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THE HYLANDS OF CLONMORAN:
AN ENTERPRISING CATHOLIC FAMILY IN COUNTY KILKENNY,
1816-1917

by

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ABBREVIATIONS

C&BR	Cork & Bandon Railway
D&WR	Dublin & Wicklow Railway
<i>DIA</i>	<i>Dictionary of Irish Architects</i>
<i>DIB</i>	<i>Dictionary of Irish Biography</i>
<i>FJ</i>	<i>Freeman's Journal</i>
<i>FLJ</i>	<i>Finn's Leinster Journal</i>
HP	Hyland Papers
<i>IB</i>	<i>Irish Builder</i>
JPH	John Patrick Hyland
KAS	Kilkenny Archaeological Society
<i>KJ</i>	<i>Kilkenny Journal</i>
<i>KM</i>	<i>Kilkenny Moderator</i>
<i>KP</i>	<i>Kilkenny People</i>
KTM	Kledang Tin Mining
LH	Laurence Hyland
<i>LJ</i>	<i>Leinster Journal</i>
MCI	Mining Company of Ireland
NLI	National Library of Ireland
<i>OKR</i>	<i>Old Kilkenny Review</i>
<i>OP</i>	<i>Ormonde Papers</i>
<i>OCIH</i>	<i>Oxford Companion to Irish History</i>
PCOG	Patrick Cogan O'Gorman
RJH	Richard Joseph Hyland
RPH	Richard Patrick Hyland
W&KR	Waterford & Kilkenny Railway
W&TR	Waterford & Tramore Railway
WKP	Walsh Kelly Papers
WPH	William Paul Hyland

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INTRODUCTION

I have always believed that local history is more important than national history. There should be an archive in every village ... where life is fully and consciously lived in our own neighbourhood, we are cushioned a little from the impact of great far-off events which should only be of marginal concern to us.¹

The story of Ireland in the nineteenth century was dominated by the tragedy of the Famine and the central theme of the land question. The events surrounding these issues created starring roles for the principal protagonists: the declining landlord class and the rising strong-farmer class. The rural middleman tenant and the middle-class provincial entrepreneur are well down the cast list and their role is little remembered; Laurence Hyland and his successors, though they have perhaps an equal claim to the former categories, combine these latter personae in a dual characterisation and may be seen as class exemplars.

The purpose of this research is to illuminate the history of a particular class through a case study. As a case study it has limitations but conversely it has strengths that only this type of work can elicit. It is essentially a local study with lessons for national history.

The Hyland family's entrepreneurial role and their viewpoint from within Irish Catholic society may now be elucidated, thus enhancing our understanding of the formative role of the Catholic middle class. In many ways, this particular family appear to exemplify a further significant stratum within that grouping whose origins, progress and outlook serve to identify them. What is certain is that the members of this elite group had a vital, if not overt, function in the socio-economic, religious, cultural and political landscape, within a local context and in what was a stratified and complex society. They were a conduit in that complexity.

The author was brought up in an old house where at least four generations preceded him. Each generation left a mark on the house, which was their home. Moreover, they left a legacy of papers, books and memorabilia that passed down. My upbringing in this house, surrounded by reminders of bye-gone days, instilled in me a fascination for the past and particularly for the past lives of those who also called

¹ Hubert Butler, 'Beside the Nore' in idem, *Escape from the anthill* (Mullingar, 1985), pp 93-4.

Clonmoran 'home'. Clonmoran is a townland two miles south-west of Kilkenny city. It was and is home to the Hyland family, who mainly through the manuscripts of three of its members, have left an historical legacy - a somewhat rare collection of primary material. The Hylands, particularly Laurence (c. 1778-1843) and his two sons Richard P. (c. 1818-54) and John P. (1827-1917), offer a unique perspective from their place in society between the masses and the classes. The Hylands were at heart a farming family who had considerable investments outside agriculture. They had political interests, were staunchly Roman Catholic and were involved in their local community. The Clonmoran archive is contained in what is the ancestral home of the Hyland family. Clonmoran House has been in the family's occupation for a little over two hundred years. The house and the farm were part of the Castle Blunden estate. The building may be described as a farmhouse or a middle man's house, it was enlarged in the 1870s, and in any case, it was spacious enough to retain the accumulated material of successive generations.

There is a lacuna in the study of this particular class of people in the historiography of nineteenth-century Ireland. The fundamental reason for a lack of scholarly work is perhaps the absence of sufficient sources, particularly private papers. While this is essentially a case study it is the contention of this work that the Hylands' activities have relevance for wider studies. Gender issues will also be discussed in terms of the family and those in their employ.

1816 has been chosen as the start date for this study as it is the year when Laurence Hyland married and took his first lease of Clonmoran. The hundred and one year span from 1816 to 1917 encompasses the lives of all his children. The last of this family to die was John P. Hyland who was in his ninetieth year in 1917. At the core of the archive are some fifty journals/ledgers, as well as legal documents, and various other papers. The earliest manuscript relating to the Hyland family in their archive is a lease that dates from 1788. The documents originated, to a large extent, from the legal and practical need to record the business of farming and the other entrepreneurial activities of this literate family. Over a century these activities included: the running of a slate quarry, the operation of a distillery and spirit store, and the management of a theatre as well as the ownership of a small estate in south County Kilkenny. The resulting material which was ordinary at the time of its

creation in the nineteenth and early twentieth century has become extraordinary with the passage of time.

With regard to the family, it must be emphasised that this was a Roman Catholic family who would have been comfortably middle class in an Ireland where society was class-conscious and stratified. It also must be emphasised that the accounts log those whom the Hylands did business with and those whom they employed, so the archive is much more than a family chronicle - it is a rare record of many people. All the material in the archive comes under the heading of Hyland Papers (HP). This includes photographs and portraits but does not include books, which are identified as from the Hyland Library. For reasons of filing and identification, ledger entries and almost all the Hyland documents are further categorised as LH (Laurence Hyland) RPH (Richard Patrick Hyland) JPH (John Patrick Hyland) and PCOG (Patrick Cogan O’Gorman). In addition, the ledgers/journals each have a reference which may be consulted in the bibliography. Complete dates of ledger entries are provided where possible.

Newspapers, especially local newspapers, provide the other main source of primary material for this study. The *Kilkenny Journal* and the *Kilkenny Moderator* were of most use. The ‘*Journal*’, which had Catholic proprietors, first appeared as *Finn’s Leinster Journal* in 1767 later becoming the *Leinster Journal* and finally in 1830 the *Kilkenny Journal*. Despite its owners’ affiliations, it was only after 1830 that it took ‘a strong nationalist line’.² The *Kilkenny Moderator* was first published in 1814 and it upheld the Protestant and Unionist interest. The *Kilkenny People* was founded in 1892 as a Parnellite newspaper and supported the Irish Parliamentary Party up until April 1916.

With regard to secondary sources, a starting point, for what is essentially a local study, is a review of the principal local publications. To begin with, virtually nothing has been written about the Hylands except for some small references in various articles in Kilkenny-based publications.³

² Michael O’Dwyer, ‘A history of Kilkenny newspapers 1767-2009’ in John Bradley and Michael O’Dwyer (eds), *Kilkenny through the centuries: chapters in the history of an Irish city* (Kilkenny, 2009), p. 383.

³ See - M. M. Phelan, ‘Some 18th and 19th Century Residences’ in Michael O’ Dwyer (ed.), *St. Patrick’s, Kilkenny gravestone inscriptions with historical notes on the parish* (Kilkenny, 1992), pp 85-94. This work contains a passage about Clonmoran House and the Hylands with much of the information being contributed by myself.

D. G. Boyce has stated that as the eighteenth century turned, Ireland had indeed ‘developed a Catholic middle class’, and Laurence and his family will be shown to be leaders of that development.⁴ This newly emerged class would comprise Daniel O’Connell’s most fervent supporters and ‘loyal lieutenants’.⁵ O’Connell, as Alvin Jackson puts it, was ‘a product of the penal era’ and Hyland was no less so.⁶ The politico-religious activism which shaped the pre- and post-Famine period and led ultimately to the emergence and development of a confessional state in the twentieth century had its origins here in individuals like Laurence, Richard P. and John P. Hyland. For all these reasons and more it is important to tell the Hylands’ story in this dissertation. Kevin Whelan believes that ‘a classic description’ of ‘the embryonic big-farm class’ is given in an 1802 account of the Aylward family of Mullinavat, County Kilkenny.⁷ He regards as ‘equivalent’ the comments of William Tighe on the Walsh family of nearby Earlsrath, who were the in-laws of Laurence Hyland (Laurence Hyland married Eleanor Walsh (c. 1789-1869) in 1816.⁸ It may well be that, as Whelan has proposed that they (the Walshs) were of ‘the big-farm class’. It has been asserted by Thomas Jones-Hughes that the lessor or middleman was ‘locally the most influential element in the nineteenth-century landholding matrix’.⁹ Through the union of Laurence and Eleanor there is a fusion of the higher levels of Catholic society - a re-emphasis, within a family context, of a continuity of class culture into the nineteenth century.

Emmet Larkin believes that there are important questions to be asked about economic growth and capital investment in nineteenth-century Catholic Ireland such as ‘why there was so little risk capital available?’¹⁰ He asks ‘why no risk takers emerged?’ He asserts that the Catholic Church had impeded the economic progress of Ireland in the nineteenth century, in that it ‘not only absorbed capital, but also

⁴ D. G. Boyce, *Nineteenth century Ireland: the search for stability* (2nd ed., Dublin, 2005), p. 16.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Alvin Jackson, *Ireland 1798-1998: politics and war* (6th ed., Oxford, 1999), p. 58.

⁷ Kevin Whelan, ‘An underground gentry? : Catholic middlemen in eighteenth century Ireland’ in idem, *The tree of liberty: radicalism, Catholicism and the construction of Irish identity 1760-1830* (Cork, 1996), p. 28.

⁸ Ibid., p.184, fn. 124;

⁹ Thomas Jones-Hughes, ‘The large farm in nineteenth-century Ireland’ in Alan Gailey and Daithí Ó hÓgain (eds), *Gold in the furze; studies in folk tradition* (Dublin, 1982), p. 93.

¹⁰ Emmet Larkin, ‘Economic growth, capital investment, and the Roman Catholic church in nineteenth-century Ireland’ in *American Historical Review*, lxxii, no. 3 (Apr., 1967), p. 875 (www.jstor.org/stable/1846659) (11 Nov. 2010).

entrepreneurial talent'.¹¹ The Hylands of Clonmoran will be shown to be a prime example of the originating class source of an increasingly confident church in the nineteenth century. In that respect, they encompass, in their ardent Catholicism and socio-economic stratum, many of the attributes of a pseudo-liberal Catholic nationalism. In doing so, they also embody, through the course of three generations, much of the cultural development and political elevation of their particular class. Importantly, it will be seen to be evident that the Hylands were demonstrably an entrepreneurial family - a family of risk-takers. In an article in which he discusses a late nineteenth-century wages-book of a south-Tipperary farmer Michael O'Donnell, Cormac Ó Gráda asserts that the O'Donnell family 'typified that stratum of strong Catholic farming families that had never quite lost their influence or self-respect before Catholic Emancipation, and whose power was on the rise in the post-Famine decades'; these families formed 'a true hidden Ireland'.¹² Typical in many ways of this class are the Hylands of Clonmoran, a class 'largely ignored by historians' up to recent decades, and set to be revealed herein.¹³

Terence Dooley has examined the decline of the 'big house' in a number of works, and addresses the causes and the consequences of the fall of landlordism. Dooley recognises the need to provide 'a perspective from within the big house'.¹⁴ But this is another view, the view from the middle - the perspective from within a 'middling house'. It is a valid perspective and an effective vantage point, though similarly coloured by class consciousness and determined by religion as the other viewpoints. Certainly, the resultant picture is as useful a measure of the classes 'above' and 'below'; if not more so, because it has been little illuminated heretofore. Moreover, because of their dual role as tenants and landlords after the Famine, the Hylands viewpoint as revealed is somewhat unique. For our purposes, certain parallels can be made with the history of the Protestant ascendancy and the landlord-tenant relationship; indeed the same sorts of questions apply. What precipitated their decline? In the 1911 census the patriarch of the Hyland family describes himself as a 'landed proprietor'. Ultimately, did they suffer a similar fate as the landed gentry? What was their relationship with tenants and the less fortunate Catholics? During

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Cormac Ó Gráda, 'The wages book of a Fethard farmer, 1880-1905' in *Tipperary Historical Journal*, vii (1995), p. 67.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Terence Dooley, *The decline of the big house in Ireland* (Dublin, 2001), p.16.

the Famine period, were the Hylands indifferent to the tragedy? Did the Famine impact on them in any way? Dooley is interested in dealing with the dynamic of an ‘upstairs/downstairs’ scenario, ‘the landlord’s way of segregating the servants from the family’.¹⁵ In the Hyland home there were some servants in a much more limited space; the questions about segregation are basically the same and equally as valid, albeit that it was more of a parlour/kitchen social division where necessarily the interaction took place at closer quarters.

Is religion in itself a motivational factor for Laurence and his enterprising sons, or is it simply a desire to succeed fuelled by the issue of Catholic identity in a sectarian world? L. M. Cullen has considered that ‘to a degree rare in Ireland it is possible in the case of Kilkenny to look at social problems without the complicating intervening factors of race and religion’.¹⁶ Did they see themselves as entitled to succeed - an ambition that stemmed from an ancient, real or imagined sense of themselves? If not ‘an underground gentry’, did they assume that role and for the generations that followed Laurence? How was it played out in the post-Famine period and later in the mid- to post-Victorian era?¹⁷

The Hylands were record keepers and the survival of their papers affords the opportunity to gauge their perspective and assess their contribution. Inevitably family definition in terms of background, economic strength and class lead historians to look at and question political affiliations and how these alliances evolved over a period of time. Did such families lead or follow, economically, socially, politically and culturally? An avoidance of such issues is practically impossible so these type of questions need to be asked. Identity is a central theme in this dissertation and it is synonymous with religion and class during the period of our interest. The Hylands can be readily distinguished within what has been elucidated by several scholars as an identifiable and significant region of active Catholicism. By way of an example (geographically consistent with the Hylands’ origins in the Windgap area of County Kilkenny near Carrick-on-Suir) Thomas Jones-Hughes has observed that:

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 154.

¹⁶ L. M. Cullen, ‘The social and economic evolution of Kilkenny in the seventeenth and eighteenth Centuries’ in William Nolan and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Kilkenny: history and society* (Dublin, 1990), p. 288.

¹⁷ Whelan, ‘An underground gentry?...’ in *The tree of liberty*, p. 3.

in the southern baronies of County Tipperary the Gael was frequently the dominant element locally in the large farm population' in the rich lower Suir basin, and within a stone's throw of Carrick-on-Suir, all ten of the holdings valued at £100 or more were occupied by Gaelic families whose names included Ryan, O'Donnell, Hyland,...¹⁸

If we look to comparisons with other families, may we say that this Kilkenny family fits into a 'normal' pattern? Hence, attention turns to some works on Irish Catholic families. In her 1996 thesis about the Minch family of Athy, County Kildare, in the nineteenth century, Mary Connolly argues that there has been a concentration on the 'recurring theme' of the decline of the ascendancy; and that 'the concurrent rise of the middle class has not received the same attention'.¹⁹ Equally, she recognises that family histories are overwhelmingly devoted to the 'Anglo-Irish' ascendancy class or the old Gaelic aristocracy. Her study is of 'a different type of family'.²⁰ Connolly looks at the farming, business, and political communities that the Minchs belonged to, placing them firmly within their local context, as she says 'to provide the context for their activities in each of these spheres'. The Hylands were to differ from the Minchs in that they became landlords themselves.

Important aspects that Connolly discusses, which also apply to a study of the Hylands, are 'family background' and 'marriage and kinship networks'. In considering the latter, Connolly asks the question, with regard to the Minchs, as to whether their practices were characteristic of the 'arranged marriage' systems.²¹ A similar study chronicles the rise socially, economically, and politically of the Power family from when they began to produce their famous whiskey. Deirdre Priestley states that this study of the family famous for distilling is an 'overview of a Dublin Catholic business'.²² She says it 'aspires to address the social advancement over a number of generations of an Irish Catholic distilling family'.²³

The Farm by Lough Gur by Mary Carberry provides a wonderful insight into the lives of those of a comparable class, albeit in a more remote area. It features the

¹⁸ Thomas Jones-Hughes, 'Landholding and settlement in county Tipperary in the nineteenth century' in William Nolan and Thomas G. McGrath (eds), *Tipperary: history and society interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county* (Dublin, 1995), p. 352.

¹⁹ Mary Connolly, 'The Minches of Athy, county Kildare: a Catholic middle-class family in the nineteenth century' (M.A. thesis, N.U.I. Maynooth, 1996), p. 1.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

²² Deirdre Priestley, 'The Power family and the Powers Distillery, Thomas Street, Dublin: 1791-1920' (M.A. thesis, N.U.I. Maynooth, 2006), p. 1.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

recollections of a middle-class farming family in east County Limerick in the post-Famine - pre-Land War period. It portrays an often idyllic picture of life on the farm (though with much mention of the harsh realities of life) as recalled by the eldest daughter Mary (Sissy) O' Brien. The O'Briens farmed 200 acres and later acquired more land.²⁴ The Hylands farmed to a similar extent and would have had much in common with the O'Briens.

The social origins of the Hylands need to be addressed and several other works on the position of Catholics in the 1700s are instructive. There is a class identity and historians have interpreted contemporary evidence to illuminate this aspect. One such researcher is L. M. Cullen who reasons that one contemporary commentator (Arthur Young) distorted both the popular view and the composition of Catholic social classes. He continues this argument and asserts that 'the term middleman ... is an imperfect concept to represent a complex situation'; the Hylands fit somewhere within this complexity.²⁵ Whelan also identifies 'the core or active area of Irish Catholicism, [as] in the south-east of the country'.²⁶ A major theme in Ireland's history is the impact of an active and increasingly confident Catholicism, after 1800, with all its implications.

The 'land question' is fundamental to every aspect of nineteenth and early twentieth century history. There have been many works and many questions asked about landlords, tenants and the estate system. In this regard the work of W. E. Vaughan is particularly instructive.²⁷ Perhaps the most relevant work of this nature is his article which examines the two surviving account books of a Meath farmer.²⁸ J. S. Donnelly's work, and especially his reasoning for the Land War, is also most helpful for the purposes of this study.²⁹ Walter Walsh, in a comprehensive study of

²⁴ Mary Carberry, *The farm by Lough Gur: the story of Mary Fogarty (Sissy O'Brien)* (London, 1937), p. 9.

²⁵ L. M. Cullen, 'Catholic social classes under the penal laws' in T. P. Power and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Endurance and emergence: Catholics in Ireland in the eighteenth century* (Dublin, 1990), p. 59.

²⁶ Kevin Whelan, 'The regional impact of Irish Catholicism 1700-1850' in William J. Smyth and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Common ground: essays on the historical geography of Ireland* (Cork, 1988), p. 268.

²⁷ W. E. Vaughan, *Landlords and tenants in mid-Victorian Ireland* (Oxford, 1994).

²⁸ W. E. Vaughan, 'Farmer, grazier and gentleman: Edward Delaney of Woodtown, 1851-99', in *Irish Economic and Social History*, ix (1982), pp 53-72.

²⁹ J. S. Donnelly jr., *The land and people of nineteenth-century Cork: the rural economy and the land question* (London and Boston, 1975).

County Kilkenny in the mid-Victorian era, asks several of these questions and contends that it would be ‘a mistaken claim to assert that the last word has been written with regard to the land question’.³⁰ What is unique and essential here is the exploration of these questions from the perspective of the Hylands; who in turn were, and were perceived to be, both landlords and tenants. Did they treat their tenants as fairly as their landlord treated them?

The most distinctive characteristic of the Hylands was their entrepreneurial spirit. They could have chosen to pursue farming exclusively, totally concentrating on the primary production of livestock and crops, investing in more leases and adhering to agriculture, which was by far the most significant element of Irish economic activity at that time. They chose not to do so. They were willing to diversify. Why? This in itself is a question to be explored. How they came to have the drive and ambition to enter into business and then subsequently a willingness to adapt to different ventures as circumstances changed. This attitude was shared by similar families, possibly with a common motivation, and especially by Catholics who became proto-industrialists in the nineteenth century.

In her approach to *The Cloth-capped Men: the Story of a West Cork Slate Quarry 1841-1962*, Mairin Lankford’s work, which chronicles closely a West Cork slate quarry is unique and quite comprehensive, thereby necessary reading.³¹ In this broader sense, Colin Rynne’s tome *Industrial Ireland 1750-1930: an Archaeology* contains useful data on slate extraction (it also is useful for the distilling industry).³² Garrett O’Neill’s thesis ‘The sources and use of roofing slate in nineteenth century Ireland’ is most helpful as it focuses on architecture and the slate industry in some detail covering the period of this study.³³ Something that is related to both the themes of religion and economy is the active period of pre-Famine church building. The Irish whiskey industry has been commented on in a number of ways and in recent years has received an increased level of attention from historians; with some impressive local publications and national surveys published. Andrew Bielenberg’s

³⁰ Walter Walsh, *Kilkenny: the struggle for the land, 1850-1882* (Thomastown, 2008), xxii.

³¹ Mairin Lankford, *The cloth-capped men: the story of a west Cork slate quarry 1841-1962* (Cork, 2005).

³² Colin Rynne, *Industrial Ireland 1750-1930: an archaeology* (Cork, 2006).

³³ Garrett O’Neill, ‘The sources and use of roofing slate in nineteenth-century Ireland’ (M.U.B.C. thesis, University College, Dublin, 2007).

book about *Locke's Distillery* is most pertinent.³⁴ There are further comparisons and similar questions raised as Andrew Bielenberg outlines this Westmeath distillery's history chronologically; he also directs his focus on individuals 'who made the crucial planning and management decisions' and on the equally important effects of the broader economic environment.³⁵ The participation of the Lockes in indigenous industry demonstrates 'an active Catholic merchant class'.³⁶ How reflective of national trends are the Hylands' experience in agriculture, industry and commerce? What influences came to bear on the fortunes of this family? In order to acquire an overall economic perspective Cormac Ó Gráda's research is essential.³⁷ Ó Gráda uses an eclectic, interdisciplinary approach and warns of the perils of single-mindedness.

The practice and influence of religion, its political association and its ramifications for every level of society is a major theme in the historiography of modern Ireland. It is no less vital for the present case. It has often been noted that the social, economic and political development of Ireland in the twentieth century occurred as a consequence of the rise and consolidation of the Catholic Church from the middle of the nineteenth century. What is more, the engine that powered this evolution was the Catholic middle class, and as has been stated previously, the active core of that group was located in the region of Ireland from where the Hylands emerged and prospered. Questions on a macro-scale may find equivalence in this micro-study, especially with regard to religion. Some questions in this area which Sean Connolly believes 'are interesting and important' include: 'relations between members of different religious denominations', and 'the interaction between religion and politics'.³⁸

Do the Hylands and their close connections embody the central hypotheses in Larkin's work? Larkin believes Ireland underwent a transformation in the practice of Catholicism in the third quarter of the nineteenth century and that the Church 'not only absorbed capital, but also entrepreneurial talent'.³⁹

³⁴ Andrew Bielenberg, *Locke's distillery a history* (Dublin, 1993).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³⁶ John Teeling, 'Foreword' in Andrew Bielenberg's *Locke's distillery a history* (Dublin, 1993), vi.

³⁷ Cormac Ó Gráda, *Ireland: a new economic history 1780-1939* (Dublin, 1994).

³⁸ Sean Connolly, *Religion and society in nineteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 1994), p. 42.

³⁹ Emmet Larkin, 'Economic growth, capital investment, and the Roman Catholic church in nineteenth-century Ireland' in *American Historical Review*, lxxii, no. 3 (Apr., 1967), p. 875.

Is it possible that as the Catholic Church became more influential, it stifled the Hylands' progress economically? Did the psychological effects of the Famine tragedy have a latent effect on the family ambitions? Or did the Famine simply have a knock-on economic consequence? How did monetary support of the Church impinge on family finances? As Larkin states 'the main burden of meeting the Church's early capital needs, of course, fell on that class of the laity who were relatively wealthy'.⁴⁰ Are the Hylands a case in point? This question arises when one considers the initial financial contribution to the Church when female family members entered into religious life. Can we say in the event of marriage, notwithstanding the costs of education, that the burden of dowries or legacies would entail similar financial commitments? Religion invariably brings together economic and social aspects and defines attitudes, creating public and private perceptions.

In terms of layout the thesis is divided into nine chapters. To a large extent it is chronologically divided. The first chapter looks at the origins of the family, the idea of entrepreneurship and the slate business of Laurence Hyland. The second deals with his home and farm in the pre-Famine period, his domestic and farm workers and his time as a distiller with a particular emphasis on distilling in Kilkenny city. Chapter three examines the business and socio-political activities of Richard P. Hyland in relation to distilling, milling and the operation of a spirit store, which was run with the involvement of his brother John P. It also considers the family's interaction with local politics and surveys the Catholic middle classes in Kilkenny. The investment portfolio of John P. Hyland is considered in chapter four with a special emphasis on the theatre in which he invested. Chapter five looks at the Hylands' farms and estate up to the Land War. The sixth chapter looks closely at the management of the estate and Hyland's role as a landlord from 1880. The seventh chapter assesses Hyland as a tenant and his farm management. Further aspects of the family's political lives post-Famine are examined in chapter eight. Finally, chapter nine observes the position of the Hylands in terms of society, religion and culture.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 856.

CHAPTER 1

Entrepreneurship and the Ormonde Slate Quarries, 1816-38

Laurence Hyland and his Origins

Laurence Hyland was born (c. 1778), into this County Kilkenny, Roman Catholic family.¹ His father, Richard Hylan[d], was described as a ‘farmer’ ‘of Gortnaglogh’ in a 1788 lease of part of Lemogue [sic], a neighbouring townland.² In this lease, Laurence is said to be ‘about nine years of age’.³ The lease, for three lives, was for 116 acres plantation measure (Irish acres) with an annual rental of £132 18s. 4d. sterling. This would equate to approximately 193 acres statute measure.⁴ The evidence of this lease suggests that the Hylands had their residence in the townland of Gortnaglogh. It is not known if this was a sizeable house or otherwise, and though there is a castle ‘in ruin’ marked on the Ordnance Survey map (1842), there is no supporting evidence for an association. In a ledger entry from 1820, Laurence refers to ‘the house quarter of Gortnaglogh’ perhaps indicating the original Hyland homestead.⁵ Gortnaglogh is a townland containing 189 statute acres within Tullahought parish, in the south-west of the county near the village of Windgap, about six miles north of Carrick-on-Suir, County Tipperary. Again it is not known how much of this townland was in their possession; however, what evidence that exists demonstrates that the Hylands, certainly from the 1780s, were large farmers in an area where dairy farming was practiced.

The proximity to Carrick-on-Suir may indicate a longer association with the area as a Philip Hywlan (the first Hyland ‘to come into prominence’) was ‘a burgess of the town in 1338, followed by other citizens [of the same name] in the fifteenth and

¹ For some confirmation of his birth year see his age at death: marble wall plaque on the left aisle of St. Mary’s Cathedral, Kilkenny and *Kilkenny Journal* (hereafter *KJ*), 18 Nov. 1843. For a basic genealogy of the family see Appendix XI.

² ‘Indenture between Benjamin Morris and Richard Hylan[d], 2 Aug. 1788’, Laurence Hyland (hereafter LH) Hyland papers (hereafter HP).

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Statute acres is the acreage measurement used today.

⁵ ‘Patrick and James Tobin got possession of the house quarter of Gortnaglogh and also 20 dairy cows the 18th May 1820’ L2 3 LH (HP).

sixteenth centuries'.⁶ Edward MacLysaght also tells us that there are numerous references to 'Hylan' and other variants of Hyland, in the Ormond Deeds.

Whelan has observed that 'the earliest and healthiest Catholic communities emerged in areas with crypto-Catholic landlords'.⁷ In County Kilkenny the Butlers were the dominant family in this regard; in this instance the Garryricken Butlers who (as we shall see below had been Catholics until 1764) were the Hylands' neighbours at Gortnaglogh. The Butlers of Garryricken, who later would succeed to the earldom of Ormonde and later still they attained the title of marquess, may have been more amenable than most of the ascendancy to letting their estate to the more substantial of Catholic tenants such as the Hylands. The same may be said about the Mountgarret branch of the Butler family who, as we shall see, were the Hylands' landlords at Gortnaglogh.

All in all, though Richard Hylan[d] was described as a 'farmer' in the lease of Lamogue, he and his family had attained a certain status by the late 1700s, they were among those who may be termed as large farmers. Indeed by the time Laurence was born, it may be argued that they had consolidated their place in society and began to assert with some confidence that position from their base at Gortnaglogh. It will become clear that Laurence's in-laws, the Walshs, were part of the old gentry of south County Kilkenny; to accurately define the Hylands' societal position is more difficult as their records do not extend back as far. Nevertheless they have much in common with the Walshs, and certainly, in many ways, cultivated a position among the Catholic elite.

The Ormonde Slate Quarry was located in the parish of Tullahought only a few miles from the Hyland holding at Gortnaglogh. By the year 1820, Laurence was to begin a business trading in the slate extracted from this quarry.

A Gent

In 1813, Laurence is listed as 'a gent' of 'the farm', who is holding a fifty shilling freehold of Gortnaglogh from the earl of Kilkenny (Edmund Butler, 1771-1846) who was of the Mountgarret branch of the Butler family.⁸ In the same year he is included with his father, and Sir John Blunden in a presentment notice 'for road

⁶ Edward MacLysaght, *More Irish families* (1st paperback ed., Portland, 1996), p. 126.

⁷ Whelan, 'The regional impact of Irish Catholicism...', p. 257.

⁸ Freeholders List County Kilkenny 1809-13, 1813 entry no. 1971.

repair' in the Castle Blunden area, two miles south-west of Kilkenny city.⁹ In addition, Kilkenny City Grand Jury records confirm that Richard (Laurence's father), by 1809 or thereabouts, had taken an interest in lands in the Castle Blunden area ('the farm'; as will be shown, he, Richard Hyland, was referred to in a lease of Clonmoran in 1816).¹⁰ Clonmoran is about fifteen miles from Gortnaglogh and about seventeen miles from the quarries.

Plate 1.1 Laurence Hyland from a photograph (c.1840)



Source: Hyland papers

⁹ *The presentments of the grand jury county and city of Kilkenny lent assizes 1803- spring assizes 1824* (books.google.ie) (26 Oct. 2009), p. 94 : 'Summer assizes, 1812'.

¹⁰ Ibid p. 60; Ibid p. 50 -'City of Kilkenny 6 Apr. 1807' refers to a 'Robert Hyland' (with Sir John Blunden, Bart. and Henry Shearman Esq.) 'to repair ...from Kilkenny to Castle-inch church'.

Castle Blunden

The ‘farm’ at Castle Blunden was to be known as ‘Clonmorán’, as the entirety of the Castle Blunden area was known before the arrival of the Blundens in the 1660s. ‘Overington Blunden is said to have acquired a Kilkenny estate during the Interregnum or Restoration period.’ The work of Monica Brennan suggests that ‘Blunden may well have exchanged his assignments in King’s county (125 acres) and Waterford (20 acres) for lands near Kilkenny city.’ ‘Alternatively he may have purchased the property from a soldier or debenture broker.’¹¹ In any event *Burke’s Peerage* has it that Blunden, in 1667, ‘received a grant of Glanmore, *alias* Clanmore to be forever called Blunden’s Castle’.¹² Unfortunately what records that are preserved at Castle Blunden or in the National Library have little relevance to this study.¹³ Prior to the arrival of the Blundens, the property was in the possession of Elias Shee, a member of one of the major merchant families who had dominated all aspects of life in Kilkenny in the previous centuries.

When Richard Hylan[d] died in 1821, he also had the possession of a further one hundred and forty-seven acres statute measure, three miles from the city, at the townland of Graun.¹⁴ This townland is accessed by the road which leads south-west from Kilkenny city, via the Clonmorán entrance, to Castleinch where it is located a mile due west of Castleinch Church. This farm was held from the earl of Desart, Otway Cuffe, who was related through marriage to the Blunden family.¹⁵

Laurence Hyland’s surviving ledgers reveal a vivid picture of a slate business over two decades before the Famine. Fortunately, Hyland was meticulous in his record keeping, leaving a legacy of some 10,000 entries in five ledgers. The earliest entry is in 1818 and they peter out in 1843. They largely pertain to the quarries from 1820-38. The accounts also record his farming activities, household accounts and family affairs, all of which confirm his authorship. The ledgers are by and large entire, in fair condition and written in a legible hand. A ledger entry dated 16

¹¹ Monica Brennan, ‘The changing composition of Kilkenny landowners, 1641-1700’ in William Nolan and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Kilkenny history and society*, (Dublin, 1990), p. 176.

¹² Bernard Burke, *Burke’s Peerage* (London, 1891), p. 141.

¹³ E. A. MacLysaght, ‘Blunden Papers’ in *Analecta Hibernica*, no. 15 (Nov. 1944), p. 389 (<http://www.jstor.org>) (11 Feb. 2014); Miscellaneous papers with associated letters, relating to the family of Blunden, Bart., Castle Blunden, Kilkenny, c.1774-1944 (NLI Ms 20,758).

¹⁴ *Kilkenny Moderator* (hereafter *KM*), 15 Nov. 1821.

¹⁵ L. M. Cullen, ‘Foreword’ in *Retrospections of Dorothea Herbert, 1770-1806* (2nd ed., Dublin, 2004), x-xi.

February 1820 is the best indication as to the date that Hyland commenced his business, he wrote: ‘Expenses incurred in the course of disposing of slates and looking for contracts’.¹⁶

Was it something in his background that made Laurence Hyland a businessman? What made him an entrepreneur? Was it simply his personality? An entrepreneur is defined as ‘someone who sets up a business or businesses, taking on financial risks in the hope of a profit’.¹⁷ Hyland was clearly willing to take on a risk and hope for a profitable return. It is conjecture, but not entirely so, to assign certain attributes to this man who could have remained a successful leaseholder of farmland without involving himself in commercial activity. Personal qualities were definitely needed, for example, drive and energy. Unquestionably Hyland was ambitious and possessed entrepreneurial spirit. The vision to see a good opportunity was necessary but not enough by itself. Confidence would seem to have been a prerequisite; to avail of opportunity and to succeed required a confident outlook. Additionally he needed to have been familiar with the quarry workings, and the technicalities involved. An awareness of the organization required transporting the slate by horse and car was essential to the success of the business. This was a business that relied on transportation and route-ways to facilitate the logistics of supply. He had to be a salesman regardless of the merits of the product he was marketing. Word of mouth no doubt played a part in the success of the business both in terms of Hyland’s reputation and in relation to the quality of the product.

Options for enterprise during this period in Kilkenny were limited and were based on agriculture, as were most investment possibilities in the country as a whole. Laurence was a gentleman farmer and an able one. Farming was a necessary auxiliary to what was very much a pre-industrialised enterprise. The access to land and its facilities would aid Laurence in his slate business and later influence his decision to enter the distilling industry. Slate products could be useful on a farm, though they usually had a more sporadic use. Roof maintenance would require some slates and while Laurence was improving the dwelling house and perhaps developing the range of out-offices on the farm they would have been needed. Apart

¹⁶ 16 Feb. 1820 L 2 166 LH (HP).

¹⁷ *Oxford dictionary of English* (2nd ed., Oxford, 2003), p. 580.

from roofing purposes, slate flags were utilised for drain covers and flag floors at Clonmoran.

Almost every enterprise in pre-Famine Ireland was labour intensive and with so populous a country there was no problem acquiring staff. Horses, as will become clear, were plentiful. In this business horses were deployed to great effect in the transportation of slate across seven counties. The basic transport needs of, for example, a distillery or a quarry were similar to a farm, what differed was the scale.

If we assume that family names are indicative of religious denomination, it would appear that most of those employed at the slate quarry were Roman Catholic. In addition, a crude analysis would demonstrate that these workers were local to the Tullahought district (see Appendix V).

Plate 1.2 Ledgers of Laurence Hyland dating from 1818



Source: Hyland Papers

While he did not own the means of production, Laurence Hyland had access to it. Given his local knowledge, it was understandable that Hyland entered the slate

trade. As a Catholic gentleman farmer, Laurence Hyland had a place in society that afforded him some opportunities in terms of those he was acquainted with. In particular he was well known amongst Catholics, especially those in farming and perhaps business circles. Even though Hyland's acquaintances were important in gaining contracts, perhaps more important was the merits of the product and its provenance. Specifically, the fact that the slate was sourced from the Ormonde Quarry was surely an advantage. The connection of the quarry with the Butlers of Ormonde may have opened doors for Laurence. The destination and usage of the slate products is evidence of this. The countess of Ormonde, who lived in Castlecomer in the north of the county, was by far the best customer that Hyland had. The countess, Anne Wandesforde, was the mother of (Laurence records him as Lord Ormonde) James Butler (1774-1838) 1st marquess of Ormonde (3rd creation). He became marquess in 1825. Ormonde was the landlord of the quarry and succeeded to the estate in 1820, which may be significant as in that the period, 1820-38, Hyland leased the quarry.

How does the quarry compare with other quarries in the region in the country? Comparisons will be made with other slate quarries and the position of the Ormonde quarry, competitively, within the region merits an assessment here. Quarrying had implications for the local community within the context of the period as will be outlined. What were the factors that precipitated the ending of Hyland's quarrying venture in 1838? What diverted his interest away from the slate trade and into what was by then a declining distilling industry will also be addressed in this chapter.

The Slate Quarries

The slate quarries are located approximately six miles north of Carrick-on-Suir; about two and a half miles south of the village of Windgap, which in turn is five miles south of the town of Callan. Windgap was a distinct parish since 1826. It included the civil parishes of Kilamery and Tulloughout and less than one-third of the civil parish of Kilmoganny, and the townland of *Búoliafliugh*, in the civil parish of Coolagh.¹⁸

¹⁸ William Carrigan, *The history and antiquities of the diocese of Ossory*, (4 vols, Dublin, 1905), iv, p. 318.

The Lingaun River, which for several miles in this area forms the boundary between Tipperary and Kilkenny, runs through a valley of metamorphic rock which has given rise to considerable slate formation. The hard, grey and blue-grey slates which characterise this locality are part of the Ahenny geological formation, which is nearly 3,000m thick and consists of slate and some siltstone. The rocks here date from the late Silurian period over 400 million years ago.¹⁹ In many respects, this is a rather unique area, and not only in geological terms, as it combines an interesting and beautiful topography, with an ancient culture evidenced by many prehistoric monuments. The Ormonde Quarries were centred on the townland of Inchanaglogh with other quarries in neighbouring townlands. Inchanaglogh translates as the Gaelic *Inse na gClogh* which means ‘island /water-meadow of the stones’.²⁰ Knockroe and Baunreagh townlands adjoining make up a series of extraction points along the east of the Lingaun River on lands once owned by the aforementioned aristocratic Butler family, from whom the designation ‘Ormonde’ derives.²¹

On the Tipperary side of the Lingaun, near the village of Ahenny, substantial slate extraction also occurred at Clashnasmut, at a site known as the Victoria Quarries. The Victoria and Ormonde quarries are long since defunct, closing in 1911 and 1937 respectively, both having reached peak production in the last years of the nineteenth century. An absence of primary sources has meant that contemporary reference to the Ormonde Quarries has been confined largely to some brief comment in general, statistical or geographical surveys. Nevertheless, a short description in an 1837 volume to which Laurence Hyland subscribed is apposite:

Near Kilmacoliver is an extensive quarry of slate of superior quality, called the Ormond Quarry, in which about 150 persons are generally employed; the slates have an extensive sale in this and the adjoining counties, being considered nearly equal to the Welsh slates in colour and lightness...²²

¹⁹ Daniel Tietzsch-Tyler, *Building stones of St. Canice's cathedral, Kilkenny an introduction to the rocks of the Kilkenny region* (Dublin, 1995); J. B. Archer, A.G. Sleeman and D.C. Smith, *Geology of Tipperary*, (Geological Survey of Ireland, Dublin, 1996), pp 18-9.

²⁰ Art Ó Maolfabhail, *Liostaí logainmneacha contae Cill Chainnigh* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1993), p. 76; Deidre Flanagan and Laurence Flanagan, *Irish place names* (Dublin, 2002), pp 99-100.

²¹ With reference to ‘Ormonde’, Ordnance Survey of Ireland (O.S.I.) maps and the Hyland ledgers use this spelling.

²² Samuel Lewis, *A topographical dictionary of Ireland* (2 vols, London, 1837), ii, 402.

History

The Kilkenny quarry workings may be dated from 1337.²³ In 1348 a grant by Matthew Fitz Oliver was given to the Priory and Convent of St. Mary's at Kells (County Kilkenny) 'to dig and quarry Slate stones at Melagh'.²⁴ Inchanaglogh was probably a subdivision of this townland. In 1374, the earl of Ormonde received these lands from Walter Fitz Oliver.²⁵ There was small scale quarrying on the Tipperary side of the district prior to the year 1860 when a large scale operation began. A William Mercer operated the Ormonde site certainly in the 1880s but well after Hyland's involvement ended.²⁶ Indeed the *Irish Builder* reported that Mercer had held a thirty year lease from about 1854.²⁷ Later in the century, Mercer would complain of the underuse of indigenous slate in Ireland.²⁸ He did so complaining that 'all the government buildings in our poor country are roofed with Welsh slates'.²⁹

Local families are known to have worked the Ormonde quarry and these included 'Purcells, Lonergans, Loughlins, Mahers and Murrays'.³⁰ According to the same local source, John Dalton 'worked at the quarry before 1840'. Detailed records prior to that date have not survived, and the Hyland family's involvement has not been noted or recalled until now though 'Hyland' antecedents remain in the locality.³¹ Cartographic evidence from c. 1817, illustrates the quarry at 'Incheennaglu' with the particular legend 'quarries working'.³²

²³ 'Slate Quarries annual book' (Slate Quarries festival committee, 1999), p. 10.

²⁴ Ormonde Papers (hereafter OP) National Library of Ireland (hereafter NLI) (NLI MS D. 909).

²⁵ P.C. Power, *Ahenny and district* (Carrick on Suir, 2005), p. 29.

²⁶ G. H. Bassett, *Kilkenny city and county guide and directory 1884* (2nd ed., Kilkenny, 2001), p. 265.

²⁷ *Irish Builder* (hereafter *IB*), xxvi, no. 600, (1884).

²⁸ *Report from the select committee on industries Ireland: together with the proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence, and appendix*, H.C. 1884-5 (288) ix, 743 [725] 'Appendix, no. 3 Letter from Mr. William Mercer to the chairman ... Sir John Eardley-Wilmot, 6 Jun 1885' (<http://parlipapers.chadwyck.co.uk.jproxy>) (1 Mar. 2010).

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ 'Slate Quarries annual...', p. 10.

³¹ Interview with Margaret Doyle, Curraghnamimpaun, Tullahought, Piltown, Co Kilkenny (21 Nov.2009).

³² J. H. Andrews 'David Aher and Hill Clements's map of county Kilkenny, 1812-24' in William Nolan and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Kilkenny history and society*, (Dublin, 1990), p. 447; David Aher and Hill Clements grand jury map Kilkenny county, barony of Kells (1817) Kilkenny Archaeological Society (hereafter KAS) Library, Rothe House, Kilkenny.

An advertisement in the *Leinster Journal* of 1808 stated that the quarry was to be let for seven years.³³ Proposals were to be addressed in writing to John A. Power Esq, The Castle, Kilkenny, and the quarry was to be viewed on application to Mr Pringle, Garryricken House. It also stated that the quarry, near Garryricken, was in the neighbourhood of Callan and Carrick-on-Suir where the demand for slates was very considerable. Laurence Hyland, as will be demonstrated, sold slate well beyond these local towns. Undoubtedly, the quarries were being worked in the years immediately before 1820 and it is not inconceivable that the Hylands were in some way involved.

Plate 1.3 Map of Slate Quarry Area (1817) with legend ‘Quarries working’



Source: David Aher and Hill Clements Grand Jury Map courtesy of KAS Library, Rothe House, Kilkenny.

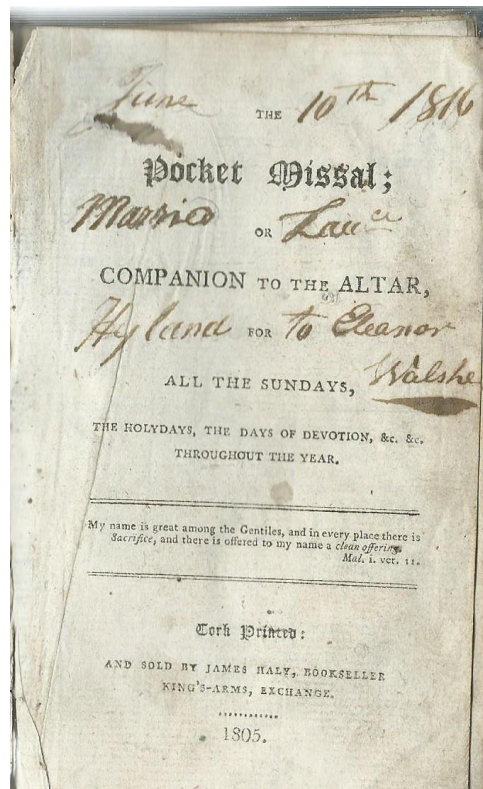
The Origins and Nature of the Business

Laurence Hyland was an example of a progressive individual who occupied a pivotal position in the early nineteenth century; a Roman Catholic with an ability to

³³ *Leinster Journal* (hereafter *LJ*), 9 Mar. 1808.

engage in trade and industry and a willingness to be active in politics. He was a farmer, a sometime minor middleman, who was, as William Nolan puts it, something more than ‘an adjunct to landlordism’.³⁴ Indeed Ó Gráda believes that ‘the substantial farmer (who often doubled up as a middleman)’ was important as ‘an agent of change’.³⁵ Hyland was not satisfied with farming alone, he had the energy at forty-two years of age to take the initiative and begin a business trading in slate products. Later in life he would become a distiller displaying once more his entrepreneurial nature. It is not known if he was involved in an enterprise other than farming before he commenced his slate business. His marriage in 1816 to Eleanor Walsh (c. 1789-1869), who was from a relatively wealthy background, may have been the spur towards an entrepreneurial life, and not only in terms of the capital that her dowry may have contributed.

Plate 1.4 Eleanor Hyland’s (nee Walsh) Pocket Missal



Source: Hyland Library

³⁴ William Nolan, *Fassadinin: land, settlement and society in south-east Ireland, 1600-1850* (Dublin, 1979), p. 113.

³⁵ Ó Gráda, *A new economic history*, pp 30-1.

Slates would have been sold by local hardware or timber merchants at the time as newspaper notices confirm.³⁶ The famous Bangor Welsh slate was certainly available in Kilkenny in 1816, albeit in a small quantity.³⁷ Irish slate was heavier than that quarried in Wales; this made it less popular with slaters in the long run. Nonetheless, its durability was unquestioned and the available Ormonde slate with its blue-grey colour was aesthetically pleasing and popular.

Capital

Apart from personal attributes, what was essential in beginning the business was the requirement for money. Capital and the sources of finance were essential for Hyland. He had to have the capital to lease the quarry from Lord Ormonde in the first place, and to pay all other expenses necessary for the start-up of the business.

Plainly Laurence would have had a certain requirement for initial capital for quarrying. An agricultural depression began in 1815 when the Napoleonic wars ended.³⁸ The downturn in agriculture may have caused Hyland to consider other options. The subsequent escalating crises of 1819-20 was exacerbated by a less than stable banking sector, particularly locally where Loughnan's in Kilkenny, Newport's in Waterford, and Riall's in Clonmel all closed.³⁹ If we assume his income was derived from farming, these factors must have impacted adversely on his finances. Indeed, he records the return of a two pound Loughnan note, to a tenant, Pat Fleming.⁴⁰ Notwithstanding this, evidently the family had some financial capability during these years, given that rents in the Kilkenny city environs were much higher, and in most cases, as William Neely noted, 'double that of remoter districts'.⁴¹ Laurence's appellation 'gent' in legal documents at this time is also indicative of a rising social position. Indeed it may be argued that he had attained a very good position in the social hierarchy for an untitled Catholic, by 1813 at least.

Regarding capital, what is certain and significant is Laurence's marriage in 1816 to Eleanor Walsh of Earlsrath, Mullinavat, County Kilkenny.⁴² The Walshs, a Catholic

³⁶ *LJ*, 22 May 1819.

³⁷ *KM*, 7 Mar. 1816.

³⁸ Ó Gráda, *A new economic history*, pp 159-60.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 57

⁴⁰ 1820 L1 (1) LH (HP).

⁴¹ William Neely, *Kilkenny, an urban history, 1391-1843* (Kilkenny, 1989), p. 177.

⁴² Inscription in Eleanor Hyland's pocket missal (1805) and newspaper cutting (unknown title): Laurence Hyland married Eleanor Walsh 10 Jun. 1816 LH (HP).

family, were known to be rich and Eleanor's mother is mentioned in *Tighe's Statistical Survey* (1802), 'the widow Walsh has a large farm in this district, holding near 2000 acres, some of it in perpetuity, and has lately built a slate house'.⁴³

Later Edward Wakefield reiterates Tighe's findings.⁴⁴ Documents, that are in the Hyland papers, give some credence to Tighe's assertion. In 1750 David Welshe had a lease of 200 acres of Ballyloskey[sic] - lands (adjacent to Earlsrath) that would later be inherited by John Carroll, Eleanor's nephew.⁴⁵ David 'Welsh' in a later document (1752) sub-let a quarter of this property together with the 'mansion house to his brother John'.⁴⁶ William Welshe was likely the son of David and it is his widow Mary that Tighe comments on. In his will William leaves a quarter of his property to his wife with three quarters divided between his five daughters: Margaret, Bridget, Jonney (Johanna), Nelly (Eleanor) and Alice and twenty guineas to another daughter Mary.⁴⁷ Mary, his widow, takes out administration of his estate on 19 January 1797.⁴⁸ In 1802, she makes an agreement in relation to 134 acres of Ballyluskey with her brother-in-law, it appears, and another relative.⁴⁹ In 1803, Mary Welshe leased sixty-seven acres of Ballyloskey to Keyran Welshe.⁵⁰ In the year 1817, Mary 'Welsh', 'a widow', was taking a lease of nine acres of Crobally (Mullinavat) from Thomas Darmody.⁵¹ While this information does not corroborate Tighe's assertion, it demonstrates that the Walshs were people of substance with a long history in the Mullinavat area. Earlsrath had significance historically as an old Walsh settlement, and even around the time of Laurence and Eleanor's marriage (1816), it retained some topographical importance; Earlsrath was distinguished by being marked on Kilkenny maps of the period.⁵²

⁴³ William Tighe, *Statistical observations relative to the county of Kilkenny made in the years 1800 – 1801* (2 vols, 2nd ed., Kilkenny, 1998), ii, 387.

⁴⁴ Edward Wakefield, *An account of Ireland statistical and political* (2 vols, London, 1812), i, p. 329.

⁴⁵ Indenture between David Welshe (farmer) and James Anderson (gent), Grace Dieu, Waterford, 11 Dec. 1750 LH (HP).

⁴⁶ Indenture between John Welsh and David Welsh (both of 'Ballyloskey'), 6 Apr. 1752 LH (HP).

⁴⁷ Will of William Welshe (true copy) (undated) LH (HP).

⁴⁸ Administration document of William Welsh's will, 19 January 1797 LH (HP).

⁴⁹ Indenture between Mary Welshe of Earlsrath and Keyran Welshe of 'Ballyloskey' and David Aylward of Park, 5 June 1802 LH (HP).

⁵⁰ Indenture between Mary Welshe of Earlsrath and Keyran Welshe of 'Ballyloskey', Oct. 1803 LH (HP).

⁵¹ Indenture between Thomas Darmody and Mary Welsh, 31 May 1817 LH (HP).

⁵² See William Shaw-Mason, *A survey of Tullaroan or Grace's parish in the cantred of Grace's country and county of Kilkenny* (Dublin, 1819), p. 24.

Eleanor's dowry therefore, may be one possible source of initial capital, if the business did indeed begin c.1820. The fact that Hyland was an acceptable match for Eleanor indicates that he had a level of social respectability and most importantly means. Regardless, the ledger sources show categorically that there was sizeable family investment from both Hyland and Walsh families as the following sample extracts incline to demonstrate:

Bridget and C[atherine] Hyland one year's Int[erest] on £950 due the 23rd Dec[em]ber last £57.⁵³ Mich[ael] Hyland accept[e]d for £50 a[t] 41 days payable in Dublin.⁵⁴

Mrs Walsh of Earlsrath borrowed of her £30.⁵⁵ Paid into the office of the Hibernian Joint Stock Banking Co. as follows - Mrs B[ridge]t Carroll (his sister-in-law) dividends on one share £25 10, Miss A[lice] Walsh (sister-in-law) dividends on two shares £51.⁵⁶

Familial financing for Laurence however was not without its difficulties and the ledgers also reveal that legal proceedings were initiated within the Hyland family.⁵⁷ It appears that in 1821 Laurence went to law with his mother Bridget and brother Michael (c. 1794-1854) (or at least threatened legal action against them) possibly in relation to his late father's estate. Laurence and his brother Michael were on the Kilkenny National Bank of Ireland committee. Later Laurence was banking with a Mr. Scott in Waterford and by 1837 he and his brother were shareholders of the city of Kilkenny branch of the Agricultural and Commercial Bank of Ireland.⁵⁸ This was to prove a costly investment as £400 was lost when the bank folded.

This evidence also confirms that the Hylands and Walshs by this time were well-to-do Catholic farmers who were familiar with investing outside the farm. The market for slate being good, and supplied with a certain amount of capital, Hyland was in a position to exploit a natural resource that was familiar to him. Laurence had a familiarity with the nature of the business as he had grown up in the vicinity of the quarry. He was acquainted too with the local people who were to be in his employ. In addition he may have had some acquaintance with the marquess whose family branch had hailed from nearby Garryricken. Armed certainly with some of these advantages, Hyland more than likely sought and obtained a lease sometime in 1820.

⁵³ 1824 L3 84 LH (HP).

⁵⁴ 1822 L1 (2) LH (HP).

⁵⁵ L2 35 LH (HP).

⁵⁶ 1824 L3 85 LH (HP).

⁵⁷ 27 Nov. 1821 L1 116 LH (HP).

⁵⁸ KM, 4 Feb. 1837.

With regard to the Ormondes, Walter Butler was the first to move to Garryricken. He was a Catholic who had previously lived in Poulacapple, County Tipperary (only a few miles away), where, as we shall see, the Hylands also had some connection.⁵⁹ John Butler conformed on 16 December 1764 in the church of Golden near Cashel, County Tipperary. He was restored to the title earl of Ormonde in 1791. On 14 February 1791 he married Lady Anne Wandesforde (an only daughter). Their son, another Walter, was created marquess in 1816 and died in 1820.⁶⁰ His brother James, who has been referred to, then succeeded to the estate.

It seems clear that Laurence received some degree of formal education; this may be solely substantiated by the existence of his ledgers but also by the book collection at Clonmoran and writings and utterances attributed to him in the local newspapers. Additionally, the fact that his brother became a solicitor having attended the King's Inns shows that the family had an engagement with education at a higher level.⁶¹ Michael Hyland had entered King's Inns in 1815 as an apprentice attorney. In 1825, Michael Hyland was listed as an attorney at law of the city of Kilkenny and having served as apprentice to John Kelly Esq (also an attorney) he was added to the roll of freemen.⁶² Undoubtedly, Michael was established in Kilkenny by 1825 and had left his rural roots behind him. He made his home in Patrick Street in the centre of the city and he would also have an office at 26 Lower Dominic St, and later in Denzille St in the capital.⁶³ In the early 1820s, Michael was recorded as acting for Laurence (they probably resolved their differences at this stage). An example of this is when Laurence issues instructions to Michael to proceed against the Oldis property for recovery of a principal sum of £1185 3s. 1d.⁶⁴ The case concerned a landholding at Ballylanigan, Mullinahone, County Tipperary, in which the Hylands had an interest. This location was adjacent to the previously mentioned townland of Poulacapple.

⁵⁹ Carrigan, *History and antiquities*, iv, p. 320.

⁶⁰ Jane Fenlon. 'The Ormondes, the castle and Kilkenny city from the seventeenth to the twentieth century' in John Bradley and Michael O'Dwyer (eds), *Kilkenny through the centuries: chapters in the history of an Irish city* (Kilkenny, 2009), p. 302.

⁶¹ Edward Keane and P. B. Phair, and T. U. Sadlier (eds.) *King's Inns admission papers 1607-1867* (Dublin, 1982), p. 241: 'Hyland, Michael, 2nd s. of Richard, Castle Blunden, Co. Kilkenny, and Bridget Power; over 16; ed. Kilkenny; aft. father T 1815'.

⁶² 4 Nov. 1825 'Grand Roll of Freemen of the City of Kilkenny from the 1st January 1760'; John Kelly was admitted a freeman on 16 Nov. 1812.

⁶³ Alexander Thom, *Thom's Irish almanac and official directory* (Dublin, 1844), p. 312; *Thom's* (1852), p. 1043.

⁶⁴ 22 Jun 1822 L1 168 LH (HP).

Quarrying

The jointing characteristics of slate deposition make it very suitable for quarrying, as it may be quarried out in blocks. In the same way, the cleavage or natural grain of the slate makes it suitable for splitting into rough sheet slates and subsequently refined into a variety of sizes by a process known as dressing or trimming. A comparable study of a west Cork slate quarry outlines the equipment and methods utilised in the 1930s.⁶⁵ A hundred years earlier, with the exception of engine driven machinery the tools used at Inchanaglough were identical. Basic implements such as shovels, various hammers and chisels were obligatory. Pulleys, winches and wedges would have been used with basic augers and certainly an instrument called a sax for cutting the slate. Rules for measurement, squares and pieces of timber for keeping straight edges, no doubt were employed.

Plate 1.5 Ormonde Slate Quarry (2009)



Source: Photograph by author.

⁶⁵ Lankford, *The cloth-capped men*, pp 60-1.

In the Ormonde Quarries in the 1820s and 30s, the natural, cleaved slate would have been extracted very primitively without any of the mechanisation seen in the later nineteenth century; this fact is borne out by the ledger accounts. Powder, for blasting purposes was, as Rynne has demonstrated, ‘relatively common...by the end of the eighteenth century’; it was the only significant aid to quarrying noted. 614lbs of powder was purchased ‘for the use of the slate quarry’ at a total cost of £35 16s. 10d. in the year 1822.⁶⁶ All the powder was purchased from Robertson and McCraith in Kilkenny, apart from 25lbs purchased from a Mr Bracken.⁶⁷ The account was settled in February of 1823. From what is known of other quarries charge holes would have been made in the rock using sledgehammers and crowbars. Iron bars would have been inserted along fault lines so that when the powder exploded the slate would come away in a suitable block. Horse power would have been an essential part of what was physically demanding work.

Quarries in general could produce quite a range of slate sizes, the following slate types are identified in Hyland’s transactions: Duchess (24”×12”) were the largest size, Countess (20”×10”), Doubles (12”×6”) and Lady (16”×8”). Slates were named according to their size as was common practice in the slate trade.⁶⁸ They were also categorised generically as ‘common’, ‘tons’, ‘½ tons’ and ‘¼ tons’. ‘Tons’ denoted coarser, randomly sized slate that was sold by weight. Inferior slate was also supplied to every class of customer, probably representing good value, and in a few instances, ‘very inferior slate’ found a buyer.⁶⁹ Records show that slate from Inchanaglogh was sold, atypically, by weight rather than by quantity. Load weights were estimated by the number and type of slate, and slate would have been packed in such a way as to prevent breakages.

As late as the 1880s, most Irish quarries were deemed ‘primitive’ with their workings regarded as ‘surface grubbing’, a good description of the operation at Inchanaglogh half a century earlier.⁷⁰ Yet, a contemporary reference to the Ormonde quarry maintains that ‘the works have been extended to a depth of 120 feet’.⁷¹ In deeper quarries, flooding tended to be a serious problem when the

⁶⁶ Rynne, *Industrial Ireland*, p. 152.

⁶⁷ L1 51LH (HP).

⁶⁸ O’Neill, ‘Sources and use of roofing slate...’, p. 19.

⁶⁹ L3 50 LH (HP).

⁷⁰ *IB*, xxvi, no.600, (1884).

⁷¹ Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary*, ii, p. 651.

workings pierced the water table and, wherever possible, excess water was ‘usually siphoned out or manually operated pumps operated’.⁷² An engine for this purpose at Inchanaglogh is said to have been introduced post 1848.⁷³ Given the reputed depth of the quarry, the necessity to remove water from the excavation site seems probable. While Hyland’s operation was basic, that is not to say that technological innovations had not reached other Irish quarries; for example, water-powered drainage pumps were in use at the Glenpatrick slate quarries, near Kilsheelan, County Waterford by 1830.⁷⁴

Workers

In Hyland’s books, the only entries for quarry men would seem to pertain to stone quarrying and a lime kiln near his home. Stone and lime for building work at Clonmoran as well as lime required for field fertilisation are indicated.⁷⁵ Coals purchased for the quarrymen could possibly be for lighting a kiln, but this seems unlikely.⁷⁶ Field name evidence records a lime kiln at Inchanaglogh also.⁷⁷ There is no mention of the tradesmen - the necessary splitters, or indeed the dressers required to fashion the slate types, yet the variety and quantity of slate produced suggests a skilled and sizeable labour force at the quarry. This type of work had to be done at the quarry, as was common practice. Additionally contemporary map evidence shows a structure beside the quarry of approximately thirty feet in length and twenty feet in breadth; it is described a decade later as ‘an office’ under Griffith’s description of tenements.⁷⁸ This structure may have been used as shelter for those dressing the slates.

Although there is an absence of evidence regarding quarrymen, it is clear that rent was paid for the quarry to Ormonde with regularity: ‘paid Mr Barwis on Ac[count]t of the March rent 1820 due to Lord Ormonde at Baunreagh, Inchnaglogh &

⁷² Rynne, *Industrial Ireland*, p.152.

⁷³ Una Hughes, ‘By the Linaun’ in *Old Kilkenny review (Journal of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society)* (hereafter *OKR*), iv, no. 4 (1992), p. 1055.

⁷⁴ Rynne, *Industrial Ireland*, p. 152.

⁷⁵ 1827 L4 128 LH (HP).

⁷⁶ 1822 L1 122 LH (HP).

⁷⁷ OP Entry no. 1655 in ‘an index to, and brief alphabetical of rental of the Arran, Kilcash and Garryricken estates ’[Compiled by C. Maxwell 1808, (NLI Ms 23,811)].

⁷⁸ Richard Griffith, *General valuation of Ireland* (hereafter Griffith’s Valuation) townland of Inchanaglogh, barony of Kells, county of Kilkenny (<http://www.askaboutireland.ie/griffith-valuation>) (11 Feb 2014).

Knockroe £46 15s. 52d.’⁷⁹ Griffith’s Valuation thirty years later records John Dalton as a ‘lessor’ of the quarries and offices in these townlands.⁸⁰ The lease covered a total of about twenty-one acres with two buildings each valued at fifteen shillings each. No valuation is given for the quarries as such but a nomination of thirty-five pounds in total is given. When we consider that Hyland was paying over ninety-three pounds almost three decades earlier, it implies a greater acreage leased, or a higher valuation on the quarry, or both.

A quarry clerk was employed, ‘Laurence Shea’, who was paid a salary of five pounds twice yearly.⁸¹ Significantly, his salary was paid by Hyland through the agent of Ormonde, John Barwis - a check on the material removed from the quarry protecting the interests of the proprietor? Additionally an earlier entry for John Kennedy gives the balance of his salary as clerk in the quarry as ‘£46 1s. 2d.’⁸² This appears most excessive. Kennedy often signs the ledger accounts so it may be that he was in the direct employ of Hyland. The possibility of Ormonde directly employing quarrymen or through an independent contractor extracting and forming the slate for sale to Hyland seems unlikely, for several reasons. Firstly, there is no evidence of Hyland paying for slates, whereas regular rental is paid. Secondly, it makes the business unnecessarily complicated for all the interested parties. A convincing explanation of the absence, of a catalogue of quarry workers is problematic at this stage. A missing ledger, or ledgers, containing the quarry men’s record is perhaps the solution to this puzzle. It’s logical that the quarry clerk would have possession of it on site, so it may have remained with him.

Carmen

In marked contrast to quarry workers, ‘carmen’ transactions are ever-present throughout the accounts. Hyland used the term ‘carmen’ in his ledger entries to describe those with carts who transported the slate products. They loaded the carts and had carriage of the slate. The skills and time required for the craft of slate shaping makes it improbable that they had other roles. Nonetheless, some may have had the expertise given the centuries-old tradition, in the area. In the main, they

⁷⁹ 1820 L1 75 LH (HP).

⁸⁰ Griffith’s Valuation (1850), townlands of Baunreagh, Inchanaglogh and Knockroe, barony of Kells, county of Kilkenny.

⁸¹ 1825 L3 86 LH (HP).

⁸² 1822 L1 129 LH (HP).

would be best described as sub-contractors. Horse hire is logged and families of carmen recorded with the senior member of the family heading the individual page accounts e.g. 'Widow Maher', or 'Widow Maher & Sons'.⁸³ Evidently 'carman' was not quite a gender specific title, and clearly family units worked together to garner every penny possible. The final accounts were signed and witnessed, and while most workers were unable to write there were some exceptions. From Hyland's point of view also, every penny was accounted for, and in one instance damage to a client's property was noted, referring to Thomas Mullins: 'the above is paid his earning on the road all but 10*d.* to be paid him if the persons breaking Mr Reade's gate be known'.⁸⁴ A comparison with personal and family names in the locality of Windgap shows that these were mostly small landholders who resided in Kilkenny townlands within a three mile radius of the quarry. Three quarters of families named in the ledgers are associated with the Tullahought/Killamery parishes, as per Griffith's Valuation (see Appendix V). Of the others, some are family names in the Castle Blunden/Kilkenny city area and most of the remainder may be associated with the district to which they delivered slate. Although Welsh slate miners frequently worked at Irish quarries neither Griffith's nor Hyland's records list any obvious Welsh surnames.⁸⁵

Slaters

The employment of slaters (see Appendix I), one would assume, was not usually the responsibility of Hyland. Of course they were necessary for the completion of any roofing job, but normally, that would be the concern of the building contractor. Nonetheless there are a considerable amount of ledger entries listing slaters and monies paid to them by Laurence. Undoubtedly, Hyland had knowledge of those in the slating trade. In the course of his business he would have come into contact with them and would have supplied slate directly to them in some instances. The Blanchfield family, who were slaters in Ballyragget, County Kilkenny were supplied with slate. In one instance George [Brien] Bryan of Jenkinstown received slate in 1831 'furnished upon Matt Blanchfield's order'. Over one hundred distinct names of slaters were listed in total, notwithstanding that some of these are repeated in the inventory. That level of interest would suggest an involvement by Hyland in

⁸³ 1823 L3 13 LH (HP).

⁸⁴ 1823 L3 69 LH (HP).

⁸⁵ *IB*, xiv, no. 295 (1872).

the supply or recruitment of slaters in a given area. Some of the slaters may be associated with the local districts or they may have had an association with the client, for example, Mr Cherry's slaters in Waterford. The evidence suggests that Hyland was willing to provide this additional service and this gave an extra dimension to his business.

Expenditure

Even if an entry of 1822 accounting for the 'expense of plastering and dashing...the Forge & Office' referred to the farm at Clonmoran, no doubt this facility contributed in some way to operations.⁸⁶ Blacksmiths were needed for the effective functioning of the type of business Hyland ran, as an entry for Peter McDonnell, a decade later shows: 'for four pounds by the year McDonnell to be found[e]ring all iron and steel and paid quarterly'.⁸⁷ It is known, from Rynne's work, that 'permanent or portable forges were used at most quarries to enable quarry workers to re-edge their tools'.⁸⁸

Provision merchants and ancillary trades would have benefited from the economic activity the enterprise generated. Assize taxes and tithes had to be paid. A year's postage entailed the sum of one pound, thirteen shillings and sixpence.⁸⁹ Travelling expenses were documented. Laurence gives an account of the outlay on his own travels and equally the carters' costs on their journeys, including turnpike charges. Travel to the quarry is recorded in 1823 'to Killamery by coach 2s. 6d.' the next day 'from Killamery by car 1s. 8d.'. ⁹⁰ Killamery is about thirteen miles from Clonmoran. Longer journeys entailed more costs, for example a trip to County Waterford: 'to Dunmore, Woodstown, New Geneva and Passage' cost eleven shillings and sixpence.⁹¹ W[illiam]m Cleary on a trip to Waterford entailed an expense of three shillings and four pence.⁹² Another driver, William Carroll, had the responsibility of a consignment in 1832 as 'WC in care' denoted in this case.⁹³

⁸⁶ L2 14 LH (HP).

⁸⁷ 1832 L4 132 LH (HP).

⁸⁸ Rynne, *Industrial Ireland*, p. 153.

⁸⁹ 1823 L3 24-5 LH (HP).

⁹⁰ L3 60 LH (HP).

⁹¹ 1823 L3 61 LH (HP).

⁹² 1823 L3 61 LH (HP).

⁹³ L5 53 LH (HP).

Travel was necessary for Hyland initially in looking for contracts, and later for the collection of monies. He usually stipulates from whom the payment is received, sometimes the client's pay personally, sometimes it is through an agent or intermediary and occasionally a carman collects payment. Promissory notes were quite common and now and then bad debts accrue and he was not adverse to litigation. It was a transitory time for legal tender in Ireland so outgoings in particular are indicated as either in Irish or British currency.

Horses were necessary for the movement of the dislodged slate blocks at the quarry as well as the transporting of the dressed slate to its destination, therefore their welfare was important. Whether the horses were owned or hired in this respect, farming augmented quarrying, providing forage, stabling and the needs of horse husbandry. They naturally contributed to outgoings the likes of 'oats bought and stored at house'.⁹⁴ 'Back loading pays the carman' as the old adage goes and 'culm' for example would be hauled from the colliery near Castlecomer following a delivery there.

Removal of debris was a well-documented problem for all slate quarries.⁹⁵ Hyland recorded a number of the presentment works he did in the Windgap area. An example was 'upon second presentments of the new line of road from J. Smyth's house to the bounds of Coolhill'.⁹⁶ In calculating his expenditure incurred in constructing the new line of road, horses were charged at three shillings each, while for men (and women?) working days cost one shilling. For example, 'Completed 49 perches of the new road nearly up to Patrick Smyth's house at 12*s.* 29*d.*'.⁹⁷ The numbers involved were calculated as follows:

136 horses a 3 <i>s.</i>	£ 20	8 <i>s.</i>
<u>221 men a 1<i>s.</i></u>	£ 11	1 <i>s.</i>
Total	£ 31	9 <i>s.</i>

Presentment works involved the upkeep and sometimes the creation of roads as stipulated by the Grand Jury. Hyland had been contracted to carry out road repair in this area. He was paid by local taxes collected by the Grand Jury. The Grand Jury,

⁹⁴ 1826 L3 161 LH (HP).

⁹⁵ *IB*, xiv, no. 295 (1872).

⁹⁶ Mar. 1820 L2 42 LH (HP).

⁹⁷ 14 Apr. 1820 L2 41LH (HP).

as Virginia Crossman has stated, was ‘the most important local body in rural Ireland’ empowered to raise rates for such purposes.⁹⁸ In carrying out road construction and repairs in the area, this spoil from the slate extraction processes almost certainly was used by Laurence.

The Product and its Marketplace

Historically slate roofing was limited due to ‘the degradation of the iron nails’.⁹⁹ A blacksmith's iron nail eventually rusts resulting in an increasingly wider opening where the nail was inserted exposing the laths underneath, thus allowing the elements to take a further toll on the nail fixings and timber. Without regular maintenance and repair, a loose slate may lead to an unprotected area and unchecked rotting rafters leading eventually to a roof collapse. On the other hand, with regular attention natural slate roofing has been known to remain intact, notably the dairy at Abbeville, Kinsealy, County Dublin, (the one-time residence of the former Taoiseach, Charles J. Haughey).¹⁰⁰ Indeed the ‘far barn’ at Clonmoran, which was constructed in 1833, had about a ninety per cent covering when the roof was removed in 2005 even though it had not been maintained in the second half of the twentieth century.¹⁰¹ Slate is integral to the life of the building it covers. Structures would not remain intact without it and buildings would not survive to have the opportunity of re-roofing.

Walls and roofs would have required a better, more substantial construction to carry the considerable weight of the heavy slate covering. The out offices in Clonmoran were covered with a heavy, coarse slate of diminishing size from wall-plate to apex. Some other uses of non-roofing slate would include: window ledges, eave slate and pigeon perches. The denser slate flags also found use as drain covers, slate flags for chimneys caps and flag floors for all kinds of out-offices and dwellings. A noteworthy number of entries concern the sale of flags typically, ‘1 horse with flags’.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Virginia Crossman, *Local government in nineteenth -century Ireland* (Belfast, 1994), p. 25.

⁹⁹ O’Neill, ‘Sources and use of roofing slate’, p. 78.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ L5 282 LH (HP); Information – Author.

¹⁰² L5 217 LH (HP).

Logistics

From 1820-38 we know that the quarried slate was transported by horse and cart throughout County Kilkenny with a high proportion supplied to the city area and Castlecomer. The carmen travelled regularly to the nearby counties of Waterford and Tipperary; and less so to Laois and Carlow, and rarely to Wexford and Kildare and in one instance to Dublin (possibly to a relative) (see Plate 1.6). Therefore, the road infrastructure and the route ways impacted on the haulage.

At this time, Laurence was renting land at Poulacapple, County Tipperary, about three miles north-east of Windgap on the main Clonmel to Kilkenny road. Perhaps sometimes Poulacapple was used as a changing point for horses on the journey to and from the quarry. Clonmorán served as a further intermediary point for journeys to Kilkenny city, north Kilkenny and beyond. A notice in a Kilkenny newspaper attests to this ‘to be sold at L. Hyland’s slate-yard adjoining Castle Blunden upwards of 399 barrels of superior grass seeds’.¹⁰³ The advantage of two bases of operation, or perhaps three, for the quarry business is clear in logistical terms as all the slate products were transported by horse and cart. In 1823 from this account we can see that half-ton loads were being transported, ‘9 horses carried 4 ton, 1 hundredweight or 9 cwt /load at a cost of £1 19s.’.¹⁰⁴ In his *New Economic History* Ó Gráda informs us that improvements in carts in the early nineteenth century meant that ‘by the 1830s loads of a ton per vehicle were common place’.¹⁰⁵ A cart cost Hyland eight pounds and ten shillings in 1830, surely a prohibitive price for most carmen.¹⁰⁶

Castlecomer

The only reference found in historiography thus far linking the Hyland name with slate is one in the appendix to William Nolan’s book, an extract from the Castlecomer Estate Account of 1821: ‘Hyland for slates for the Shambles £21 18s. 3½ d.’.¹⁰⁷ Hyland’s ledger entry mirrors this and gives us the additional information that a Mr Joseph Doyle made the payment: ‘1822 March 22 By Ditto from same on

¹⁰³ *KM*, 31 Mar. 1827.

¹⁰⁴ 1823 L3 1 LH (HP).

¹⁰⁵ Ó Gráda, *A new economic history*, p. 134.

¹⁰⁶ L4 224 LH (HP).

¹⁰⁷ Nolan, *Fassadinin*, p. 246.

acc[oun]t of the slating of the Shambles £21 18s. 3½d.’. Mr Doyle had obviously carriage of the slates and was paid on 27 June, ‘for carriage of slate to the shambles’, receiving two pounds, five shillings and four pence for his trouble and his honesty.¹⁰⁸

Plate 1.6 Extent of Hyland’s slate business



Source: Author.

Indeed, Castlecomer features prominently in the slate ledgers. Castlecomer is a town about thirteen miles from Clonmorán in the north of County Kilkenny. Much of the orders relate to the town, to the professional and landowning classes and overwhelmingly to the countess of Ormonde, Anne Wandesforde (d. 1830), and her successor Charles Wandesforde. The prosperity of the town, and the Wandesforde estate, owed most to the presence of coal mining to the north of the town. The countess of Ormonde is said to have instigated and presided over ‘the most momentous phase of development in Castlecomer’s history’.¹⁰⁹ An entry for December 1823 is typical:

¹⁰⁸ 1822 L3 10 LH (HP).

¹⁰⁹ William Nolan ‘Castlecomer’ in Anngret Simms and J.H. Andrews (eds), *Irish country towns* (Dublin, 1994), p. 124.

	£ s. d.
'...slate delivered to the House Steward still due	12 6
To 23 square 33ft. of ¼ Ton Slating	
Tenements at the Rere[sic] of Market house a[t] 22 s. / 9d.	26 10 9
squ[are] 4. 45ft of ¼ Ton Slating at the rere[sic] of bridge house	5 1 12
20 squ[are] 44ft half tons and ¼ 's	
an[d] Factory house a[t] 28s./6d.	29 2 6
half cost of measurement	2½
1824	
March 20 th the above	12
Mr.Eaton accepted a Bill for this am[oun]t at 41 days	73 15 2
payable a[t] no. 12. Cuffe St, Dublin'. ¹¹⁰	

Mr Richard Eaton was the countesses' agent, and she made much provision for building improvement within Castlecomer. He was an example of the wealthy professionals employed by the estate who received slate. David Aher, the cartographer and mining engineer was another and those colliery owners and middlemen: Bradley, Brennan, Butler and David Ryan all received deliveries. Slates went to roof such buildings as the Ballyhimmin Bleach Mill and the Market House as well as all types of offices at the Demesne. The slates for the 'fever house' cost nineteen pounds, ten shillings and seven pence in 1828. Health was a priority for Charles Wandesforde also and a 'Collara hospital' was roofed in 1832 in an effort to cope with the great cholera epidemic that had a long lasting effect on local demographics.¹¹¹

Tenantry

In Kilkenny county some slates were being supplied to client's tenantry as the following list abstracted from the ledgers demonstrates:

<u>Landlord</u>		<u>Tenant</u>
Baker, Abraham W Esq.	Ballytobin, Callan	Tenant, Ballytobin
Burtchaell, David Esq.	Graiguenamanagh	Widow Saunders
	Houses opposite the chapel in Graigue	

¹¹⁰ L3 11 LH (HP).

¹¹¹ John Bradley, *Kilkenny: Irish historic towns atlas no. 10* (Dublin, 2000), p. 8.

Flood, John, Flood Hall, Knoctopher	Tenants
Ormonde, Countess of, Castlecomer	Mrs Keefe wife of Lady Ormonde's Coachman...in chapel lane Mullins' cottage at Coolbawn Reynard's cottage at Ardra Taylor's cottage at Ardra House at Comerford's lot Houses back of Market house Houses back of McMullins' factory
Wandesforde, Honourable Charles	Keefe's Cottage, Love Lane received from Mr Hewetson at CB (Castle Blunden) Doran's cottage in Kiltown Taylor's two sheds at Ardra Walker's Cottage, Woodkeeper Willoughby House, Uskerty
O'Shee, Richard P. Sheestown, Kilkenny	David Reid, Raggetsland
Ryan, Henry Esq. Kilfera, Kilkenny	Tenant

The roll omits other instances not so overtly indicated which become obvious when the supply date is cross-referenced with other sources. In general, consignments of slate to tenants occurred to a certain degree; and in the case of the countess and her son the Honourable Charles, to a significant extent. The danger of fire from thatched roofing was a factor that favoured slate usage. Assuredly, a slated roof will be secure and endure, though such considerations had little relevance for the masses as the much less expensive thatch was their typical roofing material. Nevertheless the supply of slate to tenants was indicative of a progressive attitude by the landlords.

Kilkenny

In Kilkenny city there was a ready and familiar market in easy reach of the slate-yard. The commercial businesses and professional classes and the gentlemen's seats in the environs all invested in building stock. Tradesmen and builders also were supplied with slate products. The Clubhouse Hotel, Patrick Street, the Bush Tavern, Rose Inn Street and William Hayden's public house in High Street subscribed. The proto-industrialists were represented by: the tanners, maltsers, brewers, distillers, corn and woollen millers with Sullivans, Cormicks, Brennans, Smithwicks, and the Reades being the entrepreneurial families involved.

Public buildings were furnished and contracts came from the workhouse, County Jail and Mayor's office. Indeed, in their private capacities, no less than sixteen individuals who held the mayoralty were supplied with Ormonde slate including Redmond Reade, who became the first Catholic mayor of Kilkenny in 1836 (see Appendix VI).

Clerical clientele featured, notably the lord bishop of Ossory. Churches of both major denominations in the south-east region were supplied with slate, in what was unquestionably an active phase of organized, often community sponsored, ecclesiastical investment. Slate went to the library at 'Kenny's church' (St Canice's Cathedral) and to Father Lanigan's poorhouse, later to be the 'widow's home'. Slate sales are indicative of a vibrant economy amongst the classes and plentiful employment, if not remuneration, amongst the masses. Tradesmen and shopkeepers were supplied: Hickey's Butchers, Pat Ryan, a carpenter and Michael Freeman, a tailor. Dunphy, described as 'a pedlar', made a purchase in 1821 and some unidentified customers were noted for example 'an unknown man' and some slightly more identifiable such as 'a Danesfort man'.

Slates would naturally be an item that would be added near the completion of the main fabric of a building. They also may have been used for repairs or additions to existing buildings. By looking closely at the date, the amount carried, and existing sources a more precise chronology of our built heritage may be had.

Clientele

William Robertson (1770-1850) was a regular client and is considered by one critic as one of the ‘minor country house architects’.¹¹² A contemporary described him as ‘a very eminent architect in this part of the world, who has had the building of most of the public Edifices in the South’.¹¹³ Within the period 1826-37, Lanigan and Tyler state, ‘a major reconstruction was carried out’ by him at Kilkenny Castle and slate is recorded as being sent for the out-offices there.¹¹⁴ Robertson was responsible for the public buildings listed previously and several other works of note. He also ordered Ormonde slate for his own new house at Rosehill on the Callan road near Kilkenny (see Appendix III).

Other local architects were customers for the Hyland supplied slates: William Jones, John Huetson and John Shaw. Shaw is recorded as a ‘carpenter and builder of King Street, Kilkenny’.¹¹⁵ Interestingly, procuring payment from Shaw for the works at Woodsgift Church proved difficult. It was however resolved by arbitration, ‘Redmond Reade, Richard Sullivan and James Downey were the arbitrators appointed after some proceedings at law to compel Mr Shawe to pay £36’.¹¹⁶

Many ecclesiastical buildings were erected during the period and the clergy are constant clients. Denomination was not a hindrance to trade and the number of Board of First Fruits churches supplied equal the number of Roman Catholic chapels. When one examines the chronology and location of the established churches, a geographical pattern emerges. The churches of Odagh and Woodsgift, County Kilkenny and Kilcooley, County Tipperary fit into this category. A clear pattern developed in the distribution of orders overall and localities would have several examples of Hyland supplied slated roofs, which may be dated within a year or two. Hyland, one would suspect, from the evidence of his orders, had good contacts with clergymen of all denominations.

The Malcolmson factory at Portlaw, County Waterford is said to have ‘marked the beginnings of a major episode in the history of the industrial movement in this

¹¹² Maurice Craig, *The architecture of Ireland from the earliest times to 1880* (3rd ed., Dublin, 1997), p. 254.

¹¹³ ‘William Robertson’ in *Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720-1940* (hereafter *DIA*) (<http://www.dia.ie>) (7 Feb. 2014).

¹¹⁴ Katherine Lanigan and Gerald Tyler, *Kilkenny its architecture & history* (Kilkenny, 1977), p. 20.

¹¹⁵ ‘John Shaw’ in *DIA* (7 Feb. 2014).

¹¹⁶ 1829 L4 186 LH (HP).

country' and Ormonde slate made a small contribution to its development.¹¹⁷ In 1827, Laurence Hyland estimated and considered the transport requirements of Messrs Malcolmson & Sons' (a Quaker family) order to the factory in Portlaw:

This supply cover[e]d, 166 square besides two thous[an]d used for their works and a quantity of still remaining for the next building, say 102 horses carrying 39(ton) 5½(cwt) and 6 thousand ___? ___ Tons¹¹⁸

Given the scale of Malcolmson's industry, not surprisingly it appears to be the largest consignment of slate recorded in Hyland's books. Occasionally slate was transported to a half-way point:

Rev[eren]d Edm[un]d Walsh (Slate delivered at Piltown)
for Clonea [Killea]chapel near Dunmore East
Send to Mooncoin and from thence to Dunmore for the
above Chapel¹¹⁹

Teams of carmen worked certain areas and one of the final journeys (1838) took the following men, horses and slate to Clonmel, County Tipperary, to John Bagwell Esq at Marlfield:

	horses	tons	cwt
June 10			
Wm Kick	1	0.	13
Pat[ric]k Jo[h]n Fitzgerald	1	0.	13
James Donnell	1	0.	12
Pat Walsh	1	0.	13 ¹²⁰

1828 was about the mid-point of Hyland's eighteen-year involvement in the slate trade. A brief summary of the turnover for that year provides us with a good indication of the scale of the Hyland slate business. The countess of Ormonde

¹¹⁷ Gary Miley and John Cronin and Mary Sleeman, *Heritage conservation plan Portlaw co. Waterford* (Heritage Council, Dublin, 2003), p. 14.

¹¹⁸ 1835 L5 142 LH (HP).

¹¹⁹ 1836 L5 169 LH (HP).

¹²⁰ 1838 L5 210 LH (HP).

through her agent Mr. Eaton paid Hyland £104 8s. 8d. for slate in 1828.¹²¹ This included a small fee of £1 3s. 10d. for measurements. Her account for 1828 was so considerable that it warranted her own headed pages in Hyland's ledger. The other slate accounts for 1828 were under the heading 'cash received for slate'. These accounts amounted to £221 4s. 4 ½d.¹²² Hence the total gross income from slate sales in 1828 was £325 13s. ½d.

Society

Economically the quarry was important as a supplement to what was fundamentally subsistence agriculture for most locals in the Windgap area. The loud blasting of slate at the quarry must have had the ring of some assurance for the area, as it created much employment, work for horses and men. From what we know of other slate quarries, skilled quarrymen received considerably better re-numeration than agricultural labourers.¹²³ The harsh working environment and the involvement of so much of the local population made for a resilient people and forged a strong sense of community.

The area acquired a reputation for violence in the 1820s as a consequence of civil disorder following evictions in the neighbouring townland of Baunfree in 1821.¹²⁴ This resulted in the building of a military station in 1827. This is interesting to note given the use of explosives at the quarries. In 1838, 'one Patrick Keogh had died from a beating at the old works' from apparently 'blows of a dressing knife'.¹²⁵

Laurence Hyland's social and political life benefited from his economic rise and *vice versa*. Evidence of his aspirations perhaps is the 'building of gatehouse' at Clonmorán in 1821.¹²⁶ Contributions to Catholic rent and the O'Connell tribute are jotted down.¹²⁷ For example in the case of 'John Walsh and Mary' on 6 July 1828 their account shows a payment for Catholic rent of sixpence.¹²⁸

¹²¹ L4 143-4 LH (HP).

¹²² L4 79-82 LH (HP).

¹²³ P. C. Power *Carrick-on-Suir town and district, 1800-2000* (Carrick-on-Suir, 2003), pp 119-20.

¹²⁴ Power, *Ahenny*, pp 9, 12.

¹²⁵ Power, *Carrick-on-Suir*, p. 118.

¹²⁶ 1821 L1 44 LH (HP).

¹²⁷ 1820 L2 54 LH (HP).

¹²⁸ 6 July 1828 L4 171 LH (HP).

In the year of Catholic Emancipation, Laurence Hyland applied for ‘freedom’. He was admitted to the Freedom of the City of Kilkenny on 4 January 1830.¹²⁹ The honour was recorded in the minutes of Kilkenny Corporation 31 July 1830.¹³⁰ His brother Michael had previously received the honour in 1825, by virtue of the fact that he had served his apprenticeship to a Kilkenny city attorney.¹³¹

In that year, 1830, Laurence was reported as supporting repeal of the Union at a local meeting.¹³² He seconded the nomination of Richard Sullivan for the office of mayor of Kilkenny in 1838.¹³³ In 1840, Daniel O’Connell, at a meeting in Dublin, proposed his membership of the National Association (Loyal National Repeal Association of Ireland), Laurence being ‘one of his constituents when he had the honour to represent the city (Kilkenny)’.¹³⁴ Hyland was happy to support Repeal in spite of ‘the refusal of some Catholic bishops to join’ at that time.¹³⁵ Hyland was a frequent member of the City Grand Jury, and involved himself in political and other public concerns with many of the personalities with whom he did business.¹³⁶

Competition

Considered to be one of the main Irish quarries, the Ormonde Quarry was reported to have produced excellent slate by national standards. The distribution of Ormonde slate not only demonstrates its popularity but also is a reflection of the location of the other quarries in the south east. It also points to vibrancy in the local economy. Despite the proximity of the Clashnasmut quarry in Ahenny and the Glenpatrick Quarry, only about fifteen miles away in Kilsheelan, contracts were won in south Tipperary. Ahenny and Glenpatrick were under-worked as compared to Inchanaglogh during these years. It is only with the involvement of the Mining Company of Ireland (M.C.I.) with its many interests in all forms of commercial mining, that the former began developing, albeit somewhat erratically due to

¹²⁹ Grand Roll of Freemen of the city of Kilkenny from 1st January 1760 (4 Jan. 1830).

¹³⁰ Minute Book Kilkenny Corporation 1826-43, p. 152.

¹³¹ Grand Roll of Freemen (4 Nov. 1825).

¹³² *KJ*, 1 Jan. 1831.

¹³³ *FJ*, 29 June 1838.

¹³⁴ *FJ*, 11 June 1840.

¹³⁵ L. J. Proudfoot, ‘Regionalism and localism: religious change and social protest, c. 1700 to c. 1900’ in B. J. Graham, and L. J. Proudfoot (eds), *An historical geography of Ireland* (San Diego, 1997), p. 204.

¹³⁶ *FJ*, 22 July 1839.

problems with flooding; the latter only modernised when the connection with the Victoria Company began in the 1840s.

Also in Tipperary, Killaloe quarry near the Shannon was acquired in 1826 by the then recently established M.C.I. Benefiting from heavy company investment, it became Ireland's leading slate producer by the 1830s, with up to 700 men and boys employed. Indubitably, it also benefited from the ease of access to the River Shannon and hence to the Royal Canal. Ultimately, its successor, the Killaloe Slate company acquired the Ormonde quarry in 1927, only to close it down a few years later.¹³⁷ The presence of the Kilcavan quarries near Gorey and quarries near Newtown Barry (Bunclody), explain how only three clients were supplied in County Wexford.

In 1829, the following announcement in the *Kilkenny Moderator* newspaper was placed by the M.C.I. requiring that the reader:

...would attest attention to the superior quality and low prices of the company's SLATES raised at Curraghally Quarry, near Killaloe, and at the Glenpatrick Quarry, near Clonmel... by order Richard Purdy, Secretary.¹³⁸

The large slate quarry at Killaloe received considerable investment over many years before it began to be profitable. Investment in equipment and infrastructure yielded results, eventually. Similarly, the Glenpatrick quarry, albeit on a smaller scale, was well financed; it however did not succeed, perhaps in part due to the heavy competition in the area. Insofar as comparisons such as this are taken from a long perspective of time, when compared to other Irish quarries, the Ormonde ranks positively as one of the principal sites.

In contrast, Hyland's was clearly an independent, privately run operation. It was simple, self- or family-financing and small scale; and confined to slate quarry products for example there is no mention of roofing tiles, an essential adjunct to roofing slate. Another announcement under the heading 'SLATE AND TILE YARD' for the commencement of the sale of imported Welsh slate, at a permanent location appeared three years later. This underlines the attraction of the Irish market

¹³⁷ Hughes, 'By the Linaun', p. 1055.

¹³⁸ *KM*, 22 July 1829.

place and of course further competition for Hyland's primitive, yet still popular, enterprise:

William Turner begs to inform Builders and dealers in SLATES that he has opened a Yard on the *Scotch Quay, Waterford*, exclusively for the sale of SLATES and TILES. In consequence of his being supplied from his own Quarries, in Wales, he will be enabled to sell at lower prices than hitherto charged to the Public.¹³⁹

While Welsh slate had been imported into Ireland since the middle ages this foothold in Waterford must have worried the Irish slate producers especially the small slate quarries in the south east. Indeed the Wexford quarries - the quarries of Drumcee and Glaslacken near Newtown-Barry (Bunclody) - were known to have suffered, 'since the introduction of Welsh slate, the demand has considerably diminished'.¹⁴⁰ Indigenous slate was 'generally only of average quality for use as a roofing material'.¹⁴¹ Demand for slate in the region must have attracted Turner, who is remembered as a 'pioneer of the north Wales slate industry'.¹⁴²

The Hyland involvement in the slate quarry ends when Laurence becomes a distiller in 1838.¹⁴³ This notably coincides with the demise of the 19th earl of Ormonde and 1st marquess of Ormonde (3rd creation) – James Butler, a coincidence that may be significant. It may have had a consequence in terms of the leasehold. In any case, the rise of the M.C.I.'s slate interests together with Turner's arrival in Waterford no doubt had a detrimental effect on the Ormonde quarry business. Laurence Hyland was faced with increasing competition in a business that would require considerable investment in order to modernise.

Some of the last car loads of Ormonde slate journeyed from the quarry by the Lingaun to the 'still' by the Nore. By 1843, Laurence was dead (15 November) as a result of asthma, according to his son.¹⁴⁴ His decision to turn to 'whiskey' at sixty years of age was understandable. We know his son Richard was interested in distilling, and by 1845 was in partnership with the well-known distiller Robert

¹³⁹ *KM*, 8 June 1833.

¹⁴⁰ Lewis, *Topographical dictionary*, ii, p. 436.

¹⁴¹ Rynne, *Industrial Ireland*, p. 162.

¹⁴² Dictionary of Welsh biography (N.L.W.) (<http://yba.llgc.org.uk>) (15 Sept. 2009).

¹⁴³ B3 15 Richard Patrick Hyland (hereafter RPH) (HP).

¹⁴⁴ 18 June 1882 F7 John Patrick Hyland (hereafter JPH) (HP).

Cassidy of Monasterevin, County Kildare.¹⁴⁵ What is more, the Mount Warrington distillery was only four miles from Clonmorán, and on the whole, it must have seemed more of a viable venture than the quarry near Windgap.

Hyland had made the most of the quarry using private funding and basic extraction methods and had been quite successful. Perhaps the quarry had reached a point where its exploitation using basic extraction methods had yielded all it could? To continue and expand in common with other quarries would have required an investment that necessary modernisation demanded. Instead of continuing in the slate trade Hyland decided on putting what profit he had made into distilling. More than likely he had prospered in the slate trade and he had some capital to re-invest. In 1838, Laurence adjudged it was time to go - time to wipe the slate clean as it were.

Engaging in enterprise was not a problem for Laurence. He had the ability and the motivation to succeed. Surely this was allied to a sense of himself and his social position. He was a 'gentleman' and a man of business something more than his father possibly would have attained. Of course holding leases for lives was a pretty good position for a Catholic such as Richard Hylan[d] in the late eighteenth century. It is not known if the elder Hyland had business interests other than farming but he had some means to educate his children and provide for them.

Following the Catholic Relief Acts and the lessening of restrictions on Catholics opportunities arose. Most Catholics were not in any position to avail of opportunity; Laurence was among those who could. But not every prospering Catholic farmer was willing to enter into commercial life away from the smaller trade enterprises in the towns. Nor had they the confidence to assert themselves. Laurence seized the opportunity to invest at a time when more and more possibilities were arising. He was a risk-taker and the gamble had paid off. Now he had to change course but he did not stray far from the land - nor did his successors.

¹⁴⁵ Partnership agreement between Robert Cassidy and Richard [P] Hyland , 3 April 1845 (HP).

CHAPTER 2

Home, Farm and Distillery, 1816-43

Home

At the heart of the Hyland family for the period of this study and beyond was their home, Clonmoran House. Located at the centre of the Clonmoran farm the dwelling was also the hub for their other enterprising activities. This was the place where families grew up, certainly from the time of the marriage of Laurence and Eleanor, and the place where their business records were kept for safe-keeping. Apart from the period when Richard P. (then the principal businessman) lived in Monasterevin, County Kildare, this was the case. Therefore it is important to emphasise its role as a home as well as a centre of operations.

Thus the Clonmoran archive is contained in what is the ancestral home of the Hyland family. Clonmoran House is almost two miles south-west of Kilkenny city and has been in the Hyland family's occupation for a little over two hundred years. A date of 1780 is probably as good an estimate of its erection year as may be had. In comparison to similar houses, the rooms are smaller proportionally, particularly the ceiling height, which is about eight feet high. It is not known who built the dwelling. The house itself was enlarged in the 1870s but would have been large enough in the first half of the 1800s to accommodate the family; together with the adjoining out-offices, it was spacious enough to accommodate a number of what may be termed as 'contracted' house and farm servants. Looking at the records of those who worked in the house, some insight may be had into life of the Hylands and especially the lives of their servants. This provides a perspective from inside the house and from those employed with access to the Hyland home. In turn this may afford one with a view of the nature of relationships, class divisions and how the Hylands dealt with the employees that they were most in contact with, within their family home.

Ledger entries record in some detail the females working for Laurence Hyland in the period before the Famine. Thirty-three accounts of those in service from 1819-31 were examined. The accounts record the payments made during the course of the time served. Laurence Hyland felt it important enough to write down each item of expenditure and this included the small change that was given to the servants, many of whom were women. This money was advanced from his servant's wages and when the term of service ended the cash advanced was totted up and the balance remaining was paid to the individual. It is clear from the accounts that the terms of service were agreed before service commenced (that is the duration of service and the wages to be paid).

In examining these accounts the lives of these women, who perhaps would be better described, for the most part, as girls, are illuminated. The accounts provide a perspective into their working lives and their relationship with their master. It is a reasonable assumption that most of those employed were young unattached females. The accounts yield information about their lives within the context of the pre-Famine period when Ireland's population was at its height.

Domestic Staff

Apart from this group, there are those women who worked as casual farm labourers who will receive mention later. There is no evidence in the ledgers to suggest that the servants were hired at a hiring fair, though this possibility cannot be ruled out. These girls were likely from families well known to the Hylands, or known to their relatives or friends, girls possibly from families whose sons had labouring jobs on the farm. The surname evidence confirms this because when later documents in the archive are looked at, some local surnames appear again. Comparisons of the surname evidence with Griffith's Valuation for the rural townlands within a few miles radius also point to local recruitment. The people who were in service were often from smaller farms where families supplemented their income by hiring out their labour. Some of these may have been those who lived in one of four cabins on the farm at Clonmoran. Some too are likely to have come from Kilkenny city, which was within walking distance.

Plate 2.1 Clonmoran House from a photograph (c. 1915)



Source: Hyland Papers

Room and Board

It would seem probable that the female staff were fed and accommodated in Clonmoran. It seems likely that most were provided with room and board and that this was part of the agreements. If they lived on the premises, it followed that they were at the beck and call of their employers. There are several references to staff going home or being sent home when sick. It is likely that the rooms over or adjacent to the kitchen would be utilised for staff bedrooms. In the 1870s, when the house was enlarged, it looks as if a back stairs was added to provide access for the maids to their room. The lodgings were probably rudimentary, and even more so in the pre-Famine period, but

would have been certainly as good, indeed, probably a great deal better than what they would have been used to at home.

How many staff would have been needed? A cook and a couple of girls would surely have served the needs of the household. We know that there were at least four fires to attend in the dwelling house prior to 1870 and seven thereafter. The house had a pantry and there was an out-office known as the laundry. Service bells were added with the raising of the house and the extension of the building in the 1870s, when two additional fireplaces were added. The bells served the ornate drawing room, the parlour, the two main bedrooms and the front door.

In the context of his in-depth regional study, David Dickson remarks that the ‘contribution of women to the agricultural system is rarely a matter of comment yet it was a hidden strength’.¹ Laurence Hyland referred to a dairy-maid and those with that responsibility were seen to be in service too. This group, who are distinguished as ‘in service’, would appear to be either house servants or dairy maids. A dairy maid would have the onerous tasks of milking the cows and making butter, this was physically demanding work. The ledgers show that there were twenty seven milch cows on the farm in 1820.² The out-offices were lofted and permanent male staff could sleep over the stables and coach house. In 1820, as previously noted, a gate house was erected. There may have been other areas suitable for accommodation.

Rates of Pay

There was a difference in the rate of pay within the female workers group and this probably was based on the worker’s experience. Considerations for Laurence Hyland when women (and indeed men were hired), were the nature of the work to be done and the level of responsibility associated with the task required. Mary Daly in *Women and Work in Ireland* says that ‘Women generally carried out the less skilled, subordinate, though back breaking tasks which were often shared with the boys’.³

¹ David Dickson, *Old world colony: Cork and south Munster, 1630-1830* (Cork, 2005), p. 320.

² 29 Apr. 1820 L2 (3) LH (HP).

³ M. E. Daly, *Women and work in Ireland* (Studies in Irish economic and social history7) (1997), p. 13.

A standard wage for each worker cannot be calculated, though the wages only vary a little, that being said it might be a significant difference financially for the workers. Why for example was Margaret Quigley paid only three guineas a year (that is three pounds and three shillings), when others were paid four pounds?

Individual Accounts

Each of these dated records, some of which run to more than one page, is headed with the name of the servant and duration of service. For example, Biddy Price commenced for a quarter (or three months) service at seventeen shillings a quarter. There were a number of Price families in Kilkenny city and environs at the time of Griffith's Valuation (1849), some of whom may well have been related to Biddy.⁴ In their case, they were assigned particular jobs for example: James Price 'the above to be paid for levelling the road wall'. He earned 17s. 6d. for this task. He gained 3d. per day under the heading 'change to J[ame]s Price' and two sons reaping barley.⁵

Terms of Service

Service was usually set for specific lengths of time - three, six, or twelve-month periods. Service was usually terminated at the end of the set period but sometimes the contract was extended. When an employee left service, the contract ended, and some employees left shortly after commencing. We can speculate as to why this happened - perhaps the work did not suit them. There is a considerable turnover of staff and this may be because the conditions were harsh or the Hylands would have been hard to work for. The high turnover may also be because there was an abundance of people available to work, or possibly the availability of other opportunities to find employment.

Leaving Employment

The ledgers reveal some of the reasons for staff leaving. In the case of Catherine Whyte, marriage would seem to have been the reason for leaving, for her employer

⁴ Griffiths Valuation (1849) townland of Dicksborough, St Patrick's parish and Thomas Street, St Canice's parish, barony of Shillelogher, county of Kilkenny.

⁵ 5 July 1822 L1 21 LH (HP).

notes 'she married [a man called] Landy'.⁶ Margaret Hogan commenced for a year's service on 9 August 1831. Laurence Hyland noted that she left her service and that 'she swore to 2/6 more her due'. A more sinister reason for leaving service was criminality; one female worker, Mary Whelan, he noted, 'was strongly suspected of stealing money'. Change in the form of cash was advanced for items required by the women and when the term of service is ended, the cash that was advanced was deducted from the agreed total pay. The items reflect their personal preferences and the realities of life for them in the 1820s. Clothing and foot-ware were the most common goods required. In this sample of thirty three women, shoes were the most common items. The repair of shoes and soles was a recurring expense. Cash was advanced for sundries and for specific items. The girls usually earned about four pounds for a year's service. Items of clothing were a constant expenditure: stockings, gowns, aprons, shawls, mantles, bed gowns, a cloak, a cape, a shift and petticoats. To make clothing the women required textiles and the accounts note that fabrics such as worsted, linen, flannel and calico were purchased. Kilkenny in the early nineteenth century was a centre of textile manufacture. The city too had a long tradition of shoemaking. In 1821, Peg Delaney needed eight pence for making a gown, later a half yard of calico cost her four pence. One woman needed an advance for gowns, which she procured from the pawnbroker.

Mary Drenan, who commenced work in 1824, received change for ½ stone of wool costing one pound and four shillings, her account includes also change for a weaver, so some sort of an item of clothing was being made for her it would seem. Joney Kelly was given cash for a spinner.⁷ Money was loaned to family members with entries such as 'change to your sister', 'change to your mother' and so on. John Walsh and Mary had their own account heading, it seems that they had a cabin and Mary worked along with John in Clonmoran. Mary received a shilling advance from the mistress.

⁶ L1 1 LH (HP).

⁷ 12 Nov.1825 L3 150 LH (HP).

Religion

It was likely that all of the staff shared the Roman Catholic faith with their employers. Religion was important for the staff and ‘change to the priest’ is a recurring entry. As little as their wages were, on occasion money was advanced for the local priest. In addition, once it is noted for ‘communion fee’ and once for ‘station dues’. In 1828, the year before the granting of Catholic Emancipation, Kitty Butler is advanced a sum for ‘the Catholic rent’.

Security

One would imagine that the senior staff would have access to keys and greater responsibility. In January 1825, in Mary Barry’s account, it was recorded that ‘a key was lost’.⁸ On 14 March, Mary, was recorded as having absconded! She was absent a fortnight, eventually the account was settled, apparently, when she returned.⁹ In relation to security, there were iron bars and shuttering securing the ground floor windows and shutters also secured the first floor windows. Iron bars also secured the dairy.

Other Items

An interesting, if not puzzling, item for which change was advanced to Betty Bryan was a ‘box lock’ which cost eight shillings in 1819. Soap was a commodity listed in these personal inventories, as were handkerchiefs. These were luxury articles. Some of the women had their own particular item of which regularity of use was telling on them – tobacco was very important for Anty (Anastasia) News (or Nugent). Some of the women had a fondness for snuff too and this warranted an advance from the master. As we have seen already there are some mentions of the mistress, so we may assume that the Hylands were addressed by the terms- ‘mistress’ and ‘master’. Clonmoran was a relatively modest home; there was more of a kitchen/parlour than an upstairs /downstairs dynamic in the staff/employer relationship. In the Hyland residence, the servants were in a limited space where necessarily the interaction took place at closer

⁸ 11 Jan. 1825 L1 62 LH (HP).

⁹ 1825 L1 63 LH (HP).

quarters. This is in stark contrast to the more substantial residences and the great houses.

Breakages

As well as been a meticulous recorder, Laurence Hyland was an exacting employer. Biddy Price seemed to have been particularly clumsy as she, within a short period, broke 'a tumbler and two dishes' while Mary Brenan broke 'a pane of glass' which cost her one shilling and five pence. Kitty Regan also broke a tumbler and a quart bottle, which cost her seven pence. The costs of these breakages were taken out of their wages. Peggy Butler damaged a teapot and her wages were duly deducted. Those who were clumsy or those whom suspicion fell upon were unlikely to be re-hired.

Health

Some members of the staff were prone to illness. Mary Ryan was sent home, 'the above having been a fortnight sick'. In February of 1829, Kitty Butler fell sick. An obvious, if rare, reason for a terminated contract was death, as may be seen in the following instance. When Nelly Kennedy died, about 1825, it appears that Laurence Hyland, her employer, paid for her funeral and wake. The doctor was paid as was the cost of her medicine. The priest, Father Lanigan, was paid for providing unction costing two shillings and two pence, and he received five shillings and three pence for saying Mass. Her habit and coffin were paid for as was snuff and tobacco amounting to six shillings and eight pence. A decent wake and Christian burial was important for the deceased and, it would seem, also for the master.

Honor Fielding

We know a little more about Honor Fielding than the others.¹⁰ Honor may have been a relative, as Laurence Hyland's mother in law's maiden name was Fielding. Moreover, she worked in Earlsrath in the house of Laurence's in-laws, the Walshs, in south Kilkenny. In the 1821 census, she is listed as a servant, aged 25, in Earlsrath. There were seven other servants enumerated in this house; some of these were likely working

¹⁰ 1823 L1 153 LH (HP).

on the farm, a farm about the size of Clonmoran.¹¹ Honor began work on 10 February 1823 at Clonmoran; she would have been 27 years old then. She received cash to repair her shoes and money for her soles.

Honor's account reveals something about the social activities of the time. When Honor travelled to Temple Martin, a place some four miles from Kilkenny city, she was advanced some cash. Elsewhere it is recorded that 'an old country fair was held at the road junction here until 1860, and a field adjoining is called the fair field'.¹² There was also a pattern at Temple Martin and there are other references to patterns in the accounts. Honor additionally received three pennies for a communion fee and also, 'change for the priest Father Lanigan'. In addition she received change for a hat and a coat and for shop goods from Mr Rowan's, a grocer in Kilkenny city. As was common with the other servants, Honor was advanced cash when going home.

Another girl in service, Kitty Butler received cash 'to the Fair of Kilkenny'. According to these ledger accounts, recreation was built around fair days, religious feasts and visitations to holy wells. Religious feasts again are important as one account mentions that Katty and Peg Mulloy had the price of 2 ½ lbs of beef at Christmas, that was four shillings and four and a half pence deducted from wages. Later ten pounds of pork at Shrovetide cost them five pence a pound; this meant a reduction of four shillings and two pennies.¹³

The nature of seasonal work on the farm determined the necessity for labour and casual female labourers are included among the workmen rolls usually under the sub-heading 'women'. Here both men and women are paid by the day. Typically, also, the type of work is stated. Certain tasks were the preserve of the men such as ploughing. Planting and digging potatoes, saving hay and weeding are jobs carried out by both men and women. In 1820, men were paid sixpence halfpenny per day while women received four pence for the same task.

¹¹ Extract from Census of Ireland 1821- townland of Earlsrath, parish of Kilbeacon, barony of Knocktopher, county of Kilkenny in collections relating to the history of the families of Hart, Kelly etc., made by Edmund Walsh Kelly, Walsh Kelly Papers (hereafter WKP) (NLI GO Ms 683-86), 685 16 (93).

¹² Owen O'Kelly, *The place names of county Kilkenny* (2nd ed., Kilkenny, 1985), p. 93.

¹³ L2 62 LH (HP).

Mary Brennan was employed specifically as a child's maid. The Hylands had seven children. Apart from domestic staff, women were employed to instruct the children of the family. These women employees were of a higher social strata and this is reflected in the titles they were given and the amount of money they earned. They were documented as Mrs O'Neill, Miss Pack, Miss Davis and Miss Fitzpatrick.¹⁴ Miss Fitzpatrick commenced as a governess for one year at eight pounds which would be double that paid to the women in service. Notwithstanding this evidence, Miss Davis commenced as governess and commanded £3 per year in 1824.¹⁵ In contrast with the domestic staff, the children of the family would have had a much more pampered existence. While the maids were working, and spending their years in service, Laurence and Eleanor's children were growing up. They had three sons and four daughters, as far as may be ascertained.

Farm

Male Workers

In 1823 Rich[ar]d Cody commenced for a year's service at six pounds.¹⁶ Cody family members worked at Clonmoran into the twentieth century. Jim Cody whose own father worked as a ploughman recalls that they lived at the house, now 'Mahers' at Clonmoran cross and that excepting the male head of the household, this entire family of Codys left this house for America, probably in the second half of the 1800s.¹⁷

There was a difference in the rate of pay given to workers and this probably was based on the labourer's experience, in part at least as William Brennan two years earlier began work for one year at three pounds.¹⁸ The nature of the work and the responsibility which a task required were also, no doubt, considerations for Laurence Hyland, when men and women were hired. Acquaintances and knowledge of families also played a part when these decisions were made. It is interesting to note the links

¹⁴ L2 172 LH (HP).

¹⁵ 1824 LI LH (HP).

¹⁶ 26 Nov. 1823 L1 LH (HP).

¹⁷ Interview with Jim Cody, Wetlands, Kilkenny (27 July 2011).

¹⁸ 12 Nov. 1821 L1 LH (HP).

between the Windgap, and Mullinavat area where the Hylands had land holdings and family connections. On one level securing leases from landlords for the Hylands was to a large extent dependent on the word of a landlord, equally contacts when it came to hiring labour were important. Word of mouth and familiarity with families was almost an imperative. In a time when the Irish population was reaching its zenith, many would have been anxious for work though conversely most work practices were labour intensive. Livestock farming became more the norm after the Famine, the tending to livestock and in the particular the grazing of cattle did not require the amount and range of chores that tillage operations necessitated.

While ‘working for the bull’ (labouring to repay the service fee to the bull’s owner) was a necessary practice for many small to medium sized farmers well into the twentieth century, at this stage Laurence did not appear to be keeping his own bull but sought the ‘service of Lord Desart’s bull’ for which he was in a position to pay with hard cash. He records that Patt Neill, ‘smith’, was grazing some cows on the Mortgage field adjoining Clonmoran, and Hyland received cash for same.¹⁹ Possibly this was payment in kind. Monies were expended to individuals for various purposes, for example, in 1823 Patt Meany and Tho[ma]s Frene were listed as ‘lime burners’. Some male service roles were specifically named for example Denis Murphy commenced for one year as a ‘herd’ at £3 5s.²⁰ John Walsh was described as a ‘dairyman’.²¹

At this stage veterinary treatment could be primitive; however, Laurence Maher possessed and dispensed a cure for sheep and one entry noted ‘change to same for medicines’.²² Hyland was not entirely uneducated in veterinary matters as he possessed a copy of a veterinary dictionary.²³ However, this evidence demonstrates that he was happy to employ a seemingly amateur dispenser of medicine. Maher’s speciality, as a later record verifies, was sheep as he also has the ability to shear and spent three days sheep shearing at 2s. 6d. a day, in total a sum of 7s. 6d.²⁴

¹⁹ 2 Sept. 1822 L1 LH (HP).

²⁰ 27 Feb. 1822 L1 LH (HP).

²¹ 1822 L1 LH (HP).

²² 24 Nov 1824 L1 LH (HP).

²³ James White, *A compendious dictionary of the veterinary art* (2nd ed., London, 1830).

²⁴ 12 June 1822 L1 LH (HP).

In the first half of the 1800s at Clonmoran, contractors or tradesmen certainly were engaged to do specific tasks; one work of importance was the digging of a well in the backyard. This was undertaken in the summer of 1823 by one Michael Mitchell. His fee was: ‘1s. a f[oo]t for gravel and 4s. a f[oo]t for ? rack together with diet, powder and tools’.²⁵ The generic term ‘workmen’ is used on many page headings: Michael Dalton was a carpenter (1821 and 1822). In 1821 Pat Summers was recorded as a gardener. ‘John Gleeson & Sons’ were lime burners in 1821.

Plate 2.2 Map of Clonmoran (1842)



Source: Ordnance Survey of Ireland

The ledger of 1820 would seem to suggest that William Dollard was the occupier of the newly built gate lodge.²⁶ This lodge is not to be confused with the one-time lodge at the entrance to Castle Blunden proper, or the lodge at the outer gates known as Blunden Villa. The gate lodge keeper, even though it was a modest lodge (there remains a low

²⁵ 7 July 1823 L1 LH (HP).

²⁶ 1 May 1821 L1 LH (HP).

rectangular mound where the lodge was situated), likely had particular functions to perform. He, in common with the other farm workers who lived on the farm, would be available for all events where help was needed both night and day. Possibly such tasks as the delivery of a calf or the necessary catering for visiting horses required the attention of those workers who lived on the farm.

In 1822 on 1 May, William Dollard paid one year's rent of a garden; it surrounded the lodge, as map evidence shows, and it too appears to have been modest. The lodge is marked on the 1842 Ordnance Survey map but is absent on subsequent editions instead a bridge near the lodge is shown. Elsewhere in Hyland's ledger, Cleary, a horse rider, was paid for training a chestnut mare. All in all the evidence points to a very busy farm with a number of permanent labourers, casual workers and the coming and goings of various tradesmen and contractors. Mixed farming was practised but as further evidence will demonstrate dairying was important on this farm. The exact number of workers employed is hard to gauge as it was dependant on seasonal variations.

A Farmer

1816 was a seminal year in the life of Laurence Hyland and his family. In that year he suffered the loss of his sister; he got married, and he secured the leasehold of 'the house office and land called 'the farm' adjoining Castle Blunden', otherwise Clonmorán.²⁷ The Hyland tomb in Windgap cemetery, County Kilkenny, is to the right of, and adjacent to the main footpath. It is forty yards from the entrance gates of the cemetery, part of the inscription reads: 'Miss Mary Hyland who departed this life March 15 1816 aged 26 years'.²⁸ This lease of the farm at Castle Blunden was for three lives: his own, his brother Michael's and his sister Catherine's; and it was independent of his father Richard, with whom, it appears he had been a joint lessee with, up to that point. Laurence was about thirty-eight years old and titled a 'gentlemen' in this indenture, made with Sir John Blunden, to the farm containing seventy-six acres plantation measure or Irish acres (about one hundred and twenty-five statute acres).

²⁷ Indenture between Sir John Blunden to Laurence Hyland, 2 April 1816, LH (HP).

²⁸ Hyland table tomb, Windgap cemetery, County Kilkenny.

In County Tipperary near the Kilkenny border at Poulacapple, a location about five miles north-east of the quarries on the main Callan to Clonmel road, there was an involvement in a farm (as has been referred to in the previous chapter). The land here, which was part of the Oldis family estate, became a source of legal contention c.1825. There is some evidence to suggest that the ‘old farm’ here had an association with Michael Hyland, the previously mentioned brother of Laurence. When Laurence’s son, Richard P. dies in 1854 he was in possession of some lands in County Tipperary.

Family and other records also indicate Laurence holding land closer to home at Rossdama in Ballycallan parish, about three miles in a south-westerly direction from Clonmoran. Also, the Mortgagefield townland adjoining both Clonmoran and the demesne of Castle Blunden, and Drakelands Middle townland adjoining Castle Blunden, was later to be part of his land interests. Moreover, the leases were held from various landlords ensuring, in the normal course of events, further security as the leaseholds would not all expire at the same time. The Mortgagefield contained just fifty statute acres with a twice-yearly rent of £10 8s. 2d. payable to Harvey Pratt de Montmorency.²⁹

In total, Hyland had access to two to three hundred acres, for the most part of twenty-five years, most of which was for farming purposes, and most close to his home. Clonmoran and the other holdings in the immediate vicinity of his home namely, Mortgagefield and Drakelands Middle (also about fifty acres) would have placed the Hyland holdings among the top ten percentile of farm size nationally in the pre-Famine decades; this estimate makes allowance for the land area contained in sub-tenant holdings.³⁰ To add some further context: the family farm of Edmund Rice the Kilkenny born founder of the Irish Christian Brothers in the 1820s contained 60 Irish (90 statute) acres and made its occupier the third largest occupier in the parish of Callan’.³¹

²⁹ 29 July 1825 L3 124 LH (HP).

³⁰ J. S. Donnelly jr., *The great Irish potato famine* (2nd ed., Stroud, 2004), p. 8.

³¹ Cullen, ‘Social and economic evolution’, p. 281.

Tenantry

There were four cabins referred to in a later 1838 lease of Clonmoran, ‘four small houses or cabins in the actual possession and occupation of persons who are employed by the said Laurence Hyland’.³² From his records, field names and Griffith’s Valuation, it may be ascertained that these amounted to about ten acres (statute measurement) in total. All these plots were positioned on the periphery of the farm, whereas the Hyland residence was in a central position. Regarding these small plots Hyland was essentially the middleman.

Patrick Fleming rented one of these cabins and a field containing a little over two acres, while Hyland paid the head rent to Sir John Blunden. Patrick’s work is illustrative of the overlapping of farm, quarry and other duties:

Fleming brought home a jaunting car home from Dublin for Mrs Walsh (Hyland’s mother-in-law) £1 7s. 1d.’ and ‘Fleming stewarding potato diggers - allow for carriage of meal to the slate quarry.’³³

Also Hyland referred to Fleming in the following passage:

the above to be forgiven the balan[ce] now due and all the next May’s rent and be allow[e]d to take away his crop at Sept[e]ber next clear of all rent and be allowed to remain in his present house until then unless he gets a place sooner.³⁴

Fleming remained in that abode according to Griffith’s Valuation. In 1849, it records that he occupied a house, office and lands of two acres, two roods and eight perches from Mrs Eleanor Hyland at a valuation of three pounds, five shillings per statute acre. Under the terms of the 1838 lease, two pounds and five shillings per Irish acre was due by the Hylands per annum which would not indicate an advanced rent over the lease rate. Fleming’s house was finally abandoned near the end of the nineteenth century.³⁵ It is now scarcely recognisable in a few low stone walls, although the field boundaries

³² Indenture between Sir John Blunden and Laurence Hyland, 1 Aug. 1838 LH (HP).

³³ 27 Sept. 1826 H4 65 LH (HP).

³⁴ 7 Dec. 1823 H3 29 LH (HP).

³⁵ ‘xmas 1893’ F2 1 JPH (HP).

have survived as have the lazy bed ridges within. The surviving field name ‘Fleming’s Garden’ is a reminder of this era. Field names were characteristic of this period and the Clonmoran field names are still mostly in usage. Tenants seem to have given their names to the fields they occupied as in the case of Fleming. Other family names associated with the Clonmoran fields were Noonan’s garden, Maher’s field, Blake’s field and Glynn’s field. In the last example, Glynn’s, there are also the remains of a house, with only a few, low stone walls and a hearth at this location.

Near the slate quarry in the Tullahought area, Hyland was subletting smaller plots to workers as this entry under cash paid for eighteen acres reveals: ‘John Barwis Esq [the agent of Ormonde] balance of rent due of Jo[h]n Mag[ra]ths holding Inchanaglogh’.³⁶ Martin Fogarty hired himself and his horse; he was both a carman and general worker who gained 1s. 8d. for ‘his horse at manure’ and for himself ‘filling manure one day’ earned 6d.³⁷ Later, he earned 5s. for driving a horse to Castlecomer and he received change ‘with same’ of 2s. 6d. In what was, for many, a cashless society, change, as we have seen, was advanced to staff for all kinds of needs: for family funerals, clothes, snuff and tobacco as well as for direct business expenses, such as ‘change to John to repair car 10s. 10d.’. All such subventions were accounted for in detail in a double-entry system of book-keeping and occasionally in the totaling balances in Hyland’s books.

A Reliable Tenant?

Landlords no doubt were cognisant of the benefit of a reliable, improving tenant; clearly, as Whelan states, it was ‘in the landlord’s interest to attract regular solvent tenants than to gamble on unknown ones’.³⁸ Hyland was likely seen as such by the Blundens, given his father’s previous interest in Castle Blunden, and the involvement prior to 1816 in the neighbouring Desart estate of Sir John’s relatives. Moreover, there was a familial connection between Blunden of Kilkenny and the Blunden family, who resided near the slate quarries at Kilmacoliver, Tullahought.³⁹ A consideration possibly

³⁶ 5 Feb. 1823 L3 86 LH (HP).

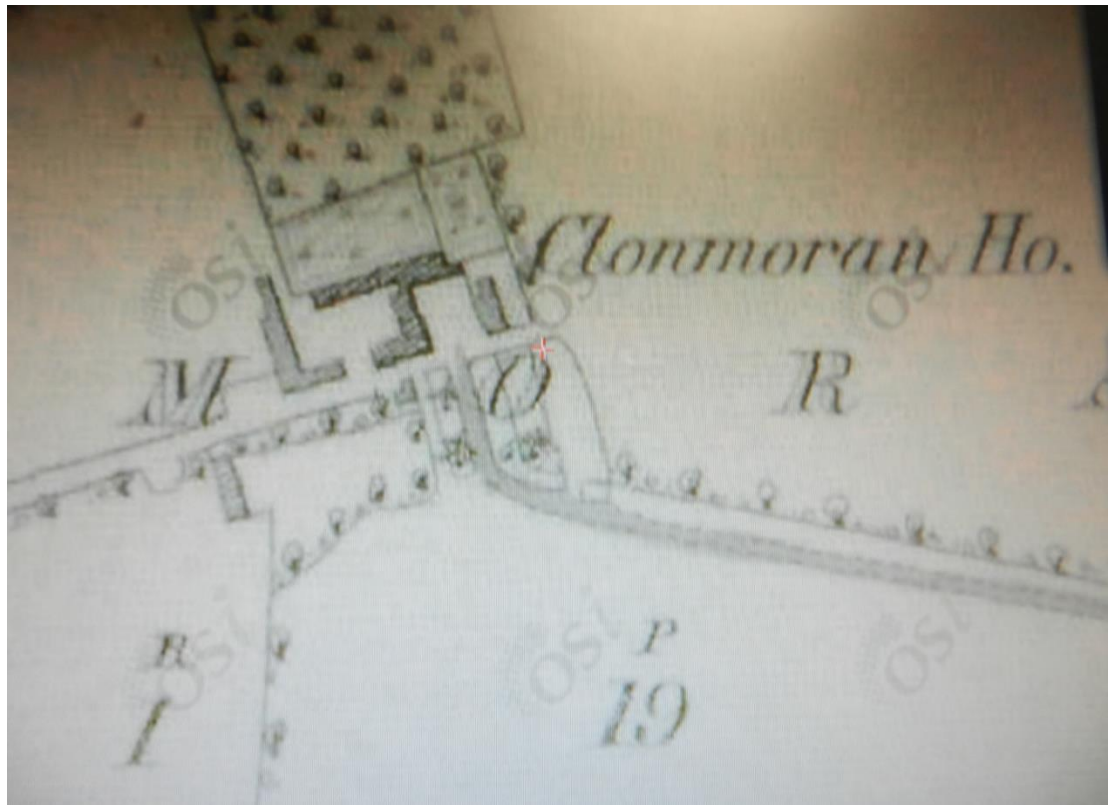
³⁷ 19 Jan. 1824 L3 82 LH (HP).

³⁸ Whelan, ‘An underground gentry?’ in *The tree of liberty*, p. 4.

³⁹ Interview with Lady Pamela Blunden, Castle Blunden, Kilkenny (1 Jan. 2010); Carrigan, *History and antiquities*, iv, p. 326.

too was the fact that the Castle Blunden area has many stone quarries. Perhaps their existence suited one or both parties where a need for expertise or an interest in the actual resource made the arrangement mutually attractive? Pre-eminent in the decision to locate at Castle Blunden, no doubt, was its proximity to Kilkenny city, a regional centre with all the urban advantages for society, farming and business. Hyland would have thought it a prestigious address, given its recognition within the county and particularly in the city area and the associated status of the Blunden family.

Plate 2.3 Map of Clonmoran showing dwelling and farmyard (1842)



Source: Ordnance Survey of Ireland

A Gentleman Farmer

Gortnaglogh appeared to have been the Hylands' home until their move to Kilkenny, probably sometime prior to 1809. Nevertheless they seemed to be farming there until

1820 when Patrick and James Tobin got possession of the house quarter of Gortnaglogh and also 20 dairy cows on 18 May.⁴⁰ Later, in 1844, Richard P. Hyland entered in his ledger the profit of Gortnaglogh for five years at £150.⁴¹ Thus really there was an interest in Gortnaglogh, of some sort, up until Laurence's death. For Laurence, the relinquishment of the active possession of the farm there coincided with the commencement of possession of the farm at Clonmoran. Assuredly, Laurence was among 'the upper echelons of the farming classes'.⁴² Cullen's characterisation of these individuals is defined as one '... whose holding was large enough to ensure that their farming role was merely supervisory' is applicable to Laurence.⁴³

Even though the lease of the farm adjoining Castle Blunden was signed in 1816, it is not until four years later that Laurence began farming in his own right there. As we have seen, he wrote in 1820 'got possession of Castle Blunden with 27 milch cows'.⁴⁴ This corresponds to the surrender of Gortnaglogh to the Tobins as seen above. He appeared to have left twenty cows with them as part of the deal. Probably the possession of the Castle Blunden farm was surrendered by his father Richard who would die the following year (1821) at his lodgings in Walkin Street in Kilkenny city.⁴⁵ Eleanor and Laurence may have only begun to reside at Clonmoran from this time.

Dairying

The number of dairy cows definitely suggests a degree of prosperity. At first, milk was sold directly in Kilkenny:

⁴⁰ 18 May 1820 L2 [4 - unnumbered page] LH (HP).

⁴¹ 1844 B1 41 RPH (HP).

⁴² L. M. Cullen, 'Catholic social classes', p. 61.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁴⁴ 29 Apr. 1820 L1 (6) LH (HP).

⁴⁵ 2 May 1821 L1 36 LH (HP).

Table 2.1 Milk sold (1820)

1820				
May	4	Milk sold in Kilkenny	3s.	8d. ⁴⁶
	5	ditto	11	9
	8	a churn	8	9
	9	ditto	11	9
	10		11	9
	11		7	
	12		11	9
	13		6	11
	15		8	9
	16		4	9
	19		8	9
	20		4	5 ½
	22		4	5 ½
	23		4	8 ½
			<hr/>	
			£5	17s. 2 ½d.

Source: Data abstracted from Hyland Papers

Butter was also sold and seems to be the principal commodity from the dairy in subsequent years. Farm output and profitability may be assessed when examining the accounts from 1828.

Labour

Servants and workmen on the farm cost £76 in 1828, smiths cost £15 and one year's rent was £169 4s. 10d. All other expenses amounted to £236 16s. 6 ½d. Income from the farm was £653 18s. 2 ½d.⁴⁷ Total expenditure then was £497 1s. 4 ½d. leaving a profit from farming of £156 16s. 10d. Butter with a value of £221 was the most significant receipt. All the butter was sold to Redmond Reade in Kilkenny. Sales of

⁴⁶ 4 May 1820 L1 7 LH (HP).

⁴⁷ 1828 L4 105-6, 173-4 LH (HP).

sheep came to £146. Pig and barley sales also contributed significantly to income. Different varieties of potatoes were sold – ‘cup’, ‘reds’ and ‘lumper’.⁴⁸

The ‘farm’, at this stage, appeared to consist of Clonmorán, the Mortgagefield and Rossdama. In 1849, as documented in Griffith’s Valuation, a William Hyland held one rood of land valued at four shillings and a house with a valuation of fourteen shillings at Rossdama from Alexander Knox.⁴⁹ The association with Rossdama, other evidence will show, ended with Laurence’s death in 1843. He had a son William (died 1855) thus this entry may suggest a residual link with the place.

An Improving Tenant

The ledger accounts record too that Laurence was subsequently cultivating tobacco on the farm, another indication of his progressive nature. Other research on tobacco growing reveals that ‘the tobacco plant was being extensively grown in County Wexford in particular’ during this period.⁵⁰ Laurence saw to it that trees were planted at the slate quarry for a nursery. His ledgers also confirm that he was planting trees at Clonmorán. A row of ash trees lining the avenue date from his period; this added to the attractiveness of the location. The following quantity was sown at the quarry: 5 Scotch firs, 2 larch and 6 Dutch alder.⁵¹ Hyland was doing well and was always interested in improving his situation and this was to be seen in his activities on and off the farm.

Clearly Laurence was a progressive farmer, but he was intent on expanding his business horizons beyond the limits of farming. The Irish economy in the nineteenth century continued to be an agrarian one, and what industry that existed depended almost exclusively on the raw materials derived from agriculture. Non-agricultural based industry was rare, and most enterprises derived from agriculture and farming complemented business activities.

The enterprises Hyland engaged in complemented farming. Distilling certainly did, on a seasonal basis; he could use some of his own barley, if he wished. Barley was a basic

⁴⁸ May –June 1828 L4 16, 169 LH (HP).

⁴⁹ Griffith’s Valuation (1849), townland of Rossdama, barony of Shillelogher, county of Kilkenny.

⁵⁰ Gearóid Ó Faoleán, ‘Death and taxes: tobacco- growing in Ireland’, in *History Ireland*, xxi, no. 2 (Mar. /Apr. 2013), p. 40.

⁵¹ 1825 L3 20 [186] (no heading, one of the last pages in this ledger) LH (HP).

ingredient and distillers grains – a by-product of the distilling process - were a valuable feed for cattle. Hyland definitely had the means of production in terms of land, but did he have the built infrastructure to support his extensive farming practices? Map and valuation evidence and the survival of a range of buildings into the twenty-first century confirm that he had a considerable farm-yard complex by the standards of the time. Of course these out-offices (that will be discussed below) were not as extensive or substantial as those at the demesne of Castle Blunden, but nevertheless were sizeable and indicative of this was that the area of the haggard and yard was quite spacious.

Some proof of the usage of limestone from the Castle Blunden quarries in the farmyard at Clonmoran is in the location of several now closed entrances from the farm to the demesne of Castle Blunden. One entrance in particular is directly opposite the now dis-used quarry and simultaneously opposite a gateway entrance to a lane leading to the farmyard. What is certain is that all the buildings on the farm were constructed of the local limestone.

Plate 2.4 Aerial view of Clonmoran (2012)



Source: Photograph supplied by author

The Farmyard and Haggard

With the exception of a steel hay-barn, erected in 1885, virtually all the farm buildings, up until 1916, on the Clonmoran farm would have been erected before or during the period from 1816-43 (see Plate 2.3). The only out office that may be dated with any certainty was the 'far barn' (in the haggard) for which the supply of slate at its construction dates it to the year 1833. Indeed the location of this building would suggest that it was built after the buildings in the inner yard complex. Not dissimilar was the eighteenth-century farmyard complex of the Sweetman family at Newbawn, County Wexford.⁵²

The 1842 Ordnance Survey map shows clearly the extent and position of the farm buildings in relation to the dwelling house. To the rear and to the left of the dwelling house were two walled gardens with separate entrances and a connecting arch. The larger garden was possibly a formal garden with fruit trees, the smaller perhaps more to the purpose of a kitchen garden supplying vegetables for the household. The walls in the larger garden rose to just 10 feet in height; those of the smaller were about 8 feet high. These gardens were modest compared with the walled garden in the demesne. The walls, like all the walls and buildings on the farm were constructed from local limestone.

To the left of the dwelling was what was called the 'osiery' area where a building approximately 45ft by 20ft once stood. It is not clear as to the function of this building. Later, it would appear an outdoor water closet was built beside it. A small house adjacent to the dwelling house on this side had functioned as a laundry. Across, from what could be described as a court-yard in front of the house, was the coach house, front stable and dairy which adjoined the dwelling house. This line of building delineated the lawn area from the farmyard. The coach house building then formed a right angle with an adjoining cow house. The front stable, coach house and cow house were all lofted with access doors through the lofted area. The farmyard was enclosed with one small gated entrance to the north and one larger entrance gate leading from

⁵² John Mannion, 'A transatlantic merchant fishery: Richard Welsh of New Ross and the Sweetmans of Newbawn in Newfoundland, 1734-1862' in Kevin Whelan and William Nolan (eds), *Wexford: history and society* (Dublin, 1987), p. 384.

the haggard area where there were three small houses, one of which was a hen-house. In the farmyard a row of single storey sheds formed part of the perimeter of the large garden. One of these was a small cow house with a wrought iron gate. In this row a back-kitchen adjoined a little room that could only be accessed from inside the dwelling. The back-kitchen had a chimney and there was an additional flux within the yard wall of the dairy. Further down the yard was a long building 90ft by 20ft, known as the long shed, containing a lumber house and what appeared to be cattle or cow house. Adjoining this long building were a row of small pig houses. These buildings faced two larger sheds, one possibly also a cow house. These sheds were not delineated on the 1842 Ordnance Survey map; so they may have been erected in the latter half of the nineteenth century. A bull's house and the middle-stable separated the haggard from the yard to the south. Many of these buildings had arched entrances formed with brickwork and with attractive stonework on the corners. The larger buildings were lofted, that is the middle stable and the long shed. The back-yard had a cobbled floor as had some of the buildings. There was a drain leading from the yard through the haggard that was covered with slate flags. All the buildings appear to have been slated and would have likely been slated by the conclusion of Hyland's slate business. There are some references to thatching - the thatch possibly for the cabins on the farm?

In many ways the farm at Clonmoran was a smaller version of Castle Blunden. The demesne lands amounted to 250 acres the house at Castle Blunden was much larger and grand. Even the pond near the house at Clonmoran was a reminder of the lake beside the Blunden residence. Parallels may also be drawn between the families, one upper-class the other somewhere in the middle of Irish society, differing in many respects, but at the same time having much in common, albeit on a macro/micro scale.

Whether or not most of the farmyard and gardens were constructed during or prior to the Hylands' arrival at Castle Blunden is not certain; what is certain is that this was a functional complex and what is more an attractive location to be associated with. For Laurence and probably his father before him this was a positive decision to take a lease of the 'farm' at Castle Blunden, the farm that was to become known as Clonmoran.

Distillery

The limestone buildings at Clonmoran are similar in construction, if not in size, to the distillery that Laurence Hyland acquired the interest of. This brings one to the subject of distilling, the third segment of Hyland's entrepreneurial life.

While running his farming operations Hyland continued trading in slate. Whatever the reason, in 1838, the interest in the Ormonde Slate Quarry had ended for Hyland. Perhaps, in part buoyed by the general success of the slate business and the business contacts he had made, Laurence Hyland sought a new industry in which to invest. In 1838 he was well-known socially and politically as a member of the Kilkenny Catholic merchant class. For the next twenty years, the Hylands were to be involved in the whiskey trade as distillers and spirit merchants both in Kilkenny city and later in Monasterevin, County Kildare.

Options for Investment

What were the alternatives for non-agricultural investment in the late 1830s? What prompted the decision to enter the distilling industry? There were alternative industries in the Kilkenny area that had traditionally existed. Kilkenny had long been a centre for shoe making, but this was not organized in a structured way. There was a long tradition of woollen manufacturing too; but, as has been noted from the 1830s, the woollen industry was unable to adapt to increased competition.⁵³ The linen industry had never succeeded in a rich corn growing area and had effectively ended in 1839.⁵⁴ There were four breweries in Kilkenny in 1837; two years later the number had increased to eight. 'This expansion was short-lived.'⁵⁵ Nonetheless, brewing must have been a consideration for Laurence Hyland. Brewing, like distilling, was a corn-based industry, both utilising the produce of Kilkenny's rich farmland. Indeed, although perhaps it may have come to the market too late for Hyland's purposes, John Meighan's brewery in Coalmarket Street (now Parliament Street) was for sale by public auction in 1839.⁵⁶ In

⁵³ Bradley, *Kilkenny atlas*, p. 8.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.7.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *KJ*, 5 June 1839.

the same year the corn mill at Ballyreddin, Bennettsbridge, County Kilkenny, was also advertised for letting.⁵⁷ Assuredly, there were some options for those with a degree of investment capital. Brewing certainly was an option for some at that time given the increased number of entries into that industry.

In any case, a distillery on the city's periphery and four miles from Clonmoran was advertised in 1838. Capitalists with an eye to the distilling industry must have been scarce as the distillery at Warrington was advertised from January until August of that year.⁵⁸ It was in a reasonable condition and its proximity to his home base must have also influenced Laurence Hyland's decision to invest in this distillery.

Distilling in Kilkenny

The story of distilling is naturally intertwined with brewing, malting and milling in Kilkenny and also with the families and individuals involved in these related industries. The family names of: Archdekin (Archdeakin), Brennan (Brenan), Cormick (Cormack, Cormac), Connell, Dullard, Hyland, Kinchella (Kinchela), McCreary, Meighan (Meigham) Smithwick, Sullivan and Watters are some of those associated with corn-based industries.

The often precarious financial position distillers in Kilkenny found themselves in is reflected in the historical record, made up of newspaper advertisements detailing distillery sales, or leases or announcing the need for a partner or even references to bankruptcy. The necessity for capital was an essential requirement in the establishment and maintenance of a distillery and those beginning business had to be well resourced.⁵⁹ 'Distilling required a good deal of capital', and for Hyland whatever profits that had been gained from the slate enterprise probably were put towards this new business venture.⁶⁰ It was, however, as Hyland would later say, 'no very favourable time' to commence distilling'.⁶¹ Indeed this was true, as the distilling industry in Ireland had reached its peak about 1835 in terms of the number of

⁵⁷ *KJ*, 8 Sept. 1839.

⁵⁸ *KJ*, 3 Jan. 1838; *KJ*, 7 Aug. 1838.

⁵⁹ Ó Gráda, *A new economic history*, p. 297.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *KJ*, 8 Apr. 1843.

functioning stills. There were 93 distilleries in Ireland in 1835, 90 in 1836-7, and 87 in 1838.⁶²

In sharp contrast with the practice of brewing, the story of legal distilling in Kilkenny city is a rather brief one, extending in effect from 1770 to 1843, the year distilling would end at Mount Warrington. Before 1770, the only previous reference to distilling in Kilkenny city is in Irishtown at a 'site unknown', 'for *aquavita*' as recorded in the Corporation Book of Irishtown in 1538.⁶³

In Context

Later an account of the Hyland involvement in distilling will be given; but firstly a survey of the industry in Kilkenny and its protagonists within the context of the period will be outlined. In addition, Monasterevin, County Kildare would become the location for Laurence Hyland's son Richard P. Hyland's distilling business. Monasterevin's history as a distilling centre will be outlined later; with regard to Kilkenny city, it had several natural advantages that would dispose it to the development of this sector. The city lies in a rich agricultural heartland productive enough to supply all the malting barley necessary for a considerable distillation industry. 'Kilkenny was a noted corn growing area' and corn mills habitually co-existed with distilleries and complimented each other.⁶⁴ The productive agricultural hinterland determined the nature of the city's industries not least distilling.⁶⁵ Neely has reasoned that: 'The small farms of the north could not have produced the barley and wheat of Kilkenny'. Furthermore, in his evidence to a House of Commons select committee, Richard Sullivan M.P., a member of a Kilkenny brewing family, stated that 'millers, brewers and distillers buy most of the corn in the Kilkenny market, there are three distillers'.⁶⁶ The city also benefited from a plentiful supply of coal from nearby Castlecomer colliery and an abundance of local limestone for building purposes. The extraction of limestone and the marketing of

⁶² Bielenberg, *Locke's Distillery*, p. 24.

⁶³ Bradley, *Kilkenny atlas*, p. 17.

⁶⁴ Pat Walsh, 'Kilkenny in the 19th century' in *OKR*, xix, (1967), p. 52.

⁶⁵ Neely, *Kilkenny*, p. 181.

⁶⁶ *Report from the select committee on the sale of corn; with the minutes of evidence, appendix and index* [225] H.C. 1834, p. 191 'Examination of Richard Sullivan MP' paragraph 2552 (<http://parlipapers.chadwyck.co.uk.jproxy>) (11 June 2012).

it as marble was an important industry in Kilkenny city.⁶⁷ This business was, however, closely associated with the Colles family.

The River Nore with its tributary the Breaghagh, along with the Slip/Millstream in the St. John's area of the city, all provided the necessary water for a distilling enterprise. The importance of water for a distiller may be seen in the emphasis placed on it in advertising, for example the John Street Distillery boasted of having 'a constant and abundant supply of water in the driest season' to its would be leasers.⁶⁸ Kilkenny also had the advantage of being a focal point for the region, a centre of population with a considerable customer base and immediate source of labour. Although the industry was not 'a significant job provider', clearly labourers, skilled craftsmen and ancillary services benefited from its existence in the city (see Appendix VII).⁶⁹

The city however, was not as fortunate as other centres of trade who benefited from route ways that Kilkenny lacked. The railway's late arrival (1850) and the lack of a navigable River Nore caused transportation to be problematic and expensive for businesses in the city. What's more, the transportation of whiskey by road in large 'puncheons' was particularly cumbersome and costly. A puncheon is defined as 'a wooden cask containing from 72-120 gallons'.⁷⁰ Nonetheless, as we have seen Kilkenny had some advantages as well and was in a position to support at least one reasonably sized distillery.

The general history of distilling in Kilkenny city fits into the overall pattern of distilling in Ireland in the nineteenth century. The market for spirits was excellent in the early nineteenth century period. In fact, Bielenberg has stated that 'the country was quite literally sodden with drink' with a 'dynamic growth in the industry' that inspired some confidence.⁷¹ Colm Kerrigan informs us 'the main intoxicating beverage consumed in Ireland in the mid-nineteenth century was whiskey, which had replaced ale... and in the

⁶⁷ Neely, *Kilkenny*, p. 175.

⁶⁸ *Finn's Leinster Journal* (hereafter *FLJ*), 25 July 1804.

⁶⁹ Ó'Gráda, *A new economic history*, p. 297.

⁷⁰ *Oxford Dictionary of English*, p. 1427.

⁷¹ Bielenberg, *Locke's distillery*, p. 30.

form of whiskey punch, was also the chief drink of the upper classes.⁷² 'Per capita consumption of spirits in Ireland during the 1830s averaged well over 1.12 gallons per annum' - not to mention the consumption of *poteen*!⁷³

As a result of this widespread drunkenness, Father Theobald Mathew's Temperance Movement began in Cork in 1838. Regionally the Temperance Society was founded in Waterford on 15 November 1839.⁷⁴ Locally, St Mary's Total Abstinence Society was, according to a newspaper report, 'a society comprising about 13000 individuals'.⁷⁵ While Fr Theobald Mathew's temperance movement of the 1830s and 40s, was later grossly exaggerated in terms of the extent of its application, nevertheless it had a significant effect on the consumption of whiskey with 700,000 pledge recipients.⁷⁶ From the latter part of the nineteenth century, it was more effectively organized and supported by the Catholic Church resulting in the establishment of the Pioneer and Total Abstinence Association. However, as Paul Townend has pointed out, temperance was in decline from 1843 when the Repeal movement failed and 'before the effects of the famine were ever felt, temperance was no longer a serious social force in most of Ireland'.⁷⁷

Background to Distilling in Kilkenny city

From 1700 whiskey became much the drink of the elite in Irish society, and 'its appeal became widespread' in the last quarter of the 18th century.⁷⁸ Not surprisingly therefore in 1770, James Clark of Irishtown, Kilkenny 'established a distillery business'.⁷⁹ Indeed eight legal stills operated in the city in 1782.⁸⁰

⁷² Colm Kerrigan, 'The social impact of the Irish temperance movement, 1839-45' in *Irish economic and social history*, xiv (Dublin, 1987), p. 23.

⁷³ Bielenberg, *Locke's distillery*, p. 30.

⁷⁴ *KJ*, 16 Nov. 1839.

⁷⁵ *KJ*, 5 Aug. 1840.

⁷⁶ Diarmaid Ferriter, *A nation of extremes: the pioneers in twentieth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 1999), pp 6-7.

⁷⁷ Paul, Townend, *Father Mathew, temperance and Irish identity* (Dublin, 2002), p. 235.

⁷⁸ Andrew Bielenberg, 'Distilling' in S. J. Connolly (ed.), *The Oxford companion to Irish history* (hereafter *OCIH*) (2nd ed., Oxford, 2004), pp 159-60.

⁷⁹ *FLJ*, 29 Apr. 1770.

⁸⁰ David Dickson, 'Inland city: reflections on eighteenth-century Kilkenny' in William Nolan and Kevin Whelan (eds) *Kilkenny history and society* (Dublin, 1990), p. 342.

Illicit distilling or *poteen* making was a widespread practise in Ireland and the legal distillers also made every effort to avoid paying excise duty.⁸¹ As a result of this widespread distilling fraud, Lord North's government introduced the Distilling Act of 1779, by which it was decided to tax the still itself, and not its output.

Consequences of Legislation

The distillers responded to the levy on stills by installing smaller ones that could be worked around the clock. This produced a 'foul tasting spirit' and played into the hands of the *poteen* makers.⁸² The illegal stills now had a capacity almost comparable to that of the legitimate concerns. Furthermore, moon-shiners were not burdened with the overheads of buildings, employees, or the book-keeping necessary for the running of a legitimate business.

Another blow to distilling was the bad harvests in the 1790s, which forced the government to ban distilling several times in order to ensure adequate grain supplies for bread-making. Later the introduction of the corn laws in 1805 kept the prices of grain artificially high, thus further reducing the profitability of distilling.

The combination of these factors meant that it was impossible for smaller distilleries to operate profitably. The consequences were disastrous for legal distilling. Nationally between the years 1780 and 1822, the number of legal stills fell from several hundred to just forty. Furthermore, the imbibing of spirits was seen as morally objectionable and this resulted in series of legislative measures enacted by the Irish Parliament which encouraged the drinking of beer. As will be seen from the example of distilling in Kilkenny, the proto-industrialist such as the distillers were Catholic and perhaps those adhering to the Protestant faith regarded an engagement with distilling as something to be avoided on moral grounds. An aversion to the business of alcohol may have been held, at this point in time, by those of the Presbyterian and Quaker faiths, who otherwise would normally possess entrepreneurial zeal and may have seen the potential of the Irish distilling industry.

⁸¹ Brian Townsend, *The lost distilleries of Ireland* (Glasgow, 1997), p. 15.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 16.

The failure of the corn crop in 1816 and the famine that followed was another impediment to the industry.⁸³ This was reflected in the statistic that Kilkenny city, which had eight distilleries in 1782, could only boast one in 1822.⁸⁴ The increase in the number of stills, after 1822, is directly attributable to the revision of the excise laws in 1823.⁸⁵ Under the new law, tax was imposed on actual output rather than on the capacity to produce. This legislation suited the smaller rural based distillers who, in contrast to the large urban distillers, had limited markets and would not profit by increasing their output.⁸⁶ Although in the long term, the bigger concerns notably in Dublin and Cork succeeded, as 'the legal industry became concentrated predominantly in larger distilleries in major towns'.⁸⁷

As has been stated previously, Kilkenny city had only one licensed still operating by 1822; that belonged to P. Brenan with a hundred gallon still. More than likely the 'Brenan' that had been previously in business with Cormac on the other side of Parliament St (West) would subsequently establish that partnership again in John Street.

He also had been recorded as a distiller (Patrick Brennan) on the St. Francis Abbey site two years earlier.⁸⁸ In all probability, it is the same concern as advertised in this way in 1827- 'On the eastern side of Parliament Street 'the extensive distillery, malt house, corn stores, and water-mill at St. Francis's Abbey, in the City of Kilkenny, now in full working order'.⁸⁹ Smithwicks, the best known Kilkenny brewers, acquired Brennan's distillery in 1827.⁹⁰

A 'rectifying distillery establishment' was offered for sale by William Robinson in 1829.⁹¹ It is not known where this site was located. A rectifying distillery was where crude spirits were re-distilled to make gin and other compound drinks.⁹² This auction

⁸³ Bradley, *Kilkenny atlas*, p. 6.

⁸⁴ 'An account of the number of stills licensed in Ireland (1822)' in Townsend, *Lost distilleries*, p. 154.

⁸⁵ Bielenberg, *Locke's distillery*, p. 23.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 159.

⁸⁸ J. Pigot, *Commercial directory of Ireland* (1820), p. 163.

⁸⁹ *KM*, 24 Jan. 1827.

⁹⁰ Bradley, *Kilkenny atlas*, p. 7.

⁹¹ *KM*, 12 Aug. 1829.

⁹² Townsend, *Lost distilleries*, p. 17.

may have been another effect of the 1823 Act as the spirit produced up to this change of law was unpalatable to many and the flavour would be masked by rectification. To mature whiskey usually it could be stored by the distiller/purchaser under the regulation of the authorities for a period of seven years - therefore the whiskey produced in 1823 could be marketable to the general public by 1830 or thereafter. In 1830 Aeneas Coffey, an Irishman, introduced his patent still which was to be considered inferior by the vast majority of Irish distillers, it ultimately led (by the late nineteenth century) to the advancement of the Scottish distillers, as it was a much more efficient and profitable method; and had distilling continued in Kilkenny it would have faced an enormous fight for survival by the turn of the twentieth century.

Another consequence of the legislation was that after 1823 'duty only became payable when spirits were sold' this 'reduced the capital tied up in stock'.⁹³ Richard O'Donnell, High St., would seem to have been operating the Mount Eagle Distillery located down a short narrow lane opposite the modern 'Rock Bar' in Keatingstown, near Threecastles, three miles north of the city, from 1832.⁹⁴ He had, it was reported, expended 'upwards of £10,000 on the premises by 1834'.⁹⁵ Cormick's distillery in John St. is mentioned in Laurence Hyland's ledger under the heading 'Slates Consigned' - 'Denis [Cormick] Esq. -To new distillery John St'.⁹⁶ This could imply that a new distillery was constructed and may indicate Cormick's first association with the John Street location. A second entry in this ledger (18 October 1824) recorded a delivery - 'To Brennan and Cormick's Distillery'.⁹⁷ It would appear this partnership was re-established several times. In 1835, a report of an accident refers to 'the little bridge in John Street opposite Mr. [Cormick's] distillery'.⁹⁸ In 1842, a distillery in this location was marked by the Ordnance Survey.⁹⁹

The Mount Warrington Distillery

When his slate business concluded in 1838, Hyland began distilling at an existing distillery, Mount Warrington, on the east bank of the River Nore. The distillery is about

⁹³ Bielenberg, *Locke's distillery*, p. 159.

⁹⁴ *KM*, 10 Oct. 1832 - 'Voting list'; see also O'Kelly, *Place names*, p. 19.

⁹⁵ *KM*, 16 July 1834 - 'a house lately occupied by Richard O'Donnell'.

⁹⁶ 31 May 1824 L3 LH (HP).

⁹⁷ 18 Oct. 1824 L3 53 LH (HP).

⁹⁸ *KM*, 31 Oct. 1835.

⁹⁹ Bradley, *Kilkenny atlas*, p. 17.

four miles from Clonmoran House where Laurence Hyland resided from at least 1820 to his death on 15 November 1843.¹⁰⁰ Warrington was a relatively large rural distillery three miles south of Kilkenny city.

Laurence Hyland's ledger entries peter out in 1843, but his son Richard P., when he is administering to his father's estate subsequently records the financial position of the distillery and his other concerns. The distillery had been built in the mid-1830s, but required some refurbishment as the Hyland distillery books log. The Mount Warrington Distillery was advertised in 1838 and described in this way :

... situate [sic] within a very short distance of the City of Kilkenny, on the river Nore, having an abundant supply of water in the driest season. The buildings and utensils in this concern which have been erected within two years, and at considerable expense¹⁰¹

The notice also refers to:

water barrel of large dimensions, capable of grinding 800 barrels each period; steam engine, wash and water pumps, two new copper stills, no.1, 8,000 gallons; no.2, 4,000 gallons; mash tin capable of mashing 150 barrels of grain, with all necessary utensils for immediate use

The scale makes Warrington a sizeable provincial distillery. Samuel Lewis in 1837 states in relation to Kilkenny city that 'in the immediate neighbourhood are... three large distilleries'; one of these certainly is the operation at Mount Warrington.¹⁰² Significantly the advertisement in the *Kilkenny Moderator* suggested that 'the entire concerns are worthy of the attention of a capitalist, the country abounding with produce and fuel must ensure a remunerating profit'.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ B3 41 RPH (HP).

¹⁰¹ *KM*, 6 Jan. 1838; *KJ*, 3 Jan. 1838.

¹⁰² Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary*, ii, p. 110.

¹⁰³ *KM*, 31 Oct. 1835.

Plate 2.5 Mount Warrington Distillery from a photograph (2002)



Source: Michael O'Dwyer, *On the banks of the Nore, St. Fiachre's land* (Kilkenny, 2002), p. 11.

There is some evidence that the lease was held through the Agricultural and Commercial Bank and that Michael Hyland, the brother of Laurence, had a considerable interest in the distillery. As we have seen Michael and Laurence were shareholders in the Agricultural and Commercial Bank. Recent research has shown that this bank had closed by 1840.¹⁰⁴ In any event, Laurence Hyland (as his son Richard records in 1844) responded to this commercial and the following extract is an insightful account of the distillery's origins:

The distillery was taken up by my father in August 1838. Mr. Russell proposed a partnership at the time but he and my father could not agree as to terms. He lit the kiln fire in December 1838 and began our first period in January 19 1839. I found by some books of my predecessor John Meighan that he took the place to build a distillery on from one Patrick Dullard in August 1833 his 1st period began 18 February 1834 he made 58 periods and his last was 5th May 1837¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Eoin McLaughlin, 'Microfinance institutions in the nineteenth century' (Ph.D. Thesis, N.U.I. Maynooth, 2010), p. 212.

¹⁰⁵ B3 15 RPH (HP).

Richard continued:

I see by Meighan's books that for 330 barrels, he burned 44 tons of coal, for 430 barrels we burned the same quantity except the first season when we worked Meighan's stills then we burned near ten tons per period the same in proportion as what Meighan did – I see Meighan's workmen cost him only £5/ week he had the same tradesmen over £200/ a year, I should say¹⁰⁶

There is an argument, postulated above, that Protestants, particularly those who were upper class, did not consider it morally acceptable to participate in the manufacture of alcohol. Distillers in Kilkenny were predominately Catholic and involved themselves in political life.¹⁰⁷ There were some middle-class Protestants distillers locally and some of the gentry within the region were associated, albeit at arms-length, of course this may also reflect a general aversion within the aristocracy to industrial enterprise and or an aversion to engaging in the production of liquor. Kilkenny city's distilling history coincides with the rise of the Catholic middle classes, from the period of the Catholic Relief Acts through Emancipation and the era of O'Connell.

In addition the social context would not have changed since 1835 when the political thinker Alexis de Tocqueville visited Kilkenny. During that visit, he spoke to J. P. Prendergast, a Protestant barrister, who informed him that 'there exists between the members of the two religions a distance that you cannot conceive'.¹⁰⁸ Prendergast further stated, with reference to Catholics, 'that we hardly ever meet them in society' and that when barristers of each persuasion meet 'they see each other but do not associate with one another'.¹⁰⁹

Some of the Hyland's Kilkenny customers included the Catholic businessmen, Daniel Smithwick, Richard Sullivan, and John Walsh of 'the Clubhouse'. From the Warrington journals we also learn that it also found clients in Ballinakill, County Laois; Thurles,

¹⁰⁶ Ibid; see also Michael O' Dwyer, *On the banks of the Nore, St. Fiachre's land* (Kilkenny, 2002), p. 9 : 'The distillery was leased to Richard Hyland in 1840' .

¹⁰⁷ *KJ*, 12 May 1840.

¹⁰⁸ Emmet Larkin, (ed) *Alexis de Tocqueville's journey in Ireland July-August, 1835* (Washington, 1990), p.73.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

Clonmel, Carrick-on-Suir and Cloneen in County Tipperary; Leighlinbridge, County Carlow, Dungarvan and in Waterford city. As in the slate business this product was marketed in the local region.

Catholics and Politics

Some references to Catholics and political involvement include: 'Denis Cormack member of the Poor Law Union'.¹¹⁰ The Hylands were active in local political circles: 'Michael and Laurence Hyland - Repeal of Union Citizen Club'.¹¹¹ 'Michael Hyland was a member of the Kilkenny Board of Guardians'.¹¹² The Catholic middle classes followed a reform agenda under the direction of O'Connell. They were Liberal in their politics as opposed to the pre-dominant Toryism of the Protestant classes. In an election of common councilmen, Michael Hyland voted for: E. Smithwick, Maher, Walsh and Jones, the latter candidate was a Tory.¹¹³ One of these was described as a neutral. Laurence Hyland voted for: James, E. Smithwick, the Loughnans, Hart, O'Donnell, Ryan, Sullivan and Walsh; all of these were non-Tories.

The Citizens Club was also known as Repeal of the Union Citizens Club. It was a vehicle for Catholic middle-class political agitation and promotion. At a meeting of 21 August 1838, Laurence Hyland was made chairman of the Citizens and Friends of Reform, with Thomas Hart named as Secretary.¹¹⁴ In September 1839, Michael Hyland took the chair of the Citizens Club; later Dr Robert Cane was its chairman. Dr Cane will be discussed in the next chapter.

The Hylands were listed in the newspapers as contributors to rewards for information.¹¹⁵ In January 1838, Laurence Hyland made the fourth highest contribution to the O'Connell Compensation Fund in St Patrick's parish, contributing two pounds.¹¹⁶ Fully participating in society was part of the make-up of the Hylands; it made sense to be involved politically as it led to social and economic interaction. By way of illustration, a meeting of the traders and merchants of Kilkenny occurred in

¹¹⁰ *KJ*, 8 July 1840.

¹¹¹ *KJ*, 12 May 1840.

¹¹² *KJ*, 7 Jun. 1840.

¹¹³ *KJ*, 10 Nov. 1838.

¹¹⁴ *KJ*, 29 Aug. 1838.

¹¹⁵ *KJ*, 2 Jan. 1841; reference to Edward Shee, Blackwell - Laurence Hyland contributed to a reward.

¹¹⁶ *KJ*, 19 Jan. 1838.

April 1840. Laurence attended the meeting of what the *Kilkenny Journal* called ‘this wealthy and influential class’.¹¹⁷ Their discussion centred on the need for a bond store in Kilkenny, ‘for laying up excisable material’, as the nearest place with a bond store was Waterford. Laurence contributed to the discussion by saying that as a result of the lack of a bond store ‘double the amount of capital for a trader in an inland town’ was needed, and that ‘there was no sort of equity in such an enactment’.¹¹⁸ Hyland’s contribution was understandable as the inconvenience of having a bond store thirty miles away was having a negative effect on his spirit business. This underlines Hyland’s willingness to be a vocal about issues that concerned him, and demonstrates his active participation as a member of the merchant class in Kilkenny.

Warrington

The distillery that was leased by Laurence Hyland, as has been shown, was known as Mount Warrington. It is not clear why the title ‘Mount’ Warrington was given to the distillery, perhaps an imitation of the Mount Eagle Distillery, Threecastles, to the north of the city which, like Warrington as we shall see, also had an association with the duke of Ormonde. It was certainly a fashionable term, part of a wider pattern at the time if one considers the example of the Mount Juliet estate near Thomastown, County Kilkenny.

The information gained from the research of Mount Warrington Distillery papers, some of it in the form of private and personal ledgers etc., presents us with an excellent insight into distilling in the city generally. It would not be an exaggeration to suggest that the day to day running of this concern, as documented, would be reflective of the other Kilkenny city distilleries at this period.

The ‘still’ is located at the end of a long narrow roadway known today colloquially as ‘Warrington Lane’ which is accessed from the first left exit off the Bennettsbridge road, just south of the modern-day roundabout a distance of about half a mile. Warrington was called Archerstown and like the adjoining Archersgrove townland belonged to the prominent Archer family.¹¹⁹ Following the Cromwellian confiscations

¹¹⁷ *KJ*, 18 Apr. 1840.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ O’Dwyer, *On the banks of the Nore*, p. 7.

it passed to the duke of Ormonde who in turn leased the land to the Warren or Warring family, as a result it became known as Warrington.

The volume of the stills revealed in the notice advertising the distillery show that this was a sizeable provincial distillery during this era. As we have seen distilleries outside of the main cities were generally smaller; a comparison therefore with Locke's Distillery in Kilbeggan, County Westmeath, reveals that by 1886, over forty years later, one of their stills had a capacity of 10320 gallons.¹²⁰ This would suggest that Mount Warrington with its 8000 gallon still was comparatively substantial in the 1830s.

Distiller

Much of the distillery books accounting for his business were written by clerks and Laurence's son Richard; these business books for the most part were necessary to meet with the requirements of distilling legislation. Distilling required heavy capital investment. Laurence immediately embarked on a refurbishment of the distillery and 'a large sum laid out on the building – say at least [£] 1500'.¹²¹ Hyland set about employing the best current practice; an example of this was his installation of modern equipment illustrated in a sketch by Michael Dowling 'of ground floor and loft over same at Mount Warrington Distillery'.¹²²

As well as being an outlet for agricultural produce, local services and trades benefited from the distilling business especially when the distillery was being refurbished. With the exception of copper some of which was supplied by Joseph Smyth of Dublin, all the other building materials for the upgrading of the buildings and basic distillery tools for the new venture were sourced locally. A distillery was potentially a dangerous work environment - and tragically in 1840 'Michael Lynch fell from one of the upper lofts at Warrington and was killed'.¹²³ It was described as a 'melancholy and fatal accident...at

¹²⁰ Bielenberg, *Locke's distillery*, p. 118: quoting from Alfred Barnard, *The whiskey distilleries of the United Kingdom* (2nd ed., Devon, 1969).

¹²¹ B3 41 RPH (HP).

¹²² 'Plan of Mount Warrington, 11 June 1841' (partially damaged) BI 40 LH (HP).

¹²³ *KJ*, 6 May 1840.

the distillery of Mr. Hyland...'¹²⁴ Additionally scrubbing-out pot stills was life-threatening, due to the emission of toxic fumes.¹²⁵

When the quarry venture ended after eighteen years, Hyland again was putting his capital at risk by investing in a provincial distillery. He admitted as much himself in a public letter to the then prime minister. The circumstances that led him to write publically to Sir Robert Peel first arose in 1840, when Hyland was fined for illicit distillation at the Mount Warrington Distillery. While protesting his innocence, he simultaneously condemned the inequitable treatment of distillers in Ireland.¹²⁶

In the lengthy letter published in the *Kilkenny Journal* in 1843, Laurence Hyland protests to the prime minister, at the excessive duty imposed on whiskey.¹²⁷ He describes 1838 as 'no very favourable year' to become a distiller (this was the year the Temperance movement began and together with an increasing economic depression, consumption of spirits rapidly fell). Hyland wrote that 'nothing occurred for a season or two to interfere with my trade, save the spread of temperance (which should be hailed by all good men)'. Hyland told how the levy on spirits increased by nearly 100% in four years. In 1838 the levy was 3s. 1d./ imperial gallon. In 1842 it was 4s. 7d. or from £15/ puncheon to £27 10s. in four years. He also reprimands Peel as to the lack of 'even handed justice' and the government's favouritism of Scottish and English distillers. The editor of the *Kilkenny Journal* titled this article as 'Grievances of Irish Distillers – Repeal of the Union' and while sympathising with Hyland's complaints, he supported the cause of temperance.

Complaining about his treatment by officials, Hyland outlined his case to Peel. In November 1840, a supervisor and an officer made a double seizure on the premises at Warrington. In the first case four gallons of spirits in the operative distiller's apartments were seized. Hyland's defence was that the spirits were 'placed there without concealment and for the purpose of refreshing the workmen, a practice

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Townsend, *Lost distilleries*, p. 21.

¹²⁶ *KJ*, 8 Apr. 1843.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

common in other distilleries'. The second seizure (on the same day) was, Hyland said, in his son's apartments. He said that the two gallons seized were kept for some chemical process and that duty had been paid on those two gallons. On Sunday 28 February 1841 two persons calling themselves officers of excise arrived at the gates of Warrington. Hyland said they exhibited pistols and spears and a large stone for the purpose of breaking the gate. The gate-keeper admitted them and thirty or forty gallons of feints of Scotch whiskey were found. Feints are low wines that are produced at an intermediary stage in the whiskey making process. Hyland objected that such a visit took place on the Sabbath and this event would not happen on a Sunday in Scotland. He further stated that he resided four miles from the distillery and had no knowledge of what occurred.

Hyland elected to be tried by twelve Irishmen under oath in the Court of the Exchequer rather than be subjected to an excise board made up of foreigners. He was fined £100 and insisted that the money would only go to officials 'without one shilling benefit to the revenue of the country'. The theme of the letter, and the editorial, was that because of high taxes and foreign officials (Scotch and English) revenue was being lost to the country. Indeed the nationalist *Kilkenny Journal* stated that 'Ireland is a province, and while she continues in this degrading position she must expect to reap the fruits of her shame'.¹²⁸

Laurence Hyland died the following November.¹²⁹ His son, Richard Patrick (c. 1818 - 54), in July of 1844, was 'winding up the distillery'.¹³⁰ There were many debtors to be paid following his father's demise including a debt to his uncle Michael Hyland who, it appears, had a significant involvement in the business prior to 1843.

The Final Years

Dickson concludes his remarks on industry in the city of Kilkenny by asserting, that 'technical changes, excise alterations and growing competition from outside the region

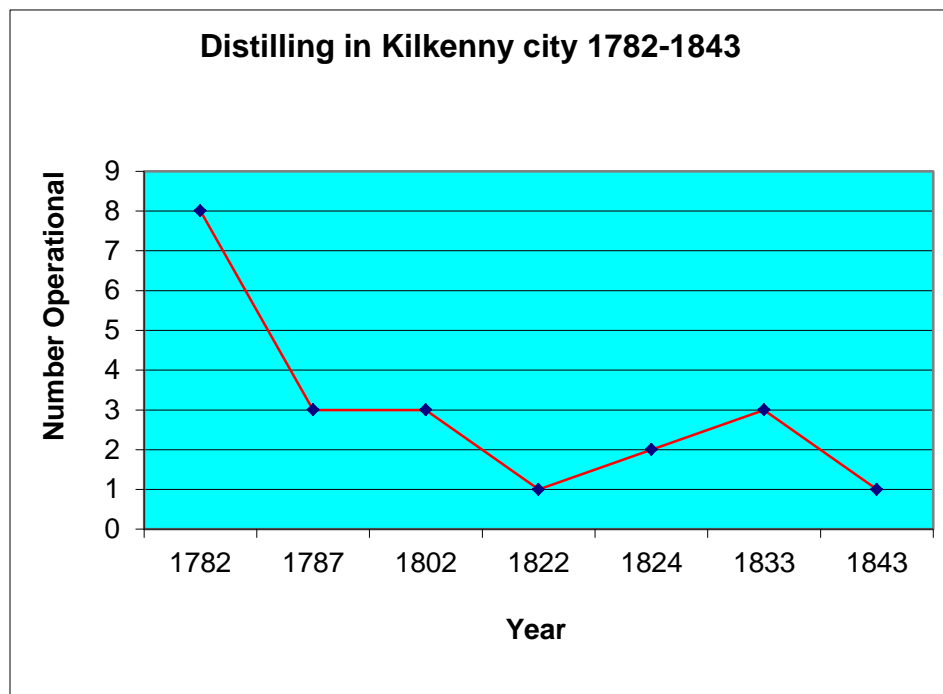
¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ *KJ*, 18 Nov. 1843 - 'Obituary of Laurence Hyland'.

¹³⁰ 10 Jul. 1844 B3 45 RPH (HP).

forced firms to expand or disappear.’¹³¹ The last specific reference to the Mount Eagle distillery comes in 1839.¹³² Cormack's is the subject of bankruptcy by 1840 and although the 1841 census lists 'five distillers' for the city - Neely reasons that ‘it gives no indication as to the size of their enterprises’.¹³³ The 'five' may be made-up of a combination of Cormacks, Hylands and O'Donnells or distillers employed by them; it certainly is no proof of five distilleries within the city.

Chart 2.1 Numbers of legal distilleries in Kilkenny city



Source: Data abstracted from local newspapers and Hyland Papers

¹³¹ Dickson, 'Inland City', p. 342.

¹³² *New Commercial Directory* (1839) refers to Kilkenny city.

¹³³ Neely, *Kilkenny*, p. 181.

The above chart shows the decline of legal distilling in Kilkenny city (Mount Eagle and Mount Warrington included in data). While distilleries were certainly present in Kilkenny city it is difficult to give verifiable evidence as to how many, until 1782. There is no evidence of an operational distillery in the city or environs after 1843 when Hyland's involvement ended.

When Laurence died in 1843 and the active operation of the distillery effectively ended, an obituary in a local newspaper described him as 'a respectable citizen, a useful member of society and what the Poet calls "the noblest work of God" namely an honest man'.¹³⁴ Whatever about the latter plaudit the former seems true, he certainly was a full participant in the society of his time. More than anything else that may have been said about him, he was an entrepreneur, someone who was willing to engage in entrepreneurial ventures. He was survived by his wife and family, and it was his eldest son, Richard, who was to continue the family's interest in distilling.

¹³⁴ *KJ*, 18 Nov. 1843.

Plate 2.6 Laurence Hyland's ledger entries (1823)

1823 Phillip's March		1823 Honor Fielding	
Feb. commenced		Feb. commenced	
10 th 1/2 year service	6 8 0	10 th	
Monday Change	10	May 24 Change	10
29 Ditto 1/2 year	15	July 3 Change for shoes	5 8
Apr 16 Change	10	16 to the end of the	37
Ditto Easter money	10	Change for 2 sets	5
29 change at the quarry	18	for 2 sets	13
May 3 Ditto	18	Dec 4 Change	10
8 Ditto for shoes	7 3	1824	
	<u>14 6</u>	Feb 7 Change	10
Change	10	March 27 Change	15
	<u>15 4</u>	change	10
13 th change	14 2	May 3 change to the 1st of June	2
	<u>1 10</u>	for shop goods	11
March discharge		W. Brown -	11
at his own request		June 10 th to ad back	1 9 9
John! Fielding inst. day		Change	10
Oct 20 amt. Sundays		July 30 for shoes	1
18 to this day	2 8 8	Aug 16 Change for hat	1 8
Aug 20 8 weeks		Sept 6 to the end of the	1 17
to this day 1/2 13. 16		18 for shoes	5 8
1 week only 1 8		Sept 15 Change	10
		22 Change to the 1st of	15 5
		month	18

Source: Hyland Papers

CHAPTER 3

Distilling, the Spirit Trade and Politics, 1843-58

The End of Distilling at Warrington

Laurence Hyland died in late 1843 and this, as has been shown, was the end of distilling at Warrington; it was not, however, the end of the Hyland involvement in distilling or the spirit trade. His son Richard Patrick (c.1818-54), a young man of about 25, saw opportunity in the distilling industry and was to remain a distiller until his death eleven years later.

When his father died, Richard set about winding up the distillery business at Mount Warrington, Kilkenny. The distillery was wound up over two years. The business was divided into two separate entities for accounting and practical purposes - the distillery and the spirit store. The spirit store was to be located in Walkin Street (now Friary Street) in Kilkenny city, though the store may have been located at Warrington at this stage. The state of affairs at Laurence's death showed that he had some £722 12s. 11d. of good debts in the distillery and £768 9s. 11d. good debts in the store.¹ Richard wrote of 'money paid by me on account of my father's liabilities.'² This included sundry payments to a John Kennedy and payments to Barnaby Scott in 1844 (a solicitor) for costs of £30. These costs arose from a chancery suit between Laurence Hyland and Lord Ormonde 'to settle quarry accounts'. Laurence Hyland owed Ormonde £20 when the case was settled. There were costs to Michael Hyland (Laurence's brother) and Connell Loughnan (a solicitor) in 1844 and 1845 respectively. Money owed for his (Richard's) sister's pension to the Ursuline Convent, Waterford, came to £272. The total liabilities came to £827 including a bond to James Tobin of £100 in 1847. When his father's liabilities were paid, Richard was left with approximately £664.

¹ B6 41 RPH (HP).

² B6 45 RPH (HP).

In a letter from the Newcastle Distillery, Galway, dated 31 October 1844 the correspondent wrote to Hyland that he ‘was sorry to hear Warren was trying to break your lease’.³ Breaking the lease would also contribute to Richard’s disillusionment with the distillery. Warren was the landlord from whom the name Mount Warrington derives. In a memorandum where this information was listed, information about Michael Hyland was also given: ‘M. Hyland assignment to Richard Hyland Nov 1 -1843 wherein M. Hyland assigned for consideration of £10 a right to the premises for the years unexpired of the lease made by P. Dullard.’⁴ This was done a fortnight before Laurence’s death; he may have been ill at the time. Richard Hyland notes in his memoranda that the ‘sundry letters of M. Hyland respecting the purchase of the Distillery and Bond passed to him, and a draft assignment - M. Hyland to Richard Hyland 30 November 1843’.⁵

The involvement of his uncle Michael was probably a significant factor for Richard when deciding to forsake the distillery in Kilkenny. Besides the general downturn in whiskey sales nationally in the early 1840s, must have adversely impacted on Mount Warrington. These considerations must have at least coloured the view of Richard Hyland and brought about his decision to end distilling in Kilkenny. Perhaps too, Richard considered it a better proposition to invest elsewhere. Whatever the case, distilling at Warrington was ended, and this too marked the end of distilling in Kilkenny.

Slater’s Directory (1846) in its passage on Kilkenny city gives an account that seems to point to Mount Warrington – ‘a stranger, on strolling on the margin of the river towards the distillery, will notice a deep trench with numerous vestiges of locks and gates, these are the sad mementoes of a canal commenced many years since but soon abandoned’.⁶ This reference cannot demonstrate credible evidence of the presence of a ‘working distillery’ in the city or environs after 1843; nor can *Thom’s Almanac* (1844) when it states that ‘there are distilleries, breweries,

³ (www.kennys.ie/News/OldGalway/18022010_distilleryhouse/) (3 Aug. 2012). A report in *The Connaught Journal* in November, 1840, ‘The only distillery now in town at full work is that of Newcastle, and as we believe there is not another in the Province at present manufacturing spirits...’

⁴ B4 ‘Occasional Memoranda’ 106, 1849 RPH (HP).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 107 1849 RPH (HP).

⁶ Isaac Slater, *National commercial directory of Ireland* (London, 1846), p. 53.

tanneries and flour mills in the city and its vicinity’, as this information was outdated.⁷

The distillery building was then put to another purpose. James Deering, a valuation inspector, reported on Warrington Distillery in 1846 and determined:

This concern has been idle for the last 3 years – the boilers and pans are being broke up and sold as old iron - a large space is unroofed in the centre of the buildings – but I find a painter employed painting doors and windows and the mill at present grinding Indian meal⁸

Plate 3.1 Richard Patrick Hyland portrait (c. 1850)



Source: Hyland Papers

A Miller?

Richard Hyland had become a miller, it seemed. In Kilkenny there were entries accounting for mill expenses, as well as regular payments to P. Dullard for the rent

⁷ *Thom's* (1844), p. 623.

⁸ James Deering, 'Field Book (7 Apr. 1846) for the Townland of Warrington, Parish of St. Patrick's, County of Kilkenny, Valuation Office, Dublin.

of the distillery, and to Michael Hyland (c.1792-1854) for interest. Indian meal had been secretly imported by Sir Robert Peel, the prime minister, in response to the worsening situation in Ireland in early 1846. In order to feed the starving population the corn was distributed. However, the corn was inedible until ground in a mill. There were also problems with the palatability of the product and the milling trade were given instructions as to how to properly grind the Indian corn.⁹ Sir Robert Peel had repealed the Corn Laws in 1846 (removing the tariffs on corn imports) and this led to the fall of his government. In 1847, a weekly sale of Indian corn was noted by Hyland. This was during the worst year of the Famine. By 1847, the Lord John Russell led government had adopted a more *laissez-faire* policy in relation to the importation and distribution of meal. The government was anxious not to interfere with market forces despite the catastrophic situation that existed in the country. Richard Hyland obviously had diverted the usage of the distillery to that of a mill and found a specific purpose for it during the Famine years. The ground meal was probably used to supply the needs of some the County Kilkenny workhouses or perhaps sold on to a trader.

According to his accounts, Hyland was unable to make money from the project, even though his investment was high.¹⁰ Corn was purchased from Aungier and Boylan who were listed as ‘Salesmasters’ at 70-71 North King Street, Dublin.¹¹ Con Egan and Co., who were also Dublin based, supplied him with corn. The corn was also transported from Waterford and Goresbridge, County Kilkenny, which was on the navigable River Barrow. The accounts seem to show that the corn business was unprofitable and short-lived - from May 1846 to August 1847. 448 barrels were purchased at £878 and were sold for £729, leaving a loss of £149.¹² Additionally, he noted that the expenses of the mill were £175 and that he received £201 for grinding, a total loss, in this respect of about £125 was incurred. Clearly speculation in Indian corn did not pay. The episode demonstrates that Hyland was one who seized an opportunity, took a risk, and in this case failed to capitalise on his investment.

⁹ Donnelly, *Irish potato famine*, p. 51.

¹⁰ 1 May 1847 A3 RPH (HP).

¹¹ *Dublin City Directory* (1850) (www.dublin1850.com/dublin1850/xdubdir02.html) (21 May 2014).

¹² 31 July 1847 A3 RPH (HP).

Interestingly, when the valuator inspected the distillery building he crossed out Richard Hyland's name in favour of Michael Hyland.¹³ Additionally the former writes 'papers received from C. (Connell) Loughnan (solicitor); letters of Michael Hyland relative to his purchase of distillery'. This, however, is not conclusive proof of Michael Hyland's outright ownership. By the late summer of 1849, Richard continued to have a tenuous association with Warrington, according to a letter which disassociated him from the mill and offices:

Sir, I give notice that I shall appeal a revision of the valuation of the mill and offices and house and lands of Warrington, the mill and the offices being in the possession of Lewis C. Kinsella and Patrick Murphy the other portion is held by me. I remain your obedient servant. Richard Hyland.¹⁴

Plate 3.2 Mount Warrington Distillery (2006)



Source: Photograph by author

¹³ 22 Oct. 1844 A1 RPH (HP).

¹⁴ *KJ*, 28 Aug. 1849: Letter to Mr Laurence J[ohn]n Denn from Richard Hyland.

According to Griffith's Valuation Richard Hyland was leasing the old distillery, offices and eleven acres of land from Patrick Dullard.¹⁵ Griffith's Valuation also records that the mill and store were leased by Hyland to Patrick Murphy and Lewis C. Kinchela. The mill, house and store were valued at £52 while the old distillery building had a valuation of only £8. Hyland, it appears, was not directly involved in milling at Warrington at this time. By late 1849, Richard has finally divested himself of his interest in Mount Warrington when John Potter, High St, Kilkenny agreed by letter to take his interest for £373 2s. 6d.; his letter was dated 28 December 1849.¹⁶ There was tension between the young Hylands and their uncle Michael following the death of their father Laurence and the ending of the Kilkenny distilling venture; this led to some proceedings at law.¹⁷ It appeared that Michael sued John P. (1827-1917) (Richard's brother) for a sum of £1000 and succeeded in his case in the Court of Exchequer. Again this shows that financing projects within the family could be problematic and that the Hylands were not averse to litigation.

Ancillary Business

Although his distilling days in Kilkenny were soon to end, Richard Hyland remained involved in other aspects of the whiskey trade in the city.¹⁸ Richard Hyland informed the public that he had opened a 'Wholesale Spirit Store' in Walkin Street in March 1843 'in the concern heretofore occupied by Alderman Henry Gore'.¹⁹ This was before his father's death. In 1850, he constructed a bonding store in Walkin Street Lower (now Friary St. N.) of dimensions 'length 72ft by width 50ft with 2 vaults holding – each – 336 – all – 672 probable numbers of casks to store 400'.²⁰ This would equate to a storage capacity of at least 28800 gallons. He further noted in his journal that he 'received plan and specifications of bond store at Kilkenny from R. Furniss'. He proposed to erect it for £380, which was about the amount that he had received from John Potter for his interest in the distillery. W.

¹⁵ Griffith's Valuation (1849) townland of Warrington, parish of St. Patrick's, county of Kilkenny.

¹⁶ 1849 B4 106 'Occasional Memoranda', RPH (HP).

¹⁷ 'Affidavit and Requisition to enter satisfaction on Judgement' Michael Hyland to John Hyland (Jan. 1854) JPH (HP).

¹⁸ *Slater's directory* (1846), p. 55, under the title 'Distiller' - Hyland, Richard, Walkin Street and Mount Warrington'; see also Bradley, *Kilkenny atlas*, p. 17.

¹⁹ *KJ*, 19 Mar. 1843.

²⁰ 22 July 1850 B5 RPH (HP).

Cummins would deliver brick at 25s. in Kilkenny and M. Reade was to give an estimate.²¹

Monasterevin Partnership

It seems that Richard did not abandon the spirit trade and that the maintenance of the Walkin Street Spirit Store is proof of his intentions. The enthusiasm for distilling that he shared with his father had not abated. Of course, there would have been a considerable amount of spirit stock on hand awaiting maturation and the store was a convenience for its disposal. As will be seen, Hyland was also trading in other stock not originating in Warrington; moreover, by 1845 he would have entered into a partnership with Robert Cassidy who had a long established distillery situated in Monasterevin, County Kildare, on the River Barrow and lying within the excise district of Naas.²²

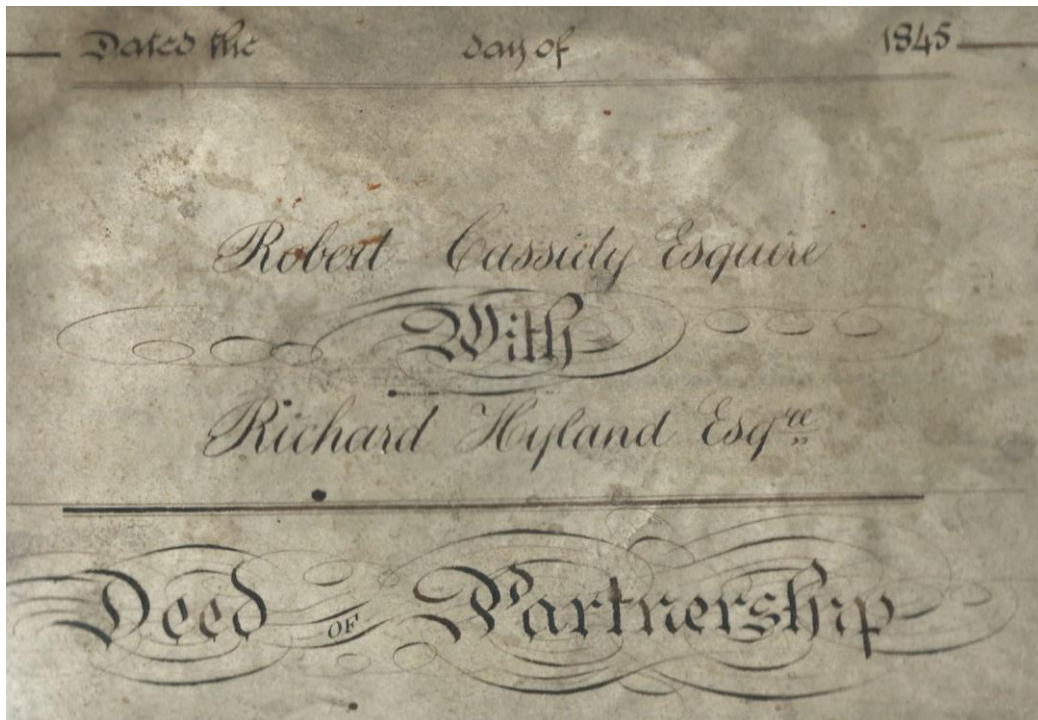
The foundation and success of this distillery was also dependent on an original partnership in the 1780s.²³ This then gave rise to the firm's name of Cassidy and Company, shortened to C. & Co. in much of the correspondence with the Hylands. Cassidy had the need of capital and with Hyland looking for a new distilling venture, in a more favourable location than Kilkenny, an agreement was reached.

²¹ 7 Aug. 1850 B5 RPH (HP).

²² Cassidy/ Hyland Partnership (HP); Townsend, *Lost distilleries*, p. 102.

²³ *Ibid.*

Plate 3.3 Partnership document: Robert Cassidy with Richard Hyland (1845)



Source: Hyland Papers

The terms of the deed of partnership that were agreed between them basically saw Hyland making an investment of £2500 or a fifth share as Cassidy stock was valued at £10000. Hyland had money available to him in order to invest. The source of this capital cannot be established definitively from the surviving ledgers, though the majority of it had probably originated from his father's slate quarry enterprise. When he became a partner, Hyland secured a house in Monasterevin. Additionally he had some plots of land in County Kildare that would have accommodated his horses.

The Cassidys of Monasterevin, like the Hylands, were a Catholic family, although more wealthy. Cassidy's was a family run concern throughout its history and with particular regard to Robert Cassidy's time in charge, a local study states that 'comparatively little is known of his achievements, but what is known or implied,

suggests that it was a period of consolidation²⁴ The evidence in the Hyland archive shows that part of that consolidation involved the partnership with Richard Hyland. The following payments indicate the post agreement investment made by Hyland; this amount comes to about £3500 in total with some £2500 paid before the dated agreement and a little over £1000 paid within the year.²⁵

		£	s.	d.
Mar 3	1845 to Latouche for Cassidy	1000		
May 5	R. Cassidy	407	4	9
May 10	Self for R Cassidy	850		
Mar 28	to take up bill to R. Cassidy	405		
Oct 3	Latouche favoured R. Cassidy	500		
Nov 4	R Cassidy	250		
Feb 1846	Pay J. Morewood advance for C & Co	294	18	9 ²⁶

A note from October 3 1845 ‘compensation for machinery’ would seem also to pertain to the partnership agreement.²⁷

Monasterevin

The town of Monasterevin is located about forty miles from Kilkenny and approximately the same distance from Dublin. A small town, it was much less populous than Kilkenny, but had some distinct advantages for the manufacture of whiskey. The distance to Dublin was an advantage in terms of market and port access. It was situated on the navigable River Barrow and also had the benefit of being located on the Grand Canal. Transport was a factor vital for the success of Irish distilleries. It had the additional advantage of being in a turf producing area thus providing fuel for the distilling enterprise. Monasterevin had also the benefit, indeed the essential requirement, of being in a rich agricultural region. Of the town,

²⁴ Ibid; John Holmes, ‘Monasterevan distillery’ in *Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society*, xiv (1964-70), p. 484. NB Monasterevin is the modern day spelling.

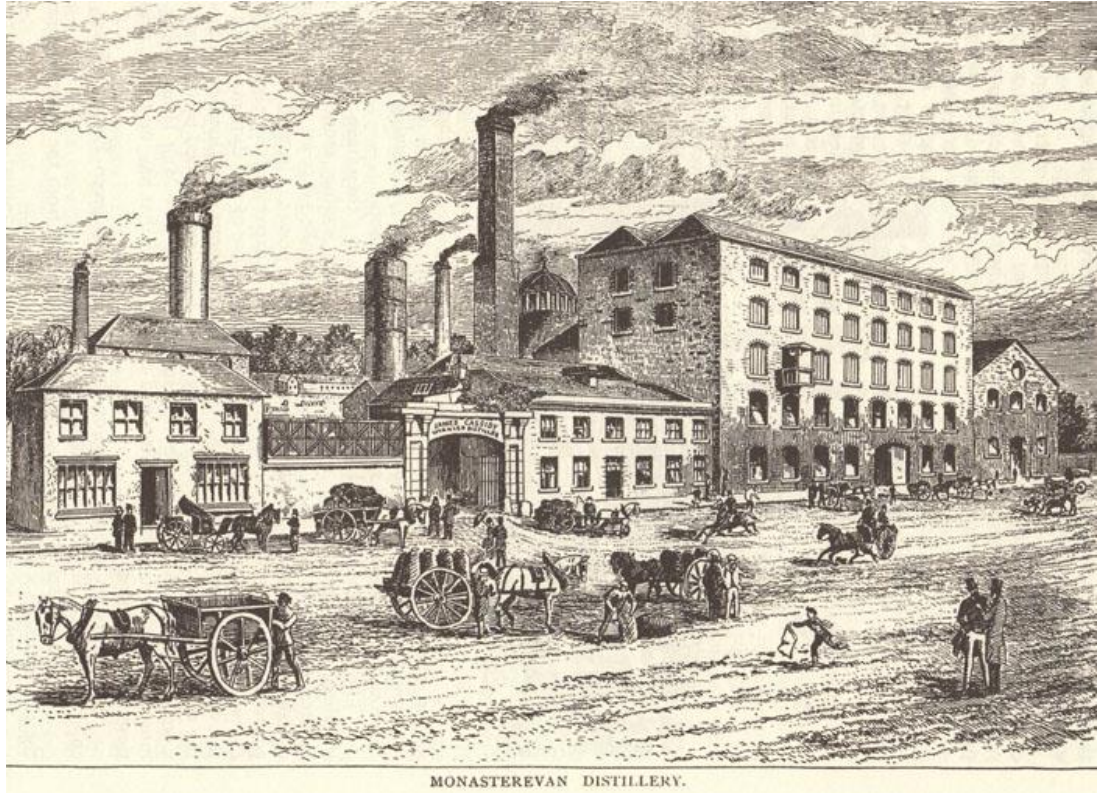
²⁵ B6 16 RPH (HP).

²⁶ B6 18 RPH (HP).

²⁷ B6 41 RPH (HP).

Lewis remarks in 1837 that, ‘The extensive brewery, distillery and malting concerns of Mr. Cassidy, afford employment to many of the working classes’.²⁸

Plate 3.4 Monasterevin Distillery (Cassidy’s) (1886)



Source: The Irish whiskey trail (<http://www.irelandwhiskeytrail.com>) (2 June 2014)

In contrast with Kilkenny city, where there were a number of distillers operating particularly since the late eighteenth century, distilling in Monasterevin was essentially the preserve of one family, the Cassidys. There had been a number of small distilleries in the 1770s, but by 1784, John Cassidy had acquired one of them from the widow of John Goslin.²⁹ Four years later in 1788 Cassidy entered into a partnership with Robert Harvey, who appears to have been his father-in-law. The business passed to John Cassidy’s younger son and then to Robert his elder son, ‘who ran the distillery quietly and competently until his death in 1858’.³⁰ In the spring of 1845, Richard Patrick Hyland entered into a partnership with Robert Cassidy.³¹

²⁸ Lewis, *Topographical dictionary*, ii, 386.

²⁹ Townsend, *Lost distilleries*, p. 104.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Cassidy/ Hyland Partnership (HP).

Staff Problems

Richard Furniss was a distillery clerk who worked for the Hylands and had a regular account. Furniss was to prove more than troublesome for the Hylands when they were operating the spirit store in Kilkenny. He had been hired by Laurence on the recommendation of Rev William Walsh, the parish priest of Mooncoin.³² He was ten years an employee when he ‘absconded’ to America in 1851, taking £150 in cash with him. Richard P. Hyland further alleged in a letter to the Rev Walsh that ‘I have reliable grounds for an estimate which must closely approximate truth; altogether Mr Furniss has been in our employment for 10 years and during 5 years.... he has peculated his employers property...’³³ John P. (Richard’s younger brother) took further steps by engaging directly with the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Clarandon, in an attempt to recompense himself for the hire of a policeman to apprehend Furniss.³⁴

There was no such problem with the distillers that were hired; of these, J. C. Miller is mentioned several times in the Hylands’ ledgers. The need for the expertise of an experienced distiller was an imperative for the Hylands whose technical knowledge, one would suspect, was limited. It is not clear how Miller became a candidate for the position; he was a Scot, or at least he travelled to Scotland, for his father’s funeral.³⁵ Many distillers came from Scotland, where they had learned their trade, to work in the Irish whiskey industry.

A level of competency would have been required by Cassidy and Hyland. In spite of a likely lack of an in-depth knowledge of the distilling process, Hyland was interested and motivated to learn. Some of the Clonmoran library collection contains nineteenth century books that bear his signature and sometimes his initials. Richardson’s *Statistical Estimates of the Materials of Brewing* was probably first purchased by his father.³⁶ Another example is Dr Ure’s, *Recent Improvements in Arts Manufactures & Mines*, which was inscribed on the title page ‘Richard Hyland Monasterevan’.³⁷

³² B2 136-7 RPH (HP).

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ 5 May 1851 B2 146 RPH (HP).

³⁵ 1 Sept. 1849 B4 RPH (HP).

³⁶ J. Richardson, *Statistical estimates of the materials of brewing* (Dublin, 1784).

³⁷ Andrew Ure, *Recent improvements in arts manufactures & mines* (2nd ed., London, 1845).

John P. Hyland's Involvement

In his correspondence with the Lord Lieutenant about the sudden departure of Furniss, John Patrick Hyland (1827-1917) emphasised that he was just beginning business.³⁸ John P., as he styled himself, was the youngest son of the family, and together with his siblings would have been educated at home in his early days; later, he attended St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny, and by the mid-1840s he was being educated on the continent. Ledger book entries confirm this 'Johnny to Belgium £8'.³⁹ Additional proof of a continental education was the entry of '1846 (April) Johnny's pension £15 0 0'.⁴⁰ It is possible he was sent to Belgium to take holy orders, in any event he returned home, still a layman, to take up an active participation in the family business. John P. became involved in the spirit trade presumably after he returned from college in Belgium. In fact, Richard sought at least one other possible position for him. His journal records that he met Mr John B[rennan] of the Phoenix Brewery at the Corn Exchange, Dublin. When they met, Brennan talked of taking 'Johnny' (John P.) into the Brewery. Richard believed that this offer 'deserved consideration'.⁴¹ How much consideration it was given is not clear, but what is certain is that John P. remained involved in the family business. Brennan was also from Kilkenny, a member of one of the distilling/brewing families previously referred to.⁴² Later that year Richard called on J. Brennan to enquire if John was suitable as a partner in his brewery - Brennan said 'he does not wish one but proposed a Dublin or Liverpool agency and says the sale (presumably of that agency) is 200 Ba[rrels] weekly, a Mr Price is partner'.⁴³ Nothing came of this either and John P. concerned himself with the spirit store and the management of the Kilkenny office. Again this episode underlines the ties and relationships between enterprising Catholic families – ties that lubricated the machinery of enterprise. The Hyland brothers worked together it appears without any dissent, Richard, almost ten years John's senior, the one clearly in charge. By way of illustration, 'I drew on John for £1000 payable at Provincial Bank Kilkenny in 3

³⁸ 5 May 1851 B2 146 RPH (HP).

³⁹ 25 Dec. 1845 B3 RPH (HP).

⁴⁰ 25 Dec. 1845 B3 RPH (HP).

⁴¹ 31 Aug. 1849 B4 RPH (HP).

⁴² T. B. Halpin, 'A history of brewing in Kilkenny' in *OKR*, iv, no. 1 (1989), p. 584.

⁴³ 15 Oct. 1849 B4 RPH (HP).

Mo[nth]’s after date on behalf of C. & Co. for Robert Cassidy accommodation’.⁴⁴
And, ‘JPH paid for me as follows 1852 Jan 19 at foot £500 bill – £21 19s. 5d.’⁴⁵

Richard Patrick Hyland 1849-50

Because his journals for 1849 and 1850 survive, we know most about Richard P. Hyland in the years when he was living in Monasterevin. When the journal entries are compared with the account books and a number of extant receipts for these years, a good insight may be had into his business and social life.

They begin in May of 1849 and conclude in November of the following year. The journals are written in a neat hand and are as accurate an insight as may be had into his life. The entries reveal his personal views and concerns. It is clear from these journals that this Catholic middle-class businessman had a relatively privileged existence in the post-Famine years while constantly aware of, and engaging in, his business concerns. His business and social activities are evidenced by his writings and the collection of receipts which survive, the earliest dating from 1844.

Receipts

The receipts date from 1844 to 1851 and are in several instances corroborated in his account books and journals.⁴⁶ Again, there are invoices for newspapers from *The Nation* office and the General Newspaper Office and a receipt from Cornelius Maxwell, the proprietor of the nationalist *Kilkenny Journal* newspaper. The bills also show that Richard either was a member of, or frequented some Dublin clubs, namely the Irish Reform Club and the Dawson Street Club, which may have been one and the same.⁴⁷ The chairman of the Reform Club was the Lord Mayor of Dublin. This was ‘chiefly’ a Catholic club.⁴⁸ It would have been a club where Liberals socialised and discussed politics. Hyland also dined at the M. H. Machin, Prince of Wales and Imperial Hotels. One of the hotel invoices show that Hyland was billed for champagne in 1847.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ 19 Jan 1850 B5 RPH (HP).

⁴⁵ B6 72 RPH (HP).

⁴⁶ See Bibliography for a listing of receipts.

⁴⁷ *Thom’s* (1849), p. 631- ‘Irish Reform Club, 19 Dawson St’.

⁴⁸ Thomas Moore, *Memoirs journals and correspondence of Thomas Moore* John Russell (ed) (London, 1860), p. 518 (googlebooks.ie) (21 June 2012).

⁴⁹ 6 Oct.1847 ‘Hotel account’ RPH (HP).

Copper was an important item for distillers and the correspondence with the Copper Warehouse, Liverpool (25 Sept. 1844) probably relates to the sale of copper when the Mount Warrington Distillery was being wound up with the materials being sold for scrap. Some of the bills were of a domestic nature - clothing, foot-ware, food and drink. Most of these receipts relate to business done in Dublin; the majority of the remaining papers relate to Kilkenny and Monasterevin where he was residing.

Farm

A medal from a Kilkenny agricultural society demonstrates Richard's continued interest in farming, but it is a subsidiary activity for him. When he returned from Belgium John P. may have had a role in the management of the farm along with his mother Eleanor. Richard noted a small transaction, the sale of two pigs at Portarlinton.⁵⁰ Business other than agriculture was what occupied his thoughts and actions as his diary attests to, with some exceptions. That is not to say that he was not cognisant of the farming business which was linked fundamentally with distilling, milling and brewing. In a time when the tenant right movement was the focus of political developments, especially locally; the Hylands (Richard and John P.) visited the landlord of Clonmorán, but to no avail - 'John and I waited on Sir John Blunden [3rd Baronet, 1814-90] to claim a reduction of rent. He refused but said he would take up the place'.⁵¹ The Hylands supported tenant right; this will be discussed later (see Chapter 8).

The Economist

Richard subscribed to *The Nation* newspaper, but it is his subscription to *The Economist* that is the most revealing of his attitudes. He found it a useful reference for his business dealings. He wrote in 1849 that *The Economist* quoted *The New York Herald* that "the prospect is the supply of bread stuff this year" will fall short of 1848. He continued his note and recorded: 'Economist adds- at present prices, we shall have little or no supplies of bread stuffs from America- if markets open low in harvest it will be quite safe to buy a heavy stock grain'.⁵²

The Economist was first published in 1843. The paper was presented in three distinct parts and thus subtitled *Weekly Commercial Times*, *Banker's Gazette* and

⁵⁰ B6 43 RPH (HP).

⁵¹ B5 22 May 1850 RPH (HP).

⁵² B4 30 June 1849 RPH (HP).

Railway Monitor.⁵³ Furthermore, it was described as a political, literary and general newspaper. Hyland was an avid reader of this publication and was much influenced by it; he often quoted passages from its pages in his journals. He noted that *The Economist* of 28 July 1849 had ‘three admirable articles’.⁵⁴ The first of these articles he noted under the heading ‘fixed duty’. The article referred to the proposition by a Mr Herries M.P. (with the support of John Stuart Mill) that a fixed duty be levied on foreign wheat. Herries was a member of the Protectionist grouping in parliament. He argued that this would raise revenue for the exchequer without adding to the burdens of the country. The second article deals with government audits of railway accounts. *The Economist* argued against this course asserting that ‘the servants of government do not take mercantile views of affairs and are notorious for performing their business slowly and incompletely’.⁵⁵ In his 1849 diary, Hyland considered the merits of investment in British railways.

The third article in *The Economist* was under the heading ‘encouragement to vice’; again it looks at the role of government, this time with regard to its support of the weaker sections of society and how such support only encourages criminality. The example was given where a child was urged to steal so as to be imprisoned and therefore learn a trade while in jail. Hyland believed that government money was misspent ‘approving grants to ragged schools’; to support his view he noted that the ragged schools were ‘where the outcast offspring of bad parents are better treated than the children of the industrious labourers’.⁵⁶ While he had sympathy for the children of industrious labourers, he had no empathy with the ragged schools and saw no role for government there. From his highlighting of these articles, it is evident that he held a free-market or a *laissez-faire* opinion on government intervention in social and economic issues.

Philanthropy

Despite these attitudes, Hyland revealed another side to his character when he displayed an interest in the welfare of those working for him. An incident occurred

⁵³ *Economist* Historical Archive: (<http://find.galegroup.com>) (21 June 2012).

⁵⁴ 30 Jul. 1849 B4 RPH (HP).

⁵⁵ *Economist*, 28 July 1849: *Economist* Historical Archive (<http://find.galegroup.com>) (21 June 2012).

⁵⁶ 30 July 1849 B4 RPH (HP); *Economist*, 28 July 1849: ‘ragged schools’.

that tells us something further about Richard's attitudes as well as his relations with staff. In his journal he wrote:

Michael Flaherty, stable man, was found dead this morning he went to bed apparently well he was young, well conducted and temperate; we were greatly shocked by death on so sudden a summons – Mary (Richard's sister) slept at Cassidy's.⁵⁷

It is interesting that one who engaged in the sale of alcohol should look to the attributes of a temperate person. It also contains an observance on the medical culture of the time: 'The inquest on the body was held today verdict by visitation of God'. The remains were removed for burial. A Rev W. Kinsella said Mass in the house for the departed soul.⁵⁸ Furthermore it shows that there was more than a business relationship with the Cassidy family. An interest in the Cassidys continued long after the partnership ended; in a later journal John P. Hyland records the death of a Miss Cassidy who was notable for having received the poet Gerard Manly Hopkins as a guest several times in the late 1880s.⁵⁹

Hyland's philanthropic nature was also demonstrated at Cassidy's distillery; in 1850, Richard noted that he 'framed rules for a reading club for the Distillery workmen'.⁶⁰ Did this become more than an aspiration? It is not known.

New Ross

Richard Hyland's journal entries inform the reader about his thoughts on business and the decisions he reached. He discussed a conversation he had with Robert Cassidy, where 'he (Cassidy) proposes to carry on a distillery and brewery and continue the partnership subject to 6 mo[nths] notice of dissolution [and] to expend the sum necessary for improvement and charge [unreadable] on the outlay -'.⁶¹ Ominously, Cassidy predicted that 'if there is another potato failure he would let the distillery and leave the country'.⁶² Cassidy undoubtedly felt that the Famine had severely impacted on his business. In any case his plan, if it came to fruition, would have left Hyland, a distiller, without a distilling business, unless he leased the

⁵⁷ 19 Nov. 1849 B4 RPH (HP).

⁵⁸ 20 Nov. 1849 B4 RPH (HP).

⁵⁹ E5 JPH (HP); (<http://www.gerardmanleyhopkins.org/society/monasterevin.html>) (11 Oct. 2010).

⁶⁰ 2 Feb. 1850 B5 RPH (HP).

⁶¹ 20 June 1849 B4RPH (HP).

⁶² 20 June 1849 B4 RPH (HP).

distillery himself. Hyland had however a contingency plan. He made a trip to New Ross, County Wexford, with his brother John to view a distillery that was for sale:

John and I went to New Ross to see the distillery. Mr Costello manager of National Bank showed us the work – to make it workable requires the outlay of 700 pounds. The National Bank has a mortgage for £2000. [The] distillery and 20 acres of meadow land held under a lease of £200 for 300 years- a large dwelling house near distillery would set cheap.⁶³

He thought about it, as his notes show, but in the end he did not get involved in that project. The decision not to get involved clearly had a great deal to do with what proved the continuing fruitful relationship with Cassidy. The possible project in Wexford might have been a viable option for the Hylands, should the partnership with Cassidy have ended. He was not willing to exit the industry. Indeed, he wrote, ‘if Mr C. makes no future arrangement I shall take New Ross this season’.

Rail and Turf

The railway came to Monasterevin in 1846. Monasterevin, as well as having the additional advantage of being on the Grand Canal, with the navigable River Barrow, had also the benefit of a local abundant supply of fuel in the form of turf from the bog lands in the area. This fact did not escape the notice of Richard Hyland when he asked in his journal: ‘on what terms could 500 acres of bog be had either on a lease forever or in fee, would it be a good purchase near Monasterevan with the convenience of railway carriage?’⁶⁴

Following the previously mentioned conversation with Robert Cassidy about their partnership, the next day Hyland left Monasterevin for Kilkenny. Cassidy’s comment was on his mind as he observed the countryside on his journey; he wrote ‘potatoes between Monasterevin and Athy brown and scorched by frost - some alarm but all agree it is not the BLIGHT’.⁶⁵ He underlined and capitalised the word ‘blight’; though it is remarkably late in the year (midsummer’s day) to have frost, nevertheless the menacing prospect of another potato failure concerned him. The tragedy that was the Famine does not seem to have impinged on the Hylands in any real sense. Certainly it may be argued that Hyland benefited from the Famine if he was grinding Indian corn, as his ledgers show. Even if this was a short-lived venture

⁶³ 6 June 1849 B4 RPH (HP).

⁶⁴ 2 July 1849 B4 RPH (HP).

⁶⁵ 21 June 1849 B4 RPH (HP).

and others were involved in the actual processing by leasing the mill, there is a compelling argument that he prospered, or at least intended to prosper, as a result of the socio-economic situation that was created during the Famine years. It has to be said that in fact he did not gain from the corn business, but nonetheless he had hoped to.

There also may have been some general economic repercussions, for example the fall in the number of labourers available and the subsequent concentration on grass-based agriculture or a fall in whiskey consumption. The singular fact that Hyland had the financial capability to remain a partner in a substantial distillery at the height of the Famine is irrefutable evidence of his prosperity when most of the population were severely affected and many tragically so. Within this degree of prosperity, nevertheless there was a need for concern as Cassidy's comments reveal, when he contemplated letting the distillery and emigrating should the blight return. Later the long term consequences of the Famine were to have significant import for the Hyland family when the Encumbered Estates legislation was enacted. Apart from the references to the sale of Indian corn, and the mention of 'scorched' potatoes in 1849, information on the Famine period does not feature in the Hyland archive. In summary the Hylands were not affected adversely by the Famine. Despite the Famine's impact in a general sense on their social, economic and political lives, personally they were insulated from its effects by their relative prosperity. The day after he travelled from Monasterevin, Richard Hyland visited his doctor and political ally, Dr Robert Cane; the medic's professional advice was a portent of times to come. Dr Cane, he wrote, 'considered my constitution completely exhausted, he recommends a week's absence from home past now on a sea excursion and a week in August'.⁶⁶ It was also an opportunity to reflect on Cane's observation on the poor law. Hyland notes that Cane says 'the present poor law valuation which is 50 per cent below the former will disenfranchise Kilkenny'.⁶⁷ Taking on board his doctor's medical advice Hyland later holidayed in the Isle of Man before travelling to Liverpool and London during September.

⁶⁶ 22 Jun. 1849 B4 RPH (HP).

⁶⁷ 22 Jun. 1849 B4 RPH (HP).

Banking

Banking for the Hylands was spread over several institutions including: the Hibernian Bank, Kilkenny, where Richard ‘deposited £550 on July 1 1846’.⁶⁸ Hyland withdrew the principal on 31 May 1847. In the Provincial Bank, Kilkenny, on 13 June 1848 he ‘deposited £1000 and withdrew it on April 17 1850’.⁶⁹ From 1846 to 1850, Richard had an account in the Tipperary Bank, Athy, County Kildare.⁷⁰ It seemed to be kept in credit with about £900 on account in 1850. Missing ledger pages negate the possibility of learning more about it at the period of this bank’s implosion (1855). This was after Richard’s death. There are no subsequent references in the Hyland papers to the impact the failure of this bank had on the family. Possibly the account was closed prior to the collapse or possibly because they banked with different institutions their exposure to loss was not to prove ruinous. Local lore suggests that the Hyland’s money was lost ‘in the Tipperary Bank’, but this may be a confusion with later bank failures, or simply a common anecdote associated with many families.⁷¹

William Hyland

While two of the Hyland brothers were engaging in their entrepreneurial activities, the third, William Hyland, was about to emigrate. William, the middle son, had attended King’s Inns, but after that little is known about him. His brother John P. later noted that he died as a result of ‘an accident’.⁷² However, in writing to his solicitor Connell Loughnan (1 December 1855), John P. states that ‘I received a letter from Australia on this day conveying the melancholy intelligence of my poor brother’s death – he died of consumption on the 8th August at Melbourne’.⁷³ His death is recorded on the Hyland plaque in St Mary’s Cathedral, Kilkenny.⁷⁴ William travelled to Australia in 1851 as John P. notes that Willy ‘...sailed for Melbourne by *The Eagle* 20 Sept (1851)’.

The expenses of his journey were as follows:

⁶⁸ B6 51 RPH (HP).

⁶⁹ B6 51 RPH (HP).

⁷⁰ B6 59 RPH (HP).

⁷¹ Interview with Thomas Mullally, Drakelands Lower, Kilkenny (5 February 2008), where he stated that his mother, who came from County Tipperary, had that story about the Hylands.

⁷² 18 June 1882 F7 JPH (HP).

⁷³ 1 Dec. 1855 B2 188 RPH (HP).

⁷⁴ Hyland Plaque, St. Mary’s Cathedral, Kilkenny.

	£	s.	d.
Outfit	21	14	3
Passage	15	0	0
Cash	23	0	0
Expenses Dublin L[iver] pool	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>
	66	2	9

Cash Sales: Monasterevin Distillery

A list of ‘Cash Sales’ at this time gives an idea of the extent of the trading area of Cassidy & Co. These invoices were to be paid within one month from delivery in 1851.⁷⁵ Most of the customers enumerated here were in County Kildare and in County Kilkenny but ranged from Dunlavin in County Wicklow to Clonmel, County Tipperary. A couple of clients were Dublin based. Whiskey was exported to Bristol in three instances, to Castles & Co., Richard Bryant and Charles Tovey.⁷⁶ Tovey as well as being a spirit merchant, was an author who penned a volume entitled *British and Foreign Spirits: their History, Manufacture, Properties etc.*⁷⁷ Whiskey was also exported to the firm of Aspell & Fildes in Manchester, who were described as distillers, wine and spirit merchants.⁷⁸ Spirit traders in the Dublin area are separately listed. This list extends to eighteen names, among which are Fortune & Co., Golden Lane, John McGauran, Westland Row and T. Nugent, Stephen’s Green.⁷⁹ Exporting whiskey and finding markets abroad was important for the survival of Irish distilleries.

The Hylands prudently kept copies of their letters in a letters’ book. A number of the letters were signed by R. Furniss, their clerk. Most of the letters relate to the placing of orders for whiskey, or sending requests and reminders of payment due. Sometimes there are complaints about the strength of the whiskey.⁸⁰ Overall, much of the correspondence was with Cassidy & Co.

⁷⁵ F 12 (A) 2 JPH (HP).

⁷⁶ *The post office directory of Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, and the city of Bristol* (London, 1863), p.657 (books.google.ie) (21 June 2012): described as Rectifiers at Milk St., Bristol.

⁷⁷ Charles Tovey, *British and foreign spirits: their history, manufacture, properties etc* (London, 1864). (books.google.ie) (21 June 2012).

⁷⁸ *Law Times*, 28 July 1855, vols 24-25, p. 206 (books.google.ie) (21 June 2012).

⁷⁹ *Slater’s* (1846), p. 87 refers to Fortune & Co.

⁸⁰ 5 Apr. 1849 B2 24 RPH (HP).

The following is an example:

To Messers Jameson & Co February 12 1849

Gentlemen,

As I would wish to commence a correspondence with you for whiskey, I shall trouble you to send me an invoice for two puncheons of your nine month old at your price quoted in your letter of 5th February.

I remain gentlemen yours very truly, John P Hyland.

P.S. Please state your lowest cash price for whiskey in Bond and also strength of mo[nth]s old?⁸¹

In a letter to another firm, Wise & Co., of Cork, John P. complained that land carriage to Kilkenny was expensive.⁸² In a letter, dated 2 April 1849, to Wise, John P. wrote requesting the forwarding of whiskey by the first sailing vessel. This depended on whether Wise & Co. deemed it safe to do so. If a safe passage was not likely by sailing vessel, it was to be carried by the first steamer which left for Waterford.

Death in Portugal

Richard P. Hyland travelled to Lisbon, Portugal, for the sake of his health, but his health did not improve. He was accompanied by his sister, Mary who would later enter the Ursuline Convent, Waterford, the second sister to do so. He died in Lisbon at the Hotel Braganza, Old Treasury, Passage of the Martyrs. The Ursuline annals record that:

This young man was gifted with much talent, and had most successfully made his studies for the legal profession but just as he had hoped to enter on its practice his health failed, and obliged him to submit to a regime prescribed by the doctors.⁸³

The reference to the legal profession cannot be corroborated (though later we shall see that he had attended Trinity College). The remainder of the evidence in the annals does include a reference to ‘a lingering illness’ that Richard suffered from – more than likely he died from consumption.⁸⁴ His will had been made three weeks prior to his demise. Rev Patrick Bernard Russell of the Corpo Sancto College wrote down the testament and acted as interpreter. The Hylands had letters of introduction

⁸¹ B2 10 RPH (HP).

⁸² 17 Mar. 1849 B2 19 RPH (HP).

⁸³ Annals of the Ursuline Convent, St Mary’s, Waterford (1878), pp 175-7.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

to the Dominican fathers in Lisbon where the Rev Russell was the prior.⁸⁵ The witnesses were locally based British businessmen: John Dyson, a merchant of no. 8 Alocrim St, Frederick James and Arthur St. Ives of No. 22 Old Treasury and Samuel Weston, a trader, who resided in the Braganza Hotel. The probate confirmed that £800 was bequeathed to his sister Mary, with the remainder including his distillery interests and some parcel of lands in County Tipperary left to his mother Eleanor. The Right Reverend Dr Edward Walshe (the bishop of Ossory), his first cousin John Carroll, and his brother John P. Hyland were named as his executors. The translation of deed of gift *inter vivos* was signed by John Baptist Fereria, notary public and by Jeremiah Meagher, ‘Her Britannic Majesty’s vice counsel’ at Lisbon. The notary public document included the legacy to his mother Eleanor of the ‘annual rent of thirty pounds sterling Irish currency proceeding from lands situated in the County of Tipperary’.⁸⁶ This may be a reference to the lands at Poulacapple mentioned previously (see Chapters 1 and 2).

Empty Casks

Within two months (29 July 1854) of the death of his brother Richard, John P. Hyland made a list of empty casks outstanding. Indisputably he was looking after his late brother’s interests in the spirit trade. Undoubtedly, there was stock on hands and likely stock in the spirit store in Kilkenny. These book accounts, written after his partner’s death, would seem to indicate that arrangements must have been made with Robert Cassidy.

Invoices for 1853-4 demonstrate that the Monasterevin distillery continued to have a regional client base and a number of English customers. Account holders had addresses in the immediate County Kildare area as well as in Counties Laois, Wicklow, Meath, Carlow and Offaly with most being located within a twenty-five mile radius of the distillery of Cassidy & Co. An exception was Richard Wilson in Limerick. Significantly there were nine English customers recorded here: four from Bristol and two from Liverpool as well as Cheshire (Robert Maunsel), Buxton (Charles Swan) and Bradford (William Dickenson). A number of Dublin clients were included among which was Connell Loughnan, the Hyland family solicitor.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Richard P. Hyland Notary Public translation document, 17 June 1854 (HP).

Family allegiance also, it would seem, accounted for the inclusion of J. P. Hyland's brother-in-law Patrick Cogan O'Gorman as a client, as the following entry indicates. It also demonstrates that John P. Hyland was the beneficiary of the invoice:

Ballyragget (County Kilkenny) July 1st 1854

Six mo[nth]s after date I promise to pay JPH or [unreadable] the hundred and eighty two pounds sixteen shillings and two pence St[erlin]g value received

Patrick Cogan⁸⁷

This was a considerable amount and Cogan may have been somewhat involved in the spirit trade. Client balances were also outlined in the cask list book. Forty-nine accounts have balances over fifty pounds in value. This inventory refers almost entirely to the 1853-4 period and the totaling balances of these forty-nine clients come to well in excess of £8500. When the lesser balances are included, a turnover, at this period, of some £9000 is indicated. Many of the previously listed account holders within the twenty-five mile radius are once more logged. The average account in this sample is £173. By far the largest account was that of Thomas Kirwan of Thurles whose balance ran to £848. The next best customer was also located in Tipperary, in Clonmel where D. Murphy & Co traded with Cassidy & Co. to the extent of £613. Murphy & Co. would appear to have been a company engaged in brewing.⁸⁸ There are four female clients, with Mary Connel of Stradbally having a balance of £145.

The sales book for 1851 lists regular clients almost exclusively in County Kilkenny and particularly in the city.⁸⁹ Spirit store records may be indicated here. There are some clients in the country districts and some just over the county border. This book also records the oats accounts for 1852, probably recording the milling of oats. Seventy two accounts are referenced. 325 barrels 12 stone and 5 pounds were on hands after 50 barrels were sold in Dublin on 6 March 1852.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ F12 (A) 15 JPH (HP).

⁸⁸ *Dublin, Cork, and south of Ireland: a literary, commercial, and social review* (1892), p. 272 (books.google.ie) (21 June 2012): Thomas Murphy and Co., 'the well-known proprietors of the Clonmel Brewery.

⁸⁹ 18 Aug.1851- Dec 1853 E4 JPH (HP).

⁹⁰ E4 63 JPH (HP).

Robert Cassidy died in 1858.⁹¹ This event finally ended the business association with John P. Hyland. At this time, also, there were further increases in excise duty in line with the harmonisation of Irish and British duties; undoubtedly, this was a further disincentive to continue in the whiskey trade.⁹²

Turnover

It is somewhat problematic, given the limitations of the archive, to determine the turnover of the Mount Warrington distilling operation, although the following provides a good indication of the scale of the business. As per the distillery sales book 35515 ½ gallons of whiskey were sold (see Appendix VIII).⁹³ 25631 ½ gallons of this amount came from direct distillery sales and 9884 gallons from the store in Walkin St. Whiskey sold from the distillery and store to 1 April 1844 came to a value of £12682 13s 5 ½d. When the duty is excluded, at 4/2 per gallon, £5255 13s. 2 ½d. remained as net sales. This was prior to the partnership with Cassidy and after distilling at Warrington had ended; therefore it relates to stock on hand that was manufactured at the distillery and possibly stock bought in from elsewhere. On the 1 January 1849 the spirit store stock account records:

	£	s.	d.
A spirit stock of 609 gallons at 5/10	177	12	6
Amount of debts re spirit leger	291	11	0
Cash on hands		<u>5</u>	<u>17</u> 4
	475	0	10

He had bad debts of £13 10 leaving a balance of £461 10 10. At 1 December there was a cash balance of £100 leaving a totaling balance of £561 10s. 10d.⁹⁴

Balance Sheet 29 Dec. 1849

	£	s.	d.
Richard Hyland	90	17	10
Cassidy & Co.	175	5	10
Shanahan rent	19	18	9

⁹¹ Townsend, *Lost distilleries*, p. 104.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁹³ B3 30 RPH (HP).

⁹⁴ B1 55 RPH (HP).

To stock		<u>561</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>
		847	13	3
By stock				
On hands	134 ½ gallons at 5/8	380	1	10
In bond	1465 2/5	180	1	6
Debts		216	19	10
Bank		6	9	8
		<u>823</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>11</u>
Loss		<u>23</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>4</u>
		847	13	3

To give some further indication of the scale of the business, £1264 was lodged in his account with the Provincial Bank for 1849, £3017 for 1850 and £1672 for 1851. In their spirit store business, the Hylands were trading with J. Lawrenson, Jameson & Co., T. & F. Wise and also with Cassidy & Co.

Spirit Sales 1849	£	s.	d.
General account spirits received			
January to March	843	2	0
April to June	453	10	5 ½
July to December	<u>1086</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>15</u>
	2382	13	8 ½
Cassidy & Co in account with	108	07	2

Queen Victoria

Queen Victoria visited Ireland in 1849 and Richard has this to say about the visit:

I was present at the review of troops at the Phoenix Park by Queen Victoria - [I]saw her majesty leave Kingstown the day following. She received an enthusiastic Irish welcome. It was a loyal welcome because Irish loyalty is *sui generis*. Allegiance is only due to protection is quite too abstract and farfetched for us.⁹⁵

Is Richard's observation of the uniqueness of Irish loyalty a reflection, in part at least, of his own views? Certainly he is respectful and by his actions displays an enthusiasm for the visit of the queen. It will become clear that like his father he supported Repeal but does this mean that he rejected the monarchy. It also will be shown that he was

⁹⁵ 9 Aug. 1849 B4 RPH (HP).

acquainted with some individuals who were associated with the Young Ireland movement but again this does not mean that he shared the beliefs of the radical members of that association. He was obviously someone who was politically aware. The evidence of his journal and elsewhere suggests that there was an internal dialogue happening within him though it was tempered by an innate Catholic conservatism. This conservatism ultimately governed the family's political ambitions in every sense.

Richard P. Hyland and Politics

In the year of his father's demise, 1843, Richard P. Hyland was involved in local politics. In common with the other members of the Catholic merchant class, political involvement was a natural and perhaps a necessary interest for Hyland. Proof of this is his attendance at the Great Repeal Demonstration in Kilkenny (John Carroll his cousin, also attended). Hyland seconded a resolution proposed by Dr Robert Cane, which was carried unanimously.⁹⁶ The resolution objected to the disarming bill. Cane stated that he would apply to have his arms registered, and if that was not acceptable to the magistrates, he would smash them (his fire arms) against the court house wall.⁹⁷ Again, one may see the connection with politics and political figures that was typical of the Hylands and their peers.

Robert Cane

Robert Cane (1807-58), a Catholic, was a medical doctor and one of the leading repealers in Kilkenny during the 1840s.⁹⁸ While he was a friend and sympathiser with the Young Irelanders, he was determined to stay on good terms with the O'Connellites when the former group withdrew from the Repeal Association in July 1846.⁹⁹ The Young Irelanders who broke with the Repealers formed the Irish Confederation in early 1847. Michael Hyland (Richard's uncle) was a supporter of the O'Connells and on one occasion 'attacked Cane by name and passed a scathing comment on the Confederate clubroom (in Kilkenny).'¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ *FJ*, 10 Jun. 1843.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ James Quinn 'Cane, Robert' in *DIB* (dib.cambridge.org) (3 June 2012).

⁹⁹ Quinn, 'Cane, Robert'; Peter Gray 'Young Ireland' in S. J. Connolly (ed.), *OCIH* (2nd ed., Oxford, 2004), pp 633-4.

¹⁰⁰ Tony Patterson, 'Robert Cane and Young Ireland' in *OKR*, 1 (1998), p. 71.

Interestingly Michael Hyland was at pains to clarify the intent of his attendance at a Confederation meeting in Dublin in 1848, his presence having been reported, he wrote to the editor of the *Freeman's Journal* to say that he was there 'as a spectator'.¹⁰¹ If there was duplicity in his actions, it mirrored the later return of Young Ireland support to the main body of the Repeal Association after the failure of the 1848 'rebellion'. Cane was arrested following the 1848 rising, because of his close association with the Confederates, even though he was against the rising as he believed it would fail. Michael Hyland did not oppose Cane for the position of Mayor; on the contrary, he stepped aside and vigorously supported his nomination. Of course, this was done in the highly charged atmosphere that followed the release of Cane from the jail in Kilkenny where he had spent 100 days detention for sedition. The newspaper report captured the occasion and Hyland's part in it:

By express - it is but justice to mention indicative as it was of the unanimity that prevailed on this subject that several highly respected and respectable citizens; including Michael Hyland Esq., who had intended to offer themselves as candidates for the highest municipal office at once withdrew their claims to the mayoralty...Town councillor Hyland having loudly called upon by all parts of the court-house, then addressed the assembly (speech by Michael Hyland)¹⁰²

Thomas Carlyle, accompanied by Charles Gavan Duffy, stayed with Cane when he visited Kilkenny in 1849. Carlyle, the Scots essayist and historian, thought him 'a person of superior worth'.¹⁰³ After his release from prison, Cane was reconciled with the moderate O'Connellite Repealers. Dr Cane, as mentioned before, was Richard Hyland's physician in 1849.

Political Activities of Richard Hyland in Monasterevin

Together with his aforementioned cousin John Carroll (c.1809-86), and his uncle Michael, Richard was associated with agitation concerning the Charitable Bequests Act in early 1845.¹⁰⁴ Like his counterparts in Kilkenny, Richard Hyland continued his political involvement in Kildare. He was not content to expend his energy solely in the pursuit of his business interests, but sought to embrace a degree of political

¹⁰¹ *FJ*, 5 May 1848.

¹⁰² *FJ*, 2 Jan. 1849.

¹⁰³ Thomas Carlyle, *Reminiscences of my Irish journey in 1849* (London, 1882)

(www.irishhistorylinks.net/Historical_Documents/Carlyle_1849) (5 June 2012).

¹⁰⁴ *FJ*, 9 Jan. 1845.

activism. This is the common theme of the Hylands and their peers - the dual interest of business and politics, the need for an interaction of both.

Richard Hyland attended a dinner for Lord Naas M.P. given by the Irish distillers and spirit merchants.¹⁰⁵ The dinner for Naas, who would be Chief Secretary within fifteen months, was at Jude's Royal Hotel, Grafton St, Dublin. Hyland was aware of the benefits of collective group action for distillers, where government policy in terms of excise had always a profound effect. Similarly, he participated in the United Board of Irish Manufacture and Industry, and attended a weekly meeting at the board-room of the Royal Exchange.¹⁰⁶ The *Freeman's Journal* adds that among the named subscriptions (to this board) handed in by A. H. Bagot Esq., was one for Mr. Richard Hyland, Monasterevan, of one pound.

He was found to be supporting cultural causes too, for example - the Moore testimonial.¹⁰⁷ A meeting of the committee was held at Charlemont House with the earl of Charlemont presiding. The meeting was for the purpose of erecting a testimonial in his native city of Dublin, to the memory of the illustrious poet, Thomas Moore.¹⁰⁸ Hyland again subscribed one pound.

Richard Hyland was at the forefront of Catholic issues in his adopted county, for example - The New Penal Laws Meeting of the county of Kildare.¹⁰⁹ It was resolved that in the judgement of this meeting the proposed Ecclesiastical Titles Bill must be regarded as a violation of the principles sanctioned by the act of Emancipation. It was resolved with regard to the projected Nunneries Visitation Bill (by which convents were to be subjected to rigorous regulation), and to the language reported to have been used in the House of Commons on the subject of convents, that 'we deem it a sacred duty as Christians to denounce that project and that language'.¹¹⁰ The motion was proposed by Richard Grattan Esq, M.D., and seconded by Richard Hyland Esq. Likewise, he was happy to support the Newman Indemnity Fund.¹¹¹ The amount received was acknowledged in the *Freeman's Journal* as follows 'Richard Hyland, Monasterevan, per C. G. Duffy Esq MP 1 0 0'.

¹⁰⁵ *FJ*, 19 Dec. 1850.

¹⁰⁶ *FJ*, 6 Nov. 1851.

¹⁰⁷ *FJ*, 24 Apr. 1852.

¹⁰⁸ *FJ*, 5 May 1852.

¹⁰⁹ *FJ*, 9 May. 1851.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ *FJ*, 23 Oct. 1852.

John Henry Newman (1801-90) was ‘a theologian and educationalist’ and later to be a Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church.¹¹² ‘Newman's trial for criminal libel against Giacinto Achilli, a former Dominican priest,’ created the need for the indemnity fund that Hyland supported.¹¹³

The Catholic Merchant Class in Kilkenny city

The Hylands were among a group of Catholic business families who lived in the city, or on its periphery, and who were engaged in trade in the mid-nineteenth century. Distilling and brewing were occupations open to Catholics under the penal laws and this tradition persisted, it would seem. After the Catholic Relief Acts, the legal profession also became popular outlet for those Catholics with some means.

Politics and the Catholic Middle Class.

Distillers in Kilkenny were predominantly Catholic and involved themselves in political life. ‘By 1800 the city’s Protestant population constituted only 5% of the total.’¹¹⁴ Political affiliation was determined to a large extent by religion and ran along sectarian lines. This was especially true prior to Catholic Emancipation. Indeed Martin Cormick described as ‘a brewer... in company with Brenan of Coal Market’ were noted as ‘violent Catholics’ in the Rebellion Papers of 1796.¹¹⁵ These individuals are most likely the same duo later recorded as involved in distilling in Kilkenny 1802. Allied to distilling were the corn-based industries and those that were based on the produce of the land, for example, the tanneries.

Laurence Hyland had done business with most of these entrepreneurs during his days trading in slate. Richard, later, was dealing with this group of Catholic businessmen. Many held the position of Mayor and some were M.P.s for the city. An indication of their social, economic and political prominence may be had by those who held the office of Mayor during this period. Lewis C. Kinchela, to whom Hyland leased the mill, was one of these. When elected in 1836, Redmond Reade was the first Roman Catholic Mayor since 1690.¹¹⁶ Michael Hyland, Laurence’s brother, was a lawyer and fitted into that coterie in the city of Kilkenny. Michael Hyland held the office of mayor in 1851. In 1847, Michael Hyland was proposed to

¹¹² Colin Barr, ‘Newman, John Henry’ in *DIB* (6 Jan. 2014).

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ Bradley, *Kilkenny atlas*, p. 6.

¹¹⁵ Cullen, ‘Social and economic evolution’, p. 284.

¹¹⁶ List of Mayors 1609-2010 ‘The sovereigns and mayors of Kilkenny 1282-2010’ (www.kilkennycity.ie) (18 June 2012).

run for parliament (for Kilkenny County) by Patrick Costelloe, seconded by Alexander Colles, but this was done ‘merely to give him an opportunity of speaking’.¹¹⁷ Michael Hyland’s career will be looked at in more detail later (see Chapter 8).

The Smithwicks

In Kilkenny, the Smithwick family were undoubtedly the most noteworthy, wealthy and enduring of these Catholic families. The Smithwicks were brewers and had risen socially, politically and economically from the early eighteenth century. They, like their counterparts, took a leading role in almost every aspect of community life. They were Justices of the Peace, Mayors and High Sheriffs of the city. John Locke of Locke’s distillery in Kilbeggan, County Westmeath, was married into the Smithwick family at the turn of the nineteenth century.¹¹⁸ The Smithwicks were intermarried with another noteworthy Kilkenny brewing family – the Sullivans. Edmond Smithwick opened a soup kitchen with Richard Sullivan in 1847.¹¹⁹ Edmond was a personal friend of Daniel O’Connell. Richard Smithwick was M.P. for the city 1846-7, Michael Sullivan succeeded him 1847-52 and again in 1857, 59 and 65.

The Sullivans

The Sullivans had been a Protestant family, though by 1812, William Sullivan had become one of the earliest Catholic freemen of Kilkenny city.¹²⁰ In 1818 he was the founder of a savings bank with a Mr. Loughnan. He then bought the brewery in James Street from the Archdekin family.¹²¹ There was a long tradition of brewing in the family, it seems, as a Daniel Sullivan had a brewery in Kilkenny in 1706.¹²² Richard Sullivan (1797-1855) lived at Castle Bamford on the city’s outskirts and at Coal Market Street in the city. He was a freeman by 1819 and by 1828 was a common councilman. He was known as a ‘repealer of moderate views’ and although there were ‘some objections when his name was put forward’ he was

¹¹⁷ G. D. Burthchaell, *Genealogical memoirs of the members of parliament for the county and city of Kilkenny from the earliest on record to the present time; and for the boroughs of Callan, Thomastown, Inistioge, Gowran, St. Canice or Irishtown, and Knocktopher* (Dublin, 1888), p. 221.

¹¹⁸ Bielenberg, *Lockes’s distillery*, p. 33.

¹¹⁹ Walter Smithwick, ‘The Smithwick family’ in *OKR*, xii (1960), p. 22.

¹²⁰ Peter Smithwick, ‘The Sullivans – a notable 19th century Kilkenny family’, in *OKR*, xvi (1964), pp 23-4.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² W. Smithwick, ‘Smithwick family’, p. 22.

returned unopposed in 1832 as M.P. for Kilkenny city.¹²³ In doing so, he was the first Roman Catholic to hold the position since the reign of James II. In 1847, he was the first High Sheriff since 1690. Michael Sullivan, Richard's brother, was married to a Hackett of Cork, 'thought to be a distiller' and his second wife was a Cormac of Kilkenny, likely of the brewers and distillers. Michael was M.P. for the city for four terms between 1847 and 1865. On two occasions, he was proposed by Robert Cane and seconded by Henry Potter, and the last time he became the member for Kilkenny city he was nominated by Henry Potter and seconded by Daniel Cullen. Richard Sullivan was said to be the owner of 1200 acres and Michael Sullivan owned 4800 acres.¹²⁴ The extent of land ownership alone was indicative of the Sullivan's wealth. The Hylands never attained that level of property ownership even at the height of their prosperity. Nevertheless, they, like the other Catholic merchants had much in common with the Sullivans and indeed the Smithwicks.

Other Families

There were inter-familial connections between many of these dynasties. The Hylands would have familial links with a number of these Kilkenny merchant families; the closest connection was with the Potter Family, merchants on High St. John P. married Elizabeth Potter (c.1848-95) (his second wife) in 1866. Henry Potter opened the Monster House in High Street as a general warehouse on 5 November 1853.¹²⁵ The Potters were in turn connected to the Power family, hardware merchants of High Street, who had a prominent position in Kilkenny society slightly later in the century. The Scott family ran the Ormonde Woollen Mills. In the early nineteenth century, they employed 500 people, however, by the late 1830s employment had fallen and business suffered due to competition from imported woollen products.¹²⁶

City Politics

Prior to the City Grand Jury elections in 1839 the citizens club recommended the candidacy of the following: Denis Cormac, Henry J. Loughnan, Christopher James, Ed. Smithwick, Cornelius Maxwell, Joseph Hackett, Thomas Harte, Henry Potter

¹²³ P. Smithwick, 'The Sullivans', p. 25.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹²⁵ M. M. Phelan, 'High St.' in *OKR*, xx (1968), p. 6.

¹²⁶ Michael O' Dwyer 'The Ormonde mills throughout the centuries' in *OKR*, lx, (2008), p. 96.

and Thomas Purcell.¹²⁷ Again, these were well-known Catholic surnames, all members of the Catholic middle class. There were reforms in local government following the Irish Municipal Reform Act.¹²⁸ Neely, in his history of Kilkenny city, observed that – ‘rich Roman Catholic citizens were no longer willing to accept control of the corporation by a narrow Protestant oligarchy’.¹²⁹ This did not mean that there was cooperation in their mutual interest, for example, in 1840 a meeting of unionists and nationalists was called to discuss the decline of manufacturers in the city.¹³⁰ At the meeting, it was stated that ‘Kilkenny could not compete for value or quality with Scotch distillers or English soap manufactures’.¹³¹ Furthermore, the failure of the city’s economy was said to be a result of ‘a lack of capital’.¹³²

Social Context

Many of the personalities with whom the Hylands did business were Protestant and as well as encountering them in political circles, they met through social activities such as racing and through charitable activities. The foundation of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society afforded an excellent opportunity for Catholic and Protestant to meet socially, avoiding contention. Relations may have thawed somewhat since the visit of de Toqueville in 1835 (discussed in the previous chapter). Michael Hyland was chairman of the archaeological society when he was Mayor of Kilkenny in 1851.

The construction of St. Mary’s Cathedral, the most imposing edifice in Kilkenny city, began in 1843 and it was completed fourteen years later in 1857. It was a visible expression of the rise of the Catholic middle class in the city and county. It was a statement of intent. The funding for its erection was led by the Catholic middle classes in Kilkenny city. In 1857, Eleanor Hyland, widow of Laurence, subscribed ten pounds in response to an appeal for seats for the opening day.¹³³ Newspaper reports show that this donation was only surpassed by the bishop of Ossory, Dr. Walsh and Michael Sullivan M.P. with £55 and £20 respectively.¹³⁴ It was only equalled by Thomas Hart, Henry Potter, Daniel Cullen, Patrick Ryan and

¹²⁷ *KJ*, 20 July 1839.

¹²⁸ 3 & 4 Vict., c. 108.

¹²⁹ Neely, *Kilkenny*, p. 250.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.186.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 188.

¹³³ *KJ*, 30 Sept. 1857.

¹³⁴ *KJ*, 23-26 Sept. 1857.

Richard Smithwick. This shows the place of prominence the Hylands aspired to and though they were not as financially endowed as some of the other notable Catholics, when it came to an expression of their Catholicism they were not found wanting.

Plate 3.5 St. Mary's Roman Catholic Cathedral, Kilkenny (c. 1880)



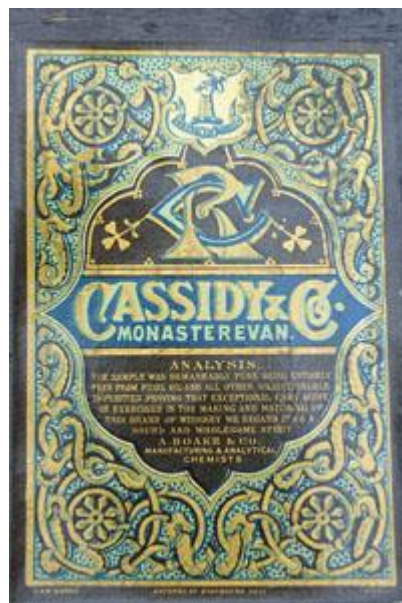
Source: National Library of Ireland

For the Hylands business, politics and religion were all inter-twined, all expressions of their identity and all curtailed during the eighteenth century; now by the mid-1850s their social position had risen considerably. With the death of her eldest son in Portugal and the death of her son William in Australia, Eleanor Hyland looked to her youngest son John P. and his sister Margaret to further the family's fortunes and continue the family traditions. Two of Eleanor's daughters had by now entered the convent and the last remaining daughter, Catherine, appeared to have eloped to America.

Despite their grief, they needed to consolidate their position and make the most of Richard's legacy. If this was to result in an enhancement of their respectability there

was only one option - investment in land. The opportunity for investment was available in the mid-century in the form of the encumbered estates sales and in particular in estates in the south of the county near Eleanor's home-place of Earlsrath. Before that entry into the land market was completed, John P. had been expanding his investment horizon in another direction. He decided to invest in the rebuilding of a substantial building on the Parade, near Kilkenny Castle and restore it to its original purpose that of a theatre. The next chapter will look at theatre investment and at the other ways he expended his capital.

Plate 3.6 Whiskey label Cassidy & Co.



Source: The Irish whiskey trail (<http://www.irelandwhiskeytrail.com>) (2 Jun. 2014)

CHAPTER 4

Theatre and other Investments, 1853-1917

John P. Hyland and his Investments

At his death on 2 January 1917, John P. Hyland was said to be ‘in his ninetieth year’. His obituary in the *Kilkenny Journal* described him as ‘a man of keen business principals’.¹ Throughout his long life he kept ledger accounts, often inserting information not specifically related to his business affairs into these books. Other than farming activities and the later management of a landed estate he made a number of investment decisions throughout his life. There had been a history of share ownership by family members. His father Laurence, apart from his major investments in the slate quarry and in the distillery, had speculated somewhat in shares, notably in the Suir Navigation Company, a total of £40.² This company was formed to construct a canal to link Carrick-on-Suir with the sea thus allowing cargoes access via Waterford to England.³ In addition, Laurence had a £100 shareholding in the Daniel O’Connell founded, National Bank in Carrick-on-Suir. For his part, John P. was more inclined to spend more of his money on share capital. Apart from stocks and shares, like his father he had other major investments; most important was the money he expended on the land in south County Kilkenny, which will be dealt with in some depth later (see Chapters 5 - 6).

Apart from his farming enterprise, he would make three separate and significant investments: the first was his involvement in his mother’s estate, an investment of £7025, the second was the capital that was put towards the erection of the Athenaeum (a theatre in Kilkenny), a sum of £1500, and the third was his speculation in railway shares where he initially invested £1400, a total of just £10000.⁴ This information was written in his ledger under the following heading: ‘Statement handed to my mother after my marriage March 26 1859’.⁵ His first

¹ *KJ*, 6 Jan. 1917.

² B3 42 RPH (HP).

³ *FJ*, 16 Apr. 1838.

⁴ 26 Mar. 1859 E6 JPH (HP).

⁵ *Ibid.*

marriage was to M. J. Hearne (or Hearn) (c.1836-61). Additionally he purchased consols (government stock) and some other stocks and this outlay will be dealt with in this chapter. Finally he was involved, albeit peripherally, in a deal to establish a new racecourse near Kilkenny city. This deal for whatever reason did not come to fruition, but again it demonstrates his business acumen. A consequence of John P.'s longevity was that he lived longer than three of his children; one of these William (Willie) had some investments, which will be outlined here as they were inherited by his father.

Plate 4.1 John P. Hyland from a photograph (c. 1870)



Source: Hyland Papers

Investment Decisions

The theatre known as the Athenaeum Assembly Rooms was opened in 1860 but an inscription, that existed on the inside wall connects Hyland with the year 1853.⁶ Investment in railway shares also occurred at this time. Was it a progressive or regressive step to leave behind the distilling industry? There may have been no choice; Richard P. Hyland had died in 1854 and Robert Cassidy died four years later and whatever arrangements were in situ at that date may have expired. Nonetheless, John P. Hyland was faced with a decision. It was an investment decision similar to the one his father made - into what venture, or ventures, would he put his capital? The opportunity presented itself in the form of a landed estate in south Kilkenny, a matter of timing perhaps. Was it a reasoned choice made because land seemed the best option for him? What is clear is that John Patrick Hyland's investments from now on were at a remove from industrial enterprise. Certainly investing in what was essentially a minor theatre was at a remove from industry – very much removed in fact. Moreover, the investment was essentially at arm's length. Hyland must have seen this venture as one likely to return a profit, but it was a long term investment. It too was a move away from the proto-industrialism of the distilling trade where the activities necessitated volumes of raw material, technical know-how and considerable labour needs. Was this venture born out of an aesthetic interest? Theatre too was removed from agriculture and industry that was based on farming, a move too away from the exploitation of natural resources that the slate business had been. Or was it simply strictly a business investment that was convenient for him? Also through his interest in railway stock, he was distancing himself from industry. He was avoiding the heavy engagement that industry would necessitate - a labour force and dealing with multiple clients through day to day management. In the case of the estate, he would have land agents and solicitors and those such as 'Comerford' who would be sent 'to warn the tenants at a fee of 15s.'⁷ Additionally, as will be demonstrated, he invested in government bonds, again investing capital without having any real engagement in industry.

⁶ Mary Kenealy 'The Parade' in *OKR*, xxii (1970), pp 44-54.

⁷ 7 Jan. 1858 E6 JPH (HP).

Agents had the day to day dealings with the events programme at the Athenaeum, while John P.'s role occasionally was to hire tradesmen to maintain the building. The railway shareholding was at a greater remove. This typically meant dealing with a broker, and in Hyland's case it would seem that he dealt with the directors of the railway companies. Railways were, as Joseph Lee has observed, 'the largest consumers of fixed capital in the mid-nineteenth century'.⁸ Richard P. (as adverted to in the previous chapter) had looked the possibility of railway investment. Evidence as to whether he invested does not exist but that is not to say that he may have speculated given his interest in English railway stock.

Had John P. the motivation to re-engage with an industrial enterprise? What were the opportunities in Kilkenny in the 1850s, in the post-Famine era? For Hyland, time, or the lack of it, may be part of the answer to this conundrum. Had he the time? He was a gentleman farmer engaged in day to day management of over 170 acres. If we consider that the estate was an opportunity that could not be missed, he had to devote time to it. It made him a landed proprietor in his own right. It afforded him the chance to become a landlord with all that entails for someone who saw this as his natural role. For Hyland, 756 acres was a sizeable enough estate and the management of it, albeit delegated, would take up a considerable amount of his energy. The Athenaeum, especially, during its construction stage was a project that required concentration too, but this was a few years before his serious estate involvement, yet he was still active in the spirit store. The railway shareholding was simply a matter of banking, after the initial investments had been made. John P. Hyland was becoming, ever more, the 'gentleman of business' rather than simply a businessman.

Did the impact of the Famine consciously or unconsciously curb his interest in agri-business? The opportunity to invest in land was brought about as a result of the indebtedness of Irish landlords whose income was depleted during the Famine years. John P. was happy, as we shall see, to invest in land but did not have the same confidence when it came to industry or agri-business. It may be argued that there was an innate conservatism in backing safer bets such as the popular investment in railways or the investment in property in Kilkenny city. Whereas his

⁸ Joseph Lee, 'The provision for capital for early Irish railways, 1830-53' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xvi, no. 61 (Mar. 1968), p. 33.

father had arguably taken on more risk commencing in the slate trade and then reinvesting in a distillery. Was his choice of investment portfolio simply governed to a large extent by his own personality?

A consideration which cannot be ignored was the increasing family commitments he had; up to 1859 he was a single man. He married on 7 March 1859.⁹ His wife, Mary Joseph Hearne (c.1836-61), was to die only two years later.¹⁰ He had to undergo the trauma of losing his wife as well as his infant son Laurence a short time later, and then had to try to rebuild his life. It was some five years later that Hyland married for the second time. This time we know he got a dowry of £500 from the Potter family. His family grew from then on with the birth of his son, Richard with Bessie Potter, in 1867 to the birth of his daughter Margaret in 1879. The entries in his ledgers and diaries are full of references to his children's activities especially with regard to their education and the various expenses they incurred. He had a political life apart from family and business considerations. Indeed he had a social life, and his journals reveal that he attended many of the shows in the Athenaeum. He was a town councillor and in 1868, with his appointment as High Sheriff of the city, came the zenith of his political life during this period. Later in the 1880s, he would have a further political career when he became vice-chairman of the Board of Guardians and a little later a Justice of the Peace (See Chapter 8); all the while too he was overseeing his farming operations.

Athenaeum Assembly Rooms

John P. Hyland had turned his attention to the rebuilding of the old Kilkenny theatre, which he renamed the Athenaeum Assembly Rooms.¹¹ It was also known as the Athenaeum Club, and as it became an established part of the life of Kilkenny it was popularly known as the Athenaeum.¹² Now it is in the ownership of the Citizens Information Board and is at present divided into office space.¹³ It would seem to be that lower rooms were let for more intimate performances and smaller meetings, while the entirety of first floor was the designated theatre area. This building was, and is, at number 4 The Parade, Kilkenny in the vicinity of Kilkenny Castle.

⁹ *FJ*, 10 Mar. 1859.

¹⁰ See Chapters 7 and 8 for more information on M. J. Hearne.

¹¹ Kenealy 'The Parade', p. 51.

¹² Bradley, *Kilkenny atlas*, p. 25.

¹³ Information from Ian Coulter, No. 4, The Parade, Kilkenny (20 May 2014).

Originally, according to one source, it had been called the Athenaeum when “a group of prosperous local gentlemen who clubbed together, as the ‘Kilkenny Theatrical Society’ to lease the town’s playhouse as the (Attic theatre or Athenaeum)”.¹⁴ The theatre, during that period of its first incarnation, was more usually called the Kilkenny Private Theatre and opened in 1805.¹⁵ The Kilkenny Private Theatre was founded by Richard Power of Kilfane, County Kilkenny, and had seen performances from Thomas Moore – ‘the bard of Erin’ between 1809 and 1819.¹⁶ The venue had attained a degree of fame for some notable theatricals in the early nineteenth century, but by 1824 was nothing more than ‘a hay-store’.¹⁷ The old theatre deteriorated further, so much so that it collapsed in 1848.¹⁸ By 1851, ‘a portion of the building was pulled down’.¹⁹ The site appeared on the first valuation list as building ground, the landlord being Francis Reynolds.²⁰ Later, it is to Reynolds that Hyland pays the rent for the Athenaeum: ‘Francis Reynolds ½ years rent [of] Athenaeum [£] 14 0 0’.²¹ The evidence of his letter book suggests that the theatre opened to the public in July 1856.²² There was an inscription on the outside wall which gave the date as 1853 and the initials J.P.H.²³ This source also has it that there was a: ‘representation of a crowned harp with the words ‘*Quis Separabit*’.²⁴ It remains today but not as described ‘on an inside wall’. These words and the representation, which implies loyalty to the Union, may have been part of an original portion of the building that survived. The foundation date of 1805 shortly after the Act of Union suggests this association. The dating of the image is nonetheless uncertain but it is probable that it was not of Hyland’s choosing; however, he did not remove it. The remnant of this representation remains barely intact in the ceiling plasterwork today, if this be one and the same image that Mary

¹⁴ Michael Dobson, *Shakespeare and amateur performance: a cultural history* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 53 (books.google.ie) (4 Jan. 2013).

¹⁵ Bradley, *Kilkenny atlas*, p. 25.

¹⁶ Hubert Butler, ‘The old Kilkenny theatre’ in *OKR* no. 3 (Jan. 1950), p. 30.

¹⁷ Kenealy ‘The Parade’, p. 51.

¹⁸ *KJ*, 22 Apr. 1848; Edward Law, ‘Kilkenny’s Victorian Athenaeum’ in ‘Glimpse of the past’, broadcast 21 Nov. 2012 (kclr96fm.com) (17 Dec. 2012).

¹⁹ Peter V. Farrelly, *600 years of theatre in Kilkenny 1366-1966* (Kilkenny, 1995), p. 77.

²⁰ Kenealy ‘The Parade’, p. 51.

²¹ 31 Mar. 1856 E6 JPH (HP).

²² 25 Apr. 1859 B2 237 JPH (HP).

²³ Kenealy ‘The Parade’ p. 52.

²⁴ *Quis Separabit* (Who will separate us?) *Vulgate* (principal Latin version of the Bible) translation of Romans 8:35; Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?

Kenealy's article refers to; though it is in the attic space where once it would have been integral to a high ceiling overlooking the theatre area.

Plate 4.2 The Athenaeum, Kilkenny (c. 1880)



Source: National Library of Ireland

Plate 4.3 The words *Quis Separabit* in attic of the Athenaeum (2014)



Source: Photograph by author courtesy of Ian Coulter, no. 4, The Parade, Kilkenny

A wrought iron spiral stairway leads to the attic; this may well date to Hyland's time. A considerable building project was undertaken by Hyland who was very much interested in how the construction works would proceed. The evidence for his interest is to be found in his principal letter book, where his correspondence with professionals, suppliers and tradesmen were recorded.²⁵ According to his letter book, Hyland engaged the notable Dublin based architect William Deane Butler (c. 1794-1857) to design the Athenaeum building.²⁶ Butler's early work was influential in the design of national schools and later he published *Model Farm-houses and Cottages for Ireland and other Improving Countries*.²⁷ He had begun the neo-Gothic St Peter and Paul's Catholic Church in Monasterevin in 1849, and was the architect who designed both St Mary's Cathedral (completed in 1857) and St Kieran's College (1836-9) in Kilkenny. The cathedral was completed during the same period as the Athenaeum. He was clearly a favoured architect for the Diocese of Ossory and his connection with Monasterevin, given the Hylands' association with that town, may have also influenced Hyland's decision to hire him. Butler was a member of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society from 1853, and in that year he was appointed Architect in Ordinary to the Lord Lieutenant.²⁸

Mr William Turner (1827-89), Oxmantown Foundry, Dublin was contracted to carry out all the metal work for the Athenaeum.²⁹ He may possibly be the same person 'who was admitted to the Royal Dublin Society's School of Figure Drawing in 1842, and to the school of Landscapes and Ornaments in 1844'.³⁰ The Oxmantown Iron Foundry was located at 103-4 North King Street, Dublin and was established in the mid-1850s.³¹ Turner was a son of Richard Turner (c. 1798-1881) who was responsible for building the east wing of the palm house at the National Botanic Gardens, Glasnevin in 1834.³² His masterpiece was the palm house at the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew (1844-8). With regard to the construction of the

²⁵ B2 RPH (HP).

²⁶ 29 Aug. 1855 178 B2 RPH (HP).

²⁷ Helen Andrews, 'Butler, William Deane' in *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (hereafter *DIB*) (4 Apr. 2012).

²⁸ 'Butler, William Deane' in *DIA* (19 Dec. 2012).

²⁹ 23 Aug. 1855 B2 177 RPH (HP).

³⁰ 'Turner, William' in *DIA* (19 Dec. 2012).

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Jeremy Williams, 'Turner, Richard' in *DIB* (28 Feb. 2014).

Athenaeum, Hyland goes into considerable detail with the builders and suppliers, stipulating measurements. Specifically, in corresponding with Turner he wrote:

The balcony reached eve two days ago and on comparing it with the original plan, a copy which I sent you, I find it to be entirely different. I will be obliged by your sending me the working plan that I sent you that I may see where the difference is – as far as I leave judge the present work cannot be made to answer porch. JPH.³³

Chandeliers were ordered from Jos[ep]h & Edmund Rat[h]cliff, St Pauls, Birmingham.³⁴ The Ratcliffs were prominent brass founders who made chandeliers and were in business from 1839-64.³⁵ ‘In the U.K. the most prolific manufacturer of candlesticks was R. W. Winfield; the only other competitor of any substance was the firm run by the brothers Joseph and Edmund Ratcliff.’³⁶ A Mr Walter Carroll, 19 Chatham Street, Dublin, was also retained to do work on the building.³⁷ Hyland chose a local craftsman, Alexander Colles, owner of the long established Kilkenny marble quarries, when it came to the supply of chimney pieces, priced at a total of twenty-one pounds.³⁸ Colles was a near relation of Abraham Colles (1773-1843) the notable surgeon most famous for the medical term ‘Colles fracture’.³⁹ When completed the Athenaeum had seating for an audience of ‘about 300’.⁴⁰

How did the Athenaeum Assembly Rooms operate?

The local newspapers clearly carried the majority of notices for events at the Athenaeum. However, some minor productions, certainly minor events may not have been advertised. Presumably, handbills were distributed on some occasions. There was a regular column in the *Kilkenny Moderator* under the heading ‘Theatricals’ which gave reviews of the performances. Through the services of agents, Hyland distanced himself from the day to day operations of this theatre; and

³³ 22 Feb. 1856 B2 188 RPH (HP).

³⁴ 2 June 1856 B2 188 RPH (HP): chandeliers cost £19 5s. 4d.

³⁵ Brian Brass, ‘Candlesticks part 1’ in *Equilibrium*: the quarterly magazine of the international society of antique scale collectors, issue 1, (2006) p. 3106 (isasc.org/?Equilibrium/Back_Issues/2006-1) (19 Dec. 2012).

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3102.

³⁷ B2 174 RPH (HP).

³⁸ 7 June 1856 E6 JPH (HP).

³⁹ Helen Andrews, ‘Colles Abraham’, in *DIB* (13 Feb. 2014).

⁴⁰ ‘Coyle Brothers to S. L. Harrison, Secretary to Miss E. Stanley’, 5 Oct. 1868 Coyle Letters in Archive Box 11 KAS Library, Rothe House, Kilkenny.

in a similar way, he operated with his other business interests. Initially it would seem that James O'Neill was given the responsibility of letting out the Athenaeum, as this extract from Hyland's ledger demonstrates - 'James O'Neill died owing on account of the receipts at the Athenaeum the sum of £28 9s. 1d.'.⁴¹ An earlier reference, in the form of a letter about the Athenaeum, to James O'Neill also confirms the relationship.⁴² This letter was written in March 1858, which would indicate that the Athenaeum had been operational before that date. This may be the same James O'Neill who was previously a clerk at the distillery.

After O'Neill's death, Hyland agreed with William Nicholson to arrange about the letting of the Athenaeum rooms for which he was to be paid 7½% or 1s. 6d. to the pound on the receipts. He was to account for the receipts every three months'.⁴³ Thus Nicholson was given the contract, with all applications requested in reference to the Athenaeum Rooms, Kilkenny, to be made to him. John P. had noted this and had additionally pasted the advertisements that referred chronologically to the agents he employed from 1860-75, into his ledger. They were in the following sequence: William Nicholson, Bookseller and Stationer, High St, William Randalow, Music Warehouse, Patrick Street, Coyle Brothers, Printers and Stationers, High St; (he then writes, in 1869, that he re-engaged William Nicholson) then Thomas Kennedy, Auctioneer and Appraiser, Walkin Street, and finally John Heffernan, Journal Office, The Parade.

A Window on the Activities of the Athenaeum (1866-7)

Hyland kept a record for the Athenaeum in a little notebook for the years 1866-7, and it reveals additional information about the acts and performers.⁴⁴ What is more, it reveals something about how the theatre was run. This particular notebook was headed 'John P. Hyland Esq. in account with Coyle Brothers' and listed those hiring the facility and what they paid for that privilege.⁴⁵ The notebook was used in the first instance by Coyles, and then it was checked and totalled by the proprietor. It is also clear from page one of the Athenaeum account book that Coyle brothers had a percentage on every hiring of the room or rooms. For example, the hire of a room

⁴¹ 4 Jan. 1860 E6 JPH (HP).

⁴² 11 Mar. 1858 B2 231 JPH (HP).

⁴³ 14 Jan. 1860 E6 JPH (HP).

⁴⁴ F1 JPH (HP).

⁴⁵ 9 Jun. 1866 F1 2 JPH (HP).

for the ‘Protestant Orphans’ cost the hirer two pounds, one pound eighteen shillings of this accrued to John P. Hyland.⁴⁶ This would mean a five per cent fee for Coyles. Likewise, an act billed as the ‘Giant Boy’ paid fifteen shillings for the room with fourteen shillings and three pence going to Hyland. The admission tickets could be acquired from the agent, though in one advertisement they also could be had from the ‘principal shops’ in the city.⁴⁷ For seated events, seating was usually divided between first and second class or alternatively first seats, second seats and back seats; the cheapest seating was priced at sixpence in 1867. From 9 June to 20 December 1866, an income of fifty pounds six shillings and eight pence was made. The principal expense would seem to be gas to provide foot lighting for the stage. This was noted as part of the cover charge. The total income for 1867 was seventy three pounds, nineteen shillings and eleven pence. The return may not have justified the investment, certainly in the short term, but Hyland may have had more than a business interest. An interest in cultural activities may have motivated his decision to invest. John P. Hyland, as we shall see, would have been culturally aware (see Chapter 9).

Clients were charged depending on the number and size of rooms required and how much gas floodlighting was likely to be used. The Kilkenny City Gaslight Company was formed in 1838; this was privately run business.⁴⁸ In 1867 the Kilkenny Hunt Ball ‘consumed 2100 feet of extra gas’ at a cost of 14s.⁴⁹ The cost of gas in Kilkenny was a controversial issue in 1880 when Michael Shortal[1], a solicitor, (who was later to oppose Hyland in the Board of Guardians elections) wrote to the *Kilkenny Journal* on the subject. In that year gas was priced at 7s. 6d. per thousand cubic feet used, indicating that there was virtually no price increase in thirteen years. In all his business dealings, John P. was particular, and in one instance, he stipulated that:

Mr Coyle will please state when making an entry the space of time the room has been occupied by each person and the rate charged per day, also whether upper or lower rooms [were used] in order that it may guide him at a future time⁵⁰

⁴⁶ F1 1 JPH (HP).

⁴⁷ *KM*, 20 Oct. 1866.

⁴⁸ *KJ*, 17 Jan. 1838.

⁴⁹ 27 Feb. 1867 F1 JPH (HP).

⁵⁰ F1 3 JPH (HP).

As well as in the local papers, that is, the *Kilkenny Journal* and the *Kilkenny Moderator*, Hyland, as suggested by the evidence of his ledgers, advertised the Athenaeum more widely in the *Freeman's Journal*, *The Times* (possibly the *Irish Times*) and *The Era*, a British weekly newspaper noted for its theatrical content.⁵¹ There is a notice in *The Era* from August 1873 placed by a 'Chas Sullivan, Athenaeum, Kilkenny', relating to the advertising of a 'New Diorama of Ireland' for sale, let or hire.⁵² This may possibly be the advertisement that Hyland placed. Dioramas were a popular entertainment where scenic paintings were viewed through a peep hole.⁵³ One such show was presented by a Mr H. Andre (Hamilton's diorama)], and described in the newspaper as 'Hamilton's excursions to the Continent'.⁵⁴ A later diorama, held in the Athenaeum was also called a 'Grand Illuminated Day Entertainment'.⁵⁵ According to Kenealy:

It consisted of views of the war between France and Germany then in progress (1871) projected on a screen the views were sketches contributed by artists attached to both armies. The passage of the paintings was accompanied by descriptive musical melange vocal and instrumental.⁵⁶

The Athenaeum itself advertised the shows; therefore advertising was a cost consideration for Hyland - a cost that those hiring the rooms would pay from their receipts. In the advertisements the details of the events, acts, and performers were given as well as the dates and times of shows, admission prices and when carriages should be called for. Consideration must also be given to the possibility that some events were not publically advertised, and that private events and meetings may have been by 'invitation only'.

The rent for the Athenaeum was paid twice yearly to Francis Reynolds; it came to a total of £28.⁵⁷ The requirement for street lighting necessitated some expense in

⁵¹ 12 June 1873 E6 JPH (HP); 'Athenaeum advertisement *Journal* 5s. *Moderator* 5s. *Freeman* 7s. 6d. *Times* 7s. 6d. *Era* 8s.'

⁵² *Era*, 3 Aug. 1873: The British Newspaper Archive (<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>) (20 Oct. 2014).

⁵³ *Oxford dictionary of English*, p. 491: diorama - 'chiefly historical a scenic painting, viewed through a peephole, in which changes in colour in and direction of illumination simulate changes in the weather, time of day, etc.'

⁵⁴ *KM*, 3 Nov. 1866.

⁵⁵ Kenealy, 'The Parade', p. 52.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ 31 Mar. 1856 E6 JPH (HP).

1858: Hyland wrote, ‘corporation for lighting of lamp outside the Athenaeum’.⁵⁸ This facility cost him one pound and twelve shillings.⁵⁹ Other expenses incurred related to the upkeep of the premises such as the sum of forty-three pounds, four shillings and a penny expended for ‘repairs and painting of Athenaeum’ in 1873.⁶⁰

Who used the Athenaeum?

The Athenaeum was used by a variety of local groups and visiting performers. The people of Kilkenny would have come to the Athenaeum for entertainment, instruction and public meetings. Rooms were available for a variety of occasions. Events were held almost every week with performances typically ranging from one night only to a week. Nevertheless, there were exceptions; for example the Kilkenny Amateur Musical Society performed for thirteen nights in one of the lower rooms.⁶¹

Almost 40% of the bookings can be associated with the local area. These include local societies and charitable organizations. Correspondingly over 60 % of the acts were from elsewhere. These would have been mostly travelling companies of artists and individual acts.

Popular entertainments who took the stage included the Christy Minstrels, a song troupe, based on what was a famous American act of the time. A banjoist named E. P. Christy organized a small troupe about 1845-46 in Buffalo, New York.⁶² This type of show became so popular, on both sides of the Atlantic, that it spawned numerous imitators of this blackface minstrel show, many of which were billed as the ‘Christy Minstrels’. In the short 1866-7 period four different minstrel shows played the Athenaeum, accounted as: the CCC Christy Minstrels, the Eclipse Christy Minstrels, the Christy Minstrels, and Burton’s Christy’s Minstrels. Such was the popularity of this form of entertainment that the ‘Kilkenny Minstrels’ were formed. They held a Grand Concert in 1875 ‘featuring a varied selection of

⁵⁸ 26 June 1858 E6 JPH (HP).

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ 11 July 1873 E6 JPH (HP).

⁶¹ 13 May 1867 F1 JPH (HP).

⁶² Karl Keonig, (ed.), (‘Negro minstrelsy from its origins to the present day 1908’ in *The crest music bulletin* (January 1908) in *Jazz in print (1859-1929) an anthology of early source readings in Jazz history* (Hillsdale, New York, 2002), p. 81. (<http://books.google.ie>) (13 Feb. 2014).

choruses...etc. by the most eminent composers ... rendered by amateurs of well-known talent'.⁶³

There were acts ranging from the national - Theatre Royal Dramatic Company, to the local - the Ladies Choral Society. In 1860 there was a fundraising event for the Sisters of Charity, probably in Kilkenny, where John P. duly contributed £2 10s.⁶⁴ 'In 1869 a big social function focussed the attention of the town; this was a bazaar in aid of the Sisters of Charity.'⁶⁵ The venue for the event was the Athenaeum. 'Many social functions had been held in the Athenaeum to raise funds for the Sisters but the bazaar was the most ambitious.'⁶⁶ The venue was used for the display of other items in a sale when in 1867: 'Mr Douglas' books commenced to occupy [the] under room with books on this day at 17s. 6d. per week (one week allowed for putting [in] and one week to be allowed for taking away books J. C[oyle])'.⁶⁷ Meetings under the auspices of religious groups were often held for example the Protestant Orphans Society. The premises had an assortment of clients: French jugglers entertained, a Mr Jackson had use of a room for 'dissolving veins' and a Mr Robinson had five nights devoted to his 'mesmeric lectures'.⁶⁸

A banquet to Sir John Gray M.P. demonstrates that the rooms were used for political purposes too.⁶⁹ In this regard, it would be interesting to ascertain if meetings of a political nature were only convened by those adhering to the nationalist/liberal agenda.

The Athenaeum certainly was used, as has been stated, for various purposes: operas, dramas and concerts, etc., by travelling companies, visiting artists and local amateur shows'.⁷⁰ The Dublin Dramatic Company, under the direction of one Samuel Johnson, performed Shakespearian plays, for example *Othello* and *The Merchant of Venice*; Johnson played some of the principal parts.⁷¹ Dr Graham was described in the *Kilkenny Moderator* as 'the wonderful illusionist, prestidigitator, physicist and

⁶³ *KJ*, 10 Nov. 1875.

⁶⁴ 12 June 1860 E6 JPH (HP).

⁶⁵ Kenealy, 'The Parade', p. 52.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ 16 Sept 1867 F1 JPH (HP).

⁶⁸ 13 Sept., 21 June, 11 Oct. 1867, F1 JPH (HP).

⁶⁹ 30 Oct. 1867 F1 JPH (HP).

⁷⁰ Farrelly, '600 years of theatre...', p. 77.

⁷¹ *KM*, 4, 11 Aug. 1866.

traveller... from the great continental theatres'.⁷² This newspaper, in a separate article, in the same issue, asserted that 'we have no doubt that the bill of fare provided for the occasion will prove highly attractive in Kilkenny'.⁷³ After the event, Dr Graham was lauded in the *Moderator* 'as the perfect master of the art of the legerdemain'.⁷⁴

Miss Rosie O'Toole's concerts used the large room for two nights - this amounted to £2 per room- let on this occasion for £3, Hyland noted. Miss O'Toole's concert appeared to create a problem as Hyland wrote: 'the Mayor refused to grant [a] summons'.⁷⁵ He continued: 'Mr Nicholson was processed for £3 at the other side, but the case was dismissed as he denied being responsible'.⁷⁶ This reference is puzzling as O'Toole was described as 'a talented young lady' and that 'the attendance was numerous and fashionable'.⁷⁷ She had much to recommend her, in the publicity for the event it was noted that she was 'a pupil of the Irish academy of music, principal soprano vocaliste of the Harmonic society of St. Cecelia, Dublin and who had the honor [sic] of giving upwards of 200 consecutive performances in the Dublin International Exhibition'.⁷⁸

Taking into account the claims of the promoters, it looks as if the Athenaeum attracted performers of the highest quality, certainly in Ireland. Moreover, John P. Hyland, given his sensibilities, would not be seen to be associated with anything disreputable.

⁷² *KM*, 20 Oct. 1866.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *KM*, 24 Oct. 1866.

⁷⁵ 17 Jan. 1867 F1 JPH (HP).

⁷⁶ 17 Jan. 1867 F1 6 JPH (HP).

⁷⁷ *KJ*, 16 Jan. 1867.

⁷⁸ *KJ*, 9 Jan. 1867.

Plate 4.4 No. 4, The Parade, Kilkenny (the Athenaeum) (2014)



Source: Photograph by author

House rules were enforced, as according to one advertisement, clients were advised that there is ‘no smoking allowed’ and that ‘anyone causing a disturbance will be instantly expelled’.⁷⁹ This suggested that perhaps there was a need, at least on some occasions, for security personnel. Fire safety too had to be considered and in 1880 there was ‘smoke without fire’ according to an article in the *Kilkenny Journal*:

We have been requested to state that a full investigation has clearly proved that the smoke that filled the Athenaeum on concert night was not the result of a defective flue, as generally stated and there had been no coal fire in the building on the evening in question.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ *KM*, 8 Aug. 1866.

⁸⁰ *KJ*, 25 Feb. 1880.

In the 1866-7 period the performances given by Kilkenny musical groups suggest that there was a vibrant amateur interest in musical theatre in the city: there were appearances by the Kilkenny Amateur Musical Society, the Ladies Musical Society, and the aforementioned, Ladies Choral Society. Furthermore, other organizations hired the theatre, for instance the Young Men's Christian Association - 'use of large room for *soirée*'.⁸¹ John P. had been a member of the Catholic Young Men's Society.⁸² They had their premises in William Street in the city.⁸³ The Y.M.C.A. also was to be found in William Street, from 1856.⁸⁴ The C.Y.M.S. gave the proceeds of their drama, 'Ireland as it was', performed at the Athenaeum, to the Kilkenny Poor Relief Fund.⁸⁵

A Mr Cotulli had the use of the lower room for his dancing class.⁸⁶ Not surprisingly, balls were held at the Athenaeum including the Kilkenny Hunt Ball, which was booked by D. A. Milward for use of [a] large and small room for one night; the sum of £3 3s 'was allowed in consideration of erection of large door in hall of Athenaeum, alteration and repairs of gas fittings etc.' for this event.⁸⁷ Not all of the events held at the Athenaeum were successful. Mr Alex O'Gorman had entered into an agreement to pay 12s. 6d. before opening of doors, an additional sum of 12s. 6d. to be paid if matters turned out to his satisfaction; however, the lecture, it was noted, was a 'failure, not more than 7 being received at the doors'.⁸⁸

⁸¹ 2 Feb. 1867 F1 JPH (HP).

⁸² Membership card signed by M... Potter (undated) JPH (HP).

⁸³ Bradley, *Kilkenny atlas*, p. 25.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

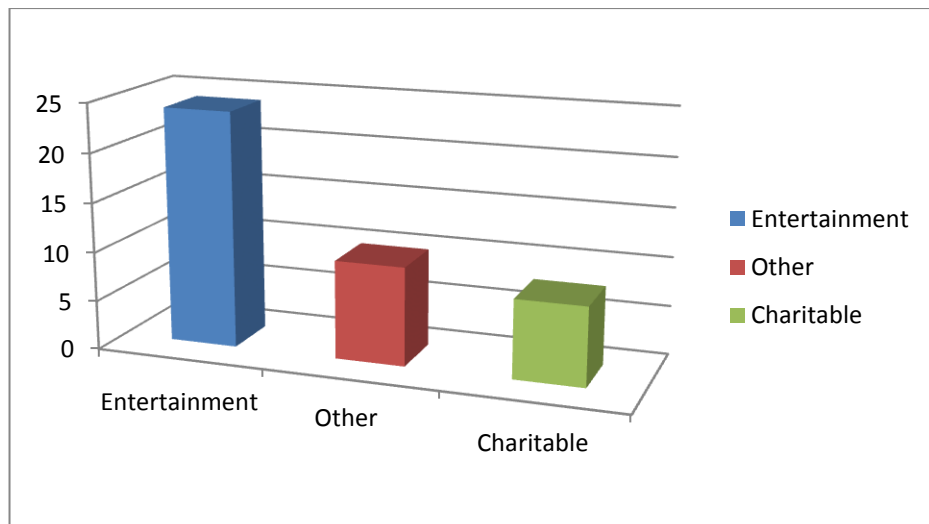
⁸⁵ *KJ*, 17 Jan. 1880, 4 Feb. 1880.

⁸⁶ *KJ*, 22 Nov. 1867.

⁸⁷ 6 Feb. 1867 F1 JPH (HP).

⁸⁸ 18 June 1867 F1 JPH (HP).

Chart 4.1 Breakdown of bookings at the Athenaeum for an eighteen-month period - Jan. 1866 - Dec. 1867



Source: Data abstracted from Athenaeum Room note book of John P. Hyland 1866-7 Hyland Papers

Table 4.1 Breakdown of bookings at the Athenaeum for an eighteen-month period (9 June 1866 - 3 Dec. 1867)
‘L’ denotes ‘Local’ as opposed to visiting entertainments.

	1866			
Protestant Orphans		Charitable		
Dr Mark			Entertainment	
Christy Minstrels			Entertainment	
Giant Boy			Entertainment	
Theatre Royal			Entertainment	
William Wade				Other
Hamilton’s Diorama			Entertainment	
Model School	L	Charitable		
Dr Graham			Entertainment	
75 th Amateurs			Entertainment	
D Baldwin				Other
	1867			

Rosie O'Toole			Entertainment	
Charity Concert	L	Charitable		
Y.M.C.A.	L	Charitable		
Hunt Ball	L		Entertainment	
Eclipse Minstrels			Entertainment	
Musical Society	L		Entertainment	
Hawe				Other
Dublin Dramatic			Entertainment	
Ladies Musical	L		Entertainment	
Dublin Dramatic			Entertainment	
Royal Dramatic			Entertainment	
Alex O'Gorman				Other
Jackson				Other
Protestant Orphans	L	Charitable		
Ladies Choral	L		Entertainment	
Ball	L		Entertainment	
Dr Lynn				Other
Model School	L	Charitable		
French Jugglers			Entertainment	
Burton's Minstrels			Entertainment	
Subscription Ball			Entertainment	
Douglas				Other
Mesmeric Lectures			Entertainment	
Amateur Musical	L		Entertainment	
'Grey' Banquet	L			Other
McGuinness Sermon				Other
Y.M.C.A.	L	Charitable		

Dancing Class				Other
Choral Soc.	L		Entertainment	
<i>Soirée</i>	L		Entertainment	

Source: Abstracted from Athenaeum Room note book of John P. Hyland 1866-7 F1 JPH (HP).

In 1881 the ‘Italian Opera Company’, under the direction of Madame Sinicio, played the Athenaeum.⁸⁹ The first part of the concert featured selections from *Carmen*. The ‘beautiful solo from *Ernani*’, by Verdi, was said to have been ‘one of the greatest musical feats ever listened to in our city’.⁹⁰ Later that month a military and amateur concert was held; the newspaper reported that ‘it was crowded by a fashionable audience’.⁹¹ The concert commenced with the overture *Maitre Peronilla* (Offenbach) performed by the band of the 1st Hampshire Regiment and ended, patriotically, with *God Save the Queen*; the proceeds of the concert were to be devoted to the poor of the city.⁹² Metering of gas at the theatre was an ongoing concern for Hyland and he took regular readings to ascertain how much had been used by those who utilised the facility. In 1883, the Falconer and Sharpe Dramatic Company, during their ten night stay, consumed 7200 units.⁹³ Miss Morton’s theatrical Company used 8600 units for a run of 11 nights.⁹⁴ The meter had reached 114600 at the conclusion of the Shop Assistant’s Ball.⁹⁵ In 1883 also, the Kilkenny Amateur Dramatic Society gave a performance of ‘Kathleen Mavourneen’ again ‘in aid of the poor of the city’.⁹⁶ From the many advertisements in the local newspapers, it was clear that the theatre in the early to mid-1880s continued to be a popular venue.

In Kilkenny city, it remained the centre for public performance. During this period, a John Heffernan had a role in the running of the theatre as Hyland wrote: ‘John

⁸⁹ *KJ*, 7 Dec. 1881

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *KJ*, 31 Dec. 1881.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ 22 Oct. 1883 F6 JPH (HP).

⁹⁴ 16 Oct. 1883 F6 JPH (HP).

⁹⁵ 15 Dec. 1883 F6 JPH (HP).

⁹⁶ *KJ*, 31 Jan. 1883.

Heffernan handed me the receipts of the Athenaeum'.⁹⁷ The Athenaeum continued to be a venue for political meetings and a meeting of tenant farmers was held there in 1882.⁹⁸ The area immediately outside the theatre was a popular location for the erection of a platform for larger public gatherings such as when Parnell addressed a crowd of somewhere between five and ten thousand in 1880.⁹⁹

Selling his Interest

Hyland was approached by Fr Phelan and two others in 1882; they asked him if he would sell his interest in the Athenaeum, as the bishop wanted it for a 'temperance hall', John P. said he would take £800 for it.¹⁰⁰ Fr Phelan was the administrator of St Mary's Cathedral at the time.¹⁰¹ The Athenaeum was associated with a possible purchase again in 1883, once more during a period when Hyland was under financial pressure. In response to a request from the post office, Hyland wrote to S. D. Wilson where he gave particulars about the premises.¹⁰² Wilson was an auctioneer and valuator.¹⁰³ Particulars supplied included the dimensions of the building and the number of rooms. It was held under a lease with one hundred and sixty-seven years to run. He stated it had been erected for 22 years (which would give an erection date of 1851), and that there was a ground rent of £28, this was clearly the money paid to Francis Reynolds, the leaser. In a further letter, he again responded to Wilson, saying he would let a room for £18 per year.¹⁰⁴ Regarding a possible purchase Hyland informed the auctioneer that 'if properly managed' the Athenaeum should earn £100 per annum after paying all expenses'.¹⁰⁵ Later that year 'Fr Dunphy from the Cathedral', on behalf of the Roman Catholic bishop of Ossory, Dr Moran, called to Clonmoran to ascertain what price would John P. sell his interest in the Athenaeum for.¹⁰⁶ He told him that £800 was the lowest sum he would accept.¹⁰⁷ In all aspects of Hyland's life, the involvement and influence of the Catholic clergy was ever present, and seemingly unavoidable.

⁹⁷ 8 Feb. 1882 F7 JPH (HP).

⁹⁸ *KJ*, 13 May 1882.

⁹⁹ Walsh, *Kilkenny: the struggle*, pp 294-5.

¹⁰⁰ 2 Oct. 1882 F7 JPH (HP).

¹⁰¹ *KJ*, 23 Nov. 1881.

¹⁰² 17 Aug. 1883 F3 56-8 JPH (HP).

¹⁰³ 6 Feb. 1883 F6 JPH (HP); Bassett, *Kilkenny*, p.122.

¹⁰⁴ 3 Oct. 1883 F3 61 JPH (HP).

¹⁰⁵ 27 Oct. 1883 F6 JPH (HP).

¹⁰⁶ 18 Dec. 1883 F6 JPH (HP).

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

In January 1884 a public library for Kilkenny was proposed at the place of public entertainment (the Athenaeum). For that purpose, the Catholic bishop of Ossory, Dr Moran and J. F. Smithwick led a group who went to inspect the rooms and consider the advisability of purchasing them. The *Freeman's Journal* reported that his lordship and the other gentlemen expressed themselves quite satisfied with the accommodation afforded. The leasee, Mr John P. Hyland, the paper continued, 'has offered his interest in the rooms for £800'. Moran offered to pay £500 with the citizens contributing the remaining £300. It was stated that the library would be a public one. No distinction would be made either of creed or class.¹⁰⁸ Hyland did not sell his interest in the theatre in 1884 and perhaps could not, as we shall see.

By 1885 he had to ask for a loan of £200 from his brother-in-law to buy cattle. He came to this decision when he had assessed his financial position. The bank was owed £1177 and he hoped to repay them the sum of £500; to give £100 to the convent where Eleanor, his daughter, had entered; to pay the half year's rent of Clonmoran £90; to purchase stock and discharge some smaller debts all out of the proceeds of the sale of the Athenaeum, which he then hoped would fetch £850.¹⁰⁹ John Patrick Hyland had made a decision to end his involvement in the Athenaeum and was making steps towards that objective as the year 1885 began. He held meetings with John P. Hartford and James Poe. As well as acting for Hyland, John Piers Hartford was the Sessional Crown Solicitor for Kilkenny.¹¹⁰ James Poe was the Clerk of the Crown and the Probate Registrar.¹¹¹ It was in the latter role that Hyland required his services as there appeared to be a problem in relation to the administration of his mother Eleanor Hyland's estate. This issue must have arisen when the disposal of the Athenaeum was proposed. Hyland wrote in his diary that Lord Desart felt that there was 'a difficulty as to the title'.¹¹² Lord Desart, it would appear, was consulted as he was a lawyer of some note. John P. travelled to Dublin, where he further consulted with Henry Loughnan, a barrister-at-law at 84 Lower Gardiner Street, in relation to the Athenaeum.¹¹³

¹⁰⁸ *FJ*, 29 Jan. 1884.

¹⁰⁹ John P. Hyland statement given to Patrick Cogan O'Gorman, 26 Feb. 1885 JPH (HP).

¹¹⁰ Bassett, *Kilkenny*, p. 69.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² 7 Jan. 1885 G1 JPH (HP).

¹¹³ 11 Jan. 1885 G1 JPH (HP); *The Journal of the royal historical and archaeological association of Ireland* (JRSAI) (1870) (<http://books.google.ie>) (4 Aug. 2013). Henry J. Loughnan was a member of this association.

When Hyland returned from Dublin he called on Poe who stated that Margaret (Hyland's sister) could '... assign the Athenaeum, having administered to her mother's estate in 1869'.¹¹⁴ The next day he saw Poe, who stated that there was no risk to Margaret in the duty not having been paid on the Athenaeum and that if it were discovered by the Stamps Office it could be proved an omission.¹¹⁵ Hyland understandably was not anxious to incur penalties at a time when he was hard-pressed. He later spoke to Bishop Brownrigg, the successor to Moran, about the Athenaeum (Brownrigg wished to purchase the interest in it); he said that if administration was necessary, Hyland need not include anything about it.¹¹⁶ Like his predecessor Bishop Moran, Brownrigg (1836-1928), was motivated by his ambition to promote temperance and was probably eager to conclude a deal.¹¹⁷ Dean Howe seemed to be acting for the bishop and a P. Murphy thought that 'he could not see how the Dean could get out of the purchase of the Athenaeum'.¹¹⁸ As it transpired, the Dean, in reply to a letter from Hyland, was willing to go on with the purchase.¹¹⁹ A further visit to Bishop Brownrigg followed where the bishop offered his opinion; Brownrigg felt that Eleanor Hyland had supported the act of her son where he expended Richard P.'s property without her consent.¹²⁰ The bishop and indeed his predecessor were anxious to alleviate Hyland's problems. Hyland probably made no secret of his financial woes and the diocese may have sought an advantage; or more likely they saw a Catholic landlord in distress and in as far as it was possible they could relieve his financial troubles while making an investment in a substantial building, that could be put to several purposes, at a bargain price. Mrs Reynolds was the widow of Francis Reynolds and Hyland had been paying rent to her up to the time of the sale.¹²¹ Hyland clearly was on good terms with the Reynolds, as he had previously borrowed a gun from her husband and now wished to return it.¹²²

Poe asked for the grant of administration that Margaret possessed and it was received by Hyland from her husband.¹²³ Afterwards Poe said that the Stamps Office

¹¹⁴ 13 Jan. 1885 G1 JPH (HP).

¹¹⁵ 14 Jan. 1885 G1 JPH (HP).

¹¹⁶ 16 Jan. 1885. G1 JPH (HP).

¹¹⁷ C. J. Woods, 'Brownrigg, Abraham', in *DIB* (10 Aug. 2013).

¹¹⁸ 20 Jan. 1885 G1 JPH (HP).

¹¹⁹ 25 Jan. 1885 G1 JPH (HP).

¹²⁰ 29 Jan. 1885 G1 JPH (HP).

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² 28 Feb. 1885 G1 JPH (HP).

¹²³ 3 Feb. 1885 G1 JPH (HP).

would require duty on the purchase of the Athenaeum and also on the profits since 1869, the year when Eleanor Hyland died.¹²⁴ Hyland called on Poe later that week and gave him the receipts and expenditure of the Athenaeum for sixteen years that he calculated as £60 14s. 5d.¹²⁵ Several queries later, there was still no news from the Stamps Office and Poe suggested that they meet in Dublin to expedite matters; Hyland called the next day to his Kilkenny office only to find that Poe ‘was not to be seen having gone away with Lord Ormonde – to fish –’.¹²⁶ The 3rd marquess of Ormonde (James Edward Butler, 1843-1919) and Poe were heavily involved in the local salmon fishing committee.¹²⁷ Meanwhile, Wilson was returning some of the Athenaeum keys, and later Wilson had agreed to accept a one and half per cent commission on the sale of the theatre.¹²⁸ Hyland eventually had to go to Dublin to see James Poe’s brother, Purefoy, at 2 Clare Street, Dublin.¹²⁹ He was accompanied by his sister Margaret and her husband. Margaret had to make an affidavit in reference to the Athenaeum. Hyland gave her husband P. C. O’Gorman a letter exonerating him from any loss on account of Margaret’s return in administrating to the Athenaeum. The revenue eventually assessed the probate duty at £30 and the succession duty at one per cent on £850.

The O’Gormans then had to sign a deed of conveyance and Hyland also had to get the signature of his sister Mary who was in the convent in Waterford. He had to ask permission of the Reverend Mother to do so. After the deed of conveyance was signed and witnessed Dean Hawe gave him a cheque for £810 and he gave Hawe possession of the theatre. Maurice Hawe was a professor in St Kieran’s College and must have been acting for the bishop.¹³⁰ When the legalities were formalised John P. Hyland’s involvement with the Athenaeum ended.¹³¹

Subsequently he called to the Ursuline Convent, Waterford, and made a ‘thanks-offering’ and also said that he would donate a stained glass widow in memory of his mother, though P. C. O’Gorman said he would pay for it.¹³²

¹²⁴ 5 Feb. 1885 G1 JPH (HP).

¹²⁵ 7 Feb. 1885 G1 JPH (HP).

¹²⁶ 15, 16 Feb. 1885 G1 JPH (HP).

¹²⁷ *KJ*, 26 April 1882.

¹²⁸ 14 Feb., 24 April 1885 G1 JPH (HP).

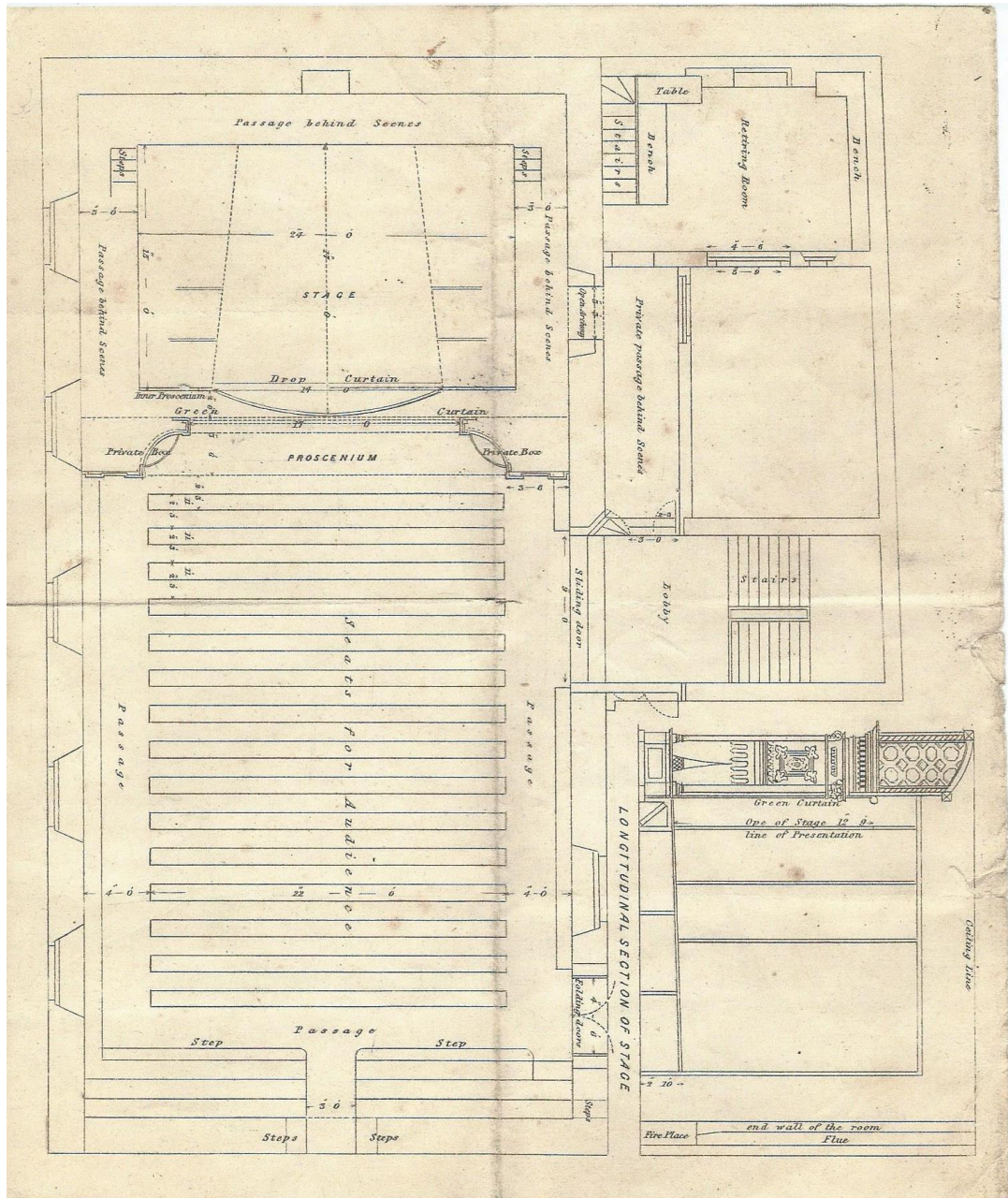
¹²⁹ 20 Feb. 1885 G1 JPH (HP).

¹³⁰ *KJ*, 12 May 1882.

¹³¹ 1-2 Mar. 1885 G1 JPH (HP).

¹³² 9 Mar. 1885 G1 JPH (HP).

Plate 4.5 Plan of the Athenaeum Theatre (c. 1853)



Source: Hyland Papers

After Hyland's involvement ended the Athenaeum continued to be used as a theatrical venue for some years. In late 1889 a 'grand musical event' was held in the

theatre featuring Mr Mapleson's opera company.¹³³ A further concert was performed on 15 January 1890.¹³⁴

In the light of what we know of the distilling business and some of the factors that precipitated its demise in Kilkenny, the fact that the bishop of Ossory had made representations to Hyland to acquire the Athenaeum as a 'temperance hall' was ironic and with a further touch of irony the theatre was later acquired by the inland revenue.¹³⁵ The proposal for a temperance hall came to naught as by 1884 the Catholic Temperance Society had rooms in Parliament Street.¹³⁶ Besides, John P. Hyland was recorded in 1884 as the proprietor of the Athenaeum.¹³⁷ Equally the proposal for changing its usage to a library was at best short-lived as the building was 'converted to the inland revenue office by 1891'.¹³⁸ Another source has it that in 1894 the Commissioner of Public's Works' took over the building 'for the use of Inland Revenue'.¹³⁹ A date of 1893 is given for the additions and alterations necessary for the conversion of the Athenaeum into an inland revenue building – the architect is indexed as 'unknown'.¹⁴⁰

John P. Hyland and Investment in Railway Shares

The establishment of the Irish railway network had many ramifications for the country, and by the time John P. was investing in the mid to late 1850s it was well established.¹⁴¹

Hyland, as the evidence of his ledgers reveal, did business directly with the company directors of the railway companies he invested in, for example: 'Ball, Haughton and Hardy £100'.¹⁴² Ball, Haughton and Hardy were company directors of the Great and Southern Railway Company (G&SR). William Haughton was deputy chairman and the company accounts stated that James B. Ball resided in Merrion

¹³³ *KM*, 30 Oct. 1889.

¹³⁴ *KM*, 15 Jan. 1890.

¹³⁵ 2 Oct. 1882 F7 JPH (HP).

¹³⁶ Bradley, *Kilkenny atlas*, p. 25.

¹³⁷ Bassett, *Kilkenny*, p. 102.

¹³⁸ Bradley, *Kilkenny atlas*, p. 15; 25.

¹³⁹ Kenealy 'The Parade', p. 53.

¹⁴⁰ 'Athenaeum, Kilkenny' in *DIA* (8 Jan. 2013). *Commissioners of Public Works (Ireland) (1893)*, p. 26.

¹⁴¹ Peter Collins, 'railway' in S. J. Connolly (ed.), *OCIH* (2nd ed., Oxford, 2004), p. 498.

¹⁴² 24 Apr. 1856 E6 JPH (HP).

Square and that Simeon Hardy had an address at Fitzwilliam Square.¹⁴³ Similarly Charles Copland, to whom John P. gave £150, was the auditor of the Cork and Bandon Railway Company (C&BR).¹⁴⁴ Copland was also was the manager of the Royal Bank of Ireland, Foster Place, Dublin.¹⁴⁵

There are numerous letters concerning railway shares where John P. Hyland corresponds with E. A. Fox at Dame St. Dublin: for example, 'E. A. Fox, 51 Dame St, Dublin, selling 20 shares in Waterford and Kilkenny (W&KR). Hyland had fifty shares in the Waterford and Tramore Railway (W&TR) which cost him £180 on the first call in 1854 and after the third call, he had expended £510. He also had a shareholding of fifty shares in the W&KR which cost him £237 before stamps and fees were paid. In this case, he disposed of 29 shares at a great loss just four years later. Hyland purchased a shareholding in the Cork and Bandon Railway (C&BR); these were rather more expensive with 50 original shares at £12 3s. 3d. a share. At a little more than half this price, fifty shares were purchased in the Dublin and Wicklow (D&WR) railway. He acquired a present of fifty extra shares of the W&TR, it is not known from where, perhaps it was a gift from his in-laws? His in-laws resided in Tramore. Therefore, he had approximately £800 worth of shares in the W&TR in October 1855.

The W&KR shareholding would, given the figures, be worth less than eighty pounds for twenty-one shares remaining at January 1858. These shares fared badly. In regard to the C&BR, by 1858, he had fifty ordinary shares and 100 preference shares valued at about £880. The Dublin and Wicklow Railway stock was valued at just £835 for 150 shares. He had 200 shares in four railway companies and received dividends from W&TR totaling forty pounds, fourteen pounds from the C&BR, and ten pounds from the D&WR. In total his shareholdings was valued, circa 1858, at approximately £2600.

¹⁴³ *Bradshaw's railway manual, shareholders' guide and official directory for 1857* (London, 1857) p. 111 (books.google.ie) (25 Nov. 2012).

¹⁴⁴ 20 July 1856 E6 JPH (HP); Ellis Lever, *Railway and mining almanack: the railway and the mine Lever's illustrated yearbook* (London, 1861), p.47 (books.google.ie) (23 Jan. 2013).

¹⁴⁵ *The Dublin almanac, and general register of Ireland, for 1847* (Pettigrew and Oulton ,Dublin, 1847), p. 198.

The Waterford and Tramore Railway existence was ‘dependent almost entirely on the seaside passenger traffic’ between the city and the popular resort.¹⁴⁶ The parliamentary bill for the railway was passed on 24 July 1851 and the capital was made up of 4800 shares of £10 each with an additional £10000 in preference stock.¹⁴⁷ The railway opened on 2 September 1853.¹⁴⁸ The Waterford and Tramore line was unusual in that it was unconnected with other railways.¹⁴⁹ The line was seven miles long and the contractor engaged was William Dargan.¹⁵⁰

Plate 4.6 Tramore Railway Station (c. 1900)



Source: National Library of Ireland Lawrence Collection photograph by Robert French (1841-1917)

¹⁴⁶ H. T. Fyale and A. T. Newham, *The Waterford and Tramore railway* (2nd ed., Newtown Abbot, 1972), p. 9.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 17; Tom Ferris, *Irish Railways: a new history* (Dublin, 2008), p. 48.

Dargan (1799-1867), the son of a Carlow farmer, was ‘a key influence in the economy of nineteenth-century Ireland’.¹⁵¹ He had worked as a road engineer under the Scottish civil engineer Thomas Telford before winning the contract for Ireland’s first railway - the Dublin and Kingstown in 1833.¹⁵² This led him to many more railway projects in the 1840s and 50s. This talented individual had the reputation for accepting shares as payment and had ‘his closest links with the Dublin and Wicklow’.¹⁵³ The Waterford and Tramore Railway was prosperous in early years and paid dividends of over seven per cent.¹⁵⁴ As with the Waterford and Kilkenny, the W&TR was a line serving the locality and with Hyland’s soon to be family connection with Tramore, this may have been an additional spur to his interest in this railway stock.

Other Investments

Hyland speculated in government bonds in 1856. On 13 October of that year he invested in consols to the value of £558 8s. 7d.¹⁵⁵ A quote from a banking dictionary perhaps best explains the term consols, which were a type of perpetual bond. ‘A perpetual bond is a bond that has no maturity date, is not redeemable and pays a steady stream of interest indefinitely; also called annuity bond. The only notable perpetual bonds in existence are the consols first issued by the British Treasury to pay off smaller issues used to finance the Napoleonic Wars (1814).’¹⁵⁶ These consols were effectively war bonds. ‘The last major issues of consols financed British involvement in the Crimean War.’¹⁵⁷ Hyland’s records show that they paid interest rate of 3½ %. In 1880 the *Kilkenny Journal*, within its pages, provided a stock and share list for its readers.¹⁵⁸ In the listing 3% consols were valued at 99d., whereas shares in the Waterford and Tramore Railway were priced at 34d.

¹⁵¹ Fergus Mulligan, ‘Dargan, William’, in *DIB* (22 Feb. 2013).

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ Fergus Mulligan, *One hundred and fifty years of Irish railways* (Belfast, 1983), p.11.

¹⁵⁴ Ferris, *Irish railways*, p.48.

¹⁵⁵ 13 Oct. 1856 E6 JPH (HP).

¹⁵⁶ Dictionary of business terms (www.allbusiness.com/glossaries) (8 Dec. 2012).

¹⁵⁷ P. L. Cottrell in Roderick Floud and Paul Johnson (eds) *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain*, (2 vols. Cambridge, 2004) ii, p. 257 (books.google.ie) (8 Dec. 2012).

¹⁵⁸ *KJ*, 14 Jan. 1880.

The ‘New Kilkenny Racecourse Company Limited’

Gowran Park Racecourse, County Kilkenny opened on 16 June 1914.¹⁵⁹ The *Kilkenny Moderator* reported that Kilkenny had been for the space of fifteen years without a race meeting.¹⁶⁰ The report went on to say that ‘over 3000 people alone attended the shilling enclosure’.¹⁶¹ Amongst its stewards were members of the local gentry; Lord Annaly and Captain Dermot McCalmount presided. On 3 July 1914, John P. Hyland had the option of entering into an agreement with a number of Kilkenny city business and professional men who hoped to established a rival racecourse.¹⁶² Shellumsrath, which was by then a farm leased by Hyland, was the location for the proposed racecourse and it was in the vicinity of Kilkenny city and about nine miles from Gowran. Thomas F. Murphy, James White, Timothy O’Brien, Richard Duggan, B. Lambert, Edward T. Keane and James A. Smithwick (James Harte withdrew) were named as trustees of the proposed company. This was a group of prominent businessmen in Kilkenny city. Thomas F. Murphy was the proprietor of the Club House Hotel, Richard Duggan of the Monster House department store, Edward T. Keane owned the *Kilkenny People* newspaper and James A. Smithwick was a member of that notable Kilkenny brewing family referred to in previous chapters. Capital for the company was to be made up of 8000 shares of one pound each. John P. Hyland was named as the vendor in the document as the site of the proposed racecourse was to be Shellumsrath and Hyland was to sell his interest in it for £2200. The document detailing the terms of agreement states that the lands of Shellumsrath were held by the vendor (Hyland) from the estate of J. W. Thacker deceased’ under a tenancy for a statutory term of 15 years at the yearly judicial rent of £124. Hyland was ‘to deliver up clear possession’ of Shellumsrath a month after the gale day of 29 September 1914. Paragraph number 5 of the agreement states that the vendor shall deduce title as from the 7 March 1860.

¹⁵⁹ Gowran Park History (<http://www.gowranpark.ie/horseracing/history>) (2 Nov. 2013).

¹⁶⁰ *KM*, 20 June 1914.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² Proposed agreement between John P. Hyland and Thomas F. Murphy, James White, Timothy O’Brien, Richard Duggan, B. Lambert, Edward T. Keane and James A. Smithwick (James Harte withdrew), 3 July 1914 (HP).

Hyland did not have the lease, which was dated 22 November 1870, or a copy of it. There were provisions for the removal of trees, the grazing of stock and the retention of one acre on the Clonmorán side of the road.

The deal would not go ahead if (a) the company was not formed (b) if at least £7000 of the capital was not subscribed, and (c) if the agreement was not adopted all before 29 September 1914. The deal did not proceed. John P. Hyland did not sign the document (though the others did); perhaps the capital was not raised or the company was not formed. Furthermore, the outbreak of World War One may have dampened the aspirations of the participants. This proposal did not come to pass partly at least because of the establishment of the Gowran Racecourse less than ten miles away. The Shellumsrath proposal had the backing of Kilkenny city business men whereas the Gowran venture was backed by some of the landed gentry in the county. Hyland throughout his business and political career was linked to the city and was part of that business elite. He intended at least to be part of this venture albeit as the provider of a location for the race track. Plans for the new racing venue had proceeded to quite a degree, indeed a legal document was drawn up, so it was more than just a whimsical notion on the part of the participants.

Undoubtedly Shellumsrath was seen as an attractive venue given its proximity to the city. It also had the advantage of being topographically suitable as it had a flat area as well as a rising elevation to the south of the townland. What is more it had a rectangular shape that lent itself to the purposes of a racecourse with road frontage on three sides. Horse racing was evidently very popular as the attendance at Gowran demonstrates and it was an attractive proposition for these enterprising individuals. The events underline Hyland's need for cash and a willingness to make radical decisions even at 87 years of age. How much of an input did his son Richard J. have in this idea is not known. Regardless it was John P.'s signature that was required – it was his decision ultimately. Whether Hyland senior would have invested in the racecourse is debateable. His interest may have purely been in obtaining the £2200 on offer.

William P. Hyland and Share Investment

Investment in share capital was seen as an attractive option for John P.'s son William, byname Willie. A Grand Canal stock certificate in the joint names of John

Patrick Hyland and William Paul Hyland for £500 was recorded.¹⁶³ Willie was a marine engineer and as such would travel all over the world. It was possibly on a visit to Singapore that he may have come across the Kledang Tin Mining Company (K.T.M. Co). He had one hundred shares in the K.T.M. Co. of £1 each.¹⁶⁴ One hundred thousand shares were issued by this company with an address of Heawood Syndicate, Station Hill, Redwith, Cornwall.¹⁶⁵ Documentary evidence reveals that an adoptive agreement, dated 25 May 1906, by the ‘Heawood Syndicate Limited’ was undertaken in the name of J. Wickett Esq. The preamble here also reveals the location of the mine as ‘Kledang in the Mukim of Ulu Kinta in the federated Malay State of Perak (at the time the state of Perak was part of British Malaya).

‘Summary of share capital and shares of the K.T.M. Co. 22/12/1909’

List of persons:

Folio no.	273
Name	Hyland, William Paul
Address	c/o Engineers Association, Singapore
Occupation	Engineer
No. of Shares	100

By December 1910, W. P. Hyland (b. 1869) had died of smallpox in the Municipal Isolation Hospital in Shanghai and his father was dealing with his estate. A priest visited him during his eleven day illness ‘for which consolation he was very grateful’.¹⁶⁶ Willie’s shares were then inherited by his father.

Enterprise in the Third Generation

Willie had effectively emigrated when he became a marine engineer; two of his brothers also sought their fortune abroad in the late 1800s. Francis Xavier (Frank) and Lawrence, two of the younger sons of John P, emigrated to Southern Africa.

¹⁶³ 5 Feb. 1891 F3 215 JPH (HP).

¹⁶⁴ Share Certificate 20 Mar. 1908 William Paul Hyland (hereafter WPH) (HP).

¹⁶⁵ National Archives Kew BT31/11538/88957.

¹⁶⁶ Alice Bradford (matron, Municipal Isolation Hospital, Shanghai, China) to May Hyland , 9 Feb. 1911 WPH (HP).

Lawrence went to Southern Africa in 1897 and was listed as a metallurgist.¹⁶⁷ Seemingly they tried their hand at diamond mining at Kimberley. Indeed Frank was a member of the Kimberley Town Guard in 1899 when the town was under siege from the Boers.¹⁶⁸ Later, apparently he was to fight in the Great War.¹⁶⁹ Their entrepreneurial zeal was not solely confined to the pursuit of precious rocks apparently as, one or both of them, may have endeavoured to master the Rhodesian soil. There is a location near Kadoma in modern day Zimbabwe; it seems it took its name from a townland in Ireland, a townland called Clonmoran.¹⁷⁰ Clonmoran is a tract of land with associated buildings devoted to agriculture in the country of Zimbabwe.¹⁷¹ Throughout the period of this study the intention of the family was that the eldest son would inherit the family home. Primogeniture was practised and only for the demise of Richard P. and his brother William it was probable that John P. would not have inherited. Clonmoran passed to Richard J., John P.'s eldest son. Frank's wife and children returned home before him and resided at Blunden Villa while the house at Shellumsrath was being prepared.¹⁷² Later Frank would come into the possession of Shellumsrath, having returned from South Africa in 1920. He would return to the land.

As to the other children, Alice Mary had died as an infant, John P. junior became a priest and died in Australia and both Margaret and Eleanor entered Dublin convents. It is not known what happened to Henry. Mary Joseph remained at home all her life. The next chapter will look at how John P. made a living from farming before 1880. It will also consider a major investment in a landed estate, made in the middle of the nineteenth century, and its effects and consequences up until the Land War.

¹⁶⁷ *Journal of the South African institute of mining and metallurgy* (1906), p. 353 (<https://www.google.ie>) (16 Feb. 2014).

¹⁶⁸ Photograph of Kimberley Town Guard 1899 JPH (HP).

¹⁶⁹ Interview with Frances Shortall –Taylor, grand-daughter of F. X. Hyland (31 May 2013).

¹⁷⁰ (<http://www.gazetteering.com>) (16 Feb. 2014).

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Interview with Shortall –Taylor.

Plate 4.7 Kimberley (South Africa) Town Guard photograph (1899) F. X. Hyland, front row, third from left



Source: Hyland Papers

CHAPTER 5

Estate and Farm, 1855-79

John Patrick Hyland, 1855-79

John P. Hyland embarked on the most productive period of his life following the death of his brothers, Richard in 1854, and William a year later. In 1855 he was 28 years of age and had reached a point of maturity. How would he respond to the challenges that lay ahead of him? In the next twenty five years he would have to make his own decisions without the influence, or assistance, of his elder brother Richard. In the quarter of a century that would follow, he would marry twice, losing his first wife and child, and then remarry having ten children, with all, but one surviving infancy.

Now that their association with the spirit trade was coming to an end, the Hylands had to decide on future investments. The estate lands were purchased by his mother in 1856 prior to John P.'s marriage in early 1859.

The Estate

William Makepeace Thackeray (1811-63), the British novelist, travelled through the Walsh Mountains in south Kilkenny in 1842.¹ He found it a curious country; he wrote: 'gentlemen dare not live there'.² The place, he states, 'was originally tenanted by a clan of Welshes; hence its name; and they maintain themselves in their occupancy of the farms in Tipperary fashion, by simply putting a ball into the body of any man who would come to take a farm over any one of them'.³

Eleanor Hyland (c.1789-1869), nee Walsh (Walshe, Walshe, Welsh, Welshe or Welch were often interchangeable), was a member of a farming family with a history of a large landholding.⁴ The lands of Earlsrath, the home farm, and Ballyluskey townland or Burntown (as it was called in an eighteenth century Walsh document) were in their

¹ *Oxford dictionary of English*, p. 1826.

² W. M. Thackeray, *The Irish Sketchbook of 1842* (London, 1842), p. 44.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Eleanor's birth year was possibly c.1786 according to her son's diary 18 June F7 JPH (HP).

possession. Earlsrath, the homestead, is located about one mile north of Mullinavat in the same Walsh Mountains; the townland of Ballyluskey, also a Walsh property, lies between Earlsrath and the village. Mullinavat is about twenty miles from Kilkenny city in the southern part of the county, and about ten miles from the city of Waterford.

Following the death of her son Richard, the distiller, in 1854, aged about 36 years, Eleanor became the principal beneficiary of his will.⁵ Thus the holdings he had in the distillery at Monasterevin and elsewhere passed largely to her. Whether or not her youngest son, John P., was acting for his mother at this time is not clear. Certainly the Hylands had a desire to acquire land in south County Kilkenny, in the general area near the Walsh homestead, as noted in John P. Hyland's letter book. The Walshs were well known and it would seem popular. They were pillars of the local rural community of the Mullinavat area. This old popularity within the community clearly was a consideration for the ascendancy landlords. The Walsh Mountains could be an unruly place and the presence of influential families such as the Walshs and the Aylwards (an equivalent Catholic family with large land holdings who were intermarried with the Walshs) was important in order to preserve stable relations within the community.

William Carrigan, writing at the turn of the twentieth century, says that 'the Walshs of Earlsrath lately became extinct, were an old family, and charitable, and greatly respected. Miss Alice Walsh (Eleanor's sister), the last of them, (died 1884, aged 91) 'founded and endowed the present Convent of Mount St Joseph, Mullinavat'.⁶ The Holy Faith Sisters came to Mullinavat after much lobbying by Alice Walsh's nephew, John Carroll.⁷

It is possible that some of these newly acquired estate lands may have been historically in the Walshs' possession; this may be one explanation for the Hylands' motivation to purchase land in this locality. It appears to be more than coincidental that the lands purchased were partly in the same home parish of the Walshs – the parish of Mullinavat. Or perhaps they simply had a wish for land in the Walsh Mountain area.

⁵ Will of Richard P. Hyland (19 May 1854) RPH (HP).

⁶ Carrigan, *History and antiquities*, iv, p. 172.

⁷ Jacinta Prunty, *Margaret Aylward 1810-1889: lady of charity, sister of faith* (2nd ed., Dublin, 2011), p. 155.

Indeed the interest in the area may have been simply because there happened to be estates for sale in the area at the time.

Encumbered Estates

In that regard, in 1856, Hyland wrote to his solicitor Connel Loughnan in reference to a property at Ballynooney, Mullinavat (adjacent to Earlsrath) for sale in the Encumbered Estates Court.⁸ This again points to a desire to acquire lands near the Walsh homestead. The lands at Ballynooney, in two lots, contained over 1300 acres, and were the property of John Greene M.P.; Hyland requested Loughnan to make enquiries about Ballynooney to Greene's solicitor, and although he considered offering £4300 for the estate, nothing came of it. When one considers, as shall be shown, what was subsequently paid for some 750 acres, this appears to have been a bargain, even if it was an opening bid and allowing for any possible factors that would have told against this property, such as land quality.

In the court of the commissioners for the sale of encumbered estates in Ireland a further property in County Kilkenny was offered for sale in six lots, the Hylands, specifically Eleanor, purchased the first three lots.⁹ Mr Loughnan (the Hylands' solicitor) was reported as having made the purchase.¹⁰ This property was called the Bishop's Hall estate. The Encumbered Estates Court was established under the Encumbered Estates Act of 1848.¹¹ It was enacted to facilitate the sale of insolvent landed estates whose owners had been bankrupted by the Famine.¹² It was the government's hope that new investors from outside Ireland would invest.¹³ The reality was that most of the capital came from Irish purchasers, largely those like the Hylands who had made most of their money from trade and who saw an opportunity to purchase land when it was relatively inexpensive. The opportunity to invest presented itself and the Hyland's chose land as their principal investment. Inheriting Richard's fortune following his death in 1854,

⁸ 25 Feb. 1856 B2 190-1 JPH (HP).

⁹ *KJ*, 7 June 1856; *FJ*, 7 May 1856.

¹⁰ *KJ*, 5 June 1856.

¹¹ 12 & 13 Vic. c. 77.

¹² Lindsay Proudfoot, 'Encumbered Estates Court' in S. J. Connolly (ed.), *OCIH* (2nd ed., Oxford, 2004), p. 180.

¹³ Jackson, *Ireland 1798-1998*, p. 77.

and possibly adding some of their own, they had the means to speculate when speculation in land seemed safe and timely.

This sale under the Encumbered Estates Act took place by public auction at the Commissioner's Court, Henrietta Street, Dublin, on 20 June 1856. It was formerly the property of Sir John Newport, baronet, deceased and was now held in trust by Hugh Greene, the surviving devisee. John Hawtrey Jones and John Newport were the petitioners - creditors who petitioned the court for a sale. The creditors could do so where the debt was more than half the net yearly rent.¹⁴

Sir John Newport (1756-1843) was a Waterford politician and banker, from a family of dissenters, he had supported the Catholic Relief Acts before becoming M.P. for Waterford from 1803 until 1832 during which time he supported Catholic Emancipation.¹⁵ During the premiership of Lord Grenville, 1806-7, Newport was appointed chancellor of the Irish exchequer. His wife predeceased him and he died childless.

All the lots of Newport's estate purchased by the Hylands were held in 'fee-simple', which meant that the Hylands had an absolute right of ownership. The first lot was the townland of Kilmakevoge. It was producing a net yearly rent of £136 13s. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. The newspaper notice informed the reader that Kilmakevoge 'adjoins the high road leading from Waterford to New Ross and is distant eight miles from the city of Waterford and four miles from New Ross'.¹⁶ The second lot offered was the townland of Rathnasmolagh, located 'four miles from Waterford and adjoins the high road from that city leading from that city to the town of Innistogue (sic)'.¹⁷ It produced a net yearly rent of £122 18s. 1d. The third lot consisted of the townland of Farnoge East and part of the townland of Fahy with a total net value of £100 1s. 9d. Therefore the total rent of the land purchased by Eleanor Hyland amounted to almost £360 per annum with a total

¹⁴ Proudfoot, 'Encumbered Estates Court', p. 181.

¹⁵ Bridget Hourican, 'Newport, Sir John' in *DIB* (24 Nov. 2013).

¹⁶ *KJ*, 7 June 1856.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

acreage a little over 750. In 1876, twenty years later, the valuation of the property was put at £337 5s.¹⁸

Farnoge, the notice in the *Kilkenny Journal* stated, was situated on the roadside leading from the city of Waterford to Inistiogue, seven miles from the city. With reference to the townland of Fahy, the notice said it was five miles from Waterford and one mile from Farnoge. All the lands were in the barony of Ida in County Kilkenny. There may have been an exception to this assertion as one source states that Farnoge East was in Rossinan parish, in Knocktopher barony.¹⁹ Rathnasmolagh was in Dunkitt civil parish where Bigwood was a subdivision.²⁰ Kilmakevoge was in Kilmakevoge parish and Fahy was in Gaulskill civil parish.²¹

The advertisement of the sale stated that the ‘land in these townlands is in general good light soil, resting on a shingle subsoil, and capable of much improvement by thorough drainage’.²² It went on to say that ‘the farms are in good order, the tenants are industrious and respectable, and the rents well-paid’.²³ These auctioneer’s recommendations, in terms of both the tenantry and the land quality, were undoubtedly exaggerated as will become obvious. Undoubtedly it was in the seller’s interest to ‘talk-up’ the property, and whether the Hylands believed the promotion or not, the estate was purchased.

Eleanor Hyland had the ownership of 759 or 756 acres (depending on which source is referenced) of this estate, formerly known as the Bishop’s Hall property in south Kilkenny.²⁴ Her son John P. was also actively involved in the business of the estate. Connell Loughnan was John P. Hyland’s solicitor and he noted that the stamp duty to be paid for conveyance of the estate was 10%.

¹⁸ *Landowners in Ireland* (1876) *Return of owners of land of one acre and upwards in the several counties, counties of cities, and counties of towns in Ireland* (2nd ed., Baltimore, 1988), p. 38.

¹⁹ O’Kelly, *Place names*, p. 119.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.106.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

²² *KJ*, 7 June 1856.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Assignment deed to J. P. Hyland, 1860 JPH (HP), calculates approximately as 759 acres while *Landowners in Ireland* (1876) has 756 acres in J. P. Hyland’s ownership.

It is evident from his ledger entry that in 1856, if Hyland had not acquired his mother's interest in the estate, he was a serious participant in the management of her affairs, if not acting for her, he did so by expending the following sums: Kilmackevoge £2750, Rathnasmolagh £2350 and Farnoge East £1925.²⁵ The townland of Fahy is not mentioned in this list; it was likely included with the figure for Farnoge East. The part of Fahy that the Hylands purchased was known as Folk's mill.²⁶ These figures look like the purchase price; though the evidence is not quite clear it is probable that this was Eleanor's money, otherwise how would she have come into the possession of these estate lands? Later, in a letter to an Arthur Dillon J.P. about shooting rights, Hyland refers to 'his property at Tory Hill'.²⁷ Tory Hill is partly in the townland of Farnoge.²⁸ Tory Hill is to the right of the Waterford to Kilkenny road seen when travelling from Waterford, about seven miles away. Much of the land was in an elevated position as Tory Hill, a dominant feature, rose from the surrounding countryside.

In reference to lot 5 of the Bishop's Hall estate, the tenants were liable to the payment of a tithe rent.²⁹ This fact is pertinent when one comes to assessing John P.'s involvement in this estate. Hyland's letter book is full of references to 'Labouchere drainage', this seems to be a land drainage scheme established during the Famine as a relief measure, named after the chief secretary for Ireland (1846), Henry Labouchere (1798-1869), later Baron Taunton. It appears there was a pre-existing loan or charge on the estate for this drainage project. Hyland wrote to the crown and treasury solicitor in regard to 'Labouchere drainage'.³⁰ As well as this issue, he wrote letters protesting over the additional costs he had to pay in tithe charges.

Under the Tithe Rent Charge Act of 1838 the charge was payable by the landlord.³¹ Hyland was disputing these charges, in a number of letters, claiming that the figures involved were erroneous, and that he (and his mother) was not solely liable for these costs. In the encumbered estates auction documentation for the Bishop's Hall estate the

²⁵ 7 July 1856 E6 JPH (HP).

²⁶ 22 Dec. 1856 B2 215 JPH (HP).

²⁷ 16 Sept. 1856 B2 207 JPH (HP).

²⁸ O'Kelly, *Place names*, p.105.

²⁹ *KJ*, 7 June 1856.

³⁰ 4 Nov. 1859 B2 241 JPH (HP).

³¹ S. J. Connolly, (ed.), 'Tithes' in *OCIH* (2nd ed., Oxford, 2004), p. 573.

summary of lots sets out the tithe rent charge and other deductions for each townland.³² Furthermore in the conditions of sale in relation to lot 3, specifically the portion of the lands of Fahy, the purchaser's obligations with regard to 'Labourchiere'[sic] drainage were made clear. This pertained to a rent charge of £1 11s. 6d. payable from 5 April 1848 for twenty two years.³³

Table 5.1 Extract from Summary of Lots in Encumbered Estates Documentation for the Bishop's Hall estate (1856)

Townlands & Acres	Yearly rent	Tithe rent	Net	Griffith's Valuation
Kilmakevoge 210	147 7 5	10 14 6 ¼	136 12 10	131 10 0
Rathnasmolagh 265	134 0 0	11 1 11	122 18 1	96 17 0
Farnoge & Fahy 284	106 2 9	5 6 0	100 16 9	109 1 0

Source: Rental and Particulars for the Bishop's Hall estate in the private possession of Michael O'Dwyer, College Gardens, Kilkenny.

The monies involved were relatively small, no more than £11 in any case, but the resolving of these problems exercised Hyland and he persistently corresponded about them. It is evident from this section of his records that Hyland was thorough in his financial management.

Money borrowed under 'Labouchere's drainage' was featured in other Encumbered Estate sales, as the sale of the estate of one Thomas Scott Esq, in County Down,

³² Summary of Lots in Encumbered Estates Auction Rental and Particulars for the Bishop's Hall estate (1856) courtesy of Michael O'Dwyer, College Gardens, Kilkenny.

³³ Conditions of Sale in Rental and Particulars for the Bishop's Hall estate (1856) courtesy of Michael O'Dwyer, College Gardens, Kilkenny.

demonstrates.³⁴ The *Freeman's Journal* carried the notice revealing that this loan was 'expended on the premises' and would be 'redeemed out of the purchase money'.³⁵

When the estate was purchased in 1856 the leasehold interest of the tenants was laid out in the auction particulars (See Table 5.2 below). For those who had them, leases were for thirty-one years and would have expired in 1873 after the Land Act of 1870.

Table 5.2 Extract from Encumbered Estates Particulars Bishop's Hall estate (1856)

Townland	Tenant	Acreage	Lease Date	Tenure
		A R P		
Kilmakevoge	McGrath	46 2 39	1842	31
	Aylward	44 3 2	1842	31
	Delaney	62 3 7	1842	31
	Gahan	56 0 30	1842	31
Rathnasmolagh	Power	68 3 39	1842	31
	Power	32 2 14		Yearly
	Durney	66 1 19	1842	31
	Durney	33 1 28		Yearly
	Doherty	65 3 36	1842	31
Farnoge	Power J.	113 2 17		Yearly
	Hynes	97 0 19		Yearly
	Forristal	41 1 4		Yearly
	Hynes	2 3 33		Yearly
Fahy	Ryan	29 2 8		Yearly

Source: Rental and Particulars for the Bishop's Hall estate in the private possession of Michael O'Dwyer, College Gardens, Kilkenny.

³⁴ *FJ*, 17 May 1852.

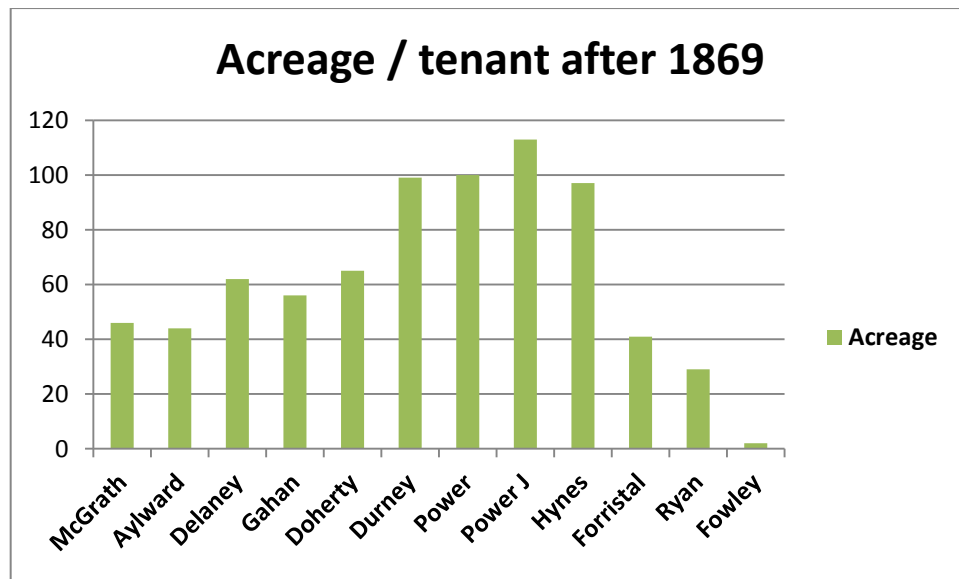
³⁵ *Ibid.*

Hyland had eleven tenants on the estate when it was purchased in 1856. This increased to twelve in 1869 when Hynes' holding became Ribby's, and Fowley's plot was treated separately with a weekly rent. Hyland noted these facts in his rent ledger:

On 23 October 1869 Hynes gave up possession of his farm and also of 'Fowley's holding' – I then put his son-in law, Michael Ribby into possession at the annual rent of £31 17s. 2d., his abatement of £2 being made on account of 'Fowley's holding'.³⁶

Fowley's inclusion in the estate statistics distorts them somewhat. In 1856 the eleven tenants had an average of 68 acres with an average valuation of £28 and they paid an average of £34 in rent. After 1869, when Fowley's plot is distinguished, the averages are 63 acres, £25 and £31 respectively.

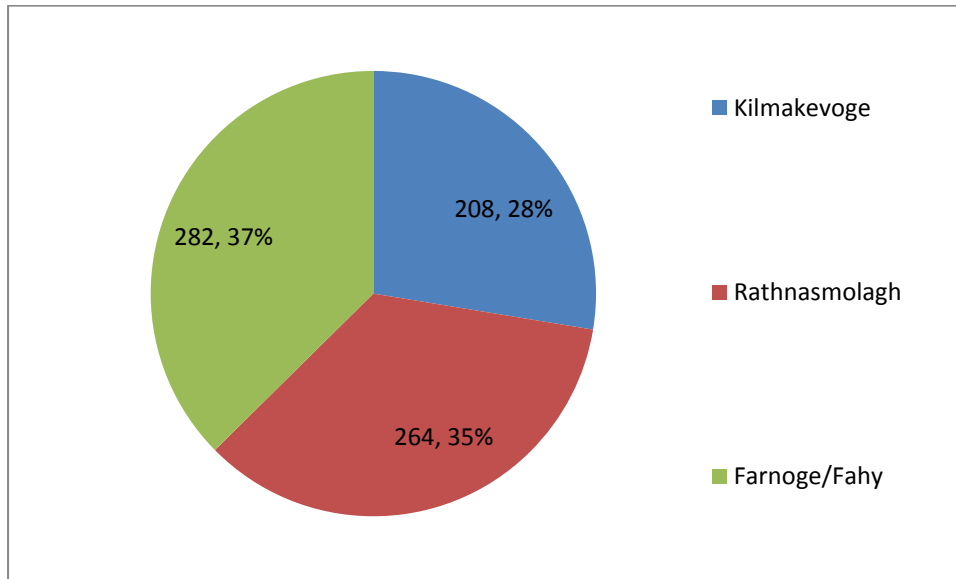
Chart 5.1 Relationship between the tenants and the approximate acreage of holdings on Hyland's estate



Source: Data abstracted from Hyland Papers

³⁶ G5 92 JPH (HP).

Chart 5.2 Approximate acreage of estate townlands



Source: Data abstracted from Hyland Papers

Rent arrears provide the best indication of the landlord/tenant relationship during this period. The data set out in the following three tables was abstracted from John P. Hyland's rent ledger. It demonstrates the position of the tenants with regard to the rent they owed on a year by year basis. The figures highlighted in red (in Tables 5.3-.5 following) indicate the amount of greatest indebtedness incurred by the tenant to the landlord. Three tables are used to distinguish each townland or townland group; this methodology shows that the landlord had a slightly different policy when it came to his tenants in Farnoge and Fahy.

Table 5.3 Arrears in Kilmakevoge (1856-79)

All figures
approximate
values (£)

<u>Kilmakevoge</u>	McGrath	Aylward	Delaney	Gahan
Valuation	32	28	38	32
Rent	30	32	44	20

ARREARS

1856	0	0	0	0
1857	0	0	0	0
1858	0	6	0	0
1859	6	25	0	0
1860	6	26	12	7
1861	11	22	15	20
1862	21	32	21	6
1863	22	47	34	20
1864	30	48	0	20
1865	36	39	0	23
1866	25	16	44	30
1867	30	16	67	33
1868	30	16	67	37
1869	45	16	66	40
1870	48	32	65	40
1871	0	32	78	45
1872	0	0	0	0
1873	0	0	0	0
1874	0	0	0	0
1875	0	0	0	0
1876	0	0	0	0
1877	0	0	0	0
1878	0	0	0	0
1879	0	0	0	0

Source: Data abstracted from Hyland Papers NB red figures indicate greatest arrears

In the first year and a half of Hyland's ownership arrears were nil in all cases. In Kilmakevoge, the Aylward holding was the first to be in arrears in 1858. Aylward's

arrears rose each year until 1864 when Hyland allowed an abatement; the rent unpaid had reached approximately £48, this equated to a year and a half's rent unpaid. Thereafter it stabilised somewhat until 1871 when the rent was forgiven. All the tenants in the townland of Kilmakevoge were forgiven their arrears in 1871. This followed the introduction of Gladstone's first Land Act the previous year. In 1879 also abatements of 15 to 20 % (on March rents) were given to the tenants on account of the bad season. For most of the 1870s rents appear to have been paid in full by all the tenants in Kilmakevoge.

In Rathnasmolagh a similar policy was carried out by the landlord. Hyland forgave arrears in 1871 to the tenants there, and again, as a consequence of the bad season in 1879 the tenants got a reduction of 20 %.

The situation was different in Farnoge and Fahy. Tenants here were more compliant and were, for the most part, rarely in arrears. The tenants in these townlands did not receive any concession in 1871. Throughout the 1870s all rents were paid up. A clear pattern emerges across the estate, especially in relation to the 1870s when all rents were paid following the concessions given in 1871 in some instances. In addition, up to 1870 Hyland appeared to have been collecting the rent himself, at least accounting for it. After that date he employed James Kearney of Grace Dieu, Waterford to manage the accounts and take control of rent collection. Hyland wrote 'Mr Kearney collects the rents from 18th April 1871' and thereafter the rental was copied into Hyland's rent ledger from the information that was furnished by Kearney.³⁷ This may have had an effect on the efficiency of the estate management and may have altered the way the tenants regarded their obligations. Nevertheless, as will be outlined in the next chapter, the impact of the poor season of 1879 and the Land War that followed did not make any exceptions of landlord or agent, and Kearney's influence, if he ever had any, was negated. On the whole the evidence of Hyland's rental demonstrates rising arrears in the 1860s, and following the concessions of 1871, no arrears for the rest of the 1870s.

³⁷ G5 3 JPH (HP).

Table 5.4 Arrears in Rathnasmolagh (1856-79)

<u>Rathnasmolagh</u>	Arrears (£)		
	Doherty	Durney	Power
Valuation	25	39	36
Rent	33	57	49
1856	0	0	0
1857	0	0	0
1858	9	0	0
1859	24	0	0
1860	25	0	14
1861	16	0	24
1862	29	3	14
1863	33	6	24
1864	33	7	24
1865	40	7	24
1866	50	7	24
1867	59	12	24
1868	62	26	31
1869	67	34	31
1870	68	37	48
1871	50	0	57
1872	0	0	0
1873	0	0	0
1874	0	0	0
1875	0	0	0
1876	0	0	0
1877	0	0	0
1878	0	0	0
1879	0	0	0

Source: Data abstracted from Hyland Papers NB red figures indicate greatest arrears

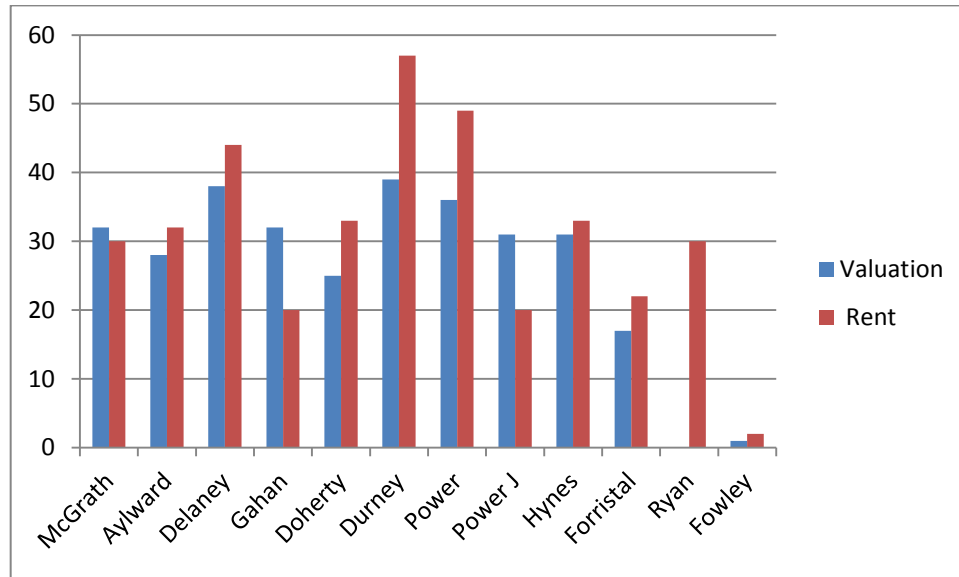
Table 5.5 Arrears in Farnoge and Fahy (1856-79)

Farnoge and Fahy

	J.Power	Hynes	Forristal	*Ryan	Fowley
Valuation	31	31	17		1
Rent	20	33	22	30	2
1856	0	0	0	0	0
1857	0	0	0	0	0
1858	0	0	0	0	0
1859	5	0	0	0	0
1860	10	0	0	15	0
1861	0	0	0	0	0
1862	0	0	0	30	0
1863	0	16	0	0	0
1864	0	16	0	0	0
1865	0	0	0	0	0
1866	0	0	0	0	0
1867	0	0	0	0	0
1868	0	16	0	0	0
1869	0	16	0	0	0
1870	0	0	2	0	0
1871	0	0	0	0	0
1872	0	0	0	0	0
1873	0	0	0	0	0
1874	0	0	0	0	0
1875	0	0	0	0	0
1876	0	0	0	0	0
1877	0	0	0	0	0
1878	0	0	0	0	0
1879	0	0	0	0	0

Source: Data abstracted from Hyland Papers NB red figures indicate greatest arrears

Chart 5.3 Relationship between rent and valuation on Hyland's estate to 1880



Source: Data abstracted from Hyland Papers

Rent exceeds the valuation of the holdings in most cases except that of McGrath, Gahan and Power (Rathnasmolagh). John Power in Farnoge East and part of Fahy had a lease for three lives or 31 years.³⁸ The lease was dated 29 September 1869.

Edward Forristal was allowed £3 2s. 9d. towards finishing a barn and £ 2 14s. 5d. for timber and tiles presumably for the same purpose.³⁹ He was given a 20% abatement in 1879 whereas the other Farnoge/Fahy tenants only received an abatement of 15% in that year.

³⁸ G5 81 JPH (HP).

³⁹ G5 104 JPH (HP).

Table 5.6 Concessions to tenants on the Hyland estate in 1871 and 1879

		1871	1879
		Arrears forgiven	Abatement
1	McGrath	(100%) of rent	15% on ½ year's rent
2	Aylward Ryan Fitzgerald	(100%) of rent	15% on ½ year's rent
3	Delaney	(150%) of rent	20% on ½ year's rent
4	Gahan	(112%) of rent	20% on ½ year's rent
5	Doherty	(150%) of rent	20% on ½ year's rent
6	Power	(100%) of rent	20% on ½ year's rent
7	Durney	(50 %) of rent	20% on ½ year's rent
8	Power (John) McCarthy	Nil	15% on ½ year's rent
9	Hynes Ribby	Nil	15% on ½ year's rent
10	Forristal	Nil	20% on ½ year's rent
11	Ryan (Thomas) Delahunty Fitzgerald (Michael)	Nil	15% on ½ year's rent
12	Fowley	Nil	Nil

Source: Data abstracted from Hyland Papers

The transition of tenantry in Hyland's estate was usually between family members. Holdings passed between relatives. One exception to this was the case of Ryan who, as the following extract shows, gave up his holding following a visit from the bailiffs.

The incident was prior to the agricultural depression of 1859-64. This was a singular case in Hyland's estate records where it is documented that the bailiffs were called in: 'Bailiffs fees 18s. paid by Ryan December 1st 1857 - Ryan gave up possession of the mill and lands and I gave possession of same to John Delahunty'.⁴⁰ Ryan was

⁴⁰ G5 113 JPH (HP).

compensated for his disturbance and he obtained from Delahunty ‘£50 in hand and a promissory note for £40 payable in 2 years’.⁴¹

Events here took a more sinister turn when on 20 April 1860, as Hyland records, the dwelling house and barn were maliciously burned and at the Summer Assizes Delahunty got £50 compensation from the Grand Jury. The occupier of this holding again was to prove troublesome for the landlord and on 10 April 1861 Hyland seized Delahunty’s stock for a year’s rent. Possibly at this stage the downturn in farming of 1859-64, which will be discussed later, was taking effect. Matters were then resolved and no further incident was recorded. On 18 March 1863, Michael Fitzgerald, Knockbrack (a nearby townland) purchased Delahunty’s interest in Folk’s mill, and he became Hyland’s tenant.⁴² This episode shows that from an early stage Hyland had no inhibitions in taking measures to secure his rent. It is also evident from the arson attack that someone was clearly unhappy with the occupancy of the townland of Fahy. Ryan’s holding was a particular case in another respect in that Hyland does not record a valuation for the property.

Legal Arrangements

A formal legal arrangement with his mother was entered into by Hyland on 3 March 1860.⁴³ This arrangement was formalized in a deed of trust. It would appear likely that this legal clarification of the state of affairs was necessitated by John P.’s marriage in 1859. Approximately a year before the legal document was drafted, he handed his mother a statement:

Statement handed to my mother after my marriage March 26 1859	£
Invested in land	7025 0 0
Erection of Athenaeum	1500 0 0
Invested in railways	1400 0 0

Received from tenants to the 29 th September 1858	614 1 3 ½

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² G5 113 JPH (HP).

⁴³ Deed of Trust Eleanor Hyland to John P. Hyland , 3 Mar. 1860 JPH (HP).

• Arrears due to same date		179 0 1

Receipts for three years to September 1858		
The farm		482 11 9
The estate		614 1 3
Oldis annuity		120 0 0
Athenaeum		30 7 6
	£	
<u>Expenditure</u>		
Mr Loughnan's costs	165	
Stamp duty	35	
Cathedral sub	20	
Christian Bros	20	
Dominican Church	35	
Dominicans Aunt Carroll	10	
Mary's [Nun's] reception	20	
Do. annual support	87 1 0	
Do. sundries	30 4 6	
Do. pocket money	23	
Income tax rent charge	69 10	
Cash to my mother	<u>139</u>	
	654 4 6	
	<u>592 16 0</u>	
	1247 0 6	

The figure for arrears here does not tally with the information in Hyland's rent ledger

This assignment, which was in essence a deed of trust, had specific terms written into the contract. The most pressing and immediate consideration for Hyland was that he would have to pay his mother £200 annually. This is reiterated in his own ledger: 'My mother having given me an assignment of the property, I am to pay her £200 a year on the 25th March & 29th September in each year'.⁴⁴ The money was to be paid for no more than ten years should she live that long.

The deed of trust informs us about the relationship between the parties as well as the facts of the situation.⁴⁵ Essentially, it refers to all the aforementioned lands of: Kilmackevoge amounting to 210 acres, 1 rood and 38 perches, part of Rathnasmolagh consisting of 265 acres and the townlands of Farnoge East and Fahy which contained 284 acres 2 roods and 1 perch (all in statute measure). The deed stipulated that these

⁴⁴ 17 Mar. 1860 E6 JPH (HP).

⁴⁵ Eleanor to J. P. Hyland Deed of Trust JPH (HP).

lands and premises were assigned and conveyed onto the said John P. Hyland, upon trust. Reference was made in the deed to ‘the jointure of the said John P. Hyland’s wife, if appointed,’ this was to ensure the inheritance of his legal issue should he die by giving rights to his spouse, presumably while the children were still minors. It also mentions, in relation to this aspect, a possible future wife, which was interesting given that Mary Joseph Hearne would die so soon after this document was drafted (or possibly, the state of her health was a factor that was considered).

Plate 5.1 Hyland plaque (1869), St. Mary’s Cathedral, Kilkenny (2014)



Source: Photograph by author

In a letter to his solicitor, Connell Loughnan, he outlined the content of the assignment; here he requests that the estate should revert to his mother should she survive him.⁴⁶ The deed itself goes on to state that should John P. die without legal issue the estate should go to his sister Margaret Cogan O’Gorman (c. 1824-87), of Ballyragget, County Kilkenny, wife of Patrick Cogan O’Gorman, and if she should die without legal issue

⁴⁶ 23 Jan. 1860 B2 243 JPH (HP).

the estate should be conveyed to the Roman Catholic bishop of Ossory and the parish priests of Mullinavat and Glenmore. From the earnings of the estate, the priests would have to say Mass once a week, in each parish, every year and keep £50 for themselves. The Masses were to be for the repose of the souls of Eleanor Hyland and her family. Of course, none of this came to pass, as has been shown above, but the intention was there.

A letter was drafted for John P. to his mother at the same time as the deed of trust. It went as follows:

My dear mother

As you have assigned to the house and lands of Castle Blunden, and also have conveyed under certain trusts the estate and lands of Kilmakevogue, Rathnasmolagh, and Farnogue and Fahy. I hereby undertake that you shall and may from henceforth reside and dwell in the same right as you do now in the dwelling house of Castle Blunden. In which place I promise to provide you with all necessary to support life as heretofore, you are to have as heretofore free access to the kitchen, you are to have your own room, the use of a woman servant, firing for your room, and the enjoyment of my table, and also a suitable mode of conveyance with a careful driver and a good horse whenever you may think proper to require such to drive when and where you please. And all this accommodation you are to have in addition to the £200 a year charged on the above estate. And should I hereafter [decide?] to sell or part with my interest in the house and lands of Castle Blunden, Shellumsrath, and Drakeland, I further promise not to dispose of same without giving you due notice and at the same time selling them to you at the same price that I may be disposed to take for them from any other person, in other words to give you a preference to any other buyer.⁴⁷

This legal agreement, however, did not run smoothly, nor did the terms of the trust.

John P. found it difficult to pay his mother the £200 he owed:

My mother having demanded money from me this day as well as a written acknowledgement for the money she handed me (£500) this day twelvemonth, I told her I would give her the price of my lambs (40) next month, and could give her no money at present, but not being satisfied with this arrangement, I handed her the title deeds of the property and told her I had no objection to her selling it in the courts. The deeds were the following: my Deed of Petition, Deed of Conveyance to my mother, Assignment from my mother to me.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ John P. Hyland to Eleanor Hyland, 3 March 1860 JPH (HP).

⁴⁸ 14 Feb. 1862 E6 JPH (HP).

Later he handed his mother £100 and a promissory note for £500 as follows: ‘I promise to pay my mother Mrs E. Hyland on demand, the sum of five hundred pounds sterling ... received John P. Hyland February 14th 1861’.⁴⁹ John P. made no further reference to the matter.

Eleanor died on 3 June 1869, not at Clonmoran, but at Hermitage on the other side of Kilkenny city.⁵⁰ John P. much later wrote that the cause of her death was ‘debility’.⁵¹ Sion Hermitage more than likely became the dower house after John P.’s marriage. After his mother’s demise, John P. wrote in his ledger:

My mother made no will but expressed a wish that Margaret (her daughter) was to have her property after paying Johanna Brophy £200
It was then decided that I was to give Margaret £450 and to pay half the funeral expenses.
The £450 was made up by Margaret as follows ½ my promissory note to my mother for £500 = £250 and balance due to my mother on a deed £200. Total £450 (This was paid in full by 29 Sept. 1871)⁵²

It is not clear who Johanna Brophy was, possibly a relative or a trusted servant.

Tenants

It is debatable whether or not that the Hylands would have been seen as, what Donnelly describes as ‘outside the ranks of the traditional landowning class’ given that the Walshs had a long-standing land holding association with the area.⁵³ Moreover, the fact that it was purchased by Eleanor Hyland (nee Walsh) may have mitigated such an opinion locally. Certainly, though the appellation might rightly be applicable, the Hylands likely saw themselves as more than mere ‘mercantile men who have saved money in trade and invest it for a safe percentage’.⁵⁴ The opinion of Hyland’s new tenants to their altered situation is difficult to gauge, as only Hyland’s evidence survives. This is not to suggest that one cannot assess (albeit with some uncertainty)

⁴⁹ 28 Mar. 1862 E6 JPH (HP).

⁵⁰ *KM*, 5 June 1869 (HP).

⁵¹ 18 June 1882 F7 JPH (HP).

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Donnelly *Irish potato famine*, pp 167-8.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.167: quoting A. M. Sullivan in *New Ireland*, i.

their position. Again, when Hyland's letter book is examined, it is clear that he moved to collect rent and arrears expeditiously if not always successfully.

The size of tenant holdings increased partly because of the Encumbered Estates Act of 1849 where landlords largely bankrupted by the Famine were forced to sell their estates.⁵⁵ Equally and much more extensively, the amalgamation of holdings occurred as a result of emigration, eviction and death where predominantly small farms and plots became part of the more middling farmers' holdings.

The fear of a recurrence of famine hung over the second half of the 1800s in Ireland with the practice of subdivision being abandoned and land and tenant rights becoming more and more important in all aspects of Irish social, economic and political life. The tenant farmers who had emerged after the Famine would rise socially, economically and politically in the mid-Victorian period and would later benefit from the Land Acts.

Early in their ownership of this estate, problems were already arising for the Hylands with their tenants; this is evidenced by the letters dispatched to tenants demanding rent. This of course coincided with an agricultural depression of 1859-64 when farming was very difficult due largely to climatic conditions. These initial letters were sent to Doherty, Delahunty and Aylward.⁵⁶ He wrote to Mr Peter Doherty, Rathnasmolagh. Doherty had paid £10 on a bill of £19 15s.; Hyland gave him a month's grace and then warned that he would apply interest.⁵⁷ The next year he wrote to Peter Doherty again when he stated I expect you will pay into the Provincial Bank in Waterford.⁵⁸ Once more in 1860, he wrote to Doherty, as follows:

I beg to inform you that the rent and arrears now due to you amounts to £62 18 9 and if you propose to continue my tenant you will require to make me an immediate payment of at least one half of this sum and give me good accounts for the balance- I also require you within one week to dispossess your tenant W[illia]m Lanigan to whom you have given liberty to erect a cabin on your land without my consent no matter what the character of this person.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Ibid., pp 164-8.

⁵⁶ B2 245-246 JPH (HP).

⁵⁷ 17 Mar. 1858 B2 232 JPH (HP).

⁵⁸ 26 May 1857 B2 220 JPH (HP).

⁵⁹ 4 May 1860 B2 248 JPH (HP).

Mary Aylward and Peter Doherty owed almost £115 by 25 March 1860.⁶⁰ On April 6 1861 Hyland threatened Doherty with the Sheriff.⁶¹ On 3 February 1862 he threatened him with 'ejection'.⁶² This threat was not carried out.

Hyland, evidently, at this time, was interested in improving his land when he wrote to David Hewitson, Bishop's Hall, a seed merchant, and requested that he would supply Peter Doherty, Rathnasmolagh, with 200 barrels of lime 'for which if not paid by him, I (Hyland) shall be accountable'.⁶³ It was unlikely that Doherty would have paid for the lime given that he had difficulty in paying his rent.

Hyland, in a letter to John Phelan, Mullinavat, refers to John Delahunty, as 'my late tenant'.⁶⁴ As we have seen Hyland had seized Delahunty's stock in lieu of rent owed in 1861. The context of this particular letter was the return, by Hyland, of a promissory note payable by Delahunty to Phelan; in concluding, Hyland stated that if Phelan had any claim on him he was to put his case in the hands of his solicitor and 'substantiate it'.⁶⁵

For Hyland the business of the estate involved primarily the collection of rent and its organization. It also involved the payment of whatever charges and taxes that were payable by him (the owner). The day to day running of the farms was to a great degree a matter for the tenants. Hyland had a land agent, certainly from 1871, as well as a solicitor who conducted his business; he was, to a large extent, at a remove from the tenants. His residence at Clonmoran also was over twenty miles distant; therefore, most of his personal contact was by mail. He also made appointments with tenants occasionally in Waterford. The tenants in Rathnasmolagh and Kilmakevoge were told in a letter from Hyland, via Edward Elliott, a Waterford solicitor, to allow, whomsoever he (Hyland) appointed to inspect their leases.⁶⁶ The tenants were John Durney, Peter Doherty, Thomas Power, Richard McGrath, Patrick Delaney, Michael

⁶⁰ 13 Apr. 1860 B2 246 JPH (HP).

⁶¹ 6 Apr. 1861 B2 254 JPH (HP).

⁶² 3 Feb. 1862 B2 259-60 JPH (HP).

⁶³ 15 Mar. 1863 B2 263 JPH (HP).

⁶⁴ 25 Aug. 1863 B2 265 JPH (HP).

⁶⁵ 25 Aug. 1863 B2 266 JPH (HP).

⁶⁶ 13 May 1860 B2 249 JPH (HP).

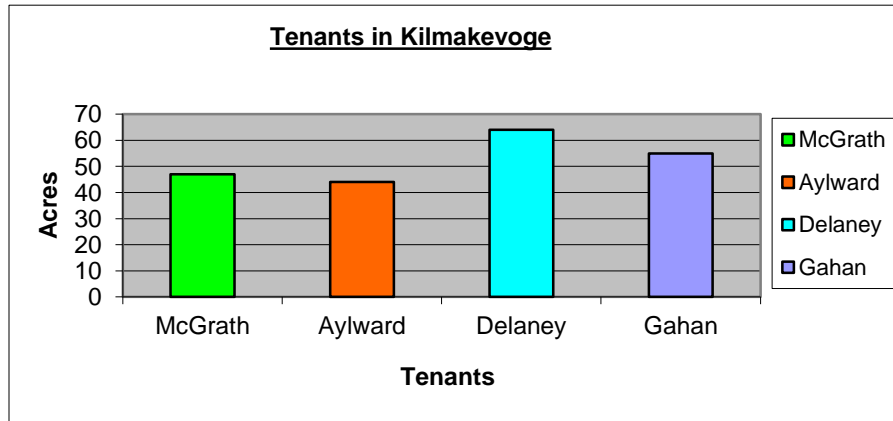
Gahan and Mary Aylward. Later we will see that there was some confusion about leases in the estate.

Kilmakevoge

The townland of Kilmakevoge lies within the Walsh mountain area of south Kilkenny and incorporates part of the present village of Glenmore. As will be demonstrated in the next chapter, it was a distinctive townland within the estate. It was topographically different in that it was flat land in comparison with the sloping contours that skirted the leeward side of Tory Hill. Kilmakevoge was relatively less remote. Its superiority was reflected in the fact that it had the highest valuation rate per acre in the estate. The farmland in Kilmakevoge would have had a multi-purpose usage. Livestock farming including dairying, cattle rearing and sheep production would have been practiced. Arable farming in this area, though not widely practiced today would have contributed significantly to the income of the farms both in terms of cash crops and fodder crops to feed livestock. Generally oats, wheat and barley would have been the cereals grown along with the root crops of potatoes, turnips and mangels.

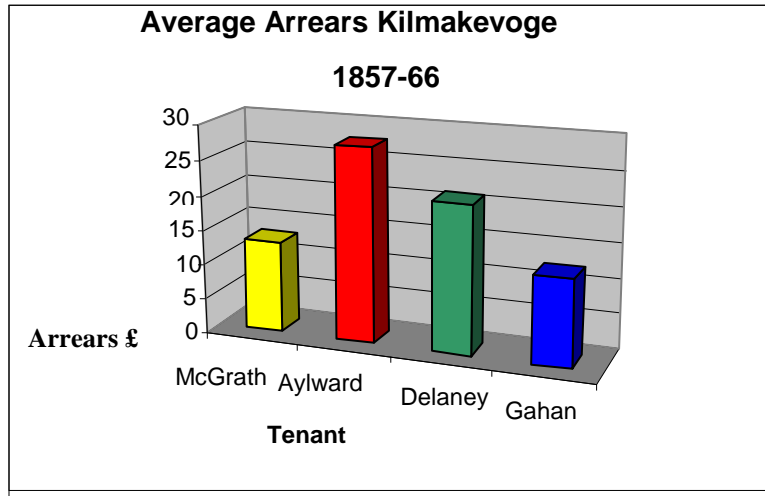
With regard to Kilmackevoge, the townland comprised about 210 acres in statute measure all of which were in the estate of John P. Hyland. The tenants were as follows: Richard McGrath holding forty-seven acres; Mary Aylward with forty-four; Patrick Delaney with a holding of sixty-four acres and Michael Gahan with fifty-five. These were reasonably sized holdings and they may have also held land from other landlords.

Chart 5.4 Tenant acreage in Kilmakevoge (1856)



Source: Data abstracted from Hyland Papers

Chart 5.5 Average arrears in Kilmakevoge (1857-66)



Source: Data abstracted from Hyland Papers. All acres quoted are converted to decimals from the original acres, roods and perches.

The tenants in Kilmakevoge held similar sized holdings. In the nineteenth century, these holdings would have been above the average farm size. The above chart shows that Mrs Aylward was the tenant with the highest arrears in Kilmakevoge in the years 1857-66. Note (later it will be evident) that Mrs Aylward does not feature as a tenant in the 1880 -1917 period.

His tenants were also important for him on another level. When his wife died, he paid their travelling expenses to her funeral. Their attendance was important enough to warrant the payment of their expenses. In his grief he felt it necessary for the tenants to be seen as publically supportive of their landlord.

From John Durney, Rathnasmolagh he learned that John's son was getting married and that he wanted a new lease. In a negative reply to the letter, Hyland wanted to know whether he intended to divide the land and let him know that he will not supply slates or timber for a house'.⁶⁷ Despite the problems he had with some tenants, he appeared to be on somewhat better terms with others. The tone he adopted with Thomas Power, Rathnasmolagh, is also less abrasive, even though he owed a balance of about £14. He may have felt that Power was making an effort to pay. A further indication of a civil relationship was contained in the letter when Hyland referred to livestock transactions between them. He wrote 'I cannot let you have any calves this year as I have given some away to my own friends, and am rearing a good many myself.'⁶⁸

Hyland ordered a field gate from T. Condon, Waterford with the possibility of purchasing a further two pairs.⁶⁹ This was possibly for Clonmorán, Shellumsrath or the Drakeland farm, although the supplier's location in Waterford might suggest usage on the estate.

In 1863 he wrote to another tenant who was proving troublesome, Richard McGrath of Kilmakevoge, he reminded McGrath that he had reneged on a promise he made to pay £6 rent within a month, it was now two months later. Hyland stated that McGrath had his land 'considerably under Griffith's Valuation' and that he warned he would 'sell his

⁶⁷ 11Feb 1862 B2 260 JPH (HP).

⁶⁸ 8 Apr. 1862 B2 261 JPH (HP).

⁶⁹ 5 May 1862 B2 261 JPH (HP).

interest to a more satisfactory tenant'.⁷⁰ Again Hyland took a stern approach to his tenants and was ready to issue ultimatums, if not always acting on them.

Clearly, from the outset the investment in the estate was problematic especially in regard to the tenant's arrears. The total possible annual gross rental income was about £370. The initial investment was heavy at over £7000. Considering the various reductions, allowances and abatements this would at best have yielded about £300 or 5% per annum without subtracting the expenses that would be incurred. If it had been invested in some alternative enterprise, perhaps it would have yielded a better financial return. The slate quarry's turnover (see Chapter 1) indicates that return on investment was significantly better from that enterprise three decades previously. On the other hand, as we have also seen in previous chapters, viable investment opportunities were limited in many respects, particularly in a local context and bad debts were likely to accrue in whatever enterprise they embarked on. They chose to invest in land.

Home and Farm 1855-79

It was said that during wintertime John P. Hyland (1827-1917) resided in Friary Street, then known as Walkin Street, in Kilkenny.⁷¹ This residence possibly was where the spirit store was located. Nevertheless, he gave up possession of 'the store' to a Mrs Ryder in 1858.⁷² And yet he 'agreed with Mr John Cody for a premises nearby in Pennefeather Lane' at the same time, so perhaps this was the residence thought to have been in Friary Street.⁷³ Pennefeather Lane adjoined and ran parallel to Walkin Street. However, the premises may only have been used as stabling for his horses.⁷⁴ In any case, he had moved away from selling spirits and his business instincts led him to invest in the rebuilding of the old Kilkenny theatre on the Parade.

While his business life centred on Kilkenny city, his farming interest and principal residence lay on its outskirts. Did the farm fund in anyway his business activities? Or did his business interests subsidise his farming activities? The book accounts show that household expenses were accounted with farming outgoings.

⁷⁰ 13 Oct. 1863 B2 268 JPH (HP).

⁷¹ Information from the author's father, Seán Hyland.

⁷² 24 Sept. 1858 'Inside cover' E6 JPH (HP).

⁷³ 29 Sept. 1858 'Inside cover' E6 JPH (HP).

⁷⁴ 4 Dec. 1862 E6 JPH (HP): 'John Cody two years rent of stable'.

Family lore also says he, as an old man certainly, was ‘constantly praying’.⁷⁵ This is further evidence of a continuity of religiosity in the Hyland family. It was also said that he would be at the lawn gates of Clonmoran early in the morning to supervise the arrival of the workers.⁷⁶ It is, however, from the evidence of his journals and ledgers that we know most about him, and not from family tradition. They reveal that if not ‘constantly’ writing, he certainly devoted a considerable amount of time to the recording of his farming activities in his farm ledgers. He also, in the latter half of his life, kept diaries with sporadic entries which have also survived. Much of his ledgers are concerned with the business of farming and as such offer a useful and rare insight into Irish agriculture in the second half of the nineteenth century.

He was very much a ‘gentleman farmer’ as he delegated all the farm chores to his staff, but he also was very much in control of every financial transaction and every farming operation. His ledgers record every payment received for farm produce and every penny expended. He was absolutely involved in every purchase and sale. Hyland, the ledgers suggest, was present at every significant event possible. He had knowledge of every deal, selecting and selling stock, paying and supervising the farm workers. In 1917 his obituary in a local newspaper said ‘he was one of the most progressive agriculturalists in the county’.⁷⁷ Most of all he put pen to paper and wrote down all farm and household transactions. As will be further demonstrated, through his book-keeping his farming methods may be characterized, but firstly, how may his account keeping be characterized?

⁷⁵ Information from the author’s mother Sheila Hyland, recounted by her mother- in-law M. A. Hyland, a daughter- in-law of John P. Hyland.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ *KJ*, 6 Jan. 1917.

Plate 5.2 The lawn gates at Clonmoran from a photograph (c. 1915)



Source: Hyland Papers

The Account Books and the Accountant

Hyland in some of his ledgers detailed his business and estate activities, banking, travelling, and personal expenses. These ledgers were distinct from his farm accounts and in two account books, the profit and loss accounts of the farm (Clonmoran, Shellumsrath and Drakeland Middle townlands) may be ascertained over a period of twenty-four years, from 1856-79. The first book details 1856-63 and the second accounts for the years 1864-79.⁷⁸ JPH (he was fond of using his monogram) was meticulous in his recording of his financial transactions; even the smallest amounts of monies paid or earned were noted. This included donations to charity, notably donations to the Catholic Church. It is evident from Hyland's ledgers that he was anxious to balance his accounts. He was careful to document all his transactions. It was a matter of routine for him.

His accounting practice and methodology may be attributed to his business background. Typically, three to ten entries were recorded each month with the busiest periods reflected in the number of transactions entered. Within each dated entry, often

⁷⁸ JPH E4 and JPH F12 respectively (HP).

there were several transactions. If, for example, staff wages were being paid on a particular day there would be a list of names. It would not be unusual for a number of transactions to occur on the same day. In his farm account books, he does not refer to the Athenaeum or his other investments. Nor does he record information in these ledgers about his rental income from the estate; he simply records his farm business and his household expenses, which were deducted from farm income.

Farming Business

In 1876, J. P. Hyland was listed as the owner of 756 acres; this figure refers to the estate in the parishes of Mullinavat and Glenmore in south Kilkenny.⁷⁹ In the eyes of his tenants, he was their landlord. However, Hyland was also a tenant in his own right of some 230 acres. This consisted of his home farm at Clonmoran (Castle Blunden) (approximately 125 acres), which he held from Sir John Blunden, Castle Blunden; he held Shellumsrath (approximately 60 acres, at this stage) from Thomas Neville of Borrismore House, Johnstown, County Kilkenny and Drakeland (Drakeland Middle) (approximately 45 acres) from Miss Sarah Bibby of Kilkenny until 1875.

W. E. Vaughan has observed that ‘one of the paradoxes of Irish rural society was that while most tenants were small and most estates large, much of the actual area of the country was occupied by large tenant farmers’.⁸⁰

Thomas Neville was later succeeded in his ownership of Shellumsrath by his son-in-law Joseph Th[e]acker, son of the Venerable Archdeacon of Ossory.⁸¹ The Bibbys were originally woollen millers and later merchants in High Street, Kilkenny. A member of this family, Thomas Bibby (1799-1863) was a noted poet.⁸² In a letter to Connell Loughnan, Hyland explained that he has leases for Castle Blunden and Shellumsrath but only has a letter for Miss Sarah Bibby for Drakeland. The letter was from Sarah Bibby to Laurence Hyland in which, she stated ‘I allow you Mr Hyland to have your

⁷⁹ Landowners in Ireland (1876); see also U. H. Hussey De Burgh, *The landowners of Ireland: an alphabetical list of the owners of estates of 500 acres or £500 valuation and upwards in Ireland* (Dublin, 1878), p. 336.

⁸⁰ W. E. Vaughan, *Landlords and tenants in Ireland 1848-1904* (Dundalgon, 1984), p. 5.

⁸¹ Bernard Burke, *History of the landed gentry of Ireland* (London, 1904), p. 432.

⁸² James Mew, ‘Bibby, Thomas’ in *Oxford dictionary of national biography* (Oxford, 2004) (<http://www.oxforddnb.com>) (15 May 2012).

late holding at Drakeland for a term of 41 years at £2 6s. per acre. My sisters and mother are to execute leases to this effect, Sarah Bibby'.⁸³

Shellumsrath and Drakeland were located near Clonmoran; Clonmoran and Shellumsrath were contiguous at one point and Drakeland separated from Clonmoran by the Mortgagefield, also Blunden property and previously occupied by Laurence, all within two miles of the market place in Kilkenny city.

Rent

Upon taking a cursory glance at the accounts, the large amounts on the expenses side are invariably rent. This observation is borne out when further scrutiny is applied. The crucial expenditure was the rents that were paid. Rent was by far the greatest overhead. Along with rent other impositions or 'taxes' included, poor rate, Grand Jury cess, and quit rent. These were fixed costs on the farms. It was imperative that these costs were paid; and they had to be paid regardless of the income that was made from the practice of farming. Of course, this was as true for Hyland's tenants as it was for him. Throughout this twenty-four year period the rent Hyland paid remained at a virtually, unvarying rate. This expense was something to be reckoned with, usually with payment due twice yearly. While a constant burden, it offered stability to a degree, because the rent remained almost at a set rate. During this long period, almost a quarter of a century, there was no significant rise in rentals. There is no evidence to suggest that he was ever in arrears. These lands must have been held under long leases; that had some reassurance for the tenant. We know Clonmoran had been previously held under a lease dated 1838 from Sir John Blunden.⁸⁴ This lease was for three lives, one of which was John P's, or failing that, thirty-one years. Since John P. was to live until 1917 the thirty- one years did not apply in this case. The terms of the lease stipulated a yearly rent of £181 5s. 10d. By the end of 1875, Miss Bibby had re-taken possession of the farm at Drakeland; he wrote, 'Miss Bibby handed me on this day £75 for the possession of my farm at Drakeland'.⁸⁵ Bibby would appear to be paying £75 for Hyland's goodwill.

⁸³ 24 Feb. 1860 B2 241 JPH (HP).

⁸⁴ Lease (copy) between Sir John Blunden and Laurence Hyland, 1 Aug. 1838, LH (HP).

⁸⁵ 1 Nov. 1875 F12 JPH (HP).

Up to that point, the total rent, for the three farms was just under £400. Poor rate costs on the lands, including Drakeland, amounted to forty pounds per year. Grand Jury cess and quit rent were sometimes noted and these were largely negligible.

Income and Expenditure

Hyland was undoubtedly conscious, indeed keenly aware, of income and expenditure. Normally, this was not manifested in absolute terms in his books and they have to be calculated for the purposes of this study. Nevertheless, in the three year period 1877-79, he uncharacteristically categorises both his income and expenditure as if in an attempt to understand the increasing losses experienced during that period. Some comparisons may be made with the book-keeping of Edward Delany of Woodtown, Dunshaughlin, Co Meath.⁸⁶ Vaughan believes that Delany's accounts were those of a stockman rather than an accountant; Hyland's calculations were more business-like.⁸⁷ They were those of an accountant more so rather than those of a stockman. He recorded all his farm income and outgoings and calculated whether there was a balance in favour, or against the farm at year's end. The yearly totals are usually clearly balanced in the ledgers with two exceptions: 1861, which should be about £15 6s. 4 ½ d. of a loss and 1862, where a profit of £168 17s. 11d. was returned. Over the twenty-four year period, he averaged about £1000 a year of an income with on average slightly more in expenditure. He counted his household costs as part of his expenditure, as well as day to day items, extraordinary items such as a new car £25 were added to his cost balance.⁸⁸

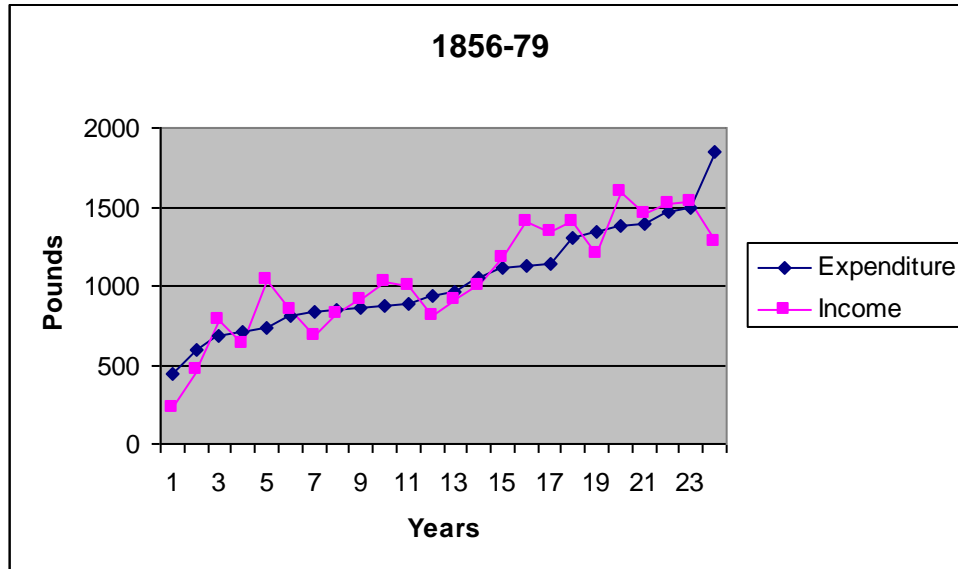
The evidence presented in the chart below shows that income and expenditure rose about threefold in the period 1856-79. Note also the divergence between income and expenditure in 1879.

⁸⁶ Vaughan, 'Farmer, grazier and gentleman', pp 53-72.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 53.

⁸⁸ 18 May 1858 E4 JPH (HP).

Chart 5.6 Relationship between income and expenditure over a twenty-four year (1856-79) period on Hyland's farm



Source: Data abstracted from Hyland Papers

Labour Post -Famine

What were Hyland's labourers paid? Did this change over time? Here is a list of the house servants' wages in 1870:

31 December 1870 House Servants

Kate's wages	£	10	0	0
Ellen Fielding		8	0	0
Moran		11	0	0
Butler		6	10	0
Whelan		2	10	0
E Shelly		6	0	0
M Comerford		4	0	0
E Comerford		4	0	0
Alice Hays		<u>6</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

Although it is acknowledged that wages rose through these years, there did not appear to be any substantial difference on this particular farm in the earnings of these staff when compared with the wage levels of the 1850s.⁸⁹ In contrast to the general picture in Ireland, as demonstrated by H. D. Gribbon, the findings of this case study show that wages only rose marginally. To give an example, in 1856, Ellen Fielding, who was paid in full for 12 months earned £7 18s, in 1870 she earned two shillings more.⁹⁰

These servants appear to be paid at the year's end; at least accounts were balanced then, whereas casual and semi-casual farm workers were paid by the day with payment received often at weekly intervals. Labourers and household staff were distinguished in Hyland's accounts. The female house-workers were more likely to be referred to by both forename and surname. Usually, though not always, the workers are indicated by their surnames and occasionally generically described as 'labourers'. Cash advances to workers, as was the practice of Laurence, pre-Famine, do not appear to occur in John P.'s time; if they do, they were not recorded.

It is clear that detailed accounts were kept in these two ledgers to record the wages paid. The farm workers were paid regularly with each surname listed in that day's entry. It was especially important to keep track on these expenses and to ensure each individual was given their due, and of course, for Hyland's purposes it was necessary to keep accurate records. The payment of workers was a constant feature of Hyland's accounts. Labour was still relatively inexpensive. It has been noted that in post-Famine nineteenth-century Ireland there was a considerable movement away from arable agriculture, especially the potato; and a shift towards livestock and dairy production.⁹¹ As a consequence of the immense and rapid population fall, there was a scarcity of labour for the more labour intensive arable agriculture.

In addition to the amount earned, entries in the Hyland ledgers reveal the tasks and occupations of those working for him. By way of illustration: 'picking stones on a five acre field' earned Heffernan 7s.⁹² Ellen Hoban's job was as a 'dairy maid'.⁹³ This was

⁸⁹ H. D. Gribbon, 'Economic and social history, 1850-1921' in W. E. Vaughan (ed.), *A new history of Ireland vi: Ireland under the union*, ii 1870-1921 (Oxford, 1989), p. 263.

⁹⁰ 6 Dec. 1856 E4 JPH (HP).

⁹¹ Gribbon, 'Economic and social history', p. 263.

⁹² 8 Mar. 1856 E4 JPH (HP).

an occupation that carried the requirement of being a good butter maker.⁹⁴ A weekly wage for labourers in the spring was as follows: Wright 3s. 4d., Neill 3s. 4d., Holland and wife 4s. 2d. - a total of ten shillings and ten pence.⁹⁵ This would equate to over £8 of an annual wage. Families worked together; wives, sons and daughters are mentioned.

For those labourers who were regularly called upon, given the extent and variety of farm work, they would have employment for much of the year. Labour on farms was seasonal and the number of workers would increase during the busy months in the spring and at harvest time. Hyland seemed to be consistent in the amount of cultivation and pasturage he did. Therefore, if we assume this, then the same amount of workers would be needed. Absenteeism is not overlooked as in the margins of his ledger Hyland notes that 'Hara' was sick.⁹⁶ Later it was noted that he was absent on Tuesday morning.⁹⁷

In a third ledger, he kept a list of workmen's names, although this only extends to three surviving pages.⁹⁸ It covers the period from late April to early August 1872. On average six labourers were employed, each paid up to four shillings a day. Again, local families featured in these accounts and the usual names recur. This contrasts with a typical wage rate of one shilling a day for casual labourers over fifty years earlier in 1820.⁹⁹ Allowing for the fact that Laurence's need for labour was much greater than his son's, given the nature and extent of his business and farming activities, a perusal of their account book entries would suggest that the father employed far more people in proportionate and absolute terms.

Mechanisation was becoming increasingly an essential factor in the farm operations of John P. Hyland. A winnowing machine cost him £4 12s. 6d. in 1856 and the carriage of it from Waterford cost 5s.; while earlier that year, a drill grubber was bought from

⁹³ 5 Apr. 1856 E4 JPH (HP).

⁹⁴ *KJ*, 18 Dec. 1879; see advertisement for dairy and kitchen maid.

⁹⁵ 29 Mar. 1856 E4 JPH (HP).

⁹⁶ 4 Apr. 1857 E4 JPH (HP).

⁹⁷ 16 Apr. 1857 E4 JPH (HP).

⁹⁸ G4 JPH (HP). Some pages were removed from this ledger.

⁹⁹ 15 June 1820 L1 86 LH (HP).

Gohan (Gahan?) of Dublin.¹⁰⁰ A hay cutter was sold by auction; it fetched ten shillings.¹⁰¹

Work carried out by tradesmen was an important feature documented in the ledgers. An example of this was a cooper 'making churn tubs'.¹⁰² An unspecified task earned Matthew O'Donnell a fee of £1 1s. Here 'a fee' is underlined.¹⁰³ It has a professional resonance. Tradesmen such as smiths, farriers, coopers and carpenters for example were paid for their services. Other services included saddlers, and harness makers who repaired head collars.¹⁰⁴ 'Whelan' was paid in full for thatching in May 1858 at an unspecified location.¹⁰⁵ Increasing mechanisation reduced the requirement for staff, although it meant extra employment for some, for example 'repairing a threshing machine'.¹⁰⁶ Hyland was willing to loan out his machinery as the entry 'Mr J. Douglas, Kilkenny, re use of threshing machine' demonstrates.¹⁰⁷

Household Expenses

Hyland includes expenditure on groceries in these accounts; it seems that the farm 'paid' for household expenses, especially groceries and the wages of household staff. It is a reasonable assumption to say that a certain amount of the food purchases may have been consumed by the staff. The 'shopping' for these provisions was done in Kilkenny. Entries for provisions such as Kerwicks meat 9s. 7 ½d. make up the cash paid columns.¹⁰⁸ Meat and bread were purchased as well as Indian meal, sugar, salt and polish.¹⁰⁹ Fish was also purchased.¹¹⁰ The variety of items for sale in the shop may be gauged by the inclusion of 'nails' in this account. Flour and fruit were also purchased.¹¹¹ For example on 6 October 1856 tea, bread and cocoa cost 7s. 8d.¹¹² A

¹⁰⁰ 9 Sept. 1856 E4 JPH (HP); 24 Apr. 1856 E4 JPH (HP).

¹⁰¹ 20 Jan. 1858 E4 JPH (HP).

¹⁰² 16 Mar. 1856 E4 JPH (HP).

¹⁰³ 12 Mar. 1856 E4 JPH (HP).

¹⁰⁴ 16 Feb. 1856 E4 JPH (HP).

¹⁰⁵ 7 May 1857 E4 JPH (HP).

¹⁰⁶ 23 Feb. 1856 E4 JPH (HP).

¹⁰⁷ 9 Sept. 1858 B2 234 JPH (HP).

¹⁰⁸ 23 Feb. 1856 E4 JPH (HP).

¹⁰⁹ 3 Apr. 1856 E4 JPH (HP).

¹¹⁰ 21 Aug. 1858 E4 JPH (HP).

¹¹¹ 26 Apr. 1856 E4 JPH (HP).

¹¹² 6 Oct. 1856 E4 JPH (HP).

further entry was Daniel Smithwick: his account paid in full £4'.¹¹³ In 1863, John Potter's account for groceries stood at £39 15s. 8d. Note that this account was paid in October; these large household accounts were settled at the end of the farming year, when the harvest was completed. Aside from food items bought in, it seems certain that a proportion of the pig herd on the farm would have been killed for home consumption. Potatoes and vegetables would have been grown as well as fruit and of course milk and butter were produced; a proportion of these foodstuffs would have been consumed by the Hylands and their staff.

A major item of household spending was the cost that was incurred in 1872 when the dwelling house was re-roofed and the roof raised. This created effectively a three-storey house and made extra rooms available for what would become a relatively large family of ten children. He detailed the expenses of roofing and slating the dwelling house.¹¹⁴ The total expended on the house in 1872 was £423 0 8d. Oral history has it that the roof was raised and the physical evidence confirms this.¹¹⁵ Effectively he spent all his profits on the roofing of the dwelling house. Whereas Edward Delany invested in land, Hyland chose to spend £423 on the reconstruction of his dwelling house.¹¹⁶ Following the 1870 Land Act and the extra security it gave to tenants, Hyland may have adjudged that this reconstruction was an improvement to his holding, which he would have to be compensated for should he ever be evicted.

The ownership of his home farm was not a priority for Hyland or perhaps he would have made efforts to acquire it. The question of the ownership was in the hands of Sir John Blunden and he may have been reluctant to part with the farm adjoining his demesne. Was it a matter of pride for Hylands to reside in a larger house, or was it a practical necessity? Was he anxious to have a residence that would be suitable for a 'landed proprietor'? Did they expect to have a large family? Or was the house, then probably over a hundred years old, in need of serious renovation?

¹¹³ 25 July 1856 E4 JPH (HP).

¹¹⁴ 2 Feb. 1872 F12 JPH (HP).

¹¹⁵ Information from the author's father, Seán Hyland.

¹¹⁶ 18 Dec. 1872 JPH F12 (HP).

Comparable Data

The data that the farm books contain largely equates with general trends in Irish agriculture over the period. Exactly half of the twenty-four years returned a profit balance. The dozen years that returned a loss correspond to a significant degree with the previously noted poor years for farming. The best period was 1865-9, the worst 1877-9 when Irish agriculture was in a deep depression - a depression that preceded the Land War. In 1879 Hyland suffers his greatest loss of £541 16s. 1 ½d.

1879 was a year that also saw some rise in his rent and taxes account. In what was almost a quarter century of farming, these two periods stand out. The first, and less acknowledged was the agricultural depression which 'afflicted the country' from 1859-64, in four of these six years Hyland suffered a financial loss.¹¹⁷ The second, and more recognised phase was 1877-9, again there was three years of losses with Hyland suffering his greatest shortfall. 'A fall in cattle numbers and by deficiencies in the crops of oats, wheat and potatoes' characterized the '59-64 period which resulted from a number of exceptionally wet years '60-62.¹¹⁸ These years had been preceded by a very dry spring and summer of 1859, and were followed by two years of drought.¹¹⁹ The recession of the late 1870s was also weather related beginning with the poor summer of 1877 and exacerbated by a fall in the prices of agricultural commodities two years later.¹²⁰

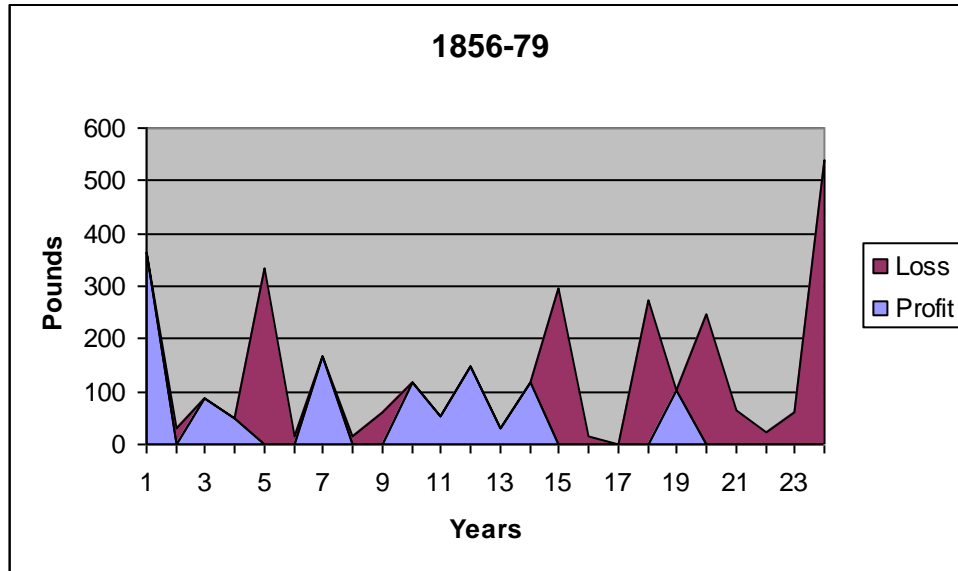
¹¹⁷ J. S. Donnelly jr., 'The Irish agricultural depression of 1859-64' in *Irish economic and social history* iii (1976), p. 33.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp 34-6.

¹²⁰ R. V. Comerford, 'The politics of distress, 1877-82' in W. E. Vaughan (ed.), *A new history of Ireland, vi: Ireland under the union ii 1870-1921* (Oxford, 1989), p. 28.

Chart 5.7 Relationship between profit and loss over a twenty-four year period (1856-79) on Hyland's farm



Source: Data abstracted from Hyland Papers

Cattle

While rent was the most significant overhead, the core income came from the sales from the cattle herd. Livestock and their produce from was the mainstay of the farm. Some of the cattle were home-bred as evidence in the account books reveal; dairy cows were kept, as the entries for the sale of butter show. A bull, 'Ottoman', was purchased at Mount Congreve, Waterford for £20. The carriage of this bull by rail from Waterford was 11s. 8d. Up to forty cows were in the herd and this is recorded in a list of calves born.¹²¹ There are entries for calf sales, and despite this, it seems likely that he also kept some of the progeny of his dairy herd.

The purchase and sale of livestock (sheep and cattle) make up a considerable amount of the entries. His largest expense was the purchase of cattle. Livestock were purchased and sold at fairs in County Kilkenny and beyond and in deals with private individuals.

¹²¹ End page E4 JPH (HP).

A typical event noted was ‘self to fair of Leighlinbridge’ (County Carlow).¹²² Heifers and bullocks of varying ages were sold as well as cows, calves and once in a while a bull. Cow hides and calf skins were also sold. A good number of cattle, it would seem, were purchased at one and a half years old and then were sold later presumably as forward stores or fat-stock. Essentially, this was a grazing enterprise with some winter stall-feeding for beef production. The extent of the buildings at Clonmoran would suggest that there was housing for some animals. Money was received and paid for the service of bulls. Casks and firkins of butter and milk were sold. A firkin is defined as a small cask, about 9 imperial gallons.¹²³ Butter was sold in Waterford with the carriage to same costing a shilling.¹²⁴

An Auction

In 1875 an auction was held at Clonmoran. The auction was advertised in the *Kilkenny Journal* as ‘an important and attractive sale of highly bred dairy cows, heifers and young stock’. The sale included one thorough-bred shorthorn bull, 25 in-calf cows and heifers as well as dairying equipment and ‘other miscellaneous property’.

The announcement lauded the quality of Hyland’s stock, saying that bulls had been used from the ‘herds of Messrs. James Anderson, Bland and Lord Carrick’ and that the progeny was considerably above the average as milk and butter producers.¹²⁵

The proceeds of this auction held in October 1875 yielded £544 0 7d.¹²⁶ This extraordinary sale distorted the end of year balance, which without the auction would have resulted in a loss balance of £200. On the other hand, he would have made money from the sale of some of these animals in the ordinary course of events, besides the money that would have been earned from milk and butter. Nonetheless, a loss would have seemed likely; at best, he would have broken even. The notice in the paper stated that John P. Hyland had ‘decided on relinquishing dairy farming’. This indicated a move to more dry cattle production with an emphasis on the purchase of livestock for grazing. Cattle sales began to feature more prominently. A consequence of this change

¹²² 14 May 1856 E4 JPH (HP).

¹²³ *Oxford dictionary of English*, p. 650.

¹²⁴ 18 Apr. 1857 E4 JPH (HP).

¹²⁵ *KJ*, 16 Oct. 1875.

¹²⁶ 29 Dec. 1875 JPH F12 (HP).

of farming practice was a reduction in the need for labourers. Perhaps he considered dairying as an unsatisfactory use of his capital. It may be argued that his judgement was correct given the subsequent fall in butter prices, where Irish butter was fetching at home only 6*d.* to 7*d.*¹²⁷ Though locally, butter prices had not fallen as far, and it was still making at least 9*d.* per pound in February 1879.¹²⁸

A move away from dairying followed an incident that happened earlier in 1875 when the dairy and fowl-house at Clonmoran were robbed.¹²⁹ Several fowl and thirty pounds (in weight) of butter were stolen, but no one was apprehended for the offence.

Markets

In the auction too, a horse and a jennet were sold. Ordinarily horses were sold and so were pigs. Grain (wheat, oats and barley), straw and root crops: turnips, mangold wurtzels (mangels) and potatoes are also included in sales from the farm. Hyland also found buyers for his grass seeds. In the Kilkenny markets wheat, barley, bacon, butter, beef, hay and straw were on offer. Quotes for these commodities were printed weekly in the local newspapers. Comparisons could be made with the Dublin markets including the Old Smithfield Market as well as those in Bristol, Glasgow and Cork. On 16 October 1875, the following prices for grain were obtainable: wheat (white) 25-26*s.* per barrel; barley 12-14*s.*; Oats 11-11*s.* 6*d.* Bacon was making 66*s.* per hundredweight, beef and lamb made 7*d.* - 9*d.* per pound while eggs sold from 10*d.* to a shilling a dozen. There was a specific market in Kilkenny for firkins of butter; on that day, 597 firkins were on offer at 135*s.* to 140*s.*; some of the butter buyers who attended included Messrs Smithwick & Sons, Kilkenny.¹³⁰ With its population and its productive agricultural hinterland, Kilkenny city was a natural centre for trade in these commodities. As John Bradley has observed ‘the foundation of Kilkenny’s prosperity was its rich agricultural hinterland and, in particular, the sale of cattle and grain’.¹³¹

¹²⁷ Gribbon, ‘Economic and social history’ p. 271.

¹²⁸ *KJ*, 12 Feb. 1879.

¹²⁹ *FJ*, 24 May 1875

¹³⁰ *KJ*, 16 Oct. 1875.

¹³¹ Bradley, *Kilkenny atlas*, p. 6.

Other Farm Income

Other sources of income were exploited; money was received for benches of stone from the limestone quarry at Shellumsrath. Stone was quarried for Hyland's own use, for example, on 28 November 1860 Mr John Cody for a bench in the quarry received eight pounds. Hartigan for quarrying at 7*d.* per ton of stone paid.¹³² The interest in quarrying, and making money from it, harked back to his father's slate business and the exploitation of natural resources.

The orchard at Clonmoran, containing about four acres of apple trees and a small apple house, was let to local fruiterers. The grass underneath the trees could be grazed by sheep. A number of trees were sold, probably for firewood e.g. '9 March 1865 a tree sold to Martin Walsh £1 0 0'.¹³³ The removal of trees was not something that escaped the notice of his landlord as he recorded 'a man came to the back of the barn with a pencil and a pocket book and appeared to be engaged in counting trees, sent I suppose by Sir J. Blunden'.¹³⁴ In the orchard too, tragically a suicide was recorded.¹³⁵

Apparently, as the ledger evidence reveals, some rent was received for the houses and small plots on the farms. For example, a shilling a week rent was received from Wright, Devereaux and Keeffe; these individuals were also listed as farm workers.¹³⁶ As has been shown, the 1838 lease of Clonmoran states there were four small houses and gardens on the farm and that the occupants were Laurence Hyland's workers.

There is evidence for the application of manures. This consisted of purchased fertiliser namely gypsum and superphosphate.¹³⁷ Certainly home produced manure was utilised, and even a 'heap of manure from the Corporation' on which over £1 13*s.* was expended.¹³⁸

¹³² 29 July. 1856 E4 JPH (HP).

¹³³ 9 Mar. 1865 F12 JPH (HP).

¹³⁴ 28 Feb. 1871 E6 JPH (HP).

¹³⁵ JPH (HP).

¹³⁶ 21 Mar. 1857 E4 JPH (HP).

¹³⁷ 30 Mar. 1869 F12 JPH (HP).

¹³⁸ 7 Jan. 1857 E4 JPH (HP).

1877

1877 was the first year that Hyland specifically categorised his income and expenditure:

Table 5.7 Income and Expenditure (1877)

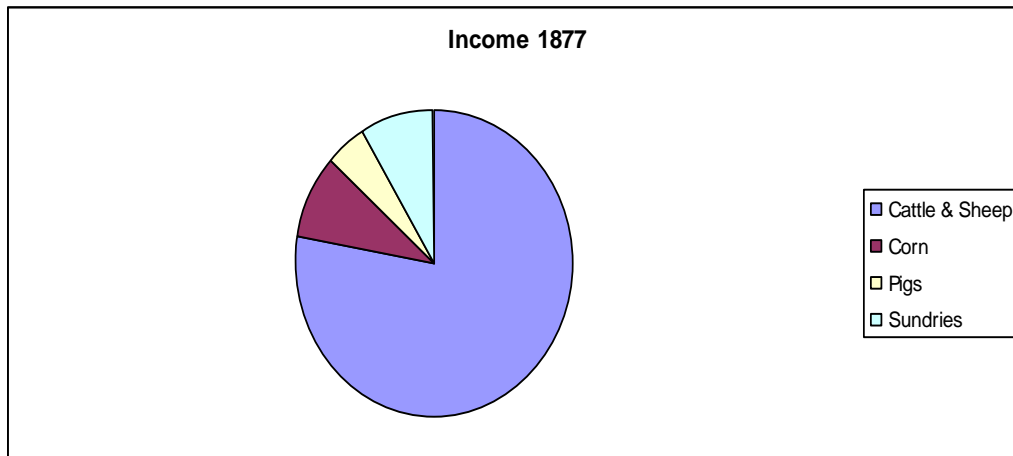
	1877	£	%
Income			
Cattle & Sheep		1163	79
Corn		133	9
Pigs		68	4
Sundries		130	8
		1494	
Expenditure			
Rent & Taxes		386	26
Labour & Servants		256	17
Cattle & Sheep		491	32
Corn & Grass Seeds		34	2
Pigs		35	2
Sundries		285	19
Manure		28	2
		1515	

Source: Data abstracted from Hyland Papers

In 1877, cattle and sheep accounted for almost 80% of income, or £1163 out of a total income of £1494. Cattle and sheep purchases were the greatest expense at £491 or 32% of expenditure. The gross profit for the cattle and sheep enterprise was £672. Hyland practiced mixed farming, but, at this time, post the exit from dairying, the income from cattle and sheep seems more important than in the 1850s. In the late 1870s this was very much a grass-based system of farming. The bulk of farm output came from the utilisation of grass. Corn only accounted for 9% of output. There is no indication, but one must reason that milk and butter are not included in this total for cattle as he had changed his farming system (see above) though wool sales in the case of sheep must be considered. Sundries, which must have included the money spent on the household, made up almost a fifth of the year's costs. Rent and taxes at £386 made up over a

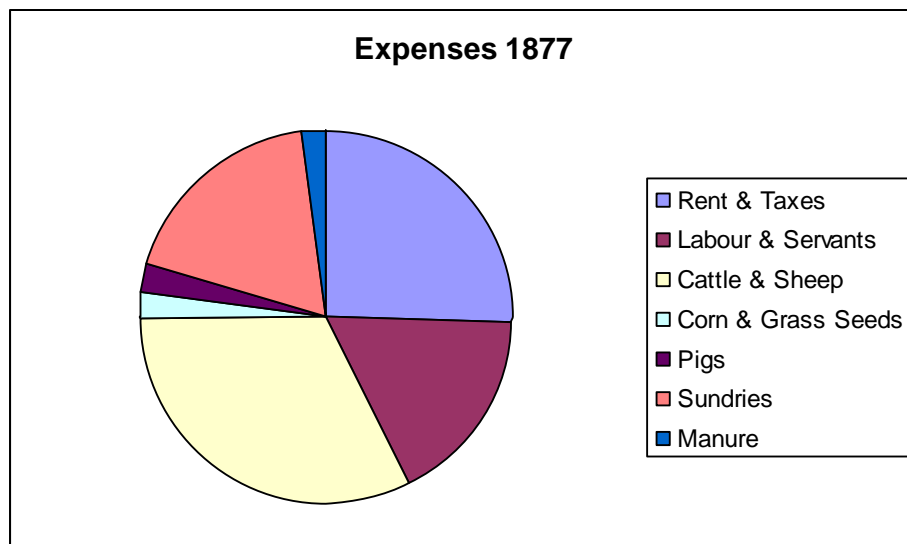
quarter of the year's expenditure. Before 1875, rent on average was about 40% of expenditure. Labour and servants accounted for 17% of costs. Pig production, at 4% of income and 2% of expenses, was a minor enterprise.

Chart 5.8 Relationship of commodities produced to income on Hyland's farms in 1877



Source: Data abstracted from Hyland Papers

Chart 5.9 Relative proportion of expenses on Hyland's farms in 1877



Source: Data abstracted from Hyland Papers

He made a clear distinction between the farm and his other business activities by keeping separate ledgers. By doing so, he left us with a good indication of his overall income and expenditure for 1877.

Summary of receipts 1877

	£	s.	d.
Rent (1876)	334	18	7 ½
Railways	74	1	3
Athenaeum	<u>68</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>0</u>
	477	8	10½

Summary of Expenses 1877

Personal expenses	137	11	11
Athenaeum	78	5	3
Monster House	57	19	7
Rent charge	34	19	7
Insurance	31	4	2
Education	<u>20</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>
	360	5	11

When added to his farm income this came to a total of approximately £1971 and when all his non-farm expenses were added this gave a total of some £1875, apparently leaving a profit of about £96. However personal expenses, education and what was purchased at the Monster House cannot be properly regarded as business expenses. These expenses would be more correctly defined as drawings, which are in effect derived from income. When these sums are added together they come to £214, and further when added to Hyland's 'profit' of £96 comes to a total of £310. Essentially, Hyland was paying his way, and while not saving very much was providing himself and his family with a relatively comfortable lifestyle.

To maintain his liquidity and his lifestyle was to prove much more difficult in the succeeding decades. From the late 1870s an agricultural depression was to have long term effects on the farm and on his tenancy. Long term consequences for the estate and his role as landlord were initiated during these years. The next chapter will look at the estate, landlord /tenant relations and developments from 1880 onwards.

CHAPTER 6

Landlord and Estate, 1880-1917

A Catholic Landlord

John P. Hyland saw himself as ‘a gentleman’.¹ What did this mean for him? It was not solely the fact that he had a certain amount of financial means, although even in old age he describes himself as a ‘landed proprietor’.² It was not simply a matter of living off one’s capital. He was an esquire, a member of the squire class. He saw himself as having a position in society, a position inherited from his father and mother and indeed from his grandparents and so on. From his perspective, inherent in his identity was his gentlemanly status. It was a gentrification that came from tradition - a tradition that emerged from the land, however tenuous the hold on that property was. This was a respectability rooted in the Catholic community and cemented through marriage alliances over centuries. It was a Catholic tradition, and as such in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Ireland, it was a sub-noble status where the Protestant ascendancy held sway. Traditionally this meant leadership positions and it attracted deference from those beneath them in the social order. The nature of the Catholic sub-gentry was evident in all their activities. They had a pivotal role in the community and this was not just confined to the Catholic community and not simply an overt role of leadership; they led by example whether by engaging in political debate or subscribing to general Catholic causes.

The Hylands, it may rightly be postulated, were very minor gentry but nonetheless they had all the attributes that placed them in that category. They had some economic means, they were rooted in the land, they had leadership roles in the community, and they were very supportive of the Roman Catholic Church and were seen to be so. Attaining a level of education was important for them and they were immersed in a Catholic culture. Notwithstanding this, they had the ability and the wherewithal to engage however deferentially with their lords and masters even if

¹ E5 JPH (HP).

² *Census of Ireland* (1911) (<http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie>) ((3 Mar. 2013). Census information for the townland of Clonmorán for 1901 is not available either online or elsewhere.

this was simply a matter of business - as in the supply of slate, or in the production of whiskey for the market place.

The Hyland family had retained their position as strong farmers from the eighteenth century; as restrictions on Catholics lessened, they consolidated their position by engaging in business. When they engaged in business, they controlled their affairs, they had ownership and managerial roles, and they had professional positions. Whatever way they were viewed by the Protestant community, they had defined their identity within their own group. Their role was not to 'dirty their hands' but to adhere to management. John P. came from this milieu and was immersed in this tradition. He was now an established Catholic landlord with a twenty year experience of estate management.

John P. Hyland in the 1880s

By 1876, the south Kilkenny estate of John P. Hyland had seen twenty years of relative prosperity, with the possible exception of the agricultural depression of 1859-64 when a series of weather events precipitated a crisis. In 1876, John P. Hyland was listed as one of the 5000 proprietors in Ireland who owned between 100 and 1000 acres.³ The ownership of 756 acres, one would imagine, must have made him feel financially secure; however, the next decades were to prove more than problematic for Irish landlords. The decade of the 1880s was dominated by the central question of land reform allied to the campaign for home rule and overshadowed by the personality of Charles Stewart Parnell. The economic downturn, precipitated by bad weather and the resultant lowered prices for agricultural commodities, began in the late 1870s. Poor weather was again the initial causation but this time the period of agricultural depression that began in 1877 was to have a long term political and social significance. The Land War is considered by Vaughan to be 'one of the most important events of the nineteenth century'.⁴ The Land War was 'a campaign of agrarian protest commencing in 1879'.⁵ As has been already stated, the years 1877-9 saw Hyland suffering his greatest shortfall in farm income. Against this back-drop the reality for Hyland was that he was facing a very difficult period of estate and farm management. Indeed an

³ Lindsay Proudfoot, 'Landlords' in S. J. Connolly (ed.), *OCIH* (2nd ed., Oxford, 2004), p. 311.

⁴ Vaughan, *Landlords and tenants in Ireland*, p. 28.

⁵ R. V. Comerford, 'Land war' in S. J. Connolly (ed.), *OCIH* (2nd ed., Oxford, 2004), p. 314.

indication of his present difficulties and a portent of the future were evident in 1879, when he was reported as having allowed an abatement of 15 and 20 per cent on March rents.⁶ The evidence of his rent ledger corroborates this. In general an inability to secure rents was the major factor that led to landlord indebtedness and in this respect Hyland was to prove no different. Throughout the 1880s John P. Hyland was continuously concerned with the management of his estate, specifically with the need to exact rent from his tenants. This was reflected in the nature and content of his correspondence. It was certainly a matter of ‘extraction’ as rents were not given freely, or with any punctuality; indeed, it was a constant battle with endless negotiations and interventions by the landlord and his agents. It was a battle that Hyland would not really win.

The south Kilkenny estate was taking up more of his time as his children grew up and needed to be educated. Allied to this was his political role as a member of the board of guardians for the Kilkenny Union. Income was still coming in from his investment in the Athenaeum and he had some stocks and shares, though the general depression affected all aspects of Ireland’s economy. He began to consider the sale of the theatre and also considered the divestment of some of his other assets. Obviously, the income from the farms at Clonmoran and Shellumsrath also significantly suffered from the downturn in agriculture. His greatest investment, however, had been in the estate. At this stage the management of the estate had become fraught with difficulties, principally the need to obtain rent.

While on the one hand, he was in negotiations with his tenants regarding their rent, on the other he was attempting to gain reductions in his own rent from his landlords. He was in a position; it would seem, to see both sides of the argument. He needed to minimise his outgoings and maximise his income in the face of an increasingly difficult economic climate. This raises several fundamental questions. How did Hyland deal with his tenants? How did he deal with his landlords? How did he live during this period? And where did he stand politically given what seemed to be contradictory interests?

⁶ *FJ*, 8 Dec. 1879.

The Estate: Hyland as a Landlord

Hyland was a meticulous businessman. For him the recording of his business affairs was a particular imperative. He was most meticulous in his letter recording and this characteristic presents an insight into his mind-set during what was the beginning of a revolutionary period in the nature of land ownership in Ireland. Obviously his writings provide his perspective as a landlord and as a large tenant farmer and only to a limited extent reveal the view of the tenant with small to medium-sized holdings. His thoughts and actions as revealed through his writings also give an insight into his personal attitudes especially with regard to his Catholic faith.

There was a worsening situation with regard to the tenants and this was a nationwide phenomenon in the 1880s. In December 1880, John P. Hyland wrote to James Kearney, (his land agent), at Grace Dieu, Waterford, with respect to the protestations made by the tenants in relation to the payment of more than Griffith's Valuation.⁷ Richard Griffith had calculated a value for each property in Ireland; some sources suggest that the valuation was based on 'unusually low agrarian prices' in the years 1849-52.⁸ In any case, this valuation was used by tenant farmers as an effective measure and thus an argument to compare and contest their rents.⁹

At this time, the majority of Hyland's correspondence was with Kearney and this naturally pertained to his tenants. Kearney, who also appeared to be a confidant, was told, pending the introduction of a new land bill, to acquiesce and to lower the rent to Griffith's Valuation.

The land bill he referred to was the Land Law (Ire.) Act, 1881, otherwise known as Gladstone's second Land Act.¹⁰ Instituting the Land Commission, this Act also granted fair rent, free sale and fixity of tenure.¹¹ Amongst its other powers, the Land Commission was the body 'charged with fixing rents that would be binding on landlord and tenant'.¹² Rents, once settled, were 'to remain settled for a period of fifteen years'.¹³ Under the Act, Landlords still had the power 'to evict or distrain for

⁷ 17 Dec. 1880 F7 3-4 JPH (HP).

⁸ S. J. Connolly, 'Primary valuation' in S. J. Connolly (ed.), *OCIH* (2nd ed., Oxford, 2004), p. 485.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ 44 & 45 Vict., c. 49 ; R. V. Comerford, 'Land acts' in S. J. Connolly (ed.), *OCIH* (2nd ed., Oxford, 2004), p. 309.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² R. V. Comerford, 'Land commission' in S. J. Connolly (ed.), *OCIH* (2nd ed., Oxford, 2004), p. 314.

¹³ Samuel Clark, *Social origins of the Irish land war* (Princeton, 1979), p. 335.

non-payment of rent, and even to set rents'.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the Land Act of 1881, as Dooley states, 'strengthened the tenant's position'.¹⁵

In his case Hyland's acquiescent policy with his tenants only went so far, as he made exceptions in the case of both Fowley and Fitzgerald 'of the mill', who were bound by leases.¹⁶ In a follow-up letter, Hyland concluded that it is a 'real puzzle now to know what to do with tenants'.¹⁷ The Land Act was enacted in August of 1881. In January, while responding to Kearney, who was a Justice of the Peace, Hyland admitted that he can 'see now how necessary it is to keep a tight hold with the tenants'.¹⁸ Given the position of tenants with regard to arrears owed, Hyland looked on each case individually to a certain extent. This policy was espoused in a letter to Kearney in May of 1881 in which Hyland sought his agent's opinion.¹⁹ He proposed the following abatements:

Thomas Power Thomas Durney	20% <u>abatement</u>
Reps. Delaney M Gahan Mrs Doherty	15%
John Fitzgerald Ed Forristal	10%

Another tenant, Michael Ribby, was in arrears, which, if paid up, Hyland calculated that he and Fitzgerald 'of the mill' might have a reduction to Griffith's Valuation.²⁰ The Widow McGrath's rent, he suggested, should not be interfered with in any way. McGrath's rent was nearly 10% lower than the valuation and McCarthy's was 20% under. In what was almost a postscript, Hyland informed Kearney that 'Mrs Tighe's tenants at Knockmoylan (Mullinavat) held rent till a few days ago when they paid up in full'.²¹ In 1879 Mrs Tighes's tenants had, following a petition, been granted an abatement of 10%, this was provided that rents were paid as usual in mid-

¹⁴ Ibid., p.343.

¹⁵ Dooley, *Decline of the big house*, p. 83.

¹⁶ NB: The surname 'Fowley' in Valuation Office documents was given the spelling 'Foley'.

¹⁷ 26 Dec. 1880 F3 6 JPH (HP).

¹⁸ 28 Jan. 1881 F3 10 JPH (HP).

¹⁹ 5 May 1881 F3 12-13 JPH (HP).

²⁰ Ibid; The spelling of this surname is sometimes 'Rigby, the 'Ribby' version is the name that will be adhered to.

²¹ Ibid.

December.²² Mrs Tighe was the widow of the Rev. Hugh Usher Tighe, Dean of Derry, who was descended from the Tighes of Woodstock, Inistioge, County Kilkenny.²³ The Reverend Tighe had owned 1347 acres in County Kilkenny.²⁴ Since they paid the full amount owed it would seem that Mrs Tighe's tenants, though they were slow to pay and waited about six months, were reasonably compliant.

Writing from his brother-in-law's house, at Templeogue Lodge, Dublin, Hyland replied to a note from Kearney concerning the tenants' refusal to accept the terms he proposed.²⁵ Once more, he conceded that he would have to accept Griffith's Valuation and again stated that this was pending the land bill.

With regard to the Fowley holding, he wrote:

I gave this man possession in 1869 at a rent of ten pence a week. I never contemplated his paying any poor rate and made a note to that effect in my book. For nearly two years he continued to pay me his rent without his poor rate receipt and it was only the other day or when I received your last account that it occurred to me that there was any mistake. I suppose he will now be entitled to the full amounts and rates which he paid up to the present. I cannot accept his offer of Griffith's valuation as by doing so I would be at a loss, by having taken it from Ribby's farm, who was paying me a higher rent in order to accommodate Fowley.²⁶

There has been some reference to Fowley in the previous chapter; nevertheless, his case merits some additional analysis here; according to Hyland's information stated previously, Fowley held a lease. The county-court judges were tasked with the administration of the 1870 Land Act.²⁷ Given the date of 1869 the lease was made prior to this act and this meant that he was excluded from entering the courts to have a judicial rent fixed.²⁸ Besides ten pence per week would equate to an annual rent of a little over two pounds and the cost of court proceedings for Fowley would be prohibitive. Regarding the central point of the letter and the question of the poor rate, the poor rate was a tax - essentially a percentage of the valuation of the property, set by the poor law guardians.²⁹ Because Fowley was paying a low rent he

²² Walsh, *Kilkenny: the struggle*, p. 256; KM, 20 Dec. 1879.

²³ Ibid; Bernard Burke, *A genealogical and heraldic history of the landed gentry of Great Britain and Ireland*, ii, (London, 1871), p. 1384 (googlebooks.ie) (24 Sept. 2013).

²⁴ *Landowners in Ireland* (1876), p.41.

²⁵ 19 May 1881 F3 14 JPH (HP).

²⁶ 19 May 1881 F3 14 -5 JPH (HP).

²⁷ 33 & 34 Vict., c. 46; Donnelly, *The land and the people...*, p. 208.

²⁸ Ibid, p. 287.

²⁹ Crossman, *Local government*, p. 46.

should have been paying a correspondingly low poor rate charge. An examination of the rental for Fowley's holding, from records a decade later in 1891, reflects the position accurately. It reveals that his yearly rent amounted to two pounds, three shillings and four pence and that the poor rate allowed was two shillings and eleven pence.³⁰ This would equate to a poor rate of one and half per cent of rent. Ribby's rent by comparison was thirty-one pounds, seventeen shillings and two pence with a poor-rate of one pound. Because his holding was rated at less than four pounds per annum, Fowley would have been exempt, under an 1843 act, from the poor rate and his portion of the rate would have been chargeable to his landlord, Hyland.³¹ In his letter to his agent Kearney, Hyland seems to have originally understood that Fowley was not paying any poor rate (as he failed to furnish a poor rate receipt) when in fact he was. As a consequence it appeared that Hyland felt he would now be liable for the rates paid by Fowley. Subsequently, in a further letter to Kearney, dated 30 May 1881, he had reconsidered his position in relation to Fowley's rent and thought it better to accept Fowley's offer of Griffith's Valuation, 'provided it is paid before the 1st of July'.³²

Hyland responded again to Kearney stating that he was waiting for the payment of his September 1880 rent from Power, Durney, Delaney and Gahan and that he would have to engage a solicitor.³³ He concluded the letter with the prediction that if the tenants were allowed to go on another couple of months they may then decide to ' "hold the harvest" '. To 'hold the harvest' was another tactic employed by tenants in order to defer or withhold the payment of rent; 'holding the harvest' meant in practice that instead of expending the income earned from the harvesting of crops on rent, that either the money received was withheld, or the grain was kept on the farm and perhaps fed to livestock. In 1880 the cry of 'hold the harvest' rang out in the west of Ireland; Michael Davitt, the Land League leader, saw it as a 'defiant reply' to landlordism.³⁴ To 'hold the harvest' was seen by landlords as an act of defiance by their tenants – an act that would greatly damage the landlord/tenant relationship and seriously escalate tensions. Hyland worried that it

³⁰ Rental and Account of the estate of J. P. Hyland Esquire for the year ended 25 March 1891 furnished by R. H. Kelly, 21 the Mall, Waterford, 20 July 1892 JPH (HP).

³¹ Crossman, *Local government*, p. 47.

³² 30 May 1881 F3 15-6 JPH (HP).

³³ 11 July 1881 F3 17 JPH (HP).

³⁴ Michael Davitt, *The fall of feudalism* (London, 1904), p. 266.

was entirely possible that his tenants would take such action given that it was coming near harvest time and as they had not been paying their rent. The correspondence with Kearney continued. He sought Kearney's opinion and asked if 'the Kilmakevoge tenants say what reduction Lord Besboro gave'.³⁵ The Bessboroughs were the dominant landlords in the Kilmakevoge civil parish area including Glenmore village, and Hyland was looking for a comparison.³⁶ In total the Bessborough estate extended to some 23000 acres, mainly in the Barony of Iverk.³⁷ Hyland as a landlord was naturally interested in the stances adopted by other landlords in the area. This made sense for the certain reason that he did not want his tenants to feel they were being treated differently by different landlords, as this would lead to further disquiet and objections if similar reductions were not forthcoming.

The fact that Hyland was particularly interested in Bessborough may indicate that some or all of his tenants also held other lands from the lord. It may simply be that the tenants would be familiar with rents in the Glenmore area. Clearly Hyland reasoned that the Kilmakevoge tenants would have been acutely aware of Bessborough's actions. Being a minor landlord possibly he saw himself competing with the largest landowner in the south of Kilkenny, and as such under a great disadvantage. Apart from Bessborough's great influence and financial might, as a result of the extent of his family's long-standing land ownership, there would have been a deference shown by his tenants towards him, a deference that Hyland, who essentially was a relatively recent landlord in the area, likely could not command from his own tenants. Kilmakevoge was located in the Catholic parish of Glenmore and the Hyland tenants there were sometimes referred to as the 'Glenmore tenants'. The townland was two and a half miles distant from the nearest part of the remainder of the estate at Rathnasmolagh. Kilmakevoge was set apart somewhat, whereas, Rathnasmolagh, Farnoge and Fahy were within one mile's radius of each other on the leeward side of Tory Hill. Kilmakevoge, also, was at a lower elevation. Indeed Rathnasmolagh and Fahy shared a boundary.

Hyland reckoned that Mrs McGrath of Kilmakevoge was the only one with a lease, which must have been contracted before the first Gladstone Land Act of 1870,

³⁵ 10 Nov. 1881 F3 17-9 JPH (HP).

³⁶ Griffith's Valuation (1850), townland of Kilmakevoge, barony of Ida, county of Kilkenny.

³⁷ *Landowners in Ireland* (1876), p. 35.

known as the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act); he thought that the others, namely Delaney, Gahan and Fitzgerald could get a judicial rent fixed. It was not until the 1887 Land Act that leaseholders had the right to have their rents adjudicated by the Land Commission.³⁸

Have they a Lease?

In order to set a new rent with the landlord the existing lease would have to be broken. Within the terms of a lease there would be a fixed rent for a term of years – in the latter half of the nineteenth century typically a period of thirty-one years. A lease implied a security of tenure, a security not enjoyed by those without one. On the other hand a lease that operated during bad times (when there was a poor return from farming) meant that the rent as defined in a lease could be disadvantageous to the leaseholder. While at the same time in theory being advantageous to the landlord; however, in practice if rents were not forthcoming in a depressed situation, it resulted in little advantage. Whether or not the tenants held leases was of particular interest to Hyland and one would assume that he should have been aware of the leasehold status of all of his tenants. His records reveal that he was often unsure of who held leases; this may be because he had let leases expire leaving the situation unchanged in practical terms. In doing so he would avoid the legal costs of renewal as would the tenant and each party was happy to continue existing arrangements. However the changes in legislation made it now a matter of some importance to know who held leases. He knew that in Rathnasmolagh: Power, Durney and Delahunty had leases. The Farnoge tenants: Forristal, McCarthy and Fitzgerald of ‘the mill’ all had leases; as to Ribby he was not sure about his situation. He thought Kearney should press Fowley, who as has been outlined had a lease, for money on hands. Hyland wrote to Kearney at Grace Dieu and explained that he had called to the local probate office in an attempt to ascertain information about Fitzgerald’s will.³⁹ Having discovered that the office knew nothing of it, he decided to contact the Dublin office, although his impression was that Fitzgerald did not leave a will and that his son John was in possession of ‘the mill’.⁴⁰ The interest in Fitzgerald’s legacy would suggest that it was a lease for lives and that the contract may have ended when he died. While considering the need to serve writs

³⁸ Clark, *Social origins*, p. 344.

³⁹ 13 Nov. 1881 F3 19-20 JPH (HP).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

on the Kilmakevoge tenants, Hyland suspected that Fitzgerald, who was a poor law guardian, had influenced their non-payment. He asked Kearney how it would be with the under-tenants if writs were served. This implied that maybe there were a number of tenants with small holdings or plots who paid rent to Hyland's tenants or there were some tenants sub-letting their land to other farmers. Thomas Power (who will be referred to below) of Kilmakevoge was an example of an under-tenant who was paying rent directly to Hyland. As Hyland related his troubles, perhaps he found consolation in the problems of other landlords as he mentioned that Mr Hamilton, Lady Tighe's agent, had to raise £500 to keep her afloat because the Woodstock tenants were not paying 'a farthing'.⁴¹ Meanwhile in a letter, of 22 November 1881, to Hyland's brother-in-law Cogan O'Gorman, Hartford, the solicitor, remarked that 'the state of the country is becoming awful'.⁴²

Plate 6.1 Tory Hill on the horizon with Walsh Cross in foreground, Kilbeacon, Mullinavat (2014)



Source: Photograph by author

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² John P. Hartford to Patrick C. O'Gorman , 22 Nov. 1881 JPH (HP).

Clerical Intervention

Another development occurred when Hyland wrote to the parish priest of Glenmore with regard to the tenants in his parish who were not inclined to pay their rents to his agent.⁴³ Clearly, Hyland was comfortable with using the good offices of the clergy to resolve his problems. The influence of the local priest was not to be underestimated and Hyland felt that an intervention by the parish priest would be favourable towards his case. In addition Hyland may have thought that as a Catholic he may have had some advantage in seeking the support of the priest. Hyland hoped to call on the priest and said he was inclined to deal justly towards the tenants and that he was anxious not to be ‘compelled to take harsh measures’.

What resulted from this visit is not known. Hyland certainly had ‘an audience’ with his tenants in Waterford on 23 December 1881; all were present, except McCarthy and Fowley.⁴⁴ The other tenants paid varying amounts, mostly at Griffith’s Valuation and were given permission to have their rent fixed in the land courts. Hyland believed that none of them went away pleased. Their displeasure was undoubtedly felt in the first instance by having to pay the rent and secondly brought about by the rate they paid. Perhaps they had thought they would do better in their negotiations with Hyland and possibly they were reluctant to go to the land court, unsure of what it would involve and uncertain of the possible outcome. What is more, most of the tenants appeared to have leases and were excluded from that process. Their apprehension may have resulted from worries about the cost of litigation. Furthermore Parnell, who by now was in Kilmainham Jail, had warned tenants against making use of the new land courts until the Land League had satisfied itself about their character.⁴⁵ The Land Commission had only commenced hearing cases in October.⁴⁶ With such uncertainty in the country it was understandable that the tenants would have been reluctant to take the option of the land courts. Hyland then contacted James J. Feely, the solicitor he had engaged, and said he did not intend to take further action. At this stage, December 1881, Mr James Kearney was not well and talked of giving up the agency.⁴⁷

⁴³ 16 Dec. 1881 F3 20 JPH (HP).

⁴⁴ 24 Dec. 1881 F3 21-2 JPH (HP).

⁴⁵ J. C. Beckett, *The making of modern Ireland, 1603-1923* (2nd ed., London, 1981), p. 392.

⁴⁶ Clark, *Social origins*, p. 337.

⁴⁷ 1 Jan 1882 F7 JPH (HP). The actual date is 5 Dec. 1881.

The tone of Hyland's next letter, addressed to Thomas Power, Rathnasmolagh, in 'care' of Nicholas Phelan, 40, Quay, Waterford, and concerning McCarthy and Durney, was less conciliatory; he demanded that Phelan call on John McCarthy who had failed to keep his promise to pay a year's rent by the middle of January (the evidence is not explicit here but it seems likely that Phelan was the one asked to call on these tenants).⁴⁸ Possibly there was some reason why there was a need to carry the message person to person; in any event an intermediary was used to convey the information.

In any case, Hyland warned that a writ would be served. Regarding Durney, he advised Phelan to call on him also and ask him why he was not sending the March rent. The admonishment worked and McCarthy of Farnoge sent a bank draft for £19 and a poor rate receipt for £1 2s. 6d. on 8 February, 1882.⁴⁹ McCarthy still owed £4 17s. 6d. and Hyland, in his reply, stated that he would make no allowance for him as he had done for the Rathnasmolagh tenants. The allowance was for ten per cent.⁵⁰ Problems with his tenants continued: Mrs McGrath of Kilmakevoge was 'warned', the representatives of Patrick Delaney were 'reminded', and Hyland would have been 'glad' to receive rent from Thomas Power. They all eventually made payments towards their accounts.

In February 1882 Thomas Durney was threatened with legal action and Michael Ribby of Farnoge East was asked for the March rent of 1881.⁵¹ Ribby made no attempt to settle his account and a further threat was issued by the landlord, with Feely the solicitor, advised to send a strong letter to him. There was another meeting arranged with the tenants in Waterford on 26 June 1882, with the hope of collecting outstanding rents.⁵² Despite this the letters continued in the same vein, all through 1882, with Hyland threatening legal proceedings and the tenants eventually making contributions without settling their accounts in full. Hyland would issue receipts acknowledging the payments and informed the tenants of the amount of arrears owed. The tenants were wary of legal action. In one instance the nephew of Mrs McGrath of Kilmakevoge arrived at Clonmorán, where he asked, in the

⁴⁸ 26 Jan. 1882 F3 24 JPH (HP).

⁴⁹ 10 Feb. 1882 F3 25 JPH (HP).

⁵⁰ 21 Feb. 1882 F3 26 JPH (HP).

⁵¹ 21 Feb. 1882 F3 27-8 JPH (HP).

⁵² 29 May 1882 F3 33 JPH (HP).

absence of Hyland, that law proceedings not be taken ‘at present’.⁵³ Hyland responded by letter, he proposed that if half a year’s rent were paid plus the cost of the attorney’s letter no further action would be taken otherwise the McGraths would be ‘put to heavy costs’.⁵⁴ The likelihood of incurring heavy legal expenses was a major deterrent for tenants. Hyland seemed firm in his dealings with his tenants. At the same time undoubtedly he was cognisant of the poor return from agriculture and this very much impacted on his own situation with his landlords; in essence he had little choice, but to be firm.

There are also some letters that indicate that Hyland was supplying oats and seed potatoes to his tenants.⁵⁵ In point of fact, Ribby, who was supplied with same, did not pay for them and failed to return the empty sacks.⁵⁶ Later Hyland received a note from Edmund Forristal, Farnoge East, requesting seed oats, which he agreed to supply.⁵⁷ Barring these interventions, not surprisingly, there is no evidence to suggest that Hyland had invested in improving the estate during this period.

There was a documented instance of John P. Hyland inspecting his property when Richard J. Hyland (1867-1951) accompanied his father to Rathnasmolagh where he saw Tom Power and Doherty; they found Thomas Durney was not at home and his place looked ‘neglected’.⁵⁸ In the letter concerning Ribby, the landlord wrote that ‘he saw no hope’ in Ribby holding on to his farm.⁵⁹ Later he wrote that he did not intend to make ‘a present’ of the farm.⁶⁰ A meeting with all the tenants was convened for 27 June 1883. In 1883 also, a venue for the meeting in Waterford was arranged for a fee of 2*s.* 6*d.* a day at no. 2 Peter St in the city.⁶¹

The letters requesting payments continued. Despite the urgings of the landlord, the situation was getting more serious; he understood that ejectments would be served by John P. Hartford, solicitor, on the under-tenant of Bridget McGrath’s farm, Thomas Power, and on Ribby.⁶² He duly received some money from Power though

⁵³ 3 Sept. 1882 F3 41 JPH (HP).

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ 17 Mar. 1883 F3 47-8 JPH (HP).

⁵⁶ 27 Mar 1883 F3 48 JPH (HP).

⁵⁷ 2 Mar. 1884 F3 JPH (HP).

⁵⁸ 23 Sept. 1883 F6 JPH (HP).

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ 27 May 1883 F3 51 JPH (HP).

⁶¹ 1 Oct. 1883 F6 JPH (HP).

⁶² 3 Sept. 1883 F3 59 JPH (HP).

he complained about tenant punctuality.⁶³ Nonetheless, an ejectment was still probable for Mrs McGrath; this was despite the intervention of the Catholic curate at Glenmore, Reverend Michael Corcoran.⁶⁴ While he considered it a legitimate request, he said he was obliged to render an account of the management of this property to others. This may have been a reference to his bankers. He also thought that it was a bad idea for the friends of McGrath of Kilmakevoge to be forcing her ‘against her consent’ into the land court.⁶⁵ Subsequently Mrs McGrath sent a sum of money to her landlord, not as much as promised by the priest, but enough to prevent eviction.⁶⁶ Mrs McGrath was duly billed for the ejectment notice.⁶⁷ For Hyland the cost of an ejectment was £ 2 12s. and the cost of a writ was £3.⁶⁸

Kelly solicitors of Waterford were now to carry the agency of the estate - the role that James Kearney had previously played. Seven tenants had leases of 31 years, all except Michael Fitzgerald of Fahy (Fitzgerald of ‘the mill’) whose lease was for 61 years. He did not think that John Fitzgerald, Patrick Delaney, Laurence Gahan or Michael Ribby held leases; although he previously thought Fowley was a leaseholder, now curiously he did not think he had a lease. One would reason that he should know who held leases and when they would expire; but, as has been already averted to, it may have suited landlord and tenant in some cases to avoid the expense of a renewal. This raises a question in respect of his managerial ability: was he coping with the situation? Certainly, he was dealing with any estate issues that arose and during these years there were many problems.

John P. Hyland was not anxious to have a labourer’s cottage built on his property in Glenmore; he wrote to John Fitzgerald in connection with the proposed building on Mrs McGrath’s farm. The cottage would have been built by the Waterford Union under a scheme, which would increase the poor rate, and in addition, the interest the government was charging was ‘too high’ according to Hyland.⁶⁹ Under legislation that was first enacted in 1883, Labourers (Ire.) Act, 1883, boards of guardians were

⁶³ 8 Sept. 1883 F3 61 JPH (HP).

⁶⁴ 8 Oct. 1883 F3 62-3 JPH (HP); Bassett, *Kilkenny*, p. 201.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ 28 Oct. 1883 F3 63 JPH (HP). NB This letter is crossed out.

⁶⁷ 17 Nov. 1883 F3 66 JPH (HP).

⁶⁸ 3 Nov. 1883 F6 JPH (HP).

⁶⁹ 4 Jan. 1885 F3 90-1 JPH (HP).

enabled to ‘undertake improvement schemes in districts where the existing accommodation for agricultural labourers was inadequate’.⁷⁰

Richard Henry Kelly, the junior partner in the law firm that Hyland hired, informed him that Thomas Fitzgerald had cattle losses and presumably would not be able to meet his commitments.⁷¹ There was worsening economic conditions in the country from 1884, in part brought about by a downturn in the British economy in part generated by unfavourable weather conditions. The dry weather had a significant effect on farming activities.⁷² Prices were depressed and farming income decreased. Cattle deaths from malnutrition and disease were undoubtedly a consequence of low prices, poor harvests and the subsequent high ‘cattle-feeding costs’.⁷³ Without the income from the cattle Thomas Fitzgerald would have found great difficulty in paying his rent. Hyland responded, with little sympathy, by saying that it was ‘a fate that unfortunately befalls us all’.⁷⁴ In this letter, copied by his son Richard J. Hyland, he let Kelly know that:

For the past thirty years, I have not raised the rents on any of the tenants, with one exception (McCarthy), and even at the advance, he had his holding 15 per cent under the valuation- and those landlords who are now making reductions are only taking off what they put on in better times.⁷⁵

Hyland was keenly aware and even resentful of how other landlords were acting when he considered how his own situation was. As has been noted it was difficult for him to compete with the landlords such as Bessborough, whose economic strength was so much superior to his own. Aggrieved and frustrated by the failure of the estate to yield due rents led Hyland to take firm actions and resort more and more to the law. The result had repercussions that were not entirely unexpected and in the ‘special telegrams’ column of the *Liverpool Mercury* 3 Oct. 1885 an incident on Hyland’s estate was reported on:

A process server who was sent yesterday by an agent of Mr Hyland, County Kilkenny, to serve notice of eviction on a tenant of his named Michael Rigby [Ribby], at Slievebeg, was seized by some members of the family, who tied his hands behind

⁷⁰ 46 & 47 Vict.,c 60; Crossman, *Local government*, p. 51.

⁷¹ 13 Dec. 1885 F3 109-11 JPH (HP).

⁷² Clark, *Social origins*, p. 344.

⁷³ Donnelly, *The land and the people*, p. 308.

⁷⁴ 13 Dec. 1885 F3 109 JPH (HP).

⁷⁵ 13 Dec. 1885 F3 109-10 JPH (HP).

his back and forced the notice into his mouth, and he was compelled to swallow half of it. On being released he was pelted with mud and clay.⁷⁶

Though not an example of extreme agrarian violence, this was understandably seen as an outrage and the incident was evidence that tensions were rising on the estate. Repercussions followed too for the perpetrators of the assault as the following newspaper cutting that was pasted into Hyland's 1885 diary demonstrates:

Assaulting a Process server (telegram from our correspondent.) Waterford, Thursday,
At the Kilmacow (County Kilkenny) Sessions today the police prosecuted three women, Mary Ribby, Anastia Hynes and Catherine McCarthy, for an assault on a process server named Morrissy, who went to serve an ejection notice on Mrs Ribby's husband, the report at the time that Morrissy had been compelled to eat the writ, which he now denied. The case against the girl McCarthy was withdrawn, and she was discharged. The other defendants pleaded guilty, and were sentenced to a month's imprisonment, but ultimately, on the appeal of their solicitor, Mrs Ribby was ordered to be fined 40s.⁷⁷

Once more, in pursuit of his rents, he proposed a reduction, this time of '5 per cent'; and with regard to Ribby and McDonald, he asserted that unless they paid he would execute the decrees now in force.⁷⁸

The new year began as the previous year had ended, and on 3 January 1886 Hyland attempted to exact money from his tenants. He was under increasing financial pressure and he wrote to J. D. Carnegie & Co, 48 Dame St, Dublin to ascertain what he could get for £350 worth of Cork and Bandon railway stock.⁷⁹ His financial worries were increasing and writing to Kelly he advised him 'to get in the rents on the best terms you can and as quickly as possible, the more you delay the greater will be the difficulty'.⁸⁰

He also issued instructions to Kelly regarding the amount of income tax he owed to the collector, Mr Sergeant, in Waterford.⁸¹ In April 1887, the next year, the amount owing in income tax was £10 11s. 8d.⁸² In connection with this bill, Hyland

⁷⁶ *Liverpool Mercury*, 3 Oct. 1885.

⁷⁷ 22 Oct. 1885 G1 JPH (HP), unknown newspaper source.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ 3 Jan. 1886 F3 113 JPH (HP).

⁸⁰ 7 Jan. 1886 F3 114 JPH (HP).

⁸¹ 8 Apr. 1886 F3 121-2 JPH (HP).

⁸² 4 Apr. 1887 F3 146 JPH (HP).

requested that Kelly call on Sergeant, at Paul Square, Waterford, to say that he would pay on ‘actual rent received and no more’.⁸³

A Visit to Glenmore

Problems with a tenant, McDonald, necessitated Hyland visiting Glenmore, where he spoke to McDonald’s wife and to the Rev. Edward Nolan P.P., whom Hyland thought did ‘not appear to have any sympathy for McDonald’.⁸⁴ Previously, in 1883, there was a complaint made by Mrs Bridget McGrath to her landlord about her nephew John McDonald, the nature of her grievance was that ‘he was treating her badly’.⁸⁵ Hyland called to Fr Dunphy’s house, whom he believed was secretary to ‘the League’, (Irish National League) but he was not at home. The Irish National League had been founded in October 1882 following the outlawing of the Land League a year previously.⁸⁶

While Land League and National League branches ‘centred around chapels’; it would have been unusual for a priest to hold the position of secretary of a ‘League’ branch, as a study of County Tipperary has shown. In Tipperary, ‘the laity generally filled some of the most vital positions, especially that of secretary’.⁸⁷ Thereafter Hyland received a letter from the Glenmore tenants signed by them (J. Fitzgerald, M. Delaney and L. Gahan), and by the parish priest Fr Nolan and Fr Dunphy, claiming an allowance.⁸⁸ Hyland refused the allowance but said he would give the same abatement as the previous year, and he further stated that he would have no objection to having a rent fixed by court.⁸⁹ Recourse to the land court was well established at this stage and the Ashbourne Act, Purchase of Land (Ire.) Act, 1885 was in force increasing the loan limit for land purchase to 100%.⁹⁰ The question of land purchase did not arise in the case of the Kilmakevoge tenants at this time, as will be demonstrated. With regard to the land courts, rents were invariably reduced, and the tenants, one would have thought, should have been aware of this. Tenants

⁸³ 8 Apr. 1887 F3 146-7 JPH (HP).

⁸⁴ 21 May 1886 F3 126-7 JPH (HP).

⁸⁵ 7 May 1883 F6 JPH (HP).

⁸⁶ Clark, *Social origins*, p. 340.

⁸⁷ James O’Shea, *Priests, politics and society in post-famine Ireland: a study of county Tipperary* (Dublin, 1983), pp 73, 81.

⁸⁸ 24 Feb. 1887 F3 142-3 JPH (HP).

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ 48 & 49 Vict., c. 73; Comerford, ‘Land Act’, p. 309.

had the right to initiate proceedings and Hyland may have been hopeful for as favourable a decision as possible.

The Clergy

When necessary, as has been demonstrated, and this was typically when an issue needed to be resolved, Hyland sought the intercession of the clergy. In his dealings with his tenants sometimes he required the assistance of priests; however, they did not always provide the help or lead to the resolution that he desired, indeed their efforts were more often an aid to the tenant farmers. The priests acted as intermediaries between tenant and landlord in cases where disputes arose and as Hyland's estate typifies, disputes and argumentation arose almost invariably over the payment or non-payment of rent as the case may have been. It was ironic that should Hyland and his sister Margaret have failed to have issue that the estate should, as has been shown, according to the terms of their mother's deed, be conveyed to the Roman Catholic bishop of Ossory and the parish priests of Mullinavat and Glenmore.

Michael Ribby: a Tenant

Hyland asked Fr Raftice of Mullinavat to contact his tenant, Michael Ribby.⁹¹ The upshot of his visit to Fr Raftice, concerning Ribby, was that he wrote to R. H. Kelly at Rathculiheen, Waterford, and said that he 'may as well give the necessary notice to the relieving officer and also communicate with the Sheriff'.⁹² He also intended to serve ejectment notices on Power, Delaney and Durney.⁹³ The parish priest was written to again later that year; this time Hyland informed him that 'he could not now accept Ribby's offer of £15, where so much is due'.⁹⁴ However, he would only allow him to dispose of his interest to a new tenant who had his (Hyland's) approval.⁹⁵ Hyland could impose such a restriction presumably because Ribby had not paid his rent. Once more, he wrote to Kelly concerning Ribby, and said he would accept nothing less than one year's rent.⁹⁶ In early 1888, he yet again called to Fr Raftice and discussed Ribby's case.⁹⁷ Fr Raftice later sent a note to Hyland

⁹¹ 21 June 1887 F3 157 JPH (HP).

⁹² 21 Aug. 1887 F3 167 JPH (HP).

⁹³ 18 Sept. 1887 F3 170 JPH (HP).

⁹⁴ 18 Nov. 1887 F3 174-5 JPH (HP).

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ 21 Nov. 1887 F3 176 JPH (HP).

⁹⁷ 12 Jan. 1888 E2 JPH (HP).

pleading Ribby's case and saying that he was 'very poor'; Hyland, while he agreed with this, said that Ribby had not paid rent for six years and thought the best outcome for his tenant would be for him to accept 'a moderate sum for his goodwill' - meaning he should surrender his land.⁹⁸ A fortnight passed and Hyland had heard nothing from Fr Raftice or Ribby.⁹⁹ Meanwhile Hyland was asking for an overdraft from his bank.¹⁰⁰ And in addition, he would later sell some 'Standard Bank' shares.¹⁰¹ The following January Hyland received a letter from the Reverend P. Downey, the curate in Mullinavat; in his reply he said he would not accept Ribby's offer of £10.¹⁰² In 1890, Ribby, Durney and McCarthy were all still of concern to him.¹⁰³ Ribby died, it seems, in late 1890; Mrs Ribby was then the focus of his attention.¹⁰⁴ John McCarthy, Farnoge East, Mullinavat was then threatened with an eviction.¹⁰⁵

Recourse to the Law

Rent was always a subject of contention for landlord and tenant, but now, since 1881, there was the mechanism of the land court to adjudicate. A decade later correspondence with R. H. Kelly continued to be about the failure of tenants to pay; John P. wrote 'the tenants want to hold on and pay nothing'.¹⁰⁶ Hyland wished that McCarthy's farm would be transferred from the county court to the Land Commission Court.¹⁰⁷ There was a distinction between the county court and the Land Commission Court. Under the 1881 land act sub-commissioners were appointed to hear cases and this was the most popular means of fixing rents. Much less used were the county courts, cases could also be resolved by means of amicable agreements or arbitration where the agreements would be registered with the Land Commission.¹⁰⁸ Proceedings against McCarthy, Durney, and McDonald were issued.¹⁰⁹ Bridget McGrath of Kilmakevoge sent an originating notice to her landlord's solicitor, Feely, in order to have a fair rent fixed for her holding by the

⁹⁸ 29 Jan. 1888 F3 181-2 JPH (HP).

⁹⁹ 9 Feb. 1888 F3 186-7 JPH (HP).

¹⁰⁰ 9 Feb. 1888 F3 186 JPH (HP).

¹⁰¹ 25 Mar. 1888 F3 189 JPH (HP).

¹⁰² 31 Jan. 1889 F3 195 JPH (HP).

¹⁰³ 20 Oct. 1890 F3 208 JPH (HP).

¹⁰⁴ 17 Nov. 1890 F3 210 JPH (HP).

¹⁰⁵ 20 Dec. 1890 F3 213 JPH (HP).

¹⁰⁶ 16 Mar. 1891 F3 218 JPH (HP).

¹⁰⁷ 22 Mar. 1891 F3 219 JPH (HP).

¹⁰⁸ Donnelly, *The land and the people*, pp 286-7.

¹⁰⁹ 2 Sept. 1891 F3 221 JPH (HP).

possession of Durney's and Ribby's farms to R. H. Kelly, my agent'.¹¹⁵ A fortnight later, he met with Ribby and Durney at Fr Raftice's house in Mullinavat.¹¹⁶ As it transpired, as has been outlined previously, the Ribby and Durney families continued in possession after this. It seems likely that Fr Raftice's intervention had diffused the situation.

Glenmore Tenants

The Kilmakevoge tenant's case was brought before the sub-commission in 1888. The Land Law (Ire.) Act, 1887 had granted leaseholders the right to have their rents adjudicated by the Land Commission'.¹¹⁷ They had decided to seek the fixing of a judicial rent having failed to reach an agreement with Hyland. Despite the intercession of the priests of Glenmore parish, Hyland's decision had not been altered. His offer of abatement was rejected and his refusal to give a reduction led the tenants to the court. A cutting (inserted in his journal) from the *Kilkenny Moderator* detailed the cases from Hyland's estate brought before the Land Sub-Commission in Waterford; Pearce Kelly appeared for Hyland.¹¹⁸ Captain Dawson was a witness for Hyland before the Land Commission.¹¹⁹ There was a system of arbitration in operation with the commissioners adjudicating. Mr Power, for Gahan, valued his holding at £13 9s. and Captain Dawson, for Hyland, assessed its value as £29.

The other cases from Kilmakevoge brought before the court were as follows:

John Fitzgerald 28 acres, rent £32, valuation £30, (Power £14, Dawson £26)

Michael Delaney 63 acres, rent £44, valuation £46, (Power £18, Dawson £36)

¹¹⁵ 6 Aug. 1889 E3 JPH (HP).

¹¹⁶ 21 Aug. 1889 E3 JPH (HP).

¹¹⁷ 50 & 51 Vict., c. 20.

¹¹⁸ 9 Apr. 1888 E2 JPH (HP); *KM*, 7 Apr. 1888.

¹¹⁹ 23, 27 June 1890 F3 206-7 JPH (HP).

The court was adjourned.¹²⁰ When the court was reconvened, Laurence Gahan's rent was reduced to £22 10s., Fitzgerald's to £20 and Delaney's to £27.¹²¹ This equated to a 43, 38 and 40 per cent reduction in rent respectively. Comparatively this was a high percentage decrease. In Nenagh, County Tipperary, James O'Shea's work concludes that the sub-commissioners granted decreases ranging from 8% to 50%, but 11% to 19% was the normal range.¹²² While nationally during the years 1881-5 the average reduction had been 20%.

According to the rental and account in the estate of J. P. Hyland Esq for the year ended 25 March 1891, accounted and produced by R. H. Kelly, The Mall, Waterford, the following townlands and tenants were listed:

Kilmakevoge

Reps John Fitzgerald
Same (late McDonald)
Robert Fluskey
Reps John Fitzgerald
Michael Delaney
Laurence Gahan

Rathnasmolagh

Margaret Doherty
Reps Thomas Power
Thomas Durney

Farnoge

John McCarthy
Michael Ribby
Edmond Forristal

Folk's mill [or Fahy]

Thomas Fitzgerald

Farnoge East

James Fowley¹²³

Information contained in these accounts reveal that the representatives of Thomas Power were in arrears amounting to £123 6s. 3d. and that John McCarthy of Farnoge was in arrears of £103 5s. The total rents received as per rental were £288 1s. 10d. Of note too was that Richard Grace received 'one year's salary' as a 'rent

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Newspaper cutting E2 JPH (HP).

¹²² O'Shea, *Priests, politics and society*, p. 93.

¹²³ Rental and Account of the estate of J. P. Hyland for the year ended 25 March 1891 JPH (HP).

warner' of £2. There were considerable arrears in the estate right through the 1890s.¹²⁴

Table 6.1 Arrears in pounds (approximate) in Hyland's Estate (1890-3, 1895, 1898)

	Rent	90	91	92	93	95	98	
Kilmakevoge								
Fitzgerald	12			1	5	4	13	*
McDonald	2	1	1	1	1	2	3	
Curran	2							
Fluskey	7	6					3	
Fitzgerald	20	34	6	16	16	20	20	
Delaney	27		23	23	23	23	22	
Gahan	22	32	29	29	29	29	29	
Rathnasmol...								
Doherty	33	16	20	36	41	22	21	
Power	49	98	123	140	147	147	197	*
Durney	51	14	19	51	65	76	138	*
Farnoge								
McCarthy	25	95	103	112	111	113		*
Ribby	31	15	31	44	60	72	88	*
Forristal	22		6					
Folk's mill/Fahy								
Fitzgerald	30	15	15	15	15	15	15	
Farnoge East								
Fowley	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	*

Source: Data abstracted from Hyland Papers. * indicates those whom Hyland issued instructions to proceed against in 1895.

Fitzgerald of Kilmakevoge, Power and Durney in Rathnasmolagh, McCarthy and Ribby in Farnoge and Fowley in Farnoge East were all selected for legal action in 1895. Though by 1898 only McCarthy had cleared his arrears while in the other five

¹²⁴ R. H. Kelly to J. P. Hyland Rental and Accounts (1890-3, 95, 98) JPH (HP).

cases arrears had increased. The situation with the tenants continued to be problematic for Hyland. In 1904 Robert Fluskey owed over £30 and Margaret Durney owed over £254 and in 1907 Mrs Fitzgerald owed over £107 in rent.¹²⁵ Once more Hyland instructed his solicitor to proceed against these tenants for rent payment.

Table 6.2 Total actual rents, arrears and estate income due for a six-year period (1890-3, 1895, 1898)

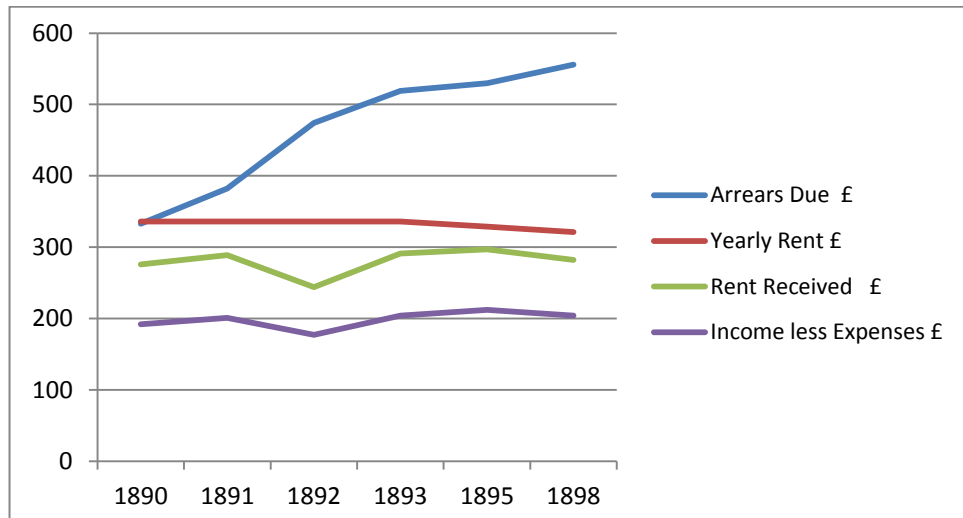
Year	Yearly Rent £ s. d.	Arrears Due £ s. d.	Rent Received £ s. d.	Income less Expenses £ s. d.
1890	336 17 6	333 4 11	276 16 6	192 12 8
1891		382 7	289 9 6	201 15 7
1892		474 11	244 7 1	177 14 4
1893		519 13 7	291 14 11	204 5 4
1895	329 7 6	530 2 3	297 14 10	212
1898	321 17 6	556 10 6	282 18 7	204 11

Source: Data abstracted from Hyland Papers

According to the rental and accounts furnished by R. H. Kelly; Fitzgerald, Delaney and Gahan in Kilmakevoge had judicial rents fixed by 1895. Doherty in Rathnasmolagh and McCarthy in Farnoge also had judicial rents while all the other tenants paid a yearly rent on the gale days with the exception of the representatives of Fowley (McCarthy) who had a weekly rent.

¹²⁵ Feb. 1904, Jan. 1907 - Michael Buggy, solicitor, to John P. Hyland Miscellaneous Costs Document, p. 4 JPH (HP).

Chart 6.1 Relationship of arrears to rent and income on Hyland’s estate (1890s)



Source: Data abstracted from Hyland Papers (approximate values are given)

The above chart shows that there is a clear divergence between arrears due and the yearly rents while Hyland’s estate income (less expenses) mirrors the rent received. Arrears in the estate during this period were constantly rising. Additionally, when direct estate expenses were taken into account, income was about a hundred pounds less than the rent received and in the worst year 1892 more than one hundred and fifty pounds less than the rent that was owed in that year.

Census Information

Census material provides some additional evidence as to the position of the tenants, not only demographically, but also economically. Less than a decade later (1901) in Kilmakevoge, Laurence Gahan was a fifty year old married man with three sons; he was living in a second class house and had the second largest number of out-offices (ten) of farms in the townland.¹²⁶ Michael Delaney’s farmstead seemed the most substantial with fourteen out-buildings. Delaney lived in a third-class house with seven windows to the front, whereas Gahan’s dwelling had four windows at the front. This indicates a degree of prosperity for both Delaney and Gahan. John McDonald was listed as a labourer on his own holding. Neither, Fitzgerald, or Fluskey are recorded by the census.

¹²⁶ *Census of Ireland* (1901) (<http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie>) (08 Apr. 2013).

A decade later the *Census of Ireland* (1911) gave further indication of the demographic position in these townlands. Using the 1911 census demonstrates that the tenants were still in their holdings. Hyland remained as landlord at this time as has been shown. Most of the surnames remained in these farms. When Hyland came to dispose of his estate under the Wyndham Act of 1903, most of the same family names remained; if not, they were the inheritors of the landholdings.

Bridget Gahan of Kilmakevoge was sixty-seven years old in 1911 and the census lists that she has three adult sons living with her, Michael, John and Patrick.¹²⁷ She was a widowed farmer who spoke both Irish and English. The house and building form shows that she was residing in a second-class house, meaning that it had somewhere between six and eleven rooms. Nationally 56% of the population lived in houses of 5 or more rooms in 1901.¹²⁸ In the 1901 census Delaney's house was classified as second-class, by 1911, Michael Delaney lived in a first-class house with over twelve rooms. The graduation in his class of house is tangible proof of an increase in his prosperity. Although Margaret Fitzgerald did not reside there, she was the landholder on which the houses where Bridget Grant and Anne MacDonald resided. John Costello, James Malone and William Purcell had third-class houses on Michael Delaney's landholding. Costello and Malone had two rooms each in their house while Purcell had a single room. Again, Delaney and Gahan had the largest numbers of out-offices as shown on the 'out-offices and farm-steadings return form'.

John Forristal lived in a first-class house in the townland of Farnoge in 1901. In Farnoge East in 1911, seventy-six year old Mary McCarthy was the only occupant. She was a single lady who could not read. Her house was on the landholding of Philip McCarthy, Hyland's tenant who resided in Farnoge West in a third-class house. James 'Rigby' was a single man in 1911. He was a son of Michael Ribby. Despite his prolonged confrontations with the landlord and his agents, the *Census of Ireland* (1901) shows that Michael Ribby (though this contradicts previous evidence) was living in the townland and was seventy-five years of age.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ *Census of Ireland* (1911) (<http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie>) (08 Apr. 2013).

¹²⁸ Vaughan, *Landlords and tenants in Ireland*, p. 4.

¹²⁹ *Census of Ireland* (1901).

Thomas Fitzgerald occupied a second-class house in 1901 in Fahy. Mary Fitzgerald continued residing in Fahy, Rossinan in 1911. She was a sixty-one year old widow and one of the Fitzgeralds 'of the mill', indeed, there is one James Grant whose occupation is listed as 'miller' on the census form.

Edmond Power, Thomas Durney and John Doherty all lived in second-class houses and all had land-holdings in Rathnasmolagh in 1901. Rathnasmolagh was in Rossinan civil parish where it was recorded that John Durney was resident; he was thirty-nine years and could not read in 1911.

The census returns conclusively demonstrates that there was a persistence of family occupancy in Hyland's estate. Family names persisted and the house and building return forms show that the tenants were mostly residing in first or second-class houses indicating some level of prosperity. If there was any divergence from the norm it was in the case of the smaller tenants. Even here there is hardly any evidence of change in occupying families; for example, only Robert Fluskey and James Fowley were not recorded on the census forms, either in 1901 or 1911, in these townlands; yet Fluskey, it will be shown, remained a tenant according to the valuation list. The continuity of occupancy is also evidenced in the succession from father to son, husband to wife etc. Representatives and successors of tenants continued to be John P. Hyland's tenants until the lands were purchased under the land purchase act. Taking all the evidence into account it seems that that despite many threats there was seldom an eviction, if any, during these decades.

List of tenants with purchase price listed by John P. Hyland:

	Tenant	Townland	£
1	Mary Fitzgerald	Fahy	551
2	Joseph Reddy	Farnoge	336
3	Philip McCarthy	“ ”	48
4	do	“ ” East	386
5	Michael Delaney	Kilmakevoge	595
6	Bridget Gahan Junior		496
7	Margaret Fitzgerald senior		441
8	do		44
9	do		205
10	John Curran		55
1	do		170
2	Glenmore Co-op	JP O’Donovan sec	34
3	John Doherty	Rathnasmolagh	573
4	John Durney		809
5	Edmond Power		761
6	James Ribby	Farnoge East	<u>451</u>
	Total		<u>5955</u> ¹³⁰

The above figures appear to show the ultimate purchase price, without the bonus offered under the Wyndham Act. The figures add up to a total of £5955 or an average of almost £8 per acre.

On 4 February 1909, Kelly’s account recorded that remitted to John P. Hyland Esq, was a total of £16 2s. 10d. (Interest paid), £2 2s. 3d. (Unpaid). These accounts noted the position as far as 25 July 1913.¹³¹ The bonus on purchase money of the estate was given to Rev. John P. Hyland.¹³² The bonus was for 12% of the total sale price, so this was a considerable sum, perhaps six or seven hundred pounds.¹³³ The matter of the bonus was transacted in late 1912.

All this evidence points to the conclusion of the purchase of the estate by the tenants at this time and that the purchase was under the 1903 Land Act. Since the Land War, land ceased to be an attractive investment and this was undoubtedly true in Hyland’s case.¹³⁴ The 1903 Act provided Hyland with an opportunity to dispose

¹³⁰ 4 Feb. 1909 A2 26-7a RPH (HP).

¹³¹ 25 July 1913 A2 44-5a RPH (HP).

¹³² November 1912 account in Michael Buggy solicitor to John P. Hyland Miscellaneous Costs Document, p. 6 JPH (HP).

¹³³ Beckett, *The making of* p. 407.

¹³⁴ Vaughan, *Landlords and tenants in Ireland*, p. 34.

of the estate at what were the most favourable terms to date. The valuation of the estate around the time of the land purchase was about £300. We know that the total of the figures in table amount to just £6000; if this is the purchase price then it equates to approximately twenty years purchase. Including the bonus, the total received for the sale was less than £6700. This in turn was less than the £7025 originally paid by the Hylands over half a century earlier.

Table 6.3 Summary extract from Cancelled Books Valuation Lists: Hyland listed as landlord

Townland	Tenant	Acres	Valuation	Year
		A R P	£ s. d.	
Kilmakevoge	Delaney	63	34	1906
	Fluskey	17	8 15	1913
	McDonnell	- 3		1909
	Fitzgerald Rb.	3 3 10	2 5	1913
	Fitzgerald Ml.	63	40	1914
	Curran	0 3 9	- 10	1914
	Gahan	55	29	1910
Farnoge	Reddy	39	15	1910
	McCarthy	2	1 5.	1915
Farnoge East	McCarthy	115	28 14	1915
	Rigby (Ribby)	95	28 16	1918
Fahy(Folk's mill)	Fitzgerald Ml	30	19	1908
Rathnasmolagh	Power	97	35	1915
	Durney	97	32	1915
	Doherty	66	21 10	1915
	Power	2 0 14	15	1915

Source: Cancelled books for above townlands Valuation Office, Dublin.

Selling his land under the Wyndham Act was probably the best possible outcome for Hyland and was at the same time a favourable option from the tenants' point of view.

What was the outcome for the Hyland farm at Shellumsrath and the home farm at Clonmoran? How were they managed during this difficult period? How did the sale of the estate affect his farms? Did family legacies assist Hyland when his finances were undermined? The next chapter will examine Hyland as a tenant and the relationship with his own landlords over this period.

Plate 6.3 Clonmoran House (2009)



Source: Photograph by author

CHAPTER 7

Tenant and Farm, 1880-1917

Hyland as a Tenant

Hyland's was rather a unique case in that he was an individual who was at the same time a landlord and a tenant. He was the tenant of Clonmoran where he resided and also the tenant of Shellumsrath, an adjoining farm. Landlord/tenant relations were straightforward in theory and complicated in practice, particularly in the 1880s, and especially for Hyland. As a landed proprietor and as a tenant, Hyland's policy was surely one of making the best of both situations. He needed to pay as little rent as possible while he received as much rent as could be gained from his tenants. This of course was in his absolute interest in terms of the profit he could derive from his enterprises. Income had to exceed expenditure in order to maintain the viability of his business and to preserve the lifestyle he and his family were accustomed to. It is clear from Hyland's letters that he was not reticent to haggle with his landlord, though the evidence suggests that he was somewhat less successful in this respect than he was in his dealings with his own tenants.

Notwithstanding the efforts he made with his tenants, their rents were invariably in arrears from the late 1870s on. This imbalance could be seen as a result of poor management; however, typically Irish landlords were in the same position.¹ Hyland saw himself as a gentleman who would pay his debts even though the payment would be under protest. Despite protestations to his landlords, he paid his rent and was not in arrears. His sense of honour did not deter him from processing the eviction of his tenants and certainly, in this period, in the case of Mrs McGrath and Michael Ribby an eviction was processed after an extended period of negotiations; nevertheless, ultimately the evictions did not take place. The threat of eviction was a tactic employed by landlords to exact rent from their tenants. A study of neighbouring Queen's County

¹ Dooley, *Decline of the big house*, p. 95.

(County Laois) has shown that there was a general unwillingness to evict.² A picture develops of Hyland as a tenant who would pay his rent eventually, despite considerable difficulty, and as a landlord who was desperate enough to accept a considerable degree of inconvenience before he was forced to act in his interest. Even when he finally acted, his actions did not often result in any kind of a beneficial outcome.

Shellumsrath

In 1880, in a letter to his landlord of the Shellumsrath farm, Thomas Neville, Tudor House, Dún Laoghaire, Hyland referred to ‘the depressed state of agriculture’.³ He was reluctantly paying 20% over Griffith’s Valuation and was looking for a reduction in rent. Moreover, he stated to Neville that he had ‘drained, manured and improved your land’.⁴ In reply to the answer he got from Neville, in which Neville refused a reduction, Hyland said that he had tenants himself and that they had declined to give him Griffith’s Valuation.⁵ He referred to Shellumsrath as the ‘Maher farm’ and that when he originally ‘took it up farming prospects were so different’, and as a result the rent should be reduced. Evidence from the later Shellumsrath Racecourse Agreement revealed that there was a lease dated 22 November 1870 and that he had deduced title from 7 March 1860.⁶ Certainly in 1870 agriculture in Ireland was in a far better state than it was ten years later.

In view of a probable new land bill, Hyland said he would give the government valuation and then abide by the land laws by paying whatever was due. This ‘bill’ was what came to be Gladstone’s second Land Act (1881).

Whilst he suffered from bronchitis and was confined to bed he was again corresponding with the landlord of Shellumsrath, Thomas Neville, and when ‘out of bed’ again he was asking for the government valuation of his rent as he bemoaned the

² J. W. H. Carter, *The land war and its leaders in Queen’s county* (Portlaoise, 1994), pp 11-2.

³ 2 Dec. 1880 F7 1 JPH (HP).

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ 14 Dec. 1880 F7 2 JPH (HP).

⁶ Proposed agreement (3 July 1914) between John P. Hyland and Thomas F. Murphy *et al* JPH (HP).

price of store cattle.⁷ He did however enclose a cheque for £172 12s. 9d., for the full rent, but still expected some allowances and pleaded to the landlord ‘in all fairness’.⁸

Gorman, a deceased tenant of Neville’s, presumably at Shellumsrath, died around the last months of 1880 and he is the subject of some correspondence. Hyland was a witness to the ‘surrender’ of his farm and enquired of Neville if the farm were available at Gorman’s late rent.⁹ This may have been a small holding on the farm.

On 8 February 1882, Hyland sent a cheque for the rent of Shellumsrath to his landlord Thomas Neville, this time at Rathgar Mansion, Upper Rathmines, Dublin. The cheque totalled £162 15s. 6d. This amount would seem to relate to the entire townland of Shellumsrath, or the greater part thereof.

Although he paid, it was not without protest, he complained to Neville that he had ‘made nothing from your farm for the past year’.¹⁰ ‘Tillage does not pay and your land cannot be got to grow grass’, he continued.¹¹ The market for arable produce at this time was poor both locally and nationally. Gribbon has shown that crop prices were falling from 1880 to 1885.¹² Additionally it may have been that yields of barley and wheat were very poor in 1882, as a contemporary account of a County Wicklow farm revealed.¹³ Ó Gráda has shown us that the Barrington farm, near Bray, saw wheat and barley yields that were less than half the norm in 1882.¹⁴ Such a lowering of yield would absolutely diminish the value of the crops when one takes into consideration the poor prices; Hyland had an argument, albeit one that could be applied universally to tillage farms in Ireland. It is more difficult to understand why the Shellumsrath farm was such a poor producer of grass, especially as Hyland was so particular in his farming practices and would have, as he claimed, ‘drained, manured and improved the land’. Again weather conditions may have had a negative effect on grass growth. Of

⁷ 25 Jan. 1881 F7 8 JPH (HP).

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ 15 Apr. 1881 F7 12 JPH (HP).

¹⁰ 8 Feb. 1882 F3 25 JPH (HP).

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Gribbon, ‘Economic and social history’, p. 272.

¹³ Ó Gráda, *A new economic history*, p. 261.

¹⁴ Ibid.

course, Hyland may have been inclined to exaggerate in order to strengthen his case for a rent reduction.

Thomas Neville, the landlord of Shellumsrath, died in the second half of 1883.¹⁵ Neville was succeeded by Joseph William Thacker of Tudor House, Glenageary, Dún Laoghaire, County Dublin.¹⁶ Hyland wrote to him in December and requested that his new landlord would wait until ‘the middle of February’ for his rent, when he would have a lot of cattle to sell. Another letter followed where he asked for an abatement from the landlord; if it was not forthcoming, he advised him that he could ‘take up’ his land.¹⁷ This ultimatum was never acted upon.

Joseph William Thacker of Borrismore House, Urlingford (this was his country address, formerly the residence of the Nevilles) was a magistrate for County Kilkenny and would have attended the local assizes.¹⁸ Having not met Thacker at the assizes, as he had hoped, yet another letter was sent where Hyland understood that the landlord would ‘walk the land’.¹⁹ Thacker indeed walked the land ten months later, when Hyland was absent from home; and though ‘not complaining’, Hyland mentioned that there were disadvantages in being near Kilkenny city; these impediments were high rates and taxes and the fact that the farm was liable to trespass.²⁰

Hyland also mentioned that former tenants Neill and Maher (who held the upper portion of Shellumsrath), had to give up the tenancy as they were unable to pay the rent; additionally he informed the owner that the quarry at Shellumsrath was of little advantage to him.²¹ James Maher had held 60 acres, 3 roods and 8 perches of the upper portion of Shellumsrath in 1849, from Thomas Neville while William O’Neill had the lower portion containing 67 acres, 3 roods and 33 perches from the same landlord.²²

¹⁵ 16 Nov. 1883 E6 JPH (HP).

¹⁶ 9 Dec. 1883 F3 67 JPH (HP).

¹⁷ 14 Feb. 1884 F3 72-3 JPH (HP).

¹⁸ Bassett, *Kilkenny*, p. 153.

¹⁹ 17 Mar. 1884 F3 76-7 JPH (HP). NB This letter was mistakenly dated ‘1874’.

²⁰ 8 Jan. 1885 F3 91-2 JPH (HP).

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Griffith’s Valuation (1849), townland of Shellumsrath, parish of St Patrick’s, county of Kilkenny.

Hyland, in concluding, proposed that he would to pay the government valuation.²³ Up to this point Hyland had held the lower portion of Shellumsrath townland, the area directly opposite the Clonmorán entrance. The previous evidence suggests that he acquired an interest in the upper portion in the early 1870s some years before he had surrendered the possession of the Drakeland farm to Sarah Bibby.

John P. Hartford was Hyland's principal solicitor, at this time and had offices in Dublin and Kilkenny; he received a letter on 10 October 1885 from his client, requesting him to dictate a letter to Thacker, where Hyland stated that he 'had no fancy to meddle with the land purchase bill at the moment'.²⁴ A month later, in reply to Thacker's correspondence, he asked for a 25% abatement, and wrote:

I cannot continue to hold the farm and you are aware that if I give it up the letting to another, as the country now is, will be an impossibility. With regard to the new purchase bill, I would suggest that you should consent to the Land Commissioners fixing a fair rent and then we might arrange as to purchasing. No solvent tenant who means to meet the Government instalments will in any event agree to more than ten to twelve years purchase of his farm and if landlords delay they may be glad to accept much less after a few years more JPH²⁵

Possibly in a response to this argument, Thacker said he would reduce the rent for the year ending September 1885 by 15%.²⁶ Hyland was intent on putting pressure on the landlord by using all possible lines of argument to advance his position. The same arguments undoubtedly would have been refuted by him if advanced by his own tenants.

In the aftermath of his response, it is not clear why, but Thacker then served a writ. Hyland was forced to pay the full rent under protest though he maintained his request for abatement, now hopefully, to be given in the form of a refund.²⁷ In 1887, Thacker gave a reduction of ten per cent, Hyland argued that other tenants of Shellumsrath, who

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ 10 Oct. 1885 F3 103-4 JPH (HP).

²⁵ 13 Nov. 1885 F3 104-5 JPH (HP).

²⁶ 1 Jan. 1886 G2 JPH (HP).

²⁷ 18 Mar. 1886 F3 117-8 JPH (HP).

received a reduction of fifteen per cent, were paying the government valuation and would likely get the same allowance.²⁸ Baunreagh townland adjoining Shellumsrath was also in the possession of Thacker and would have been known locally as Shellumsrath. These tenants would have had small holdings in comparison with Hyland and he requested that Thacker ‘think the matter over’ and treat him equally. Presumably Thacker had decided that he could not afford to allow Hyland as large a reduction given the size of his holding.

Clonmoran

Sir John Blunden (1814-90) was the landlord of Clonmoran where Hyland’s farm adjoined the demesne of Castle Blunden. The boundary was delineated for the most part by a stone wall. Blunden was recorded as owning a total of 1846 acres in 1876.²⁹ By 1887 Hyland was asking for a reduction in rent from Sir John, he stated it was ‘impossible for tenants to pay old rents’ and cited that the ‘Land Commission had even made reductions on their previous adjudications’.³⁰ Blunden was apprised that Hyland’s rent was being paid ‘out of capital for the past five years’.³¹ He had discussed the abatement of the Clonmoran rent with Sir John’s brother, ‘a gentleman experienced in farming’. Sir John, who was the 3rd baronet, had a brother William Pitt Blunden who resided three miles away at Bonnettstown Hall, Kilkenny; he appears to be the ‘experienced’ gentlemen that Hyland referred to. Hyland met Sir John and William Blunden later that month, Sir John was ‘very grim’ and refused to give an abatement and said he would like to ‘get up the farm’; William said he would make a small allowance for improvements.³²

He withdrew the originating notice in the case of Sir John on December 6 1887.³³ By this action the legal proceedings that had been initiated were stopped, or so it seemed. He may have felt at this stage that an agreed accommodation with Blunden about the rent of Clonmoran would be feasible. Undoubtedly, as will be shown, he had qualms

²⁸ 27 Jan. 1887 F3 138-9 JPH (HP).

²⁹ *Landowners in Ireland* (1876), p. 35.

³⁰ 11 Jan. 1887 F3 133-A JPH (HP).

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² 29 Jan. 1887 G3 JPH (HP).

³³ 6 Dec. 1887 F3 177 JPH (HP).

about breaking the lease with Blunden and hoped for a less radical course. Nevertheless, Hyland's options were limited.

Landlords

Blunden

Tensions were now rising somewhat between Hyland and his Clonmoran landlord. John P. heard through his solicitor that a third party had said that 'Sir John would raise his rent if he could'.³⁴ In the spring of the following year, in a letter to Sir John, Hyland stated that 'it is most unpleasant to be working at a loss'.³⁵ Having served an originating notice on Sir John Blunden, the nature of the relationship changed between landlord and tenant, Hyland wrote that 'there is now a disruption between us'.³⁶ This may imply that up to then the relationship may have been quite cordial. In his role as a Justice of the Peace, Hyland attended the petty sessions with Blunden and others.³⁷ He would also be encountering Sir John at the meetings of the Kilkenny Poor Law Union.

³⁴ 24 Dec. 1887 G3 JPH (HP).

³⁵ 7 Feb. 1888 F3 186 JPH (HP).

³⁶ 31 Jan. 1888 E2 JPH (HP).

³⁷ 24 Mar. 1888 E2 JPH (HP).

Plate 7.1 Castle Blunden (before recent restoration)



Source: National Inventory of Architectural Heritage
(<http://www.buildingsofireland.ie>) (2 June 2014)

There was previously a running gale (payment of rent was deferred for six months on an ongoing basis), when Blunden applied for his own rent, but this method of business was altered and rent application was left in the hands of his agent, the solicitor Lewis J. Watters.³⁸ Subsequently, Hyland called on his solicitor, Hartford, in Kilkenny, from whom he learned that Blunden did not make an offer to reduce the rent.³⁹ Hyland proposed to have Clonmoran valued and then renew the originating notice.⁴⁰ The originating notice, as has been shown, was a declaration under the Land Acts whereby the tenant applied to the court to have a fair rent fixed. This document was served on the landlord giving particulars of the land, schedule of improvements, rent, and lease of the property. The lease would have to be broken in order to fix a new rent. He withdrew the first notice and served Blunden with a withdrawal notice, as he was reluctant to see his way to break the lease, but then instructed Hartford to serve a new notice.⁴¹ He went on to serve the new originating notice on 9 April 1889 and this was a

³⁸ *KJ*, 31 Dec. 1881.

³⁹ 11 Feb. 1888 E2 JPH (HP).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ 31 Mar. 1888 E2 JPH (HP).

topic of some debate when the case came before the land court.⁴² This was all part of the theatre of the land court, but why the change of mind? It seems clear that he felt he would be unable to reach an accommodation with Blunden.

Hyland left a copy of one such originating notice in his 1888 diary; this document related to Shellumsrath and its landlord Joseph William Thacker.⁴³ He had engaged a Mr Kidd to value the farm at Shellumsrath, for the purpose of the originating notice.⁴⁴ Kidd, in addition to a Mr Bowers, was also engaged to value Clonmoran.⁴⁵

The sub-Commission sat at Kilkenny in February 1888, the chairman said that only the payment to the landlord would be a determinant in assessing fair rent, and this was noted by Hyland.⁴⁶

In order to support his case, a valuation was sought by Hyland for his Clonmoran farm from E. Bowers, Silver Spring, Piltown, Co Kilkenny.⁴⁷ The old rent of the farm was £181 5s. 10d.⁴⁸ Bowers valued it at £130. The Clonmoran rent was reduced to £170 by the Land Commission on 3 February 1890.⁴⁹ Hyland was not satisfied with this judgement. He wrote to Bowers to ask his advice as to whether to appeal the Commission's valuation.⁵⁰ Hyland was clearly unhappy about the valuation of Clonmoran and also wrote to Hartford about it.⁵¹ Hyland's son, Richard J., then called at Hartford's office to give him instructions to appeal the decision of the sub-commissioners in relation to the Clonmoran farm.⁵² Later John P. paid the half year's rent (£85) of Clonmoran to N. G. Richardson, presumably another agent of the Blunden estate, Sir John Blunden having died in 1890.⁵³ Having not received a substantial reduction from the court, only 6%, Hyland undoubtedly felt aggrieved. Less than eleven pounds of a reduction was not what he expected especially given Bower's

⁴² *KM*, 6 Nov. 1889.

⁴³ E2 JPH (HP).

⁴⁴ 18 Feb. 1888 E2 JPH (HP).

⁴⁵ 29 Mar. 1888 E2 JPH (HP).

⁴⁶ 15 Feb. 1888 E2 JPH (HP).

⁴⁷ 30 Jan. 1888 F3 183 JPH (HP).

⁴⁸ 3 Feb. 1890 E1 JPH (HP).

⁴⁹ 22 Feb. 1890 F3 197 JPH (HP).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ 4 Mar. 1890 F3 198-9 JPH (HP).

⁵² 8 Mar. 1890 E1 JPH (HP).

⁵³ 20 Oct. 1890 F3 209 JPH (HP).

valuation. The Clonmoran verdict was appealed in 1890 and subsequently withdrawn.⁵⁴ In relation to Clonmoran the visit to the land court, from Hyland's perspective, was not very successful.

Maher's house at Clonmoran was taken into possession by Charles Hayden in October 1883.⁵⁵ This was a modest house that came with about two acres. The terms were 3s. per week and Hayden was to supply his own furniture.⁵⁶ Hayden was forgiven his first week's rent.⁵⁷ Charles Hayden gave up possession of Maher's house in February 1886.⁵⁸ This holding was owned by Sir John Blunden and Hyland may have had the middleman interest in it at this point in time.

Thacker

In 1888, Mr Thacker offered to sell his interest in Shellumsrath for £3000.⁵⁹ In 1889 John P. was 'disposed to purchase Shellumsrath' as Thacker 'was inclined to sell'. Hyland expressed the wish to have a judicial rent fixed. He offered fourteen years purchase 'previous to the case coming before the Land Commission'.⁶⁰ The rent of Shellumsrath was £162 15s. 6d. and the poor law valuation was £135 10s. Fourteen years purchase would have come to just under £2300.

In contrast, thereafter he contacted his broker, Carnegie, and instructed him to sell ten Provincial Bank shares for not less than £21 10s.⁶¹ This was a small amount relatively in the scale of his business, but he may have needed the money and thought it prudent to sell. In May 1890, he raised his offer and proposed a purchase of Shellumsrath, possibly under the Ashbourne Act, for £2500, £500 less than the asking price.⁶² Evidence from the Valuation Office records and elsewhere demonstrates that the purchase was not carried out at this time (see Table 7.1). In fact the land court sat in Kilkenny in November 1889 and the case of Shellumsrath came before the

⁵⁴ John P. Hartford to John P. Hyland, 6 Nov. 1889 - relating to the sub commission in Kilkenny dealing with the farms of Shellumsrath and Clonmoran JPH (HP).

⁵⁵ 30 Oct. 1883 F6 JPH (HP).

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ 13 Nov. 1883 F6 JPH (HP).

⁵⁸ 21 Feb. 1886 G2 JPH (HP).

⁵⁹ 27 Dec. 1888 E2 JPH (HP).

⁶⁰ 1 Jan. 1889 F3 195 JPH (HP).

⁶¹ 26 Mar. 1889 F3 196 JPH (HP).

⁶² 15 May 1890 F3 205 JPH (HP).

commissioners. Mr Hunt, who valued Shellumsrath for Thacker, gave evidence where he stated that ‘the farm was extremely well managed, showing that Mr Hyland was a good tenant’.⁶³ With the originating notice for this farm a schedule of improvements was submitted.⁶⁴ Hyland detailed the improvements he had carried out since he first took up the lease of Shellumsrath on 22 November 1870. Improvements were categorised under four distinct headings: Buildings, Fences, Drainage and Reclamation. He specified the work done to the dwelling house and out-offices as well as the building of a limekiln. Stone piers, gates made of iron and wood were erected and ninety-five perches of mason work done. Drainage was laid down both covered and open systems. Fifty-seven perches of land were reclaimed with four thousand one hundred and forty loads of manure put out on the land. This later improvement was likely calculated from the yearly production of manure with the cart loads multiplied by the number of years since the lease was entered into, i.e. about one hundred and fifty per year.

The Limestone Quarry

W. K. Cleere, Archer St, Kilkenny, a local builder, was one of those who extracted limestone from the quarry at Shellumsrath and used the lime kiln there.⁶⁵ Later, Thacker, the landlord of Shellumsrath, had threatened law-proceedings against Hyland and this caused Hyland to inform Stephen Lalor, who was quarrying, to stop.⁶⁶ W. K. Cleere’s quarrying was similarly stopped.⁶⁷ Earlier the administrator of the Roman Catholic cathedral, Reverend Walsh, called to Clonmoran and asked if a bench of stone was available for the improvement of the cathedral.⁶⁸ It is not known whether John P. gave this stone *gratis*, or sold it at a reduced rate, or possibly charged at the usual rate?

⁶³ *KM*, 9 Nov. 1889.

⁶⁴ Originating Notice Draft Sept. 1887 in diary 16 Feb. 1888 E2 JPH (HP).

⁶⁵ 29 June 1888 F3 191 JPH (HP); Bassett, *Kilkenny*, p. 88.

⁶⁶ 15 Oct. 1890 E1 JPH (HP). The actual date of this entry was 14 Oct. 1891.

⁶⁷ 18 Oct. 1890 E1 JPH (HP). The actual date of this entry was 17 Oct. 1891.

⁶⁸ 24 June 1888 E2 JPH (HP).

Table 7.1 Summary extract from Cancelled Books Valuation Lists

Townland	Tenant	Acres	Val.	Year	Landlord
		A R P			
Clonmoran	JP Hyland	125 1 27		1906	W Blunden
	RJ Hyland			1918	W Blunden
	RJ Hyland			1923	LAP in fee
Shellumsrath	JP Hyland	67 3 33	72	1904	T Neville
		60 3 8	59	1904	T Neville
	RJ Hyland	127		1920	
	FX Hyland	126		1937	

Source: Valuation Office, Dublin. **LAP** in immediate lessor column (here the landlord column) indicates that the holding has been purchased under the land purchase acts.

John P. Hyland died 2 January 1917 and his will revealed that he left a personal estate £1072 13s. The will does not contain any reference to the landed estate or to Clonmoran or Shellumsrath. His sons Richard Joseph and Francis Xavier were named as executors of his will.⁶⁹ His daughter Margaret had entered the Sisters of Charity and J. P. Hyland bequeathed £500 to the Sisters of Charity, Milltown, (County Dublin) ‘being in fulfilment of a promise which I made to the Sisters’. His daughter Mary Joseph, who was a spinster and remained at home all her life, was bequeathed £700. The residue of his estate was left to his son Francis Xavier Hyland. In 1900 J. P. Hyland had given instructions to Buggy solicitors to draw up a deed of appointment to Richard Hyland and others to the lands of Kilmakevoge.⁷⁰ At the same time he made a will with Buggys, this will was to be later superseded by his last will and testament made in 1915. By 1912 Hyland had given instructions for a deed of revocation and a new appointment relating to the lands of Kilmakevoge, Rathnasmolagh, Farnoge East and

⁶⁹ Probate (9 May 1917) of the will of John P. Hyland made 22 May 1915 with Michael Buggy solicitor JPH (HP).

⁷⁰ April 1900 account in Michael Buggy solicitor to John P. Hyland Miscellaneous Costs Document, p. 3 JPH (HP).

Fahy.⁷¹ There is mention of a ‘Caretaker agreement’ by Mr James McConnell of Shellumsrath in 1914.⁷² This was shortly before the proposed racecourse episode (see Chapter 4), so it may have some relevance to it.

The question as to the possible purchase of Clonmoran may have been considered following the Wyndham Land Act of 1903. Advantageous to landlords in a number of ways, it also benefited farmers because it guaranteed payments to the Land Commission that were lower than the existing rents.⁷³ A letter from John Blunden to J. P. Hyland provides a good indication as to the position of Clonmoran in 1904:

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of a notice from you of your intention to apply, under the Land act, for the fixing of a 2nd term judicial rent. Now as the Land act does not contemplate the existence of a running gale but expects judicial rents to be paid to date, and further in view of the question of sale under the land act 1903, which demands serious and immediate attention we consider it advisable to call in the running gale of half a year which exists in your holding- I should therefore feel obliged by your sending my one year’s rent due May 1st 1904 (£170) less the poor rate allowance for the same period viz £1 2s. 0 and remains yours truly, John Blunden.⁷⁴

Indeed in the following letter, written fifteen years later, John Blunden was anxious to inform R. J. Hyland of the merits of purchasing the Clonmoran farm by outlining what would happen if the purchase was not completed:

My dear Hyland

I should have liked to see you personally, but as that appears to be at the moment impossible and as the business is urgent, hence this letter. First of all I take it that you are willing to carry out the agreement entered into by your father with my father for the purchase of Clonmoran for the sum of £3638 now at last the period of waiting is over and the land commission are prepared to deal with our case, and they write to say that they “wont” advance more than £3000 therefore if the sale is to go through you will have to produce the balance of £638, are you willing to do this? If you are all is well and you will become owner of your farm.

If on the other hand you are not prepared to pay up the bal[ance] what happens? Just this; the sale falls through and we return to the old second term rent of £147 16s. 0. Now since the acquiring of the purchase agreement in May 1908 you have been paying to

⁷¹ 21 Oct. 1912 account in Michael Buggy solicitor to John P. Hyland Miscellaneous Costs Document, p. 5 JPH (HP).

⁷² 18 May 1914 account in Michael Buggy solicitor to John P. Hyland Miscellaneous Costs Document, p. 6 JPH (HP).

⁷³ Comerford, ‘Land Acts’, p. 309.

⁷⁴ Sir J. Blunden to John P. Hyland 16 May 1904 JPH (HP).

the Land commission a rent of £136 8s. 6d. or £11 7s. 6d. less than the old second term rent. Therefore if the sale falls through you will be called upon to pay up £11 7s. 6d. * 11 years = £125 2s. 6d. and in addition to this the value of the timber cut and sold by you, I think therefore you will agree with me that it would not be to your advantage to let the sale fall through. Please let me have an early reply to this as the matter is very urgent. I hope you are going on well you really were most unlucky to meet with such an accident in the middle of the harvest season. Yours sincerely, John Blunden.⁷⁵

Note that John Blunden (1880-1923) managed the estate for his father Sir William (1840-1923).⁷⁶ This letter indicates that an agreement for the purchase of the Clonmoran farm was entered into in 1908. Indeed Hyland appeared to have begun the purchase of Clonmoran in 1907 under the Irish land act of 1903.⁷⁷ It was not until 1923 that conclusive evidence exists to confirm that Clonmoran had been purchased by the Hylands. Family lore has it that R. J. Hyland injured his foot in a shotgun accident; this would probably have been the incident that John Blunden referred to.

Where did the money come from to purchase Clonmoran? The sale of the estate had yielded some £6000 but very little of this may have been saved for the purchase of the home farm at Clonmoran and the farm at Shellumsrath. As the above letter indicates Clonmoran would have been bought under the Wyndham Act with the Land Commission advancing £3000 of the £3638. The purchase price of Shellumsrath would have been of similar proportions. During the Great War agricultural prices were buoyant and some savings may have accrued; nonetheless, family lore has it that the dowry that Mary Ann Harrison brought with her upon her marriage to Richard J. Hyland in 1915 provided the essential capital to secure the purchase.⁷⁸ Towards the end of his life John P. Hyland had little money, as a letter from his son Rev John P. to his sister May testifies to. In relation to Richard's marriage, his brother says 'Lord knows its time' and recommends that the house be 'put in order and repaired ...before it quite falls down'.⁷⁹ He said that he would forward £200 as a wedding present, which, he

⁷⁵ John Blunden (the Cottage) to R. J. Hyland , 2 Oct 1919, Richard Joseph Hyland (hereafterRJH) (HP).

⁷⁶ Art Kavanagh, *The landed gentry and aristocracy of Kilkenny* (Dublin, 2004), p. 22.

⁷⁷ Account with Michael Buggy solicitor to John P. Hyland Miscellaneous Costs Document, 4 July 1907 p. 5 JPH (HP).

⁷⁸ Information from M. A. Hyland to Sheila Hyland.

⁷⁹ Rev. John P. Hyland to May Hyland, 17 Nov. 1911 JPH (HP).

wrote, should do ‘a good deal’. His father had of course given him the bonus money on the sale of the estate and here he is returning the favour.

Plate 7.2 Castle Blunden: the view from Clonmoran post-recent restoration (2011)



Source: Photograph by author

Earlsrath

In 1883 a donation towards the building of the convent at Knock, Co Mayo, was offered at the behest of ‘a lady friend’ of John P. Hyland, probably his aunt, Alice Walsh, for an annual high Mass for herself and her deceased friends.⁸⁰ The apparition at Knock had been just four years earlier. Aunt Alice, who resided at Earlsrath (the

⁸⁰ 12 Aug. 1883 F3 55 JPH (HP).

Walsh homestead) died 14 February 1884.⁸¹ Her will was dictated a little more than two weeks earlier:

Last Will and Testament of Alice Walsh

In the name of God amen. This is the last will and testament of me Alice Walsh of Earlsrath in the County of Kilkenny, spinster. I hereby revoke all wills in other testamentary depositions at any time heretofore made by me. I give devise and bequeath all property of which I may die seized possessed of and in anyway entitled to unto John Patrick Hyland of Clonmoran in the County of Kilkenny, Esquire, and I appoint the said John Patrick Hyland executor of my will. In witness, whereas, I have herewith, subscribed my name this 29th day of January 1884. Alice * Walsh her Mark

Signed by the testatrix in the presence of us both present at the same time Patrick C. O’Gorman Margaret Cogan O’Gorman⁸²

Alice Walsh died later in 1884 and Hyland became the immediate lessor of Earlsrath. Earlsrath contained just over 144 acres and had a valuation of a little under £120.⁸³ In 1887, the state of Hyland’s finances seemed to be deteriorating. This was evidenced when he asked Kelly, his solicitor/land agent to look into the possibility of obtaining a loan of £250 or £200 on the security of the lease of Earlsrath.⁸⁴ This idea must have arisen in the wake of the following information that his letter book testifies to.

⁸¹ 14 Feb. 1884 E6 JPH (HP).

⁸² Copy of the will of Alice Walsh, 29 Jan. 1884 JPH (HP).

⁸³ Griffith’s Valuation (1850) townland of Earlsrath, barony of Knocktopher, county of Kilkenny.

⁸⁴ 18 Jan. 1887 F3 134 JPH (HP).

Plate 7.3 Estate map of Earlsrath (1823)



Source: Hyland Papers

The Provincial Bank had given him an overdraft of £1200, holding in part as security West of England Insurance for £100 (a company established in 1807), and fifty of his Waterford and Tramore railway shares which paid £15 per annum.⁸⁵ To gain additional security he deposited the assignment of fee simple property, of which he had got the life use: that is, the lease of Earlsrath. Using this collateral he wanted to clear off his debt, which amounted to £600, and he additionally wanted to get this amount from a private source. Thus he wrote to his Dublin solicitor, Hartford, and asserted that he did not want to obtain a loan from O’Gorman (his brother-in-law) as O’Gorman had been ‘mulcted by the Munster Bank’.⁸⁶ ‘The Munster collapse on 15 July 1885 was headline news.’⁸⁷ The collapse of the bank resulted, to a significant degree, from the dramatic decline in the agricultural sector.⁸⁸

Plate 7.4 Earlsrath aerial view (c. 1980)



Source: Photograph courtesy of Kitty Egan, Butlerswood, Windgap

⁸⁵ 10 Jan. 1887 F3 135-6 JPH (HP); (<http://www.aviva.com/about-us/heritage/companies/west-of-england-fire-and-life-insurance-company/>) (26 May 2013).

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Cormac Ó Gráda, ‘The last major Irish bank failure: lessons for today’ Banking and finance seminar, Smurfit school, UCD 18 Nov. 2010, UCD Centre for economic research working paper series WP01/15 (<http://researchrepositories.ucd.ie>) (18 July 2013), p.7.

⁸⁸ Cormac Ó Gráda, ‘Should the Munster bank have been saved? UCD Centre for economic research working paper series WP01/15 2001-07(<http://researchrepositories.ucd.ie>) (18 July 2013), p.7.

The loan on the security of Earlsrath was alluded to again in a letter to the solicitor Kelly where Hyland acquainted him to the fact that his father, Kelly senior, had said that there would be no difficulty with the proposal.⁸⁹ Details of the lease of Earlsrath were given in a subsequent note; the lease was dated 17 September 1782 and was for a period of 99 years from 25 March 1794. This indicated that the lease was due to run out in 1893.

Hyland was now utilising Earlsrath: he sent ten cows and twenty-nine young cattle along with twenty-one goslings and a goose to the farm there.⁹⁰ Hyland from this time would have an interaction with a new landlord, Major Arthur Boyse of Bannow, County Wexford, who was the owner of Earlsrath and his agent C. F. Walker, Bannow House, New Ross. In 1876, Captain H. S. H. Boyse owned 2237 acres in County Kilkenny.⁹¹ Captain Boyse died in 1880; he had lived in Bishop's Hall, the residence that gave its name to the estate the Hylands purchased.⁹² The involvement in Earlsrath also brought John P. into more contact with his cousin John Carroll. In a letter to Pearse Kelly, Cathedral Square, Waterford, the senior partner in the law firm, regarding the will of Alice Walsh, Hyland informed him about the difficulty in distinguishing what livestock belonged to Miss Walsh and what belonged to her nephew John Carroll - as Carroll had been 'selling, replacing, shifting and changing them from his farm to hers'.⁹³ The control of the adjacent townland of Ballyluskey was in John Carroll's hands, though he may have been living with his aunt in Earlsrath and possibly was continuing to reside there after her death.

John Carroll (c. 1809-86) is still remembered in Mullinavat as a tenant-right leader and a controversial figure who donated a portion of his land for the foundation of the Holy Faith Convent there. At the time of Griffith's Valuation (1850) he was in the possession of 160 acres of Ballyluskey from Joshua Anderson of Grace Dieu, Waterford and had the middleman interest in a further 158 acres there.⁹⁴ In the wake of one incident, probably concerning the subject of the new convent, folklore has it that, it

⁸⁹ 26 Jan 1887 F3 137-8 JPH (HP).

⁹⁰ 9 June 1888 E2 JPH (HP).

⁹¹ *Landowners in Ireland* (1876), p. 35.

⁹² Kathleen Laffan, *The history of Kilmacow: a south Kilkenny parish* (Kilmacow, 1998), p. 255.

⁹³ 3 Feb. 1884 F3 70-1 JPH (HP).

⁹⁴ Griffith's Valuation (1850) townland of Ballyluskey, barony of Knocktopher, county of Kilkenny.

was said by the parish priest, with whom there was ill-feeling, that he would be 'unwept, unhonour'd, and unsung'.⁹⁵ He died in 1886. His death followed the death of his aunt Alice two years earlier. Her legacy, including their interest in the lands of Earlsrath, came into the possession of John P. Hyland, her nephew and his cousin. John Carroll's financial position was very poor in the year prior to his death as the following document attested to:

I John Carroll of Earlsrath, Co Kilkenny, farmer, hereby assign to John P. Hyland Esq Clonmoran and to Patrick Cogan O'Gorman Esq, Clontarf ,Co Dublin and most Rev Abraham Brownrigg, Roman Catholic Bishop of Ossory and successors for the time being in trust for the payment of my debts as specified on the back of this document, the following property now in my possession: four horses valued at one hundred pounds, four cows at ten pounds each two heifers at sixteen pounds six yearlings at four pounds each – thirty four tons of hay in rick sixteen to cut down but not in rick – four acres of potatoes in the ground. Eighty pounds are due by as executor to Margaret Bourne, Nevada, Anthony House, Cal, US. Forty nine to Thomas Mara for wages due to time. More in addition for rent rates and taxes (continued on back) John Carroll

Witness present Stephen Carroll Pat Holden August 24th 1885

[Continued from front page]

To David Kenneally, Newrath about £13 6s.

Ml Purcell fine- George White and sons £3 a balance to E. Forristal Miller Mullinavat.

£12 15s. is due to Mc Coy solicitor for Mrs Bourne

£12 to Wm Deady Jerpoint – if Mrs Bourne consent McCoy com? explains

August 24th 1885 Witness present Stephen Carroll Pat Holden [signed] John Carroll⁹⁶

John P. Hyland was now heavily involved in John Carroll's affairs as well as his own interests in Clonmoran, Shellumsrath, Earlsrath and the estate, which was nearby. How beneficial the addition of Earlsrath to his landholdings was is not clear. It certainly increased his responsibilities. Once more it underlines the importance of family ties and how the nature of familial relationships resulted in significant financial implications especially in terms of property.

When John Carroll was ill and described as 'very delicate', his cousin Mrs Margaret Bourne, Anthony House, Nevada County, California, U.S., was contacted, as she would

⁹⁵ Information to the author from Micheál Ó Diarmada, Anamult, Bennettsbridge, County Kilkenny (30 Sept. 2012). The quotation was from the poem 'My native land' by Sir Walter Scott.

⁹⁶ John Carroll document 24 Aug. 1885, on three shilling bill or note JPH (HP).

be a beneficiary of his estate.⁹⁷ Hyland corresponded with a Stephen Carroll, not a relation of John Carroll's but certainly a neighbour, in relation to the setting of some of the fields; this may have been in Earlsrath or Ballyluskey.⁹⁸ Stephen Carroll was a farmer from Garrandarragh, Mullinavat, and witnessed John Carroll's affidavit above.⁹⁹ A portion of Earlsrath was later set out to one Thomas Farrell, Barronswood, Piltown, County Kilkenny.¹⁰⁰

Mrs Bourne received £10 sterling, as a first instalment, after the death of John Carroll, who died on 14 May 1886.¹⁰¹ She later would receive £25 more.¹⁰² Hyland saw to it that the houses and property at Earlsrath were insured with R. J. Friel, Waterford.¹⁰³ Stephen Carroll was given the additional task of meeting with Boyse's agent and paying him with Hyland's cheque.¹⁰⁴ Carroll was also tasked with the sale of trees to 'Dermody', and was informed of the continuing rental of a field to Edmond Forristal. A few months later, an auction of timber took place; it proved unsuccessful.¹⁰⁵

A letter to Miss Brophy (possibly related to Johanna Brophy, already mentioned), 155 Alder St, Portland, Oregon, U. S., also indicated an inheritance for her, albeit a small one.¹⁰⁶ The reason that the legacy was, as Hyland put it 'a small remittance', was as a consequence of the failure of the Munster bank where it was invested.¹⁰⁷ The bank collapse had happened in 1885 and was 'largely self-inflicted', the result of mismanagement.¹⁰⁸ The money was lost, as was some other money invested by Miss Walsh. Nevertheless, the wish of John P.'s sister Mrs Cogan O'Gorman was that regardless of the collapse, a certain sum should be sent to Miss Brophy.¹⁰⁹ This lady, Miss Brophy, may have been a relation or possibly a servant as previously postulated. Miss Jane Brophy, 1419 North 8th Street, St. Louis, Missouri, United States of

⁹⁷ 18 Mar. 1886 F3 119 JPH (HP).

⁹⁸ 18 Apr. 1886 F3 122-3 JPH (HP).

⁹⁹ Bassett, *Kilkenny*, p. 275.

¹⁰⁰ 18 Oct. 1886 F3 127-8 JPH (HP).

¹⁰¹ 21 May 1886 F3 125 JPH (HP).

¹⁰² 19 Apr. 1887 F3 148 JPH (HP).

¹⁰³ 29 Nov. 1886 F3 131 JPH (HP).

¹⁰⁴ 26 Jan. 1887 F3 136-7 JPH (HP).

¹⁰⁵ 21 Apr. 1887 F3 149 JPH (HP).

¹⁰⁶ 27 Mar. 1887 F3 145 JPH (HP).

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ Ó Gráda 'Should the Munster Bank have been saved?', p. 7.

¹⁰⁹ 27 Mar. 1887 F3 145 JPH (HP).

America, duly received £60 of a legacy from Miss Walsh.¹¹⁰ Mrs Margaret Bourne received a letter with the full amount that was coming to her, a sum of £28 18s. 9d. - a total of £67 18s. 9d.¹¹¹

In November 1893 Boyse's agent Huggard wrote to Hyland.¹¹² The content of the letter reveals that Hyland and Boyse could not agree on a fair rent for Earlsrath. Boyse employed a surveyor who valued it as £128 10s. and was now demanding that this be fixed as a fair rent for the holding. Huggard threatened an originating notice if this rent was not paid. Hyland wrote 'did not reply' in a note attached to this letter. In 1894 the landlord of Earlsrath, Major Boyse, in fact sought to have a fair rent fixed.¹¹³ It looked as if Hyland was financially burdened by this farm. In any event in 1897 Hyland had decided to dispose of his interest in Earlsrath. Two auctions in February of that year were organised but there seemed to be insufficient bidders.¹¹⁴ The farm at Earlsrath was advertised for sale in early 1899.¹¹⁵ Bills were posted around Waterford city and Carrick-on-Suir and also around County Kilkenny in Callan, Gowran, Castlecomer and Thomastown; in County Kildare in Athy, Castledermot and in Kildare town for fair day; the fair days in Limerick, Kildare, Tullamore and Carlow were also targeted.¹¹⁶

Hyland's interest in the farm was eventually purchased by Matthew Woods. Boyse remained as the landlord as the farm was not purchased under the land acts by Hyland, who clearly was not in a position to do so as other evidence demonstrates. Hyland's solicitor Buggy sent a letter to the landlord's agent giving details of the sale.¹¹⁷ Legal formalities regarding the sale were not completed until 1899.¹¹⁸ Thus whatever monies Hyland made from the sale would have been received in 1899.

¹¹⁰ 13 Aug. 1887 F3 164-5 JPH (HP).

¹¹¹ 13 Aug. 1887 F3 165-6 JPH (HP).

¹¹² Martin Huggard solicitor to John P. Hyland, 23 Nov. 1893 JPH (HP).

¹¹³ Account with Michael Buggy solicitor to John P. Hyland Miscellaneous Costs Document, 30 Apr. 1915, p. 1 JPH (HP).

¹¹⁴ Account with Michael Buggy solicitor to John P. Hyland Miscellaneous Costs Document, 1 Feb. 1897, p. 11 JPH (HP).

¹¹⁵ *KJ* printing receipt (8 Feb. 1899) *KM* printing receipt (11 Feb. 1899) from McCreery Brothers auctioneers JPH (HP).

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ Account with Michael Buggy solicitor to John P. Hyland Miscellaneous Costs Document, 13 Feb. 1897, p. 1 JPH (HP).

¹¹⁸ Account with Michael Buggy solicitor to John P. Hyland Miscellaneous Costs Document, Mar. 1899, p. 3 JPH (HP).

Over one hundred years later there remains some memory of the Hyland association with Earlsrath both in the community of Mullinavat and in the Hyland family tradition.

Farm

Mindful of the management of the estate, Hyland was equally aware of the need to manage his farms (apart from Earlsrath), and not only in relation to the rents paid. He was seen as someone who ‘conducted most successful farming operations on scientific principles’.¹¹⁹ His reading reflected a scientific interest and he possessed books about the management of sheep and cattle.¹²⁰ He supported the Royal Agricultural Society’s Show in Kilkenny in 1884.¹²¹ Also, as we have seen from the evidence of Hunt (Thacker’s valuator), Shellumsrath was extremely well managed. In farming, as in every aspect of his life, John P. Hyland was exacting in his dealings; and despite the difficulties that the economic climate presented he remained progressive in his practices and modernising in his use of new technologies and innovations. By way of illustration, he set about sourcing a person to erect a hay-barn at Clonmoran in 1885.¹²² ‘Iron houses’, as they were called, were advertised in local directories.¹²³ This was said to be the first such steel hay-barn erected in the area, it was purchased in Dublin from William Martin, 12 Custom Quay, who commenced putting up the hay-shed on Monday 22 June 1885 and finished eight days later at a cost of £62 10s. net.¹²⁴ It had the same criss-cross supports as were characteristic of the nineteenth-century railway stations (See plate 7.5 below). Designed to a high standard, it remains largely intact and effective since its erection.

¹¹⁹ *Kilkenny People*, (hereafter *KP*), 6 Jan. 1917.

¹²⁰ William Youatt, *Cattle; their breeds, management and diseases* (2nd ed., London, 1867) ; William Youatt, *Sheep; their breeds, management and diseases* (2nd ed., London, 1866).

¹²¹ P. M. Egan, *The Illustrated guide to the city and county of Kilkenny* (Kilkenny, 1885), p.197.

¹²² 27 May 1885 F3 98 JPH (HP).

¹²³ Bassett, *Kilkenny*, p. 84.

¹²⁴ 22, 30 June 1885 G1 JPH (HP).

Plate 7.5 Hay-barn at Clonmoran erected 1885 (2014)



Source: Photograph by author

Keenly aware of the markets for agricultural produce, Hyland was willing to seek out buyers for his grain and livestock wherever the best price could be obtained. *Purdon's Irish Farmer's and Gardener's Almanac* was an annual purchase. Mr John Rodgers, 25 Smithfield, Dublin was consulted about the purchase of barley.¹²⁵ He was possibly an auctioneer, probably a merchant. The barley was apparently in his store and later Hyland would enquire whether it would be sold and at what price.¹²⁶ The sale of his produce seemed to have been centred on the Dublin markets, as was the case with his lambs which he sold to Messrs' Ganly & Co, Ushers Quay, Dublin.¹²⁷ The prices he received for his sheep did not tally with those reported in the *Irish Times* and the *Freeman's Journal*; Hyland let the purchaser know of his disappointment with this.¹²⁸ Afterwards a telegram was sent to Ganly to say Hyland was forwarding eight fat lambs, well-bred from Cheviot ewes crossed with Shropshire rams - on the one hand, seeking

¹²⁵ 29 Nov. 1886 F3 131 JPH (HP).

¹²⁶ 11 Jan. 1887 F3 133B JPH (HP).

¹²⁷ 18 Apr. 1887 F3 147 JPH (HP).

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

information on what was required - given his previous experience - and on the other, seeking a fairer return.¹²⁹

Farming events were recorded in his diary; in 1888, he lost three ewes, according to the veterinary surgeon Mr Barry it was from inflammation of the lungs.¹³⁰ John Barry's practice was located at the Kilkenny veterinary infirmary, where 'horses were treated on the most improved principles of veterinary science'.¹³¹ Animal health issues were noted and it appeared that up to date veterinary practice was employed to resolve problems. Foot and mouth disease was present on the Clonmoran farm in 1883.¹³²

Hyland sowed cabbage, parsnips and cauliflower seed, possibly in the kitchen garden behind the dwelling house.¹³³ He was interested in beekeeping and kept beehives. He recorded swarms and the sections he obtained from the hives in his 1885 diary.

Also, to give some examples of his farming business, he bought a cow and calf from his brother-in-law at Templeogue, for £24 8s.¹³⁴ 285 loads of top-dressing were put on a three acre field in Shellumsrath on the Callan road side.¹³⁵ He purchased ten cattle from William Ryan, Mullinavat.¹³⁶ He commenced sowing wheat in the Garden House field. Normally this field would be wet and unsuitable for tillage but an exceptionally dry year (as we shall see) made the sowing possible.¹³⁷ The following year he put down rape and grass seeds in two and a half acres, opposite Maher's house.¹³⁸

Another journal entry revealed that he purchased a washing and mangling machine at Dean Brown's auction.¹³⁹ This was possibly John Blair Browne, principal of the Pocke College, about one and a half miles east of Kilkenny city.¹⁴⁰ There was cooperation in the use of machinery when Fleming of 'the Light House' borrowed the

¹²⁹ 27 Apr. 1887 F3 150-1 JPH (HP).

¹³⁰ 7 Apr. 1888 E2 JPH (HP).

¹³¹ Bassett, *Kilkenny*, p. 85.

¹³² 12 Sept. 1883 F6 JPH (HP).

¹³³ 18 Apr. 1888 E2 JPH (HP).

¹³⁴ 9 Sept. 1883 F6 JPH (HP); NB This was a Sunday when it would have been unlikely that business was conducted.

¹³⁵ 15 Jan. 1885 G1 JPH (HP).

¹³⁶ 19 June 1888 F3 190 JPH (HP).

¹³⁷ 28 Oct. 1887 G3 JPH (HP).

¹³⁸ 7 Aug. 1888 E2 JPH (HP).

¹³⁹ 5 June 1882 F7 JPH (HP).

¹⁴⁰ Bassett, *Kilkenny*, pp 50, 85; Bradley, *Kilkenny atlas*, p. 23.

hay-tedder for about five days.¹⁴¹ And there was reference to Rugeley, Staffordshire from where a grist-mill machine was ordered.¹⁴² This information demonstrates that modern mechanisation was employed and this of course meant that there was less work for agricultural labourers.

Ellen Fielding was thirty-three and a half years at Clonmoran when she left to care for her dying sister. John P. recorded that she did not return.¹⁴³ She had lent him £100, which he offered to pay back but she refused, saying that he could keep it until she would require it.¹⁴⁴ The relationship with Fielding has not been established conclusively but certainly this was another example of Hyland's indebtedness.

Comparison with P. C. O'Gorman

Patrick Cogan O'Gorman (c. 1824-87), Hyland's brother-in-law, was a landlord in his own right being listed as the owner of 417 acres in the 1876 *Landowners in Ireland*.¹⁴⁵ Most of his land was in the Threecastles area of north central County Kilkenny. This included the lands of Leugh and Ballydowell. The townland of Leugh is in the civil parish of Odagh. Leugh is situated in the Barony of Crannagh about four miles north of Kilkenny city. It contained the greater part of the O'Gorman estate. The principal tenant in Leugh in the 1880s was Robert V. Clarke who held Leugh House and 114 acres of land. The other tenants held much smaller farms than those held in Kilmakevoge, (see table 7.2). Additionally there were five plots or gardens of less than ten acres.¹⁴⁶

Variation in farm size was long a feature of Irish agriculture and the O'Gorman estate was typical of this trend. In 1879, it was reported in the *Freeman's Journal* that 'P C O'Gorman Esq, of Templeogue Lodge, Roundtown, Co. Dublin, has granted a reduction of 15% to his tenants on his estate at Leugh, Co. Kilkenny'.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴¹ 13 July 1889 E3 JPH (HP).

¹⁴² 20 Oct. 1890 F3 208-9 JPH (HP).

¹⁴³ 18 Mar. 1889 E3 JPH (HP).

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ *Landowners in Ireland* (1876), p. 40.

¹⁴⁶ D2 'Rent Ledger', Patrick Cogan O'Gorman (hereafter PCOG) (HP).

¹⁴⁷ *FJ*, 11 Dec. 1879.

Table 7.2 Acreage of Patrick Cogan O’Gorman’s tenants in Leugh (1870) showing those with holdings of over and under ten acres

<u>Acreage in Leugh</u>			
Patrick Hennessy	26.3	Michael Kelly	1.7
John Delaney	29	John Dermody	3
James Delaney	17	James Broderick	1.5
Michael Delaney	19.5	Patrick Neary	4
Miss Butler	27	Edward Cullen	3.5
Catherine Neary	10.5		
Robert V. Clarke	114		
Total	243.3	Total	13.7
Average	34.71	Average	2.74
Average excluding Clarke	21.55		

Source: Patrick Cogan O’Gorman’s rent ledger (approximate acreages given).¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁸ D2 PCOG (HP).

Plate 7.6 Margaret Cogan O’Gorman (nee Hyland) photograph of portrait (c. 1860)



Source: Hyland Papers

There was a strong relationship between the Hylands of Clonmoran, and the O’Gormans, namely J. P.’s sister Margaret (c. 1822-85) and her husband Patrick. Their relationship could be described as both familial and financial. The O’Gormans did not have any children, having lost their infant son in 1855. Entries such as ‘Bessie to Templeogue’ were common throughout John P.’s diaries.¹⁴⁹ Bessie, John P.’s wife, returned home a fortnight later.¹⁵⁰ The Hylands dined with Mr and Mrs O’Gorman in Clontarf on New Year’s Day 1885.¹⁵¹ Family excursions and journeys were of interest to Hyland, as he jotted them down. Furthermore, the O’Gorman movements were recorded by the diarist: ‘Margaret returned to Templeogue from Waterford and Earlsrath’.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ 27 Feb. 1883 F6 JPH (HP).

¹⁵⁰ 13 Mar. 1883 F6 JPH (HP).

¹⁵¹ 1 Jan. 1885 G1 JPH (HP).

¹⁵² 10 Mar. 1883 F6 JPH (HP).

Margaret died on 19 October 1885 at her home 1 Castle Terrace, Clontarf.¹⁵³ She was interred at Kilbeacon, Mullinavat, and Hyland noted that Fr Neary P.P., L. J. Power, R. Aylward, Dr Magee and Mr Lalor, who were close connections of the family, accompanied the remains; his sons Richard, John and Henry also attended.¹⁵⁴ Later he recorded that a Miss Cogan was invited to Castle Terrace ‘for the Xmas’.¹⁵⁵

Patrick Cogan O’Gorman died in early May 1887, and his brother-in-law dealt with his funeral expenses.¹⁵⁶ John P. Hyland was the executor of P. C. O’Gorman’s will and he paid the half year’s rent of O’Gorman’s previous residence Templeogue Lodge in the month after his death.¹⁵⁷ Once more Hyland’s family relationships were proving financially significant for him.

It looked as if O’Gorman was living at 1 Castle Terrace, Clontarf, while paying rent to Mr J. R. Rambant, Templeville, Killiney, Co Dublin.¹⁵⁸ O’ Gorman, in turn, was subletting the premises to William Douglas Frene and Mrs C. W. Frene.¹⁵⁹ Mr Frene was a potential purchaser of the property at that time.¹⁶⁰ Indeed, the lodge was sold in late 1887.¹⁶¹ It was sold to the representatives of W. D. Frene for £1400.¹⁶² The final transaction took place at Barrington’s office, 10 Ely Place, Dublin. Thereafter John P. Hyland lodged £1000 at the Bank of Ireland Dublin and £425 at the Provincial Bank, Kilkenny.¹⁶³ His papers, that had been with the Provincial Bank, for an overdraft security, were withdrawn as there was now a credit balance in his account.¹⁶⁴ Hyland as well as being the executor was a beneficiary of the will and the inheritance seemed to have bailed him out.

P. C. O’Gorman and Share Investment

O’Gorman held £300 worth of consolidated stock in the Midland Great Western Railway as well as stocks in the Eastern Telegraph Company and the Anglo American

¹⁵³ 19 Oct. 1885 G1 JPH (HP).

¹⁵⁴ 21 Oct. 1885 G1 JPH (HP).

¹⁵⁵ 18 Dec. 1885 G1 JPH (HP).

¹⁵⁶ 31 May 1887 F3 154 JPH (HP).

¹⁵⁷ 21 June 1887 F3 157-8 JPH (HP).

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ 15 July 1887 F3 159 JPH (HP).

¹⁶⁰ 16 July 1887 F3 160 JPH (HP).

¹⁶¹ 6 Dec. 1887 F3 177 JPH (HP).

¹⁶² 15 Oct. 1887 G3 JPH (HP).

¹⁶³ 1- 2 Dec. 1887 G3 JPH (HP).

¹⁶⁴ 3 Dec. 1887 G3 JPH (HP).

Company.¹⁶⁵ Writing to J. D. Carnegie, in connection with the late O’Gorman’s business, Hyland enquired as to whether Grand Canal or Standard of South Africa stock was ‘in the market’.¹⁶⁶ The latter had been a precursor to the British South Africa Company which was incorporated in 1889 under a royal charter at the instigation of Cecil Rhodes.¹⁶⁷ It had the ‘object of acquiring and exercising commercial and administrative rights in south-central Africa’.¹⁶⁸ As has been said, two of Hyland’s sons Francis Xavier (Frank) and Lawrence sought their fortune in Southern Africa in the 1890s. The broker, Carnegie, was told by Hyland that he would sell £500-£1000 worth of Grand Canal Stock if the price reached £40, the last quotation he thought was for £39.¹⁶⁹

It was deemed that the Leugh, Threecastles, tenants, of the late O’ Gorman, were to be proceeded against for non-payment of rent; they were William Hennessy, Nicholas Delaney, Miss Butler and Catherine Neary.¹⁷⁰ Hyland was not so concerned about Edward Cullen, and Mr Hodgens who were also tenants of Leugh.¹⁷¹ Hyland expressed the view, to his solicitor, Hartford, that all the Leugh tenants were well able to pay and ought to be processed for the coming sessions.¹⁷² He went on to say that the Widow Broderick had no property, but her two sons had constant employment.¹⁷³

A legacy of £500 was left by O’Gorman to his sister Mary, wife of Dr Magee, Parliament Street, Kilkenny; Mrs Magee received her legacy of £500 in February 1888.¹⁷⁴ Dr Magee was also one of the visiting doctors to the Kilkenny Union Workhouse.¹⁷⁵

In O’Gorman’s will £50 was bequeathed to: the Abbot of Mount St Bernard, Leicester; £50 to the Lady Superior of the Asylum, High Park, Drumcondra; £50 also to two

¹⁶⁵ 16 July 1887 F3 160-1 JPH (HP).

¹⁶⁶ 1 Aug. 1887 F3 162 JPH (HP).

¹⁶⁷ British South Africa Company in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (<http://www.britannica.com>) (26 July 2013).

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ 7 Aug. 1887 F3163 JPH (HP).

¹⁷⁰ 18 Sept. 1887 F3 170 JPH (HP).

¹⁷¹ 25 Sept. 1887 F3 170-1 JPH (HP).

¹⁷² 6 Dec. 1887 F3 177 JPH (HP).

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ 4 Feb. 1888 E2 JPH (HP).

¹⁷⁵ Kilkenny Union Minute Book March 1881-March 1882 (Ref. 373 37K), p. 867.

priests and £50 to the Abbey of Mount Melleray, Cappoquin, Co Waterford.¹⁷⁶ Miss Ellen Cogan, possibly a sister, received a legacy of £500.¹⁷⁷ Like Mount Melleray, Mount St Bernard Abbey is a Cistercian monastery of the order of the strict observance (Trappists); it was founded in 1835, and the abbey was built in 1844 to the design of Augustus Welby Pugin, who gave his services free.¹⁷⁸

Hyland wrote to Mr J. H. Dennany, Glasnevin, concerning the inscription on the tomb at Kilbeacon, Mullinavat, he stipulated this script: Patrick C. O’Gorman of Leugh, ‘Died May 4th 1887, aged 63 years’.¹⁷⁹ Hyland added that he thought it probable that no other family member would be interred at Kilbeacon. Hyland was later unhappy with the workmanship of Dennany in inscribing the names on the Kilbeacon monument.¹⁸⁰ Thomas H. Dennany is referred to as a monumental builder and sculptor by James Joyce in *Ulysses*.¹⁸¹

John P. did not inherit O’Gorman’s land interest. P. C. O’Gorman’s personal papers and journals came into the possession of Hyland presumably because he was his executor. O’Gorman left rent ledgers, and personal journals with daily entries, which chronicled the last years of his life. His papers may be compared and contrasted with Hyland’s as they are contemporaneous.

Money Problems

The last surviving letter book of John P. Hyland ends in 1893 with a letter in Bessie Hyland’s hand on her husband’s behalf.¹⁸² He would have been sixty-six years of age at this time. This letter book reveals much about the landlord/tenant relationship. This relationship was fraught with troubles over the non-payment of rent. From the landlord’s point of view, certainly it was a difficult time. Equally, in the face of an economic crisis it was certainly a testing time for the tenants. The personal

¹⁷⁶ 16 Jan. 1888 F3 179-80 JPH (HP).

¹⁷⁷ 25 Mar. 1888 F3 189 JPH (HP).

¹⁷⁸ Mount Melleray Abbey (<http://mountmelleray.org>) (23 July 2013); Mount St Bernard Abbey (<http://mountsaintbernard.org>) (23 July 2013).

¹⁷⁹ 7 June 1887 F3 155-6 JPH (HP).

¹⁸⁰ 25 Sept. 1887 F3 171 JPH (HP).

¹⁸¹ James Joyce, *Ulysses*, chapter 6, pp 459-62, James Joyce online notes (<http://jjon.org/jjoyce-s-people/dennany>) (23 July 2013).

¹⁸² 4 June 1893 F3 227 JPH (HP).

consequences of a depressed economy were felt by Hyland and he clearly had money problems in the 1880s.

Another indication of his increasing financial woes was evidenced when he called on the manager of the Provincial Bank, Kilkenny and offered to leave the lease of Clonmoran as additional collateral security.¹⁸³ He informed Mr Kelly, of the Provincial Bank, that he would be disposing of stock and would lodge £500 to his credit and, if necessary, ‘clean up my overdraft with the bank’.¹⁸⁴ By October 1883, he had a balance of £821 and could draw cheques to the value of £1000.¹⁸⁵

Five years later, as security for an overdraft of £250, Hyland deposited his ‘West of England’ insurance policy with the Provincial Bank in Kilkenny.¹⁸⁶ The manager Mr McElroy said that the overdraft could be extended to £350.¹⁸⁷

The Weather

It has been observed that ‘easily the most common subject in Irish diaries is the weather’.¹⁸⁸ Much of Hyland’s personal diaries were taken up with comments and descriptions of the weather and in particular extraordinary weather events. Given the detrimental affect poor climatic conditions could have on his farms and estate, this was not surprising. Unseasonable weather was of particular interest such as a great snow storm, where ‘about four inches of snow’ fell in May 1883. Flooding in ‘the castle field’ was, it seemed, always recorded.¹⁸⁹ The 1888 diary begins, ‘the past year has been the driest, I remember’.¹⁹⁰ Indeed the highest air temperature ever recorded in Ireland was 33.3 degrees Celsius at Kilkenny Castle on 26 June 1887.¹⁹¹ Hyland goes on to say that ‘the summer was excessively hot’, and that the turnip crop almost a general failure, the oat crop short and bad, but wheat was very good; the grass burned up and no water anywhere for cattle. The next day, he wrote, ‘it commenced to rain and

¹⁸³ 6 Feb. 1883 F6 JPH (HP).

¹⁸⁴ 11 July 1883 F6 JPH (HP).

¹⁸⁵ 13 Oct. 1883 F6 JPH (HP).

¹⁸⁶ 2 May 1888 E2 JPH (HP).

¹⁸⁷ 30 May 1888 E2 JPH (HP).

¹⁸⁸ Melosina Lenox-Congynham, *Diaries of Ireland: an anthology 1590-1987* (Dublin, 1998), viii.

¹⁸⁹ 9 May 1883 F6 JPH (HP).

¹⁹⁰ 2 Jan. 1888 E2 JPH (HP).

¹⁹¹ The Irish meteorological service online (www.met.ie) (14 July 2013).

then a hurricane at night' and the following day he wrote that there was 'a great flood in the castle field, which lasted for two days - this was the only flood for the past twelve months'.¹⁹²

The vagaries of the climate had to be coped with, and would have a bearing on the lives of this family and on the country as a whole, including political developments as has been shown. Undoubtedly, the lives of the principal protagonists were influenced by great political events. However much of the causes and effects of grand politics sprang from the participation and efforts of individuals like the Hylands at a local level. Their political participation is important as it ran side by side with their enterprising activities as they sought to change the society and the economy to suit their purposes. The next chapter will focus on the political involvement of the family and in particular the contribution of John P. Hyland to local politics.

¹⁹² 3-4 Jan. 1888 E2 JPH (HP).

CHAPTER 8

Politics

Politics was central to the Hylands' lives; it went hand in hand with their Catholicism and their enterprising nature. John Patrick had a long political career, which will be examined here. Firstly a summary of the political activities of other family members, heretofore not subjected to any degree of scrutiny, will be offered. In addition, an episode in the life of a member of the extended family will be summarised as it was momentarily a *cause célèbre*.

John Carroll and Politics

It would be neglectful to fail to briefly reference the political activity of John Carroll (c.1809-86), a cousin of the Hylands previously mentioned, even though he was in no way entrepreneurial. Nevertheless he was political and had particularly close kinship ties with the Hylands. He was above all extremely religious.

John Carroll was John P. Hyland's first cousin, the son of his maternal aunt Bridget. His father died when he was an infant and this brought about lengthy proceedings in the Court of Chancery over the Carroll property in north Kilkenny while he was a minor. The circumstances that brought about the litigation will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. John Carroll was 'a middleman' according to his evidence to the Devon commission in 1845.¹ Carroll, who gave his address as Earlsrath, had a lease of 200 acres, 120 of which he let out. This would appear to refer to the lands of Ballyluskey adjacent to Earlsrath and not to the Ballyragget area where his father's lands were located.

John Carroll was reared in a family of women and was likely also to have spent some time with his cousins in his Aunty Nelly's (Eleanor) home at Clonmoran. Visitations and stays at Clonmoran for John Carroll seem probable; for example, Mary (Marianne) Hyland was listed as a child of one year in the house of her grandmother in Earlsrath in the 1821 census.² The later personas of the Hylands and Carroll developed under these circumstances. Certainly there was an emphasis

¹ *Report from her majesty's commissioners of inquiry into the state of law and practice in respect to the occupation of land in Ireland*, [605], H.C. 1845,iii, no. 908.

² Extract from Census of Ireland 1821- townland of Earlsrath (WKP).

on the adherence and promotion of their religion, and also a political sensibility was nurtured, as the later activities of these individuals indicate. Carroll was ‘an active O’Connellite’ and was preoccupied with politics and socio-religious issues.³ He was said to have entertained O’Connell after some of the Liberator’s enthusiastic meetings, which Carroll was most prominent in promoting.⁴ Carroll was a cousin of Margaret Aylward (a relationship he shared with the Hylands) the foundress of the Sisters of the Holy Faith.⁵ He was, as Jacinta Prunty’s work has shown, a noted ‘letter-writer on matters as varied as the neglect of graveyards and the abuse of drink’.⁶ This politically minded individual was prominent locally during the Repeal movement and was active in tenant right meetings where he often took the chair.⁷

Carroll was called upon and addressed a meeting to discuss the land question at Urlingford, County Kilkenny in 1869. It was reported that ‘[in] a powerful and eloquent speech in the course of which he gave a description of a few heart-rending cases of oppressive eviction, which created a great sensation and brought tears from many eyes’.⁸ Carroll’s interest in politics was shared by his Hyland cousins.

Richard P. Hyland and Tenant Right

As has been previously adverted to, Richard P. Hyland (c. 1818-54) was a supporter of tenant right in the 1850s; evidence of his approval of land reform is to be had in one of his account books where he outlines the principal points of Sharman Crawford’s bill of 31 March 1852.⁹ Crawford sought to legalise the ‘existing custom of tenant right’, ‘compensate for all improvements’ and ‘adjust rents by valuation’. William Sharman Crawford (1780–1861), was a ‘radical politician and agrarian reformer’; his bill ‘was strongly attacked in the Commons as an infringement of property rights and voted down’.¹⁰ Hyland wrote down the terms of English and Scottish land systems, outlined in Crawford’s bill, and noted the terms of land tenure in the Channel Islands. He was prepared to study the other aspects of the argument as purported by Joseph Napier (1804–82), who had concerns about the

³ Julian Walton, ‘The family of Aylward vi’ in *The Irish Genealogist*, v, no. 2 (Nov. 1975), p. 226.

⁴ Margaret Gibbons, ‘Margaret Aylward 1810-1889: foundress of the sisters of the faith’ in *The Irish Monthly*, lv. no. 631 (Jan., 1926), p. 686 (<http://www.jstor.org>) (25 Mar. 2011).

⁵ Will of William Welshe (true copy) (undated) LH (HP).

⁶ Prunty, *Margaret Aylward*, p. 155.

⁷ *FJ*, 25, 27 Jan. 1843.

⁸ *FJ*, 14 Oct. 1869.

⁹ A2 RPH (HP).

¹⁰ James Quinn, ‘Sharman Crawford, William’ in *DIB* (14 Mar. 2012).

possible infringement of property rights inherent in Crawford's bill.¹¹ Hyland also summarised Napier's ideas in his ledger. Hyland was very much aware of the current political thought on Ireland and its economy. The Hylands were always ready to engage politically and to that end were well informed about political argument.

Michael Hyland and Politics

The Hylands were a political family. Throughout much of the century of this study they were actively involved in local politics. The political lives of Laurence and his son Richard P. have been referred to in previous chapters. Some mention too has been given to Laurence's brother, Michael (c.1792-54); a solicitor, he was an entrepreneur in his own right having been an investor in the slate business and the distillery at Warrington. As a Catholic and a lawyer it was almost inevitable that he would have been drawn into politics and in common with his professional life he appeared to relish the challenges that it would bring. As has been mentioned (see Chapter 3), his name was at one point put forward for parliamentary representation. His activities merit some more detailed attention here.

Michael Hyland's political star was rising particularly after Catholic Emancipation. He was frequently mentioned in the local newspaper coverage of petty sessions.¹² Through his professional and political activities, Michael was in the public eye and never far from some controversy. This account entitled 'professional courtesy' is a good example:

At the conclusion of the late Kilkenny sessions the assistant-barrister, Mr. Nicholas Purcell O'Gorman, made some strong observations upon the indecorous conduct of the attorneys of his court, "who did nothing," he said, "but sneer at him, and endeavour to cast ridicule upon him. But I'll bear it no longer," exclaimed the enraged judge, "as this very night I shall write off and insist upon being transferred to another county." "Does your worship think," said Mr. Michael Hyland, solicitor, addressing himself to the irate law dispenser, "that a memorial signed by all the attorneys of the court, backing your application, would be of any assistance in obtaining your object?" A look of peculiar ferocity was the only response to the generous interrogatory.¹³

Hyland was not always the one with the last laugh, as the cross examination of a witness, John Corbett, at the Kilkenny petty sessions in 1844:

¹¹ Patrick Maume, 'Napier, Sir Joseph' in *DIB* (15 Mar. 2012).

¹² *KJ*, 20 Apr. 1830.

¹³ *Anglo-Celt*, 30 Nov. 1849 (<http://www.irishnewsarchives.com>) (21 Oct.2014).

Mr. Hyland	Who taught you how to build a wall?
Witness	No one, I am not a mason.
Mr. Hyland	No, but you are a botch.
Witness	There are more botches here than me, and you are one of them. ¹⁴

He was a member of the Kilkenny town council or corporation in the 1840s and was an active member of the Repeal Association from its foundation, moving motions energetically and debating the issues of the day. He would later become Mayor of the city in 1851.¹⁵ Like his brother Laurence, he was a listed contributor to charitable causes such as the poor fund.¹⁶

Business and Politics

Notwithstanding the political machinations, the consensus, certainly among Catholic opinion was that Ireland's misfortunes were largely caused by the union with Britain. Hyland too believed Ireland was badly governed and that the failure of Irish industry was as a consequence of British misrule. Hyland felt, as was typically reasoned, that trade in Ireland was damaged by the biased decisions of the parliament in London.

In November 1840, at the 'great Meeting in Kilkenny for the revival of Irish manufacture', Michael Hyland proposed a resolution 'earnestly and respectfully calling upon the clergy of all denominations, both of the city and county of Kilkenny, to exercise the influence they legitimately possessed over their respective flocks, to induce the consumers in their respective localities to give a decided preference to native manufactures.'¹⁷ The resolution was heartily adopted. There was an accepted recognition that the influence of the clergy was important, and that their sway over their congregations was a valuable political tool to be utilised.

Michael Hyland was a politician who occasionally attended national meetings. In addition to the confederation meeting in Dublin in 1848 (adverted to in Chapter 2), he also was reported as having attended a meeting in the Mansion House to insure that Ireland would receive the benefits of steam communication with America;

¹⁴ Edward Law, 'Newspaper article 1844' in *OKR*, xxxviii (1996), p. 54.

¹⁵ 'The sovereigns and mayors of Kilkenny city'.

¹⁶ *KJ*, 16 Feb. 1831.

¹⁷ *FJ*, 28 Nov. 1840.

specifically, ‘to consider what course should be adopted to insure to Ireland the important advantages of it.’¹⁸

Having a town office in the capital facilitated him. At a meeting of the Loyal and National Repeal Association in Conciliation Hall, at which John O’Connell M.P. attended, Hyland publically chided Richard Lalor Sheil (1791-1851) for his treatment of tenants on his estate in the parish of Erke, in north-west Kilkenny. He produced proof to support his contention that Lalor Sheil was ‘bringing ejections against wretched tenantry’.¹⁹ At this stage, Sheil had ‘drifted into support for the Whig party’.²⁰ ‘O’Connell’s decision not to allow a repeal candidate stand against a government officeholder such as Sheil was much criticised by the Young Irelanders and contributed to their secession from the Repeal Association.’²¹ Either way, Sheil was a target for Hyland’s invective at a time when the Famine was at its height - for Hyland perhaps it was political opportunism?

A Plaintiff

Away from the political sphere, Hyland got involved in his own personal court battle at the Court of Queen’s Bench when an action was taken against him.²² This case centres on an allegation made against Hyland of verbally abusing and threatening violence against one William Hayden. He said ‘he would kick the deponent and pull him by the nose’. He also said ‘amongst other things that he (Hayden) had been a shoeboy taken off the streets by Tom Kelly’.²³ Hayden was a solicitor also and the ill-feeling resulted from previous law case. The incident happened in the office of Cornelius Maxwell the proprietor of the *Kilkenny Journal* and ‘in the presence of many respectable persons’ with the intent allegedly to provoke the deponent (Hayden) ‘to commit a breach of the peace by sending him a message to fight a duel’. It is not known what the outcome was in this case; in any event, it did not affect Hyland’s future electoral prospects. The incident again shows him to be a self-confident individual like his brother Laurence.

Hyland, like John Carroll, was active in his support for tenant rights. He supported ‘the League’ through his membership of the County Kilkenny working committee

¹⁸ *FJ*, 22 Aug. 1851.

¹⁹ *FJ*, 28 Sept. 1847.

²⁰ S. J. Connolly (ed.), ‘Sheil, Richard Lalor’ in *OCIH* (2nd ed., Oxford, 2004), p. 539.

²¹ Sinéad Sturgeon, ‘Sheil, Richard Lalor’ *DIB* (28 Nov. 2011).

²² *FJ*, 5 Nov. 1849.

²³ *Ibid.*

(Rose Hotel Meeting). M(atthew O') Keeffe, one of the Callan curates who set up the Callan Tenant Protection Society, County Kilkenny, was secretary of same.²⁴

Mayor of Kilkenny

With regard to his inauguration as Mayor of Kilkenny in 1851, when installed he gave an acceptance speech in which he 'attributed the general distress and depression existing in Ireland to mis-government'. He then stated that it was his intention to allocate a room in the Tholsel (the city hall) as a reading room for the tradesmen and the citizens of the city, and that he would supply it with newspapers at his own expense.

Mayor Hyland entertained, as was usual with in-coming mayors, by giving a large dinner party on the evening of his inauguration, at his residence in Patrick Street. It is interesting to note the nationalistic toasts that were drunk: 'the people, and the prosperity of Ireland: the repeal of the union, the Irish tenant league, the memory of O'Connell, the Bishop of Ossory, the clergy, the press.'²⁵

He attended several and various political meetings when he was Mayor. One such gathering was the 'Great Catholic meeting in Kilkenny'. John P. Hyland, his nephew was in attendance as were amongst others individuals such as Alderman Michael Potter, John Potter and Henry Loughnan all of which would be connected eventually through marriage to the Hylands.²⁶

In Dublin, he attended the 'Aggregate Meeting of the Catholics of Ireland' at the Rotunda, Archbishop Paul Cullen (1803-78) was present. The purpose was to petition against the Ecclesiastical Titles Assumption Bill - once more underlining the inextricable link with Roman Catholicism.²⁷

As Mayor, Michael Hyland presided at a public dinner to Michael Sullivan M.P. One of the toasts on the occasion was to Sharman Crawford and the Tenant League.²⁸ A testimonial was organized for Hyland, almost a year after his term ended, in appreciation of his role as Mayor, a Candelabra and a richly chased breakfast service on Louis XIV style was presented with the following citation:

²⁴ *FJ*, 5 Sept. 1850.

²⁵ *FJ*, 11 Jan. 1851.

²⁶ *FJ*, 20 Mar. 1851.

²⁷ *FJ*, 26, 28, 30 Apr. 1851.

²⁸ *FJ*, 15 Oct. 1851.

presented to MH Esq. by his friends and admirers by all shades of political and religious opinions in the city and county of Kilkenny, to mark the esteem and admiration of the excellent, upright, zealous and impartial manner, he filled the office of Mayory [sic] of Kilkenny for the year 1851 to the credit of the community and great public benefit.²⁹

Hyland duly received a testimonial address and gave a reply.³⁰ In the year of his death he continued lobbying for Catholic causes for example opposing Mr Chamber's motion in the nunnery question.³¹

Memory

He died in Kilkenny on 9 October 1854.³² There was not any family tradition recalling his burial place, even though he is buried locally within three miles of Clonmoran in St. Canices's Cathedral churchyard. There are several Catholic families buried in the grounds of the Protestant cathedral including the previously mentioned Loughnans and the Smithwicks. The family link was probably broken when Michael went to law with John P. (see Chapter 3). The disconnection was completed when Michael's family left Kilkenny after he died, which put further distance on any possible relationship. Quite an impressive memorial was erected by his son William Paul. It was neglected over time and now is unrecognisable, though fortunately recorded half a century ago; the top stone of this monument is on the ground. It was a 'very fine monument of unusual design, supported by a small wall. It is partly covered by a bush' (1956).³³

The inscription itself additionally records two daughters who predeceased Michael:

IHS Erected by W.P. Hyland Esq. In memory of his beloved father Michael Hyland Esq Solicitor who departed this life October 9th 1854 aged 62 years. Beneath also repose the remains of two children of the above named Michael Hyland. Viz Anne Larla who died aged fifteen years and Jessy who died young. [This stone is not broken- 1956] May they rest in peace Amen

²⁹ *FJ*, 16 Dec. 1852.

³⁰ *FJ*, 15 Jan. 1853.

³¹ *FJ*, 20 Apr. 1854.

³² *FJ*, 12 Oct. 1854

³³ Margaret Phelan and James Keough, 'Tombs in the graveyard of 'St. Canice's Cathedral' (1956) i, pp 49, 181.

A memorial stone beside it is inscribed with the name Hanbury, Michael's wife's maiden name. Another explanation for his burial, in St. Canice's churchyard, may be that he was married to a Protestant lady; however, as we shall see, his daughter seemed to be a Roman Catholic. The only instant of a slate sale outside the south east is to one Mr. Hanbury, Dublin, in 1821.³⁴ The delivery was made, possibly, due to a family connection.

Michael's son William intended to become an attorney and was well on in that ambition when his father died.³⁵ He brought a motion to the 'Court of Common pleas before the Chief Justice and Justice Ball, and submitted an affidavit, stating that:

He was bound to his late father 'had taken his degree of Bachelor of Arts in Trinity College, and that at the time of his father's death there were several important suits pending... the court referred it to the examiner to inquire and report of Mr. Hyland were competent to discharge the duties of an attorney.'³⁶

It is not known if he succeeded. The contents of the Hylands' Patrick Street home in Kilkenny were disposed of expeditiously by his wife and with her daughters she emigrated to France. The property was later the subject of 'the incumbered estates court... as in the occupation of Michael Hyland held under lease for lives renewable forever'.³⁷ Griffith's Valuation records it with a value of fifty-one pounds which would be consistent with a house in one of the principal streets in the city.³⁸

A later obituary of Purcell O'Gorman, the aforementioned judge, recalled the Kilkenny solicitors of his time "as boisterous, as waggish and as roystering set of blades - 'the boys of Kilkenny' - as could be matched in Ireland, and of whom attorney Hyland was the acknowledged leader".³⁹ Michael shared some of the characteristics of his brother Laurence: he was self-confident, progressive and not afraid to take risks. He too had an enterprising nature but more than anything was politically minded.

³⁴ 1821 L1 LH (HP).

³⁵ Keane *et al*, *King's Inns admission papers*, p. 242 - 'Hyland, William Paul. S. of Michael, Kilkenny, attorney: under 22: afft. Father. M.1853.

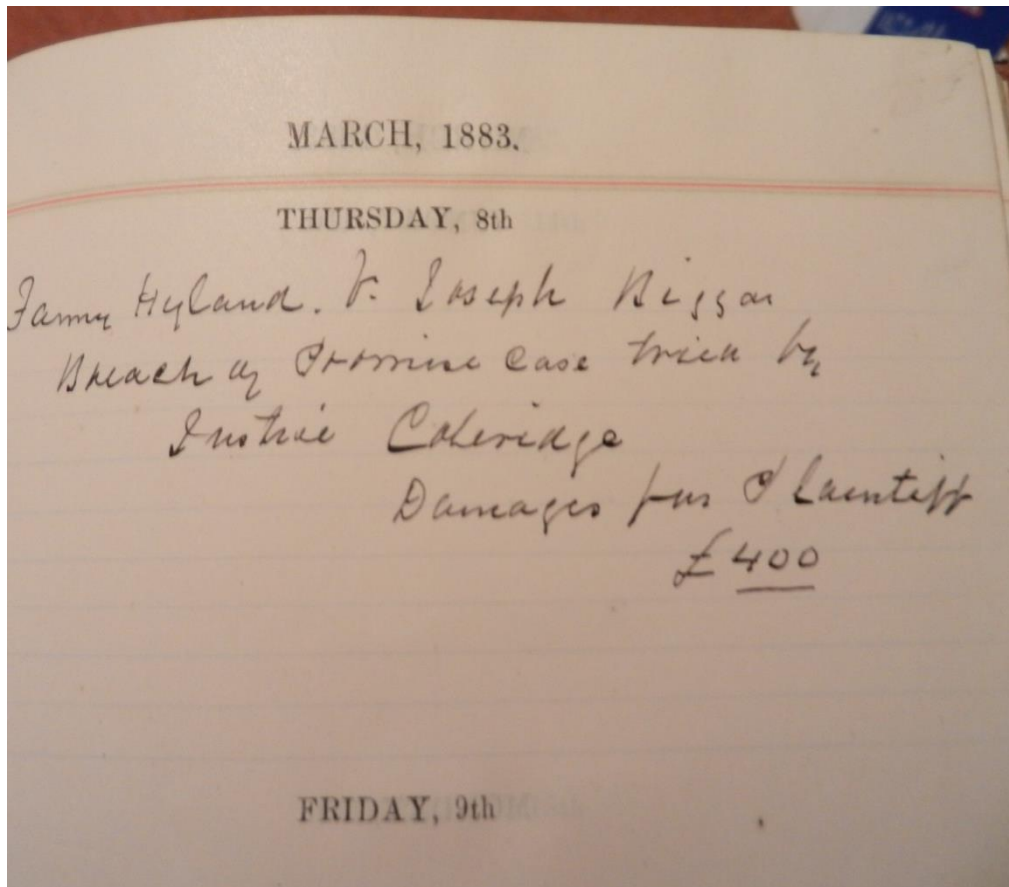
³⁶ *FJ*, 22 Jan. 1855.

³⁷ *FJ*, 28 Jan. 1856: '...and the house situate in Patrick St. held under a lease dated May 9, 1781'.

³⁸ Griffith's Valuation (1849) Patrick street lower, parish of St. Patricks, Kilkenny.

³⁹ *KJ*, 19 Jan. 1867.

Plate 8.1 John P. Hyland's diary (1883)



Source Hyland Papers

Record Keepers

John P. Hyland was an even more prolific record keeper than his father Laurence. As well as keeping meticulous day to day accounts, he additionally kept letter books and a somewhat sporadic diary. He kept, for example, a note of his sister Marianne's death in his journal. But it was an entry concerning his first cousin that presents us with an insight into the life of a middle-class unmarried female and how she gained a brief notoriety.

Cause Célèbre

In his diary dated Thursday 8 March 1883, there is an entry as follows 'Fanny Hyland vs. Joseph Biggar - Breach of Promise case tried by Justice Coleridge -

Damages for Plaintiff - £400'.⁴⁰ Fanny Hyland was the daughter of John P.'s uncle Michael. She was born in 1845.⁴¹ When her father died, Fanny, aged nine, and her mother and her sister left Kilkenny to live with a maternal aunt in Paris and by 1881 were living on the Avenue de Villiers there. Later in her testimony, at the trial, she stated that:

her father was a gentleman of considerable means, but died without leaving such provision for his family as would enable them to live in the same style that they had been accustomed to. Mrs Hyland had an income of £100 a year, and each of her daughters £80, and eked out their income by taking some lady boarders.⁴²

They saw no future in Kilkenny but Paris held some possibilities and it was in Paris that Fanny Hyland met Joseph Gillis Biggar, the honourable M.P. for Cavan.

Joseph Gillis Biggar

This meeting eventually led to the breach of promise to marry case as Fanny alleged that Biggar (1828-90) had promised to marry her having 'walked out' together, exchanged gifts, and kissed. Among the gifts he gave as outlined in court were boots, stockings, and gloves. Biggar denied any intent to propose marriage. Among those who witnessed the events in Paris was Patrick Egan (1841-1919) who was treasurer of the Land League, and who like Biggar was in exile in Paris during the suppression of that organization in 1881.⁴³

For John P. Hyland, as has been explained, there was no love lost with his uncle Michael's family; notwithstanding, the case of Fanny Hyland versus Joseph Gillis Biggar was of interest to him. At a personal level he had a particular fascination with it, primarily one would suspect as a result of the family connection and because of the nature of the case. John P. Hyland was a prominent member of the community being vice-chairman of the Kilkenny Board of Guardians at the time of

⁴⁰ 8 Mar. 1883 F6 JPH (HP); see also Fred Heatley, 'Joseph Gillis Biggar, The honourable member for Cavan' in *Heart of Breifne*, ii, no. 3 (1984), p. 87.

⁴¹ *FJ*, 29 Mar. 1845: the *Freeman's Journal* reported the birth 'on Easter Sunday, in Kilkenny, the lady of Michael Hyland Esq., of a daughter' (Easter Sunday 1845 fell on the twenty third day of March); C. R. Cheney, *A handbook of dates for students of British history* (2nd ed., Cambridge, 2004), p. 145.

⁴² *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, 9 Mar. 1883.

⁴³ Owen Magee, 'Egan, Patrick' in *DIB* (15 Mar. 2014).

the court case (1883). Curiously the case was only briefly covered by the local newspaper, the *Kilkenny Moderator* without any reference to the connections and Kilkenny roots of Miss Hyland.⁴⁴

Notable among John P. Hyland's collection too are three original newspapers, which cover the Hyland/Biggar breach of promise to marry case. Hyland had kept the actual newspapers. He was not in the habit of preserving newsprint although he had preserved a newspaper in which his mother's obituary appears and one other. He kept *The London Standard*, *The Diamond* and *The Penny Illustrated Paper*, all of which covered the case. One of the articles was pencil-marked by the diarist; this concerned Patrick Egan, who was in New York. Egan was reported to have said that 'he was reluctant to give testimony in the Biggar breach of promise case'.⁴⁵ It seems Egan ran away to America, and was at least partly motivated to do so in order to avoid becoming involved in the case. The case was covered widely by newspapers in the English speaking world. The sober reporting of the trial by the British press contrasted with the more salacious account in the *New York Times* where Fanny was described as 'an Irish beauty and patriot'.⁴⁶ She was 'the popular land-lady of a genteel boarding-house, the guests of which, it is said, were mostly men from foreign countries, whose circumstances had driven them to Paris for the time being'.⁴⁷ It further reported that she had initially wooed the M.P. with a rendition of 'Old Ireland you'r my darling'.

Biggar for his part was one of the most colourful characters in the late Victorian period of Irish political life; Belfast born, he was the nationalist M.P. for Cavan (1874-90) and upon entering parliament he soon tired of the gentlemanly approach of Isaac Butt, the Irish parliamentary leader. Biggar became one of the first M.P.s to actively adopt an obstructionist policy in an attempt to raise questions of Irish interest in the House of Commons. Parnell entered parliament in 1875 and soon joined Biggar in his policy of filibuster.

Biggar had been on the Supreme Council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (I.R.B.), the secret Irish revolutionary organization better known as the Fenians; he was known, as R. V. Comerford states, to 'transact its business on House of

⁴⁴ *KM*, 10 Mar. 1883.

⁴⁵ *London Standard*, 15 Mar. 1883.

⁴⁶ *New York Times*, 9 Mar. 1883.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

Commons notepaper'.⁴⁸ The Presbyterian born 'humpy Joe' converted to Catholicism upon hearing a Dominican preacher in 1877. Indeed, he visited the church of St Denis, Paris, with Fanny Hyland. In the same year he was expelled from the Irish Republican Brotherhood because of his parliamentary activities.

Breach of promise to marry cases, as shown by Maria Luddy's work, were common in Ireland the nineteenth century but this one was particularly titillating as it involved an M.P. and a controversial one at that.⁴⁹ Though he physically looked less than a romantic figure, Biggar had a reputation as a ladies man. It emerged in the trial that he had two children from previous relationships. 'Biggar was the *bête noire* of British M.P.s for much of his parliamentary career.'⁵⁰ Feelings towards him among British M.P.s began 'to soften' when he was obliged to answer the suit and in the latter part of his career he was to become 'a favourite of the House of Commons'.⁵¹

The counsel engaged by Fanny Hyland was Edward Clarke and Biggar's defending counsel was Charles Russell, later to be Sir Charles. These lawyers would once again be opposing each other in the O'Shea divorce case. Prior to that case Russell would be defending Parnell against allegations of complicity in the Phoenix Park murders, which were published in *The Times* newspaper.

Fanny Hyland said in her testimony, 'I never wish to go into law myself'; and she admitted Mr Patrick Egan urged her to bring the case and further said that 'independently of Mr Egan' her 'family would have insisted on bringing this action'.⁵² Given her family background it is reasonable to assume that she was of a legalistic mindset; she certainly was of strong character to sue for breach of promise.

Damages of £400 were awarded to Fanny. This rested on the jury's decision and although the judgement was appealed, the decision was upheld. Costs in the case were reported as being £1000 to be paid by Biggar.

⁴⁸ R.V. Comerford, 'Biggar, Joseph Gillis' in S. J. Connolly (ed.), *OCIH* (2nd ed., Oxford, 2004), p. 49.

⁴⁹ See Maria Luddy, *Matters of deceit: breach of promise to marry cases in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Limerick* (Maynooth Studies in Local History, Dublin, 2011).

⁵⁰ Alan O'Day, 'Biggar, Joseph Gillis', in *DIB* (Jan. 2014).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, 9 Mar. 1883.

It is not known if Fanny Hyland died unmarried, Joseph Biggar did not marry. He died shortly after the Kitty O'Shea scandal emerged in January 1890. He was, possibly, the only Catholic buried in Carnmoney cemetery, Belfast, since the Reformation. At his funeral ten thousand people came to pay their respects to the man they knew as 'Wee Humpy Joe', perhaps the archetypal nationalist in a complex, formative period in modern Irish history.⁵³

John Patrick Hyland: His Political Life 1856-79.

Alongside his farming and business activities, John P. had a political life. In his business and farming activities he would have interacted with a lot of people. Knowing people was part of political life and John P. was evidently interested in politics as his father, brother and uncle had been. Indeed, it was said that he took 'a keen interest in all matters promoted for the public weal'.⁵⁴ For Hyland and his peers there was a need to be engaged in community activities - the need to be involved in areas of power and influence - the requirement to achieve and maintain a social standing. There was an onus to hold a certain position in society. This was evidently important for him. Equally there was a social necessity to be philanthropic, to contribute to charitable causes and community projects, especially Catholic causes. He married Mary Joseph Hearne (or Hearn) of Tramore, County Waterford, the only child of Captain Hearne (presumably, a ship's captain) on 7 March 1859.⁵⁵ Captain Hearne was a bondsman and a trustee of the Church of the Holy Cross, Tramore. The Hearnese lived in Sea View House, Tramore, and appear to have been well-off. She died, aged 25, following the birth of their son, in 1861. She died in early July. Her baby boy, Laurence, was to die three months later.

John P. had the financial wherewithal to engage the notable architect J. J. McCarthy to design her memorial cross in Tramore, and he engaged Alexander Colles of Kilkenny to make and erect the cross.⁵⁶ Described as 'an unusual cross', in terms of its design, it was constructed with a large circular hole where the central boss should be'.⁵⁷ James Joseph McCarthy (1817-82) was a founder member of the Irish Ecclesiological Society; 'it was founded to promote the study of Catholic

⁵³ Heatley, 'Joseph Gillis Biggar', p. 92.

⁵⁴ *KP*, 6 Jan. 1917.

⁵⁵ *FJ*, 10 Mar. 1859.

⁵⁶ Plan of Hyland cross in Tramore by J. J. McCarthy JPH (HP); 1 Sept. 1862 E6 JPH (HP).

⁵⁷ Michael Brennan, 'An examination of the modern celtic cross' in *OKR*, liii (2001), p. 50.

antiquities, thus ensuring scholarly integrity in church design'.⁵⁸ The contacts he made in the society promoted his career and helped establish him as the leading architect of Irish Catholic churches in the mid-Victorian period.⁵⁹ He was also known for his nationalistic views, but is said to have been 'more Catholic, cultural, and internationalist than political'⁶⁰. This was despite his reading of *The Nation* and his friendship with the Young Ireland leader, Charles Gavan Duffy. In this there seems to be a comparison with Richard P. Hyland as he too subscribed to the Young Ireland newspaper and had some association with Gavan Duffy, yet he remained like McCarthy a non-militant nationalist.

The marriage to Hearne precipitated Eleanor Hyland's draft deed of trust of 1860 and that assignment ensured John P.'s long term involvement in the Bishop's Hall estate.⁶¹ He married for the second time in 1866, to Elizabeth Mary Potter (c.1848-95), youngest daughter of Henry Potter J.P., which again affirmed his social position and consolidated his political presence in Kilkenny.⁶² She was some twenty years his junior. While it is not known, but likely, that he received a dowry from the Hearnese, a record was kept of the money that Bessie Potter brought with her: 'Messrs M. and J. Potter to John P. Hyland as per marriage settlement £500'.⁶³ The money was provided by the Potters over a number of instalments of £25 and £50, from August 1866 to 6 February 1872.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ Patrick Long, 'McCarthy, James Joseph' in *DIB* (21 June 2011).

⁵⁹ 'McCarthy, James Joseph' in *DIA* (19 Dec. 2012).

⁶⁰ Long, 'McCarthy...'

⁶¹ E. to J. P. Hyland Deed of Trust JPH (HP).

⁶² *FJ*, 16 Jan. 1866.

⁶³ 13 Jan. 1866 E6 JPH (HP).

⁶⁴ *Ibid*.

Plate 8.2 Hyland Cross (1862) Tramore, County Waterford
(2011)



Source: Photograph by the author

Politics

John P. was actively interested in politics, like his cousin John Carroll. Like his father, Laurence, and uncle Michael, John P. was a frequent member of the Kilkenny city Grand Jury. Membership of the Grand Jury was confined to the highest cess or rate payers in the city area and was selected by the High Sheriff of the city. They had the power to levy tax and a role in the adjudication of cases that came before the petty sessions. Grand Jury membership would bring him into contact with other gentlemen of standing in the community in what was politically active elite grouping dominated by wealthy businessmen. His very presence on the jury indicated that he had an elevated place in the social stratum. Hyland was participating in the jury with those whom he and his family had long term associations with: the Smithwicks, John Potter, Francis Reynolds, Daniel Cullen, Richard Aylward, Dr Robert Cane and Thomas Power, to name but a few.⁶⁵ It was, after all a close-knit community in the city amongst these Catholics and this was part of his political progression.

By 1860, he was described as a town councillor when he attended a meeting supporting ‘Catholic deaf mutes’.⁶⁶ He had in fact been elected as a councillor for the borough of Kilkenny in 1856.⁶⁷ He took a seat for St John’s Ward by defeating his opponent, David Davis, by three votes i.e. 38 to 35, when the promotion of James Sullivan to the position of alderman necessitated an election. Others on the Town Council or Corporation at the time included Robert Cane, Edmund and Daniel Smithwick, Alexander Colles and Michael Banim. Banim (1796-1874) and his brother John (1798-1842) were noted literary figures.⁶⁸ John was the more notable writer, although his major works were collaborations with Michael, perhaps foremost amongst these was *Tales by the O Hara family* (1825).⁶⁹ Michael Banim was a contemporary of, and preceded Michael Hyland as Mayor in 1850 and at the time of John P. Hyland’s election was an alderman for St. John’s Ward.

Re-elected without a contest in 1858, Hyland’s address was given as the ‘Parade’. Under the Municipal Reform Act (1840), Kilkenny city had eighteen councillors

⁶⁵ *FJ*, 22 July 1858.

⁶⁶ *FJ*, 26 Oct. 1860.

⁶⁷ 26 May 1856 in Corporation Minute Book (CR11) 1851-62, p. 332 Kilkenny City Archive, the Tholsel, Kilkenny.

⁶⁸ Patrick Maume, ‘Banim, John’ in *DIB* (3 Feb. 2013).

⁶⁹ *Ibid*.

and six aldermen.⁷⁰ Eligible candidates had to be adult males ‘who resided in the borough or within seven miles of it for at least a year’ and who occupied property at not less than £10 p.a. and that he was up to date with all his rate payments. Hyland would have met these criteria, that is, he was on the burgess roll. Furthermore, the candidate had to be ‘possessed of property, real or personal, to the value of £1000 over and above any debts, or to be the occupier of a house, rated for poor law purposes at £25 p. a.’⁷¹ Again, John P. complied with these regulations.

It is recorded that John P. attended about forty meetings of the council over five years. The minutes of the Corporation do not record a significant contribution, possibly a result of his relative youth, yet he was gaining political experience at this local level. In 1856 Hyland together with the Mayor and Mr D. Smithwick were appointed on a committee to decide between Mr Potter and Mr James Loughnan relative to a question of alleged encroachment on Mr Potter’s house in High St.⁷² A letter was recorded in the minutes about the addition of a second lamp outside the Athenaeum on the Parade; John P. undertook to indemnify the Corporation against any loss on account of it and to pay any expenses that would arise.⁷³

Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman (1802-65), the ‘first cardinal archbishop of Westminster’ visited Kilkenny in 1859.⁷⁴ The Corporation with Hyland in attendance welcomed him with the words: ‘We the members of the Corporation and chosen delegates of the people of this ancient Catholic city, hasten to offer our willing and heartfelt homage...’⁷⁵ Wiseman, who had Irish parents, is ‘chiefly remembered for restoring the English hierarchy and placing ‘Roman Catholics of England on the map’.⁷⁶

Coal-market Street was renamed Parliament Street in 1860 and Hyland was one of those who unanimously supported the change.⁷⁷ By statute, one-third of councillors were to go out of office each year. Hyland was defeated in the election of 1861 by a

⁷⁰ Crossman, *Local government*, p.79.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Corporation Minute Book, 5 July 1856 (CR11), p. 496.

⁷³ Ibid., 1 Jan. 1857, p. 396 (copy letter dated 5 Nov. 1856).

⁷⁴ William M. Marshall, ‘Wiseman, Nicholas’ in John Cannon (ed.), *The Oxford companion to British history* (Oxford, 2012) (1st. rev ed online version) (www.oxfordreference.com) (5 Feb. 2013).

⁷⁵ Corporation Minute Book, 11 Sept. 1859, p. 505.

⁷⁶ Marshall, ‘Wiseman’.

⁷⁷ Corporation Minute Book, 4 June 1860, p. 620.

significant margin, thus ended his early political career.⁷⁸ Also, the death of his wife and son in that year more than likely lessened his interest in active politics, at least in the short term.

Hyland's appointment as High Sheriff of the city of Kilkenny came in 1868. The High Sheriff was the principal representative of central government in any county, and in this case in the city of Kilkenny.⁷⁹ As High Sheriff, he was 'responsible for the execution of legal process in both civil and criminal actions'.⁸⁰ Hyland was commissioned from Dublin Castle.⁸¹ The office increased his public profile as he attended a number of public events besides the regular duties associated with the position, particularly in regard to the procedures of the City Grand Jury.

Baron Deasy was a judge at the summer assizes in Kilkenny in 1868. Summing up, he commented about the state of law and order in the city and was impressed by the low rate of crime. Rickard Morgan Deasy (1812-83) was a Catholic lawyer. He became a judge and later a Liberal M.P., he was appointed fourth baron of the Exchequer in 1861, the year he left parliament.⁸² Hyland in his role as High Sheriff of the city presented him with a pair of white gloves (this was customary when no one was sentenced to death at the assizes) and 'in an appropriate speech hoped that Kilkenny would long continue a bright example to the other portions of Her Majesty's dominions'.⁸³

At a meeting in Kilkenny in October 1869, Hyland seconded the motion put forward by the Mayor 'that to meet the exigencies a land law based on the principals of fixity of tenure and fair rents is required'.⁸⁴ The Tenant Right League in Kilkenny was formed at this meeting. This organized politicisation of tenants was a development based on the 1850s Irish Tenant League, which had its origins in Callan, County Kilkenny.

Early the following year, in January 1870, Hyland was a signatory to a petition requesting a national conference on the land question at the Mansion House,

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 25 Nov. 1861, p. 735.

⁷⁹ Crossman, *Local government*, p. 7.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Letter of appointment as High Sheriff of the county of the city of Kilkenny, 14 Jan. 1868, JPH (HP).

⁸² Desmond McCabe, 'Deasy, Rickard Morgan' in *DIB* (11 Dec. 2012).

⁸³ *FJ*, 21 July 1868.

⁸⁴ *FJ*, 19 Oct. 1869.

Dublin.⁸⁵ In 1865, Hyland had been a member of Sir John Gray's election committee.⁸⁶ Gray (1816-75), was a 'highly influential politician' and the proprietor of the *Freeman's Journal*.⁸⁷ He was M.P. for Kilkenny city from 1865 until his death ten years later. He was first elected as a Liberal candidate and in 1874 was seen as a Home Ruler.⁸⁸

Hand in hand with political involvement was the appointment to local boards. Hyland was a member of the board of superintendence of the Kilkenny county and city gaol in 1872.⁸⁹ Wearing the 'two hats' of landlord and tenant must have created an internal dichotomy for Hyland to a certain extent. How did he view his own position? He certainly saw himself as a Catholic and it is arguable that he was governed to a large extent by his Catholicism.

At another local meeting of the tenant league, in November 1869, he seconded the proposal of George Bryan for chairman; Bryan the M.P. for the county was the Catholic landlord with the largest estate in Kilkenny.⁹⁰ Bryan was proposed by Fr Hayden, the parish priest of St. Patrick's, where Hyland was a member of the congregation. John Carroll, Hyland's cousin, spoke supporting the Liberal party 'the leaders of public opinion' and the clergy 'who never deceived us'.⁹¹ Hyland likely would have shared these views. Sir John Gray too, although he was 'brought up a Protestant' was very much supporter of Catholic causes and this made his political career to a large extent.

Politics: Local and National

Board of Guardians

Hyland's political ambitions led him to go forward for election as a poor law guardian for St Canice's Ward in the city area. Guardians were 'elected by the ratepayer under a wide franchise that covered all but the labouring, artisan, and

⁸⁵ *FJ*, 29 Jan. 1870.

⁸⁶ *FJ*, 27 June 1865.

⁸⁷ R. V. Comerford, 'Sir John Gray' in S. J. Connolly (ed.), *OCIH* (2nd ed., Oxford, 2004), p. 238. See also C. J. Woods, 'Gray, Sir John' in *DIB* (14 Nov. 2012).

⁸⁸ Woods, 'Gray, Sir John'.

⁸⁹ 'Appendix to the fifty-first report of Kilkenny County and City Gaol at Kilkenny – statutable Inspection, 24th December, 1872' in *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons and Command* vol. 33 (1873) (<https://www.google.com>) (1 Feb. 2014).

⁹⁰ *FJ*, 15 Nov. 1869.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

subsistence farmer classes'.⁹² The electoral process was complicated and weighted in favour of the more privileged. John P. was elected to the Kilkenny Board of Guardians for St. Canice's Ward on 3 December 1881. He records this in a ledger, where he pastes the 'notice to the Guardian elected form', on the inside cover. He wrote: 'Michael Shortal[1], solicitor, 90 votes, John P. Hyland, gentleman, 220 votes'. In addition, he noted that he was elected an *ex-officio* guardian in November 1885, and that he was appointed vice-chairman of the board of guardians in March 1882. He also recorded that he sent in his resignation, as vice-chairman, in April 1889.⁹³

By 1885 he had been commissioned as a Justice of the Peace and therefore was automatically entitled to be an *ex-officio* member of the board, if a certain ratio between elected and *ex-officio* guardians were established. There seems to have been an election for his position as *ex-officio* guardian in late 1885; this was probably because there were too many J.P.s to meet the ratio requirement. In addition 'if the number of qualifying magistrates in the union was greater than the number required as *ex-officios*, the available seats went to the magistrates with the highest land valuations' and Hyland met these requirements.⁹⁴ Those owners or occupiers of land who were subject to the poor rate were entitled to vote in the elections of guardians to the board. In Hyland's case it was the rate-payers of St. Canice's Ward, that is, an area that was part of the western side of the city.⁹⁵

When John Patrick Hyland was elected to the Kilkenny Union Board of Guardians for St. Canice's Ward the nationalist *Kilkenny Journal* congratulated him:

We are sure there is no gentleman more fitted for the position, or one who from his family connections deserves so well any honour the citizens of Kilkenny bestow on him, and we anticipate that in his public capacity the interests of the poor and the ratepayers will be assiduously attended to.⁹⁶

⁹² William L. Feingold, *The revolt of the tenantry: the transformation of local government in Ireland, 1872- 1886* (Boston, 1984), p. 14.

⁹³ E5 JPH (HP).

⁹⁴ Feingold, *Revolt of the tenantry*, p. 22.

⁹⁵ E5 JPH (HP).

⁹⁶ *KJ*, 3 Dec. 1881.

It may be coincidental but the candidature of Hyland for the board of guardians in December 1881 followed Parnell's appeal for Irish people to seize control of the boards made in March of that year.⁹⁷ Regardless, the timing would seem to have significance when one considers the general distress of the country at the time. Hyland was making a new political entry when his own personal situation was becoming increasingly difficult, especially with regard to his finances and the problems he was experiencing with his tenants. Was he responding to the call from Parnell? Was he influenced by him or by some local politicians? Was he perhaps pressed to run for the board by relatives, friends or acquaintances? Did he feel that 1881 was a time for some political action? His return to local government after what appeared to have been a twelve year absence begs these questions.

The board of guardians was the body tasked with the overseeing and operation of the poor law within a specific district. The poor law was a nationwide system of providing relief to the poor.⁹⁸ The Kilkenny Union encompassed much of central Kilkenny including the city area, Freshford, Tullaroan, Gowran and Tiscoffin.⁹⁹ The union workhouse was the poor law made visible together with fever hospitals and dispensaries all providing relief for the poor. John P. served on the Kilkenny dispensary committee and would have, on several occasions, been a visiting member of the board inspecting the state of the workhouse.

On 30 March 1882 Hyland was elected vice-chairman, with the marquess of Ormonde, James Edward Butler (1844-1919), elected chairman.¹⁰⁰ Hyland was in the chair when the matter of support for the release of Parnell and his followers from prison arose; he said 'I'll have no objection to sign that'.¹⁰¹ Sir John Blunden, his landlord, was present and he said: 'A great many of these fellows when released did not know how to conduct themselves, and in fact were worse than before they were put in'. Hyland responded, 'You will not get many to agree with you in that idea'. The newspaper reported that the motion was carried, 'Mr Hyland having seconded the resolution'.¹⁰²

⁹⁷ Crossman, *Local government*, p. 53.

⁹⁸ Virginia Crossman, 'poor law' in S. J. Connolly (ed.), *OCIH* (2nd ed., Oxford, 2004), p. 476.

⁹⁹ G. B. Handran, (ed) *Townlands in poor law unions: a reprint of poor law union pamphlets of the general Registrar's Office* (Salem, 1997), pp 263-6.

¹⁰⁰ *FJ*, 31 Mar. 1882.

¹⁰¹ *KJ*, 17 Dec. 1881.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

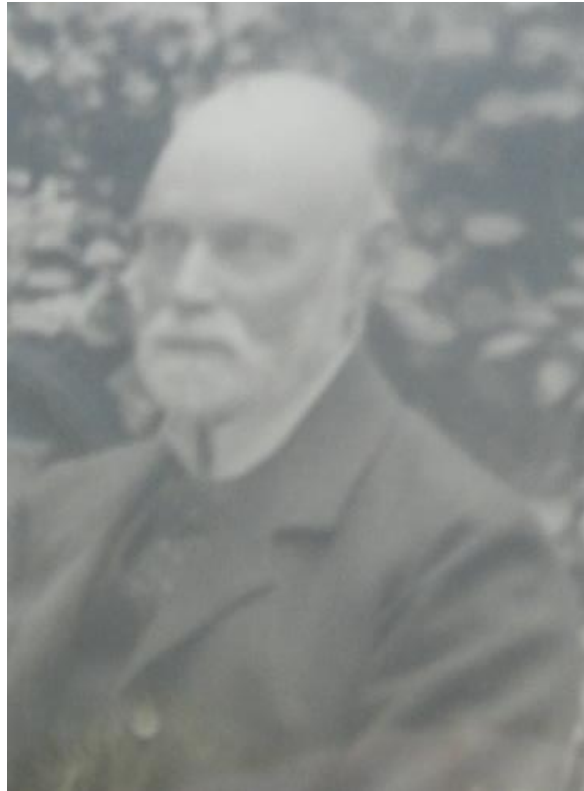
On one occasion a deputation of labourers assembled at the union hall looking for employment; two representatives of the group were allowed to attend the board meeting. John P. Hyland was in the chair and said ‘I am sure if these men were not in great need and suffering from want of employment they would not apply here’.¹⁰³ The workhouse system was such that only those in desperate circumstances would apply for relief. In this case the labourers were seeking employment from the board. Hyland held the post of vice-chairman from the outset of his membership of the board and, as it transpired, often acted as chairman. It was a prestigious position and somewhat onerous as the function of the chairman brought its responsibilities with it such as maintaining order and setting the agenda. From December 1881 when he was first elected, Hyland was a frequent attendee at the board of guardian’s meetings and when present it would be unusual if he did not act as its chairman. More often than not when he made way, it was due to the presence of the marquess of Ormonde who was the chairman. Hyland was reappointed as vice-chairman of the Kilkenny Board of Guardians in 1883.¹⁰⁴ Noted in his diary was the information that Lord Ormonde (he referred to the marquess as Lord Ormonde) was chairman, John P. Hyland, vice-chairman and Thomas Comerford, deputy vice-chairman.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ *KJ*, 27 May 1882.

¹⁰⁴ 5 Apr. 1883 F6 JPH (HP).

¹⁰⁵ 30 Mar. 1882 F7 JPH (HP).

Plate 8.3 John P. Hyland from a photograph (c. 1890)



Source: Hyland Papers

Functions of the Board

The Kilkenny Union board met on Thursdays and concerned itself principally with the running of the workhouse, fever hospitals and dispensaries in the union area. The reports of the workhouse master and other officers were read and recorded while matters relating to staff appointments, tendering, and visitations by guardians and doctors were also written into the minute books. Lists of inmates and their categorisation were recorded and records of births and deaths noted by the clerk of the union. Correspondence was read and responded to. Rates were collected and the money expended was accounted for. The staff took note of the work completed by the inmates such as the breaking of stones; this information was presented to the board. Michael Potter, probably a member of the merchant family related to Hyland through marriage, was the rate collector for St. Canice's Ward.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ Kilkenny Union Minute Book: Mar. 1881-Mar. 1882 Ref. 373 37K, 23 Feb. 1882, p. 983.

The subjects of education and health including schooling for child inmates and the operation of dispensaries were dealt with. Committees were formed to investigate issues and make recommendations; for example, Hyland was on a committee 'to inquire into the improvement of flooring of the male lunatic ward'.¹⁰⁷

Hyland and his Political Life in the 1880s

Hyland was somewhere between a conservative and a liberal, probably leaning towards the former. It was a nuanced position. He had a foot in both camps as a landlord and as tenant. He described himself as a 'gentleman' and as a 'landed proprietor'. His election to the Kilkenny Union Board of Guardians was a matter of pride for him as was his later appointment as a magistrate. Politics, as has been shown, was not a new departure for him: he had served as a town councillor as early as 1856 and later as High Sheriff of Kilkenny city in 1868. Perhaps he craved the status that local representation would give him when he stood for election in 1881. This was a pivotal time in local and national politics; it was a time when the Land League leaders were attempting to wrest control of boards of guardians nationwide. The boards were dominated by the landlord class and their representatives, especially the principal offices of chairman, vice-chairman and deputy vice-chairman.¹⁰⁸ These offices have been identified as representing politically either broadly conservative landlords or radical tenant farmers.¹⁰⁹ The Land War was at its height and tensions were high when Hyland entered the local political arena once more. Problems with his tenants were to intensify throughout this period and equally his relationships with his own landlords began to deteriorate. The agricultural depression which did so much to bring about political events had damaged him financially and he was increasingly resorting to lenders both private and corporate to ensure his own financial liquidity. Through his writings and by his actions a consideration of his political position may be offered; at least, in as far as an enigmatic personality such as he was may allow.

Loyalties

On 12 September 1883, John P. attended a meeting that was convened to discuss the tithe rent charge. The attendance was representative of the landed interest in the

¹⁰⁷ Kilkenny Union Minute Book: Mar. 1882-Mar. 1882 Ref. 296 39K, 12 Oct. 1882, p. 609.

¹⁰⁸ Dooley, *Decline of the big house*, pp 212-3.

¹⁰⁹ Virginia Crossman, *The poor law in Ireland, 1838-1948* (Studies in Irish Economic and Social History, x (2006), p. 45.

county: Sir John Blunden and Thomas Neville, Hyland's landlords, were amongst those present.¹¹⁰ The meeting agreed to form a committee to petition the government on the subject. Mulhallen Marum M.P. (1822-90) attended and spoke for nearly two hours; he felt that the resolution to be adopted should refer to all taxation on land. After a 'lengthy discussion' the following resolution was agreed on: 'that tithe-rent charge and other charges on land bear too heavily on the land classes'.¹¹¹ Here the landed classes, both Catholic and Protestant, had come together in their common interest in an effort to alleviate some the financial burdens that they were carrying since the agricultural depression began.

Tracing his political history in the period 1880-5 may in some way begin to lead one to an assessment of Hyland's role and his viewpoint. As has been said above he was possibly prompted to seek public office by other individuals who were intent on having their man in an influential position. One such individual who may have seen potential for political progress was the aforementioned local M.P., Mulhallen Marum.

Parliamentary Representation

Hyland was listed as one of the nominators for the candidature of Edward Purcell Mulhallen Marum on a Home Rule ticket in the general election of 1880. Marum was seen as a 'hardliner' in the Kilkenny Tenant Farmers' Association and although he originally received the support of the bishop of Ossory, Bishop Patrick Francis Moran, in the 1875 by-election, he was not supported by Moran in 1880.¹¹² Marum was a supporter of Parnell and he advocated him on the hustings.¹¹³ It followed that Hyland supported Parnell at this point too. However, Michael Davitt, the ardent nationalist and founder of the Land League when writing from prison thought Marum as being not 'over-strong'.¹¹⁴ The 1880 election saw Marum with the highest vote in the county and saw him rendering Lord James Arthur Butler (1849-1943), the unionist candidate, who was late into the race, unsuccessful and in third place in a two seat constituency. Lord Arthur, as he was known, was the younger brother of the aforementioned 3rd marquess of Ormonde, James Edward Butler

¹¹⁰ *FJ*, 13 Sept. 1883.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² Walsh, *Kilkenny: the struggle*, pp 271, 279.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

(1843-1919). The poll was as follows Marum 2707, P. L. Martin (a non-Parnellite Home Ruler) 2694 and Lord Arthur Butler with 913 votes.¹¹⁵

Political Manoeuvres Locally

In October 1883, Mulhallen Marum M.P., who was of Aharney House, Ballyragett, County Kilkenny, and Fr Hayden the parish priest of St Patrick's arrived at Clonmoran. Clonmoran was situated in St Patrick's parish. Reverend William Hayden was appointed parish priest of St. Patrick's in 1859, and was vicar general of the diocese.¹¹⁶ He died in 1884 and was buried in Foulkstown Cemetery.¹¹⁷ Hyland wrote that they called about the office of Commissioner of the Peace.¹¹⁸

Justices of the Peace (or J.P.s) presided at the petty or quarter sessions as administrators of justice and were appointed for life by the lieutenant of the county.¹¹⁹ The marquess of Ormonde held the position of lieutenant.¹²⁰ Whether Hyland was actively seeking magisterial office is not known but he must have been looked upon as someone worthy of the role at least from the popular nationalist community represented by Marum and Hayden. Marum, who owned approximately 208 acres of land and was both a lawyer and a J.P., may have made representations on Hyland's behalf.¹²¹ In any event the office was not forthcoming at this time.

Given his increasing seniority and his long-standing public profile, Hyland's participation in the local community was assured. It is a matter of conjecture but the extant evidence demonstrates that he was seen as a reliable individual. He was, for example, called as a court witness in 1883 regarding a neighbouring farm. The farm of St. Kieran's College, the diocesan seminary and *alma mater* of most of his sons, was located close to Clonmoran; Hyland attended the Land Court, Dublin, and gave evidence respecting this farm.¹²²

¹¹⁵ B. M. Walker, (ed) *Parliamentary election results in Ireland, 1801-1922* (Dublin, 1978), p. 288.

¹¹⁶ Michael O'Dwyer, 'The parish priests of St Patrick's parish' in O'Dwyer (ed.), *St. Patrick's*, p. 83.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ 30 Oct. 1883 F6 JPH (HP).

¹¹⁹ Dooley, *Decline of the big house*, p. 212.

¹²⁰ Bassett, *Kilkenny*, p. 149.

¹²¹ *Landowners of Ireland* (1876), p. 39.

¹²² 13 Dec. 1883 F6 JPH (HP).

Dilemma

On 18 March 1885, Hyland received a note from the marquess of Ormonde requesting him to call to the castle the following morning.¹²³ This private meeting was to have a significant import for local politics. When he called to the castle the marquess informed him that he would recommend him for Commissioner of the Peace, as Mr T. Power had left a vacancy and as his (Hyland's) property was in the southern part of the county. This was an offer that Hyland found difficult to refuse. Ormonde told him that he would be expected to attend occasionally at Kilmacow, and also at Grace's Old Castle (the present county courthouse).¹²⁴ On the 23 March, Hyland forwarded the particulars of his property, which he put down as £685, to 'Lord Ormonde at Ballypatrick, Clonmel' (the location of an Ormonde hunting lodge), and on the 28th of that month he received a letter from the Lord Chancellor regarding the commission of the peace.¹²⁵ He duly accepted and paid the stamp duty of £6 on the commission of the peace on 1 April 1885.¹²⁶ Pointedly the following evening there was an important meeting of the Kilkenny poor law union. The principal item on the agenda was the election of the chairman of the board of guardians for 1885.¹²⁷ The marquess, who was the incumbent, was nominated by Sir John Blunden and seconded by Alderman John Francis Smithwick, Kilcreene Lodge, M.P. for the city. The elected guardians nominated Hyland who was now an *ex-officio* guardian by virtue of being a Justice of the Peace.

William Feingold reasons that the decision of a board 'to elect or not to elect an *ex-officio* to office was determined largely by the corporate attitude toward both nationalism and landlordism'.¹²⁸ In Kilkenny the union was slow to abandon landlordism in the person of the marquess, and when the nationalist members first attempted to put their man in the chair it was the nationalist landlord John P. Hyland they nominated.

Martin Morrissey, who was involved in the Kilkenny city branch of the Irish National League, proposed Hyland; Morrissey was a member of a Walkin Street

¹²³ 18 Mar. 1885 G1 JPH (HP).

¹²⁴ 19 Mar. 1885 G1 JPH (HP).

¹²⁵ 23, 28 Mar. 1885 G1 JPH (HP).

¹²⁶ 1 Apr. 1885 G1 JPH (HP).

¹²⁷ *KJ*, 4 Apr. 1885; See also Edward Kennedy, *The land movement in Tullaroan, County Kilkenny, 1879-1891* (Maynooth Studies in Local History, Dublin, 2004), p. 35.

¹²⁸ Feingold, *Revolt of the tenantry*, p. 182.

merchant family in the city, well known to Hyland. He was seconded by Edmond Kelly, Lates House, Tullaroan. Hyland declined to stand much to the consternation of the proposer and seconder.¹²⁹ The *Kilkenny Journal* stated: ‘that it was a miserable piece of bungling from start to finish.’¹³⁰

Divided Loyalties

Presumably, his nominators did not consult with him before the meeting, or else he left them with the impression that he would stand for the position. His ‘nationalism’ was tempered by his unwillingness to stand against someone who had recommended him as a Justice of the Peace. It was a ‘soft nationalism’ when put to the test. Compromised by this and by what appeared to be a natural deference to the marquess, he declined to stand. Moreover the fact that Ormonde was publically supported by Hyland’s landlord Sir John Blunden and by his neighbour the nationalist John Francis Smithwick M.P. must have stifled any enthusiasm he may have had for the office. Offending the marquess may have been a step too far for him. Whatever were his private thoughts his public actions were a different matter. If indeed Marum had put his faith in him he was to be disappointed, certainly his nominators were left frustrated. Either way they had underestimated Hyland or rather they had overestimated his nationalist feeling. Evidently his wider political desires were not as compelling for him as were personal promotion or deference to his landlord and the marquess.

How much Marum and Fr Hayden knew of his discussion with Ormonde, if anything, is open to conjecture. They knew that Ormonde’s assent was necessary in order to secure the commission and that this would compromise Hyland, yet it was obvious that Hyland as vice-chairman would have been a focus for nationalist ambitions at board of guardian level. Nevertheless, Hyland’s personal ambition was not so directed, whatever about the machinations of local politics.

Hyland was elected vice-chairman again in 1886 and in 1887 when John Francis Smithwick, an *ex-officio* guardian, was elected the first nationalist chairman of the Kilkenny Union. The Kilkenny Union was the last union to elect a nationalist

¹²⁹ Kennedy, *Land movement*, p. 35.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

chairman in County Kilkenny. Indeed, ‘by 1887 Kilkenny was the only board between Clare and Wexford to have an *ex-officio* chairman’.¹³¹

The episode of Hyland’s nomination was predictive of the end of landlordism and the end of the ascendancy of the Butlers of Ormonde. Hyland received the commission of the peace on 26 May 1885, and two days later he took the necessary oaths as magistrate before Sir John Blunden.¹³² Proud of his role as a magistrate he wrote: ‘sat for the first time as Co. Magistrate at Grace’s Old Castle’.¹³³ Other magistrates present were: (Henry) Thynne R.M., W. P. Blunden, James Sullivan and Thomas Keogh. When Hyland died in the first days of 1917, one of the local newspapers said that ‘he was a most popular member of the county bench where he always tempered justice with mercy’.¹³⁴ The *Kilkenny People* observed that ‘in point of seniority, Hyland was the fourth oldest Catholic magistrate in the city and county having received the commission of the peace in 1885’. It went on to say that only John Butler, chairman of the County Council, Colonel John N. Cahill, Ballyconra and Lord Bellew had seniority over him having received the commission in 1876, 1879 and 1880 respectively.

Hyland, who was the landlord of property in south Kilkenny within the Waterford Union, registered his willingness to be appointed to the position of *ex-officio* guardian of that union, in reply to its clerk.¹³⁵ He declined to be re-elected as vice-chairman of the Kilkenny Union Board of Guardians in 1889.¹³⁶ From 1889 onwards he did not attend often and as a result his participation was limited.

In 1883 the *Kilkenny Journal* claimed that it had ‘always been recognised as the Catholic and tenant-right organ of the south of Ireland’.¹³⁷ Hyland discontinued his subscription to the *Kilkenny Journal* in February 1890.¹³⁸ In March, he met Mr Lalor of the unionist *Kilkenny Moderator* and promised to become a subscriber to that newspaper. Why was this done? Had he lost his nationalist views? Perhaps he had enough of nationalism and simply could not continue to support the cause. Hyland recorded the death of Charles Stewart Parnell on 6 October 1891, without

¹³¹ Feingold, *Revolt of the tenantry*, p. 212.

¹³² 26, 28, May 1885 G1 JPH (HP).

¹³³ 6 June 1885 G1 JPH (HP).

¹³⁴ *KP*, 6 Jan. 1917.

¹³⁵ 28 June 1887 F3 158 JPH (HP).

¹³⁶ 4 Apr. 1889 E3 JPH (HP).

¹³⁷ *KJ*, 31 Jan. 1883.

¹³⁸ 14 Feb. 1890 E1 JPH (HP).

any comment.¹³⁹ Substantial evidence has not been found to suggest active support for Parnell, whether in terms of attendance at Parnellite meetings or even a possible meeting with him. Nonetheless, there was a national indemnity fund for Parnell and his colleagues, ‘in their costly contest with the *Times* and the Tory government’ to which Hyland subscribed one pound and one shilling.¹⁴⁰ Certainly at this juncture, 1888, Hyland was a supporter of Parnell. When King Edward VII visited Kilkenny Castle in 1904, John P. Hyland was one of those who had the honour of receiving an invitation to the reception there.¹⁴¹ It is not known if he attended the reception.

Freemen

Both John P. and his son Richard J. were added to the Kilkenny City Freeman’s Roll in 1907. This was during the mayoralty of Otway Cuffe. Cuffe was the leading member of the Gaelic League in the city.¹⁴² They received certificates as hereditary freemen of the city of Kilkenny, on account of their relationship to Laurence.¹⁴³ By 1907 John P. was an octogenarian and his influence on local politics had waned.

A decade later, in October 1917, less than a year after the demise of her father, May Hyland (1875-1928) proposed a motion at the Kilkenny AGM of the Gaelic League ‘deploring the cruel death of the revolutionary Thomas Ashe’ and ‘regretting his great loss to the Irish language and condoling with his family’; this followed Ashe’s hunger strike and subsequent death as a result of forced feeding. There was little opportunity for females to lead or have a public role though this was changing at this period. May, it seems likely, would have encountered the 1916 leader Thomas MacDonagh (briefly a teacher in St. Kieran’s college) when he was a member of the Gaelic League in Kilkenny. What John P. would have made of her motion is open to conjecture.

By the turn of the century the financial power and political position of the family had declined considerably as the patriarch John P. Hyland grew older. Indeed in common with the great landlords there was a gradual decline in fortunes from the 1880s. Significantly there is only one female servant listed on the 1911 census. The economic decline was mirrored in the Hylands’ absence from political fora. The

¹³⁹ 7 Oct. 1890 E1 JPH (HP). NB The actual date of this entry was 6 Oct. 1891.

¹⁴⁰ *FJ*, 17 Oct. 1888.

¹⁴¹ *KM*, 4 May 1904.

¹⁴² *KJ*, 27 Mar. 1907.

¹⁴³ Freeman Certificates J. P. Hyland and R. J. Hyland, 25 March 1907 JPH (HP). See also Freeman’s Roll, Kilkenny City Archive, City Hall Kilkenny.

Local Government Act of 1898 had ended the participation of *ex-officio* members in the boards of guardians. After John P. had left political life, his family, other than participating in the Gaelic League, did not actively involve themselves in politics, preferring to remain reticent.

There was a time when Hyland and those of his class would have hoped to be the inheritors of a Home Rule based Irish government. By the time he died, however, there were new successors who claimed and would succeed to that inheritance. The next chapter will focus on the Hylands' culture. It will also look at the influence of religion on the family and discuss their place in society.

CHAPTER 9

Culture, Religion and Society

A Catholic Community

Culture, religion and society were all intertwined in the lives of this enterprising family. One may say with some confidence that the Hylands' social circle was confined to the Catholic community, more especially the Catholic community within the Kilkenny city area. Furthermore, their private papers indicate that they were content to socialise within their family circle. The individual with the most extensive legacy of material in the archive was John P. Hyland; his papers show that he spent what spare time he had travelling to see his relations at his mother's home Earlsrath, or visiting his sister Margaret in Dublin. If and when they entertained anyone, without some possible ulterior motive, more than often it was a relative. Guests other than the Germaines and the Roman Catholic Bishop Abraham Brownrigg, who will be discussed herein, are not mentioned in his diaries, but it may be that he did not consider it important to record most visitors. What may be said is that the family and the extended family were their inner circle - those closest to them. They had the ties of kinship and the consequential financial ties that family connections implied. That is not to say that they did not have a wider group of acquaintances outside the family circle whom they met through their various interests. These acquaintances were crucial for their business and political activities. The wheels of commerce were driven by such associations. In the first instance they met through their religious practices, in particular by attending Mass. Secondly they encountered each other through formal education. This led to wider social and political associations. Beyond the limit of their Catholicism they had the capacity to deal and engage with those of other persuasions. Kilkenny city was where they would have shopped, probably in Catholic owned concerns though perhaps not exclusively. They had relations in the city who were shop owners and as a result most of their interaction would have been with them.

The post-script to a letter from John P. to Edmond Kelly about finding a placement for his son was most revealing as to his inherent attitudes, he wrote: 'I should on no

account wish to place him with a Protestant'.¹ This was an insight into Hyland's thinking; his deeply held beliefs were ruled by a strict Roman Catholicism. While there is no evidence of anything like an overt bigotry, in private he held a strict conformity to his faith. Private opinions were held by the family and this did not always match their publically expressed views or correspond to their public actions. There is no reason to surmise that attitudes in the family in this regard had changed from Laurence's time in the pre-Famine era.

Culture

Books and Reading

Their reading tells us most about the culture of the Hylands and at the same time informs us about their education. Books were found on the second floor of the house at Clonmoran and in its attic (see Appendix X for a select alphabetical listing of the book collection). The books date mostly from the nineteenth century with some from the eighteenth century and a couple from the seventeenth.

The library largely reflects the education of the family over generations, as well as their political, religious, and personal interests. One would expect that the Hylands' immersion in Catholic nationalist culture would be reflected in their book collection, and it is to a large extent true; however, there are a considerable number of tomes that exist in Clonmoran House that do not have that expected association. The books vary in condition from remarkably well preserved volumes, to some dishevelled examples, to bundles of papers that once were books, now stored in boxes - an indication of usage? Quite often the title page is missing and the bibliographical details are scant. Curiously, some of the volumes, especially those published before the nineteenth century, raise more questions than answers, particularly of their provenance: John P. Hyland copied part of *Letters on the State of Ireland* by J.K.L. (James, Kildare and Leighlin) into a ledger. Wesley's *Sermons* are unlikely neighbours on the Hyland book shelf beside the work of Bishop James Doyle (J.K.L.) and *O'Conor's Irish Catholics*.²

¹ 26 Aug. 1883 F3 58-9 JPH (HP).

² *Sermons: on several occasions* (6th ed., 6 vols, Dublin, 1803) printed for the Methodist Book-Room, no. 13 White-friar street, by John Jones, no. 90, Bride-street, and sold at the Methodist preaching-houses in town and country; James Doyle (J.K.L.) *Letters on the state of Ireland* (Dublin, 1825); Matthew O'Conor, *The history of the Irish Catholics* (Dublin, 1813).

In this regard, the most curious example is William Camden's *History of Queen Elizabeth I*.³ The survival of this book, which would have been over two hundred years old in 1816, is interesting especially in terms of its provenance. Perhaps these books were simply abandoned or misplaced by an earlier, gentleman occupier of Clonmoran House. A possible collector in the family may explain the provenance of some of the more ancient books or perhaps these books were carried with the Hylands from their previous residence. Possibly some of these books were brought from Earlsrath when Eleanor Walsh married Laurence Hyland in 1816. Notwithstanding these possibilities, a considerable number of the books in the Hylands' library could be considered as popular classics. The inclusion of *The Spirit of Laws* by Montesquieu, an edition printed in Dublin in two volumes, is worthy of note in any assessment of cultural influences.⁴ Some of these books go against the conventional perception of what a Catholic family would be reading.

Laurence Hyland is listed as a subscriber to *Lewis's Topographical Dictionary* (1837), the two large paper volumes of which remains to this day in his home.⁵ Under the account of Kilkenny, Castle Blunden is referred to as 'formerly Clonmoran'.⁶ This contemporary publication, apart from being a general reference source, has an added relevance as a source specific to this thesis: Laurence's inclusion in the subscription list is proof of this book's provenance. Furthermore, this evidence gives us some indication as to how some of these books were acquired.

Not surprisingly, there are works on Catholicism, agriculture and industry. The owner inscription on the title page reveals that Richard Hyland purchased *Mure's Supplement* from Douglas, the Kilkenny bookseller.⁷ The possession of technical tomes is a comment of the Hylands' progressive outlook. Not unexpectedly, religion, law and politics were popular subjects in the Hylands' library. School related books also make up much of the collection.

³ William Camden (Guilielmo Camdeno), *Annales rerum gestarum Angliae et Hiberniae regnante Elizabetha* (London, 1615).

⁴ Charles Montesquieu, *The spirit of laws* (2 vols, Dublin, 1751) (For G. and A. Ewing, in Dame-street, and G. Faulkner in Essex-street).

⁵ Lewis, *Topographical dictionary*, i, p. xxxv

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii, p. 114.

⁷ Andrew Mure, *Recent improvements in arts, manufactures, and mines* (2nd ed., London, 1845).

Leaving aside their situation a number of books are a direct primary source for this study, indeed some are most applicable to the family, for example: Eleanor Hyland's mother is mentioned in *Wakefield's Ireland* (1812).⁸

Local publications were subscribed to by John P. Hyland including John Hogan's *Kilkenny* and William Healy's *History and Antiquities of Kilkenny*.⁹ In addition, two copies of the four volumes of *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory* by William Carrigan, published in 1905, were subscribed to.¹⁰ However the copies are not now located in the Hylands' library and are likely to have been gifted to a family member. The biography of a Kilkenny author entitled *The Life of John Banim* not surprisingly is part of the library too.¹¹ John and his brother Michael Banim, as we have seen, were contemporaries of the Hylands. One critic has said that the Banims' capture the mood of the period in their *Tales by the O'Hara family* (1825-6), which may well have been read by the Hylands.¹² Laurence Hyland was a subscriber to a fund for John Banim in 1833.¹³

The magazine *Motorcycling* was Richard J. Hyland's, a motorcycle enthusiast, and it had a price of one penny in 1915.¹⁴ He was one of the first to own a motorcycle in County Kilkenny. The motor cycle was purchased in 1911 from F. A. Wallen & Co., 4 Nassau Street, Dublin.¹⁵ In common with his predecessors R. J. Hyland was willing to embrace new technologies.

An interest in art and art history is evidenced by the possession of *Hogarth Moralized* by Trusler.¹⁶ The Hylands were familiar with the works of the art critic John Ruskin with *Selections from the Writings of John Ruskin 1843-1860* and *The Stones of Venice* amongst their books.¹⁷

A number of the books are easily associated with individual members of the family and not merely by means of a signature. William P. Hyland (1869-1910) (John P.'s

⁸ Edward Wakefield, *An account of Ireland statistical and political* (2 vols, London, 1812) i, 329.

⁹ John Hogan, *Kilkenny* (Kilkenny, 1884), p. 2; William Healy, *History and antiquities of Kilkenny* (Kilkenny, 1893), p. 119.

¹⁰ Carrigan, *history and antiquities*, i, p. 293.

¹¹ P. J. Murray, *The life of John Banim* (London, 1857).

¹² Thomas Flanagan, 'Literature in English', 1801-91 in W. E. Vaughan (ed) *A new history of Ireland v: Ireland under the union i 1801-70* (Oxford, 1989), p.489.

¹³ *KM*, 27 Feb. 1833.

¹⁴ *Motorcycling*, 30 Mar. 1915.

¹⁵ Invoice from F. A. Wallen & Co. to R. J. Hyland, 1 July 1911 RJH (HP).

¹⁶ John Trusler, *Hogarth moralized* (?).

¹⁷ *Selections from the writings of John Ruskin 1843-60* (5th ed., London, 1900); John Ruskin, *The stones of Venice* (3 Vols, London, 1853), iii.

son) during his career undoubtedly made use of the *Manual of Marine Engineering*.¹⁸ Mary Josephine (May) (c. 1875-1928) particularly would have been interested in the books associated with the Gaelic revival given her involvement in the Gaelic League. Works in Irish are absent except those associated with the period of the Gaelic revival. *Leabhar an Athar Eogan* by Agnes O'Farrelly smacks of the Gaelic League's influence.¹⁹ The lectures of Eugene O'Curry, though published in its second edition in 1873, may have been purchased later in the century.²⁰ O'Curry was 'one of the great Celtic scholars'.²¹ May remained a spinster and stayed at home all her life, was a keen gardener and, as photographic evidence shows, a dog lover.

Her occupation is given as housekeeper in the 1911 census. She did not confine herself to household duties as she was an active member of the Gaelic League (see previous chapter). In the census she is listed as having both Irish and English.²² She had an interest in poetry it would seem – in the year of his ordination in Rome, Fr John Hyland presented her with *The Complete Works of Alfred Lord Tennyson* with the inscription 'to dear May from her loving brother Jack, forget me not Sept 28, 95'.

A tome dealing with the subject of Mathematics is written in the French language and may have belonged to John P. from the period when he attended school in Belgium.

¹⁸ A. E. Sexton, *Manual of marine engineering* (London, 1895).

¹⁹ Agnes O'Farrelly, *Leabhar an Athar Eoghan* (1903)

²⁰ Eugene O'Curry, *Lectures on the manuscripts materials of ancient of Irish history* (2nd ed., Dublin, 1873).

²¹ Flanagan, 'Literature in English', p. 499.

²² *Census of Ireland* (1911).

Plate 9.1 Family portrait - from left to right: Richard J., May, John P. and Rev. John from a photograph (c. 1915)



Source: Hyland papers

Irish Interest

An interest in all matters relating to Ireland is obvious in the surviving books, particularly history and politics. They had an antiquarian interest evidenced by *Grose's Antiquities of Ireland*.²³ A substantial tome in this vein is Whitelaw and Walsh's *History of the City of Dublin*.²⁴

A significant number of the books relate to Irish politics for example *Debates Relative to the Affairs of Ireland in the Years 1763 and 1764 taken by a Military*

²³ Francis Grose, *Antiquities of Ireland* (2 vols, 1791) ii.

²⁴ J. Warburton and J. Whitelaw and Robert Walsh, *History of the city of Dublin* (2 vols, Dublin, 1818).

Officer.²⁵ The Hylands were O'Connellites and the *O'Connell's Centenary Record* was an addition to their library.²⁶ O'Connell's ally in the Catholic association, Richard Lalor Shiel, who was born in Kilkenny, was also of interest.²⁷ Since politics formed a major part of the family's reading it follows that politics would have been discussed. Their interest extended to wider political texts, for instance the *Cabinet of Bonaparte*.²⁸ An early eighteenth century life of William of Orange features in the collection.²⁹ There was a general thirst for knowledge that perhaps publications such as *The Penny Encyclopaedia* and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1801) may have satisfied.³⁰ Guthrie's *Modern Geography* too would have served to satisfy curious minds.³¹ There are some volumes of directories dating from the nineteenth century such as *Thom's Directory*. The *Imperial Dictionary*, in two volumes, was an essential reference for the family in the nineteenth century.³²

Literature

The family had an awareness of popular prose and poetry as their library demonstrates. Contained within the library were some of the popular Waverley novels of Sir Walter Scott and the works of W. M. Thackeray.³³ Featured too are the works of Oliver Goldsmith in five volumes.³⁴ A small book with even smaller print contains the *Arabian Nights*.³⁵ Volumes of poetry are featured in the bibliographical list such as *The Poetical Register and Repository of Fugitive Poetry* and *The Poetical Works of Wordsworth*.³⁶

Education

In Clonmoran there are several books in French and a least one in Italian. Of the books that survive intact works in Greek and Latin indicate a classical education.

²⁵ *Debates relative to the affairs of Ireland in the years 1763 and 1764 taken by a military officer* (2 vols, London, 1766).

²⁶ *O'Connell's centenary record* (1878).

²⁷ Sturgeon, 'Lalor Shiel'; Thomas MacNevin, *The speeches of the right honourable Richard Lalor Shiel* (Dublin, 1845).

²⁸ Lewis Goldsmith, *The secret history of the Cabinet of Bonaparte*, (3rd ed., London, 1810).

²⁹ *Life of William III late king of England and prince of Orange* (London, 1703).

³⁰ *The penny encyclopaedia* (London, 1835); *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Dublin, 1801).

³¹ William Guthrie, *Modern geography* (2 vols, London, 1795).

³² John Ogilvie (ed) *The imperial dictionary* (2 vols, London, 1851).

³³ *Waverley novels* (vols, Edinburgh, 1842); *The works of W. M. Thackeray* (12 vols, London, 1872), xii.

³⁴ *The miscellaneous works of Oliver Goldsmith* (5 vols., London, 1806).

³⁵ *Arabian Nights* (2 vols, London, 1808) ii.

³⁶ *The poetical register and repository of fugitive poetry* (London, 1803); *Poetical works of Wordsworth* (Halifax, 1859).

There are Greek and Latin dictionaries and even *Homer illias Graece et Latine*.³⁷ *Translation of the Satires of Juvenal* bears the inscription ‘John Hyland, January 20 1845.’³⁸ Their interest in the legal profession is evidenced also by a large *Law Dictionary*. Another book worthy of mention is *The Methods of Teaching and Studying the Belles Lettres*.³⁹ This was ‘a work that was to have an influence on the teaching of reading throughout the United Kingdom and Europe’⁴⁰

The Hylands were well-read judging by the range of books that have survived. Much of their reading came about as a result of their schooling. Educated for the most part in a Catholic ethos, their cultural influences were characterised by a measured Catholic nationalism. However they were not confined, or limited, to Catholic cultural influences, if the presence of books, from different traditions is to be taken into consideration. Their formal education also reflects this awareness of differing backgrounds. In this regard Richard P. Hyland was recorded as a student of Trinity College Dublin in 1837 and would have certainly been exposed to other traditions and aspects of their culture.⁴¹ The listing in the register of students is informative: ‘Hyland Richard Pen. (Kilkenny R. C. Coll) Jan. 14, 1837, aged 19; R.C. s. of Laurence, *Generosus Agricola*; b. Co. Kilkenny’. During his adult life Richard P. would have been acquainted, and likely friendly with people of his class in Dublin. Certainly, through his business and social life, as we have seen (see Chapter 3), he was a member of some clubs there.

Music

In terms of musical interest, it appears that a piano was purchased for Richard J. and a number of books containing music for the pianoforte are present.⁴² ‘Master Richard’ was listed in a St. Kieran’s College concert programme as playing two pieces for the piano; the first, the *Deerham* polka by Kilcher was as part of a trio,

³⁷ Samuel Clark, *Homer illias Graece et Latine* (edito tertia, London, 1780).

³⁸ M. Madan, *Translation of the satires of Juvenal* (Dublin, 1791).

³⁹ Charles Rollin, *The methods of teaching and studying the belles lettres* (2nd ed., Dublin, 1737).

⁴⁰ Alexander Law, ‘Scottish schoolbooks of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Part II’ (1984) in *Studies in Scottish Literature*, xix, Iss 1, p. 56. (<http://scholarcommons.sc.edu/ssl/vol19/iss1/6>) (15 Jan. 2014).

⁴¹ G. D. Burtchaell and T. U. Sadlier, *Alumni Dublinenses: a register of the students, graduates, professors and provosts of Trinity College in the university of Dublin (1593-1860)* (Dublin, 1935), p. 425 (<http://www.google.com>) (10 Jan. 2014).

⁴² Pencil mark on the inside of the piano dated 1874 (probably a tuning date) when R. J. Hyland would have been about seven years.

the second was a duet where he played a *Schottische*.⁴³ The music for quadrilles such as *Kathleen Ma Chree*, *Martha* and *Deux Morceaux de Salon*, amongst others, is contained in one of the music books. Another tome comprises of the *Allegro and variations for the piano forte* by Henri Herz. One of these books would appear to date from the mid-nineteenth century; this suggests that there may have been a piano in the house before Richard J.'s time.

At an early age, Mary Joseph (May) took music lessons with a Mrs Fallon.⁴⁴ Later May, who was thirteen, required spectacles to read the music as she was very 'short-sighted', with this in mind her father wrote to E. Solomans, 19 Nassau St., Dublin.⁴⁵ Maurice Solomans was an optician, whose premises, at the above address was mentioned in Joyce's *Ulysses*. The Solomans were a notable Jewish family.⁴⁶ May possibly obtained part of her education in France or perhaps sojourned in Paris for a time as her father noted her Parisian address in his journal.⁴⁷

Art and Visual Culture

In terms of art, clues as to the tastes of the family are also to be found in their reading as exemplified by *Lanzi's History of Painting in Upper and Lower Italy*.⁴⁸ This translation examined the Florentine, Sieneese and Roman schools of painting. An appreciation of art is also reflected practically in a painting by John P. Hyland's first wife, Mary Joseph Hearne whose 1853 painting of seashells has survived. Art was encouraged as a suitable pastime for a young lady of this class.

⁴³ Fearghus Ó Fearghail, *St. Kieran's College Kilkenny, 1782-1982* (Kilkenny, 1982), p. 64.

⁴⁴ 7 Mar. 1882 F7 JPH (HP).

⁴⁵ 21 Nov. 1887 F3 175-6 JPH (HP).

⁴⁶ National Gallery of Ireland (<http://www.nationalgallery.ie>) (23 July 2013).

⁴⁷ E5 4 JPH (HP).

⁴⁸ G. W. D. Evans, *Lanzi's history of painting in upper and lower Italy* (2 vols, London, 1831).

Plate 9.2 May Hyland from a photograph (c.1900)



Source: Hyland Papers

Plate 9.3 Drawing room at Clonmoran from a photograph (c. 1915)



Source: Hyland Papers

A number of portraits also have survived in the house and one can be identified as that of Margaret Hyland wife of Patrick Cogan O’Gorman. As to the identity of the others one may offer an educated guess. Yet, the presence of some of these portraits in the drawing room, indicate that they are those of family members. The drawing room was the best room in the house and the portraits were positioned in a place of prominence, as photographic evidence demonstrates (see Plate 9.3). Family portraits from the earlier part of the nineteenth century tell us how a certain class of people dressed and give us family faces behind the history. The period may be determined by dress style. Individuals may be identified if other visual sources exist, and in this family archive, other material and evidence may suggest as to who the person is. A portrait of a youth is interesting because it was signed by ‘H O’Neill’, probably Henry O’Neill (1798-1880). O’Neill, who was later to become, perhaps, better remembered as an antiquarian, was known to have painted some portraits in the 1840s.⁴⁹ In the 1880s John and Henry Hyland attended art lessons with Arthur J. Mayne at the Tholsel, Kilkenny.⁵⁰ Arthur Jocelyn Mayne (c. 1837-93) was a landscape painter who was a member of the Royal Hibernian Academy from 1873.⁵¹ John and Henry also attended the Christian Brothers in James’s Street Kilkenny.⁵²

Religious images seem to proliferate in the Hyland home in the form of ‘holy pictures’ and statues. There are some prints of various scenes. A considerable number of old picture frames exist and they suggest numerous prints or paintings in the house. Photographs too are part of the archive, some from the early years of photography in Ireland; unfortunately very few are dated.

In 1826 Bridget Hyland (Laurence’s mother) had her gold ring repaired in Dublin at a cost of 5s. 5d.⁵³ Silverware included monogrammed cutlery with the initials of E.H. L.H. R.H. J.P.H. again was a sign of their prosperity and cultural ambitions. A brass candleholder dated 1722 and featuring the initials ‘W. D.&M.’ would seem to be an object commemorating a marriage in the Walsh family.

⁴⁹ David McGuinness and Linde Lunney, ‘O’Neill, Henry’ in *DIB* (23 Jan. 2014).

⁵⁰ 18 Jan. 1888 E2 JPH (HP).

⁵¹ W. G. Strickland ‘Arthur Jocelyn Mayne’ in *A dictionary of Irish artists* (2 vols, Dublin, 1913) (<http://www.libraryireland.com/irishartists>) (2 June 2013).

⁵² 21 Aug. 1882 F7 JPH (HP).

⁵³ Mar. 1826 L3 (2) LH (HP).

Scrap Book

There is a scrap book among the collection. It contains newspaper and or magazine cuttings pasted onto the pages. These cuttings contain colourful images arranged in a particular way with colourful pictures of people, places and sometimes animals surrounded by verses of poetry. The pictures are of a romantic, exotic and comical nature. The stanza cuttings are trimmed by strips of golden, blue, green or red paper. Each of the pages has a theme based on the chief or central image. One of the pages was dedicated to Sir Walter Scott and one in homage to Carolan, 'the celebrated Irish bard'. William Wordsworth, Lord Byron and Oliver Goldsmith also are centrepieces as are Cardinal Wiseman and Daniel O'Connell, with an additional three pages dedicated to the death and funeral of the Liberator. A solitary page that appears as an integral part of the book depicts a scene of Queen Victoria and the date 1855. The content would suggest that it was compiled by women or children. Completing the scrap book would have taken a considerable amount of time.

Pastimes and Sports

As has been noted, John P. was a member of the Kilkenny Catholic Young Man's Society.⁵⁴ They had their society rooms in William Street in Kilkenny city. This undoubtedly was a forum for young men to meet and discuss various matters. The society was founded in 1856 having previously been the Mechanic's Institute and originally founded as a Citizen's Club in 1843.⁵⁵ By 1885 it was said to have done an 'immense service by maintaining the literary reputation of our city'.⁵⁶

Hoyle's Games

One of the books in the collection tells us something more than simply the reading or educational interests of the family - Edmond Hoyle's *Games* informs us about their pastimes and entertainments. Unfortunately the title page is missing so a date of publication for the book cannot be verified; nevertheless, it looks at least as dating from the early nineteenth century, and is probably an eighteenth century edition. Pertaining mostly to card games it gives the rules and methods of playing. The card games that are included are whist, quadrille, quinze, piquet and lansquenet. The dice game hazard also receives attention. It contains also the rules

⁵⁴ Membership card signed by M. Potter (undated) JPH (HP).

⁵⁵ P. M. Egan, *The Illustrated guide to the city and county of Kilkenny* (Kilkenny, 1885), p. 170.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

of the board games of chess and back-gammon. Information is also given on billiards, tennis and cricket. How many of these games were played by the Hylands is open to conjecture. One would expect that some of the card games were played for evening entertainment; there is an emphasis on whist in the book and this may have been reflected in the actual card playing.

Castle Blunden was ‘one of the earliest cricket clubs formed’ in County Kilkenny but there is no evidence to show that the Hylands were involved.⁵⁷ Equally there is no record of the Hylands participating in fox-hunting at Castle Blunden, even in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. When Sir John Blunden ‘sold the interest in the holdings of some tenants’ he incurred the wrath of the land league.⁵⁸ The local branch ‘recommended that farmers in the vicinity should not allow hunting while the hounds remained kennelled at Blunden Villa’. Hunting of another kind was a pastime for John P. In a letter to his brother-in-law, John P. told him about his ‘pheasant shooting’.⁵⁹ O’Gorman had similar interests as he subscribed to *The Field* and *The Irish Sportsman*.⁶⁰

Equine Interest

Running parallel to the business and political life of the Catholic middle class in Kilkenny was their social activities. We know that John P., Richard P. and Richard J. attended shows and fairs where they would have met others especially those with an agricultural interest. They had an increasingly active participation in the social life of Kilkenny throughout the century of this study. The Hylands were part of this socio-political agenda. A sporting activity which brought the different classes together was horse racing. Michael Hyland shared the family fascination with horses and is named as ‘treasurer’ of the race fund, so it is likely that he found some time to frequent race meetings.⁶¹ The *Kilkenny Journal* noted in 1838 that ‘the sporting gentry of the county are greatly indebted to the treasurers (Messrs Hyland and P. Smithwick,) for the amusement afforded them by the races’.⁶² Michael

⁵⁷ Michael O’Dwyer, *The history of cricket in county Kilkenny - the forgotten game* (Kilkenny, 2006), p. 129.

⁵⁸ Caroline Corballis, *Hunting in County Kilkenny* (Gowran, 1999), p. 66.

⁵⁹ John P. Hyland to Patrick Cogan O’Gorman, 20 Sept. 1876 JPH (HP).

⁶⁰ 3 June 1876 C3 PCOG (HP).

⁶¹ *KM*, 23 Aug. 1837.

⁶² *KJ*, 10 Oct. 1838.

Hyland and P. Smithwick obviously had the confidence of the community in these matters.

From his papers, it is clear that Richard P. Hyland had more than a passing interest in horses and horse racing. He attended race meetings and he wagered bets. In terms of his social life and his personal interests, horse ownership, racing, and wagers on races rank highest. In his journals there are seventy day-entries for 1849 and exactly half as many for 1850. About one fifth of the total entries relate to horse racing, horse dealing and management, the placing of bets and the associated transactions. He subscribed to *Bell's Life in London*, which was a sporting publication and said to be the pre-eminent racing paper at the time. From 1824 to 1852 it was edited by Vincent George Dowling, 'during which time *Bell's Life* became Britain's leading sporting newspaper, without which no gentleman's Sunday was quite complete.'⁶³ Hyland attended Irish race-meetings and possibly would appear to have bred, raced and owned race horses. He wrote: 'No offer for my mare at the Fair. Patt Keary handed me £20- payment of bets at Curragh meeting. I bought Mayboy filly from R [unreadable] for £20, she is at grass at Lackagh.'⁶⁴ Indeed on Friday the seventh of September 1849 he notes 'Curragh Meeting ended I won £57'.⁶⁵ Later that year he joyously wrote 'I won at the Curragh Meeting £146.'⁶⁶ Winnings of this size might indicate ownership of thoroughbreds or large wagers or both? Like his brother Richard, John P. subscribed to the Kilkenny races and later in the twentieth century he would see horse racing as a business opportunity.⁶⁷

Prayer Books

Religious in the family resulted in the accumulation of a number of prayer books and books of a devotional nature; over two generations there were four nuns and one priest in the family. By way of illustration a volume of *St Augustine's Confessions* bore the signature of Mary Anne (Marianne) Hyland.⁶⁸ Nonetheless one must take into account also the general devotional practices of the family. Anecdotal evidence though it may be, the memory of John P. was that he was

⁶³ Tony Mason, 'Dowling, Vincent George (1785–1852)', *Oxford dictionary of national biography*, (Oxford, 2004) (<http://www.oxforddnb.com>) (26 July 2014).

⁶⁴ 26 July 1849 B4 RPH (HP).

⁶⁵ 7 Sept. 1849 B4 RPH (HP).

⁶⁶ 20 Oct. 1849 B4 RPH (HP).

⁶⁷ *KJ*, 21 Sept. 1878.

⁶⁸ *St Augustine's confessions* (Dublin 1807).

constantly praying. Given the evidence it is expected that books of a religious nature would be present in the house. The *Missale Romanum* is an example with 'Earlsrath' inscribed on the title page.⁶⁹

Religion

Over shadowing all aspects of nineteenth-century history, more especially post-Famine, was the constant association of the clergy with middle-class Ireland. Was there a reciprocal or even a symbiotic relationship at work here? Do the records of the Hylands support such a theory? Church influence on a family such as the Hylands is evident and the Hylands' support for Catholic clerical causes is certain. Can we separate the two? Do they inevitably stem from the same source?

The Walshs

Neddy Holden's (a native of Mullinavat) response to Hyland's enquiry about Earlsrath (probably around 1900) was – '...Well, where ye had statues, Matty Woods has bullocks' was a telling one.⁷⁰ Even if it refers particularly to the pious nature of John Carroll and the Walshs, it has meaning for the Hyland's devotional practices. In Eleanor Walsh's family, she was one of six girls. Everyday subscriptions in particular to Catholic charitable causes such as the Propagation of the Faith are a feature of both the Hyland and Walsh families and this is true of both the men and women members. In this regard Eleanor Hyland's obituary rightly stated that she was 'liberal in her contributions to every work of charity'.⁷¹ In the house of their mother's people - the Walshs at Earlsrath, near Mullinavat - there was an oratory.⁷² In Clonmoran, a built in press was located in the annex to one of the bedrooms. This cupboard would seem to have served as an altar, which when its doors were opened two painted cherubic angels guarding each side were revealed. The shelving would have served as an altar upon which with the crucifix and various statues were placed and could be venerated. Statutes and 'holy pictures' were, as has been shown, features of Clonmoran too. The altar press at Clonmoran and the oratory in Earlsrath were evidence of the Hylands' need for the visible expression of Catholicism in their lives. Images of Catholicism permeated their

⁶⁹ *Missale Romanum* (Dublin, 1804).

⁷⁰ Interview with Sr. Elizabeth Woods, formerly of Earlsrath, recalling her childhood memory of a neighbour's comment (10 June 2010).

⁷¹ *KM*, 5 June 1869.

⁷² Interview with Woods.

lives; later a new altar was positioned on the landing at Clonmoran, again reiterating the need for religious succour. Very much like the paradoxical nature of being both landlord and tenant, it is difficult to reconcile hard-nosed businessmen with an excess of devotional interest, which was seen in their charitable donations and overt Catholicism. Though when their peers' contributions are examined, some of the middle-class Catholics in Kilkenny were equal, or better, in their public generosity. The Cullen, Fennessy and Potter families, for example, were particularly generous in the late nineteenth century towards St Mary's Cathedral and as a result were granted burial rights in the cathedral.⁷³

It was in this atmosphere of devotion that the Hyland girls grew up. Indeed Mary Anne Hyland or Marianne was recorded in the 1821 census as a child of one year in the house of her grandmother in south Kilkenny.⁷⁴ In what was a religious family it is not surprising that the two of the Hyland girls entered the convent both joining the Ursuline order in Waterford city.

Plate 9.4 Image in altar press Clonmoran House (2010)



Source: Photograph by author

⁷³ M. M. Phelan, *St. Mary's Cathedral Kilkenny: notes on its construction and furnishings* (Kilkenny, 1972), p. 10.

⁷⁴ Census of Ireland 1821- townland of Earlsrath (WKP).

Ursuline

In 1842, as the Ursuline Annals recall, on the feast of St Matthew (21 Sept) ‘... obeying the call of Jesus “follow me”, Miss M. A. Hyland renounced the world and entered our Novitiate where she was a teacher of children and later mistress of novices.’⁷⁵ She was described in the colourful language of the annals as ‘a saint with a very tender heart’.⁷⁶ Despite this accolade, she was noted as being ‘very strict with the novices’.⁷⁷ The following extract demonstrates the regime:

She made every allowance for the thoughtlessness of untrained and unobservant youth, but always required that the novices should require that demeanour which is characteristic of a nun. Four and five times a sister should open and close a door until it was done noiselessly a heavy walker should go back and forth, until her foot-fall could not be traced⁷⁸

If the same sort of regime existed in the Hyland household then perhaps this explains the turnover of staff previously referred to (see Chapter 2). Unquestionably life in the convent was not easy and especially difficult for novices. The Ursuline Annals go on to say that ‘the dormitory was above the choir and woe to the late risers if they disturbed in the least the silence of the Holy place – Mother mistress was immediately at the cell door, and the delinquent on her knees, kissing the floor’. Inside the nunnery, class distinction was as prevalent as in the outside world, sisters were divided in to lay sisters and choir, the Hylands being from a wealthy background were among the choir. In a similar way to those entering into marriage, the girl entering the convent brought with her a dowry or pension. A fortnight before her final profession in 1845 Marianne’s brother, Richard, paid her pension of £500.⁷⁹

As has been noted by Caitriona Clear, ‘women in nineteenth-century Ireland entered the convent on an unprecedented scale’ and a second daughter of Laurence and Eleanor, Mary Brigid, entered in 1856, but not before she had been a travelling companion and nurse to her brother Richard whom she accompanied to Lisbon

⁷⁵ Ursuline Annals Waterford (1878), p. 281.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 279.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 288.

⁷⁹ 4 Apr. 1845 B6 16 RPH (HP).

where he died in 1854.⁸⁰ In his will he left her £800 which was taken as her fortune into the convent. Again, the account of Mary Brigid or Sister Mary Gabriel in the Ursuline Annals is saccharine and bombastic. The annals do however show her in a more sympathetic light. When she began her novitiate her own sister the aforementioned Marianne, was her senior in office, Mary Brigid began as a teacher in the school but the annals record that she was more suited to the role of an infirmarian. It was said of her that:

she believed that the sick were entitled to everything good and delicate, and to induce their appetites she would often cook for them herself - and sometimes even she disconcerted the Cellarist by taking a dainty prepared with care for a guest perhaps, and disposing of it at the infirmary⁸¹

The Ursuline Annals also record that ‘her brother John P. Hyland and her sister Mrs Cogan O’Gorman, were ever sending her wild fowl, fruit etc., in and out of season for her patients’.⁸² The convent records are very much focused on the personalities of the nuns and on their piety. The annals are almost hagiographical descriptions. Notwithstanding the partial nature of the convent records, the details about the family are largely accurate and verifiable.

Respectability

Respectability was very important for the Hylands and this was coupled with religious practice. For the Hylands this was as true before the Famine as it was after it. The Hylands and their peers were seen to be supporting charitable causes, particularly Catholic charities and political associations supportive of Roman Catholics. The Roman Catholic religion defined the Hylands in a multitude of ways, in many aspects of their personal and business and political lives. It was a certainty for a Catholic family who occupied a place between the masses and the upper classes in Ireland in the nineteenth century.

Identification with Catholicism superseded any other possible identifier socially, politically and economically. To a great extent a person’s standing in society was determined by their religion insofar as economic strength was typically limited by

⁸⁰ Caitriona Clear, *Nuns in nineteenth - century Ireland* (Dublin, 1987), xvi.

⁸¹ Ursuline Annals Waterford (1886), p. 181.

⁸² Ursuline Annals Waterford (1878), p. 182.

it. The Catholic Relief Acts saw the Hylands emerge from the darkness of the penal laws into a brighter new century. The Act of Catholic Emancipation built on that progress for well-off Catholics like the Hylands. Their aspirations rose, their expectations increased and this was reflected in the physical expression of their Catholicism in their place of worship. We have seen how the staff at Clonmoran frequented patterns in the pre-Famine years. The Hylands themselves were much more likely to have attended Mass given their place as leaders of Catholic society. Eleanor Hyland, her husband Laurence, and their sons Richard and William are commemorated on a wall plaque on the left aisle of St Mary's Cathedral. The plate under the plaque states that an annual Mass is to be said for the departed, especially Eleanor.

The Third Generation and Religion

The daughters of the third generation had their schooling where their aunts had taught in the Ursulines in Waterford. Eleanor received a *Manuel de Piété* with the inscription 'to dear Eleanor as a souvenir of her beloved aunt Sr Mary Gabriel'.

Eleanor

Eleanor (c.1870-1919), the eldest daughter of John P. and Elizabeth (Bessie), entered the Convent of Our Lady, High Park, Drumcondra, on 1 February 1889.⁸³ The convent archives confirm this: 'Eleanor Hyland, the eldest daughter of John P. Hyland, entered the convent of Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge in the early part of 1889 and on 13 August 1889 was 'clothed with the holy habit'.⁸⁴ She was professed on 30 Sept 1891. She was accompanied by her mother to Dublin.⁸⁵ Eleanor was given the name Mary Francis Xavier.⁸⁶ She went to the infirmary 26 December 1917, diagnosed with disease of the vertebra and remained there until she died 1 February 1919, at the age of 50. In her obituary letter, it states that she was 'born of highly respectable parents in Kilkenny, reared in the bosom of a good family, surrounded by an atmosphere of virtue and strong faith'. The letter also

⁸³ 1 Feb. 1889 E3 JPH (HP).

⁸⁴ Archives of Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge, High Park, Drumcondra, Dublin.

⁸⁵ 2 Feb. 1889 E3 JPH (HP).

⁸⁶ 13 Aug. 1889 E3 JPH (HP).

states that ‘the years of her probation were passed with fidelity, every action accompanied with an energy and a generosity which won for her general regard’.⁸⁷

Plate 9.5 The relative position of Clonmoran, Drakeland, Shellumsrath, Mortgagefields and Warrington and their location close to Kilkenny city



Source: Ordnance Survey of Ireland Discovery Series 67

Margaret

Margaret (1879-1963) joined the Sisters of Charity and was based at Basin Lane, near St. James’s Hospital. As Sister Monica, she taught the Dublin historian Eamonn MacThomáis and was given hearty praise by him in his autographical work *Coal Blocks and Gur Cake*.⁸⁸ Again she brought with her a fortune into the Sisters of Charity of £700; this however was not paid until John P. Hyland’s will was executed in 1917. He decreed in his will that he had made a promise to the Mother Superior in Milltown to provide that amount when Margaret entered the convent. There is no record of Eleanor’s dowry.

⁸⁷ Archives of Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge.

⁸⁸ Éamonn MacThomáis, *Gur cake and coal blocks* (2nd ed., Dublin, 1987), pp 39-40.

Pilgrimages

When the ill Richard P. left for Lisbon, he left with letters of introduction to the prior of the Corpo Sancto College there. Later the bishop of Ossory would be named as an executor of his will. Patrick Cogan O’Gorman had lived at Sea View House, Booterstown, later in Templeogue and then in Clontarf. It is clear from his diaries that O’Gorman was usually a daily communicant and went to confession frequently. He made a pilgrimage to Lourdes in 1876 travelling from Dublin to London then to Paris via Dieppe, then onto Bordeaux to Lourdes. He also visited and stayed at Mount Melleray, near Cappoquin, in County Waterford.

Church Donations

While other members of the family were likely to donate to charity, most is known about John P’s donations to the church. John P. renewed his subscription of £25 towards the cost of putting a new roof on St Saviour’s church, Dominick Street, Dublin.⁸⁹ This was quite a large donation. With regularity he contributed to the Association for the Propagation of the Faith subscribing his annuity of one pound, one shilling and sixpence in 1864.⁹⁰ He donated one pound to the Father Burke National Memorial Church in Tallaght, County Dublin.⁹¹

His outgoings to charitable causes, mostly by way of church donations, were very much part of his expenditure. While it cannot be said to be typical, the following is an example of contributions to the Catholic Church in 1879:

⁸⁹ *FJ*, 18 Oct. 1856.

⁹⁰ *FJ*, 4 May 1864.

⁹¹ *FJ*, 7 Jan. 1884.

Table 9.1 Donations to the Catholic Church (1879)

		£	s.	d.
25 Jan	Rosary magazine to May 1878	3		
13 Mar.	Fr Francis	1	0	
5 May	Fr O Dea	1	0	0
7 May	Easter station	2	0	0
8 May	Fr Francis, Franciscan Convent	1	0	0
23 May	Propagation of the Faith	1	1	8
4 July	Fr Magrath Masses	1	0	0
	Fr Aylward Masses	1	0	0
6 July	Pope Leo XIII	1	0	0
28 July	Ursuline Convent Chapel	1	0	0
17 Oct.	Memorial window M. Philomena	5	0	0
	Mosley seal engraved		17	0
23 Oct.	Christmas station	2	0	0
1 Nov.	All souls St Patricks		5	0
	Friary	5	0	
16 Nov.	Catholic University		5	0
18 Nov.	Fr Timmons	1	0	0
12 Dec.	Presentation Convent - a lamp	10	0	
23 Dec.	Memorial window M Philomena	5	0	0

Source: Abstracted from Hyland Papers

This comes to a total of just twenty-three and a half pounds or about a quarter of his personal expenditure. All the donations go directly to the Roman Catholic Church in various guises. This was in the year when he suffered his greatest loss on the farm. Of course in the example given there are no extraordinary items, major items such as the dowries that his two sisters brought with them into the Ursuline convent; for instance Mary Gabriel's was (as we have seen) £800. In 1854, he gave £152 10 11 to the 'R[igh]t Rev Dr Walshe (The Roman Catholic bishop of Ossory) to purchase five pounds per annum in the consolidated fund, for an anniversary office and high Mass for my father & brothers' souls'.⁹² The burden of charitable contributions to the Catholic Church and its institutions were carried by families such as the Hylands who could afford to donate.

⁹² 19 Nov. 1854 E6 JPH (HP).

Religious Influence

The Catholic bishop of Ossory, Abraham Brownrigg (1836-1928), visited Clonmoran in early February 1890; Hyland noted that it was ‘his first visit since he came to the diocese about 6 years ago’.⁹³ The bishop was consecrated on 14 December 1884 and has been described as ‘moderate in political matters’.⁹⁴ Hyland’s note implies that other bishops had called to his home, or at least that he expected bishops to call. Further proof of Hyland’s catholicity is to be had in a newspaper cutting he saved. He took the time to paste the newspaper report of the Pope’s speech to the Irish pilgrims at Rome, in February 1888, into his diary.⁹⁵ The Pope, in addressing the Irish pilgrims, referred to ‘the difficulties that beset you’ and in conclusion, he recommended that under his guidance and intervention they (meaning the Irish Catholics) should come safely out of a trying position, like the Catholics of Germany.⁹⁶

A Priest in the Family

Local church events too were included in his diary such as parochial clerical changes.⁹⁷ John (later to be Fr John) won a prize for answering in Christian doctrine at St. Kieran’s College.⁹⁸ John’s academic proficiency may have influenced his future decision; his vocation may have also been significantly influenced by his father, who was actively interested in his children’s education. Cardinal Moran had made ‘an offer’ to educate both John and Henry ‘on their deciding on the foreign missions’, to that end Hyland called on Father Barry at St Kieran’s College in February 1888.⁹⁹ The offer was probably made when Moran was bishop of Ossory as Hyland wrote that it was ‘made some time ago’. The priest recommended that he should write to Moran who was in the north of Ireland.

Patrick Francis Moran (1830-1911) was born in Leighlinbridge in Co Carlow.¹⁰⁰ Cardinal Paul Cullen, who was Ireland’s first cardinal, was Moran’s uncle and mentor. Like Cullen, Moran was educated in Rome and adhered to an ultramontane

⁹³ 1 Feb. 1890 E1 JPH (HP). The actual visit took place on Sunday 2 Feb. 1890.

⁹⁴ C. J. Woods, ‘Brownrigg, Abraham’ in *DIB* (16 Aug. 2013).

⁹⁵ 2 Feb. 1888 E2 JPH (HP).

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ 20 Feb. 1888 E2 JPH (HP).

⁹⁸ 2 April 1888 E2 JPH (HP).

⁹⁹ 3 Sept. 1888 E2 JPH (HP).

¹⁰⁰ John Molony, ‘Moran, Patrick Francis’ in *DIB* (14 June 2013).

philosophy.¹⁰¹ In common with Cullen, he was said to have held moderate nationalistic views. Moran, who gave his name to the Moran wing in St Kieran's College, was appointed bishop of Ossory in 1872. In 1884, he became archbishop of Sydney and shortly afterwards 'the first cardinal in the new world of the west Pacific'.¹⁰²

Plate 9.6 Fr. John P. Hyland from a photograph (c. 1900)



Source: Hyland Papers

An ecclesiastical position - a priest in the family, as well as being a source of pride, filled the economic need to provide a living for the sons of Catholic farmers. In this case, a family of six sons, despite (or perhaps in spite of) their social standing required a way of earning a living, particularly when there was a rapidly diminishing store of capital. With regard to John and Henry, Cardinal Moran failed

¹⁰¹ Thomas O'Connor, 'Cullen, Paul' in S. J. Connolly (ed.), *OCIH* (2nd ed., Oxford, 2004), p. 137.

¹⁰² Molony, 'Moran, Patrick Francis'.

to keep his pledge, at least in the short term, as the Hylands ‘heard nothing definitive on the subject’.¹⁰³ Later, nevertheless, Fr Barry, the president of St Kieran’s College, told John that there was a vacant free place in the Irish College at Rome, which he might have if he chose’.¹⁰⁴ John was pursuing his vocation to the priesthood, without doubt a relief to his father. John P. accompanied John to Dublin, John then travelled 3rd class to London (after he sojourned with Willie, his brother, at Birmingham) and to Rome via Paris and Turin.¹⁰⁵

It is not clear what happened to Henry Hyland, other than he died young, but John was ordained in the Basilica of St John Lateran, Rome in 1895. Fr John would die in Manly, Australia, where Moran resided and had founded St Patrick’s College in 1889.¹⁰⁶ It would seem that Fr John Hyland, after a spell in Pyrmount, followed Cardinal Moran’s footsteps to Manly, where he died in 1941.

It would not be overstating the case to say that John P. Hyland wished that some of his sons should take holy orders. The evidence of his journals supports this view, as does family lore.¹⁰⁷ His own sisters had become nuns and he kept in contact with them, for instance - ‘he went to Tramore and then went to see Mary Gabriel’.¹⁰⁸ He regularly visited his first wife’s grave at Tramore, another example of his religiosity.¹⁰⁹ Mary Josephine was named after his first wife M. J. Hearne, and Lawrence, his youngest son, was given the same forename as their son who died in infancy.

When he informed Fr Barry of John’s acceptance of the Moran offer, he included Mrs Hyland’s approval of it. There was a husband and wife agreement in these decisions.

Interested in the repair of his father’s tomb, he drove to Windgap and found it in a poor condition. He called on the parish priest who was not at home, and then wrote to him to enquire as to who he would recommend to repair the tomb.¹¹⁰ The repair

¹⁰³ 7 Aug. 1889 E3 JPH (HP). This entry was crossed out. See also 14 Aug. 1889 E3 JPH (HP).

¹⁰⁴ 23 Oct. 1889 E3 JPH (HP).

¹⁰⁵ 31 Oct.-8 Nov. 1889 E3 JPH (HP).

¹⁰⁶ Pictorial souvenir of ordination of John P. Hyland (1895) JPH (HP); *Ibid*.

¹⁰⁷ It was the belief of Thomas Shortall, son in law of Francis Xavier Hyland (a son of John P’s), in recounting family tradition that some of the family left home in order to escape their father’s ecclesiastical ambitions for them. Information from Thomas Shortall related to the author.

¹⁰⁸ 30 Sept. 1883 F6 JPH (HP).

¹⁰⁹ 13 Aug. 1882 F7 JPH (HP).

¹¹⁰ 20 June 1888 E2 JPH (HP).

of the tomb was obviously important for him. This was the old Hyland tomb, the new resting place for the family was to be at Foulkstown cemetery about two miles from Kilkenny city; this was a new cemetery for St. Patrick's parish.¹¹¹ Foulkstown cemetery was blessed after High Mass in November 1881 and the *Kilkenny Journal* reported that it was the largest cemetery in the county.¹¹² Bessie would have been the first of the Hylands to be interred in this cemetery in 1895. She died aged 47. Her tribute in the *Kilkenny Moderator* stated that 'her residence was near enough to the city to enable her to take part in every good and charitable work that was undertaken by the ladies of Kilkenny'.¹¹³ Philanthropy was one way in which ladies of this class could become involved in the community. John P. was a widower again. The Hyland plot in Foulkstown has a simple kerbing with only the name Hyland to distinguish it – a reflection of less prosperous times?

When John P. Hyland died in 1917 his obituary in the *Kilkenny People* newspaper mentioned his membership of the Third Order of St Francis, he was one of its oldest members and he had attended with regularity the meetings of what was the lay order of the Capuchins.¹¹⁴ The obit also referred to the son (Fr. John) he had given to the priesthood on the Australian mission. During his final illness, the paper reported, Hyland had received 'the constant ministrations of the priests of St Patrick's parish and Capuchin Friary'.

Education for the Third Generation

Bessie Hyland clearly was interested in the education of her children, especially the girls, and she called to the Loreto Convent, Kilkenny, to enquire about the boarding of May.¹¹⁵ May was sent to the Ursuline Convent, Waterford, (where her aunts had taken vows) at the cost of £20 for the first year.¹¹⁶ Eleanor had school fees for the singing and dancing classes she took in the Loreto Convent, Kilkenny.¹¹⁷ When it came to the girls, John P.'s wife, Bessie, seemed to have the principal role in

¹¹¹ 7 July 1888 E2 JPH (HP).

¹¹² *KJ*, 23 Nov. 1881.

¹¹³ *KJ*, 30 Jan. 1895.

¹¹⁴ *KP*, 6 Jan. 1917.

¹¹⁵ 21 Feb. 1889 E3 JPH (HP).

¹¹⁶ 6 Oct. 1890 E1 JPH (HP). The actual date of this entry was 5 Oct. 1891.

¹¹⁷ Note F 1883 F6 JPH (HP).

deciding on their education. She herself had been educated at Saint Catherine's Dominican College, Sion Hill, Dublin.¹¹⁸

Education costs were considerable and much consideration was given to the selection of schools when economic prudence was required. It must be emphasised that it was a constant struggle all through these years to collect rents. Regularly letters went back and forth from agent to landlord where the tenants and their non-payment were discussed. During this period Hyland's finances were strained both on the income and expenditure side. He had outgoings for which there was no financial return. He sought a girl to take charge of his children, and for this reason, he wrote to Mr John Healy, Smithstown House, Castlecomer.¹¹⁹ He wished to educate his children to a certain level of respectability and wrote to Reverend Thomas Kelly S. J. at 6 Great Denmark St., Dublin, seeking a prospectus.¹²⁰

His eldest son Richard J. (1867-1951) had been at St Vincent's College, Castleknock; indeed Richard J. Hyland was among the passmen in the junior grade of the intermediate examinations of 1881 there.¹²¹ With a view to the next school year he wrote to the Reverend M. O'Callaghan, who would appear to have been the principal, seeking a reduction in fees.¹²² Hyland explained his 'difficulty', the reason for which was that he had been obliged to make concessions to tenants.¹²³

As has been shown, Hyland was concerned with the education of his children and this was not confined to the purely academic in a school setting, as a note to Edmond Kelly, Lates, Tullaroan, County Kilkenny, revealed.¹²⁴ Indeed a practical education was not to be dismissed. The change to this form of education may in part be a result of diminishing finance. In the note, John P. expressed a wish to Kelly to find for his son 'some suitable place', where he could make himself acquainted with 'the management of stock'.¹²⁵ Richard J. was seen as the natural successor to the farm, hence the necessity to educate him in agricultural practices. Primogeniture, as has been shown, was practised in this family. Family information contends that he

¹¹⁸ School certificate B. Potter 17 July 1851 Saint Catherine's, Dominican Convent, Sion Hill JPH (HP).

¹¹⁹ 11 Apr. 1881 F3 32 JPH (HP).

¹²⁰ 16 Aug. 1881 F3 39-40 JPH (HP).

¹²¹ *FJ*, 22 Oct. 1881.

¹²² 16 Aug. 1881 F3 40 JPH (HP); Castleknock college (<http://www.castleknockcollege.ie>) (23 July 2013).

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ 26 Aug. 1883 F3 58-9 JPH (HP).

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

may have been interested in joining the civil service in India.¹²⁶ Unlike the farmers who were his father's tenants, Richard would not have been exposed to the toil and much of the practicalities of everyday farming; he was being groomed for the role of a gentleman farmer.

By November 1883, the matter of Richard's mentor was settled when it was arranged that his son would go to Mr and Mrs Germain in Baltinglass, Co. Wicklow.¹²⁷ Father and son had visited Graine House, the Germain's home beforehand.¹²⁸ There was certainly a cordiality with the Germain's, who must have been a Catholic family (given John P.'s instruction to Edmund Kelly), as Hyland invited Mr Germain 'to an early dinner' when Germain was next at the fair, presumably the fair of Kilkenny.¹²⁹

Assuredly, Hyland considered other institutes of learning for his children: St Gall's Catholic University School, 83. St. Stephen's Green was attended by Willie (Richard had attended this school for one year).¹³⁰ The French College, Blackrock was looked at, and St Stanislaus College, Tullamore, a Jesuit school, was settled on for Willie to continue his education.¹³¹ Willie was hoping to matriculate for the Royal University.¹³² Later Willie 'had decided' on the profession of a solicitor.¹³³

John P. Hyland spent ten days in England in December 1886; part of this time may have been spent visiting Birmingham as his son Willie was due to be apprenticed to Messrs G. E. Bellis & Co., at Ledsam St. in that city.¹³⁴ They were a firm specialising in heavy engineering and Willie became a marine engineer. Willie did well and received a favourable report from his masters.¹³⁵ His cousin, L. J. Power, appeared to have been indentured to Bellis & Co. beforehand.¹³⁶ The term of Willie's indenture was five years.¹³⁷ The cost of the apprenticeship was £157. This was a considerable amount for Hyland considering the state of his finances at the

¹²⁶ Information from his daughter Margaret Hyland given to the author.

¹²⁷ 4 Nov. 1883 F3 64-5 JPH (HP).

¹²⁸ 23 Oct. 1883 F6 JPH (HP).

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Note E 1883 F6 JPH (HP); Report Card RJH (HP).

¹³¹ 7-17 Aug. 1884 F3 85-7 JPH (HP).

¹³² 30 Aug. 1885 F3 101 JPH (HP).

¹³³ 15 Sept. 1885 F3 102-3 JPH (HP).

¹³⁴ 19 Dec. 1886 131-2; 27 Dec. 1886; 3 Jan. 1887; F3 131-33 JPH (HP).

¹³⁵ 20 Feb. 1887 F3 141 JPH (HP).

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ 27 Feb. 1887 F3 143 JPH (HP).

time. Messrs George Bellis and Co. received orders for a range of engineered products including machinery for torpedo boats.

Willie was employed in Clydebank Glasgow on board H.M.S. Tribune and later at Liverpool where he was 'appointed as 3rd or 4th engineer on board some outward bound steamer'.¹³⁸ The following year he sailed for South America as 3rd engineer on board the S.S. Lassell at £8 per month; his voyage took him to Lisbon, Rio de Janerio, River Plate, West Indies, New Orleans, New York and Antwerp.¹³⁹

Whilst attending, as day pupils, St Gall's Catholic University School, Stephen's Green, Richard and Willie stayed with their aunt in Templeogue.¹⁴⁰ The school advertised that it offered 'a liberal education to boys preparing for the learned, professional or mercantile life'.¹⁴¹

Eleanor had spent two years at the Ursuline Convent, Waterford, before she enrolled as a day pupil at the Loreto Convent, Kilkenny.¹⁴² Temperance, as has been explained, was advocated by the bishops of Ossory at this time and Willie, John, Henry and Bessie took the total abstinence pledge from Dr Moran at the Roman Catholic Cathedral in 1882.¹⁴³

John P. gave a lot of attention to his children's expenses, obviously a concern for him. In 1890, Richard's expenses were about £17, Willie's about £28 and John, at Rome, costs ran to £39.¹⁴⁴ Thirty pounds was the cost of Eleanor's pension at High Park, Drumcondra.¹⁴⁵ Willie's expenses at Birmingham for 1888 came to over £35, Richard's £12 and John and Henry's costs at St Kieran's amounted to a little over £19.¹⁴⁶ Willie was the son he expended most on. In 1889, he spent over £51 on Willie whereas Richard's expenses came to £12.¹⁴⁷ Francis Xavier attended the Christian Brothers' school in the city.

In April 1882, John P. visited his aunt Alice at Earlsrath, accompanied by John and Henry, he 'mentioned' to her that the tenants were not paying him and that he

¹³⁸ 27 Sept. 1890 E1 JPH (HP). The actual date of this entry was 26 Sept. 1891.

¹³⁹ 8 Nov. 1890 E1 JPH (HP). The actual date of this entry was 7 Nov. 1891.

¹⁴⁰ 26 Aug. 1882 F7 JPH (HP).

¹⁴¹ *FJ*, 8 Jan. 1885.

¹⁴² 11 Sept. 1882 F7 JPH (HP).

¹⁴³ 2 July 1882 F7 JPH (HP).

¹⁴⁴ 'Occasional Memoranda' 1890 E1 107 JPH (HP).

¹⁴⁵ 9 Feb. 1891 F3 215 JPH (HP).

¹⁴⁶ 'Occasional Memoranda' E2 107 JPH (HP).

¹⁴⁷ 'Occasional Memoranda' 1889 E3 107 JPH (HP).

would be obliged to keep Richard and Eleanor from school.¹⁴⁸ Was he indirectly seeking help from his aunt at this time?

Jackson has stated in relation to the latter half of the nineteenth century that ‘late marriage and celibacy were increasingly common options within the socially ambitious farming community, as was emigration for those not in line to inherit the family property’.¹⁴⁹ This was absolutely true in the case of the Hyland family. This fact is demonstrable in the lives of the third generation, that is, the children of John P. and Bessie Hyland. Richard J. was forty-eight years old when he married.

Typically Irish emigration was more female than elsewhere in Europe according to Ó Gráda but it was the Hyland sons, not the daughters, who emigrated.¹⁵⁰ The women had the means to remain in Ireland while the males in the family pursued enterprise and work abroad.

Society

The Place of Women

Dorothea Herbert, a relative of the Blundens, the Hylands’ landlords, in her *Retrospections*, recalled the time she spent in Castle Blunden in the late eighteenth century. Dorothea gives a wonderful insight into family life at Castle Blunden where she says ‘there was always a full and merry house’.¹⁵¹ There was however, no such female diarist in the Hyland family. It must be emphasised that the vast majority of the documents in the Hyland archive of a private or public nature were written by men, to men, or about men. In this archive, the diary writers and account keepers were all male.

The position of women and the patriarchal nature of property ownership are underlined by the circumstance of one of Eleanor Hyland’s (nee Walsh) sisters, Bridget. Even though they were relatively wealthy and had that economic power in their hands these women nevertheless had to be assertive in order to secure what rights they had. The case of Bridget Carroll is a case in point. Bridget was the mother of John Carroll; he was about one year old when his father Michael died in

¹⁴⁸ 10 Apr. 1882 F7 JPH (HP).

¹⁴⁹ Jackson, *Ireland 1798-1998*, p. 82.

¹⁵⁰ Ó Gráda, *New economic history*, p. 225.

¹⁵¹ *Retrospections of Dorothea Herbert, 1770 – 1806* ([1st publ., London, 1929] 2nd ed., Dublin 2004), p. 70.

1809 having made a will leaving his interest in a farm in north Kilkenny to his infant son. His wife Bridget was expecting a second child at the time, this baby died. However, the surviving child John was a minor and guardianship had to be established. Bridget claimed to the Court of Chancery that she had not received the money she was entitled to from the Carrolls, namely Michael's father Thomas and his brother Nicholas.¹⁵² The Carrolls contested the guardianship.

A sum of a little more than £184 per annum was due to her and nothing had been received even while she was 'lying-in'. There were lengthy legal proceedings taken in the Court of Chancery to establish and maintain the guardianship of her son until he reached an age of maturity. The court granted her guardianship; the fact that Bridget had the Walsh money behind her to pay for the proceedings gave her a decided advantage.

The chancery papers are lengthy and the documents that survive in Clonmoran date up to 1825. It is not certain what the eventual outcome was in terms of John Carroll's involvement or non-involvement in these lands in north Kilkenny. Certainly, later evidence would suggest that the lands, as we have seen, did not fall to John Carroll, though there may have been some monetary compensation. Bridget Carroll did not marry again and continued to live in Earlsrath. Widows had a special place within society and this was true both of the servants, workers and the well-off.

¹⁵² Chancery papers of John Carroll JPH (HP).

Plate 9.7 Hyland table tomb, Windgap Cemetery, Co. Kilkenny (2010)



Source: Photograph by author

But if we return to Laurence and Eleanor's family, what were the choices for the girls of this middle-class Catholic family? What were the options for their daughters? The roles for women in a middle-class family were limited.

Family

Marriage to a suitable gentleman was one option and this meant the payment of a dowry. Entry to the convent also necessitated expense. Genealogical information suggests that Catherine was the eldest daughter of Laurence and Eleanor and that she married a Michael Tobin, and though Catherine is a family name, the Clonmoran archive is without any written record of her. Her American descendants had it that she had a brother who was a judge, and John P. Hyland was a Justice of the Peace.¹⁵³ This could be a case of an unwelcome marriage where the couple eloped. We do know a second daughter, Margaret, married Patrick Cogan

¹⁵³ Elizabeth Grosswendt, *The family history, 1640-1986, of Elie Castillon Tourtelot, 1855-1928* (Los Angeles, 1986), p. 200.

O’Gorman, and a dowry of £800 was duly paid in 1853.¹⁵⁴ He was a wealthy gentleman farmer who met the necessary class qualifications acceptable to the family.

Health

John P.’s surviving diaries coincide with his children’s early and formative years. Clearly mindful of their life events, he is especially concerned with their health and noted their illnesses and the visit of the doctor; of course the visits would have entailed some expense.¹⁵⁵ In addition to his children’s health, and his own, he was also interested in the health of others, for example, ‘Brennan went in to hospital’ (possibly a labourer).¹⁵⁶ He was also interested in John Blunden’s health and knew the doctors he was attended by, as the baronet was suffering from ‘mortification of his foot’.¹⁵⁷ This is likely to have been gangrene.

The death of Blunden in 1890, aged 75, was recorded.¹⁵⁸ He was interred locally at Castleinch Church. Interest in his neighbours also extended to their marriages, the marriage notice of James Egan and Harriette Blunden from the *Kilkenny Journal* was pasted into a journal.¹⁵⁹ This marriage was the result of an elopement and as a result would have been a source of some gossip.¹⁶⁰ James Egan worked on the Blunden farm and met Harriette Blunden when she arrived home from London, where she had trained as a nurse. They left for America and Harriette was disinherited.¹⁶¹

Hyland noted that his sister ‘Dear Margaret died from nervous fever’.¹⁶² This may have been typhoid fever. Listing the age and cause of death for family members may have had a particular practical purpose for Hyland as he obtained a life assurance policy around this time.¹⁶³ In fact, a life assurance proposal for £500 in the Scottish Widows Fund was made with L. J. Power, the Parade and Richard Aylward, High Street, given as referees. An R. Aylward was listed as a grocer in

¹⁵⁴ 31 Jan. 1853 B6 74.JPH (HP).

¹⁵⁵ 8-11 May 1883 F6 JPH (HP).

¹⁵⁶ 12 May 1883 F6 JPH (HP).

¹⁵⁷ 30 Mar. 1888 E2 JPH (HP).

¹⁵⁸ 17 Jan. 1890 E1 JPH (HP).

¹⁵⁹ 16 Jan. 1890 E1 JPH (HP); *KJ*, 25 Jan. 1890.

¹⁶⁰ Kavanagh, *The landed gentry*, p. 21.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² 20 June 1882 F7 JPH (HP). The actual date of this entry was Oct. 19 1885.

¹⁶³ 17 June 1882 F7 JPH (HP).

Bassett's Kilkenny Guide and Directory and Laurence J. Power was of Power & Sons, ironmongers in Kilkenny.¹⁶⁴ He had two policies of £250 each.¹⁶⁵

Lifestyle

How did John P. Hyland live? How may his lifestyle be characterised? He had a comfortable home with servants and he had time for vacations, even in winter. Hyland holidayed in Cork in November 1882. He travelled by rail, stayed in Glengarriff, and visited Bantry Bay where he found it, not surprisingly, to be 'fearfully wet and squally' and 'very uninviting'.¹⁶⁶ On the return journey, he stayed at the Victoria Hotel, Cork city, at a cost of fifteen shillings and travelled via Maryboro (Portlaoise) home to Kilkenny.¹⁶⁷ Summer holidays were also taken as Hyland holidayed with his son Lawrence, aged about eleven years, when they stayed at Fethard on Sea, County Wexford.¹⁶⁸ John P. viewed the procession in honour of the 'Centenary' of the volunteer movement and also saw the O'Connell statue unveiled.¹⁶⁹ Obviously he had time to relax despite his commitments and had the financial wherewithal to do so.

Plate 9.8 Potter nameplate (photograph 2014)



Source: Photograph by author courtesy of Rothe House, Kilkenny

¹⁶⁴ Bassett, *Kilkenny*, pp 81, 114.

¹⁶⁵ 18 July 1882 F7 JPH (HP).

¹⁶⁶ 31 Oct. F7 JPH (HP).

¹⁶⁷ 10 Nov. 1882 JPH (HP).

¹⁶⁸ 27 July 1889 E3 JPH (HP).

¹⁶⁹ 15 Aug. 1882 F7 JPH (HP); 'History of monuments O'Connell street area' (<http://www.dublincity.ie>) (23 June 2013), p. 5.

The Potters

For the Hylands their social life revolved around their family circle. Sociability was based on family links. Outside of the family circle, they would have socialised with members of the Catholic middle class in Kilkenny. The Potters were both relatives and leading merchants in the city. They also had strong political interests Michael L. Potter (Bessie's brother) was mayor of Kilkenny in 1909 and 1910; their father Henry was mayor in 1847.¹⁷⁰

John P. Hyland, as has been shown, became involved in the legal affairs of his extended family. Additionally he was instrumental in some of the legal affairs of his wife's family, the Potters and their mutual relatives, the Powers. Vaughan has stated that 'credit and ties of kinship bound together shopkeepers and farmers'.¹⁷¹ Hyland had both credit and kinship ties with some of the merchant families in Kilkenny. Hyland wrote the following to Mrs Potter, Gibraltar Terrace, Youghal: "Enclosing lease 'Tucker to Potter' of house and premises in Patrick St. occupied by Dr Hackett".¹⁷² In the following year, together with Laurence J. Power and Margaret Potter, he raised a promissory note to obtain this lease.¹⁷³ His relationship with the Potter family, his in-laws, as this event signified, appeared to be a close one. He was also close to L. J. Power, when for example he was involved with him in another promissory note.¹⁷⁴

A Miss Margaret Delahunty, Fethard, Co Tipperary was set to leave £350 in her will to Bessie Hyland; John P. suggested to Miss Delahunty that she give the money straight away in return for an interest payment while she lived.¹⁷⁵ Obviously Hyland had no qualms in making this suggestion, again it points to a pressing requirement for cash. It is not known what the relationship with Delahunty was.

The Gaelic Revival

Two members of the family were involved in the Gaelic League, May (1875-1928) and Richard J. (1867-1951) both of whom remained in Clonmoran as spinster and farmer respectively. When their father died the Kilkenny branch of the Irish

¹⁷⁰ 'The sovereigns and mayors of Kilkenny city'

¹⁷¹ W. E. Vaughan, *Landlords and tenants in mid-Victorian Ireland* (Oxford, 1994), p. 209.

¹⁷² 16 Oct. 1887 F3 173 JPH (HP).

¹⁷³ 5 June 1883 F6 JPH (HP). This note dated 10 Nov. 1884.

¹⁷⁴ 7 Dec. 1883 F6 JPH (HP).

¹⁷⁵ 17 Mar. 1890 E1 JPH (HP).

National Aid and Volunteer Dependent Fund condoled through their president E. T. Keane. Keane offered his condolences to Miss Hyland ‘who had promised to assist in the work of the branch’.¹⁷⁶ The vice-president of the branch Alderman James Nowlan seconded the motion of sympathy and referred to ‘the great work, which Miss Hyland and Mr R. J. Hyland had done for the Gaelic League in the city.’¹⁷⁷

May formed friendships with leading members of the Kilkenny literary community, notably Florence Hackett and May Sparks.¹⁷⁸ Richard J. and May did not enter the political arena other than through the activities of the Gaelic League. They confined themselves to their pursuits in the league, as their father grew old.

Relics of Old Decency

The hey-day of the Hylands was over. Nevertheless, the family still had a sense of their place in the community. The family did not appear to be actively involved in the Gaelic Athletic Association at this stage, though Richard J. was known to ‘cut out hurleys’ for the local sportsmen. When he had grown older, sometime in the early 1940s, he was asked one day as to why he was going to town (Kilkenny) in his ‘old clothes’, he succinctly replied ‘I’m Hyland of Clonmoran, everyone knows who I am’.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ *KP*, 6 Jan. 1917.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ M. M. Phelan, ‘Some 18th and 19th Century Residences’, p .90.

¹⁷⁹ Interview with Maude Sheehy, a niece of Richard J. (25 Dec. 2012).

CONCLUSION

This thesis set out to shed light on a grouping in Irish history about which little is known through the story of one particular family. It sought to answer questions about their identity and place in Irish society. It examined their business interests. Through this work a new insight into the lives and activities of a class of Irish people previously neglected by historiography has been obtained.

A little over a century in the lives of this family creates many avenues of exploration and while every effort was made to examine the many aspects that arise, it will be a labour for another day to provide more detailed analysis and to delve more deeply into some aspects.

The evidence presented confirms that this family had risen socially, politically and economically before the Famine. In that respect they differed somewhat from the strong farmer class who consolidated their position in the post-Famine years. The experience of the Hylands in this hundred and one year span is reflective of several constituents of Irish society; notwithstanding, the Hylands occupy a distinct niche as entrepreneurial Catholics who were both landlords and tenants in the nineteenth and early twentieth century and who originated as large farmers in the 1700s.

The slate quarry venture demonstrates the core entrepreneurial ethos of Laurence Hyland and offers new perspectives on the creation of the built heritage of the south east of Ireland. A number of factors brought about the end of his involvement in the slate trade especially increased corporate competition from home and abroad. Distilling and dealing in spirits occupied the Hylands in the mid-century period. They pursued opportunities that were characteristic of Catholics in the pre-Famine era including legal careers.

The Hylands had much in common with the great landlords, albeit on a micro scale. The obvious example was their ownership of a small estate after 1856, and all that was involved in its management. Their home farm mirrored, to a great extent, the demesne of Castle Blunden, the seat of their landlord; it was the sign of their status, a symbol of

their social standing in which they demanded and received deference by those beneath their class.

Especially during the Land War, relationships with tenants reflected the general economic circumstances of the country as a whole and were typical of the experience of the landlord class. John P. Hyland suffered the effects of reduced income from his tenants in a similar way to the great landlords; the agricultural depression and the general downturn precipitated his economic decline in the same way. As both landlords and tenants they were on both sides of the experience.

In farming as in their other enterprises they were innovative and progressive. Family networks and marriage alliances were crucial for their survival socially, economically and indeed politically.

In terms of their political lives, they led locally and followed nationally. Politically Laurence and his sons were in tune with what was current and relevant at the time. When it came to the test, though, John P. Hyland supported the liberal agenda to a large degree; he was not anxious to take sides publicly. His views were nuanced, and this was reflected in his political life. For the Hylands, public utterances and actions did not always tally with private thought and sensibilities. Respectability was a key factor in shaping their identity.

Investment decisions for the family were governed to a degree by popular trends and also by what was commercial at the time at a local level. For John P. Hyland, general investment in stocks and shares as well as the specific investment in a small theatre reflected a growing desire to a move away from the exploitation of natural resources and industrial production to a more gentlemanly mode of enterprise. This of course was also realised through the purchase of a modest landed estate. The motivation to invest in land may not have been entirely an economic one, as they, specifically Eleanor, sought and purchased property in an area where there had been a long tradition of her family's proprietorship. While it is difficult to assess their tenants' view of them, it is probably correct to say that they were neither 'good' nor 'bad' landlords. The way they dealt with their tenants was not in any way extraordinary, though they were slow to evict and often, it seems, were placated by the interventions of the clergy.

Many of the findings of this study verify previous research. When this is not the case one may, in part at least, attribute some results to the fact that this is a case study of a single family. For example, labour costs on the Hylands' farm do not seem to have risen significantly from the post-Famine years to the 1870s. Similarly, the Hylands' own personal accounts and rentals indicate that the period of the early to mid-1870s was the most prosperous time for landlord and tenant.

Roman Catholicism was an identifier and the Catholic Church was supported. The influence and involvement of the clergy was significant. Religion and education informed their cultural lives. Socially, the Hylands interacted well with their peers and, as far as was possible or practicable for them, engaged with the wider community.

The surviving accounts of the pre-Famine female servants demonstrate there was plenty of employment even if it was for little payment. They also say something about the lives and conditions of those in service. Life for females and indeed males in this family fit into the general demographic patterns of Irish society in post-Famine Ireland. The breach of promise case also has something to say about the position of women in society and certainly something to say about one individual. Marriage, and the promise to marry, all involved a monetary transaction, and as we seen for females, entry in a convent had financial implications. The low post-Famine marriage rate can be seen as most family members either entered convents or remained unmarried. Though roles for women were limited, individuals in the family display strength of character which mirrored their enterprising brethren.

The Hylands were at heart risk takers; they possessed an enterprising ethos. From the time of the Hylands' settlement close to the city of Kilkenny they were immersed in its social, political and economic life. Membership of the Kilkenny city business community was ensured through their enterprising activities. Catholicism was the overriding factor determining their social circle. Their close business associates were drawn from this Catholic grouping.

No less than other families, the vagaries of life undoubtedly had an important bearing on the successes and failures of the Hylands. While great events nationally, or even locally, had repercussions for these individuals, like everyone else, personal events impacted on them. Marriage and especially death in the family altered the course of

their history. Laurence's sudden death, Richard P.'s illness and death at a young age, and John P.'s longevity all contributed to the progression and perhaps the regression of the family. The Hyland history is a story of a rise and a gradual decline during the period of this study.

Personality traits, while somewhat difficult to define, are also important in terms of our understanding of the principal characters. One may only judge by their activities and their personal legacy, which in itself tells us something about them. They were meticulous in their record keeping. More than anything, what unites the three Hylands, father and sons, is their drive and ambition. This energy that they possessed was directed for the most part into entrepreneurial ventures, but also channelled into the political and social life of the wider community. They were prepared to diversify and did so. Diversification led them enthusiastically to new projects. They were not prepared to stand still and were unafraid of the consequences of change. They had a work ethic. They lived life fully and spurred by a sense of their place in society that likely developed from an eighteenth-century Catholic respectability - this family possessed a confident outlook.

A significant portion of their personal expenditure went the way of the Catholic Church and this has been shown to be the case particularly after the Famine. The Famine affected them but not really on a personal level. Indeed it was an opportunity for them to make the best of the situation and engage in the grinding of Indian corn for the needy market. Another way the Famine impinged favourably on them was in the creation of the Encumbered Estate Act and their acquisition of the Bishop's Hall estate as a result.

For a time the Hylands were poised to be the inheritors of a new political hegemony, but this did not come to pass; national, social and political changes created in large part by the class immediately below them negated that possibility. In any event the third generation, hampered perhaps by the longevity of the family patriarch, were indifferent or unwilling to engage fully in political life. Despite their efforts, essentially the Hylands' time had come and gone.

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*Rentals of the estates of the Marquess of Ormonde in Cos Kilkenny and Tipperary, c. 1812-1835 (NLI Mss 25,010-25,015).

* Not available as yet, under conservation

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Receipt Book (NLI Ms 14177)

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Valuation report of the townlands of Castle Blunden, Clonmoran and Warrington, Co. Kilkenny - 'James Deering, Valuator, 25 Apr. 1846

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Documents relating to these individuals including their ledgers referenced as follows:

REF. John Patrick Hyland (JPH) (26 Ledgers)

(d. 1917)

F5	1846	
F4	1847-69	
F13	1851	Workers List covered by cuttings
E4	1851-63	Distillery Sales Book
F12	1851-79	Distillery Sales
E6	1852-75	
G5	1856-80	Rentals
F14	1856-60	Rental Accounts Book

F11	1856-66	Rental Book
G4	1872	Workers Account
F9	1863-94	Livestock Book
F1	1866-7	Athenaeum Room Book
F2	1880-1915	
F3	1880-93	Letter Book
F7	1882	Browne's Diary
F6	1883	Browne's Diary
F10		'The Loss of Mary'
G1	1885	Browne's small
F7	1885-6	Small Notebook
G2	1886	JJ Smiths
G3	1887	JJ Smiths
E5	1879-1904	Accounts
E2	1888	Irish Office Diary
E3	1889	Carroll's Scribbling Diary
E1	1890	Dollard's Scribbling Diary
F8	1880s	Small Notebook

Account with Michael Buggy solicitor to John P. Hyland Miscellaneous Costs Document (Apr. 1900).

Account with Michael Buggy solicitor to John P. Hyland February 1904 Miscellaneous Costs Document (Jan. 1907)

Account with Michael Buggy solicitor to John P. Hyland Miscellaneous Costs Document (4 July 1907)

Account with Michael Buggy solicitor to John P. Hyland Miscellaneous Costs Document (21 Oct. 1912)

Account with Michael Buggy solicitor to John P. Hyland Miscellaneous Costs Document (Nov. 1912)

Account with Michael Buggy solicitor to John P. Hyland Miscellaneous Costs Document (18 May 1914)

'Affidavit and Requisition to enter satisfaction on Judgement' Michael Hyland to John Hyland (Jan. 1854)

Chancery papers of John Carroll

Copy of the will of Alice Walsh (29 Jan. 1884)

Deed of Trust Eleanor Hyland to John P. Hyland (3 Mar. 1860)

Draft letter John P. Hyland to Eleanor Hyland (3 Mar. 1860)

Freeman Certificates J.P. Hyland and R.J. Hyland (25 Mar. 1907)

John Carroll document - on three shilling bill or note (24 Aug. 1885)

John P. Hartford to John P. Hyland relating to the sub commission in Kilkenny dealing with the farms of Shellumsrath and Clonmoran (7 May 1891)

Letter of appointment as High Sheriff of the county of the city of Kilkenny (14 Jan. 1868)

Martin Huggard solicitor to John P. Hyland (23 Nov. 1893)

Michael Buggy solicitor to John P. Hyland Miscellaneous Costs Document Paid (30 Apr. 1915)

Originating Notice Draft September 1887 in diary (16 Feb. 1888)

Photograph of Kimberley Home Guard (1899)

Pictorial souvenir of the ordination of John P. Hyland (1895)

Plan of Athenaeum

Probate of the will of John P. Hyland made 22 May 1915 with Michael Buggy solicitor (9 May 1917)

Proposed agreement between John P. Hyland and Thomas F. Murphy, James White, Timothy O'Brien, Richard Duggan, B. Lambert, Edward T. Keane and James A. Smithwick (James Harte withdrew) (3 July 1914)

Rental and Account of the estate of J. P. Hyland Esquire for the year ended 25 March 1891 furnished by R. H. Kelly, 21 the Mall, Waterford, (20 July 1892)

R. H. Kelly to J. P. Hyland Rental and Accounts (1890-3, 95, 98)

School certificate B. Potter, Saint Catherine's, Dominican Convent, Sion Hill (17 July 1851)

REF. Laurence Hyland (LH) (5 Ledgers)

(d. 1843)

L1	1818-25	32cm, slim
L2	1820-42	32cm, small
L3	1823-27	40cm, half covered
L4	1826-34	31cm, uncovered
L5	1832-43	30cm, covered

Oldis Estate Letter re: 1825

GF Still Sketch 11 June 1841

Lease Blunden 1 Aug. 1838

Lease Blunden 22 Apr. 1816

Plan of Mount Warrington 11 June 1841 (partially damaged)

Administration document of William Welsh's will, 19 Jan. 1797

Indenture between Benjamin Morris and Richard Hylan[d], 2 Aug. 1788

Indenture between David Welshe (farmer) and James Anderson (gent), Grace Dieu, Waterford, 11 Dec. 1750

Indenture between John Welsh and David Welsh (both of 'Ballyloskey'), 6 Apr. 1752

Indenture between Mary Welshe of Earlsrath and Keyran Welshe of 'Ballyloskey' and David Aylward of Park, 5 June 1802

Indenture between Mary Welshe of Earlsrath and Keyran Welshe of 'Ballyloskey', Oct. 1803

Indenture between Thomas Darmody and Mary Welsh, 31 May 1817

Will of William Welshe (true copy) (undated)

REF. Richard Joseph Hyland (RJH)

(d. 1951)

Invoice from F. A Wallen & Co. to R. J. Hyland, 1 July 1911

John Blunden (the Cottage), to R. J. Hyland (2 Oct. 1919)

Report Card

REF. Richard Patrick Hyland (RPH) (13 Ledgers)

(d. 1854)

B1	1838-51	Spirits Account (James O'Neill)
B3	1838-52	Distillery Balance Account
A6	1838-44	Oat Scales / 'Kieve' Book
A7	1839-43	Distillery Letter Book
A3	1839-51	Wash Book
A4		Still Book
B2	1839-71	Old Debts/Letter Book (JPH)
A1	1840-5	Distillery Cash Book
B4	1849	Memoranda
B5	1850	William Shaw's Shilling Scribbling Diary
A2	1852-1913	Sharman Crawford's Bill
A5	1853-4	Cask List
B6	1844	

Mostly receipts and invoices

Notary Public translation document, 17 Jun. 1854

The Nation (receipt) 13 May 1851

Administration of CB 11 Jan. 1844

<i>The Nation</i>	15 Mar. 1851	
General Newspaper Office	26 Oct. 1846	
Irish Reform Club	12 Oct. 1846	
Dawson Street Club		
Irish Reform Club	22 May 1846	
The Nation	19 Oct. 1853	
Copper Warehouse Liverpool	25 Sept. 1844	
Framed Memorial Drawing	8 June 1854	
Photo? Lauder Bros.		
Probate of Will	19 May 1854	
Cassidy Partnership	3 Apr. 1845	
Notary Testament	19 May 1854	
Letter re copper		
J Turner	17 June 1851	Memo Cassidy
M H Machin Hotel	3 Oct. 1846	
H Potter	2 Aug. 1853	Kilkenny slates
S J Piggott	14 June?	Music
Clothes	1846	
Irish Woollen Warehouse	1847	G H Rowan KK Boot maker
G Brown	1847	Westmoreland St
Irish Reform Club	15 May 1847	
James Brennan	1 July 1847	Port Wine
S J Machen	15 Jan. 1847	1849?
John Drennan	5 Apr. 1849	Thos? Hyland Boot maker
G Brown	7 Apr. 1847	Westmoreland St
Re Monasterevan	7 Aug. 1849	

house		
Prince of Wales Hotel	5 Apr. 184?	
Machin	21 Nov. 1847	with small seal
Hotel Bill?		
		<i>The Kilkenny</i>
Cornelius Maxwell	21 June 1847	<i>Journal</i>
		Dublin -Kildare
G S W Railway	184?	Furniture
		Dublin -Kildare
G S W Railway	27 Mar. 1847	Furniture
Brennan	17 Mar. 1847	Carpet
Painter	27 Mar. 1847	House
		Cabinet Makers & Upholsters 19. Mary St Dublin
Butler & Co	5 Apr. 1847	
Kerney & Co	184?	Fruiterer Dame St
Imperial Hotel	3 Feb.?	Sackville
Monasterevan Dispensary	17 Dec. 1846	Subscription
Brown mare	30 Apr. 1847	Receipt
Hotel account	6 Oct. 1847	
		Boot and shoemaker Suffolk St
George Bagnall	11 Oct. 1847	
		Tea and Coffee Dealer
W. Fitzpatrick	25 Mar. 1845	
		Galway 'Warren trying to break lease'
Newcastle Distillery	31 Oct. 1844	
		Boots Shoes 19 Upper Ormond Quay
Edw Rothwell	5 Mar. 1847	
Durrow letter	1846	
Prince of Wales Hotel	2 Mar. 1847	
		Gloves 13 Stephens Green North
M. Moran	5 Feb. 1847	
Joseph Lawler	25 May 1847	painting and

varnishing

Horse Servicing	2 Mar. 1847
Mr Jones	1847
Prince of Wales Hotel	?

REF. Patrick Cogan O’Gorman (PCOG) (9 Ledgers)

(d. 1887)

D1	1868	Carroll’s Scribbling Diary
D2	1868-80	Household & Farm
C2	1869-81	Rent Ledger
C1	1870-87	Rentals
C3	1876	
C4	1883	Chamber’s Scribbling Diary
D5	1885	
D4	1886	
D3	1887	

John P. Hartford to Patrick C. O’Gorman (22 Nov. 1881)

REF. William Paul Hyland (WPH)

(d. 1910)

Share Certificate (20 Mar. 1908)

Alice Bradford (matron, Municipal Isolation Hospital, Shanghai, China) to May Hyland (9 Feb. 1911)

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1. Book collection - mostly nineteenth century, also some magazines, newspapers, ephemera etc.
2. Photographs, prints and painted portraits
3. Miscellaneous family certificates; legal, academic and religious
4. Some dated or inscribed objects of relevance
5. Walsh Papers: estate maps from 1800 and artefacts from 1722.
6. Papers legal and otherwise relating to John Carroll and letters to and from him
7. Legal documents, letters etc. from individuals (relationship unknown, as yet) dating from about 1800. Miscellaneous letters from lawyers and other individuals from 1825 - mostly after 1850
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Minute Book: Mar. 1885-Apr. 1886 Ref. 299 42K

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APPENDIX I

List of slaters referred to in Laurence Hyland's ledgers with some associated information including: location, date, ledger reference and other identifying data.

Slaters

Aylward Patrick	
Blanchfield Matthew	Ballyragget 1827
Blanchfield Patrick	Ballyragget 1825
Booth R.	
Brennan	
Campion	
Carey James	Passage (East)
Carroll	
Carroll Edward	
Carroll Philip	
Cherry's Mr	Waterford
Connelly John	Garden of Graigue[namanagh]
Connelly Michael	
Cunningham Michael	
Curtis Mr	Waterford
Davis William	
Doolen John	
Dooly for P Mulloy	
Dooly Michael & Sons	1829
Dulhanty John	
Dulhanty Michael	
Dunphy John	
Dwyer Michael	Johnswell
Egan John	Mr Hally's
Ennis John	
Ennis Richard	
Fitzpatrick	Durrow
Fitzpatrick Edmund	1829

Fitzpatrick Flory/Florence;	1829
Foskin James	
Gardener Thomas	Graigue(namanagh)
Guinn ? / Quinn J. Charles	Freshford
Hanlon Michael carpenter	Graigue(namanagh)
Hannigan Richard	Waterford Mt. Congreve
Harrington John	Tramore
Hayden Patrick	
Hays' Mr	
Healy John	Mullinahone
Hedrington	Castlecomer
Hedrington John ditto brother	
Hedrington William & Son	
Hedrington 'young'	
Holden James	
Holden Thomas	
Holmes James	
Holmes John	
Holmes Michael	
Holmes Samuel	
Kealy Joseph	
Kehoe Mr	Waterford
Lewis Richard	
Long Patrick & Son	
Long 'young'	
Magrath Thomas	Knocktopher
Magrath William	Castlecomer John Dooly's son
Maher	Longford Pass (Tipperary)
Marum's John	Whiskey yesterday for men
McNamara	
Mullins Corney	
Murphy	Waterford
Neill Edward	Gowran
Neill John	
Neill Ned	
Phillips Mr	
Power Mr	Faitly (Faitlegg, Waterford)

Ronan Thomas & James	
Roach Thomas	1826
Ronan Thomas	
Ron(w)an Patrick	
Smith Jacob	
Smyth John & brothers	
Smyth Patrick	Callan
Smyth Robert & brothers	
Sparks Jem	
Sparks Geoffrey and son Jem	
Sparks 'two'	
Spillane Denis	Killenaule
Tinsly's Mr <u>slaters</u>	
Tobin Edward	
Tobin Michael	
Tobin James	
Tracey John Walsh	Templetouhy
Walsh John	Ennistioge (Innistioge)
Warren Pat junior	
Warren Peter senior	
Warren Peter junior	
West John	1829, 1836 Mrs Walsh's farm
Whelan James	Ballyragett
Williams	
A (Castle)comer man	
Different slaters	
Several slaters	Waterford
Waterford slater	
Marlifield slaters	
(New)Ross two men	
Two young Ba??ds?	Rathdowney
Richard Furniss measurement of slates	1826 L4
James Ketler	
Michael Coffee	

Edward Ryan Blacksmith	1826 L4
John Carroll	1828
William Taylor	28

Source: Abstracted from Laurence Hyland's ledgers (HP).

APPENDIX II

List of some notable houses/destinations for Laurence Hyland's slate

Butlerhouse ?	Kilkenny (L4 179 1829)
Ballyduff	Inistiogue, Co. Kilkenny
Belline	Piltown, Co. Kilkenny
Bessborough	Piltown, Co. Kilkenny
Borrismore	(Marymount) Urlingford, Co. Kilkenny
Castle Blunden	Co. Kilkenny
Castlecomer House	Co. Kilkenny
Curraghmore	Co. Waterford
Tennypark	Co. Kilkenny
Floodhall	Knocktopher, Kilkenny
Gardenmorris	Kill, Co. Waterford
Grace Dieu	Waterford, Co. Waterford
Gowran Castle	Co. Kilkenny
Kilcooley Abbey	Co. Tipperary
Kilmurry	Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny
Knocklofty	Co. Tipperary
Mount Congreve	Co. Waterford
Mobarnan	Fethard, Co. Tipperary,
Mount Loftus	Goresbridge, Co. Kilkenny
Marlfield	Clonmel, Co. Tipperary
Tinvane	Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary
Kilkenny Castle	Kilkenny
Coolmore	Fethard, Co. Tipperary
Shankhill Castle	Paulstown, Co. Kilkenny
Woodstock	Inistiogue, Co. Kilkenny

These are notable houses, which are listed in in Bence-Jones, Mark, *A guide to Irish country houses* (2 vols, 2nd ed., London, 1996), to which slate was supplied by Laurence Hyland

The source of slate destination was abstracted from Laurence Hyland's ledgers (HP).

APPENDIX III

Clients for slates with destinations and some additional information (dating of 1821-23 if not otherwise indicated)

CARLOW

Blackney Walter Esq	22	Ballyellen (Bagnalstown)
Byrne James Esq	22	Leighlin (bridge)
Byrne James		Carlow
Fleming Mr John		Ballykealy (Ballon)
Haughton Samuel		

DUBLIN

Hanbury Mr	Dublin
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KILDARE

Pope Capt	25	Athy
Wheeler Barrington Esq	25	Fortbarrington Athy

KILKENNY

A Bennettsbridge	26; 29	man
A Butts		woman
A Dunbell		man
A Gowran	31 21	
A Freshford	25	man
A Johnstown	24; 28	man
Alcock Doctor	21	
Anderson Paris Esq	24	
A person		near Jenkinstown
A Patrick St		man
A Tullarone man	31	
An unknown person	30	

Austin Mr	36	Waiter at Clubhouse to Mary's Lane
Austin's Mr	36	Mary's Lane
Aylward Nicholas Esq	22; 25;	Shankill Castle
Ayre John	26	
Baily Mr Noreland		
Baker Esq	21	Farm
Baker Abraham W Esq		Ballytobin
Baker John Esq	25	Farm
Ball Abraham	22; 25	Repairs Castle Blunden Offices
	28	Ardaloo
Ball Lanslot Shenton Esq	30-1	Threecastles
Banim Mrs 32		
Barrow Canal Company	22	Goresbridge
Barton Messrs & Co	21	
Barwis John Esq	24; 32	Dunmore School CROSSED OUT yard
Bateman Richard Mr 27		
Belline	32	
Bergin John	25	Timber Yard; King St
	30	John St
Besbora Earl of	32; 33	Besbora; Garranreagh
Blanchfield Pat	25	Slater Ballyragget
Blanchfield Matthew	27	Slater Ballyragget
Bourke William Capt	27	Tullowbrin?
Boson? John Esq		L4 358
Bolger		present at count
Bowe John	28	Freneystown
Bowe Richard		Limetree
Bourke Esq	21	
Baily William Esq		
Brennan & Cormick	24; 30	Distillery
	30; 32	Brewery
Brennan James	38	Order on
Brennan James Esq	21 27	Eden Hall
Brennan James	24	Smith Limetree
Brennan Michael Esq Seskin;		21; 24 Ballyragget Brewery; Offices at
Bradley Robert		
Bradley Thomas	31	Blackmill

Brien George Esq Blanchfield's	31	Jenkinstown (furnished upon Matt order)
Brien James	24	Dunbell
Brophy William		
Buckly Mr N	30	High St
Burnham Mr James	24; 26	Robertson; Coalmarket
Burrows Mr Samuel	28; 28	(Bennettsbridge ?); Charter school for Holmes
Burtchall David Esq	31	Powerstown to houses opposite the chapel in Graigue; forge outside Tinnahinch Whitehall (Paulstown) houses; Tinnahinch
House		
Bourke Mr	21	
Brophy William Mr	36	Carpenter delivered at Mr Smithwicks old house High St CROSSED OUT
Bushe Lord Chief Justice	22	(Kilmurry)
Butler	25	Clohala
??Mr	22	Butler L1 2
Butler John Esq	24	Milltown (Urlingford near Freshford)
Butler John	27	Wilton Urlingford
Butler Richard	27	Kilkenny
Butt/ler House		Butler
Byrne Mathew	30	Johnstown
Byrne Michael Esq	28 29	Bayswell Johnstown for Galmoy chapel
Byrne Michael	30	Clara Castle
Byrne Patrick Esq		Castle of Glashare
Byrne Patrick Esq	28	Walkin St
Colles Mr	34	Bonnettstown
Cahill John Mr	24	John St
Cahill James		Rossennarra
Cahill Mr Mark	24	
Cahill Nicholas Esq	24	Lismaine
Cahill Thomas	28	Johnstown Taylor in the hand of Mrs Capt Ridge (Civil Engineer Board of works)
Carrick Lady Dowager	26	Orchardton
Carroll John		Very inferior slate
Carroll Mr	27	Lacken
Coghill Sir C	22	

Colles Richard Esq	2?	
CastleBlunden CB		
Carroll William		
Chaplin Mr Samuel	32	
Chaplin Mrs	33	Rose Inn St
Cleare Mr William	28	
Cleary William and John		
Cleary John		
Clifford Pat		
Clubhouse	27 32	
Cody James Mr	27	Dunmore
Coghill Sir C Bart		
Colles Richard Esq	25; 24	Yard, Quay John St
	25	Riverview
	25	Stone yard
Commerford Francis Esq	32	
Commerford Richard	27	Ballyfoyle
Comerford Michael	30	Chimney tops
Congreve John for		
Cooke Edward Esq		Patrick St
Cormick Denis Esq		New Distillery John St;
Cormack Denis & Brennan John	25	Repairs
Cormick Martin Esq	25; 28	Brewery; Brewery Kilnhouse
Costigan Michael		
Costiloe Michael Mr	25	Green St
Coyne & Madigan Messrs	22	
Cooke Edward Esq	21	
Cronyn Edward Mr		Thomastown
Cronyn Thomas Esq		For barn
Crotty Mr	27	
Curran Patrick	28	Gowran
Dalton Michael	21	Carpenter
Dehey Thomas		
De Montmorency Sir William	27	
Dempsey John	36	
Denroach Edmund Esq	27	
Devereux Harvey Esq	25	

Dexter Robert Esq	29	Lake?
Diney Capt?	31	Clone
Distillery	38	Mount Warrington
Doran Keyran	33	
Doolen John		
Doolen James Mr	24	
Dooly Edward	26; 33	Highrath; CastleInch
Dover Lady	36; 37	
Downey James Mr	28 32	Pennefeather Lane
Dowlings	34	Schoolhouse
Devereaux Mr H	22	
Doyle John		Irishtown
Doyle Mr John	30	to stables in New St by order Pat McEvoy
Doyle Johnstown	31	
Doyle Mr	28	Blanchfield'stown
Doyle James Schoolhouse; Schoolhouse	27;	Carpenter; Freshford; Clomanty Wellbrook
Doyle Thomas		Grange
Dray John	24	Carpenter Kilkenny
Dulhanty Michael	27	Castle Inch; Slater
Dungarvan	38	
Dunn John	28	Inch?
Dunn Mr Matt	24	High St
Dunmore Barracks	32	
Dunphy Mrs	27	
Dunphy William Mr	29	Gowran
Dunphy William	27; 28	;High St
Dunphy William	28	Scart (Clara)
Dwyer Thomas Esq	27	Johnstown; also Timothy
Dwyer Martin	23 24	
Dunphy	21	Peddlar
Egan	32	
Ellis Henry	32	(Rockbrook)
Elworth Mr		Cloan
Evans Ambrose Esq	25	Rossdamma

Fielding Daniel		
Fitzpatrick Denis	30 31	Freshford
Fitzpatrick Edmund	27	Slater
Fitzpatrick Florry	26	
Fitzpatrick John		
Fitzsimmons	28	Coach Office
Finn Mrs	28	Walkin St
Finn Mr Thomas	29	Walkin St
Freeman Michael	25	Ta[y]ilor
Flood Henry	30	
Flood John Esq	29 31	Counsellor, Floodhall; vicar? Paulstown
Fleming Mr John	27	Lighthouse (Kilkenny)
Flinn Joseph Esq	25 24	Bellevan
Flood Robert Esq	22 35	Farmly
Farrell Mr Earnest?	21	
Freight Mr George	21	
Fogarty John Maudlin St for Dempsey waiter Bush Tavern	36;	Carpenter at Black Abbey delivered John
Foley John Mr	31	High St
Garranreagh	33 34	Pat Roach
Mr Ben Gaze	22	(Gaol Yard)
Gilbert Castle	32	Suir Cottage
Glennan Mr Pat		
Gore Henry A. Esq	26 30-1	Re[a]re of Mrs Mossons? House 280 L4
Gorman Roger	28	Woolengrange
Goresbridge	22	
Goslin James Esq		Swiftsheath
Gorman Pat Mr	29	Johnstown
Gowran	37	
Grace Pat	28	Freshford
Grace William	36	Farm Bonnettstown Road
Grace Mr	34 36	Outside the Tower

Grace Mr	33	Penny Lane
Grace William Esq	29	Patrick St; Pennefeather Lane
Green Joseph Esq		
Gregory Dr	27	
Guinn John	26	for his brother
Hartford Bibby	21	
Hartford Thomas	36	Sheestown
Hartford Irving Esq	32	Grange
Harding Pat	30	Shankill 'Oct 4 th 1830 flags L4 184
Hartford Bibby Esq		
Hartford George	25	
Hartford Thomas		
Hartford William	21	
Hartford William Esq	22 25	Grainge; Debtor
Hayden William Mr	25	Publican High St
	26; 28	Small slate
Healy Pat		Grocer Kilkenny
Helsham Mrs	36	John St
Hely esq	29	Littlefield (Jeninstown)
Hely Gorges Esq	29	Violet Hill (Johnstown)
Hickey Mr John	28	Butcher
Hickey Pat	30	Butcher
Hoban Mr	25	
Holmes Michael	27	Paid to Michael Costigan
Hopper John		John Street; Johnstown
Horan Pat	30	Woodsgift
Houlahan James	30	Bodane?
Huetson Thomas	25	Rose Inn
Hudson Mr	24	Rose Inn St
Humphrey Capt	24 26	Workhouse; Lunatic Ward
Hurley Michael	21	Goslinstown
Hyne Martin	31	Shellumsrath
Hyland John		
Humphrey Hartley Esq	22	

Major Izod	22	
John Flood	22	
Jack John	38	
Jackman Mr	27	
Counsellor James		
Johnson Andrew Esq	24	Mail Coach Office
	29	four slates 2s.
	32 34	
Michael D Keating Esq	22	
Kealy Mr Matt		Ballyredden Mills
Keating Major	25 24	
Keating Michael D. Esq		Tinnypark
Keating Mrs D. Keating	29 30	Mrs Denn Keating
Kearney Mr	34	Bamford
Kelly Mr	29	Damma
Kelly John	29	Tullerone
Kelly John	32	Ballasalla
Kelly Mr John	28	Magdelin St
Kelly Mrs Joseph	30	Killahey
Kelly Michael	33	Ballycuddihy
Kennedy William		Johnstown
Kerwick William	33	
Keyran Pat		
Kirk William		
Kinchella Lewis C. Esq	31	
Kilree James	28 29	Kilrey; the Parade
Kingsmill Par Esq	28;	Annefield from the quarry
Knaresboro William Esq		Gatehouse on Dublin Rd Purcellsinch
Knight William	29	(West slater) Archerslace (Archerlease)
Loughman Peter	21	
Lahey Mr Pat	24	at his house
Lalor Florence Esq	29	
Lalor N.	26	
Lalor Richard Esq	25 28	Cascacde (Freshford)

Lalor William paid	30	Goresgrove (Urlingford) Mr Lalor's steward for in thousands SL4183
Lamphier John Esq	27	wooden house
Landers William	32 36	Coach Factory
Landy Nicolas	29	Patrick St
Lannigan John Esq		
Lannigan Pat	30	Loughboy
Lanigan William	28	James Street Houses;
	28 29	Coalmarket; widow of
Laracy Pat	24	James Green
Larkin Keyran		Cooper Leamogue (Lamogue)
Lauder Mr	31	
Laurenceson Mr	33	
Lawler Daniel Esq	26	
Leech Cornelius	36	
Leigh Guernon Mr	27 34	Co Jail Governor
Lester Peter		Gowran
Lewes Mrs	27	
Little Mr James	24	Galmoy inferior (Ballycuddihy)
Loftus Sir N Bart	22	Mt Loftus
Loughnan Pat Mr	28	Johnstown
Loughman Joe Mr	38	Distillery (Mount Warrington)
Lynagh John	37	
Newtown	34	
Nixon Mr Henry Esq	25	Cloan House (Clone)
Neill Michael	27	Gowran
Neill Pat Kells		
Nesbit Sargent	32	
Neville Robert	27	Marymount (Borrismore)
New Barracks	25	
Nolan Mr John	35	
Order on Mr Pat steward	38	
Mackey James		
Thomas Millet Esq	22	

Madden Mrs	25	Patrick St
Magrath Nicholas	31	
Maher James	30	Shellumsrath
Maher John Esq	26 30	Freshford
Maher Mrs	25	Shambles
Maher Richard	32	Shankill Gate
Maloney Mr	26	Ware house Coalmarket
Mooney Pat	22	for Mrs G Nixon
Marum Edmund Esq	27 33	Rathpatrick
Marum Richard Esq	26	Mount Stopford
	27	Aharney; Revanagh Colliery
	29	House now occupied by the police? Ouncel house
Marum Mrs	32	Aharney
Mason Joseph Esq	31	George Riall; Killushulan
Matthews Major	29	Walkin St
Maxwell Mr Cornelius	27 38	Patrick St
McConnell Mr	25	
McCraith John Esq	24 34	
McCreery Messrs	30 32	John St
McCreery James		
McNamara	25	
Menton Mr James	28	
Meighan John & Co Esqs		
Millea Widow		
Millett Thomas Esq		
Minchin Matthew	29	Johnstown
Molyneaux Mr	32	
Morgan Mr Richard	22	
Mitchell James Esq	22	
Mooney Pat	21 25	
Moore James		
Morrissey Mr	31	Urlingford
Moss Esq	25	Clomanty Mills
John Moss Mr	29 32	Ballycondra

Murphy Geoff	27	
Murphy Martin Mr	30	Clubhouse
Murphy Matthew Esq		
Murphy Mr John		Uppergrange
Murphy Michael & Lewis Richard Rosinan)		Michael Rathhhelkine (Rahillakeen,
Murphy Martin	32	Limetree
	36 37	Grainge house
Murphy Michael	32	Racecourse
Murphy Timothy	28	Pigeon Park
Ormonde Lord	36	Archersgrove order Mr Carrigan
O'Callaghan O. C. Esq		Coalmarket house Sheestown Mills
O'Reilly Esq	21	
O'Reilly Doctor	31	Penny Lane
O'Reilly Philip	31	Johnswell
O'Reilly Dr	38	
Pack Mrs	31	John's Quay
Phillips Robert Esq	26 27	Foyle (Gattabawn)
Phillips Samuel	29	
Presentation Convent	25	
Prim Miss	24	Gowran
Proctor Robert	27	Balleen
Potter Mr	24	inferior
Power Michael	35	Readesbarn
Piltown		
Power Mr K	24	{Rev Mr Butler}
Power O'Shee Richard Esq	25	Sheestown House
	24	Sheestown Mills
	25	David Reid Raggetsland
	22	By order of John Dunphy
Power Thos Esq		Cloone
Miss Prim	22	Gowran
Power Mr		Bush Tavern
Phelan William Esq	27	Ballyragget

Purcell Thomas	30	Friarsbridge
Quinn John	29	Freshford
Quinn Mr		Walkin St
Quirke Michael	32	Wallslough
Reade Edward Mr	23	Butts;
	24	Rhatigans Mill; Factory
Reade Redmond	38; 33	
Reade William	24	Freshford CROSSED OUT
Reid David	24	Raggetsland
Ryan Pat		
Widow Ryan	21	
Robertson Mr John	27	
Roonan Thomas		Clubhouse
Roothe Pat Esq	31	Kilrush
Roothe Mrs Martin	32	
Rowan Mr George	28	(shop)
Richardson Mr	30	Patrick St
Rudds Stephen	32	
Rutlege John Esq		
Ryan Henry Esq		Kilfera
Ryan John	32	Archer St
Ryan Pat		Carpenter
Saunders Widow	32	David Burtchaell Esq
Scott Pat	32; 35	Archer St
Scott B junior Esq	35	Archer St
Scott Barnaby Esq	27	
Scott Kenny Esq	22	
Scott Pat Upper	33	John St
Scully Jeremiah	21	Freshford
Shanahan Mr N?	21	
Shearman Mrs	21	
Shawe Mr John		Ennistioige and Charter school
Sheraman Capt	36	Grange House; Kilcreene order Mr Dugan

Shearman Mr John	31	Park
Shea Walter		
Shortall Mr	25 25	Walkin St
Shortall William	33	
Smith Mr	36	Maidenhall
Smith Mrs		
Scott Kenny	21	
Smith William Esq	36	Bank of Ireland slate delivered in New St
Smithwick Edmund Esq	35	
Smithwick Richard Esq	35	
Smithwick Edmund	29 38	Brewery, Old Brewery
Smithwick & O. Callahan	24	
Smithwick John	25; 26	Kilcreene Lodge; Cottage
Sparks Mr John		
Stannard Lannigan Esq	29	Grainge
St. George Arthur Esq	21	Kilrush
St. George Robert Esq	28 30	Balief
Stone Mr	26	
Sullivan Michael Esq	36	New Building Coalmarket
Sullivan Michael & James Esqs	34	Blackmill, Lacken Mills, Tan Yard
Sullivan Richard Esq MP	24 32	Madd[i]ockstown
	29	Blackmill
	29	Bacon yard
	33	Tan yard
	34	Horse Barracks
	35	Castle Bamford
	36	Horse Barracks
	38	Meeting House
Sullivan Richard & Michael	30	New Bacon Yard; Horse Barrack; Butts Malthouse
	37	Old brewery
Sullivan James	36	William St for Meeting house
Sullivan Mr	38	William St
Sutcliffe Mr John	31; 30	Kiltown

Switzer Mr	24	Focta (Fertagh)
Tighe William Esq	32; 22	Woodstock
Tobin Edward Slater	22	
Tobin Michael Slater	26; 27	Limetree Chapel;
Treacy John	33	
Walsh Mr	29	for Chimneys
Walsh John Mr	29; 31	Clubhouse 50 slate for chimney tops
Walsh Mrs Wallace	36; 37	order on John Newtown Walsh
Warren James Esq		Blackmill Brewery
Warren Michael Esq		
Warren Peter	21	
Warren William Esq		Shipton
Warring Aiken	26	
Warring Capt	26	
Warring John	27	Co Treasurer Co Jail
Warring Pooly Esq	30	Lodge
Watters Thomas		
Watters Richard	30	Patrick St
Webb Mr	26; 33	
West John Slater	29	Archerslace
	30; 36	Danesfort Chapel delivered at Mrs Walsh's farm
Weyms Henry Esq		
William Warring Esq	21	
Whelan Capt	25	Ballyragget
Whelan William Esq		
Whelan Michael	34	Troysgate
Whelans Kate	32	
Whelan John Mason	27 29	Walkin St
	30; 33	New Barrack; New house
Whyte James	31	Gowran
Waters John Esq	22	
Wilkinson Robert		Walkin St
Willet Mr	24	

Williams William	34	
Williams	38	
Williams Mr Ambrose	22;	Toll House near Jenkinstown;
Williams William	28;	Salt House
Wood Ranger		at Dunmore Kilkenny
Wood Mr		The Parade
Woulfe Esq	27	
Warden Kerry Power ?		L3 41

KILKENNY CASTLE

1821	Offices for repairs;	
1824	Castle Hothouse	by order of Daniel Ryan
1824	Castle	John Barwiss Esq
1825	Castle	
1827	New Tower in Lawn	no 117 Nov 14, 15, 16
1828	Dairy	
1829	Castle	delivered in Haggard
1829	Dairy	
1829	Garden	
1829	Office	in Mr Barwis's yard
1830	Stable yard	
1830	Stable yard for repairs;	
1832	Castle 1832	Castle Garden delivered to Mr Carrigan Marquis of Ormonde
1833	Office	Order Mr Lanigan
1838	Castle	

CASTLECOMER

Aher David Esq		
	22	Castlecomer;

	27	engine at clough; for office and store; foundry; to your own yard in Comer
	29	to engine yard 2
	32	Cloneen Colliery
Boyle Mr		Castlecomer
Brannan Mr James	28	Cloneen
Brennan Mr John	27	Comer Colliery
Bradley Mr John	31	Castlecomer
Bradley Mr Jonathan	32	Castlecomer
Butler Pierse Esq		Colliery
Castlecomer	26	School room;
	22	Barracks
Clarke Mr Gabriel	29	Gazebo Chapel Colliery
Clough	28	Chapel committee for Mr Foley's man Timothy Tynan
Collier Philip	27	Smithstown
Corcoran Mr	27	Castlecomer
Curran Mr Michael	27	Castlecomer
	30	Clough
Eaton Richard	22	
Fitzpatrick James Slater?	25;	Castlecomer
Flinn Daniel		Castlecomer Colliery School
Forrystal Pat		Castlecomer
Goss Mr	28	Castlecomer
Hewetson Mr	28 34	John? Colliery; dwelling house same place
Jacob Mr	30	Castlecomer

Kane Robert Esq		Castlecomer	
McGowan Mr		Bleechmill; Ballyhimmin Lodge (Ballyhimmin House); stables;	
Gowan	31	Sold to different persons; Anthony Mc Sent for public use	
Osborne Col	32		
Re[ix]eks Mr		Gardener to the Countess of Ormonde;22	
Ryan David Esq		Castlecomer 27 Toll House21 Turnpike house,29 Coolbawn Colliery 32	
Saunders James	32	Knockalane (Coolcullen)	
Saunders William	32	Knockalane (Coolcullen)	
Sommerville Mrs	31 31	Farm Yard ; Newtown; New Tower Hse CROSSED OUT c Wandesforde; 32; New tower farmyard Castlecomer;	
	32	Bullock house	
Walsh John	30	Colliery	
Williams Mr Ambrose Ambrose	26; 29	Castlecomer ;26 Barracks; Castlecomer; barracks;	Williams Mr
Wilson Mr Thomas	27; 27	Towlerton	

Countess of ORMONDE

Right Honourable Countess of: 22;
L2 1821

Dutchess (slate) for court chimneys: 21

quarter (tons) and tons for farm yard: 21;

houses back of McMullins factory

houses back of market house

Park keeper,

house opposite Boyle's Hotel,

Ballyhimmin Bleach Mill,

26 L4 slating houses and offices;

capt adjoining Mr Freights mansion;

Butlers house

viz stables

turfhouse;

fowl house;

Mr Eaton's new house at brewery.....;

Larder shed ;

boording land?????;

27 new stables opposite Boyle's hotel;

Mail stables

New house near Mr Freights;

Brewery at Mansion House;

Smithstown Lodge at the bridge;

28 Sick house in Chapel Lane?

28Mr Eaton's stable yard;

29 Mail stables;

29 House in front of the Wandesforde Coach Stables;

29 Laundry at Mansion House;

29 at Mail stables for colliery House;

1828 slate furnished by measurement as follows,

Eaton's coal shed,

kitchen

other coal shed

turf shed

fowl shed

garden shed

28 Eaton's Stable & Cartshed

Piggery

Knife

Coop and Dairy shed,

Feverhouse 18 square £19 10s 7d ;

Small office at Mr Eaton's;

New Stables Comerfords Lot

New kitchen Comerfords Lot

Reynards Castle at Ardra

New kitchen and shed at Ballyhimmen

Lodge at Smithstown Gate

Brewery at Mansion house

Front Lodge

For repairs of Dairy & Garden House at Mansion House;

to Shambles ;

30 laid down at Mail Stables for House on Colliery Road;

To Captain Trench's yard;

Mr McGowan at Captain Trench's yard;

Mrs Keeffe wife of Lady Ormondes coachman...in chapel lane;'

Mullins cottage at Coolbawn;

Taylors cottage at Ardra

Mr Elliots office

House at Comerford's lot;

For Shambles

For Mr Shore

For Jobbing

Shed at Laundry

WANDESFORDE Honourable C B Clarke

34 order Mr Dobbs;

30 Hon C. B. Clarke Wandesforde;

Dawson Thomas, house, Kiltown road;

Coolbawn colliery 30;

Mr Sommerville farm yard;

Newtown;

Ballyhimmin;

Sommerville cout yard ;

Eaton's house;

To Uscarthy William Wellesly ;

To Mail Stables for house

In Chapel Lane Hospital;

32 Coolbawn;

Mail Stables;

Capt Trench's House

Hospital chapel lane

Mr Hewetson Barreyarrane (Boneyarrow)Colliery;

for Mrs William Sommerville Newtown house;

32 Laundry shed in Coalyard;

Doran's cottage in Kiltown;

Taylors 2 sheds at Ardra;

Mr Eatons shed at Ardra;

Willoughby House Uskerty;
 New forge;
 privy in Mr Wandesforde's yard;
 Capt Trenches office;
 Walkers Cottage, woodkeeper;
 Keefe's Cottage Love Lane received from Mr Hewetson at CB
 Order John Hewetson Esq Jarrane (Jarrow) colliery
 Collara Hospital
 coach stables

LAOIS

Abbeyleix	21	
Cody James	26	Abbeyleix for Cullahill Barracks
Hastings Mr James	31 32	Durrow
Hely Mr	27	Rathdowney?
Hely Owen John Esq	31	Rathdowney
Hibbets Michael Esq	28	Ballinaslee (Durrow)
Morgan Mr Richard	25	Castle Durrow
Owen Robert Esq		Rathdowney
Owen William Esq	22 21 27	Erkindale near Rathdowney
Phillips Lodge Esq	31	Rafla or Lodge field Rathdowney
Price William Esq	37 33	Coolraine (Mountrath)

TIPPERARY

Bagwell	38	Marlfield order at Ketler
Bagwell Capt	33	Annfield
Barker Chamberlain Esq	28	Kilcooly
Carroll Mr Cashel	36	
Donaghmore Right Honourable Earl of	35; 36	Knocklofty, Clonmel
Donoughmore Right Honourable Lord	36; 37	
Dowling Martin	33	Builder Templetuohy
Feehan Mrs	32	Cashel

Frisby	32	Clonmel
Hanly John		Clonmel
Hickey John		Slater? Longford Pass
Kavanagh Mr	32	Carrick (-on-Suir) Ketler Andrew
	37	Clonmel Kirby Mr
	33; 34	Cashel Lahey Timothy
Longford Pass	31	
Mason Robert Esq	28	Grange Kilcooly; sample slate for new church no 91 L4
Milward Mr	32	Carrick-on- Suir sample slate L5 24
Jacob Matthew	32	Mobarnan (Fethard)
Jacob Matthew		Mortelstown (Killenaule)
Pepper Stephen		Clonmel
Sankey Matthew	32	Coolmore (Fethard)
Slieveardagh	25 22	
Staunton Michael	34	Clonmel
Tinsly John		Clonmel

WATERFORD

Brammer & Co Messrs		Ballyduff
Bruce Mr	32	Co Jail Waterford Kirwan L5 19
Butler Garret Esq	25; 25	Garranderry Laois
Carew Robert Shapland Esq /Lord Carew	33; 35	
Carroll Owen & Co	32	Merchants Waterford
Clarke Mr Thomas	32	Stephen St Waterford
Corbett Michael Mr	31; 35	Tramore
Day Mr Martin		Woodstown Co Waterford
Gorman Pat Tramore		
Mullins Henry Messrs	27; 35	Dunmore East Mullins & McMahon Messrs
McClelland Messrs	32	Waterford
Malcolmson David & Sons	33; 34; 36	
Mayfield Factory	33 38 32	Portlaw Factory
Kelly Walter Mr	32	Ballybricken
Roberts Edward Esq	32	Killoteran or West Lodge

Pope Richard Esq	32	Waterford delivered at the Old Slipe
Power Pat Carpenter	32; 38	Tramore order Pat and Joe Barry
Watters Mr	32	Ballyduff Co Waterford
Waterford Marquis of	32	Curraghmore
Waterford		Market House
O'Reilly Mr	32	Patrick St Waterford
Power Arthur Esq		Ballydavid? Wat Tip
Power O'Shee Richard Esq		Gardenmorris (Kill)
Shanahan Mr	36	Ballybricken
Whyte Samuel	36	Waterford

WEXFORD

Watson & Graves		Ross ½ quarter slate
Hay Edward Esq	22	Ross (Ballinkeelee)
Pope James		Wellington

Ecclesiastical Buildings /Clergy

CARLOW

Tullow	21	Rev Mr Codathe chapel of
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LAOIS

Abbeyleix		Chapel Maloney Rev Mr Ballinakill
Ballinakill	21	Stubbs Rev 21

KILKENNY

Ballytobin		Church
Kells		Church for Mr Jones 36
Odagh /Three Castles		Church of/ Church Ball Capt 24

Smithstown	Connary Rev; his chapel	27
Galmoy		29
Gazebo Chapel	Colliery Mr Gabriel Clarke	29
Callan	Huetson Rev Mr Nave of	
Comer	Chapel (Castlecomer)	21
Kilmanna	Quigley Joseph Chapel of (Kilmanagh)	30
Coolcullen	Church of; Roberts Rev Samuel	28; 21
Clough	Committee Rev Thomas Doran chapel	29
Mount Loftus	Murray Mr Timothy For new chapel at;	30
Danesfort	Chapel, West (John)	30
Johnstown	Chapel Committee order Mr Darmody	30
Mukeley	Chapel	31
Cathedral/ Kenny's	Church Pack Rev Dr	
Woodsgift	Church	28

TIPPERARY

Kilcooly	Whitty Rev M New Church	25; 27
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WATERFORD

Clonea (Killea)	Rev Edward Walsh of Passage delivered at Piltown for Chapel Near Dunmore East ;at Mooncoin	36
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Clerical Clients

Lord Bishop of Ossory	By the hand of William Grace	21
Rev S Stubbs		22
Bolger Rev Mr	Ballevan	29
Butler Rev Richard	Maidenhall;	24
Butler Rev Theobald	Mr Blanchfield	28; 29
Butler Theobald Rev	Blunden Villa	30

Condon Rev Thomas	Convent Fethard	
Presentation Convent Lady of		25
Daweson Rev Henry Richard /	Dean Dawson Castlecomer	25 29
Very Rev Dean of St Patricks		32
Darby Rev Mr		
Rev Mr Dorley		
Rev Mr Darby		38
Fielding Rev John	Kilkenny	
Fowler Rev Luke	Wellbrook	29
Herbert Rev H		30
Irwin Archdeacon		27
Kavanagh Rev Mr.	Coole Queens Co; John	
Kearney Rev John	Bamfort	27
Kearney Rev Thos	Attanagh	28
Right Rev Dr Kinsella	delivered at his house	37
Lanigan Rev		26
Father Lanigan's	Poorhouse near Rosehill	
	Order Michael Holmes	36
Rev Mr Kearney		22
Lodge Rev Nesbit	(Rathbeagh, Freshford)	28; 28
Lord Rev Mr	due	25; 26
Mulligan Rev Mr	Walkin St	
Mullins Rev Mr		
Nolan Rev Mr	Gowran	27; 27
Pack Rev Anthony		
Roe Rev Peter		
Smith Rev M		
Galmoy man	or chapel	29; 28
Vaughan Rev Mr	Johnstown;	
	Michael Hyland advanced bal due to R P V	24; 28
Rev Mr Walsh		22
Rev Edm Walsh		33
Kilmanna	Kilmanagh	Quigley Joseph 30

ARCHITECTS

Kilkenny based unless otherwise stated

Huetson, John

Jones, William	Cooleshal	34	
	Smith Mr	35	New St
	Archersgrove	36	
	Ballytobin Church		
	Mrs Leeche's		New Building;
	Kells Church	36	
	Rev Mr Cookes	36	House Thomastown
	Kilree		
	Consellor James	36	New Cottage at Danville
	William St	37	
	Sir John Blunden	38	Castle Blunden
Kelly, John	Mr Poe's	24	House & Office for chimneys
	Mr Bradish's	26	Weather slate late
			Mr Poe's (Parade)
	Coalmarket	27	
Robertson, Wm	Mr Barker's ?	23	Chapel lane to Patrick St
	County Jail	23	inferior
	Workhouse Lodge	23	
	Archersgrove	24	
	Marymount	24	
	County Courthouse	24	Flags for steps
	Workhouse	24	
	Office new road	24	
	County Jail	24	
	Kilcooley	24	

Archersgrove	24	eaves
Archersgrove	24	
Mr James Burhams	24	
Desart	25	
Kilcooly	25	delivered at his house for chimneys at
Kilfane	25	
Castle Garden	25	
New building	27	On Callan road
Rosehill	27, 32	(Hotel Kilkenny)
Mayor's office back of Tholsel	29	
Corn sheds Castle	30	
William St	30, 33	Yard
Castle	33	Common slate
Danesfort	34	
Library at Kenny's church	34	
Kenny's Church	35	(St Canice's Cathedral)
Johns St	35	New houses for offices
John's Quay	35	
William St	37	
Lady Dover	38	chimney tops to
Dungarvan	38	
Shawe, John		Ennistioge Charter School
Patrick St	27	sample;
Archdeacon Irwin /		
Rev Thomas Kearney	28 27	July 24 th no 92 L4 27
Woodsgift Church	29	

Source: abstracted from Laurence Hyland's ledgers (HP).

APPENDIX IV

Listing of carmen and horse hire (with some notes), dates from 1821 if not otherwise indicated.

Barry Joseph	1832	
Barry Michael		
Barry Thomas		
Brennan Michael	1838	
Brien Daniel		
Bourke Edmund	1835	
Butler Michael	1838	
Byrne John	1833	
Cahill Patrick	1833	
Carroll William	1832	'WC in care' L5 53
Carrroll William		
Cleary William & John	1832	
Cleary William & Thomas		
Connelly Richard		
Connoly Patrick	1832	
Cahill John		
Cahill Thomas		
Connoly Widow & Sons		
Costigan Michael	1825	
Couglan Val	1832	
Denn Edmund and son		
Dollard William		
Donnell John	1832	
Doughney John		
Doyle Joe		
Doyle Joe		
Doyle's man		
Dulhanty Pat		

Fahey Thomas	1836	
Fielding Daniel		
Fila John		
Fitzgerald Patrick	1832	
Fitzpatrick Florry		
Flannigan James		
Fleming Patrick		
Fogarty Martin		
Fox John	1838	
Fox Pat	1838	
Grace James	1835	
Hanlon Keyran		
Harney Thomas	1832	
Hawe Thomas	1837	
Hayden Michael		
Hennebry Wiilliam	1838	
Holden James		
Holden Thomas		
Hyland John	1838	'to Sir John Blunden'
Hyland Laurence John	1836	
Kearanghan Maurice	1833	
Kearn Patrick	1833	
Kelly John		
Kennedy James		
Kennedy Michael & Thomas		
Kelly Thomas		
Kirk William	1837	
Landrigan Edmund		
Lowe Edw?	1825	L3 no.49
Mackey James	1832	
Mangan Patrick & Son	1832	to Garranreagh ????
Maher John		
Maher Widow		
Meehan Philip	1836	

McGrath D		
McGrath Denis & Sons	1832	
McGrath Philip	1832	
Magrath Richard		
Maguire Michael		
Meighan Patt		
Millea John	1832	
Millea Widow & Sons	1832	
Moore Thomas	1836	
Moores		
Morris John	1838	
Morris Thomas	1838	
Morrissy James	1838	
Morrissy Nicholas	1838	
Mulloy Patrick	1832	
Nash John		
Nash Richard	1835	
Neill Patrick	1832	
Neill Patrick Knockroe	1832	
News James		
News M		
News Pat		
Noonan Michael		
???????????		
Martin John		hammer
Morrissy James	1835	
Moore Thomas & Geoffrey	1833	
Power Richard		
Price James	1822	
Quanne John	1838	
Quigley John	1822	
Regan Maurice		
Roach Thomas	1825	
Roe Thomas	1832, 38	

Riddy Michael	1832	
Ryan Maurice		
Ryan Michael	1832	
Ryan Pat		
Ryan Pierse	1836	
Sexton Andrew	1833	
Shea Walter		
Shea Thomas		
Sullivan Daniel	1832	
Sullivan James & Son	1832	
Tobin James		
Young William		
Walsh Billy		
Walsh John		
Walsh Laurence	1832	
Walsh Patrick	1832	
Walsh William		
Whelan John		
Whelan John	1832	can write 'Phelan' s 15 48
Whelan James		
Wheley Thomas	1837, 32	
Whyte Richard		

Source: Carmen and Horse Hire listing abstracted from Laurence Hyland's ledgers (HP)

APPENDIX V

Family names listed as carmen in Laurence Hyland's ledgers, which were also recorded in Griffith's Valuation within the immediate area of the slate quarry.

Barry

Bourke

Butler

Byrne

Cahill

Carroll

Cleary

Connolly/Connelly

Denn

Donnell

Dulhanty

Fitzpatrick

Fogarty

Fox

Grace

Harney

Hawe

Hennebry

Hyland

Kearns

Kelly

Kennedy

Kick/Kickham

Mackey

Maher

Meehan/Meighan

Magrath/McGrath

Moore Morrissy

Mulloy

Neill
News/Nugent
Power
Riddy/Reddy
Sexton
Shea
Sullivan
Tobin
Walsh
Whelan/ Wheley

Source: abstracted from Laurence Hyland's ledgers (HP) and Griffith's Valuation.

APPENDIX VI

Clients of Hyland for slate who were mayors of Kilkenny city with the dates of their mayoralty

No	Mayoralty	Mayor
1	1801	Sir John Blunden
2	1819	William Hartford
3	1821	Henry Gore
4	1823	William Baily
5	1824	Joseph Greene
6	1828	Nathaniel Alcock
7	1831	William Robertson
8	1832	Thomas Cronyn
9	1833	John McCraith
10	1834	William Grace
11	1835	Parr Kingsmill
12	1836	Redmond Reade
13	1837	Richard Sullivan
14	1840	Lewis C. Kinchela
15	1843	James Burnham
16	1844	Edmond Smithwick

Dates of mayoralty abstracted from ‘The sovereigns and mayors of Kilkenny city 1282-2003 (www.kilkennycity.ie) (14 Oct. 2009)

APPENDIX VII

Extract from a Mount Warrington ledger

Leger B3 28

Balance of Fourth Season

Commencing June 6 1841

Repairs	£240	17	6		
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Grain				£4366	6 10
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Feints and Grinding				£195	9 0
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Cost of Manufacture

Coals Kilkenny	490 19 2 Tons			£499	0 9 ½
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Sea Coal	80			£92	0 0
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570 19 2

Rent				£200	
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Labourers				£207	6 2
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J. Kavanagh Cooper				£18	13 0
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T. Kavanagh Cooper				£2	14 0
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W. Byrne Coppersmith				£4	3 0
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Carriage of Whiskey & Fodder				£30	14 2
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Magennis Ropes				£3	9 7 ½
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Sundries				£48	0 11
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Salaries John Dennis Dist				£40	0 0
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J. D. Miller Dist	£75	0	0
Clerks Joseph Rothe	£16	0	0
Michl Butler	£6	1	6
Jas O'Neill	£46	0	0
Rich Furniss	£21	6	8

Source: Abstracted from Richard P. Hyland's ledgers (HP)

APPENDIX VIII

Whiskey sold to 1 April 1844

Sales Book	25631 ½ gallons	£9027 17 8
Sold in Store 9755 sent to store	9884	3654 15 9 ½
	35515 ½ per gal (7/1 ¾)	12682 13 5 ½
Deduct duty paid per gallon	4s. /2d.	7427 0 3
Short price	2 s. /11d. ½	5255 13 2 ½
Whiskey on hands distillery	9 casks 1050 gal	
store	1161 gals	
	111	4/2
		241 17 6
		5497 10 8 ½

Source: Abstracted from Richard P. Hyland's ledger (HP).

APPENDIX IX

Railway share account of John P. Hyland 1854-8

50 shares at three pound five shillings and eight pence of				
<u>Waterford and Tramore railway shares.</u> ¹		£	s.	d.
1854				
July 12	to 50 shares at £3 5s. 8d.	181	5	0
	Stamps and fees	1	5	0
	Commission	3	2	6
Dec 15	Second call of £2 10 0 on 50 shares	<u>125</u>	0	0
		310	12	6
1856	to original cost	310	12	6
Jan 7	to third call of 50/ per share	<u>125</u>	0	0
1857				
July 14	to final call of 30/ per share	<u>75</u>	0	0
		510	12	6 ²
1855				
April 20	By div. 3/ per share 6 mo's end 30 Dec 1854	7	10	0
Oct 18	By div. 2/ per share, 6 mo's end 30 June 1855		0	0
	By present of 50 shares	<u>300</u>	0	0
		<u>312</u>	10	0
1856				
April 19	By div. 4/ p share 6 mo's end 30 Dec 1855	100	0	0
1857				
April 25	By div. 3/ per share 12 mo's end 30 Dec 1856	7	10	0
1858				
April 17	By div. 3/ p share 12 mo's end 30 Dec 1857	10	0	0 ³

¹ 12 July 1854 A2 2 JPH (HP).

² A2 2 JPH (HP).

³ A3 3 JPH (HP).

Waterford and Kilkenny Railway Shares⁴

1854 DR

June 26	To 50 shares at 4/ ¾	237	10	0
	“ Stamp and fees	1	12	6
	“ Commission	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>
		245	7	6

1858 CR⁵

Jany 11	By 19 Shares sold @ 4 1/8	41	5	0
16	By 10 Do @ 3/ ¾	37	10	0

Cork and Bandon Railway Shares

1854 DR

To 50 original shares at 12 3/8	618	15	0
Stamps and fees	3	12	6
Commission	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>
	628	12	6

1855

July 19	To 1 st call of two pounds on 50 preference Shares of £5 each	<u>100</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
1858		728	12	0
July 20	To final call of £3 on 50 preference shares	<u>150</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
		878	12	6

1857 CR

April 23	By dividends for 6 mo's end 30 th Dec 1856 On 50 preference shares less income tax	6	11	0
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1858

April 10	By dividend on Preference Shares	7	5	7
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Dublin and Wicklow Railway Shares⁶

⁴ A3 6 JPH (HP).

⁵ A3 7 JPH (HP).

⁶ A3 14 JPH (HP).

1854 DR					
June 26	To 50 shares at 6 ¾		337	10	0
28	“ 50 do do		337	10	0
	“ Stamp and fee		3	12	6
	“ Commission		<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>
1855			684	17	6
June 30	To call of £ 1. 10. 0 on 100 shares		<u>150</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
			834	17	6
1858 CR ⁷					
March 21	By dividend 2/ per share		10	0	0

Source: abstracted from John P. Hyland's ledgers (HP).

⁷ A3 15 JPH (HP).

APPENDIX X

Clonmoran library listing (partial)

Arabian Nights (2vols, London, 1808) ii.

Camden, William, (Guilielmo Camdeno), *Annales Rerum Gestarum Angliae et Hiberniae Regnante Elizabetha* (London, 1615).

Clark, Samuel, *Homer illias Graece et Latine* (edito tertia, London, 1780).

Debates relative to the affairs of Ireland in the years 1763 and 1764 taken by a military officer (2 vols, London, 1766).

Doyle, James (J.K.L.), *Letters on the state of Ireland* (Dublin, 1825).

Encyclopaedia Britannica (Dublin, 1801).

Evans, G. W. D. , *Lanzi's history of painting in upper and lower Italy* (2 vols, London, 1831).

Goldsmith, Lewis, *The secret history of the cabinet of Bonaparte*, (3rd ed., London, 1810).

Grose, Francis *Antiquities of Ireland* (2 vols, 1791) ii.

Guthrie, William, *Modern Geography* (2 vols, London, 1795).

Healy, William, *History and antiquities of Kilkenny* (Kilkenny, 1893)

Hogan, John, *Kilkenny* (Kilkenny, 1884).

Life of William III late king of England and prince of Orange (London, 1703).

MacNevin, Thomas, *The speeches of the right honourable Richard Lalor Shiel* (Dublin, 1845).

Madan, M., *Translation of the satires of Juvenal* (Dublin, 1791).

Montesquieu, Charles, *The spirit of laws* (2 vols, Dublin, 1751) (For G. and A. Ewing, in Dame-street, and G. Faulkner in Essex-street).

Motorcycling 30 Mar. 1915.

- Murray, P. J., *The life of John Banim* (London, 1857).
- Mure, Andrew, *Recent improvements in arts, manufactures, and mines* (2nd ed., London, 1845).
- O'Connell's centenary record* (1878).
- O'Conor, Matthew, *The history of the Irish Catholics* (Dublin, 1813).
- O'Curry, Eugene, *Lectures on the manuscripts materials of ancient of Irish history* (2nd ed., Dublin, 1873).
- O'Farrelly, Agnes, *Leabhar an Athar Eoghan* (1903).
- Ogilvie John (ed) *The Imperial Dictionary* (2 vols, London, 1851).
- Pocket Missal* (Cork printed, 1805)
- Poetical works of Wordsworth* (Halifax, 1859).
- Richardson, J., *Statistical estimates of the materials of brewing* (Dublin, 1784).
- Rollin, Charles, *The methods of teaching and studying the belles lettres* (2nd ed., Dublin, 1737).
- Ruskin, John, *The stones of Venice* (3 Vols, London, 1853) iii.
- Selections from the writings of John Ruskin 1843-60* (5th ed., London, 1900).
- Sermons: on several occasions* (6th ed., 6 vols, Dublin, 1803) printed for the Methodist Book-Room, no. 13 White-friar street, by John Jones, no. 90, Bride-street, and fold at the Methodist preaching- houses in town and country.
- Sexton, A. E., *Manual of marine engineering* (London, 1895).
- The miscellaneous works of Oliver Goldsmith* (5vols., London, 1806).
- The poetical register and repository of fugitive poetry* (London, 1803).
- The penny encyclopaedia* (London, 1835).
- The works of W. M. Thackeray* (12 vols, London, 1872), xii.
- Trusler, John, *Hogarth moralized* (?).
- Ure, Andrew, *Recent improvements in arts manufactures & mines* (2nd ed.,

London, 1845).

Youatt, William *Cattle; their breeds, management and diseases* (2nd ed., London, 1867)

_____, *Sheep; their breeds, management and diseases* (2nd ed., London, 1866)

Wakefield, Edward, *An account of Ireland statistical and political* (2 vols, London, 1812), i.

Warburton, J. and Whitelaw, J. and Walsh Robert, *History of the city of Dublin* (2 vols, Dublin, 1818).

Waverley novels (vols, Edinburgh, 1842).

White, James, *A compendious dictionary of the veterinary art* (2nd ed., London, 1830).

Source: partial listing of books at Clonmoran compiled by the author.

APPENDIX XI

Hyland genealogy

The ledgers and the vast majority of the papers for this study were those of **Laurence** Hyland and his two sons **Richard P.** and **John P.** This note shows the basic family relationships.

Richard Hylan (d. 1821) (m. Bridget Power)

Their son:

Laurence (c. 1778-1843) m. Eleanor Walsh (c. 1789-1869)

Laurence had two sisters Mary and Catherine and a brother Michael (c. 1792-1854) whose daughter Fanny sued J. G. Biggar.

Eleanor had five sisters

Eleanor's nephew was John Carroll (c.1809-86)

Laurence and Eleanor's Family were:

Richard P. (c. 1818-54)

John P. (1827-1917) (m. M. J. Hearne)

_____ (m. Elizabeth Potter)

Their daughter Margaret m. **Patrick Cogan O'Gorman** (c. 1824-87)

Their daughters Marianne and Mary Brigid entered the Ursuline Convent.

Their daughter Catherine seemed to have eloped.

Their son William died in Australia

John P. and Elizabeth's Family were:

Richard J. (1867-1951) (m. M. A. Harrison)

Their other children were Willie, Lawrence, (Fr.) John, Henry, Francis, (Sr.) Margaret, May, (Sr.) Eleanor and Alice