say £100 a year. It would be much distressing to me to turn a good man and an old friend adrift in the world with a wife and four young children. If he can get other employment the case will be different.³⁴

It would be difficult, from what we know about Curling, to imagine that he was so disingenuous to Kitchener that, while lauding his exploits to Edwin, he was, at the same time, plotting behind his back to replace him with his own son. Yet, the appeal he made to Edwin is couched in such sincere terms that Curling's concern for one whom he described as an old friend must be taken as genuine. Edwin did not reciprocate so there was no place for Kitchener, even at a reduced salary. Kitchener's last occasion to grace the estate papers was just prior to 22 December 1869 when Curling, Charles and Kitchener inspected John Christy's farm in Carrigeen, Croom. Christy had been for some years in arrears with his rent and the purpose of the visit was, apparently, to inspect a herd of 18 bullocks with a view to distrain some or all of them. The animals were ready for fattening but not yet fit for the butcher. Kitchener, with an eye long experienced in judging cattle, opined that they would not be in prime order until March. By then, or some time before that, Kitchener was no longer connected with the Adare estate. Following that pre-Christmas visit, Kitchener, like the Widow Cavanagh earlier and for whom he had such pity in her plight, disappears from the Adare papers.

Why Kitchener was so peremptorily removed from his position on the estate cannot now be adequately answered. Perhaps his level of health was not up to the required standard; the permanence or otherwise of his position had been made clear to him when he accepted the post; the appearance at that time of Charles, home from abroad, may have been a factor. There may also have been a feeling among some that he was exerting too much influence in the running of the estate and thereby putting himself in line should Curling resign the agency: Gamaliel Fitzgerald,³⁵ the accountant or paymaster on the estate, who, for a time, considered himself a candidate at the time when Curling was appointed agent,³⁶ was still around. Rents on the estate had only marginally risen since 1862³⁷ at the same time as rent arrears were mounting up: Kitchener may have been blamed excessively for allowing these to happen, for while Edwin was much dependent on rental income as he was such a generous donor³⁸ to all things Catholic in Adare and Sneem, Co Kerry. When Kitchener was first appointed he was apparently not Edwin's choice as Curling's assistant and so his presence may have been resented. In the final analysis Edwin always wished to be made aware of what was happening on the estate and

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Gamaliel Fitzgerald and Charles Curling were later appointed joint agents and continued so until at least 1880, *Munster News*, 18 December 1880.

³⁶ Fitzgerald wrote to Edwin on 27 June 1864. 'From your note you appear not to be aware that Ball is very unwell and it is certain that he will soon die or resign the agency. I am not sufficiently conversant with the nature and working of land or I would confidently ask you for a trial in managing the property' (Dunraven Papers D/3196/F). There was a marriage connection between Fitzgerald and the Dunraven family ((Dunraven Papers, D 3196/B/1/A-M).

³⁷ The rental income from the estate was £10,621 in 1864 and had only marginally increased to £12,190 by 1870, Hereward-Ryan, 'Edward Windham Quin', p. 129. Edwin's expectation of rent was that it should be paid promptly and in full while Curling was more concerned with management practices than the raising of revenue.

³⁸ For a brief overview of Edwin's financial problems at that time see Michael V. Spillane, 'The 4th earl of Dunraven (1841-1926)' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, U.L., 2003) p. 3.

to have the final word when decisions were made; and was now exerting his authority as proprietor.

When exactly Kitchener left Ireland or where he settled in England on his return is not yet known. On census night, 3 April 1871 he and eldest son, Elliott, were registered as visitors in the Rectory of St. George's Church, Birmingham, where his brother-in-law, Rev Samuel Thornton, was rector.³⁹ Neither Mrs Elizabeth Kitchener nor the three other children appear anywhere in that census. Could they possibly have been still in Ireland at that time? Phillip Elliott Kitchener died at, what was presumably his then residence, 15 Western Street, Bedford on 30 March 1875. The death certificate gives his occupation as Farmer and Land Agent, retired, and the cause of death was dysentery.⁴⁰ He is buried in the cemetery in Bedford.⁴¹

Elizabeth Kitchener died on 15 November 1911; her address at the time was Manchester Road, Bury. She had moved there either to live with her daughter, Jane, or to be adjacent to her. She is buried in Bury. Jane Penelope became a teacher and in 1884 was appointed first headmistress of the Bury High School for Girls. She retired in 1919 and later moved to Suffolk and died on 15 February 1939. Jane, who was unmarried, is buried at St Lawrence Church, Foxton, south of the city of Cambridge. Ellen Mary married Edwin Bedden (died 1907) in 1890. She died on 21 August 1940. The fourth child and first son, Elliott, who graduated MA from Christ's College, Cambridge, became a schoolmaster and married Bessie Maud McIver in Allerton (south-east Liverpool) in 1906. He died on 9 October 1926. The youngest of the family, Henry Thornton, who became a chartered engineer, married Elizabeth Margaret Evans in 1907 in the city of Chester. Henry died in 1961.

Edward Curling died 28 October 1874 and is buried in the Old Churchtown Cemetery in Newcastle West. His son, Charles died 21 June 1895, in Harrogate, and is also buried in Newcastle West. Edwin, 3rd earl of Dunraven, died unexpectedly, on 6 October 1871, in the Imperial Hotel in Great Malvern, a health resort in the Cotswolds. He is buried in the family mausoleum erected in the cloister of the old Augustinian Friary in Adare.

While Kitchener departed Adare in the early 1870s the name carried on there until the 1950s or later. An old lady who lived close to the Village Hall was known locally as Kitchener because, it was said, of her bossy or overbearing nature. Whether the soubriquet she was endowed with originated from the manner in which Kitchener dealt with tenantry on the estate, or more particularly in the village, or whether it came from his more illustrious nephew, local folklore does not seem to recall.

Acknowledgements

I wish to record my thanks to Dr Theresa Hereward-Ryan for permission to dip into her MA thesis and to John Cussen for information on Edward Curling, also to the staff of the Special Collections in U.L. and the Local Studies section of Limerick County Library. Others who assisted in this study, which began with just an inscription on a grave stone, include Philip Bray, Tony Colgan, Maurice Danaher, Tom Donovan, Kieran McCarthy, Noreen Ellerker, John Meighan, and Paddy Waldron. I have also benefitted from consulting that ubiquitous friend of all modern researchers, Google.

³⁹ Samuel Thornton (1835-1917) was, on 1 May 1875 at Westminster Abbey, consecrated first bishop of Ballarat, Australia. He returned to England in 1900 and was appointed assistant bishop of Manchester and vicar of Blackburn. He retired in 1910 and died in London.

⁴⁰ The informant was not his wife, Elizabeth, but Fanny Chaplin, who lived at 6 Howard Street, Bedford and who was present at the death.

⁴¹ His will, dated 2 October 1871, was proved at Northampton, May 1875 by Elizabeth Kitchener, his widow and sole executrix.