URBAN MORPHOLOGY, SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY AND THE ECONOMICS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT: KILKENNY CITY, 1861-1922

by

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Acknowledgements

A PhD is quite like an Odyssey in the classical sense. You initially set sail on what you think will be a straightforward voyage and inevitably find yourself shipwrecked and wondering if in fact you will ever get home. The perils and pitfalls encountered along the route of the PhD Odyssey are in general only overcome with the generous help and assistance of a variety of people. While the research is at times quite solitary it is also an opportunity for self-reflection and learning for example, how can I overcome this gap in the records? Who do I talk to about referencing this obscure private bill? Who do I know that has any idea what this means? In short, a thesis is not possible without the people that ultimately surround you while it consumes your life.

My supervisor Dr Jacinta Prunty deserves a very special thank you. Her dedication and patience was inspiring. I also need to express my thanks to all the members of the Department of History, Maynooth University, who were always encouraging, supportive and generous with their time with a particular thank you to Professor Raymond Gillespie. I would also like to thank Ann Donoghue and Catherine Heslin, executive assistants with the Department of History, for their unfailing support and for fielding requests and queries with patience and good humour.

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Abbreviations

CR	Corporation Records
DLGPH	Department of Local Government and Public Health
HC	House of Commons
HL	House of Lords
HLPO	House of Lords Parliamentary Office
IHTA	Irish Historic Towns Atlas
KAS	Kilkenny Archaeological Society
KCA	Kilkenny Corporation Archive
KCL	Kilkenny County Library
LGB	Local government board
NAI	National Archives of Ireland
NLI	National Library of Ireland
OS	Ordnance Survey
PB	Private Bill
PO	Parliamentary Office
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
VO	Valuation Office

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Introduction
Urban morphology, social geography and the economics of local government, Kilkenny city 1861 to 1922

Affixed to official correspondence issued by the corporation of Kilkenny city in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was a seal. The Latin inscription translates as 'the common seal of the citizens of Kilkenny' and was adopted sometime in the thirteenth century.[1] The corporation of Irishtown, abolished in 1840, also had a seal that translates as 'the common seal of the Kilkenny citizens of the See of Ossory'. Each was crafted to carry a particular, but different, message. The seal of Hightown displays gated towers guarded by armed soldiers and a coat of arms bearing the 'cognisance of the de Clares'.[2] In the medieval period it would have indicated to anyone seeing it that Kilkenny was a well-defended, strongly fortified town. In contrast with this is the seal of Irishtown that shows a stylised view of the cathedral of St Canice.
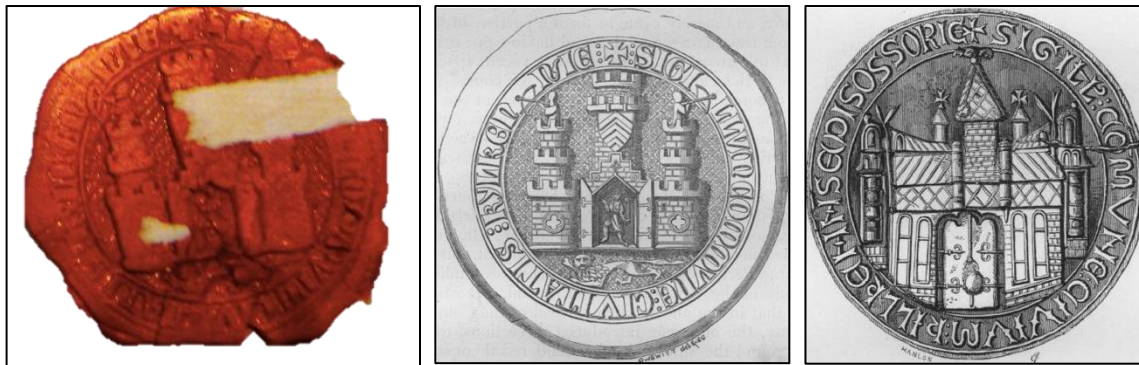
Figure i: The seal of Kilkenny corporation, taken from an undated nineteenth-century letter in correspondence between Kilkenny corporation and the Lords of treasury; an engraving taken from Prim's article on corporation property; and the seal of the corporation of Irishtown.[3]

The seals of both Irishtown and Hightown show features that were focal points of Kilkenny's development: the cathedral as the site of the original settlement, as well as the town walls and defences that ultimately enclosed the medieval town. In this, the designs are similar to those found on town seals across northern Europe, in which stylised local landmarks were quite common.[4] In the medieval period, seals also allowed town governments to act as legal corporate bodies with their principal function being to legitimise corporate documents.[5] Kilkenny corporation fulfilled the role of town government, under a variety of guises, until its ultimate abolition in 2014.

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[1] John G.A. Prim, 'The corporation insignia and olden civic state of Kilkenny' in *The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Society of Ireland*, i, no. 1 (1870), pp 280-305.

[2] Ibid., p. 301.

[3] Courtney Deery heritage consultancy, Kilkenny masterplan archaeological framework, unpublished (2015), p. 21.

[4] Elizabeth New, *Seals and sealing practices*, British Records Association, Archives and the User, no. 11 (London, 2010), p. 77.

[5] Ibid., pp 75-8.

This thesis begins with an analysis of the factors that led to Kilkenny's development and looks at its urban growth prior to 1861. It shows how elements of its early urban form, represented on these seals, influenced the later-nineteenth and twentieth-century city. As they were attached to civic documents they also represented the authority of local government.

Thesis aims and structure

Any history of an urban area ultimately tells the story of the people who lived there. This thesis is essentially a micro-history of Kilkenny city over the study period; it projects beyond histories based on national events and examines the lives of the ordinary citizens of the city, where and how they lived. Kilkenny city is both small enough to make this approach valid while having ample material to make the study original. This local approach is supported, where possible, by comparative examples from other corporate towns particularly concerning corporation finances and patterns of urban tenure.

This thesis is based on a large and varied body of original documents, many used here for the first time; including the records of central and local government, held locally, nationally and also records held in the United Kingdom. The key concept holding the thesis together is urban morphology. In terms of methodology, the analysis of large-scale maps is key to understanding changes in the layout of the city. The rationale behind these changes is sought and the reasons presented.

A number of key concepts derived from the work of M.R.G. Conzen that underpin the thesis are introduced in chapter one, including the burgage cycle and fixation lines. This first chapter is essentially a town-plan analysis, albeit limited to the key morphological developments up to 1861. It discusses agency and looks at the idea that individuals or bodies with civic responsibilities had the power to effect change in the city, a theme that is carried forward throughout the thesis.

The second chapter focuses on the Kilkenny Markets Act of 1861. This act allowed the single major morphological change to the city in the study period. The rationale behind this project is examined, as is its morphological effect. The long-term impact of the new markets on the finances of local government is studied and how the corporation acted to improve the city. Essentially, this chapter demonstrates the ties between legislation, land use and local government. It also poses key questions such as was there a need for this market? How was it financed? How much money was borrowed to finance it? Who was behind it and how was this private bill passed? The plans and reference material held in the House of Lords private bills office are utilised in this exploration.[6]

Chapter three is an overview of the historical importance, and morphology, of woollen manufacturing and milling in Kilkenny. The morphological changes to the Ormonde Mills and parts of the Green's Bridge mill complexes are discussed in conjunction with the archaeological evidence. The re-use of urban space is again examined here as a number of premises saw changes of use, for example, the Ormonde (Castle) mills saw a change of use from corn to wool.[7] The role of land reclamation in the construction of these complexes is also questioned. Evidence for this comes from the detailed archaeological excavations carried out in 2000 on Mill Island and the Green's Bridge mills and part of the Ormonde mill complex further downriver. This combination of topographical, archaeological, documentary and cartographic sources builds on the methodology used in chapter one in a study of the woollen manufacturing and mills of Kilkenny city. Finally, a review of the number of people involved in woollen manufacturing and milling between 1861 and 1922 is presented to see if the decline evident in the townscape is matched by declining employment in industrial occupations.

Chapter four looks at urban tenure and the social geography of two of Kilkenny's suburbs, Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill. By 1885, on a national level, there was increasing agitation for legislative reform of urban tenure to match the on-going reform of rural tenancies. This culminated in the formation of the House League that operated over a very short-term, primarily in Longford and parts of the south of Ireland, between 1885 and 1886.[8]

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[6] An Act to authorize the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of Kilkenny to make a General Market in the city of Kilkenny; and for other Purposes, 1861 (HLPO, Private Bills, HL/PO/PB/1/1861) this is an annotated copy of the act, hereafter Kilkenny Market Act; Kilkenny general market 1861 plan, section, book of reference, gazette notice, list of owners, lessees and occupiers, estimate and declaration, 1861 (HLPO, PB/3/plan1861/K2), hereafter Kilkenny Market Act, private bill evidence.
[7] John Bradley, *Kilkenny*, Irish Historic Towns Atlas, no. 10 (Dublin, 2000), p. 7.
[8] Brian Graham and Susan Hood, 'Social protest in late nineteenth-century Irish towns: the House League movement' in *Irish Geography*, xxix, no. 1 (1996), p. 2.

While the House League was not active locally in Kilkenny it did result in a parliamentary inquiry commencing in 1886.[9] This inquiry sat over three sessions of parliament between 1886 and 1888 and examined Irish evidence relating to urban tenure.[10] Submissions were not received from Kilkenny city or county but there is extensive evidence from Waterford, Cork, Clonmel, Dublin, Galway, Wexford town, New Ross and numerous other urban centres.[11] This thesis sets out to see if urban tenure in Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill in terms of length of leases and value of rents had parallels elsewhere.

The focus of the fifth chapter is the economics of local government and, by default, the structure of local government. In this chapter, the finances of Kilkenny corporation from 1865 to 1914 are examined. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the corporation had a large income and carried a great number of civic responsibilities. The questions that are raised here are what were the main income strands? Did the corporation maintain these over time? How did it expend its finances? Essentially this chapter asks if the corporation had the finances along with the political ambition to act as an agent of change in the city, and if so, what role did it play?

Annual returns of local taxation make it possible to reconstruct corporation finances in the period from 1865 to 1914 albeit with some gaps. Records become more complete, and detailed, as the study progresses, with the information from 1907 to 1914 being the fullest accounts of corporation finance. Complete local records of corporation finances do not exist; the only means of partially reconstructing them is through these returns, the fragmentary reports in the newspapers and the surviving volumes of the urban sanitary authority.

The role of the corporation in improving the city is reviewed in chapter six which is concerned with sanitation and local government expenditure. This chapter looks at the sanitary state of the city across the study period from 1861 to 1922 and it explores how the corporation acted to improve the city in this regard. Only partial accounts exist in the newspapers concerning sanitation, mostly commentary taken from meetings of the corporation. Information directly concerning sanitation from the earlier part of the century is contained in the various minute books of Kilkenny corporation. The archive of Kilkenny corporation also contains several

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[9] *Report from the select committee on town holdings together with the proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence and appendix*, H.C. 1886 (213), xii, 367.
[10] *Report from the select committee on town holdings together with the proceedings of the committee*, H.C. 1889 (251), xv, 1.
[11] Ibid., pp 252-4, 302, 485.

volumes from the second half of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, relating to the work of the urban sanitary authority.[12]

Chapter seven returns explicitly to the theme of urban form but relying on some non-traditional sources for this particular analysis. The large-scale OS five-foot plans utilised in the first chapter are at least thirty years out of date by the turn of the nineteenth century. Changes to the plots and streetscape between 1871 and 1901 are therefore more difficult to ascertain from maps alone. In order to bridge this lacuna this chapter combines extracts from the available OS twenty-five-inch plans with photographs from the Lawrence collection held in the National Library of Ireland to produce a morphological analysis of Kilkenny towards the end of the study period. The final chapter also refers back to the concepts of agency and agents of change used earlier. This idea, first introduced by Jeremy Whitehand, has seen a number of recent developments such as in the volume by Peter Larkham and Michael Conzen (eds) in 2014.[13]

Relevant architectural information is also presented using available guides to the architecture of Kilkenny city such as the work of Katherine Lanigan and Gerald Tyler and the more recent information from the extensive architectural database available on buildingsofirleand.ie.[14] The seminal works of Robin Butlin and Paul Shaffrey are complemented by recent work on architecture by Rolf Loeber. These are used to provide context to the study in terms of the decline of Irish towns in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[15] It is necessary to examine the architecture in this fashion and, by extension, the building form, fabric and functions, as this is one of the components of Conzenian town-plan analysis as discussed in chapter one.[16]

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[12] Urban sanitary authority minute books, 1875-6 (KCA, CR, E1, June 1875 to Dec. 1876). The location of most of these volumes is unknown, hereafter, KCA, CR, E1.

[13] Peter Larkham and Michael Conzen (eds), *Shapers of urban form: explorations in morphological agency* (New York, 2014).

[14] Katherine Lanigan and Gerald Tyler (eds), *Kilkenny, its architecture and history* (2nd ed., Belfast, 1987); Buildings of Ireland, 'buildingsofireland.ie', www.buildingsofireland.ie/niah/search.jsp?type=search&county=KK&method=advanced (accessed 12 Mar. 2016).

[15] Paul Shaffrey, *The Irish town* (Dublin, 1975); R.A. Butlin (ed.), *The development of the Irish town* (London, 1977); Rolf Loeber, *Art and architecture of Ireland, volume iv, Irish architecture: 1600 to 2000*, iv (Dublin, 2014).

[16] M.R.G. Conzen, 'Alnwick, Northumberland: a study in town plan analysis' in *Transactions and Papers (Institute of British Geographers)*, no. 27 (2nd ed., 1969), pp 1-131.

Research Methodologies

Quantitative analysis

Quantitative analysis is utilised throughout this thesis; for example, chapter five is concerned with the economics of local government. This chapter uses a series of tables that are based on the annual reports of local government finances. This chapter is a quantitative and statistical analysis of the corporation's income and expenditure. It also uses a formula to convert pounds, shillings and pence into a decimal value for ease of statistical analysis.[17] Pat Hudson's *History by numbers* provides the frameworks in terms of models and types of analysis and allows for the appropriate ones to be chosen.[18] Another excellent introductory text is Mark Freeman's *Quantitative skills for historians*.[19]

Irish historians have made extensive use of economic analysis but few provide detailed economic analytical models. Cormac Ó Gráda's work on the Irish economy goes some way to helping in this regard.[20] Brian Gurrin's *A century of struggle in Delgany and Kilcoole* makes extensive, thorough and detailed use of census information, poll tax, hearth rolls and parish registers amongst other sources and provides an excellent series of tables, charts and graphs that have been used as models for the current study.[21]

Town-plan analysis

Town-plan analysis is a methodology developed by Conzen and put forward in his seminal article on Alnwick.[22] It involves a systematic analysis of large-scale cartographic material at scales large enough to show individual plots and plan units as well as examining the streets and streetscape, the buildings and their individual plots and the pattern of urban land use. The theory behind this approach is that the shape of the streets and plots, as depicted on a large-scale plan, can show evidence for the origins and growth of a town or city.[23] The actual techniques involved in a town-plan analysis have been summarised by Keith Lilley.[24] What is termed the Conzenian approach is not without its critics. There is, for example, no aid provided in the selection of individual streets or plots or in fact what large-scale plans to use. It is up to the individual researcher to decide what to include or leave out; it is, therefore, subjective,

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[17] In the formula used b is set to pounds, c to shillings and d to pence. It simply gives the decimal equivalent, for example, =ROUND((B3+C3/20+D3/240),2).

[18] Pat Hudson, *History by number's, an introduction to quantitative approaches* (London, 2000).

[19] Mark Freeman, *Quantitative skills for historians* (Warwick, 2010).

[20] Cormac Ó Gráda, *Ireland: a new economic history* (Oxford, 1995).

[21] Brian Gurrin, *A century of struggle in Delgany and Kilcoole: an explanation of the social implications of population change in north-east Wicklow 1666 to 1779* (Dublin, 2000).

[22] Conzen, 'Alnwick, Northumberland', pp 1-131.

[23] Keith Lilley, 'Mapping the medieval city: plan analysis and urban history' in *Urban History*, xxvii, no. 1 (2007), p. 7.

[24] Ibid., pp 11-16.

experiential and to some extent intuitive.[25] Familiarity with the history of a town or city goes some way towards overcoming these limitations. Other issues with plan analysis concern the need to frame it in wider terms and to use established documentary evidence to support the claims or findings of the research.[26] Some of the problems that can be associated with this methodology are evident in Pat Dargan's plan analysis of Kilkenny, for example, where he includes the Market Yard as part of the Anglo-Norman burgage series when its imposition on the town plan warrants its inclusion as a plan unit in its own right. His choice of cartographic material for instance does not make use of the nineteenth-century printed and manuscript OS five-foot plans, instead starting with Rocque's plan of 1758 and using the OS twenty-five-inch plan of 1946 and the 1:1000 OS plan of 1995. [27] A better choice for a base plan for an analysis of this type would be the OS five-foot plans of 1841 and 1871 as they are both more detailed and accurate than Rocque. Bearing these critiques in mind, town-plan analysis when conducted carefully, and relying on a wide range of cartographic, topographic, documentary and archaeological sources, is a valid approach to studying the origins of an urban settlement. The techniques of plan analysis are used throughout this thesis.

A number of key technical terms based on town-plan analysis used throughout this thesis are derived from the work of Conzen, Lilley and Karl Kropf. The most common terms used are provided as Appendix 1. One of the more critical concepts of plan analysis, as it defines the majority of the plots in the city, is the burgage cycle that is discussed below.

The burgage cycle

The burgage cycle is one of the classic concepts of town-plan analysis and Conzenian urban morphology.[28] It is also succinctly described in *Reading the maps: a guide to the Irish Historic Towns Atlas*.[29] The importance of the burgage cycle to the urban morphology of Kilkenny is a recurring theme in this study. Essentially, the burgage cycle covers foundation, growth, decline, regrowth and reuse of a plot over time.[30] This can be traced through cartographic, topographic, documentary and archaeological sources. One of the characteristic features of Anglo-Norman towns in Ireland, England, Wales and Gascony is the burgage plot; they are also

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[25] Ibid., p. 15.

[26] Lilley, 'Urban landscapes and the cultural politics of territorial control in Anglo-Norman England' in *Landscape Research*, xiv, no. 1 (1999), p. 8.

[27] Pat Dargan, *The Norman town in Ireland*, T.R. Slater (ed.), urban morphology research monograph 4 (Birmingham, 1997), pp 4-15.

[28] Conzen, 'Alnwick, Northumberland', pp 123-4.

[29] Conzen, 'The use of town plans in the study of urban history' in H.J. Dyos (ed.), *The study of urban history* (London, 1968); Conzen, 'Alnwick, Northumberland', pp 1-131; Jacinta Prunty and Howard Clarke, *Reading the maps: A guide to the Irish Historic Towns Atlas* (Dublin, 2011), pp 83-92.

[30] Conzen, 'The use of town plans in the study of urban history', pp 118-19; Conzen, 'Alnwick, Northumberland', pp 29-34.

present in the Scottish burghs. They tend to present as long, narrow linear features. For Kilkenny, as stipulated in the charter of 1207, these were approximately 20 feet in width. This is also seen at New Ross and is identical to the width of recently excavated plots in Wroclaw, Poland.[31] For Drogheda, which was a new foundation, they were 50 feet in width.[32] Linear property plots of this type were not uniquely Anglo-Norman though. Work on excavations in Dublin has shown that the Viking town also displayed similar characteristics.[33] The burgage cycle is very significant to the development of the city. The cycle of use and reuse of the plots continues to the present day. Properties along the original burgage plots still have a narrow frontage and depth, with the exception of development that has amalgamated plots, the burgage cycle is referred to throughout this thesis. These long narrow plots characteristic of medieval urban settlement originally served as gardens or yards for workshops where fruit or vegetables could be grown or animals could be kept. Over time, these plots were built on and eventually the burgage plot was entirely built over before the cycle would start over. There are numerous examples of this in the case of Kilkenny city.

Archaeology

This thesis makes use of archaeological excavation reports. Archaeology is an important part of plan analysis and any study of a town with medieval origins needs to take it into account.[34] Kilkenny is particularly fortuitous in this regard as a result of the Kilkenny archaeological project (KKAP), which has produced a summary report on all the excavations within the city between 1968 and 2006.[35] This report is accompanied by a database that contains most of the unpublished reports of all 212 excavations that took place over this period. Individual excavation reports are used throughout chapters one and three to support traditional documentary, cartographic and topographic evidence. This database is available in the offices

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[31] Cóilín Ó Drisceoil, '*Pons novus, villa Willielmi Marescalli*: New Ross a town of William Marshal' in John Bradley, Cóilín Ó Drisceoil and Michael Potterton (eds), *William Marshal and Ireland* (Dublin, 2016), pp 283, 286-9; Anngret Simms, 'Paradigm shift: from town foundation to town formation, the scope of Historic Towns Atlases under the crossfire of archaeological research' in Wilfried Ehbrecht (ed.), *Stadteatlanten vier jahrzehnte Atlasarbeit in Europa* (Cologne, 2013), p. 231.

[32] Howard Clarke, 'Planning and regulation in the formation of new towns and new quarters in Ireland, 1170-1641' in Simms and Clarke (eds), *Lords and towns in medieval Europe: the European historic towns atlas project* (Farnham, 2015), p. 323; Simms, 'Urban corporate governance and the shaping of medieval towns' in Larkham and Conzen (eds), *Shapers of urban form: explorations in morphological agency* (New York, 2014), pp 68-9; Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, p. 2.

[33] Simms, 'Urban corporate governance', pp 64-5.

[34] Bradley 'The role of town plan analysis in the study of the medieval Irish town' in T.R. Slater (ed.), *The built form of western cities: essays for M.R.G. Conzen on the occasion of his 80th birthday* (Leicester, 1990), p. 40.

[35] Kilkenny archaeological project, www.kkap.ie/assets/kkap_final_report_161208.pdf (accessed 22 Dec. 2016).

of Kilkenny Archaeology ltd and a copy was made available to the author for research purposes.[36]

Primary Sources

Records of local and central government

Kilkenny corporation

There are three surviving catalogues of the records of Kilkenny corporation contemporary with the study period. One is currently missing from the archive, a second is a short list of the older records appended to a schedule of leases, and the third is a printed catalogue from 1916 that references material not currently available.[37] The civic documents relating to Kilkenny corporation were catalogued in 1988 by Honora Faul.[38] This most recent catalogue concentrates almost solely on the important civic documents, leases, deeds, charters and minute books. It contains little information pertaining to the various committees referenced in the minute books such as the market committee. The location of the bulk of these committee records is unknown. The catalogue, a copy of which is in the author's possession, also lists some documents as missing that are in fact still extant and have been viewed.[39]

There are also significant lacunae in the Faul catalogue; it does not list any cartographic material, despite this material being listed in the earlier 1916 catalogue. This is partly due to the fact that the corporation, correctly considering their function as the effective city managers, view maps as working documents. Many of the maps are likely attached to current files relating to social housing and other projects in the city.[40]

Faul's catalogue, extensive and thorough as it is, does not represent the entirety of the records in the possession of the corporation. There is material that is either uncatalogued or that forms part of its day-to-day working files. Some of this material in the form of uncatalogued documents relating to the waterworks scheme constructed by 1906 was generously made

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[36] The database was made available on cd to the author, and the help of Kilkenny Archaeology ltd in this regard is gratefully acknowledged.

[37] Patrick Watters, Concise history of the corporation with catalogue of its ancient charters, grants and minute books, 1878 (KCA, CR, H6), this item is missing; Schedule of leases of the corporation of Kilkenny, 1878 (KCA, CR, O1 folios 10 to 11), hereafter Schedule of leases, 1878, KCA, CR, O1; Francis Doheny, *Catalogue of leases deeds minute books and charters etc. of the Kilkenny corporation 1916* (Kilkenny, 1916), hereafter Doheny, *Catalogue of leases*, 1916.

[38] Honora Faul, Catalogue of Kilkenny corporation (unpublished, 1988).

[39] For example, the corporation minute book of 1861 is listed as missing but has been viewed by the author.

[40] Personal Communication Brian Tyrrell, Senior executive engineer, Kilkenny county council, 4 Mar. 2015.

available for this thesis.[41] This includes a copy of the by-laws relating to sanitation, a report from the local government board from 1902 on the sanitary state of the city and a detailed breakdown of the wages of the sanitary staff.

As the records of Kilkenny corporation are referenced in every chapter in this thesis an explanation of their holdings is warranted. The bias inherent in these records is also discussed. There is a bias of preservation: some records were carefully preserved and kept safe and others seem to have been discarded or remain uncatalogued. There is also a bias in terms of what was actually recorded, in the minute books for example. In the latter half of the nineteenth century these accounts are quite terse concentrating on the business of the meetings in terms of what was on the agenda and listing the members present. Newspaper reports were found to be of more benefit than the minute books of the corporation as they tended towards seemingly verbatim accounts of the meetings of the corporation. Both sources need to be used in conjunction with each other. Many of the records tell only one side of the story, that of the corporation and its members. It is an archive that while intrinsic to this study needs to be supplemented by other sources.

The membership of the corporation over the study period also needs to be considered. Prior to local government reform in 1898 it had a very small electorate, consisting of ratepayers of £10 or above. By 1876, for instance, there were only 272 individuals eligible to elect members to the corporation using this criteria.[42] Its members were shopkeepers, justices of the peace and consisted of the upper classes of the city. There is every likelihood that the members of the corporation were concerned with their own vested interests, a point that needs to be kept in mind. John Scott covers this point arguing that 'many official documents are based on a political interest in presenting one view over another'.[43] This evidence, therefore, has to be handled in the knowledge of its particular or likely bias.

Some of the relatively rare or unique documents in the corporation archive that are used in this thesis include the book of fee farms and leases, a small notebook of deeds, the typescript records relating to the markets and market rights and a minute book of the urban sanitary authority, among others. The book of fee farms and leases is critical to any understanding of how it acquired its lucrative property portfolio by the start of the study period. This is a vellum bound

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[41] The help and assistance of Brian Tyrrell in making the uncatalogued records relating to sanitation available is gratefully acknowledged.
[42] *Kilkenny Moderator*, 2 Nov. 1876.
[43] John Scott, *A matter of record* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 23.

volume dating to the sixteenth century.[44] It is a summary of approximately 500 leases between the corporation and citizens of Kilkenny and others from *circa* 1582 to 1653. It also outlines how the corporation gained grants of significant church lands following the Reformation and the dissolution of the monasteries. Furthermore, the last section of the book is a transcript of the agreement reached between the corporation and the duke of Ormonde on 9 February 1676/7.[45] The value of this piece is that it lists the particular properties over which the corporation and the duke had been at loggerheads following the Cromwellian resettlement of the city. This is important in the light of the development of the Parade and the city's market rights discussed in chapters one and two. While a thorough analysis of the book of fee farms and leases is outside the scope of the current work, it is nevertheless vital to understand the importance of this volume and to be familiar with its content. The last section was transcribed by Bradley for an article published in 2006.[46]
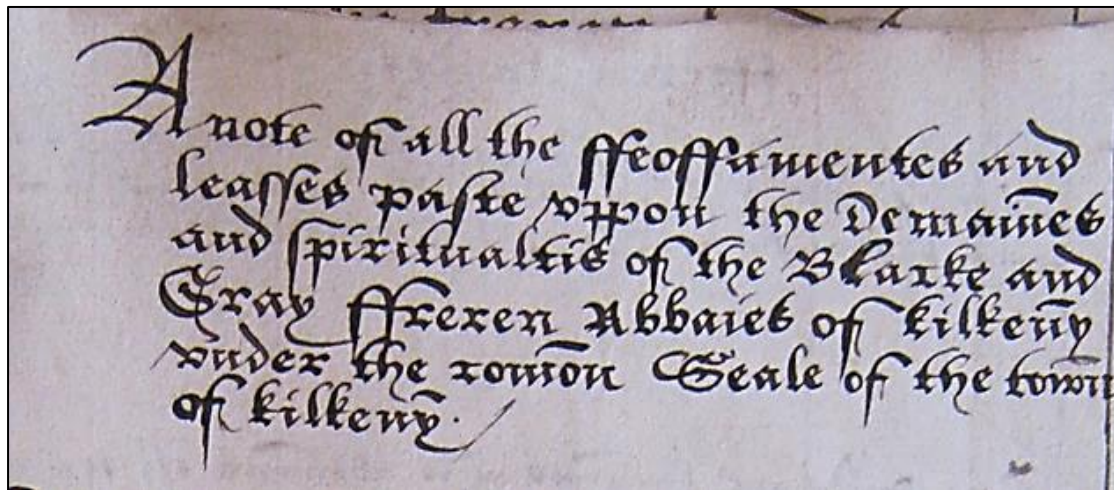
Figure ii: Extract from the book of fee farms and leases. This is the heading over the section noting all the leases held by the 'Blacke and Gray ffreren Abbaies' (Dominicans and Franciscans) dated to 1582.[47]

Somewhat anomalous in the corporation archive is small volume referred to as 'a notebook containing summaries of deeds.' It is unusual in that it does not refer specifically to corporation property or corporation business. It is a small, unpaginated hardbound notebook with 44 pages of handwritten summaries of deeds and leases with the earliest entry dating to 9 July 1796. While it does not mention the corporation specifically, it does give detail on a significant

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[44] Bradley, *The treasures of Kilkenny: charters and civic records of Kilkenny city* (Kilkenny, 2003), p. 46.
[45] Until 1752, the New Year began on 25 March in Britain and Ireland so while it was 9 Feb. 1676 in Ireland it was 9 Feb. 1677 in Europe as represented here.
[46] Bradley, 'The creation of the parade: Ormond's deal with Kilkenny corporation, 1677' in *Old Kilkenny Review*, lviii (2006), pp 77-116.
[47] Book of fee farms and leases, 1582-1678 (KCA, CR, H2, folio 66 verso), hereafter Book of fee farms and leases, KCA, CR, H2.

number of leases and deeds in the city and is useful both for the topographical information it provides and for the detail on how private leases were handled. In terms of topographical information, for example, it provides the earliest known date for Bluebell Lane that later became Poyntz Lane. The 'notebook of deeds' also contains a number of leases to individuals whose surnames are now associated with those of several lanes in the city, notably, Poyntz, Garde, Evans and Colles. It is possible that these lanes are named after the individuals who became the principal owners or at least leaseholders of the properties situated there, as has been found in Dublin and elsewhere.[48]

The surviving minute books of the urban sanitary authority are also an unusual source. They have not been used in any study of Kilkenny previously, nor do they seem to have been utilised in a national context for other towns and cities. The earliest extant volume is dated 1875-6 with the next dating to 1918 and several more after this point. Uniquely, they contain the weekly minutes of the urban sanitary authority and detail its business in terms of the numbers of inspections made, nuisances reported, what was done to remedy them, and expenditure. The earliest of these minute books forms much of the evidence used in chapter six. The topographical information in this book was indexed in order to determine the number of inspections made and to see where the work of the urban sanitary authority was concentrated. An extract is included as Appendix 6.

Kilkenny corporation was involved in a legal dispute over market rights in the 1960s.[49] As a consequence of this a typescript was prepared from the minute books of all information related to markets in the city from 1775 to 1891. Extracts were also prepared from the charters of 1608, 1609 and 1686/7.[50] While it was necessary in some cases to refer back to the original minute books, where a phrase was unclear for example, the typescripts are for the most part literal copies of the minute books. They are used extensively in chapter two. These typescripts also contain information relative to scavenging and street cleaning that is used in chapter six.

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[48] Prunty, *Dublin slums, 1800-1925: a study in urban geography* (Dublin, 1999), pp 296-8.
[49] Faul, Kilkenny corporation catalogue, p. 76.
[50] Ibid.

Parliamentary Publications

Parliamentary papers are fundamental sources for any history of nineteenth and early twentieth-century Ireland. As the records of central government, parliamentary papers invariably cover many aspects of urban life. Local government, markets, housing, employment and local taxation are amongst the topics covered by parliamentary papers used in this thesis.[51] It should be noted that parliamentary papers are ultimately part of a process designed towards producing legislation or examining a very specific issue and were not intentionally designed as 'transparent sources of information'.[52] Individual extracts need to be viewed in the context of being part of a larger report.

The reports on local taxation commencing in 1865 are of major benefit in reconstructing the city's expenditure throughout the study period. They detail the cost of city maintenance and show exactly how the city cess and other local taxes were spent. In conjunction with local sources these are a very valuable source and one that has rarely been utilised.[53] Reports on the markets detail the history and background to the city's markets both before and after the Kilkenny Markets Act of 1861. As with the reports on local taxation, they are best used in conjunction with local sources in order to get a more complete and accurate portrayal. In terms of analysing employment, population and housing the census material, also published in the parliamentary papers is essential. The select committee on town holdings is another useful source and surprisingly little used in Irish urban studies.

Private bills office, records of the House of Lords

The records of the House of Lords private bills office have rarely if ever been used in any published study of Kilkenny. A private bill is one that 'confers powers or benefits on specific individuals or organisations rather than being of a general public character and applicable to all'.[54] These bills can contain maps, often annotated, and from the 1840s onwards are primarily based on the Ordnance Survey maps. They can also contain lists of owners, occupiers and lessees of any land that was compulsorily purchased under the schemes to which these bills

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[51] For example, *Fairs and Markets Commission, Ireland, Report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the fairs and markets of Ireland*, *Part II Minutes of evidence*, H.C. 1854-5 [1910], xix, 1.

[52] Niall Ó Ciosáin, '114 commissions and 60 committees: phantom figures from a surveillance state' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Section C*, cix (2009), p. 370.

[53] *Local taxation (Ireland) returns. Returns of local taxation in Ireland, for year 1865. Collected and compiled by direction of His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,* H.C. 1867-8 [C. 4081], lviii, 761.

[54] Dorian Gerhold, 'Private bill evidence' in *Witnesses before Parliament: a guide to the database of witnesses in committees on opposed private bills, 1771-1917*, House of Lords Record Office memorandum, no. 85 (London, 1997), p. 2.

relate.[55] These private bills often relate to railways, waterworks and infrastructural works. Of vital importance to the proposed study is the Kilkenny Markets Act of 1861. This is 'An act to authorize the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of Kilkenny to make a General Market in the city of Kilkenny; and for other Purposes'.[56] This act from 1861 essentially gave control of the markets in the city to the corporation. Maps and lists of landowners relevant to the scheme are included in these papers. These papers again help to bridge the gaps in the local records as this topographical information does not survive elsewhere.

Records of the National Archives, treasury files

The correspondence of Kilkenny corporation with the Lords of treasury from 1848 to 1899 uniquely allows outgoing letters and petitions to be examined.[57] Furthermore, due to the nature of the files, the replies from the Lords of treasury and a summary of the decision made is noted on the cover sheet of each separate file. They thus show both sides of the relevant debate. The files were at some stage re-catalogued and are in most cases in reverse chronological order; or entirely out of sequence, making it necessary to reassemble the files using the dated material and the context of the letters. These files also go some way towards filling the gaps in the local municipal records. They allow a better understanding of the internal working of the corporation. They contain information on markets, leases, street and road widening, artisans' dwellings and numerous other topics. They allow for a better explanation about memorials and notices and how local corporations were required to display these publicly prior to commencing public works. The treasury files also contain letters from citizens, with one in particular objecting to the corporation's expenditure under the market act of 1861 signed by several the ratepayers denouncing the markets as a 'useless waste of public money'.[58] While objections to the markets act are noted in local newspaper reports there is no mention of this letter elsewhere. Thus, these files allow for a much wider understanding of local politics than would be available from an examination of material held at a local level only.

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[55] Ibid., pp 5-17; Kenton Bamford, 'Uses of private bill evidence' in *Witnesses before Parliament*, pp 18-28.
[56] Kilkenny Market Act.
[57] Correspondence and papers concerning Irish corporations, Kilkenny, 1 Jan. 1848 to 31 Dec. 1899 (TNA, treasury records, T103/25 parts one and two), hereafter treasury files, part one or part two, dates will be included where possible.
[58] Treasury files, part one.

Local Newspapers

Three local newspapers are available for the period 1861-1922. These are the *Kilkenny Journal*, and the *Kilkenny Moderator*, extant for the entire study period, and the *Kilkenny People* from 1895 onwards. There is much information that can be gleaned from the local press. For example, they always reported extensively on the meetings of the corporation so they provide some of the information from missing volumes. They also give more details than the typically quite terse corporation minute books. It was often necessary to look at all three newspapers to compile all possible information, as the reporting was often patchy in one, with another being very detailed. For the key debates and inquiries the newspapers were cross-referenced.

Cartographic Sources

Town-plan analysis and urban morphology form a significant part of chapter one; in this regard, cartographic sources are indispensable. All the available Ordnance Survey maps are utilised in this section, as are earlier maps such as Rocque's map of 1758 and John Hogan's map of 1861.[59] A full list of the various maps available in the National Archives are in the bibliography, including the fair plans and unpublished OS five-foot maps. Further cartographic sources used include maps from the Encumbered Estates Court and the Land Judges Estates court; these are used in chapters three and four.

The available large-scale plans for Kilkenny city, therefore, include the Rocque map of 1758, the OS five-foot plans of 1841, 1843, 1871 and the OS twenty-five-inch plans of 1902 and 1913-14, several of these maps, or extracts thereof, are reproduced in the IHTA no. 10 *Kilkenny*.[60] A unique body of cartographic material also survives locally. The archive of Kilkenny castle, for example, holds two six-inch maps by James Healy from 1841 and 1844.[61] The corporation archive also holds some uncatalogued cartographic material that was kindly made available, as were copies of the Healy maps.

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[59] John Rocque, Kilkenny, 1758, TCD map library, reprinted in Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10; John Hogan, 'Map of the city of Kilkenny, constructed from Rocque's Survey, 1758, the Ordnance Survey, 1841 and from personal inspection of the respective localities' in *The Journal of the Kilkenny and south-east of Ireland Archaeological Society* new series, iii, no. 2 (1861).

[60] Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10; OS five-foot plan of Kilkenny city, 1841, sheet, xix, 17, 26, 27, 36, 37, 38, 46, 47, 48, 56, 57, 58, 66; OS five-foot plan of Kilkenny city, 1871, sheet xix, 17, 26, 27, 36, 37, 38, 46, 47, 48, 56, 57, 58, 66 (NAI, Ordnance Survey collection, OS/140, 1841, 1871). The 1871 plans are now also available to download online at digital.ucd.ie/view/ucdlib:40377#c0055-9-9.1 (accessed 20 Dec. 2016).

[61] James Healy, plans of Kilkenny, 1841 and 1844 (copies in author's possession).

Literature Review

An urban morphological study utilises a wide range of sources in order to provide an understanding of a specific area. There are overlapping and interconnecting fields in both an Irish and a European context that, when viewed together give a more complete picture. The great phase of Anglo-Norman expansion in Ireland in the late-twelfth and thirteenth centuries has European parallels, for example.[62] Thus when viewing the burgage cycle and its critical role in the development of Kilkenny, attention needs to be given to what was happening elsewhere.

The most obvious companion to any study of urban morphology in Ireland is the Irish Historic Towns Atlas (IHTA), a series of fascicles concerned with the topographical development of Irish towns and cities. It combines traditional historical research with geographical methodologies and a topographical analysis primarily based on cartographic sources. At the core of each fascicle is a plan at the scale of 1:2500, Map 2, a re-drawing of the OS manuscript five-foot town plan from the early nineteenth century usually from approximately 1835-45. The IHTA is supplemented by two key texts. *Reading the maps: a guide to the Irish Historic Towns Atlas* and *Maps and texts: exploring the Irish Historic Towns Atlas*.[63] There are also two further book chapters, by Howard Clarke and Anngret Simms, that expand on the methodologies employed in the IHTA.[64] The IHTA is part of a wider initiative with fascicles produced across Europe. 2015 saw the publication of *Lords and towns in medieval Europe: the European historic towns atlas project* by Clarke and Simms (eds). This multi-disciplinary work draws on authors from across Europe and is arguably the largest single-volume work on European urban history in English. It is of paramount importance in any modern study of Irish and European urban morphology.[65]

Terry Slater has referred to plan analysis as being a form of 'hypothetical history'.[66] It is also theoretical. For wider reading on concepts of morphological theory there are several key texts and journal articles including Lilley 'Conceptualising the city historical mapping, spatial theory

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[62] Simms, 'Urban corporate governance', pp 63-80; Clarke, 'Planning and regulation in the formation of new towns and new quarters in Ireland, 1170-1641', pp 321-53, in Simms and Clarke (eds) *Lords and towns in medieval Europe* (Farnham, 2015).

[63] Prunty and Clarke (eds), *Reading the maps*; Howard Clarke and Sarah Gearty (eds), *Maps and texts: exploring the Irish Historic Towns Atlas* (Dublin, 2013).

[64] Simms, 'Paradigm shift: from town foundation to town formation', pp 217-32; Clarke, 'Construction and deconstruction, components of an Historic Towns Atlas methodology' in *Stadteatlanten vier jahrzehnte Atlasarbeit in Europa*, pp 31-53.

[65] Simms and Clarke (eds), *Lords and towns in medieval Europe*.

[66] Terry Slater and Nigel Goose (eds), *A county of small towns: the development of Hertfordshire's urban landscape to 1800* (Hertfordshire, 2008), p. 7.

and the production of urban spaces', Yvonne Whelan 'Making sense of urban settlement' and 'Geographies of urban morphology', Peter J. Larkham and Michael P. Conzen, *Shapers of urban form exploration in morphological agency*.[67]

There are also some important published studies concerning the development of small towns, notably; Peter Clark, *Small towns in early modern Europe*; Peter Borsay and Lindsay Proudfoot (eds), *Provincial towns in Early Modern England and Ireland*; Raymond Gillespie and R.F. Foster (eds), *Irish provincial cultures in the long eighteenth century: essays for Toby Barnard*, and Simms, 'The Long Reformation and its impact on the morphology of provincial towns in Ireland'.[68] A core text for understanding how cities developed internationally is that of James Vance.[69]

There is a relative dearth of literature on markets and market development particularly concerning the morphology of markets. This study uses a variety of secondary source material to place this key element into context. Irish examples include recent work by Proudfoot, with earlier work by Patrick O'Flanagan.[70] This is tied into European examples made possible by the fact that an issue of the journal *Urban History* in 2016 was devoted to markets and their development.[71] Chapter two also uses examples concerning English markets and ties this into morphological development of medieval markets using recent research by Slater and Susan Oosthuizen.[72]

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[67] Lilley, 'Conceptualising the city: historical mapping, spatial theory and the production of urban spaces' in Michel Pauly and Martin Scheutz (eds), *Cities and their spaces* (Koln, Weimar and Wien, 2014), pp 29-42; Yvonne Whelan 'Making sense of urban settlement' and 'Geographies of urban morphology' in John Morrissey, David Nally, Ulf Strohmayer and Yvonne Whelan (eds), *Key concepts in historical geography* (London, 2014), pp 143-50, 151-7; Larkham and Conzen *Shapers of urban form*.

[68] Peter Clark, *Small towns in early modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1995); Peter Borsay and Lindsay Proudfoot (eds), *Provincial towns in early modern England and Ireland: change, convergence and divergence* (New York, 2002); Raymond Gillespie and R.F. Foster (eds), *Irish provincial cultures in the long eighteenth-century: essays for Toby Barnard* (Dublin, 2012); Simms, 'The Long Reformation' and its impact on the morphology of provincial towns in Ireland' in Patrick Duffy and William Nolan (eds), *At the anvil* (Dublin, 2012), pp 305-26.

[69] James E. Vance, *The continuing city: urban morphology in western civilisation* (Baltimore, 1990).

[70] Proudfoot, 'Markets, fairs and towns in Ireland *c*. 1600-1853' in Borsay and Proudfoot (eds), *Provincial towns in early modern England and Ireland*, pp 69-96; Patrick O'Flanagan, 'Markets and fairs in Ireland, 1600-1800: index of economic development and regional growth' in *Journal of Historical Geography*, xi, no. 4 (1985), pp 364-78.

[71] Jon Stobart, Ilja Van Damme, 'Introduction: markets in modernization: transformations in urban market space and practice, *c*. 1800 to *c*. 1970' in *Urban History*, xliii, no. 3 (2016), pp 358-71; Jens Toftgaard, 'Marketplaces and central spaces: markets and the rise of competing spatial ideals in Danish city centres, *c*. 1850-1900' in *Urban History*, xliii, no. 3 (2016), pp 372-90.

[72] Slater, 'Lordship economy and society in English medieval marketplaces' in Simms and Clark (eds), *Lords and towns in medieval Europe*, p. 219; Susan Oosthuizen, 'A truth universally acknowledged?: morphology as an indicator of medieval planned market towns' in *Landscape History*, xxxiv, no. 1 (2013), pp 54, 58-66.

Industry and infrastructure are also tied into morphology particularly in chapter three. This uses sources such as Louis Cullen's 'The social and economic evolution of Kilkenny in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' and David Dickson's 'Inland city: reflections on eighteenth-century Kilkenny', both of which describe the economy and manufacturing industries in the city.[73] This is placed into the national context of manufacturing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries through existing historiography such as Cormac Ó Gráda's *Ireland a new economic history* with further secondary reading on milling and the decline of this industry. This includes older work, such as Eoin O'Malley's seminal study on 'The decline of Irish industry in the nineteenth century' and more recent studies on the failing cotton and woollen industry from Andy Bielenberg including the 'Malcolmsons of Portlaw and Clonmel: some new evidence on the Irish cotton industry, 1825-50'.[74] The background to mills and milling on a national level is garnered from several chapters from *Irish flour milling: a history, 600-2000*, most notably those by Colin Rynne, Louis Cullen and Andy Bielenberg.[75]

Regarding urban tenure, a key part of chapter four, the work of Proudfoot and Brian Graham provides limited historiography concerning leases and urban improvements.[76] The problems associated with urban tenure are also briefly discussed and placed into a national context using the work of Proudfoot and Graham, Frank Cullen, Ruth McManus, Susan Hood, and others.[77] Evidence from parliamentary papers is also used and shows that despite a falling population there was a steady rise of people moving into towns and cities including Kilkenny.[78] The *Select Committee on town holdings* (1886-9) illustrates that short-term leases were very common in

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[73] Louis 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), pp 273-332 and David Dickson, 'Inland city: reflections on eighteenth-century Kilkenny' in Nolan and Whelan (eds), *Kilkenny history and society*, pp 333-44.

[74] Ó Gráda, *Ireland: a new economic history*; Eoin O'Malley, 'The decline of Irish industry in the nineteenth century' in *The Economic and Social Review*, xiii, no. 1 (Oct. 1981), pp 21-42; Andy Bielenberg and John M. Hearne, 'Malcolmsons of Portlaw and Clonmel: some new evidence on the Irish cotton industry 1825-50' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Section C*, cvi (2006), pp 339-66.

[75] Bielenberg (ed.), *Irish flour milling: a history, 600-2000* (Dublin, 2003), pp 13-38, 39-58, 59-87.

[76] Graham and Proudfoot, *Urban improvement in provincial Ireland: 1700-1840* (Kilkenny, 1994); Proudfoot, *Urban patronage and social authority: the management of the duke of Devonshire's towns in Ireland, 1764-1891* (Washington, 1995).

[77] Frank Cullen, 'The provision of working and lower middle class housing in late nineteenth-century urban Ireland' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Section C*, cxi (2011), pp 217-51; Ruth McManus, 'Suburban and urban housing in the twentieth century' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Section C*, cxi (2011), pp 253-86; Graham and Hood, '"Every creed and party": town tenant protest in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Ireland' in *Journal of Historical Geography*, xxiv, no. 2 (1998), 170-87; Hood, 'The significance of the villages and small towns in rural Ireland during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' in Borsay and Proudfoot (eds) *Provincial towns in early modern England and Ireland*, pp 241-60; Graham and Hood, 'Social protest in late nineteenth-century Irish towns: the House League movement' in *Irish Geography*, xxix, no. 1 (1996), pp 1-12.

[78] *Third Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners for inquiring into the houses of the working classes, Ireland*, H.C. 1884-85 [C. 4547], xxxi, 187, p. 253.

an urban setting and that there were numerous problems associated with them.[79] While there is little written on the workings of either the Encumbered Estates Court or the Landed Estates Court in an urban context, there are several articles by Pádraig Lane on Galway and W.A. Maguire on Belfast providing background reading for the use of these sources.[80]

Concerning the morphological analysis of the suburbs of Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill, previously discussed work by Slater, Michael and M.R.G. Conzen, Lilley and Kropf is used for a theoretical perspective. However, by combining the census and the cartographic evidence there is a greater focus on form, function and fabric while still examining building, plots and streets. This combines the theories of the traditional British school of urban morphology with some of the Italian theories of Saverio Muratori and Gianfranco Cannigia.[81] Dylan Connor et al provide a more recent model for examining the census material of 1901 and 1911 that allows the study of population and housing density in these Kilkenny suburbs to be placed into context.[82]

Chapter five has a focus on local government particularly in terms of the economy of Kilkenny corporation. It looks at its governance and how it raised and managed its finances. Virginia Crossman's *Local government in nineteenth century Ireland* is perhaps the definitive account of local government, Desmond Roche's volume *Local government in Ireland* is also useful. Recent work by Matthew Potter allows for comparisons to be drawn between Kilkenny and the towns and cities selected for his case studies. Another recent article of benefit is that of Brendan O'Donoghue concerning the effect of the Local Government Act of 1898.[83] There is little work done on the economics of local government in Ireland with Potter's work touching on the

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[79] *Report from the select committee on town holdings together with the proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence and appendix*, H.C. 1886 (213), xii, 367.

[80] W.A. Maguire, 'Lord Donegall and the sale of Belfast: a case study from the Encumbered Estates Court' in *The Economic History Review*, 2nd series, xxix, no. 4 (1976), pp 570-84; Pádraig Lane, 'The management of estates by financial corporations after the Famine' in *Studia Hibernica*, no. 14 (1974), pp 67-89; Lane, 'The general impact of the Encumbered Estates Court on counties Galway and Mayo' in *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, xxxiii (1972-3), pp 44-74; Lane, 'The impact of the Encumbered Estates Court on the landlords of Galway and Mayo' in *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, xxxviii (1981-2), pp 45-58; Lane, 'Purchasers of land in counties Galway and Mayo in the Encumbered Estates Court, 1849-1858' in *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, xliii (1991), pp 95-127.

[81] Karl Kropf, 'Aspects of urban form' in *Urban Morphology*, xiii, no. 2 (2009), pp 105-20.

[82] Dylan Connor, Gerald Mills and Niamh Moore-Cherry, 'The 1911 census and Dublin city: a spatial analysis' in *Irish Geography*, xliv, nos 2, 3 (July and Nov. 2011), pp 245-63.

[83] Virginia Crossman, *Local government in nineteenth-century Ireland* (Belfast, 1994); Desmond Roche, *Local government in Ireland* (Dublin, 1982); Matthew Potter, *The municipal revolution in Ireland: a handbook of urban government in Ireland since 1800* (Dublin, 2011); Brendan O'Donoghue, 'From grand juries to county councils: the effects of the Local Government (Ireland) Act 1898' in Felix M. Larkin (ed.), *Librarians poets and scholars: a Festschrift for Dónal Ó Luanaigh* (Dublin, 2007), pp 172-97.

subject in places. A chapter on municipal politics in Mary Daly's *Dublin the deposed capital* provides a parallel view of municipal politics to that of Kilkenny over roughly the same time period.[84] Chapter four of Ian Budge and Cornelius O'Leary's *Belfast approach to crisis* is also relevant.[85]

Similarly, the discussion in chapter six on sanitation and the corporation's responsibilities in this regard has little historiographical material to draw on in an Irish context. Work by Deborah Brunton on Scottish towns does have lateral links to sanitation in an Irish setting, as the legislation was broadly similar.[86] Bill Luckin's chapter in the third volume of the *Cambridge urban history of Britain* is also extremely useful as are articles by Tom Crook.[87] Recent work by David Inglis was consulted for typical Victorian attitudes to urban filth.[88] In relation to sanitary improvements again there are some references in Potter's book but a more appropriate example is that of Christopher Hamlin on sanitary improvements in four towns in Britain.[89]

Chapter seven uses photographs from the Lawrence collection to support a traditional plan analysis of the city at the end of the study period. While using photographs to aid a town-plan analysis in this fashion may seem unusual in terms of historiography, the works of Gail Baylis and Michael Lesy, particularly in relation to accurately analysing photographic images, supports the use of photography in an historical study. [90] This chapter thus builds on the traditional means of town-plan analysis by combining relevant cartographic material with visual images. These images need to be seen in the context of material culture and the narrative the image presents needs to be accurately analysed.

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[84] Mary Daly, *Dublin, the deposed capital: a social and economic history, 1860-1914* (Cork, 2011, reprint).

[85] Ian Budge and Cornelius O'Leary *Belfast: approach to crisis, a study of Belfast politics, 1613-1970* (London, 1973), pp 101-35.

[86] Deborah Brunton, 'Regulating filth: cleansing in Scottish towns and cities, 1840-1880' in *Urban History*, xlii, no. 3 (2015), pp 424-39.

[87] Bill Luckin, 'Pollution in the city' in Martin Daunton (ed.), *The Cambridge urban history of Britain*, iii (Cambridge, 2000), pp 207-28; Tom Crook, 'Sanitary inspection and the public sphere in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain: a case study in liberal governance' in *Social History*, xxxii, no. 4 (Nov. 2007), pp 369-93.

[88] David Inglis, 'Sewers and sensibilities: the Bourgeois faecal experience in the nineteenth-century city' in Alexander Cowan and Jill Steward (eds), *The city and the senses: urban culture since 1500* (Aldershot, 2007), pp 105-30.

[89] Christoper Hamlin, 'Muddling in bumbledom: on the enormity of large sanitary improvements in four British towns, 1855-1885' in *Victorian Studies*, xxxii, no. 1 (autumn 1998), pp 55-83.

[90] Gail Baylis, 'A few too many photographs' in *History of Photography*, xxxviii, no. 1 (2014), pp 3-20; Baylis, 'Metropolitan surveillance and rural opacity: secret photography in nineteenth-century Ireland' in *History of Photography*, xxxiii, no. 1 (2009), pp 26-38; Baylis, 'Remediations' in *Photographies*, i, no. 1 (2008), pp 29-48; Baylis, Sarah Edge, 'The Great Famine' in *Cultural Studies*, xxiv, no. 6 (2010), pp 778-800; Michael Lesy, 'Visual literacy' in *The Journal of American History*, xciv, no. 1 (June 2007), pp 143-53.

Local histories

There are numerous local histories of Kilkenny; some of the more relevant are those of W.G. Neely, the Kilkenny volume of the *History and Society* series and William Carrigan's four-volume work on the diocese of Ossory.[91] William Healy's *History and antiquities of Kilkenny (county and city)*, dates from 1893 and deals almost entirely with the history of Kilkenny city from its foundation until the time of publication and contains valuable background information. Of more use to this research is P.M. McEgan's *The illustrated guide to the city and county of Kilkenny* first published in 1884. This is essentially a traveller's guide and details the schools, employment, housing and the administrative structure of the city at the time. It names clubs, voters and the religious bodies in the city as well as travel timetables and expands on available travel links and local industry while being extensively illustrated.[92] Kilkenny has many locally published works that cover the nineteenth century. From a slightly earlier period there are the works of Hogan of which the most notable is his map based on that of Rocque of 1758 and the first edition of the Ordnance Survey map of 1841. It illustrates features that are not present on later maps and provides an overview, albeit limited, of the city at the time this study commences.[93]

General urban histories

A variety of other urban histories have also provided historiographical approaches for this study. These include, but are not limited to, *The town in Ireland*, *Dublin, the deposed capital: a social and economic history, 1860-1914* by Daly, and *Belfast: the origin and growth of an industrial city* by J.C. Beckett and R.E. Glasscock.[94] While not every aspect of these works is of relevance, elements were taken from each to develop an approach to the urban history of Kilkenny city. Crucially, Daly's work does not make any use of map material. Its approaches and methodologies are useful from a documentary perspective but not from a cartographic one. In contrast with the work of Daly, *Dublin slums, 1800-1925* by Jacinta Prunty shows the importance of both statistics and cartography in any study of an urban area. It utilises papers from charitable institutions, municipal bodies and parliament itself.[95] In terms of the use of cartography, it maps unfit housing, slums, schools and charitable donors amongst others. With

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[91] W.G. Neely, *Kilkenny: an urban history* (Belfast, 1989); Nolan and Whelan (eds), *Kilkenny history and society*; William Carrigan, *The history and antiquities of the diocese of Ossory*, 4 vols. (Dublin, 1905).
[92] William Healy, *History and antiquities of Kilkenny (county and city)* (Kilkenny, 1893); Patrick McEgan, *The illustrated guide to the city and county of Kilkenny* (Kilkenny, 1884).
[93] Hogan, 'Map of the city of Kilkenny', pp 350-5.
[94] David Harkness and Mary O'Dowd (eds), *The town in Ireland* (Belfast, 1981); Daly, *Dublin, the deposed capital* (Cork, 2011, reprint); J.C. Beckett and R.E. Glasscock (eds), *Belfast: the origin and growth of an industrial city* (London, 1967).
[95] Prunty, *Dublin slums, 1800-1925*.

the cartographic material available for Kilkenny over the study period similar relevant maps will also be produced. *The development of the Irish town* by Butlin (ed.) was also found to be an important work.[96] The fourth chapter of Butlin's edited volume is an essay by T.W. Freeman, which describes the pressures of urban growth and the process of urbanisation. While Kilkenny city declined in terms of population over the study period, it was still very much an urban environment and did experience change in terms of infrastructure.

Journals

The journal *Urban Morphology* is the most relevant up-to-date publication regarding town-plan analysis. European models and studies in this journal have informed the type of town-plan analysis adopted for this thesis. Of particular benefit are a series of articles on the history of urban morphology in various countries around Europe.[97] Kropf's recent work on urban form and the built environment in this journal is also important.[98]

Urban History is also a crucial journal for any study of modern urban form. While there are few articles directly relating to Ireland there are obvious comparisons to be drawn with published material on English and Scottish towns and cities, particularly in relation to plan analysis and burgage plots.[99] There was also an entire issue devoted to markets in a European context.[100]

The *Old Kilkenny Review* was first published in 1948 and has been published annually since then. It contains numerous articles on the history of the city and county. In recent years articles on the town walls, Ormonde's agreement with the corporation and the creation of the Parade as well as an article on the Ormonde Mills have appeared.[101]

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[96] Butlin, *The development of the Irish town*.
[97] Michael Darin, 'The study of urban form in France' in *Urban Morphology*, ii, no. 2 (1998), pp 63-76; Gauthiez Bernard, 'The history of urban morphology' in *Urban Morphology*, viii, no. 2 (2004), pp 71-89; G. Curdes, 'Urban form and innovation: the case of Cologne' in *Urban Morphology*, ii, no. 1 (1998), pp 11-18; Burkhard Hofmeister, 'The study of urban form in Germany' in *Urban Morphology*, viii, no. 1 (2004), pp 3-12; Loughlin Kealy and Simms, 'The study of urban form in Ireland' in *Urban Morphology*, xii, no. 1 (2008), pp 37-45, Albert Levy, 'Urban morphology and the problem of the modern urban fabric, some questions for research' in *Urban Morphology*, iii, no. 2 (1999), pp 79-85; Nicola Marzot, 'The study of urban form in Italy' in *Urban Morphology*, vi, no. 2 (2002), pp 59-73.
[98] Kropf, 'Ambiguity in the definition of built form' in *Urban Morphology*, xviii, no. 1 (2014), pp 41-57; Kropf, 'Aspects of urban form' in *Urban Morphology*, xiii, no. 2 (2009), pp 105-20; Kropf, 'Conceptions of change in the built environment' in *Urban Morphology*, v, no. 1 (2001), pp 29-42.
[99] Lilley, 'Urban planning after the Black Death: townscape transformation in later medieval England, 1350-1530' in *Urban History*, xlii, no. 1 (2015), pp 22-42; Lilley, 'Mapping the medieval city'; Robin Tait and Geoffrey Stell, 'Framework and form: burgage plots street lines and domestic architecture in early urban Scotland' in *Urban History*, xliii, no. 1 (2016), pp 2-27.
[100] *Urban History*, xliii, no. 3 (2016).
[101] Bradley, 'The creation of the Parade', pp 77-116; Bradley, 'The town wall of Kilkenny, part one' in *Old Kilkenny Review*, new series, i no. 2 (1975), pp 85-102; Bradley, 'The town wall of Kilkenny, part two' in *Old Kilkenny Review*, new series, i. no 3 (1976), pp 209-17; Bradley, 'The town wall of Kilkenny revisited: a review article' in *Old Kilkenny Review*, lviii (2006), pp 185-95; Michael

While this may seem like a disparate collection of themes and sources, what ties it all together is urban morphology, economics, local government and social geography. This thesis is essentially an urban history told from multiple perspectives. It asks if the form of the medieval city would determine where and how the poorer classes lived in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It looks at the morphological and economic impact of the markets. The failure of Ireland's economy in the early nineteenth century is well documented and this thesis asks the question can this be seen in a morphological analysis of two of the city's major milling complexes throughout the study period? It sees if there was a lack of will or investment in local manufacturing or if any individuals or local bodies acted to change this scenario. The limited urban development on the fringes of the city, in the form of linear suburbs, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century are also examined morphologically throughout the study period. How the corporation managed its finances and its role in improving city life, particularly through sanitary projects, is also discussed. Finally, it looks at the morphology of the city at the end of the study period.

O'Dwyer, 'The Ormonde Mills throughout the centuries' in *Old Kilkenny Review*, lx (2008), pp 94-103.

Chapter one
Morphological analysis, origins and development of Kilkenny city to 1861

Upon exiting the train station in Kilkenny in 1861 the attention of a visitor was drawn to the west and southwest. The Ormonde castle, St Canice's cathedral, St John's church, St Mary's cathedral and the tholsel were clearly visible against the skyline.[1] While walking through the city the visitor would have noticed that stone buildings fronting narrow streets dominate the streetscape. Small lanes radiating west off High Street and running as far as the remains of the town wall were, and still are, another conspicuous feature. There was also a courthouse, a workhouse, a city and county gaol as well as constabulary buildings and a military barracks. There were shops, commercial and public houses, breweries, tanneries and a gasworks. In other words, a good range of the civic, administrative, military, religious and commercial buildings that would be expected in an average county town of the period.[2]
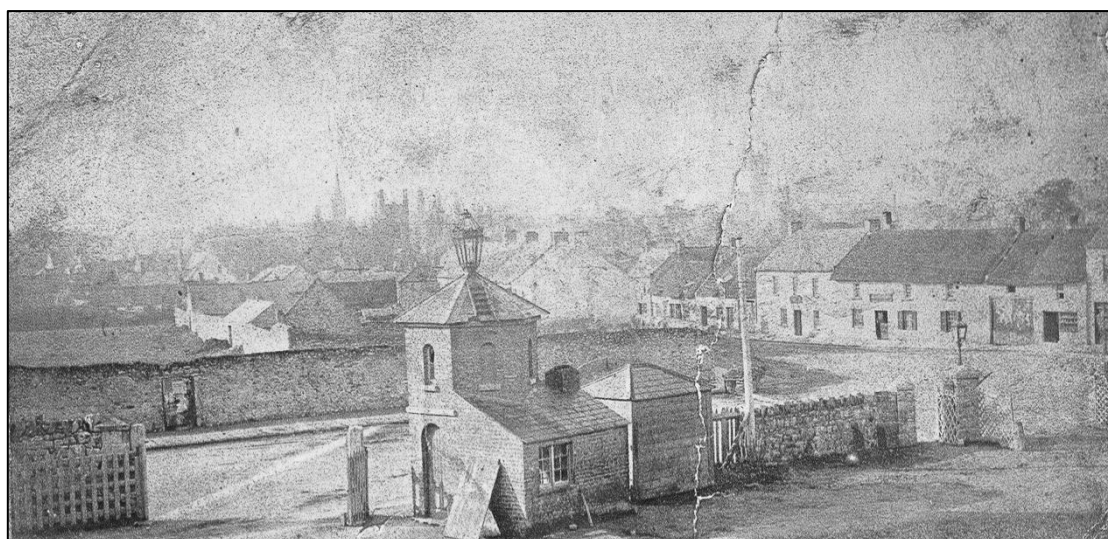
Figure 1.1 Kilkenny railway station *circa* 1870, provenance unknown.

The curious visitor might have asked why is the city laid out this way? Why is there a large open plaza under the shadow of the Ormonde castle? Why are the streets so narrow? These questions and more might best be explored through the urban morphological tradition of M.R.G. Conzen.[3] This chapter therefore is a morphological study of the origins and development of Kilkenny city to 1861. It sets up key questions and themes and forms a framework for the later chapters. By examining the morphological functions and features of

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[1] In relation to the spelling of Ormond and Ormonde, the preferred spelling in this thesis is Ormonde for the sake of consistency as this thesis concentrates on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is acknowledged that the methodology adapted by Barnard and Fenlon demonstrates that Ormond refers to the first duke and his predecessors and Ormonde to the second duke and his descendants, John Bradley follows their methodology, Bradley, 'The creation of the parade: Ormond's deal with Kilkenny corporation, 1677' in *Old Kilkenny Review*, lviii (2006), pp 77-116. The title of this article is the exception to the spelling of Ormonde.

[2] Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10 (Dublin, 2000), see map 2 and the gazetteer for these features and more.

[3] J.W.R. Whitehand, 'British urban morphology: the Conzenian tradition' in *Urban Morphology*, v, no. 2 (2001), pp 103-9.

the city to 1861 it provides an overview of the development of the city and outlines the key terms and concepts that are used in the rest of the study.

This chapter introduces the concept of morphological agents and agency and the role these played in the formation and development of Kilkenny city. The concept of agents and their role in urban development was originally attributed to Jeremy Whitehand but significant recent work has built on his theories.[4] Essentially, this theory maintains that cities are constructs and creations that arise from 'decisions and actions taken by individuals and groups.'[5] John Bradley, a specialist on Anglo-Norman towns, also comments on the importance of decisions that 'turned Kilkenny into a commercial magnet'.[6]

In the case of Kilkenny, by examining a combination of inherited topography, historical and archaeological records, as well as cartographic material, agents active in the formation of the city can be identified.[7] This chapter also introduces key concepts such as intra-mural and extra-mural development, burgage plots and the burgage cycle, fixation lines, market colonisation, place adaptation and accretion that are crucial to an understanding of Conzenian morphology. The importance of this multi-disciplinary approach is noted by Bradley who commented that 'The sources for the study of the Irish medieval town are fourfold: documentary, cartographic, archaeological and topographical'.[8]

The curving streetscape around St Canice's cathedral has long been attributed to the presence of an early ecclesiastical settlement. Kilkenny is by no means unique in this regard; Kells, Kildare and Tuam also display the same characteristics. In an Irish context this shared morphological form tends to indicate an early medieval origin for a settlement.[9]

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[4] Whitehand and S.M. Whitehand, 'The physical fabric of town centres: the agents of change' in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, new series, ix, no. 2 (1984), pp 231-47; J.W.R. Whitehand, *The making of the urban landscape* (Oxford, 1992), p. 4. For modern work on the role of agency see Peter Larkham and Michael Conzen (eds), 'Agents, agency and urban form, the making of the urban landscape', in *Shapers of urban form*, p. 3.

[5] Larkham and Conzen (eds), 'Agents, agency and urban form, the making of the urban landscape' in *Shapers of urban* form, p. 3.

[6] Bradley, 'The early development of the medieval town of Kilkenny' in William Nolan and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Kilkenny history and society* (Dublin, 1990), p. 63.

[7] Anngret Simms, 'Paradigm shift: from town foundation to town formation, the scope of historic towns atlases under the crossfire of archaeological research' in Wilfried Ehbrecht (ed.), *Stadteatlanten vier jahrzehnte Atlasarbeit in Europa* (Cologne, 2013), pp 220-1; Howard Brian Clarke, 'Construction and deconstruction, components of an Historic Towns Atlas methodology' in *Stadteatlanten vier jahrzehnte Atlasarbeit in Europa*, pp 46-8.

[8] Bradley, 'The role of town plan analysis in the study of the medieval Irish town' in T.R. Slater (ed.), *The built form of western cities: essays for M.R.G. Conzen on the occasion of his 80th birthday* (Leicester, 1990), p. 40.

[9] Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, John Andrews, *Kildare*, IHTA, no. 1 (Dublin, 1986), Anngret Simms, Katharine Simms, *Kells*, IHTA, no. 4 (Dublin, 1990).
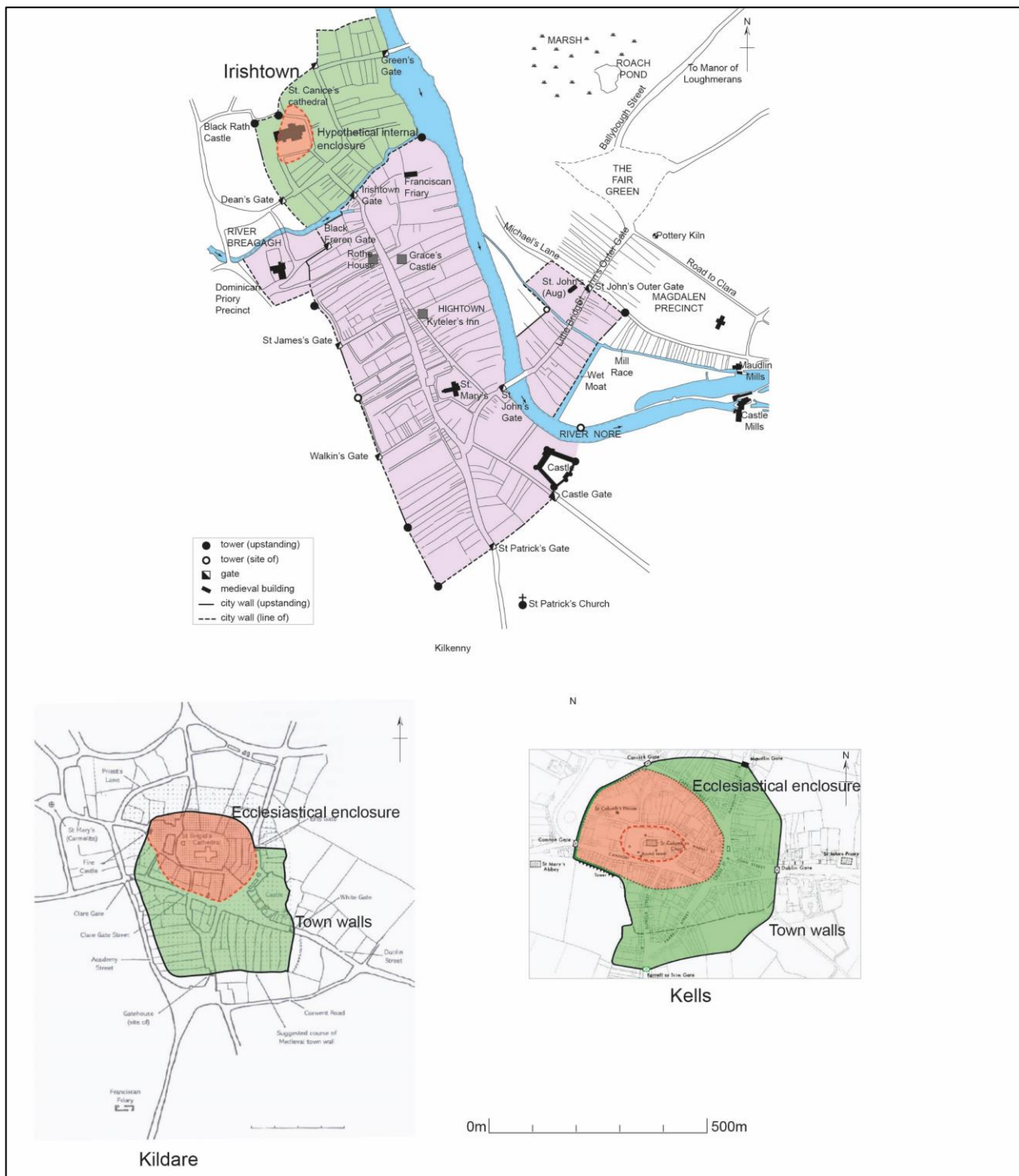
Figure 1.2 Kilkenny, Kildare and Kells showing the curving streetscape characteristic of early medieval ecclesiastical settlement.

In the case of Kilkenny, its earliest pre-Norman urban origins can be linked to two early monastic sites.[10]

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[10] Cóilín Ó Drisceoil, John Bradley and Richard Jennings, *The Kilkenny archaeological project: report for the Irish national strategic archaeological research programme* (Kilkenny, 2008), p. 80, this report has an associated database of archaeological excavations in Kilkenny with limited availability but can be viewed at the offices of Kilkenny archaeology ltd, a copy is in the author's possession courtesy of Cóilín Ó Drisceoil; see also Bradley, 'The early development of the medieval town of Kilkenny', pp 63-73.

The arrival of the Anglo-Normans was to have a profound effect on the morphology of the city. The Hightown with its burgage plots, parish church, narrow streets and central market place was created by the Anglo-Normans as was the town wall. The seminal work on Anglo-Norman towns in Ireland by Bradley shows that of the fifty-six towns attributed to them, Kilkenny falls into the category of a promoted town in other words it expanded on a pre-existing settlement. [11] The addition of an Anglo-Norman town onto a pre-existing ecclesiastical settlement was a common feature of their settlement of the lordship of Leinster as seen at nearby New Ross, Naas, Kildare and Inistioge.[12] The construction of the Hightown was very deliberate, carefully laid out and planned, and occurred in two phases.[13] The Parade, the first significant intramural development in the seventeenth-century city, can be directly attributed to the agency of the first duke of Ormonde, 1610-88.[14]

The ecclesiastical and secular Anglo-Norman settlement foci, with their respective patrons, or agents and promoters, were the principals behind the shape of the city by 1861. The various charters granted to Kilkenny are also a significant factor in its growth and cannot be overlooked. Town charters provided for plots of land and rents, allowed for trial by a court of burgesses' peers and fixed the legal and administrative structures that would govern a town.[15] This is discussed in more detail below. The role of these agents in the city's growth is discussed through a chronological analysis of the city's development as is the role of Kilkenny corporation in shaping and managing the city from 1861 to 1922. In deciding to construct a new market in 1861 the corporation would significantly alter the internal morphology of the city within the town walls.

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[11] Bradley, 'Planned Anglo-Norman towns in Ireland' in Howard Clarke and Anngret Simms (eds), *The comparative history of urban origins in non-Roman Europe*: *Ireland, Wales, Denmark, Germany, Poland and Russia from the ninth to the thirteenth century*, British Archaeological Reports, international series 255 (Oxford, 1985), part ii, p. 426.
[12] Cóilín Ó Drisceoil, '*Pons novus, villa Willielmi Marescalli*: New Ross a town of William Marshal' in John Bradley, Cóilín Ó Drisceoil and Michael Potterton (eds), *William Marshal and Ireland* (Dublin, 2016), p. 273.
[13] Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, pp 1-2.
[14] Bradley, 'The creation of the parade', p. 77.
[15] Simms, 'Urban corporate governance and the shaping of medieval towns' in Larkham and Conzen (eds), *Shapers of urban form*, pp 66-9; Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, pp 1-2.

Key morphological features of Kilkenny

Burgage plots

Burgages can be identified cartographically in Kilkenny as long narrow linear plots arranged along a streetscape. These plots were over time subdivided. They were also amalgamated with adjacent plots.[16] In the case of Kilkenny, extensive amalgamation of plots seems to have occurred in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This can be seen most clearly in the area between Evan's Lane and New Building Lane and between William Street and Chapel Lane. Cartographically, this can be identified through a comparison of Rocque's map of 1758 and the large-scale Ordnance Survey maps of the nineteenth century. Construction on the burgages would have begun at the plot frontage and moved backwards along the length of the plot. Comparatively little work has been done in an Irish context on the use and reuse of burgage plots but there is extensive work done on burgages in England by Terry Slater and in Scotland by Robin Tait.[17] In terms of Irish work on burgage plots, Bradley's article on Anglo-Norman towns, and his case study of Drogheda remain the most significant article on the comparative width of burgage plots.[18] Cóilín Ó Drisceoil also comments on the layout and burgages of New Ross, the charter of which was also granted by William Marshal, and whose foundation is largely cognate with that of Kilkenny.[19]

There is a wealth of evidence for burgage plots in Kilkenny available through the archaeological record.[20] A recent article that reviews the archaeology of burgage plots in a Scottish context supports this evidence.[21] There is also extensive documentary evidence most notably the Civil Survey of 1654, which lists property owners and plot widths and can be used

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[16] Ibid.

[17] Maurice Beresford, *New towns of the Middle Ages: town plantation in England, Wales and Gascony* (Gloucester, 1988), p. 33; Slater, 'The analysis of burgage patterns in medieval towns' in *Area*, xiii, no. 3 (1981), pp 211-16; Slater, 'Planning English medieval street towns: the Hertfordshire evidence' in *Landscape History*, xxv, no. 1 (2004), pp 19-35; Robin Tait, 'Configuration and dimensions of burgage plots in the burgh of Edinburgh' in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, cxxxvi (2006), pp 297-310; Tait, 'Burgage plot patterns and dimensions in four Scottish burghs' in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, cxxxviii (2008), pp 223-38; Tait, 'Urban morphology and medieval burgh development in Edinburgh and Elgin' in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, cxl (2010), pp 129-44; Tait and Geoffrey Stell, 'Framework and form: burgage plots street lines and domestic architecture in early urban Scotland' in *Urban History*, xliii, no. 1 (2016), pp 2-27.

[18] Bradley, 'Planned Anglo-Norman towns in Ireland', p. 439; Bradley, 'The topography and layout of medieval Drogheda' in *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society*, xix. no. 8 (1978), pp 105-8.

[19] Ó Drisceoil, '*Pons novus, villa Willielmi Marescalli*', pp 281-2.

[20] Ó Drisceoil, Bradley and Jennings, *The Kilkenny archaeological project,* pp 32-40 summarise the more significant excavations. The sites with evidence of burgage plots or backlands activity are KKAP-009, KKAP-010, KKAP-011, KKAP-012, KKAP-028, KKAP-039, KKAP-042, KKAP-110, KKAP-113, KKAP-183, KKAP-185, KKAP-195, KKAP-070.

[21] Russel Coleman, 'The archaeology of burgage plots in Scottish medieval towns: a review' in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, cxxxiv (2004), pp 281-323.

to track the development of individual burgage plots prior to the large-scale mapping produced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[22]

Another characteristic feature of Kilkenny, and indeed of other Anglo-Norman towns such as Clonmel and Drogheda, is the number of narrow lanes between the original burgage plots. It has been suggested that the narrow lanes have their origins as a means of access to the burgage plots and to allow light to enter the buildings.[23] Access to plots is also a point raised by Tait concerning the Scottish examples.[24] Burgage plots are therefore a very common feature in medieval towns and cities and can be seen as a key feature in describing the development of medieval towns.

Market colonisation

Early markets were likely held on open spaces such as a green area or on open ground in a settlement. Market colonisation is the process whereby secondary growth occurs at these early market places and temporary stalls, or shops, eventually become permanent, thus becoming the fixed market place of a city or town. This can be represented by a gradual infilling of the original open area. This is important in three places in Kilkenny, the first is the triangular area to the west of St Canice's cathedral that is an addition to the possible outline of the early ecclesiastical enclosure. This area, shown on figure 1.3, bears striking cartographic similarities to the central triangle of Alnwick that served as its market. A similar feature also exists in the town plans of Kells and Kildare both of which also have a triangular block, that are additions to the hypothetical outline of their respective ecclesiastical enclosures.

If there was an early form of settlement in these towns it is more than likely that they had markets. It is quite possible, therefore, that these features represent an early form of market in Kilkenny, Kells and Kildare. In the case of Kells and Kildare these areas may have been simply adapted to use by the Anglo-Normans and in the instance of Irishtown it could be a relict feature of an early market due to the separate development of Hightown. It should be noted, however, that documentary reference to support this supposition is scarce. There is a reference in a writ of Edward III dating to 1363 that refers to markets in Irishtown and several other references to patents and charters. There is also the fact that Rocque annotated this area with 'Bull o the ring' possibly indicating that cattle were traded there as late as 1758.[25]

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[22] *The Civil Survey, A.D. 1654-1656 county of Waterford, vol. VI, with appendices: Muskerry barony, Co. Cork, Kilkenny city and liberties (part)*, Robert Simington (ed.) (Dublin, 1942), pp 500-57.
[23] Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, p. 2; Bradley, 'Planned Anglo-Norman towns in Ireland', p. 439.
[24] Tait, 'Urban morphology and medieval burgh development in Edinburgh and Elgin', pp 130-1.
[25] Conzen, 'Alnwick, Northumberland', pp 34-8; *Royal commission to inquire into municipal corporations (Ireland), part two, southern, midland, western, north-east, south-east and part of northwest circuits*, H.C. 1835 [C. 25], 79, xviii, p. 83.

The second place displaying characteristics of market colonisation in Kilkenny city is in the presence of the *shambles* between High Street and King Street. The word shambles is ultimately derived from the latin *scamellum* or 'little bench'. This was originally a temporary structure used as a butcher's block that eventually became permanent and thus a fixed point in a city and in the case of Kilkenny was where butcher's or meat vendors sold their wares. In *The town as palimpsest* G.H. Martin describes this process whereby, 'movable stalls become fixed stalls, covered stalls, lock up shops, and finally private and public houses. If the block becomes large enough it will look like a lane' thus the presence of the meat shambles in Kilkenny is indicative of this process.[26] The earliest topographical date for this feature comes from James Healy's plan of 1844 where an annotation states that the shambles was established in 1732. The possibility remains that it is an earlier feature and the date of 1732 refers to an improvement of the buildings at this location. The deliberate siting of the market by the corporation, that is the focus of chapter two, is also a form of market colonisation, as it lies immediately adjacent to the original market place. Many of the burgage plots nearest to the market on the west side of Parliament Street were significantly altered in the nineteenth century to make room for breweries, starch manufactories iron and brass foundries and other plots for industrial and manufacturing use.[27]

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[26] G.H. Martin, 'The town as palimpsest' in H.J. Dyos (ed.), *The study of urban history* (London, 1971), pp 155-69.
[27] Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, pp 16-18.
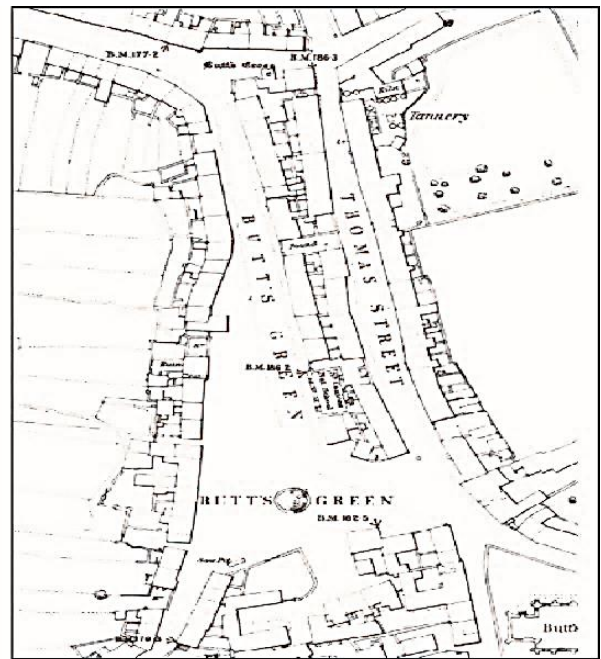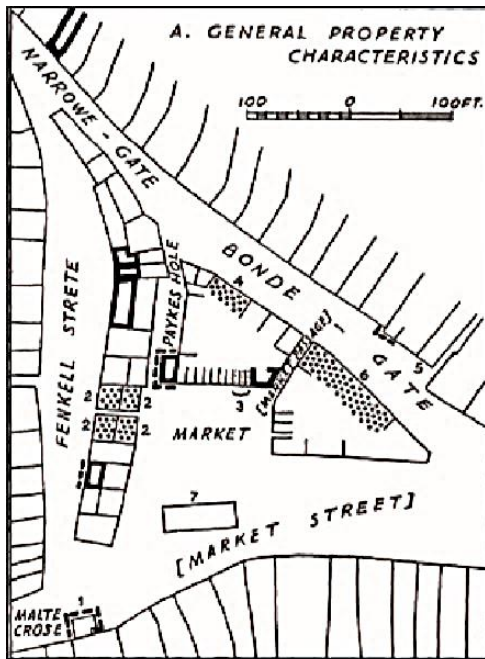
Figure 1.3 The market place in Alnwick, Northumberland. Note the similar morphological shapes found in Irishtown, Kilkenny and in Kildare and Kells. These are hypothesised to be early markets showing market infill, extracts from left to right are from M.R.G. Conzen, *Alnwick* (2nd ed.), p. 35; OS five-foot plan sheet xix, 37 1871; IHTA map 2, fascicle nos, 1 and 4.

Fixation Lines

A fixation line is essentially a feature that limits or blocks development.[28] These can be natural features, such as a river, or a man-made feature like town walls. For this study these are, primarily, the flood plains of the Nore and Breagagh and the town walls constructed by *circa* 1348. These floodplains were initially reclaimed over the course of the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, and eventually, up to 48 per cent of the area of the walled town was built on reclaimed land.[29]

This had major repercussions on development on these reclaimed areas, as they were still prone to floods in prolonged rainfall and continued to flood until the Nore main drainage scheme was completed in 2001. Lower John Street for example flooded in 1947, as seen in figure 1.4.

Figure 1.4 Floods on Lower John Street, 17 Mar. 1947, KAS, photographic collection, city streets, John Street.

There is a discernible difference in the patterns of land use in flood-prone areas as well. This can be seen cartographically, where, on the Rocque map, the lands east of High Street, for example, that lie directly on the flood plain seem to have been in use as orchards or gardens. This is in direct contrast with how the land was used on much of the west side of High Street where the burgages were continuously used and reused, quite often with a series of outbuildings being constructed along the length of the plot. Morphologically, however, the reclaimed areas display the same general characteristics as the other burgage plots. The market

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[28] Harold Carter and Sandra Wheatley, 'Fixation lines and fringe belts, land uses and social areas: nineteenth-century change in the small town' in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, iv, no. 2, The Victorian city (1979), pp 215-19.

[29] Ó Drisceoil, 'Kilkenny reclaimed: the archaeological evidence for medieval reclamation in Kilkenny city' in *Old Kilkenny Review*, lv (2003), pp 61-71, the references to reclamation are from the following sites, the numbering of these sites is that of Ó Drisceoil, Bradley and Jennings used in the *Kilkenny archaeological report*; KKAP-004, KKAP-009, KKAP-010, KKAP-056, KKAP-071, KKAP-179, KKAP-059, KKAP-099, KKAP-155.

yard, built by 1863, that is the subject of chapter two, was also eventually built on the floodplain. This location became the basis for an extensive objection in an inquiry held in 1862 on the grounds of public health due to the quality of the ground at this location.[30]

Town walls

The town walls of Kilkenny also acted as a fixation point. They were built over a period of approximately one hundred years from *circa* 1250 to *circa* 1348. There are murage grants dating between 1248 and 1460 recorded in the *Liber Primus* and the catalogue of the Kilkenny corporation archive.[31] In terms of their archaeological extent, the town walls are now extant in small sections and only one mural tower remains. Numerous archaeological excavations have been conducted in proximity to the town walls and are summarised in the Kilkenny archaeological project report as well as in a detailed conservation plan.[32] The circuit of the town walls is known and is shown on map 1.9. In their entirety the town walls enclosed an area of approximately 43.5 hectares and were the most extensive town walls in Ireland, encompassing the Hightown, Irishtown and the suburb of St John.[33] The importance of the town walls continued into the late nineteenth century when they acted as the dividing line for the responsibilities of the corporation and the grand jury concerning the repairs of footpaths, roads and streets, despite the fact that they had been removed along much of their circuit by this stage.[34]

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[30] *Kilkenny Moderator*, 11, Jan. 1862.

[31] Honora Faul, Catalogue of Kilkenny corporation (unpublished, 1988), pp 4-8; Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, p. 3; Bradley, 'The town wall of Kilkenny revisited: a review article', in *Old Kilkenny Review*, lviii (2006), p. 186.

[32] Avril Thomas, *The walled towns of Ireland*, i (2 vols, Dublin, 2006), pp 30-1, Thomas, *The walled towns of Ireland*, ii (2 vols, Dublin, 2006), pp 126-32; Ó Drisceoil, Bradley and Jennings, *The Kilkenny archaeological project*, pp 11-15; Julian Munby and Ric Tyler, *Kilkenny city walls conservation plan* (Kilkenny, 2003); Bradley, 'The town wall of Kilkenny, part one' in *Old Kilkenny Review*, new series, i no. 2 (1975), pp 85-102; Bradley, 'The town wall of Kilkenny, part two' in *Old Kilkenny Review*, new series, i. no 3 (1976), pp 209-17; Bradley, 'The town wall of Kilkenny revisited', pp 185-95.

[33] Thomas, *The walled towns of Ireland*, i, pp 30-1, Thomas, *The walled towns of Ireland*, ii, pp 126-32.

[34] *Local government and taxation of towns inquiry commission (Ireland) Part 1, report and evidence, with appendices*, H.C. 1877 [C. 1696], xxxix, 1, pp 14-15, 201-2.

Study Area

Kilkenny was created a city by a charter granted by James I in 1609.[35] Originally, the city and liberties of Kilkenny as granted by this charter encompassed over 10,000 Irish acres.[36] This area is shown on figure 1.5. This extensive area was known as the County of the city of Kilkenny.[37]

Figure 1.5 The extents of the County of the city of Kilkenny from 1609 to *circa* 1840.

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[35] Bradley, 'Kilkenny city charter of 1609', historiaurbium.org www.historiaurbium.org/english/Conference%202009/Bradley.pdf (accessed 31 Dec. 2014). This is a paper given at the International Commission for the History of Towns seminar in 2009.

[36] *Royal commission to inquire into municipal corporations (Ireland), part two, southern, midland, western, north-east, south-east and part of northwest circuits*, H.C. 1835 [C. 25], xxviii, 1, p. 89.

[37] *Municipal corporation boundaries (Ireland), Copy of instructions given by His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with reference to the boundaries and division into wards of the several cities, boroughs and towns corporate in Ireland; Reports and plans*, H.C. 1837 (301), xxix, 3, pp 196–9. *Municipal corporations (Ireland). A bill for the regulation of municipal corporations in Ireland*, H.C. 1840 (97), i, 641, pp 641, 655 also *Municipal districts regulation. (Ireland.) A bill to annex certain parts of certain counties of cities to adjoining counties for fiscal purposes, and for certain purposes of civil and criminal jurisdiction*, H.C. 1840 (529), i, 799, pp 799–800.

Until the early 1840s the boundaries of the city consisted of the entirety of the parishes of St Patrick, St Canice, St Mary, St Maul and St John, which together formed the County of the city of Kilkenny.[38] This is shown on figure 1.5. This boundary was altered by the Municipal Corporations Act of 1840 when the boundaries were set, based on the municipal corporation report of 1837. By 1844, following a report of 1837 and the act of 1840, this new, smaller boundary officially delimited the extent of the city, which was, and in some locations still is, marked by plaques that state 'Borough Boundary, Edmund Smithwick, mayor 1844', essentially fossilising the limits of the city.

By 1861, the city of Kilkenny and thus the study area for this research had been reduced to approximately 921 acres and comprised only part of the parishes of St Patrick, St Canice and St John and the entirety of the parishes of St Mary and St Maul.[39] The municipal boundary is highlighted on figure 1.6, which effectively shows the city boundaries and the extent of the built-up area, which continued to define the city without revision until the Local Government Act of 2014 amalgamated city and county councils.

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[38] *Municipal corporation boundaries (Ireland). Copy of instructions given by His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with reference to the boundaries and division into wards of the several cities, boroughs and towns corporate in Ireland; likewise, copy of any letter or report received in answer to such instructions. Reports and plans*, H.C. 1837 (301), xxix, 3, pp 196-9.
[39] *Report of the commissioners appointed to take the census of Ireland, for the year 1841*, H.C. 1843 [C. 504], xxiv, 1, pp 160-1.

Figure 1.6 The revised municipal boundary of Kilkenny city *circa* 1843 on an extract from OS six-inch sheet, xix, 1841, Kilkenny.

The morphological analysis used in this chapter is partly based on the chronology used in the IHTA for Kilkenny and also on an analysis of the available town plans.[40] Where it differs from the chronology established by the IHTA is due to recent archaeological work that has revealed more about the city's origins. In particular, land reclamation in Hightown, Irishtown and the suburb of St John and the discovery of extensive potter's yards extramurally at an earlier date than was previously envisaged has changed elements of this previously established chronology.[41]

Also, recent work on early medieval settlement and a fresh look at some cartographic material is used to hypothesise on the location and persistence in form of an early market place in Irishtown that might pre-date the Anglo-Norman town foundation.

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[40] Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10.

[41] Ó Drisceoil, Bradley and Jennings, *The Kilkenny archaeological project*, this report summarises all the archaeological excavations that took place in Kilkenny between 1968 and 2006. There is also a database available that includes the subsequent reports where they are available.

Before describing the chronological development of Kilkenny using Conzenian morphological methods it is necessary to describe the inherited topography of the city. This will show what natural factors both limited and affected development and how the layout of the city is reflected in the topography.

Topography

Kilkenny is dominated by a ridge along the western side of the city that runs roughly from the site of the castle along the west side of High Street before there is a break down to the river Breagagh and a rise to the summit of St Canice's cathedral. On the eastern side of town there is a similar ridge running along Greenshill, the site of St Maul's graveyard and on towards the railway station. There are several high points around the city. A significant building or feature occupies each of these: the castle, St Canice's cathedral, St Mary's cathedral, St Mary's church, St Maul's graveyard, St Patrick's graveyard and the railway station.

Between these two ridges the ground slopes down to the river Nore and its tributary the Breagagh. The Nore is by far the larger of the two, but the name, Breagagh, *bréagach* in Irish, means 'deceitful' and it was historically known to be prone to violent floods.[42] Recent work, based on topography, the earliest town charter of 1207, and reliable dendrochronological dating of artefacts and features from archaeological deposits, has allowed for the extent of the flood plain to be recreated. Thus, the importance of reclamation and the extent to which it would have affected the development of the city becomes clear.[43]

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[42] Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, p. 1.
[43] Ó Drisceoil, 'Kilkenny reclaimed', pp 61-71. Dendrochronology is the process of dating timbers and wood.
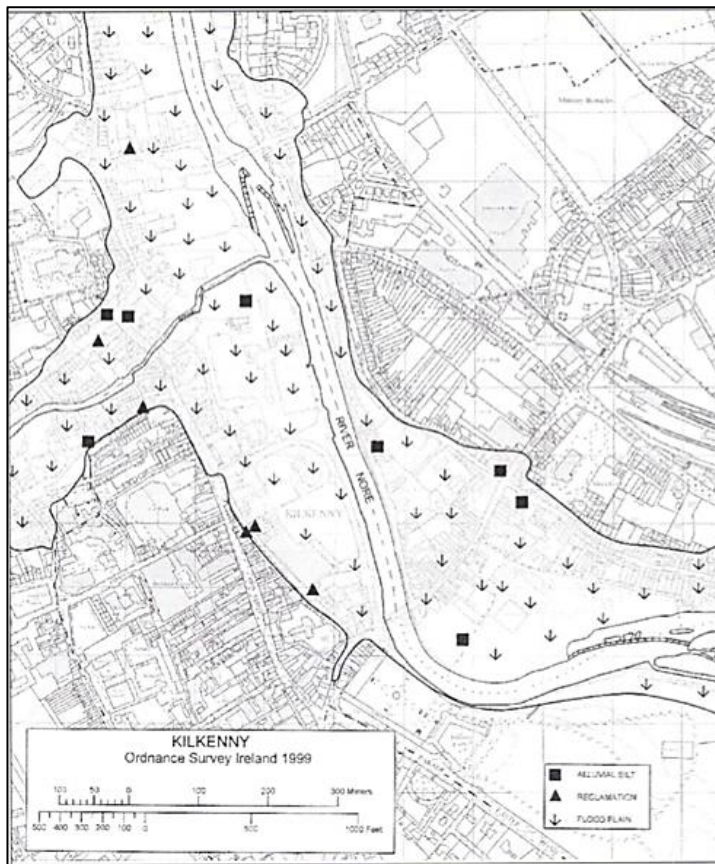
Figure 1.7 A recreation of the medieval flood plains of the rivers Nore and Breagagh, used courtesy of Cóilín Ó Drisceoil of Kilkenny Archaeology.

Reclamation of land on the flood plain therefore played a vital part in the construction of the city, and is discussed below.

Early medieval Kilkenny

The origins of Kilkenny lie in two ecclesiastical settlements: St Patrick's, also referred to as the borough of Donaghmore and St Canice's as referenced in the IHTA, see Appendix 2. Despite being the older site, St Patrick's was eventually overshadowed by St Canice's due to the powerful patronage of a king of the *Osraighe* and the decision to locate the episcopal see to the site of the cathedral. The site of the cathedral of St Canice therefore represents the genesis of the city as an early form of urban settlement. It is situated at the northern end of the city on a ridge and is the highest point in the vicinity with commanding views of the city. Its location is mirrored to a certain degree by the siting of the castle, which dominates a similar high point at the southern end of the city.[44]

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[44] Bradley, 'The early development of the medieval town of Kilkenny', pp 64-6; Ó Drisceoil, Bradley and Jennings, *The Kilkenny archaeological project*, pp 80-1; Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, p. 1.

The ecclesiastical settlement of St Canice

Kilkenny derives its name from C*ill Chainnigh*, the church or place of Canice.[45] There was a religious foundation on the site of the cathedral dating back to the eighth or ninth century. The standing round tower dating to the tenth or eleventh century provides evidence for the early origins of the city, and while there is no extant trace of the original foundation, recent geophysical surveys and archaeological surveys have hypothesised that it lay under the eastern end of the cathedral. The original church, possibly a stone structure, was then replaced by the Romanesque church built of locally quarried limestone in the thirteenth century.[46]

This dark grey, finely grained carboniferous limestone, colloquially referred to as Kilkenny marble, was used in the construction of many of the early buildings in the town. There were two working quarries in the city throughout the medieval period. The stone used in the construction of St Canice's came from the Black Quarry located on the eastern side of the city on the Bennettsbridge road and produced the higher-quality stone while the quarry to the north produced a rougher-quality stone.[47]

St Canice's cathedral dominates this part of the city. It occupies a strong position and there is cartographic evidence for the extent of the original ecclesiastic enclosure. Recent archaeological excavations and testing have also helped to define this area.[48] Chronologically, this part of the city can be dated prior to the arrival of the Anglo-Normans in 1170 and the subsequent construction of the burgage plots, castle and town walls. Topographically, it is centred on the highest point of land in the city, the ridge on which the cathedral is built. Morphologically it can be traced in the streets that follow a curve around the base of this ridge, as shown on figure 1.9.[49]

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[45] Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, p. 13.

[46] Ó Drisceoil, 'Probing the past: a geophysical survey at St Canice's cathedral, Kilkenny' in *Old Kilkenny Review*, lvi (2004), pp 80-106.

[47] James Graves and John G.A. Prim, 'The history, architecture and antiquities of the city of Kilkenny' in *The Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society*, new series, ii, no. 2 (1859), p. 324 (Graves and Prim are quoting bishop David Rothe in this part of the article), see also Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, p. 16.

[48] Evidence for a possible internal enclosure comes from several sources, namely Andrew Gittens, 'Interim report re: trial excavations at St Canice's deanery orchard, coach road, church lane. Kilkenny, Co. Kilkenny' unpublished (2002), p. 4. This site report is available through the KKAP database and the summary in the published report of same, it is referenced in these sources as KKAP-200. See Ó Drisceoil, Bradley and Jennings, *The Kilkenny archaeological project*, p. 37.

[49] Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, p. 13.

St Patrick's, and Donaghmore

St Patrick's church was situated outside the town walls in a suburb referred to as Donaghmore. Topographically, St Patrick's and the suburb of Donaghmore lie along the summit of a ridge. Morphologically, the graveyard can be tentatively traced as a curve in the streetscape somewhat similar to the ecclesiastical enclosure around St Canice's. Very little is known about this area and there is limited evidence to accurately define its boundaries. The documentary evidence indicates that it was initially a separate manor with its 'own market place and market cross'. It is also likely that it was enclosed.[50] As there is no cartographic evidence for the suburb of Donaghmore it is difficult to define its extents. It is possible that it was centred on an early church in the vicinity of St Patrick's graveyard.[51]

Whereas the (hypothetical) enclosure of St Canice's is easily identifiable cartographically that of St Patrick's, if indeed it was enclosed, is quite tentative. There is virtually no evidence of a circular boundary here on the eighteenth-century Rocque map, while the OS five-foot plan of 1871 shows a more pronounced curve. This later boundary could simply represent the graveyard being enclosed in the nineteenth century. This variance between the two plans could also be due to planimetric inaccuracies, figure 1.8. A comparison of the two maps also shows there are other significant differences. The 'chapple' noted on the Rocque map has been removed and replaced with a larger structure and the graveyard has expanded to the south. The location of the graveyard here acted as a limiting factor for development.
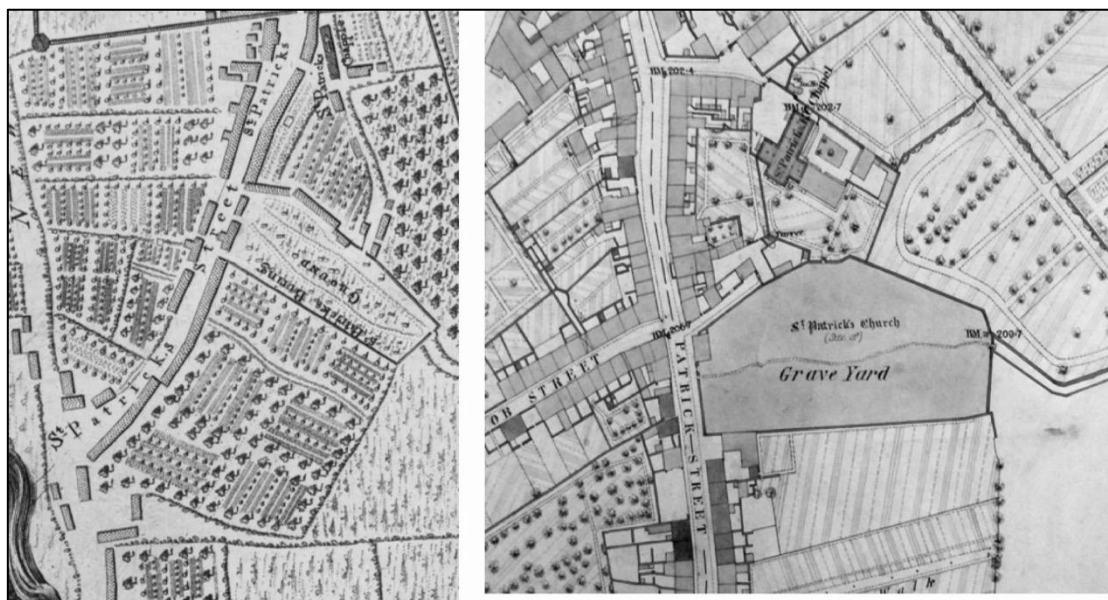
Figure 1.8 Rocque map of 1758 and the 1871 OS five-foot plan sheet xix, 47, showing St Patrick's graveyard.[52]

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[50] Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, p. 2.
[51] Ó Drisceoil, Bradley and Jennings, *The Kilkenny archaeological project*, pp 80-1.
[52] Rocque's map is also not aligned to the north and it is not a simple matter of turning it 90°, it is rotated to give a better comparison with the OS five-foot plan of 1871.

There is also some archaeological evidence to support the assertion that it was enclosed at an early date.[53] In terms of documentary evidence it is likely dateable to approximately A.D. 500, see Appendix 2.[54]

Anglo-Norman Kilkenny

By 1170 Kilkenny had become quasi-urban with a group of churches around the outer enclosure of the church of St Canice as well as having 'manufacturing centres dotted along the ridges parallel to the river Nore'.[55] The Anglo-Normans were initially attracted to the area as it was already settled and was accessible via the Nore and overland.[56] The arrival of the Anglo-Normans and their subsequent development of Kilkenny post-1170 brought the most important contributing factor to the morphology of the modern city. It was William Marshal's patronage of Kilkenny, post-1207, and its elevation to a regional capital, which allowed Kilkenny to become the largest inland town in Ireland by the mid-thirteenth century. This led to a period of rapid expansion and the development of the Hightown and its suburbs, St John's, 'Flemingstown' and the areas outside the Walkin Gate and St James's Gate. The pre-existing settlements of Irishtown and St Patrick's/Donaghmore were granted borough status. The date that Irishtown received borough status is unknown, but Donaghmore was certainly a borough by 1245.[57]

The earliest known charter, or grant, for Kilkenny is that of William Marshal and dates to 1207. It should be noted that this is not a foundation charter, *per se*, but formalised existing rights.[58] Among its more important articles was the creation of standard widths for the burgage plots of approximately 20 feet.[59] The significance of burgage plots to the morphology, topography and archaeology of the city is discussed below.

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[53] Ó Drisceoil, 'Archaeological impact assessment: proposed single-house development at Fr Hayden's Road, Kilkenny city', unpublished report (2004), pp 12-13, this report is referenced in the KKAP database as KKAP-108.

[54] Ó Drisceoil, Bradley and Jennings, *The Kilkenny archaeological project*, pp 80-1. The topographical references to St Patrick's and Donaghmore are included in Appendix 1.

[55] John Bradley and Ben Murtagh, 'William Marshal's charter to Kilkenny in 1207' in Bradley, Ó Drisceoil and Potterton (eds), *William Marshal in Ireland*, pp 214-5.

[56] Bradley and Murtagh, 'William Marshal's charter to Kilkenny in 1207', p. 219.

[57] Ó Drisceoil, Bradley and Jennings, *The Kilkenny archaeological project*, pp 88-9; Prim, 'Ancient Flemish colony in Kilkenny' in *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, i, no. 1 (1849), pp 37-40; Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, pp 2-3.

[58] Bradley, *Treasures of Kilkenny*, p. 16; Bradley and Murtagh, 'William Marshal's charter to Kilkenny in 1207', p. 223.

[59] Clarke, 'Planning and regulation in the formation of new towns and new quarters in Ireland' in Simms and Clarke (eds), *Lords and towns in medieval Europe: the European Historic Towns Atlas project* (Farnham, 2015), p. 324; Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, pp 1-2.

It was the decision to expand the pre-existing settlement at Kilkenny and a subsequent series of charters and grants that shaped the modern city. The importance of this early charter of 1207 is such that its text was used when grants were made to the 'burgesses of Rosbercon in 1294, of Somertoun near Callan between 1234 and 1241 and of Carrick on Suir in 1366'.[60] The Kilkenny charter was also used, apparently verbatim, for the towns of Callan, Carlow, Coolmore and Moone.[61] In terms of Kilkenny's broader position in the lordship of Leinster, it was one of sixteen towns built around the river valleys of the Barrow, Nore and Suir.[62]

This period of rapid urban growth in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries was also matched by significant population growth. This was common across all the Anglo-Norman towns in Ireland. The suburbs began to expand and reclamation of the flood plains of the Nore and Breagagh continued. This growth was followed in the fourteenth century by significant decline.[63] It was not until the late sixteenth century and the granting of significant areas of church lands to the corporation following the Reformation that the next phase of expansion of the city became possible. Between 1543 and 1547 the corporation was granted the lands of the Franciscan and Dominican friaries and the Augustinian priory, which allowed for urban expansion outside the town walls.[64] These leases and grants of land are recorded in 'the book of fee farms and leases'.[65]

Hightown

Morphologically, Hightown forms a long narrow street running north - south from the castle to Irishtown. It widens in the centre and has narrow streets and lanes radiating off it. Hightown developed in two well-documented phases though these are not immediately distinguishable cartographically. The initial phase of expansion only extended as far as modern-day James's Street. The land north of this point belonged to the church until a deed of 1207 between William Marshal and the bishop of Ossory. The land between James's Street and the Breagagh was exchanged for lands in Laois in order to expand the early settlement.[66]

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[60] Bradley, *Treasures of Kilkenny*, p. 16.
[61] Bradley and Murtagh, 'William Marshal's charter to Kilkenny in 1207', p. 240, footnote 243.
[62] Clarke, 'Planning and regulation in the formation of new towns and new quarters in Ireland', p. 328.
[63] Ó Drisceoil, Bradley and Jennings, *The Kilkenny archaeological project*, pp 88-9.
[64] Bradley, *The treasures of Kilkenny: charters and civic records of Kilkenny city* (Kilkenny, 2003), p. 16; see also Book of fee farms and leases, 1582-1678 (KCA, CR, H2, folios 66 to 141, 171-218).
[65] KCA, CR, H2, folios 66 to 141, 171-218.
[66] Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, p. 2.

In terms of topography, the streets and lanes on the west side of High Street slope upwards to the crest of a ridge. Between 1250 and *circa* 1348 Hightown was walled and Kilkenny became the largest walled inland town in Ireland.[67] The flood plain of the Nore lies to the east of the Hightown, and much of this area was reclaimed. This might also account for the variation in use of the burgage plots, as on the east side of Hightown they appear to have been used more as gardens and orchards. This can clearly be seen on Rocque's map of 1758.

Hightown was limited by the construction of the town walls on the west side, which ran along the crest of the ridge, and on the east side by the river Nore. On the southern side the walls ran along the river Breagagh that formed a natural boundary and a further limit to development while on the northern end the flat plain of land near the castle completed the circuit. Individual plots within the walls were narrow and development space was limited by the positioning of the town walls.

Hightown and Irishtown were two distinct separate entities both administratively and physically, each was walled separately and each had its own charter and corporation. The town wall, the Watergate, and the river Breagagh formed a boundary between the two. This division was to last until the Municipal Corporations Act of 1840, when both corporations were abolished and reconvened under a new constitution. The corporation records of Irishtown were also deposited in the tholsel and its property became vested in the new corporation.[68]

In reality the two towns had amalgamated topographically and physically well before then; the Municipal Corporations Act merely served to remove the remaining vestiges of the political and administrative distinctions between them.[69] It also laid the ground for the corporation to eventually gain control over all the city markets due to the Kilkenny markets act of 1861 as if Irishtown had retained its corporation this act would not have applied to it.

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[67] Thomas, *The walled towns of Ireland*, vol. i, pp 30-1; *The walled towns of Ireland*, vol. ii, pp 126-32.

[68] 'Schedule of leases of the corporation of Kilkenny', 1871 (KCA, CR, O1, folio 5), hereafter KCA, CR, O1.

[69] *Royal Commission to inquire into municipal corporations (Ireland), part II, southern, midland, western, south-east, north-east and part of north-west circuits*, H.C. 1835 [C. 25], lxxvii, 79, pp 87-107.

Irishtown

It is difficult to determine when exactly Irishtown started to develop as an early form of settlement but it is safe to assume that it was coeval with the growth of the ecclesiastical settlement of St Canice's.[70] Irishtown had grown sufficiently to warrant becoming a separate borough following the arrival of the Anglo-Normans. Archaeologically, there is very little evidence for early medieval Kilkenny with just seven archaeological investigations occurring at six sites. These have revealed possible inner enclosures for St Canice's and Donaghmore, burials, corn-drying kilns and the possible remains of a church beneath the present St Canice's cathedral.[71]

Irishtown was also walled thus limiting its growth within the walls. Irishtown was delimited on the east side by the Nore while the town wall ran west from just north of Green's bridge curving down to the southwest behind St Canice's and terminating at a point near the Breagagh. This is illustrated on figure 1.9. Morphologically, Irishtown and the original ecclesiastical enclosure of St Canice amalgamated and it is not possible to accurately delimit their original extents. An approximate representation of the enclosure is shown on figure 1.9.

The suburb of St John's

The suburb of St John's started to grow in the early thirteenth century. This burgeoning development led to the foundation of an Augustinian priory under Marshal patronage east of the Nore *circa* 1211.[72] John Street developed in proximity to this priory. The suburb of St John forms a sub-rectangular plan unit. The town walls ran northeast from two separate points along the Nore before turning east and west to meet at a crossroads midway along John Street. This is the smallest of the three walled parts of the city. The individual plots within this suburb have all the morphological trademarks of burgage plots, the long narrow plots characteristic of medieval settlements.

The area within Hightown, Irishtown and the suburb of St John's form the centre of the city to the current day. The morphological focus now moves to extramural development that shows expansion outside the limitations imposed by the town walls.[73]

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[70] Bradley, 'The early development of the medieval town of Kilkenny', pp 64-6.
[71] Ó Drisceoil, Bradley and Jennings, *The Kilkenny archaeological project*, pp 80-3.
[72] Bradley, 'The early development of the medieval town of Kilkenny', p. 67; *Liber Primus Kilkenniensis*, Charles Mc Neill (ed.) (Dublin, 1931), p. 63; Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, p. 13.
[73] Conzen, 'The use of town plans in the study of urban history', pp 113-30.
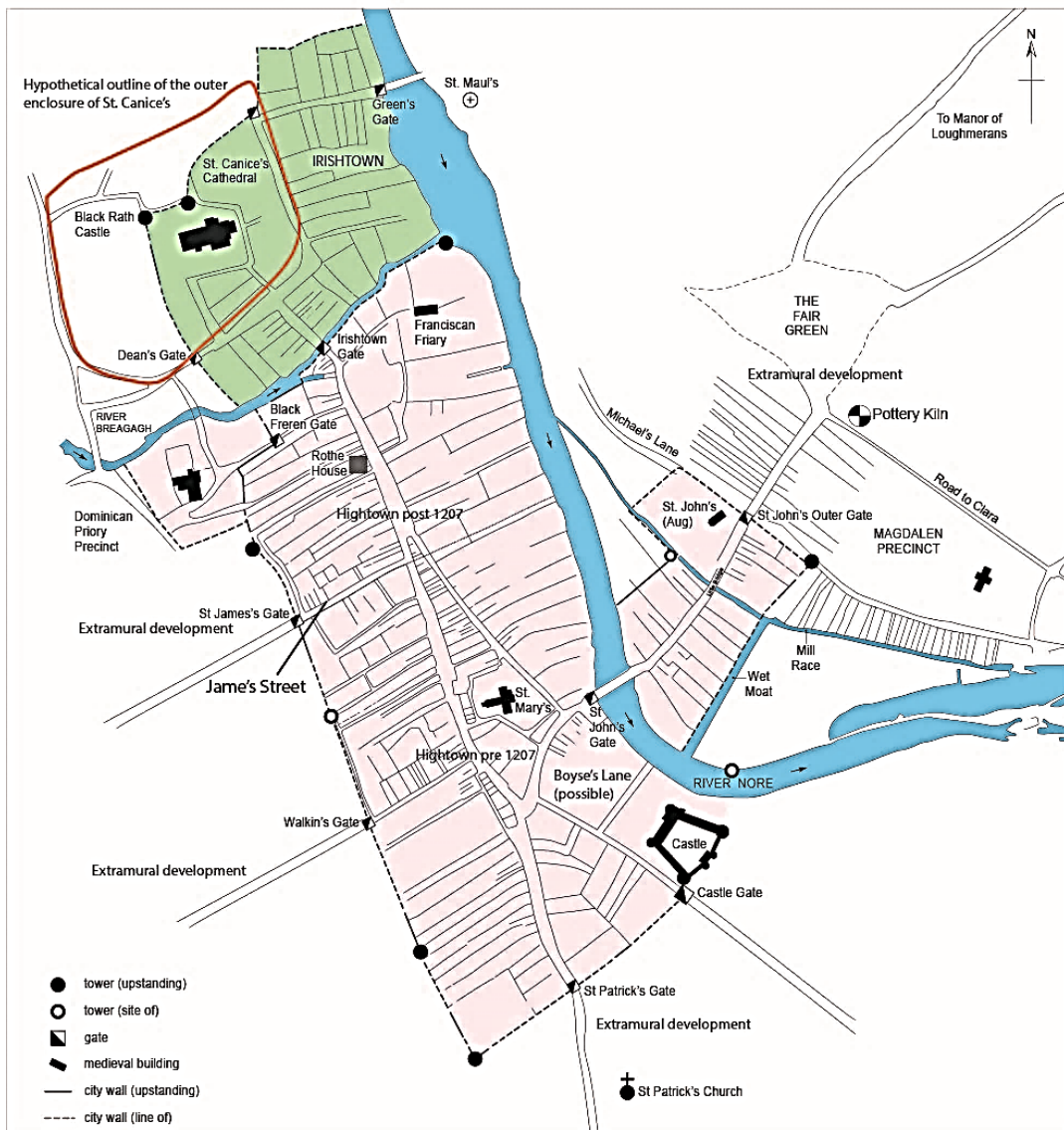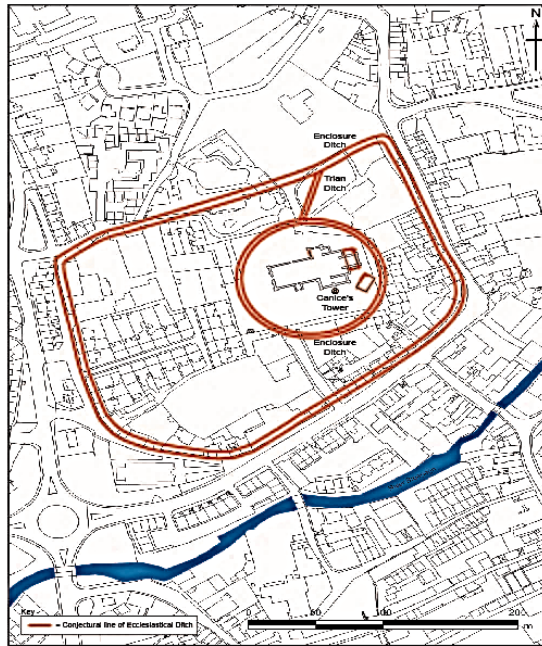
Figure 1.9 Hypothetical outline of the enclosure of St Canice's cathedral and Kilkenny *circa* 1350, showing the town walls.

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Extramural development

Extramural development occurred quite quickly following the foundation of the town in the early thirteenth century. Initially it focused on the area outside St James's Gate and the Walkin Street Gate. Other areas of extramural development are to the east and south of St Canice's cathedral. The area around Patrick Street and part of Ormonde Road and New Road, make up another area, likely the location of the manor of Donaghmore, while the last developed in a linear fashion northwest of the suburb of St John's and formed what is now upper John Street.[74] There is no definitive early date for the markets in Irishtown but these also lie outside the line of the town walls.

In terms of a basic chronology the extramural plots can all be roughly dated to the thirteenth or fourteenth century. There are some additions to these plots based on recent archaeological work which indicate settlement and land use for which there is currently no visible trace, for example the extensive pottery kilns, bakers' ovens, property boundaries and workshops found at Upper John Street in 2005 which were abandoned by the fourteenth century.[75]

Morphologically, most of the extramural plots display narrow frontages while some exhibit characteristics of a form of burgage development. The exception is the suburbs that developed along the line of pre-existing roads in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see chapter four. They thus show some of the characteristics of medieval settlement. Some of the buildings in these fringe belts include churches and other features that typically developed outside town walls thus these lands were ideally situated for development and expansion.

The late sixteenth century also saw development outside the town walls in two specific locations as a result of lands granted or leased to the corporation following the dissolution of the monasteries in the Reformation. The first of these is an expansion of the suburb of St John to the east. The second sixteenth-century expansion conforms to the area to the north, south and east of the Black abbey; this is the area around modern day Blackmill Street. Again, the focus here is on narrow property fronts, similar to the frontage of a burgage plot. Large open plots at the rear, that appear to have been gardens, terminate at the town wall to the east while the cartographic evidence indicates that plots to the west were also gardens or yards. This new development was only possible as a result of the former church lands being granted to the corporation and allowed the first significant urban expansion of the town in almost two hundred years.[76]

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[74] Ó Drisceoil, Bradley and Jennings, *The Kilkenny archaeological project*, pp 88-90.
[75] Ibid., pp 27, 31, 49; Emma Devine, 'Rich pickings form a medieval potter's yard at MacDonagh Station, Kilkenny city' in *Old Kilkenny Review*, lviii (2006), pp 67-71.
[76] Bradley, *Treasures of Kilkenny*, pp 46-7; Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, p. 5.

It should also be noted here that the sixteenth century saw significant reuse of the original burgage plots as the early modern Tudor houses along High Street and Parliament Street were built and over the course of the next century they began to expand backwards along the burgage heads both building over and reusing the land.

Kilkenny castle

Kilkenny castle is built on the crest of a ridge at the southern end of the town. Morphologically it would have limited development in this area after its construction and would have controlled access to and egress from the city through the Castle Gate. Prior to the construction of the castle there were two earthen fortifications on the site while an early date of 1192 for a castle at Kilkenny has been suggested. It is probable that the early castle was of the motte-and-bailey type.[77] One of these two fortifications was quite a significant structure in its own right. Recent archaeological excavations have also discovered that there was an earlier sod-built structure on the site. This is thought to represent either settlement pre-1170 or early Anglo-Norman activity.[78]

The castle was built by William Marshal and construction is thought to have started *circa* 1207 and was originally pentagonal. It has undergone extensive renovations and remodelling over the years. The south wall has been completely removed and an entrance was built through the western wall at the end of the seventeenth century.[79] The castle was originally entered from the Bennetsbridge road and was separated from the city by its moat. It was not until the development of the Parade that the moat was filled in and the castle became a more integrated part of city life with its continental-style piazza. Apart from being a defensive feature the moat also limited development in this area. The castle passed from the Marshal family to the de Clares in 1248 then the Despensers in 1317 before coming into the possession of the Butlers in 1390. It was the Butlers who would undertake the most significant structural and morphological changes to the castle and its environs, and it remained in their possession until the twentieth century.

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[77] Ó Drisceoil, Bradley and Jennings, *The Kilkenny Archaeological Project*, p. 88.
[78] Murtagh, 'The Kilkenny castle archaeological project; interim report' in *Old Kilkenny Review*, new series, iv, no. 5 (1993), pp 1108-11; see also KKAP-0149 for detailed, unpublished reports.
[79] Bradley, *Discover Kilkenny* (Dublin, 2000), pp 67-93.

Kilkenny city, 1677 to 1758
The Parade

The development of the Parade between 1677 and 1681 was the first major intramural development in Kilkenny since the Hightown was founded by the Anglo-Normans. It was also a highly significant morphological change to a cityscape that had remained largely the same, barring some extramural development and the smaller changes resulting from the ongoing burgage cycle since the construction of the town walls.

The development of the Parade involved the demolition of part of Castle Street and of the entirety of Boyse's Lane, the removal of a significant part of Rose Inn Street and the opening up of the castle to the city for the first time in the style of a continental piazza. Prior to this, the castle was not accessible from the city. Access was via the Bennettsbridge Road and the castle would barely have been visible from Rose Inn Street or Castle Street, it was 'an effective separation of powers, isolating castle and town'.[80]

The creation of the Parade is directly attributable to James Butler, the first duke of Ormonde, acting as an agent of change. The means by which Ormonde obtained these lands and the agreement that he reached with the corporation came about as a result of the Confederate wars and the subsequent grants and re-grants of land following the Cromwellian settlement. It is important to understand how this agreement came about as it also involved Ormonde surrendering market rights to the corporation. An entitlement to market customs and tolls had been one of the privileges enjoyed by the lords of Kilkenny since 1207.[81] The decision to give up these market rights in order to obtain land to develop the Parade would prove crucial when the corporation obtained a private act of parliament in 1861 granting it the right to once again levy market tolls. Tolls and customs had largely been neglected since the 1820s. By obtaining this private bill markets could only be held in a specific location with the corporation gaining the right to levy tolls and customs. Sellers would now be obliged to use the facilities provided by the corporation (this is discussed in more detail in chapter two). Not only did this agreement allow for a significant morphological change through the construction of the Parade it ultimately led to a second morphological change in the construction of the Market Yard. The construction of the market also considerably strengthened the corporation's financial position in the latter half of the nineteenth century. This would not have been possible had Ormonde retained market rights.

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[80] Bradley, 'The creation of the Parade', p. 77; KCA, CR, H2, folios 161-9, this is the text of the agreement between the duke of Ormonde and the corporation.
[81] Ibid., pp 77-105.

To summarise this process, with the outbreak of rebellion in Leinster in the 1640s all the lands held by the rebels in Kilkenny city automatically reverted to the king as under the medieval fuedal system the king owned the land. James Butler then received a grant of these forfeited lands from the king in the 1660s. The problem arose that in the 1650s the Cromwellian forces had already confiscated the city prior to the Restoration and the king's Declaration that Ormonde was entitled to the lands. A new corporation had also been formed in the inter-regnum period in 1656, and, subsequent to the Restoration, a dispute arose as to who exactly owned properties within the city. This lengthy dispute was eventually resolved in 1677 when Ormonde was granted almost one quarter of the land within the old town walls and eighty-two properties for a rent to the corporation of £40.[82] These properties and both their old and new tenants are listed in a section of the 'book of fee farms and leases'. While this part of the document has been transcribed there remains significant work to be done on it in terms of a cross comparison with the Civil Survey and for topographical references. It would be possible to more accurately map the location of Boyse's Lane using the information in the Civil Survey and the 'book of fee farms and leases'. Two extracts from this manuscript are included as figures 1.10 and 1.11.
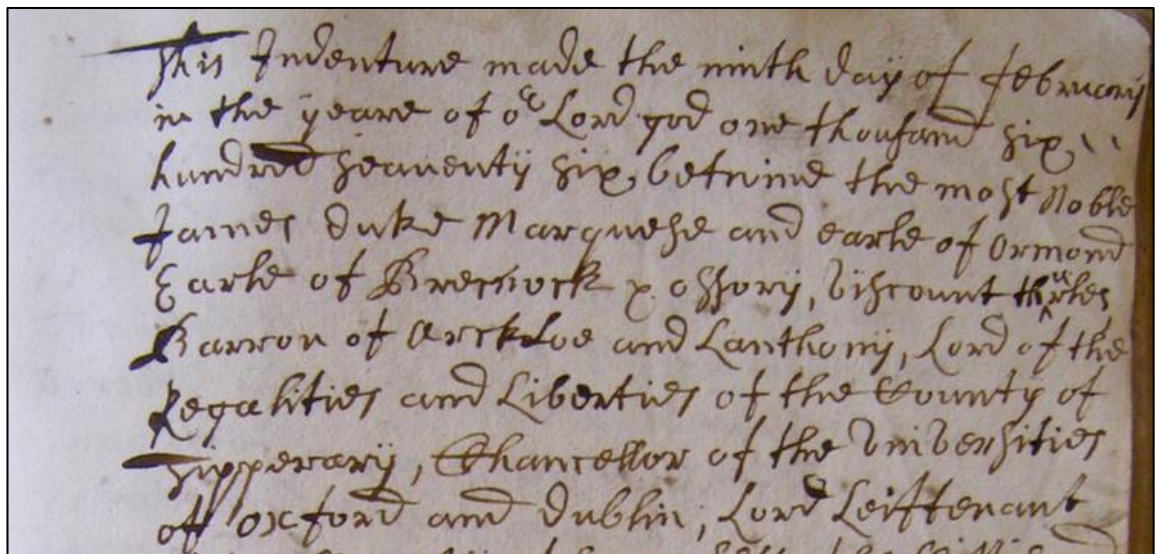
Figure 1.10 The start of the agreement between the duke and the corporation that gave it market rights, 1677.

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[82] Bradley, 'The creation of the Parade', p. 77, see also KCA, CR, H2, folios 161-9.
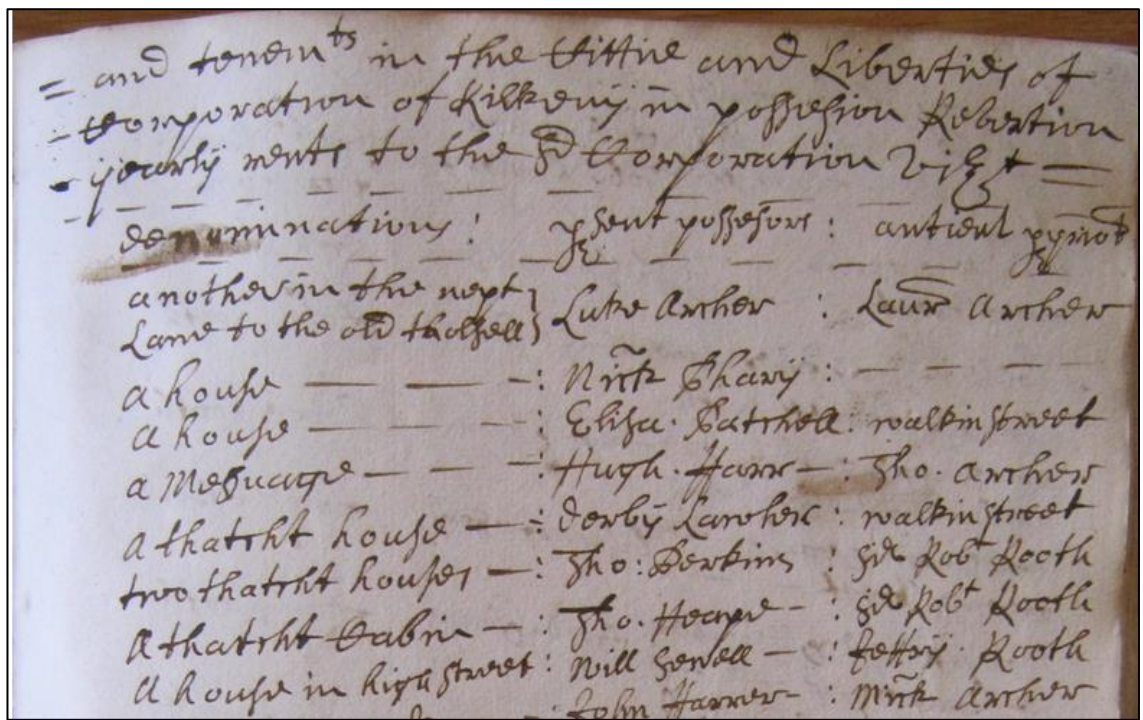
Figure 1.11 An extract from the schedule of properties that were exchanged between the duke and the corporation, 1677.
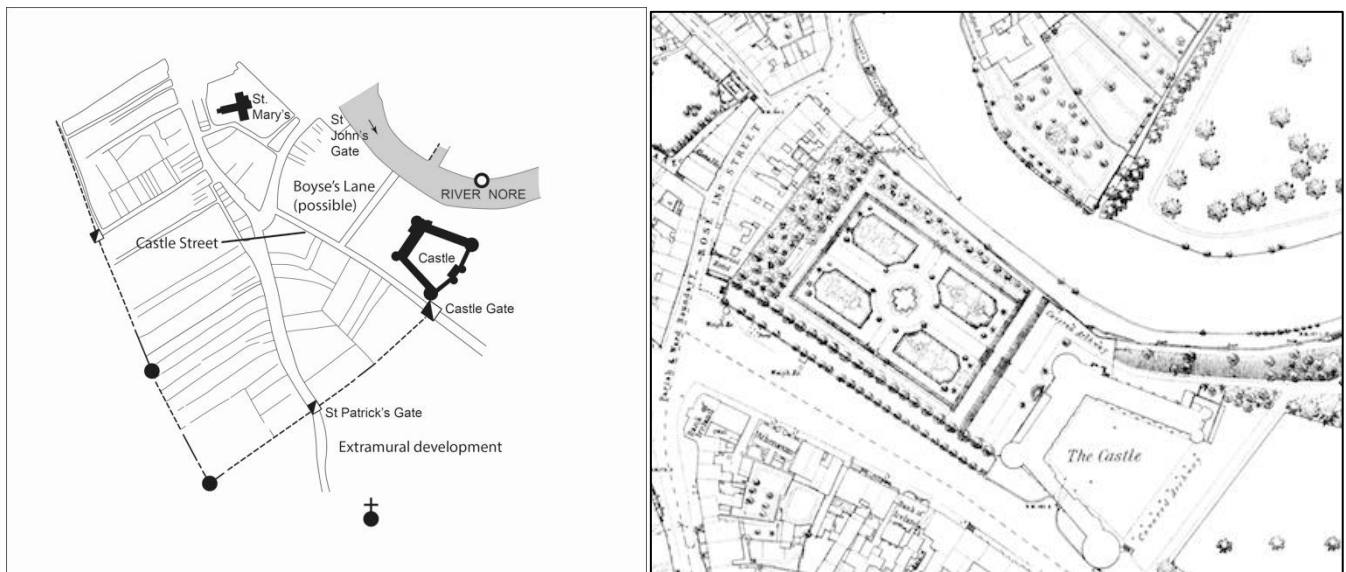
Figure 1.12 Hypothetical reconstruction drawing of Castle Street, Rose Inn Street and Boyse's Lane, Kilkenny, before the construction of the Parade, and the Parade in 1871.

From Rocque to 1861

Following the development of the Parade, in the 1670s, the castle and its grounds, there were few morphological changes to the city until the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Rocque's map of 1758 shows the city prior to the removal of large sections of the town wall and the construction of a number of breweries and manufactories. Rocque's map also shows that the town walls of both Irishtown and the suburb of St John had been removed before 1758. It shows the burgage plots and indicates that while some had been developed along the length of the plot there were still a significant number of gardens and many of the burgages had not

been developed as far back as the town wall. Growth can be seen in several places, for example the sections that are north and south of St James's Street. Where Rocque's map shows open burgage plots, the 1841 OS map shows a brewery to the north and development along New Building Lane and Evans's Lane. This is further evidenced in the topographical section of the Kilkenny fascicle of the IHTA.[83]
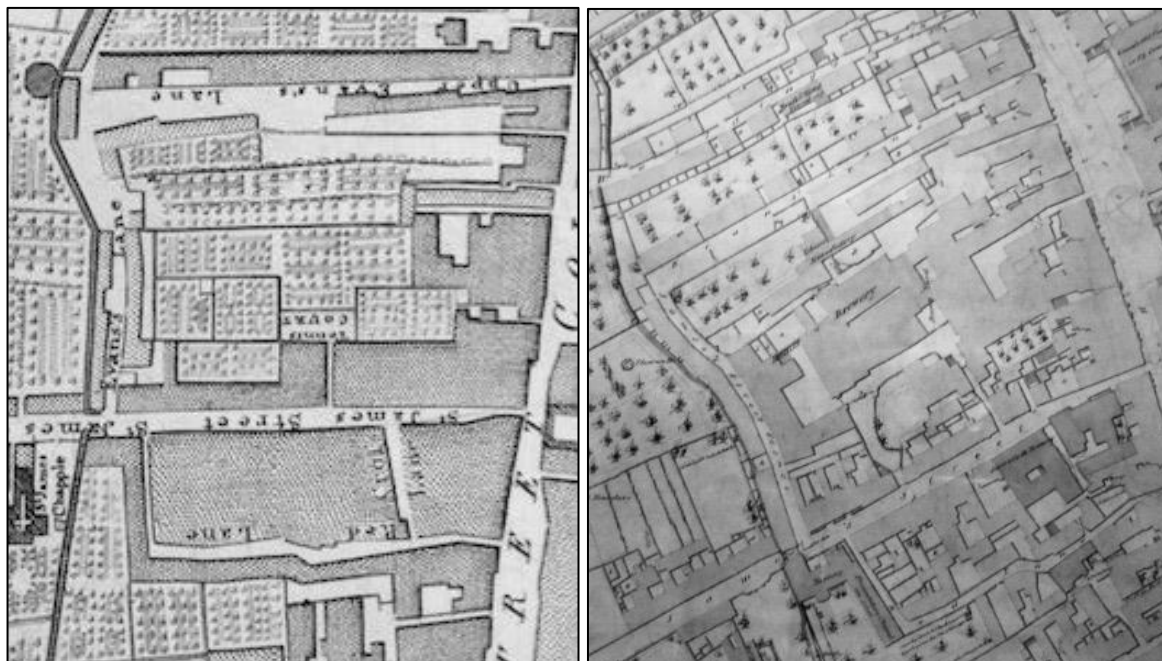
Figure 1.13 Rocque's map of 1758 and the OS five-foot plan of 1841 showing the growth in development in the area around St James's Street.

This period also saw the growth of extramural suburbs, most notably Goose Hill, Kennyswell Street and Greenshill. Morphologically, these present as long curvilinear streets with the buildings having a narrow frontage and plots to the rear. The quality of housing and living standards in these suburbs was quite poor and they all feature heavily in the extant records of the urban sanitary authority.[84] A minor change to the streetscape occurred when John Street was widened in 1848. The corporation obtained permission from the Lords of treasury to remove 'seven houses, part of their property of a very poor description and in bad repair' arguing that it would 'render the travelling thro' it less dangerous' and 'confer a public benefit'.[85]

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[83] Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, pp 11-12, 18.

[84] Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, p. 10; see chapter six for a discussion of the work of the urban sanitary authority.

[85] Correspondence and papers concerning Irish corporations, Kilkenny, 1 Jan. 1848 to 31 Dec. 1899 (TNA, treasury records, T103/25 parts one and two), T103/25, part 1, letter dated to June 1848, as noted in the introduction these files are out of sequence.

Fringe belt development, 1758-1861

The period 1758 to *circa* 1861 also saw the growth of what Mark Hennessy refers to as a 'new urban quarter' on the eastern side of the city.[86] A number of institutional buildings were constructed on the urban fringes but it is not necessarily the case for Kilkenny that this was a carefully planned 'new urban quarter'. The Barracks was opened in 1803 at the junction of the Castlecomer Road and New Road in proximity to the Dublin Road and Green's Bridge which ultimately leads to Freshford, Thurles and on to Cork. Given the available land within the city boundaries this was a logical place to construct the barracks. The building of the barracks then likely contributed to the development of Ballybought Street.[87]

The decision to build a workhouse in the 1840s in proximity to the junction of the Dublin, Carlow and Castlecomer roads also makes sense due to the presence of the county infirmary and fever hospital nearby, existing road infrastructure and available land.[88] Likewise St John's church was built in this urban fringe, as the parish did not have a substantial church. Hennessy's theory about the new urban quarter also ignores the fact that the gas works, a substantial industrial building, was built on this urban fringe as well.[89] It is also logical to assume that with the opening of the railway in 1848 this led to further development around it and in the twentieth century industrial estates developed to the north-east. Morphologically, these institutional, administrative and industrial buildings occupy large plots of land on the urban fringes. What the idea of a 'new urban quarter' for Kilkenny also fails to discuss is the fact that the city and county gaol and a second smaller workhouse were built on the western side of the city in the same period.[90] It is possible that this range of buildings constructed between *circa* 1758 and 1897 were simply peripheral to the city and built on the urban fringes and not part of a planned 'new urban quarter'.

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[86] Mark Hennessy, 'Administration' in Howard Clarke and Sarah Gearty (eds), *Maps and texts: exploring the Irish Historic Towns Atlas* (Dublin, 2013), p. 160.
[87] Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA no. 10, pp 10, 15.
[88] Ibid., p. 22.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid., p. 15.

Conclusion

Broadly speaking, a number of distinct morphological phases can be identified in Kilkenny's development pre-1861. Each of these has several distinct elements. A full town-plan analysis of the city plot by plot, and street by street, would be necessary to provide a complete morphological analysis of the city's development. The oldest identifiable morphological phase concerns the early medieval ecclesiastical settlements of St Canice and St Patrick. The second is the phased Anglo-Norman development, with its burgage plots, town walls, parish churches and castle. The third is the post-Reformation development of several small suburbs. The fourth covers the period from the development of the Parade until *circa* 1758 when Rocque produced his map of the city that was the first large-scale plan of Kilkenny and shows the majority of the circuit of the town walls. There were some developments within the town walls between 1758 and 1861 that saw the majority of the town walls removed and extensive amalgamation and removal of some burgage plots. This can be seen from a comparative analysis of Rocque's map and the OS five-foot plans of 1841 and 1871. Figure 1.9 shows how the city was shaped by approximately 1350 and how this form carries through to the present day. Extramurally, several small suburbs also grew and a number of institutional, administrative and industrial buildings were developed on the urban fringes.

Chapter two
Urban development and changes in urban form: a case study of the Kilkenny Markets Act of 1861

A central market place is integral to Anglo-Norman settlement. Characteristically, a wide central street, or a widened portion of the central street, served this function. Kilkenny is a typical morphological example of this where High Street widens at its centre. The market cross was located near here and the third incarnation of the tholsel was also built here in the eighteenth century.[1] The second phase of the Anglo-Norman development, post-1207, saw another wide street laid out, modern day Parliament Street, that also served as a market place. These streets, along with those of Irishtown, were to function as the markets and fairs of the city until the passing of the Kilkenny Markets Act of 1861 and are highlighted on figure 2.1.

The 1861 act was to have a significant social and economic impact on city life for the remainder of the nineteenth and into the early twentieth century.[2] As the city grew and developed additional areas were used as market places with the end result that the markets were quite scattered and dispersed, thus making central oversight more difficult. Markets were the focal point of local economy and a town thrived or stagnated depending on their success.[3] Kilkenny's markets were also essentially a focal point of urban-rural exchange.[4] Kilkenny also needs to be seen in the light of its functions as a market town for an extensive rural hinterland.

The streets of Kilkenny were designed and laid out in the medieval period from *circa* 1170-1207, at a time when the population was low and there was not as much pressure on space and resources as there would be in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries when the population was significantly higher. Over time, and as population grew significantly past thirteenth-and fourteenth-century levels, these older market places essentially became unfit for purpose. As will be demonstrated, the streets became very crowded on market and fair days. Narrow medieval streets could no longer adequately serve as the locations for markets and fairs.

Markets and market development play a pivotal role in both the economy and the urban morphology of Kilkenny city. At a very basic level markets were a social space, an economic space and an essential element of urban space.

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[1] John Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10 (Dublin, 2000), pp 15, 19 for references to markets, the tholsel and the market cross; John Hogan, 'The three tholsels of Kilkenny' in *The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Society of Ireland*, fourth series, v, no. 41 (Jan. 1880), pp 236-52.

[2] An Act to authorize the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of Kilkenny to make a General Market in the city of Kilkenny; and for other Purposes, Local Act, 24 & 25 Victoria I, c. xlix, 1861 (HL/PO/PB/1/1861/24&25V1n65), hereafter Kilkenny Market Act.

[3] Jon Stobart and Ilja Van Damme, 'Introduction: markets in modernization: transformations in urban market space and practice, *c*. 1800 to *c*. 1970' in *Urban History*, xliii, no. 3 (2016), pp 358, 360, 363-4.

[4] Jens Toftgaard, 'Marketplaces and central spaces: markets and the rise of competing spatial ideals in Danish city centres, *c*. 1850-1900' in *Urban History*, xliii, no. 3 (2016), p. 373.

The focus of this chapter is on the markets, fairs and the use of urban space. Chapter one showed how the city developed morphologically. This chapter then builds on the theme of morphological change focussing on the city's markets and illustrates how the Kilkenny Markets Act saw a significant development within the core of the city. This chapter first summarises the state of the markets pre-1861 to assess the need for a new centralised market place. It examines evidence from charters and parliamentary papers to show how a purpose-built market place was to become essential to the growth of the city. It looks at the interactions between local and central government, which resulted in a private act of parliament being granted for the new market place. The economic impact of this act on the corporation's finances is examined as is the location chosen for the market and the local view of the necessity of this act. An analysis of markets and fairs on a national level provides context for the study of markets at a local level.

The Kilkenny Markets Act was one of a series of private market bills passed on behalf of Irish corporations in the nineteenth century and was based on the Limerick Market Act.[5] Effectively, this act marked the end of the burgage cycle in this part of the city. The burgage cycle was the defining factor in the formation of the city's shape and its impact can still be seen in the streetscape. The market development was the largest single alteration to the old system of burgage plots in the core of Kilkenny city in the nineteenth century. An analysis of the purchase of the land used for the market and the local view of the act and the market is also provided. Maps are provided showing the plots prior to the construction of the market as well as a detailed plan showing the market itself following its eventual construction in 1862. The plans and reference material contained in the records of the House of Lords private bills office are also utilised.[6]

The corporation eventually constructed the market in the centre of the city and it is known to this day as the market yard. It saw a radical redevelopment of land within the town walls. Other large infrastructural projects such as the workhouse, the army barracks, the gas works and the railway station were all developed extramurally outside the old city core. The ultimate impact of the Kilkenny Markets Act was the radical restructuring of this part of the city for the construction of a purpose-built market place by the corporation (figures 2.8 and 2.10). This act essentially gave control over market tolls back to the corporation, which were to be a significant addition to its income for the remainder of the study period.

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[5] Kilkenny corporation minute book no. 11, 2 Sept. 1851 to 10 Dec. 1862 (KCA, CR, D11, pp 665, 667-8), hereafter KCA, CR, D11.
[6] An Act to authorize the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of Kilkenny to make a General Market in the city of Kilkenny; and for other Purposes, Local Act, 24 & 25 Victoria I, c. xlix 1861 (HL/PO/PB/1/1861/24&25V1n65), HL/PO/PB/3/plan1861/K2 Kilkenny general market 1861 plan, section, book of reference, gazette notice, list of owners, lessees and occupiers, estimate and declaration.

Markets on a national level

The arrival of the Anglo-Normans saw the first charters granted to towns and cities in Ireland. Most markets were held under a letter of patent granted to an individual or incorporated body, while other towns had a clause in their charter of incorporation. The early seventeenth century, particularly 1612-13, saw forty borough charters granted during the reign of James I in an attempt to pack parliament in his favour. These boroughs were granted markets. Some towns and cities also had markets established by an act of parliament.[7] There were some issues with these patents. They were considered to have 'vague indistinct and undefined wording'.[8] Furthermore, markets tended to be spread out and not in a central location. As will be seen this was a contributing factor to the decision to build a centralised market place in Kilkenny.

An inquiry published in 1852 to examine the state of markets and fairs in Ireland discovered that of the 349 markets held nationally 125 had no patent at all. A further 103 held markets on different days to those stated in their patents. This was also the case with fairs. Of the 1297 fairs held nationally, 485 had no patent with 324 holding fairs on dates not stipulated by their patents or charters.[9]

Another significant issue with the seventeenth-century patents on a national level was that there was no stipulation concerning how the tolls and customs raised were to be spent and this was also the case in Kilkenny. Furthermore, tolls and customs were not usually expended for the purposes of improving the markets. All of these points brought up on a national level via the 1852 inquiry can be seen in an analysis of the charters issued to Kilkenny. Kilkenny's charters do not mention a centralised market, they make no reference to how the tolls and customs were to be expended, and the days the charters stipulated for holding the fairs and markets had changed by the latter half of the nineteenth century.[10]

Before analysing the act of 1861 and its long-term impact, it is necessary to discuss the background to the markets prior to this act. This will examine the rationale behind the need for a custom built market and what potential benefit it would bring to both the city and the corporation. The report of the Fairs and Markets Commission and the subsequent evidence from local inquiries

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[7] *Fairs and Markets Commission, Ireland, Report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the fairs and markets of Ireland*, H.C. 1852-3 [C. 1674], xli, 79, pp 84-5.
[8] Ibid., p. 85.
[9] *Fairs and Markets Commission, Ireland*, H.C. 1852-3, p. 86; Lindsay Proudfoot, 'Markets, fairs and towns in Ireland: *c*. 1600-1853' in Peter Borsay and Lindsay Proudfoot (eds), *Provincial towns in early modern England and Ireland* (New York, 2002), p. 72; Raymond Gillespie, 'Small towns in early modern Ireland' in Peter Clark (ed.), *Small towns in early modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1995), pp 150-3.
[10] Typescript copies of the charters granted by James I, 1608, 1609 and James II, 1686 (KCA, CR, M3), hereafter, KCA, CR, M3.

published in 1854 provide much of the evidence for the markets and fairs in the period prior to the Kilkenny Markets Act of 1861.[11]

Markets, fairs, tolls and customs in Kilkenny city pre-1861

Prior to the construction of the Kilkenny market, in what is now the market yard, markets were held on the city streets.[12] The city markets and fairs were granted by means of charters and patents. The early seventeenth century saw a large increase in charters and grants, and patents of markets and fairs Kilkenny being no exception. A charter of James I dating to 15 October 1608, permitted markets to be held two days a week on Wednesday and Saturday. This charter makes no reference to fair days. The second charter, which superseded the previous one, was granted six months later and dated 11 April 1609 added a market on Tuesdays with the right to hold three fairs. A third charter, that of James II, dating to 14 December 1686, grants the same market days and it stipulates the dates for four fair days.[13] These charters make no reference at all to the location of the markets and fairs, with the earliest charter stating that they were to be held 'in any convenient place'.[14]

The 1686 charter states that in relation to the collection of customs and tolls and their use the corporation were;

> to retain to their own proper use the Fees and prerequisites, profits and emoluments thereout issuing growing and arising or thereout assessed or to be assessed imposed or to be imposed, without any account or other thing thereout to be rendered or made.[15]

This is important as it placed no responsibility on the corporation to expend the money raised from the markets and fairs on improving the facilities provided for the public. A similar clause is included in both the charter of 1609 and that of 1686.[16] These clauses were to have long-term impacts. As will be seen the markets became scattered and were held in a number of locations with no facilities provided for public use.

It also needs to be borne in mind that James, the first duke of Ormonde, gave up his market rights to the corporation as part of the agreement that led to the construction of the Parade. [17]

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[11] *Fairs and Markets Commission, Ireland*, H.C. 1852-3, p. 87; *Fairs and Markets Commission, Ireland*, H.C. 1854-5, 282-93.
[12] *Fairs and Markets Commission, Ireland*, H.C. 1854-5, p. 283.
[13] Typescript of the charters of James I, 16 Oct. 1608, 11 Apr. 1609 and from the charter granted by James II, 14 Dec. 1686/7 (KCA, CR, M3).
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.,
[17] Bradley, 'The creation of the Parade: Ormond's deal with Kilkenny corporation, 1677' in *Old Kilkenny Review*, lvii (2006), p. 105.

Traditionally, the lords of Kilkenny had been in possession of the market tolls and were also granted a percentage of the any fines imposed by the court since the granting of William Marshal's charter in 1207.[18] This is important as the duke was giving up a relatively stable income stream, one that eventually became neglected by the corporation until the Kilkenny Markets Act of 1861. The obvious significance of this is that if the duke had retained the rights to levy customs and tolls, then the corporation would not have been able to obtain the private bill that ultimately allowed it to build a central market place and benefit from the revenue afforded by levying tolls and customs as the Kilkenny Markets Act forced sellers to use the purpose-built market place which in turn allowed the corporation to collect the tolls and customs.

As stated previously, the seventeenth-century charters had also given Kilkenny corporation the right to collect market tolls but this practice had been largely discontinued by 1826 due to significant opposition to their collection. This was part of national opposition and extensive litigation relating to the collection of tolls.[19] By 1826-7 in the eastern half of the country the policy of collecting tolls had been largely abandoned.[20] The income from tolls and customs was in fact leased for much of the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with the tolls eventually being abolished and the customs declining to a negligible amount.[21]

This abandonment of tolls and customs was a very gradual process in Kilkenny city and it can be traced from 1775 through to 1862 through the available minute books of the corporation and an extant typescript of references to markets, fairs, tolls and customs.[22] While the evidence from the *Fairs and markets commission* states that 'they were discontinued about the year 1826' this is clearly not the case. For example, a contract on customs for corn was extant in 1826. It was not until July 1836 that a motion was put forward in the corporation to abandon tolls and customs, where tolls were abandoned and customs were not. Tolls on fowl for instance were only discontinued in 1845.[23] As the eighteenth century wore on, more and more goods were deemed to be exempt from tolls and customs and the amount this brought in lessened. Corn, for example, was freed from tolls, but not customs, in 1785. Wheat sold at the bolting mills bypassed the need for city officials to collect the tolls on wheat and instead they received one penny for every barrel

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[18] Ibid.

[19] Proudfoot, 'Markets fairs and towns in Ireland: *c*. 1600-1853' in Proudfoot and Borsay (eds), *Provincial towns in early modern England and Ireland*, pp 69-96; Patrick O'Flanagan, 'Markets and Fairs in Ireland, 1600-1800: index of economic development and regional growth' in *Journal of Historical Geography*, xi, no. 4 (1985), pp 364-78.

[20] *Fairs and Markets Commission, Ireland,* H.C. 1852-3, pp 88-9.

[21] Extracts from a number of minute books were compiled by the corporation as a typescript due to a legal case in the twentieth century, typescript of evidence relating to markets tolls and customs, parts 1 to 4, 1755 to 1862, Kilkenny corporation minute books, extracts from minute book number 8, 1775 to 1826, extracts from minute book number 9, 1825-43, extracts from minute book number 10, 1843-1851, extracts from minute book number 11, 1851-62 (KCA, CR, M1 parts 1 to 4), hereafter KCA, CR, M1, parts 1-4, where relevant.

[22] KCA, CR, M1 to M4.

[23] KCA, CR, M1, part 1, pp 1-5, part 3, p. 8.

of wheat ground at the mills.[24] Butcher's fat and standings brought to the shambles were also exempted from customs.[25]

By 1826 when national opposition to tolls and customs was rising, the revenue from them was of little financial benefit to the corporation. In 1829 tolls, customs and charges from public scales only brought in £314 3*s*.[26] Tolls were taken in kind, specifically on corn, so that a certain amount was taken out of each barrel. Customs, on the other hand, related to cattle and other products and their collection was abandoned when the old corporation was abolished *circa* 1840 while the reformed corporation did not reinstitute customs. Local opposition to tolls is also evidenced in the Kilkenny corporation minute books with resistance to their collection occurring mostly between 1821 and 1826 in conjunction with the disputes seen nationally.[27] These disputes were in tandem with proposals by the corporation to abolish tolls and to reinstate fairs that would be free of both.[28] In relation to tolls and customs, an annual feature of the corporation minute books in the late eighteenth century is the letting of tolls by 'Publick Cant' (auction), to the highest bidder.[29] This initially brought in around £620 per annum.[30] This amount gradually decreased however and by the mid-nineteenth century the practice of letting or indeed collecting tolls was abandoned. The letting of public tolls was not unique to Kilkenny, it is also evidenced in places such as Tuam and Galway.[31]

By the mid-nineteenth century the Tuesday market in Kilkenny had been discontinued.[32] In addition to the markets the city fairs had also now increased from the four initially granted to eighteen fair days annually. These were separate from the market days and were held at numerous locations such as the Parade and John's Green before the Fair Green was constructed.[33]

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[24] KCA, CR, M1, part 1, pp 6-8.
[25] KCA, CR, M1, part 1, p. 5.
[26] KCA, CR, M1, part 2, p. 1.
[27] Kilkenny corporation minute book number 8, 9 Sept. 1775 to 3 May 1826 (KCA, CR, D8, pp 423, 429, 441, 463, 471, 473, 477, 487; KCA, CR, M1, part 1, p 24.
[28] KCA, CR, M1, part 2, pp 1-5.
[29] KCA, CR, M1, part 1, p. 1.
[30] Ibid.
[31] *Fairs and Markets Commission, Ireland*, H.C. 1852-3, p. 87.
[32] *Fairs and Markets Commission, Ireland, Part II Minutes of evidence*, H.C. 1854-5 [C. 1910], xix, 1, p. 282.
[33] Typescript of evidence relating to markets tolls and customs, 1826 to 43 (KCA, CR, M1, part 2, p. 2), hereafter KCA, CR, M1.

Market locations pre-1861

Up until the mid-nineteenth century, the Kilkenny city markets were held on the city streets. There was a small open area set aside for the sale of fish, vegetables and fowl as well as a dedicated meat market or shambles between High Street and King Street (modern day Kieran Street). There was also a separate fish market on Walkin Street. Furthermore, there was a cabbage market at the Canal Walk as evidenced on Healy's map of 1844, while the Ouncels at the Parade and on Coal Market Street were used for the sale of hay and potatoes and for the weighing of goods.[34]

By the time of the first OS five-foot town plan in 1841 there was a fish market depicted directly behind the shambles on Back Lane (modern Kieran Street) while further along Back Lane there was a butter market and a haystand.[35] The space under the tholsel in proximity to the market cross was frequently used for the sale of potatoes and oats. The butter market was in private hands at mid-century from which the corporation received no income. This market was held under a separate act of parliament and the weighmaster had the authority to summon individuals who sold butter by weight outside his market although he claimed not to have done so. He also claimed that individuals were not forced to use his market.[36] This was contradicted by another respondent to the 1852-3 parliamentary inquiry who states that other merchants would not weigh butter for fear of being summoned and fined for weighing butter outside of the market. This essentially gave this merchant a monopoly over the sale of butter in the city; there were also complaints about the charges levied in this market.[37] Potatoes were also sold at the tholsel. There was such a demand for the sale of potatoes that in 1853 the corporation passed a motion that only farmers were allowed to sell potatoes here and other sellers had to use the vegetable market on King Street.[38] The various locations of the markets and fairs pre-1861 are shown on figure 2.1. This pattern of scattered market places is one referred to by Terry Slater who in relation to English medieval markets states that 'market trading functions were dispersed'.[39]

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[34] KCA, CR, M1, parts 2 and 3; James Healy, 'A plan of part of the city of Kilkenny', July 1841, 10 feet to the inch', copy in author's possession.
[35] OS five-foot plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix (1841).
[36] *Fairs and Markets Commission, Ireland*, H.C. 1854-5, pp 282-3.
[37] Ibid., pp 291-3.
[38] KCA, CR, M1, part 4, p. 4.
[39] Terry Slater, 'Lordship economy and society in English medieval marketplaces' in Anngret Simms and Howard Clarke (eds), *Lords and towns in medieval Europe: the European Historic Towns Atlas project* (Farnham, 2015), p. 219.

Fairs

Fairs were also held on the city streets with the exception of the fairs held at St John's Green that was a relatively enclosed space on the outskirts of the city. The Parade, the grand continental-style piazza laid out by the first duke of Ormonde, was by the mid-nineteenth century used for the sale of milk, cattle and hay. James's Green and John's Green were also used for fairs. While the Butt's Green held a milk fair and a pig market by 1853. Fairs were held at these locations and more around the city before finally being moved to a purpose-built space constructed between 1858 and 1860, which still bears the name of the Fair Green. The modern Fair Green was unenclosed until *circa* 1859. Prior to being moved to the modern Fair Green, fairs took place in the open space provided by the streets, which resulted in large crowds and obstructions in the streets on fair days. This was complained of as being detrimental to the general population who found it difficult to move freely through the town on fair days.[40] The Parade continued as a place where hay was sold until at least the early twentieth century.

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[40] *Fairs and Markets Commission, Ireland*, H.C. 1854-5, pp 282-3.
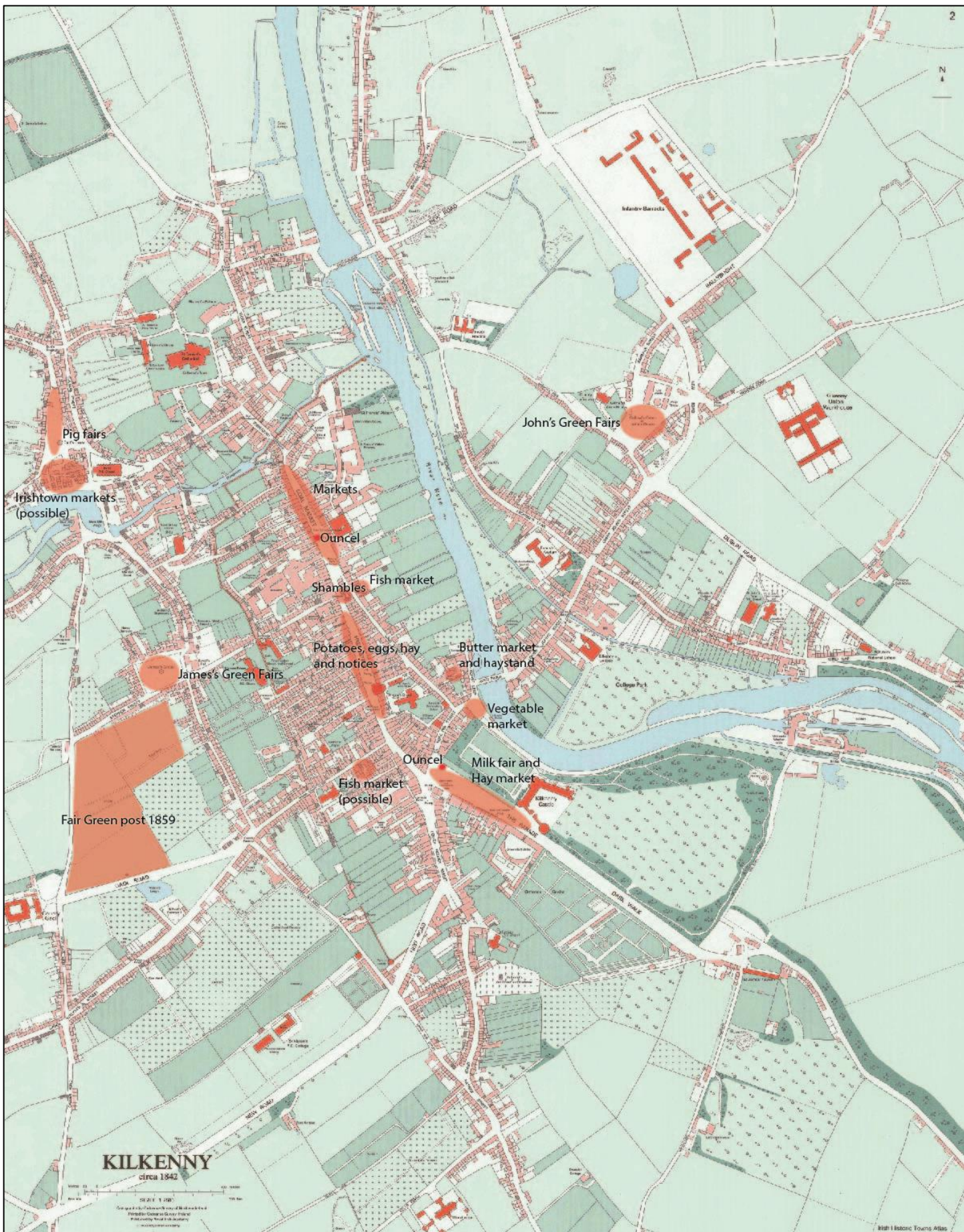
Figure 2.1 The location of the various markets and fairs in Kilkenny before the markets act of 1861 on map 2 of the Kilkenny fascicle of the IHTA.

The shambles, High Street

An unusual morphological feature of High Street is the shambles. The shambles first appears on Rocque's map of 1758 where it is shown as a small open-plan rectangular area that appears to be unroofed.[41] James Healy's plan of 1844 gives details of a plaque on the wall of the shambles that gives a date earlier than that which was previously envisaged.[42] There is also a more detailed plan of the shambles in the records of the landed estates court from 1855.[43]

Rocque also depicts modern-day Parliament Street as 'Cole Market' providing further cartographic evidence that markets were held on the city streets. He also illustrates the market cross on High Street outside the tholsel reinforcing the idea that this was still a central location for the sale of goods by the time this map was drawn. The obvious inference that can be drawn from a simple cartographic examination of Rocque's map is that elements of the streets had been continually adapted to use for markets.

The presence of the word 'shambles' on its own would also seem to be indicative of this. Shambles is ultimately derived from the latin word *scamellum*, meaning 'little bench'. This was originally a portable wooden bench used for the sale of goods. Over time this portable feature became permanent and eventually became a fixed point in a town or market. It is unknown if this was the process in Kilkenny as the earliest topographical reference dates the construction of a 'flesh market' on a 'waste piece of ground' to 1732.[44] Notable other examples in an Irish context of shambles as a topographical feature include Fishamble Street in Dublin, Shamble Street in Downpatrick, and shambles in Kells and Trim.[45] There are also numerous examples in an English context such as at York and Caernarvon.[46] Slater also comments on the frequency of a shambles in medieval towns stating that 'almost every town had its butcher's shambles so it is quite possible that the one in Kilkenny actually dates from the medieval period.[47]

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[41] John Rocque, 'A map of Kilkenny city', 1758.

[42] James Healy, 'Plan of some of the hereditaments, estates and tenements, the chiefries of which are vested in the most noble John Marquess of Ormonde situate in the borough of Kilkenny', 1844, 40 feet to the inch and 20 feet to an inch, copy in author's possession.

[43] *Rentals and particulars of the meat market of the city of Kilkenny*, 26 June, 1855 (NLI Landed Estates Court records, 1855, 2 M 1).

[44] Ibid.

[45] Anngret Simms and Katharine Simms, *Kells*, IHTA, no. 4 (Dublin, 1990), map 2, R.H. Buchanan, Anthony Wilson, *Downpatrick*, IHTA, no. 8 (Dublin, 1997), map 2, Colm Lennon, *Dublin*, IHTA, no. 19 (Dublin, 2008), p. 14.

[46] G.H. Martin, 'The town as palimpsest' in H.J. Dyos (ed.), *The study of urban history* (London, 1968), p. 163; Harold Carter, *Caernarvon*, in Mary D. Lobel (ed.), *Historic towns, maps and plans of towns and cities in the British* Isles, vol. 1, British Historic Towns Atlas, map 4, west sheet, available online at www.historictownsatlas.org.uk/atlas/volume-i/historic-towns (accessed, 10 May, 2015).

[47] Slater, 'Lordship economy and society in English medieval marketplaces', p. 221.

Topographically, therefore, the markets and fairs were spread out over a large part of the city and occupied practically any open area that was available. Morphologically, the areas used for markets were often small, for example, the vegetable market on what is now the canal square is quite limited in terms of space. Similarly, the butter market on King Street was also a modest space. High Street simply was not wide enough to accommodate the crowds on market days and other locations such as the Meat Shambles and the fish market on Walkin Street were again confined spaces. The fairs, by necessity, as they were used for the sale of livestock, tended towards larger spaces. The Parade, John's Green, the Butt's Green and James's Green were slightly larger open areas that also served as locations for markets. Kilkenny's markets and fairs were inextricably linked with the fabric of the city and intertwined with individual plots, the streets and the streetscape; the Butter Slip led to the butter market and the Market Slip led to the market on King Street. This level of connectivity between the streets and markets is another key morphological and topographical feature of medieval towns.[48]

Irishtown markets

While the historiography of Kilkenny traditionally focuses on the Anglo-Norman town, Irishtown was the older settlement, and it is unlikely that it did not have any market functions. For example, the Rocque map shows 'Bull o ring', likely a cattle market, and in certain locations, this map, and more importantly the later OS five-foot plans of 1841 and 1871 bear all the morphological hallmarks of market infill.[49] These morphological features could therefore indicate that Irishtown also had extensive markets, however the evidence at present is scant to support this hypothesis. Comparative work with other towns might help to illuminate this issue.[50] The use of topographical and morphological analysis to identify potential medieval market places is supported by the work of Susan Oosthuizen, 'Topographical and morphological analysis can often lead to the identification of medieval commercial plantations even where documentary evidence is lacking'.[51] Even though her article specifically refers to planned medieval market towns the methodological approach is valid for Irishtown. See figure 1.3.

While the documentary evidence for markets in Irishtown is scarce it does exist in the four surviving minute books of the corporation of Irishtown. These contain references from 1544 to 1834 and refer to rates for victuallers, the sale of bread, orders relating to traders and markets, a table of customs and tolls and a petition from the traders of Irishtown concerning customs being

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[48] Ibid., p. 219.
[49] M.R.G. Conzen, 'Alnwick, Northumberland: a study in town plan analysis' in *Transactions and Papers (Institute of British Geographers)*, no. 27 (2nd ed. 1969), pp 34-8.
[50] Slater, 'Lordship, economy and society in English medieval marketplaces', pp 218, 221-4.
[51] Susan Oosthuizen, 'A truth universally acknowledged?: morphology as an indicator of medieval planned market towns' in *Landscape History*, xxxiv, no. 1 (2013), pp 54, 58-66.

exacted that had not been collected before.[52] Topographical evidence for precise locations for markets is also lacking in the minute books with the only evidence currently available being morphological and cartographic. A common feature of these minute books in the late sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is the annual setting of tolls and the appointing of 'praysers'. These were individuals who were tasked with inspecting meat in order to make sure it was suitable for sale. There are further specific references to markets in Irishtown, specifically references to 'clerks of the market' in 1736 and for 'keeping the corn in the market house and cleaning the market places' in 1755.[53]

There was therefore an undeniable need for a permanent purpose-built market in Kilkenny. It would be beneficial to the average buyer as goods would be concentrated in one area and the citizens would benefit as the streets would be considerably less crowded on market days Undeniably, and as will be demonstrated, the corporation would have the most to gain as by ensuring that goods could only be sold in the new market they could force sellers to pay tolls and customs and thus gain a substantial revenue stream. Much of the evidence of the need for a new purpose-built market comes from the period 1852 to 1861 starting with the Fairs and Markets Commission of 1852-3.

Fairs and markets commission, 1852-3

'It would be the fairest thing possible'[54]

The minutes of evidence of this inquiry were published in 1855. The respondents to this inquiry for Kilkenny included the town clerk, the mayor, the mayor elect, a hotel owner and a magistrate. Further respondents were four farmers, two of whom had holdings in excess of 200 acres, a solicitor, who was also a weighmaster appointed by the corporation, a bailiff, an inspector of weights and a corn merchant. There is no occupation given for the remaining respondents. This is hardly a representative cross sample of all the individuals that would use the markets. The voice of the small farmer and buyer appears to be entirely absent from the inquiry.

The majority of the respondents were in favour of a purpose-built market place when questioned. They outline the conditions prevalent on market and fair days and allude to the crowded nature of the city. Despite its shortcomings this inquiry remains the only known source in which the conditions prevalent on market days are discussed outside of the corporation records.

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[52] Minute book of the corporation of Irishtown, 1544-1661 (KCA, CR, F1, pp 11, 17, 120); Minute book of the corporation of Irishtown, 1661-1718 (KCA, CR, F2, pp 19, 32, 67, 71, 128, 227); Minute book of the corporation of Irishtown, 1718-99 (KCA, CR, F3, pp 229, 240), hereafter KCA, CR, F1, F2 or F3.
[53] KCA, CR, F3, pp 127, 241.
[54] *Fairs and Markets Commission,* H.C. 1854-5, p. 289.

For example, in relation to the possibility of constructing a purpose-built market, the mayor-elect stated 'it would be a protection to the honest buyer and the seller' with a small farmer declaring 'it would be the fairest thing possible'. Further comments in relation to the necessity of a public market state that 'This town has been very backward for want of a public market' and that 'it would be very much to the advantage of the town'. There was also some opposition to the suggestion. This came from a corn merchant who believed a general market place would be to the detriment of the existing corn stores in the city. [55]

The crowded nature of the city on market and fair days and the lack of regulation and control would seem to suggest by mid-century that a specifically built market place would be of significant benefit to the city. The fact that the majority of the respondents had no objection when asked about paying tolls shows that the demand or need was there for such a market place. An examination of the corporation minute books also shows that there were concerted efforts in the years following this report to improve markets and market accommodation in the city. The Markets Act would ultimately prove to be the result of this process.

Between March 1853 and prior to the passing of the Kilkenny Markets Act in 1861 the corporation made significant strides towards improving markets and fairs in the city. A motion was passed that potatoes were only to be sold by farmers on High Street. Stalls were then provided at the markets on King Street for sellers of other goods. Charges were laid out for the sale of butter and eggs at the tholsel, offal, fresh herrings and broken meat were also only to be sold at stalls. The timber sheds at the King Street markets were slated, a pig market was established at the Butt's Green, improvements were also made to the butter crane. These improvements did not bring in any additional income as tolls and customs were not yet in place. [56]

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[55] *Fairs and Markets Commission, Ireland*, H.C. 1854-5, pp 286, 289, 287.
[56] KCA, CR, M1, part 4, pp 4-6, 8-10.

Fair Green

The corporation were not just concerned with improving the condition of the city's markets. By 1859 a permanent fair green had been established under a separate patent and was later walled. This had the benefit of removing crowds from the streets on fair days and making it easier to levy tolls and charges. This patent also changed the fair days to the second Wednesday of each month as well continuing the traditional fair days.[57] The corporation rented the property upon which the fair green was built and thus avoided the costs of purchasing the land. It did incur a substantial amount of debt in its construction and by April 1861 it was still in debt for £443 10*s*. 3*d*. for costs relating to the fair green.[58] These costs include the walling or fencing in of the fair green, the cost of drainage and putting down a semi-permanent surface in 1860 and also extending the fair green by half an acre through the purchase of an adjacent plot.[59]

Market development and a change of urban form

The construction of what is now the Market Yard was to have a significant impact on the urban form of the city. Markets and fairs, previously held in several places across the city, would, with the passing of the Kilkenny Market Act, now be held in a central location with tolls and customs restored for the benefit of the corporation. The income of the markets between 1865 and 1913 is shown in Appendix 3.

The arguments put forward by the corporation for their preferred location for the market do not focus specifically on these points. It seems to have been accepted that a centralised market was simply of benefit with no detailed rationale as to precisely why. There is also virtually no discussion given to the long-term financial impact of constructing a purpose-built market. Furthermore, little time is expended on the precise layout of the market and on the issue of access and egress and on how the ordinary population would benefit from the market. This is in part due to the extant sources. Much of the evidence of the markets committee is also missing as well as all the information relating to the construction of the market and much of the information regarding costs.

[57] *Royal commission on market rights and tolls, minutes of evidence taken before the assistant commissioners Charles W. Black, Esquire, and John J. O'Meara, Esquire, at inquiries held by them in the provinces of Ulster, Leinster and Munster, together with their reports on the markets, from November 1st 1888, to January 7th, 1889*, Vol x, H.C. 1890-1 [C. 6268-iv], xxxix, 1, p. 108.
[58] *Kilkenny Moderator*, 3 Apr. 1861.
[59] *Kilkenny Journal*, 8, 15 Feb, 7 Mar. 1860; KCA, CR, D11, pp 625-31; *Kilkenny Journal,* 4 July, 1860.

Ultimately the rationale for the construction of the market and the passing of the private bill can be broken down to several key arguments. These include location, cost and the necessity for a central market place. Local opinion was also key to the whole process. The residents and shop owners of a particular street would be inclined to push for a market or infrastructural development closer to where they held business interests or property. Furthermore, they would argue against a particular location if this could detrimentally affect their business.

The first reference in the corporation minute books to the need for a public market comes from a meeting held in July 1860. Councillor John Feehan brought up a motion 'relative to the establishment of public markets for Kilkenny'.[60] His argument was that the lack of a proper market 'was a grievance to the agricultural classes'.[61] This motion supports the argument that the sprawling nature of the markets and fairs was detrimental to the city. After a lengthy debate over the fact that this had been discussed before, a resolution was thus passed: 'That it is the opinion of this Council, that the want of a public market in the city, for the sale of the agricultural produce of the country has been of a serious injury to the trade of the Town.' A committee was then appointed to review the motion.[62] Following on from this motion, the location of the market place was to be a very contentious decision. It would take two years of debates between 1860 and 1862 for the location to be finally agreed upon. This is despite the fact that the bill as submitted to parliament, and passed in late 1861, specified the space behind Parliament Street (Coal Market) as the site for the market.[63] As will be demonstrated, arguments focus on cost, access and egress, the necessity for a new bridge across the Nore from the market to John's Quay as well as the condition of the land on the chosen site. Further disputes arose in relation to the impact that a new market at the site on Parliament Street would have on the trade of John Street.

The location of the proposed market, the necessity for a private bill and the cost of obtaining such a bill were the remaining key themes of the argument for the construction of a market.[64] These three themes in conjunction with points raised at a public meeting formed the central strands of the discussion concerning the market place.

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[60] KCA, CR, D11, pp 625-7; *Kilkenny Journal*, 4 July 1860.
[61] *Kilkenny Journal*, 4 July 1860.
[62] *Kilkenny Journal*, 4 July 1860; KCA, CR, D11, pp 625-7; *Kilkenny Journal*, 4 July 1860.
[63] *Kilkenny Moderator*, 21 Nov. 1860.
[64] KCA, CR, D11, pp 629-35.

Location, location, location: the potential sites for the market

As with any large development the location of the market was of prime concern. Logically any site up for consideration had to be in a central location in order to allow the corporation to manage and control it adequately and also to attract farmers and merchants to the market. A site within the city had the further benefit of still maintaining a high level of passing trade for the various stores. This limited the number of available sites of the size needed and left only two or three realistic locations. Furthermore, the location was tied to the cost. The corporation owned or leased large amounts of land within the city and they had the option of using this land, it was possible to compile a list of corporation property through an analysis of the available catalogue of corporation property and leases up to 1878.[65] This list unfortunately does not include the extents of the lands only their rental value and the length of the lease. It is still possible to get information on the locations and estimate the extents of the corporation's land cartographically. By excluding entries relating to single properties and to sites outside the limits of the city this list can be further cut down to show the lands owned by the corporation within the city boundaries. The rental value of the individual properties can also be used as an indicator of their size. This catalogue of the property owned by the corporation shows that most were single dwellings. They owned a large plot of land at Cormick's Island often referred to colloquially as 'the Lake', and the grounds at the old abbey of St Francis. These plots were the largest blocks of land owned by them in the city. They also owned the well at the rear of King Street that was advantageous as a source of water for the proposed site.[66]

The largest areas suitable for the market development within the city were the lands on the west bank of the Nore within Hightown and a large plot on the east bank of the Nore in the suburb of St John's that were both actually part of the medieval land reclamation. These plots were fields and gardens and had never been extensively developed up until the nineteenth century to the same extent as the plots west of High Street and Parliament Street. This was likely due to flooding as well as the fact that the location of these plots would have been useful for gardens or vegetable plots as they were significantly wider than the burgage plots on the opposite side of High Street. They were therefore prime locations for a development of this nature due to the available space, despite the fact that both lie on the flood plain of the Nore below the 48m contour line.[67]

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[65] Duplicate catalogue of corporate leases deeds books charters etc. deposited at the tholsel and certified on 25 and 30 October 1878 by the then mayor and ex mayor (compiled by), Patrick Watters, town clerk (KCA, corporation records, O1), hereafter Duplicate copy of corporate leases and deeds etc., 1878, KCA, CR, O1.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Cóilín Ó Drisceoil, 'Kilkenny reclaimed: the archaeological evidence for medieval reclamation in Kilkenny city' in *Old Kilkenny Review*, lv (2003), pp 61-71.
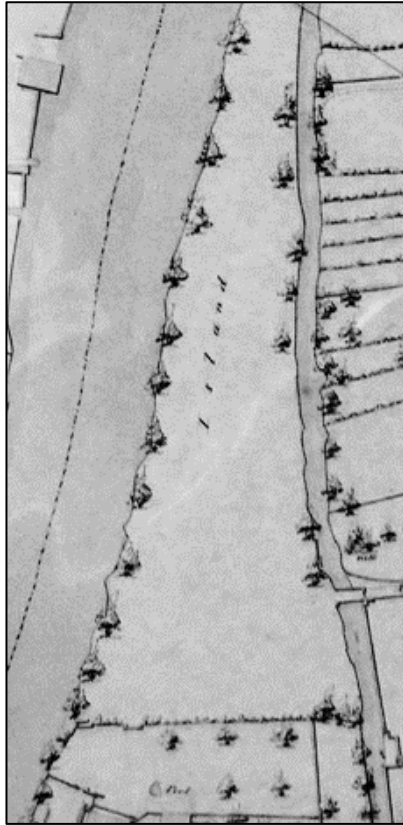
Figure 2.2 One of the proposed sites for the market at Cormick's Island, colloquially referred to as 'the lake', extracted from OS five-foot plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix (1841).

Lands to the rear of Parliament Street running down to the Nore were one of two possible locations that were initially discussed internally by the corporation.[68] Both options put forward factored in cost and the size of the site. A third site was also discussed at a public meeting in November 1860 that was actually held after the first draft of the act was published in the local newspapers.[69]

The land to the rear of Parliament Street included the site behind the National Bank that was due to be sold at the Landed Estates Court in November. This site was approximately two English acres in extent and was held by a number of private individuals as well as by the National Bank while the corporation held a small piece of land here also.[70]

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[68] *Kilkenny Journal*, 4 July, 8 Aug. 14 Nov. 1860.
[69] *Kilkenny Journal*, 17 Nov. 1860.
[70] Kilkenny general market 1861, plan, section, book of reference, gazette notice, list of owners, lessees and occupiers, estimate and declaration (Parliamentary Records Office, HL/PO/PB/3/plan1861/K2).

This site had the advantage of allowing the corporation to expand on the smaller market on King Street while it had the added benefit of being close to the meat market or shambles. The city markets had traditionally been held on Coal Market Street, which became Parliament Street by June 1860, and on High Street.[71] It would allow for a smooth transition from having markets on the city streets to having them in a purpose-built location in a place that was already well served in terms of streets and roads.[72]

The available land at the Parliament Street site was thus an ideal site for the proposed market. The disadvantage of this site was due to cost. The corporation owned only one small part of the land it needed. In order to purchase and develop this site it would be necessary to buy out the leases on several houses and to purchase another property outright with an estimated cost of £1200. The average annual value of these lands according to Griffith's Valuation was only £50.[73] The types of property they needed to purchase in order to use this site are summarised on figure 2.3.[74]

Type of property	No. of properties
Dwelling Houses	4
Out Offices Gardens Lands, Buildings and stores	9
Lanes or passage ways	1

Figure 2.3 Summary of property types purchased for the market in Kilkenny, 1861.

As can be seen from figure 2.3 gardens, land, buildings and stores accounted for the largest elements of the purchase. The site is illustrated more accurately on figure 2.4 and supports the premise that this land was largely underdeveloped by 1861 and its central location was suitable as a site for the proposed market.

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[71] *Kilkenny Journal*, 9 May 1860, the street name of Coal Market was changed to Parliament Street shortly after this date.
[72] KCA, CR, D11, pp 629-35; *Kilkenny Journal*, 8 Aug. 1860; *Kilkenny Journal*, 6 June 1860.
[73] *Kilkenny Journal*, 17 Nov. 1860; *Kilkenny Moderator*, 17 Nov. 1860.
[74] *Kilkenny Journal*, 17 Nov. 1860.
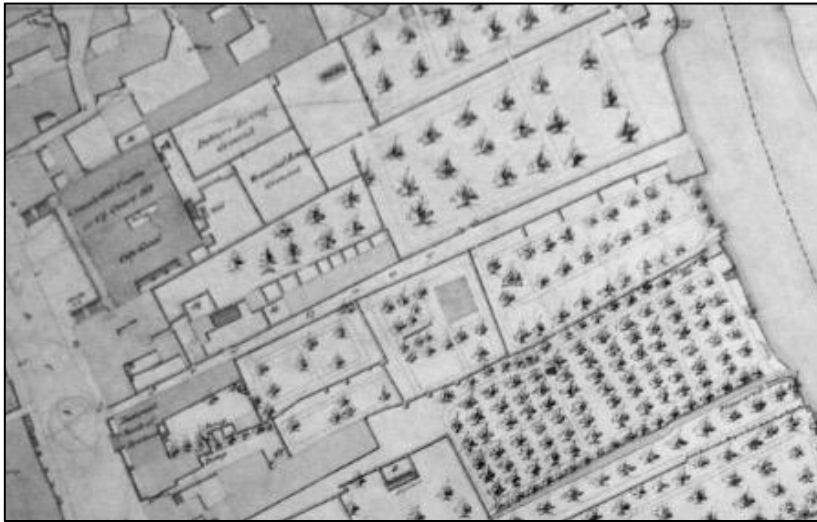
Figure 2.4 Location of lands for the market *circa* 1841, OS five-foot plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix (1841).

Property to the front of this land was the site of the old confederate assembly rooms. This building was ultimately purchased and demolished to form the entrance to the new markets, and is illustrated in Halls' *Ireland*.

Figure 2.5 The site of the old confederate assembly rooms on Parliament Street, Kilkenny, taken from Halls' *Ireland* (1842).

There was another large plot that would have been suitable for the market; this was the site of the Fair Green at the western end of Walkin Street. The Fair Green was rented by the corporation and would have been the cheaper option, as no land would need to be purchased and a long lease was held on the property. The site of the Fair Green was initially proposed as the location for the public market place. A lengthy debate followed on the legality of this motion; it went to a vote that was initially successful. This vote was however later overturned as it was deemed to be an amendment to an amendment and as such was not allowed under the byelaws of the corporation. In the view of the corporation this left the site behind Parliament Street as the only viable option

for the new public market place.[75] The site of the Fair Green is illustrated on Fig 2.6. An obvious disadvantage of this site is that its location was neither central nor in proximity to the existing markets on Parliament Street.
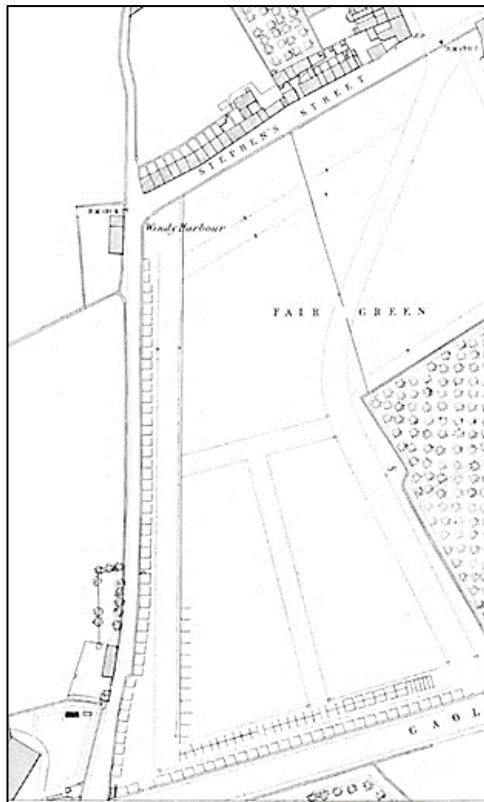
Figure 2.6 The Fair Green, *circa* 1871, OS five-foot plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 47 (1871).

The site at the rear of Parliament Street and the Fair Green were the only two locations that were consistently argued for as a location for the new market. The site at the rear of Parliament Street was the one ultimately chosen and what remains to be shown now is why it was chosen, how much it cost and how the corporation got the private bill that had such a significant long-term impact on their finances.

The Local View

It was to be for the benefit of the city[76]

Prior to starting the process of obtaining the private bill, how did the corporation go about informing the general public of their intentions to build a new centralised market? It seems that it was initially brought to the attention of the public at an open meeting where a very specific group of people, the merchants and traders of the city, were invited to hear the plans of the corporation and to air their opinions.

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[75] KCA, CR, D11, pp 629-35, 637-42; *Kilkenny Journal*, 8 Aug. 1860; *Kilkenny Journal*, 5 Sept. 1860.
[76] *Kilkenny Moderator*, 17 Nov. 1860.

A public meeting was held in November 1860 on foot of a circular that had been sent to these merchants and traders.[77] One point that needs to be taken into consideration is that if 'Ireland's provincial urban economy' was indeed 'firmly grounded in the countryside' then why were representatives of the farmers and those who actually produced the goods that would be sold at the market not invited?[78] Representatives of the 'corn and butter trade' were also invited but they also seem to have been from the city. The answer to this could be that as it was the storeowners and shopkeepers of the city who actually voted for the corporation members that their opinions were seen to be more important and that the corporation saw it as important to keep them informed. The farmers who actually produced the goods had to sell them somewhere and they would actually have little choice but to sell in the city. It also needs to be considered that the traders were invited as they bought the corn and other goods off the small farmers and sold them on, logistically it is not feasible for every small farmer to sell their own produce at a market. It is possibly for these reasons that the predominant views about the market at a local level are from people living in the city. The reporting on this local meeting by the two local newspapers is also slightly contradictory; there are key differences concerning dates and times and on who was invited to the meeting.

The arguments of those with local interests also focused on location and cost while there was also a lengthy argument put forward for choosing an alternative location due to reasons concerning health and sanitation. Vested interests also played a key part in the local view. Naturally the location of the merchants was a concern with those of John Street arguing for the Lake as this location was closer to their shops and stores. The 'John Street men' or 'John Street people' as they are consistently referred to were also concerned with repairs to John's Bridge to allow them easier access to the proposed site at Parliament Street and the possibility of an access road from John's bridge along the quay to the site.[79] Of prime concern for the merchants of John Street was the possibility of another bridge being built across the Nore for egress from the markets. They saw the construction of such a bridge as being detrimental to their trade, as if this bridge was constructed it would in their view mean that fewer traders would need to go to John Street.[80]

At the first of two public meetings all of the arguments against the site at Parliament Street came from merchants and traders of John Street. The argument as put forward focused on three main points. Firstly, that the site chosen was 'a swamp'. The site does in fact lie below the 48m contour line and was on reclaimed land so the ground here was likely still quite marshy. The fact that these plots were relatively undeveloped while the burgage cycle and its pattern of use and reuse

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[77] *Kilkenny Journal*, 17 Nov. 1860.
[78] Proudfoot, 'Markets fairs and towns in Ireland, *c*. 1600-1853', p. 71.
[79] *Kilkenny Moderator*, 11 Jan. 1862.
[80] *Kilkenny Journal*, 17 Nov. 1860; *Kilkenny Moderator*, 17 Nov. 1860; *Kilkenny Moderator*, 11 Jan. 1862.

can be seen on the plots on the west side of Parliament Street lends further credence to the assertion that these lands were not prime building locations. The second argument again focuses on the situation of these lands and asserts that 'it's well known that from that spot proceeds most of the disease in Kilkenny'. The third and final point raised is about the necessity of a bridge for egress and that it would 'completely destroy John Street'.[81]

The counter argument put forward was that the Lake site was larger. However, this is quite ingenuous as this site also lies below the 48m contour line, was built on reclaimed land and was just as low lying as the site on the opposite bank of the Nore.
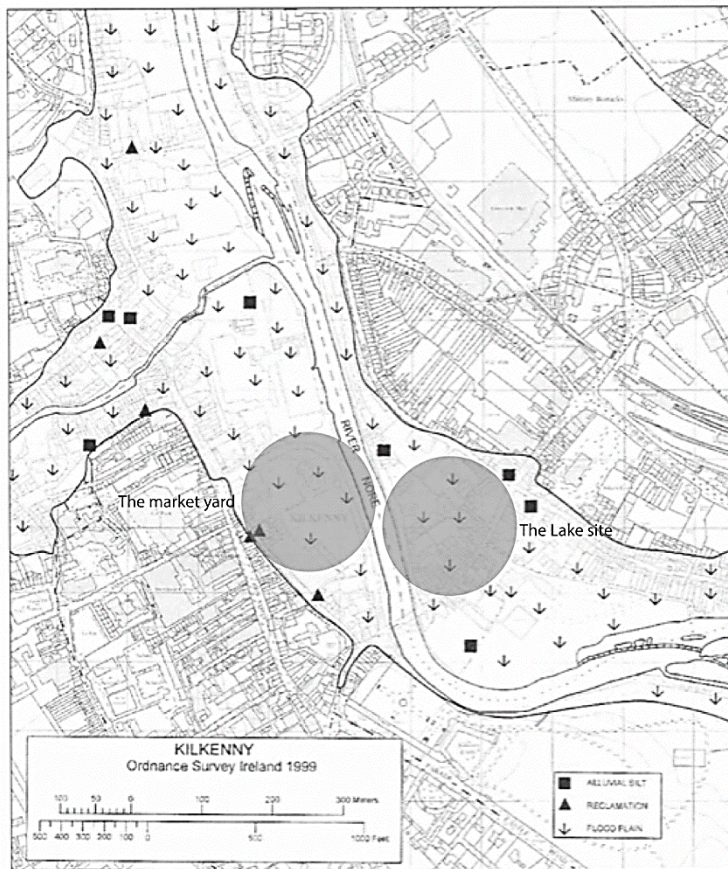
Figure 2.7 Possible market locations in Kilkenny showing their position below the 48m contour line, 2003.

This argument really shows that the traders of John Street sought to have the market built in a location that was more convenient for them. Their concern over egress, in the form of a bridge over the Nore resulted in a resolution being passed that the corporation would include a clause in the bill that no such bridge would be built.[82]

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[81] *Kilkenny Journal*, 17 Nov. 1860; *Kilkenny Moderator*, 17 Nov. 1860.
[82] *Kilkenny Journal*, 17 Nov. 1860; *Kilkenny Moderator*, 17 Nov. 1860.

Arguments for the proposed site at the rear of Parliament Street were quite straightforward and simply focused on the fact that the majority of the 'principal buyers' were on the western side of the city and that the greater part of the corn that would be sold at the market also came in from this side.[83] The roads to Callan, Kells, Bennettsbridge, Thomastown and Kilmanagh are on the western side of the Nore and each had extensive faming hinterlands. It is logical to assume that traffic from this direction would not have to, or in fact simply could not have used John's Bridge and thus travelled down John Street. On the eastern side of the Nore, traffic from the Castlecomer direction would likely have used Green's Bridge. This leaves the hinterlands to the north-east of the city as well as anything imported via the railway as the likely source of most of the traffic using John Street.

Tolls and customs were also discussed at this meeting with some opposition to the levying of same. Eventually, the site at the rear of Parliament Street was chosen and the traders of John Street were appeased with the passing of a resolution stating that there would be no new bridge across the Nore and that John's Bridge would be repaired. In political terms, the rationale behind the corporation ultimately deciding to build the market in the chosen location is obscure. Municipal corporation reform *circa* 1840 saw a new Catholic political elite elected albeit one that had limited political experience as it replaced an older more experienced body. It answered to a very small electorate, estimated at 272 in 1876 for example.[84] Political pressure exerted by rate-paying voters might have played some part in the decision to build the market near Parliament Street as St Canice's ward, where the market was located, was the larger of the two and traditionally a majority of the burgesses were resident or had business nearby.[85] It is more likely that it was a simple matter of the location being convenient to the tholsel and with the majority of the corporation members being shopkeepers and conducting their business in the streets in proximity to the market it was easier to manage it in the chosen location.

Following this meeting and the concession to the John Street traders to not build a new bridge the corporation was now free to procure a private bill to obtain the new market.

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[83] *Kilkenny Journal*, 17 Nov. 1860.
[84] *Kilkenny Moderator*, 2 Nov. 1876.
[85] *Local government and taxation of towns inquiry commission (Ireland) Part 1, report and evidence, with appendices*, H.C. 1877 [C. 1696], xxxix, 1, pp 200, 537.

Private bills, costs and benefits: the Kilkenny Markets Act of 1861

The first reference to a private bill is in August 1860 when a discussion arose on the cost of such a bill and on the land needed for a market. Despite the fact that there had as yet not been a public meeting on the matter the corporation were already ascertaining the cost of purchasing the lands at the rear of Parliament Street and the need for a private bill.

The question must then be asked as to what exactly was a private bill and was it not possible for the corporation to build a market place without such a bill. Private bills are 'bills which confer powers or benefits on specific individuals or organisations rather than being of a general public character and applicable to all they are promoted by the parties who seek to benefit from their provisions'.[86] Therefore in seeking a private bill for their market place the corporation saw an opportunity to gain control over the local markets by legislative means. It would thus confer on them the power they deemed necessary to further their goal of establishing a private market.

A private bill was, therefore, deemed a requirement, as it would force merchants and private individuals to use the market place. If the corporation did not seek a private bill then there was nothing to stop people continuing the practice of selling on the city streets. A private bill had the further advantage of legalising the right of the corporation to levy tolls and customs by forcing sellers to use the market.[87] It would also allow them to put in place specific provisions that would not only empower them to control the existing markets and to purchase the meat market it would also give them the power to prevent any other body or organisation opening a market in the future. The corporation could then use the money from the tolls and customs to pay off the costs of building the market and use the remainder for upkeep and other costs such as wages for the corporation staff. It would in essence fund and pay for itself in the long term. Any profit made from the markets could then, in theory at any rate, be used by the corporation for the maintenance of the streets and associated costs. This is contrary to how the tolls and customs had been used historically since it obtained them from the first duke of Ormonde in 1677/8.

Without this bill the corporation would lack the authority to enforce the selling of goods in the new markets and it would not have been able to regain control over the butter market or indeed to gain control over the meat market.

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[86] Dorian Gerhold, 'Private bill evidence' in *Witnesses before Parliament: a guide to the database of witnesses in committees on opposed private bills, 1771-1917*, House of Lords Record Office memorandum, no. 85 (London, 1997), p. 5.
[87] *Kilkenny Journal*, 8 Aug. 1860; 5 Sept. 1860.

The first step in obtaining a private bill was to appoint a parliamentary agent. In this case Messr's Bryden and Co. were approached and the sitting M.P. for the city was asked to represent the corporation's interest in parliament. The next step is for a draft bill to be deposited in the bills office in parliament. The bill then passes through a number of stages is read and amended at various committee meetings before finally being read and passed in the House of Lords and then receiving Royal Assent. The Kilkenny Markets Act was eventually passed in June 1861. Obtaining a private bill was an expensive process; the cost for an unopposed bill was estimated at £500 the corporation sought to get a loan to obtain this sum. The process of getting this bill passed also shows the interactions between local and central government and sheds more light on the governance of Irish corporations in the nineteenth century. More information on these interactions can be seen in the correspondence that survives between the corporation and the Lords of treasury in Whitehall.

Applying to treasury for permission to borrow money was a very technical process. Firstly, a memorial had to be drafted that was then sent with a covering letter, this memorial then had to be posted as a notice in a 'conspicuous and public place' and a copy kept in the town clerk's office. For Kilkenny, notices were usually posted on a board outside the tholsel. Finally, a declaration had to be signed that the notice had been posted, this was done by the bailiff of the corporation and signed by a justice of the peace.[88] There are several extant memorials and notices of this type in the extant correspondence between the corporation of Kilkenny and treasury in the National Archives in Kew.

In order to obtain a bill such as this one it was a requirement to produce a map showing the lands that were required and to produce a book of reference. These books of reference list the owners and lessees of the lands as well as the occupiers and a brief description of the property. The applicants were also expected to provide a form specifying that the lessees, reputed lessees, owners and occupiers, assented, dissented or did not have an opinion on the proposed development. A gazette notice, in this instance printed in the *Dublin Gazette*, and a declaration of the probable expense of the proposed development were also needed. [89]

The passage of the bill through parliament can be traced through both the minute books of the corporation and the reports in the local newspapers. Following a notice in both local newspapers and the *Dublin Gazette* the bill was then deposited in the bills office in London and in the offices

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[88] Correspondence and papers concerning Irish corporations, Kilkenny, 1 Jan. 1848 to 31 Dec. 1899 (TNA, treasury records, T103/25 parts one and two).
[89] House of Lords, Parliamentary Office, Private Bills, HL/PO/PB/1/1861/24&25V1n65 Local Act, 24 & 25 Victoria I, c. xlix 1861; An Act to authorize the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of Kilkenny to make a General Market in the city of Kilkenny; and for other Purposes Kilkenny general market 1861, Plan, section, book of reference, gazette notice, list of owners, lessees and occupiers, estimate and declaration (HL/PO/PB/3/plan1861/K2).

of the clerk of the Union and of the Peace at a local level.[90] The parliamentary agents subsequently revised the bill in January 1861 after which it was printed and redeposited in the bills office. It passed unopposed in the House of Commons with only minor amendments required. Subsequently it was passed in the House of Lords, the seal of the corporation was attached and it received Royal Assent by June 1861.[91]

The way now seemed to be open for the corporation to borrow up to £5,000 to purchase the lands under the terms of the act. This was done through the simple expedient of advertising in newpapers for loans. The best terms were offered by James Howlett of New Ross.[92] Subsequent to this offer being accepted a second public meeting was held to once more discuss the location and the cost of the markets.

A useless waste of public money[93]

Similar to the first public meeting, arguments against the market came from the traders and merchants of John Street. Again the argument focused on egress from the site at the rear of Parliament Street. It was also argued that 'the less toll they put on the better'. This meeting concluded with the corporation once more asserting that a new bridge would not be built across the Nore and passing a resolution that a road would be opened between John's Bridge and the new market for ease of access and in order to accommodate the traders of John Street.[94] This road was not built until the late twentieth century and subsequent to this meeting a letter was sent to the Lords of treasury opposing the borrowing of money for the market and deriding the need for a public market and stating that it was 'useless waste of public money'. This letter wanted the markets built at the Fair Green and claims that the corporation were already indebted to the sum of £2500, 'a fact of which your lordships are perhaps unaware'.[95] The signatories to this letter include a former mayor, several aldermen and justices of the peace. Comparing this list to the names of the John Street traders noted in the first public meeting shows that a number of the same names appear on both lists. It is possible that this was a form of protest against the corporation for both borrowing such a large sum and not constructing the road that had been agreed to at the second public meeting. Unfortunately no reply to this letter is extant locally. The corporation ultimately borrowed the money for the markets and they were opened by the end of 1862.[96]

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[90] KCA, CR, M1, part 4, p. 21.
[91] Ibid., pp 21-26.
[92] Ibid., pp 26, 28.
[93] Treasury files, part 1, this is a quote from an undated letter, going by the internal evidence of the piece it likely dates to March 1862.
[94] *Kilkenny Moderator*, 11 Jan. 1862.
[95] Treasury files, part 1, this is a quote from an undated letter, going by the internal evidence of the piece it likely dates to March 1862.
[96] *Kilkenny Journal*, 9 Apr. 4 June, 6 Sept. 1862; KCA, CR, M1, part 4, pp 23-35.

Costs and short-term impact

With the passing of the act the corporation was now empowered to borrow up to £5000 to build their new market. In relation to actually spending this money there were a number of factors to be considered. Firstly, the outlay needed for actually getting the private bill passed, secondly the costs for the land and buildings and lastly the cost of constructing the market in terms of sheds, outbuildings and the necessary infrastructure, and lastly the decision as to what was to be done with the remainder of the money?

The total cost for the private bill was £832 10*d*. This together with £126 in legal fees left the corporation with the sum of £4042 to expend on the markets.[97] Unfortunately, it is not as straightforward to ascertain the cost of the land, houses and gardens needed due to the fact that most of the decisions were made by a separate market committee. The only surviving records of this committee are from 1907-8. Therefore, it is only from reports of the market committee regarding costs that were read in general meetings of the corporation and subsequently either entered into the minute books or reported on by the local newspapers that it is possible to calculate the rough cost of purchasing the necessary ground.

What is known is that £2000 was ultimately invested in a 'sinking fund' and stocks to earn interest that would be used to both pay off the annual loan interest and ultimately pay off the loan. The investment actually allowed for the loan to be paid off within twenty years essentially by investing the money in this fashion the corporation used some of the borrowed money to pay off the loan.[98] This leaves £2042 to account for, of which £330 was the lowest tender for the construction of sheds and a further sum of £463 was spent on purchasing lots 6 and 7 (figure 2.8).[99] The remaining sum of £1249 cannot be definitively accounted for. The few references to costs of the remaining premises are in excess of what it seems was spent and when giving evidence to the parliamentary inquiry in 1889 the corporation was not able to give a detailed breakdown of costs. It is more than likely that it was expended on purchasing the remaining properties including the site of the old Confederate assembly.

Short-term financial impact

The immediate short-term financial impact of gaining control of the markets by means of the private bill can be seen in the first of the annual reports on local government taxation from 1865 where the corporation received £1568 19*s*. 5*d*. for tolls for the year. The total of all receipts the corporation received for 1865 was £4474 3*s*. The tolls and customs from the market therefore accounted for approximately 35 per cent of their income just two years after the market was

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[97] *Kilkenny Journal*, 4 June 1862.
[98] *Royal commission on market rights and tolls*, H.C. 1890-1, p. 108.
[99] KCA, CR, M1, part 4, p. 31.

constructed.[100] This does not take into account the costs of actually running and maintaining the market and these costs were considerable. Evidence for these costs comes from a royal commission on market rights and tolls from 1891.[101] As argued earlier the market would have a substantial long-term impact on the corporation's finances. In contrast to the sums earned by Kilkenny corporation through tolls and customs in 1865, the corporation of Dundalk received only £100 in customs and tolls with Waterford a city with a much higher population of 23,293 receiving £1701. The tables and charts in Appendix 3 show the income from the markets in relation to the overall income of the corporation for the period 1865 to 1913. There are no records available from 1866 to 1868, as the corporation submitted no returns for these years. Neither do returns exist after 1913.

Long-term morphological impact

Apart from a financial impact for the corporation's finances the construction of the market also had a long-term morphological impact on the city. The map submitted as part of the requirements for the private bill shows at least three of the city's medieval burgage plots as well as substantial structures to the front of these plots. As already mentioned one of these, marked as number 4 on figure 2.8, was the site of the Confederate assembly house.
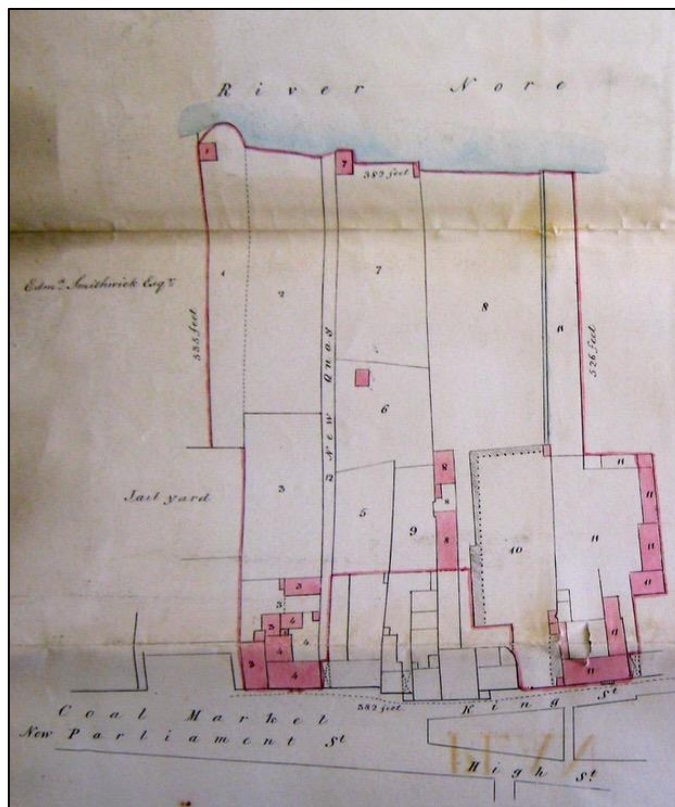
Figure 2.8 Plan of the lands proposed to be taken for the new market as submitted with the private bill, 1861.

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[100] *Local taxation (Ireland) returns. Returns of local taxation in Ireland, for year 1865. Collected and compiled by direction of His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland*, H.C. 1867-8 [C. 4081], lviii, 761, pp 774-5.
[101] *Royal commission on market rights and tolls*, H.C. 1890-1, pp 111-22.

Figure 2.9 Tracing of 'The old parliament', the original is no longer available in the records of the corporation. This tracing of the original was kindly made available by Brian Tyrrell, senior executive officer of Kilkenny county council.

The decision to remove this building to allow for better access to and egress from the site was to prove contentious and resulted in a strongly worded editorial against its removal in the *Kilkenny Moderator*. This editorial was also less than complimentary towards the decision to change the name of Coalmarket to Parliament Street, which was referred to as 'cockneyfied' and 'pretentious'.[102] More details on the size of this building come from the Civil Survey. It was originally one of the town houses of Robert Shee and had 33 rooms, the largest, that served as the assembly room, measured 15m x 14.25m.[103]

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[102] *Kilkenny Moderator*, 21 Nov. 1861.
[103] *The Civil Survey A.D. 1654-1656 county of Waterford Vol. VI, with appendices: Muskerry barony, Co. Cork, Kilkenny city and liberties (part)*, Robert Simington (ed.) (Dublin, 1942), p. 523; Bradley, 'From frontier town to Renaissance city: Kilkenny, 1500-1700' in Borsay and Proudfoot (eds), *Provincial towns in early modern England and Ireland*, p. 39.

Figure 2.10 The market *circa* 1871 shown on OS five-foot plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 47 (1871).

The market as opened by late 1861 consisted of a large open space with two entrances. The main entrance was via gates off Parliament Street, and the second via the King Street Market. The large open space was used for a variety of purposes. There were various sheds that 'apparently afford ample accommodation', there were scales for weighing butter, a well-ventilated butter shed, a large corn shed and an ouncel for weighing goods, stalls were also a feature. In 1889, when evidence was given to the Royal Commission on market rights and tolls, the corporation were also planning on constructing a 'new row of sheds' to further improve the market. The market did not serve as the sole place of trade however; coal, hay and straw were still sold on the Parade.[104] This use of the Parade continued into the early twentieth century at least.

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[104] *Royal Commission on market rights and tolls*, H.C. 1890-1, pp 106-10.

Figure 2.11 Hay and straw being sold on the Parade *circa* 1905, KAS, city photographs, no. 9.

The removal of the old Confederate building, and the redevelopment of the burgage plots to its rear would ultimately result in the remaining land between the market and John's Bridge being opened for development. The twentieth century finally saw a road being built alongside the Nore connecting it with John's Bridge, although very much later than wanted by the John Street traders. This in turn led to the development of the plots between the market and the bridge, which allowed for the construction of a large car park and supermarket complex in the twentieth century.
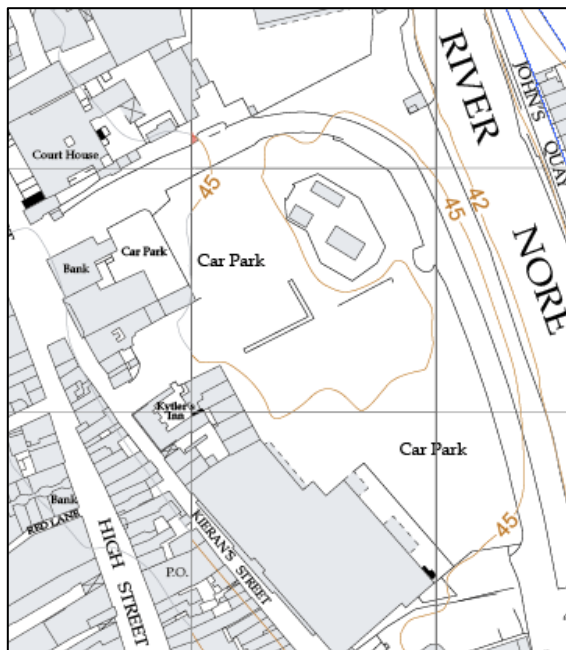
Figure 2.12 The site of the Market Yard, and the modern car parks showing the road along side the Nore, map courtesy of Kilkenny Archaeology, 2016.

Conclusion

Since the foundation of the Anglo-Norman town the markets and fairs of Kilkenny had traditionally taken place on the streets. As a result of the city's Anglo-Norman origins they had become intertwined and interconnected with the physical fabric of the city to such an extent that by the nineteenth century a number of small spaces such as the shambles that had likely been temporary in nature originally had grown to be permanent features. Increasing population in the nineteenth century meant that the medieval city with its narrow streets and lanes and confined spaces was no longer suitable for a functioning market. Having received the rights to tolls and customs from the first duke of Ormonde in 1677 the corporation had by the mid-nineteenth century all but stopped levying tolls and customs. By obtaining a private bill and building a new market place the corporation were in a position to significantly increase their income as they could now legally charge for using the market and sellers had no choice but to sell there under the provisions of the act. Significantly, the construction of the market would have a profound morphological impact on the core of the city. A large area of land was redeveloped that resulted in the removal of at least three entire burgage plots and parts of two more along with their boundaries which have been proven to a be a very persistent feature of medieval cities. The development of the market was the second large-scale intramural development in Kilkenny after the construction of the Parade between 1677 and 1681. Its long-term morphological impact was to open up more land for development in the twentieth century while it had a significant impact on corporation finances for the remainder of the nineteenth century.

Chapter three
A plan analysis of Kilkenny city's mills, 1861-1922

Kilkenny has long been a city of industry and trade. From the medieval period to the advent of the railways and beyond, the city has been shaped both physically and economically by various industries. By the mid-eighteenth century, following the upheavals of the Williamite period, Kilkenny had emerged as the most significant inland economic hub in Leinster. Its largely intact medieval morphology was to be altered by the demands of industrialisation and a later period of industrial decline.[1]

Underpinned by significant natural resources, industry was integral to the wealth of the city. The diversity of Kilkenny's eighteenth-century industries and manufacturing is illustrated by the cartouche on the Rocque map of 1758. The left-hand section of the cartouche shows stone building or marble works, while the central portion shows coal mining. The top right then illustrates weaving, probably linen. As this map was produced for the marquis of Ormonde who was a substantial landowner in the city, the county and beyond, it is probable that Rocque wanted to show something of industry based on local resources and the productive character of the lands surrounding the city. This is also a point made by John Bradley who states that 'Rocque showed the pillars of Kilkenny's industry in the cartouche of his map'.[2]
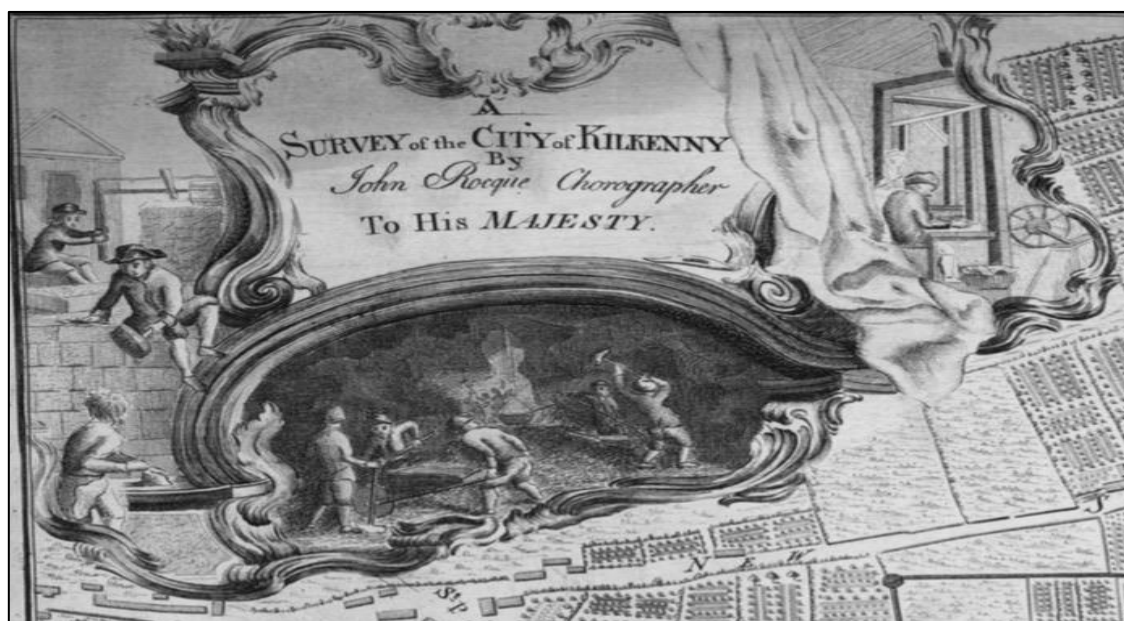
Figure 3.1 The cartouche from Rocque's map of Kilkenny, 1758, showing stonebuilding, mining and weaving.

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[1] David Dickson, 'Inland city: reflections on eighteenth-century Kilkenny' in William Nolan and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Kilkenny history and society* (Dublin, 1990), p. 363.
[2] John Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10 (Dublin, 2000), p. 7.

What Rocque does not show in this cartouche is that much of Kilkenny's wealth came from its 'rich agricultural hinterlands and in particular the sale of cattle and grain' wool was also an important resource, as was stone.[3] Quarries were important to Kilkenny's early development and are described in detail in earlier periods by both David Rothe and William Tighe.[4] They had been in use since at least the thirteenth or fourteenth century.[5]

The period from the early eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century saw significant growth and expansion of the city's mills. This chapter shows how mills that were an important feature in the city since the medieval period, expanded and declined. This is a process that essentially parallels the decline of the city in the study period. A review of milling and industry allows the opportunity to show how plots, plan units and buildings and their block plans changed over time to suit growing demand and how a decline in demand led to further change in use. This chapter, therefore, looks at the importance of industry to Kilkenny city through a plan analysis of two mill complexes; the Ormonde mills and the Green's Bridge Mills. It does this by examining some of M.R.G. Conzen's key theories in relation to the use and re-use of land and buildings.[6] This plan analysis is supported by examining Bradley's point that 'The sources for the study of the Irish medieval town are fourfold: documentary, cartographic, archaeological and topographical'.[7] These four types of sources are used in this study of two of Kilkenny city's mill complexes. It begins by examining the topography and importance of the rivers Nore and Breagagh to milling. An overview of the city's trade links and infrastructure is presented followed by an historical examination of the importance of woollen manufacturing to Kilkenny's economy in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. To conclude the chapter, a plan analysis of the Ormonde mills and the Green's Bridge mill complexes combines cartographic, topographic and archaeological records to support a traditional historical narrative. This is followed by an examination of employment, milling and woollen manufacturing in Kilkenny city between 1861 and 1922.

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[3] Ibid.

[4] James Graves and John G.A. Prim, 'The history, architecture and antiquities of the city of Kilkenny' in *The Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society*, new series, ii, no. 2 (1859), p. 324 (Graves and Prim are quoting bishop David Rothe in this part of the article); William Tighe, *Statistical observations on the county of Kilkenny*, 1801 (Dublin, 1802), pp 99-103.

[5] Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, pp 18-19.

[6] M.R.G. Conzen, 'The use of town plans in the study of urban history' in H.J. Dyos (ed.), *The study of urban history* (London, 1968), pp 113-30; Yvonne Whelan, 'Geographies of urban morphology' in John Morrissey, David Nally, Ulf Strohmayer and Yvonne Whelan (eds), *Key concepts in historical geography* (London, 2014), p. 154.

[7] Bradley 'The role of town plan analysis in the study of the medieval Irish town' in T.R. Slater (ed.), *The built form of western cities: essays for M.R.G. Conzen on the occasion of his 80th birthday* (Leicester, 1990), p. 40.

Natural Resources

The Nore and the Breagagh

Mills, naturally, require a reliable supply of water. This water is then channelled via man-made weirs that divert the water to millwheels, which then generate the power needed to drive milling machinery. Once a site was chosen, and the water supply was considered adequate, 'considerable ingenuity was required in the design of a system with adequate controls' in order to build the appropriate infrastructure in terms of weirs and sluices.[8] The Nore and the Breagagh supplied the water for Kilkenny's mills. It was claimed that the Nore 'never ceases to possess water enough to drive the largest woollen factory in the United Kingdom'.[9]

As a point of reference, the banks of a river are generally referred to by the direction of their flow, thus the left bank of the Nore is the east side when referring to the Green's Bridge mill complex, with the right bank, containing Chancellor's Mills, being on the weSt The right bank of the Nore is on the south when referring to the Ormonde mills Complex as the river changes direction upon leaving the city just past John's Bridge.

The width of the Nore increases and the river becomes naturally shallower entering the city from the north. The presence of this natural fording point made it an ideal siting for millraces immediately downriver. The eventual construction of a bridge promoted the development of the road network and allowed for better access to the mills at this location.[10] The footings of an earlier bridge are also visible looking north, showing that the river is shallow at this location. Mill Island, on the left bank of the Nore, was an artificial construction. It was created when the riverbank was cut through to create a millrace and to allow for the development of a mill.[11] The distinctive weir at this location was also a man-made feature and elements of the mill complex on the right-hand bank of the Nore were also built on reclaimed ground.[12]

The Nore then bends almost at a right angle on passing John's Bridge thus slowing the flow as it leaves the city. This led to the siting of more mills, millraces and weirs in the eastern half of the city. Again the presence of a natural fording point led to the construction of a bridge and roads. The siting of these mills then necessitated the construction of roads to service the mills and to allow goods to be easily transported from the mills. There is evidence for artificial reclamation

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[8] James Mimnagh, 'Grain mills of Co. Longford, *c.* 1750-1950, a regional survey' (Ph.D. thesis, 2 vols National University of Ireland, Maynooth, 2009), vol. 1, p. 70.

[9] George Henry Bassett, *Kilkenny city and county, guide and directory* (Dublin, 1884), p. 13.

[10] Patrick McEgan, *The illustrated guide to the city and county of Kilkenny* (Kilkenny, 1884), pp 39-42; OS five-foot plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 36, 37 (1841), OS five-foot plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 36, 37 (1871), John Rocque, map of Kilkenny, 1758.

[11] Paul Stevens, 'River Nore (Kilkenny city) drainage scheme, excavation report Mill Island and Green's Bridge Weir, Kilkenny city' (unpublished, 2002), part of the non-technical summary, unnumbered, pp 7-8 of the pdf.

[12] Ibid.

at this location. On cartographic examination alone, it is tempting to deduce that alluvial deposits from the river created what looks like an island. The archaeological evidence from the excavations at Ormonde mills shows that this is not the case and that there was a deliberate process of reclamation prior to a mill being constructed here in the medieval period.[13]

The Breagagh, a tributary of the Nore, rises to the west of the city and enters the Nore at a point downstream of Green's Bridge. The Black Mills were built along the Breagagh and Jenkin's Mill and the Smithwick's brewery also made use of this smaller river. One of the city gates, the Water Gate, was thus named due to its proximity to the Breagagh. It is unusual in that the rest of the city gates were named after saints or individuals. The importance of both rivers to the city is therefore reflected not just in manufacturing but also in the toponymic record.

Kilkenny city's trade links and infrastructure

Effective transport infrastructure links a provincial town to wider markets and failure to exploit these links properly can have negative consequences.[14] The failure to build a canal linking Kilkenny to Waterford in the eighteenth century had a major impact on city trade. This attempt to build a canal from Kilkenny to Waterford did not succeed for financial reasons.[15] This saw the growth of the market centres of nearby Bagenalstown, with a navigable route to Dublin along the Barrow, and Clonmel, with a direct route to Waterford along the Suir, at the expense of Kilkenny.[16]

River trade, canals and port links are, therefore, important to a city's long-term economic success but the Nore was only ever navigable as far as Inistioge or Thomastown, which effectively functioned as Kilkenny's down-river link to the sea.[17] This had ceased to be the case by the early nineteenth century due to the river silting up below Thomastown and the lack of both funds and interest to redevelop the Nore as a transport link.[18] Thomastown had historically been Kilkenny's port link with New Ross. Therefore, with the increasing impracticality of the Nore as a means of transporting goods to a port, this left the railway and roads to Waterford and Dublin as the principal links from Kilkenny to the sea.

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[13] Ian Doyle, 'River Nore (Kilkenny city) drainage scheme final report on archaeological excavations at Ormonde Mills, Kilkenny city' (unpublished, 2002), p. 23 available as report KK-0179 through the database of the Kilkenny archaeological project.

[14] Stephen Royle, 'Manufacturing' in Howard Clarke and Sarah Gearty (eds), *Maps and texts: exploring the Irish towns atlas* (Dublin, 2013), pp 164-82; Colm Lennon, 'Trade', in *Maps and texts*, pp 183-96.

[15] Patrick Watters, 'The history of the Kilkenny canal' in *The Journal of the Royal Archaeological and Historical Society of Ireland*, ii, no. 1 (1872), pp 82-98.

[16] Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, p. 7.

[17] Dickson, 'Inland city', p. 333.

[18] P.H. Gulliver and Marilyn Silverman, *Merchants and Shopkeepers: a historical anthropology of an Irish market town, 1200-1991* (Toronto, 1995), pp 41-111; Tighe, *Statistical observations relative to the county of Kilkenny*, pp 464-5; Dickson, 'Inland city', p. 333.

It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that Kilkenny developed anything resembling efficient rail links and even at that there were significant problems due to the rivalry between the operating companies. The direct rail link between Kilkenny and Waterford was not opened until 1864. As a result of careful timetabling, it was faster to get from Waterford to Dublin via Limerick than the much shorter journey via Kilkenny. This must have had an impact on the local economy and its trade links with Waterford. This aberration continued until *circa* 1900 when the two companies, the Kilkenny Junction Railway Company and the Great Southern and Western Railway Company. amalgamated and rail became more practical as a mode of transporting locally produced goods.[19]

Woollen manufacturing and milling in Kilkenny city

Every loom idle[20]

The underlying geology of the city and its hinterland, in the form of limestone bedrock topped by glacial gravels and podzolic's, resulted in fertile agricultural lands.[21] This meant that grain was plentiful; this needed to be ground to produce flour. In the seventeenth century many of Kilkenny's mills served a dual purpose, as noted in the Civil Survey, where the Castle Mills, that later became the Ormonde Mills, are described as follows: 'whereof two are corne mills ye other a tucking mill'; there is a similar record of the Lacken Mills.[22] Mills for flour and woollen manufacturing were, therefore, an essential part of Kilkenny's economy even during the seventeenth century.[23] This dual use of mills is referred to by Louis Cullen in his overview of flour milling in the eighteenth century.[24]

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[19] Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, pp 7-8.

[20] Henry D. Inglis, *A tour throughout Ireland*, vol. i (2 vols. London, 1835), i, pp 90-6.

[21] Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, p. 1; Cóilín Ó Drisceoil, John Bradley and Richard Jennings, *The Kilkenny archaeological project: report for the Irish national strategic archaeological research programme* (Kilkenny, 2008), p. 71 for a summary of the underlying geology of the city and its hinterland.

[22] *The Civil Survey, A.D. 1654-1656 county of Waterford, Vol. VI, with appendices: Muskerry barony, Co. Cork, Kilkenny city and liberties (part)*, Robert Simington (ed.) (Dublin, 1942), p. 549.

[23] Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, pp 16-17.

[24] Louis Cullen, 'Eighteenth-century flour milling in Ireland' in Andy Bielenberg (ed.), *Irish flour milling: a history, 600-2000* (Dublin, 2003), p. 39.
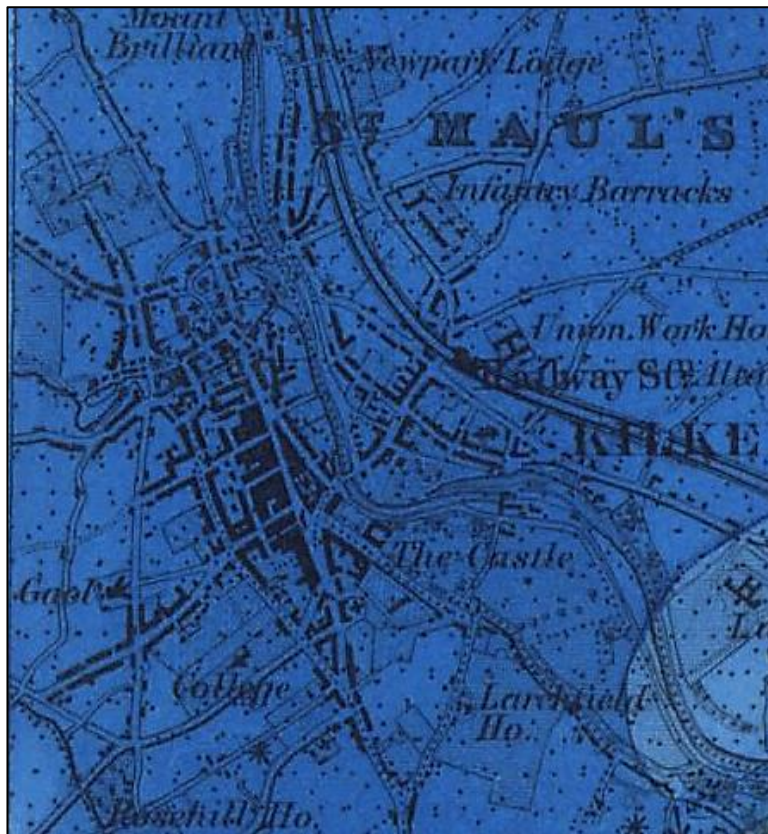
Figure 3.2   The underlying geology of Kilkenny city, the dark blue indicates the limestone bedrock, extracted from OS geological map series, one-inch sheet, xix, 147, 1857.

The Irish economy suffered following the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815 when a period of industrial decline set in nationally.[25] At a local level this led to population decline in Kilkenny and a downturn in the city's fortunes.[26] This economic downturn happened between 1817 and 1819 and again in 1826-9.[27] Henry D. Inglis commented extensively on the decline in manufacturing in Kilkenny in his tour of Ireland where he saw 'every loom idle'.[28] A public meeting in November 1840 was held with the purpose of seeing what could be done to revive the failing manufacturing trade, a decline which was starting to have long-term implications. There was also further local awareness of this decline as evidenced in 1845 with an entry from the corporation minute book of that year, 'Representatives of a city which once bid fair to be the leading manufacturing district of Ireland but whose poverty and distress consequent upon want of employment now prevails and has prevailed for many years.'[29] This decline in manufacturing was also seen nearby in Clonmel and particularly Carrick-on-Suir.[30] Clonmel experienced this economic downturn in linens and wool slightly later due to the presence of a woollen factory run

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[25] Cormac Ó Gráda, *Ireland: a new economic history* (New York, 1995), p. 308

[26] Eoin O'Malley, 'The decline of Irish industry in the nineteenth century' in *The Economic and Social Review*, xiii, no. 1 (Oct. 1981), p. 22.

[27] Royle, 'Industrialization, urbanization and urban society in post-Famine Ireland, *c*. 1850-1921' in B.J. Graham and Lindsay Proudfoot (eds), *An historical geography of Ireland* (London, 1993), p. 269.

[28] Inglis, *A tour throughout Ireland*, vol. 1, pp 90-6.

[29] Kilkenny corporation minute book, no. 10, 1843 to 1851 (KCA, CR, D10, pp 153-280).

[30] T.W. Freeman, 'Irish towns in the eighteenth and nineteenth century' in R.A. Butlin (ed.), *The development of the Irish town* (London, 1977), p. 124.

by Quaker industrialists, the Malcomson family of Portlaw.[31] The decline in the linen and woollen industries on a national level, according to Gerry Kearns, brought with it significant changes in how space was used in towns and cities.[32] There is evidence of this changing pattern in the use of urban space in Kilkenny city between 1861 and 1922.

Cartographic references to tenter's and ropewalks on the urban fringes can also indicate the presence of manufacturing.[33] In Kilkenny, for example, these can first be seen on the 1841 OS five-foot plan where the word 'tenter's' often occurs. These were areas where linen was placed to be stretched and to dry. These features are shown on figure 3.6. Most of the tenter's noted on the OS five-foot plan of 1841 are absent just thirty years later and only appear in proximity to the two large mill complexes of Green's Bridge and the Ormonde Mills.

Corn mills and woollen manufacturing in Kilkenny city in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

The importance of mills and milling to Kilkenny city is well documented in the eighteenth century. This was partly due to the introduction of a bounty paid by the Irish government on flour brought by road to Dublin, that lasted from 1758 to 1797.[34] This saw large quantities of flour transported to Dublin from 'sundry mills' in Kilkenny and the value of these bounties to the local economy can be traced in the journals of the Irish House of Commons, and a sample from 1777-8 is shown in figure 3.2.[35] The Colles Mills at Abbeyvale, that lie outside the city boundaries, were one of the first large-scale mills in Ireland, indicating the importance of mills to the economy of both the city and the county. Counties Kilkenny and Meath were also at the forefront of flour milling in the 1760s, further showing that the industry had became very important to the local economy. Both counties saw a rapid expansion of bolting mills during this period. A bolting mill was one that utilised a series of mechanical sleeves to sieve flour.[36]

Flour milling in Kilkenny also grew in conjunction with tillage, the expansion of which led to investment in milling technologies.[37] Consequently, there was a boom in Irish flour milling generally and mills started to expand vertically.[38] The expansion of mills nationally also saw

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[31] Andy Bielenberg and John M. Hearne, 'Malcolmsons of Portlaw and Clonmel: some new evidence on the Irish cotton industry, 1825-50' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Section C*, cvi (2006), pp 339-66.

[32] Gerry Kearns, 'Vacancy and housing in Dublin: 1798-1911' in *Irish Geography*, xlviii, no. 1 (2015), pp 13-36.

[33] Terry Slater and Rosemary Thorne, 'Detached gardens and the urban fringe of eighteenth-and nineteenth-century English provincial towns' in *Journal of Historical Geography*, liii (2016), pp 28-30.

[34] Colin Rynne, 'The development of milling technology, 600-1875' in Andy Bielenberg (ed.), *Irish flour milling: a history, 600-2000* (Dublin, 2003), p. 29.

[35] Cullen, 'Eighteenth-century flour milling in Ireland', pp 40-1.

[36] Ibid., pp 43, 47.

[37] Bielenberg, 'A survey of Irish flour milling, 1801-1922' in Bielenberg (ed.), *Irish flour milling* (Dublin, 2003), p. 60.

[38] Rynne, 'The development of milling technology, 600-1875', p. 29.

technological advances such as the introduction of bolting mills that allowed for flour to be graded.[39] The nineteenth century also saw the introduction of steam engines and looms worked by water instead of the older manual looms.[40]

Kilkenny city mills, June 1777 to June 1778					
Mill	Owner	Quantity (cwt.)	Bounty £	*S*	*D*
Green Street	William Rattican	4250	604	13	2
Lackens	Patrick Brennan and Co.	18,710	2665	17	1 1
Maudlins	Matthew Fogarty	233	32	12	4
Ormonde	Matthias Scott	7190	1042	18	7

Figure 3.3 Quantities of flour sent to Dublin from four Kilkenny city mills and the bounties paid, June 1777 to June 1778.[41]

It was also during the eighteenth century that linen became the major export from Ireland.[42] There had been some previous efforts expended by a variety of local interests to establish a viable linen industry in Kilkenny. Piers Butler tried to develop weaving in the city when he brought in Flemish weavers in the sixteenth century; this venture was short lived and chiefly served to supply the castle.[43] It was his descendant, the second duke of Ormonde, who acted as the patron of a weaving school founded in 1705.[44]

The remainder of the eighteenth century saw further attempts to establish linen and wool as significant industries in Kilkenny. Factories and bleach greens were built, a linen market was established, a linen company was founded and a short-lived cotton manufactory was constructed at Greenshill in 1799.[45] Woollens, and the production of blankets, were therefore central to the success of the economy of Kilkenny city in the eighteenth century and offered significant employment.[46] Army contracts were also procured for blankets in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century and Tighe's statistical survey shows that approximately 2,500 broad blankets were being produced and sold annually *circa* 1800.[47]

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[39] Mimnagh, 'Grain mills of Co. Longford, *c*. 1750-1950: a regional survey', vol. 1, pp 54-5.

[40] Rynne, 'The development of milling technology, 600-1875', pp 30-1; Cullen, 'Eighteenth-century flour milling in Ireland', p. 43; Tighe, *Statistical observations on the county of Kilkenny, 1801*, pp 546-8.

[41] *Journal of the house of commons of the Kingdom of Ireland*, vol. 19 (Dublin, 1791) p. 98.

[42] O'Malley, 'The decline of Irish industry in the nineteenth century', pp 21-2.

[43] Samuel Lewis, *Topographical dictionary of Ireland* (2 vols. Dublin, 1837), vol. ii p. 110.

[44] W.G. Neely, *Kilkenny: an urban history* (Belfast, 1989), p. 104.

[45] Ibid., pp 181-3.

[46] Tighe, *Statistical observations on the county of Kilkenny, 1801*, pp 546-51.

[47] Ibid., pp 547-8.

During this period four frieze fairs were being held annually, frieze being a heavy woollen cloth. The frieze of the Carrick-on-Suir producers was also sold at these fairs but ultimately due to competition the Kilkenny manufacturers had to start producing worsted, a higher-quality woollen fabric.[48] A regional supply of wool was the basis for this increase in blanket manufacturing.[49] In the eighteenth century Kilkenny had a significant percentage of its population dependant on woollen manufacturing, with only Bandon, Carrick-on-Suir and Dublin's Liberties having anything similar.[50] Some of the wool used in the blankets was imported from Dublin while locally produced wool was generally sold to Cork or Carrick-on-Suir. It was towards the end of the eighteenth century that both the Castle Mills, that later became the Ormonde Mills and Lacken Mills, converted fully to woollen mills having principally served a dual purpose since the medieval period.[51]

There is also evidence in the Prim manuscripts from 1753 of efforts to promote the linen industry in Kilkenny city. In a letter to the linen board it is stated that 'the manufacture is improving in this county but in a much slower manner than we would wish'.[52]

The early nineteenth century saw further attempts by local businessmen to establish a successful linen and woollen trade. A shop was established at Westmoreland Street in Dublin in order to sell Kilkenny woollens while the army's increasing demand for blankets was a further encouragement to the trade. This trade in wool was to continue until the economic collapse of the 1820s when 3000 to 4000 people were reportedly involved in woollen manufacturing.[53] Local industrial employment began to shrink at this stage and it is likely that this decline in both employment and industry meant that there was less investment in the city's infrastructure and industries.[54] Despite a brief upturn in woollen manufacturing after 1831, by 1837 the number of people involved in this industry in Kilkenny city had dwindled dramatically to approximately 600.[55] The first half of the nineteenth century therefore saw a significant decrease in the production of wool and linen in Kilkenny. Once trade protections were removed in the 1820s it decreased considerably.[56]

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[48] Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, p. 7.
[49] Cullen, 'The social and economic evolution of Kilkenny in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' in Nolan and Whelan (eds), *Kilkenny history and society*, p. 342.
[50] Ibid., p. 340.
[51] Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, p. 7.
[52] Letter from the grand jury of Co. Kilkenny to the trustees (of the linen manufacture) setting out their opinion as to the best means of encouraging the linen industry in the county, 1753 (NAI, Prim manuscripts, pri-25).
[53] Lewis, *Topographical dictionary of Ireland*, vol. ii, p. 110.
[54] Dickson, 'Inland city', pp 336, 342.
[55] Lewis, *Topographical dictionary of Ireland*, vol. ii, p. 110.
[56] Ibid.

Between 1826 and 1835, Kilkenny city's mills and markets still accounted for 34 per cent of wheat sales and 45 per cent of the sale of oats in the county.[57] This should be seen as signifying the city's role as a local trade and market centre. The growth and value of domestic wheat growing nationally continued until the 1850s when it collapsed dramatically.[58] There were approximately 2,500 corn mills in operation in Ireland between 1835 and 1850; by 1916 this number had dropped to 1,100.[59] This pattern of decline in corn mills can also be seen in the morphological analysis of the two main milling complexes in Kilkenny city and is the focus of the second half of this chapter. As a consequence of less people working in agriculture there was a decline in industry that resulted in less of a demand for mills to grind grain. The period from 1821 to 1841 saw the proportion of the labour force involved in industry in Kilkenny city drop from 60.3 per cent to 37.7 per cent.[60]

Flour production actually increased nationally between 1850 and the mid-1870s due to imports of grain, which in turn led to a geographical shift in milling from rural areas to ports.[61] Towns and cities with large ports continued to prosper while inland settlements, without ports or canals like Kilkenny, suffered as a consequence.[62] Kilkenny's location, once a significant advantage that led to its status as the largest inland town in Ireland, was now proving to be disadvantageous as the trade links and infrastructure needed to develop the city simply were not there. In 1891 there were thirteen flour mills in the county; this had dropped to seven by 1916.[63]

The woollen trade can also help to account for how elements of urban space were used. Both the Rocque map and the 1841 OS five-foot plan show what seem to be extensive gardens or orchards in proximity to the town wall. Tighe helps to correct this impression by describing how people involved in the woollen trade grew teasels to help comb the wool. Seven to eight acres were grown annually 'in gardens near the town wall'.[64] Much of what appear to be gardens, orchards or allotments were in fact deliberately cultivated areas for a very specific purpose, that of aiding the woollen trade which again shows its importance to the city's economy.

Evidence from Griffith's published tenement valuations from 1850 shows that corn mills and woollen factories were still an important element of the city economy at this time. There were six corn mills and five woollen factories with three areas noted as 'tenter's land', showing that urban space was still being used to stretch wool. As already mentioned this feature became

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[57] Dickson, 'Inland city', p. 340.

[58] Cullen, 'Eighteenth-century flour milling in Ireland', pp 47, 58.

[59] Bielenberg, 'A survey of Irish flour milling, 1801-1922', p. 59.

[60] Royle, 'Industrialization, urbanization and urban society in post Famine Ireland, *c*. 1850-1921', pp 262-3.

[61] Bielenberg, 'A survey of Irish flour milling, 1801-1922', pp 67-70.

[62] Ibid., p. 67.

[63] Ibid., p. 78.

[64] Tighe, *Statistical observations on the county of Kilkenny, 1801*, p. 548.

limited to ground in proximity to the woollen mills by 1871 showing a change in use of urban space in some areas of the city.

Location	Description	Pounds	Shillings	Pence
Mill Lane	Corn Mill	40	0	0
Kennyswell Street	Corn Mill	22	15	0
Greensbridge Street	Corn Mill	32	10	0
Maudlin Street	Corn Mill	50	15	0
Lacken	Corn Mill	96	0	0
Jenkins Lane	Corn Mill	102	10	0
Ayresfields	Tenter land	0	7	0
Stephen Street	Tenter land	1	5	0
John Street Upper	Tenter land	0	8	0
Mill Lane	Woollen Factory	28	0	0
Mill Lane	Woollen Factory	40	0	0
The Canal	Woollen Factory	166	0	0
Greensbridge Street	Woollen Factory	25	0	0
Greensbridge Street	Woollen Factory	30	15	0
Total Value		**£636**	**5*s*.**	**0*d*.**

Richard Griffith, *General valuation of rateable property in Ireland, city of Kilkenny* (Dublin, 1854), pp 1-70.

Figure 3.4 Location, description and value of corn mills and woollen factories, extracted from Griffith's primary valuation of tenements, 1850, Kilkenny city.

The location of Kilkenny's mills and woollen infrastructure

The locations of Kilkenny's mills and other sites concerned with wool and linen manufacture such as tenter-fields are shown on figure 3.6, *circa* 1841. The mills, predictably, are all found in proximity to the Nore and Breagagh. The two major milling complexes are at the north end of the city near Green's Bridge and at the southern of the city past John's Bridge.

The former site contains Chancellor's Mills, a woollen factory; a corn mill and the Green's Bridge tuck mills and corn mills based on Mill Island. There was a total of six mills or factories at this location (figure 3.12). It is this last mill on the left bank of the Nore that will be discussed as part of the Green's Bridge complex. The latter site, that of Ormonde Mills, occupies the probable site of the Castle Mills noted in the Civil Survey. There was a flourmill directly across the river, while to the east was the site of the Lacken Mills. There is extensive documentary, topographical, archaeological and cartographic evidence for both of these sites.

The tenter-fields were found in several open areas across the city. On the 1841 OS five-foot plan they are most obvious in the Butt's and the large open field west of St Canice's cathedral. They can also be seen north of the Gaol Road and in proximity to the Ormonde Mills (figure 3.6). They were a very conspicuous feature of Irish towns in the first half of the nineteenth century. A tenter is 'a framework on which fabric can be held taut for drying or other treatment during manufacture'.[65] Where a number of these frames are found together they are referred to cartographically as tenter's or tenter-fields. This name in turn gives rise to the phrase 'on tenterhooks' as hooks were used to keep the fabric stretched. A number of such hooks were recovered during excavations at both mill sites; figure 3.5 is a recreation drawing of a tenter's frame.[66]

The disappearance of this cartographic feature can be seen as evidence of a downturn in the linen and woollen trade. The declining need for large open spaces for use as tenter-fields left significant lands available for development for other purposes.[67] This was not the case in Kilkenny; the areas marked as tenter's near the Butt's and St Canice's were to remain as unused empty space until the twentieth century.

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[65] Oxford English dictionary, oxforddictionaries.com, available at
www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/tenter (accessed 29 June 2016).
[66] Doyle, 'River Nore (Kilkenny city) drainage scheme final report, pp 69-84.
[67] Slater and Thorne, 'Detached gardens and the urban fringe of eighteenth-and nineteenth-century English provincial towns', pp 28-30.
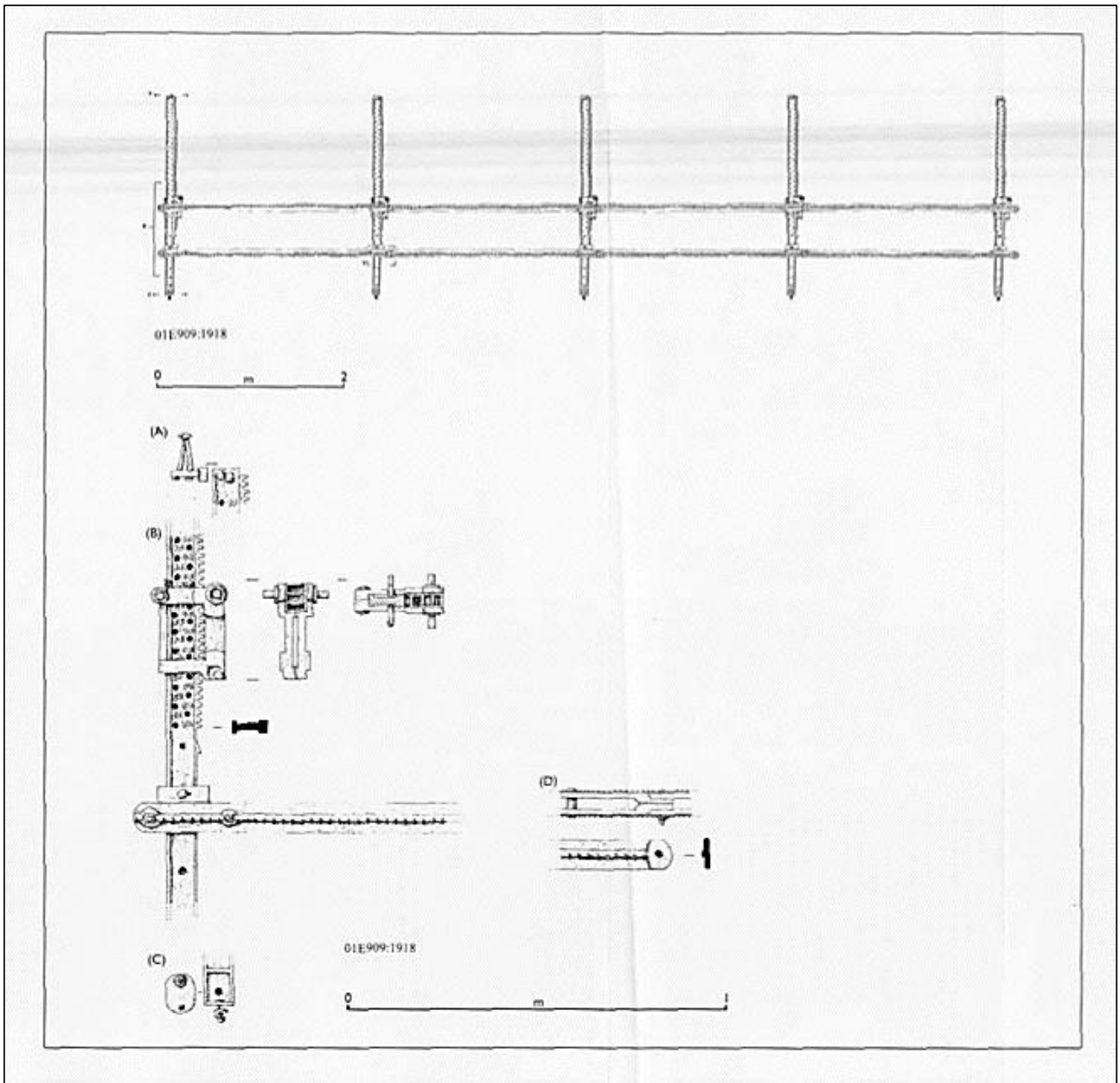
Figure 3.5 Reconstruction drawing of a tenter's frame, from fragments retrieved during archaeological excavations at the Ormonde Mills, Kilkenny.

Figure 3.6 Location of the mills of Kilkenny city, and ropewalks and tenter-fields *circa* 1841, base map is map 2 from the Kilkenny fascicle of the IHTA.

The Ormonde Mills

The Ormonde Mills occupied the site of the oldest recorded mills in the city.[68] By 1861, it consisted of a linear series of buildings and outbuildings on reclaimed land in proximity to a weir. The earliest cartographic representation of the Ormonde Mills is from the Down Survey map of 1658 where it is represented by a simple block-like structure on the bend of the Nore as it exits Kilkenny (figure 3.7).

The Civil Survey expands on the simple representation depicted on the Down Survey map and shows that there were three mills, under one roof, on this site, two for corn, with the third being a tuck mill.[69] Tucking was a process for cleaning and thickening wool.[70] The Civil Survey also indicates that the dimensions of the Ormonde Mills at this period were approximately 82 feet in breadth and 20 feet in length. It is quite likely that it is this building that is shown on the Francis Place drawing of Kilkenny from 1698 (figure 3.7).[71] This drawing, despite its odd perspective, shows a long rectangular building on the banks of the Nore.

Further detail on the development of the Ormonde Mills comes from the Rocque map of 1758. The change in the number of individual building blocks and the subsequent morphology of the complex indicates that there was a growing need for more buildings to handle the growth in demand for either corn or wool. There was existing infrastructure in the form of a roadway to transport goods to and from the mill, and weirs to divert water to the millraces already in place at this site. It was likely a straightforward decision to expand on this site rather than to build a new mill elsewhere to handle the increase in demand.

Where the earlier Down Survey map and the Francis Place drawing of 1698 show what seems to be a single building block, occupying a large plot, the Rocque map shows at least four buildings spread across the reclaimed land. The layout of this complex as portrayed on Byron's map of 1795 is identical to that of Rocque (figure 3.7). The single building shown by Place appears to have been extended to the west, while additional structures are now in situ at the rear of this building to the north. Two smaller structures are also visible to the southwest of the main buildings. The overall acreage of the complex was therefore increasing.

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[68] Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, pp 16-17.

[69] *The Civil Survey*, vol. vi, p. 549.

[70] Fred Hamond, 'Belmont Mills, Belmont Co. Offaly, industrial heritage survey', p. 1, available online at Belmontmill.com, www.belmontmill.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/BelmontMill.pdf (accessed 10 June 2016), see also Oxford English dictionary, available at www.oed.com.jproxy.nuim.ie/view/Entry/207242?isAdvanced=false&result=1&rskey=rxMeuU& (accessed 8 Apr. 2017).

[71] John Maher, 'Francis Place in Drogheda, Kilkenny and Waterford etc.' in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, seventh series, iv. no. 2 (30 June 1934), pp 41-53.
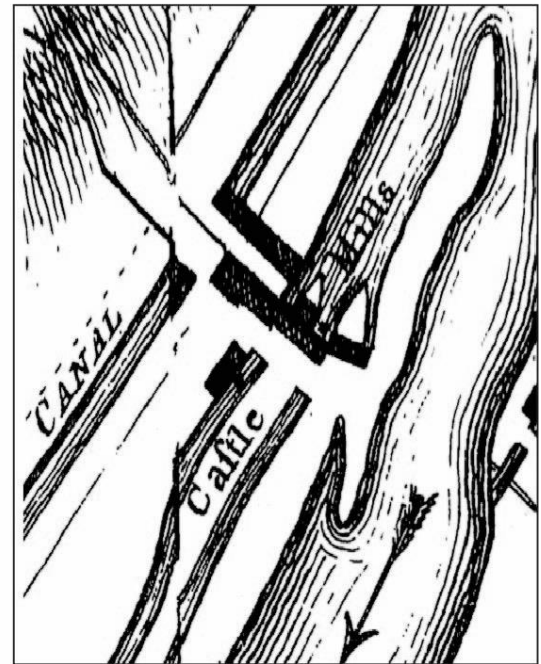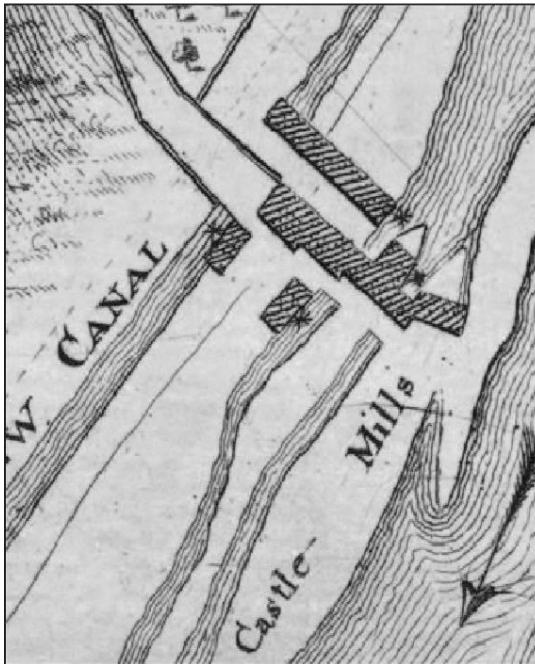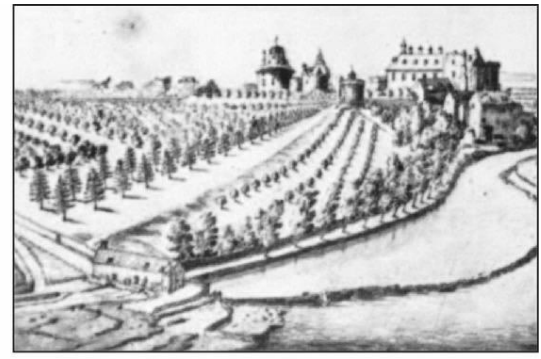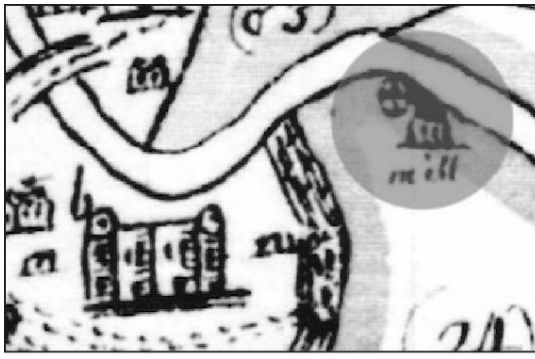
Figure 3.7 Early representations of the Ormonde Mills: Civil Survey, *circa* 1654; Francis Place, 1698; John Rocque, 1758; Samuel Byron, 1795.

Figure 3.8 shows the further development of the Ormonde Mills from 1841, by which time the complex had reached its greatest extent, to 1871 where buildings had started to fall out of use. Where the most detailed early maps, those of Rocque and Byron, show four building blocks, by 1841 this had risen to twelve. A growth in the milling industry had resulted from significant investment between 1795 and 1841. The original buildings appear to have been subsumed into a much larger complex with extensive additions to the west, north and east. This is also the first plan to show the presence of tenter's and it is also the first time that the use of the mills is labelled as woollen.
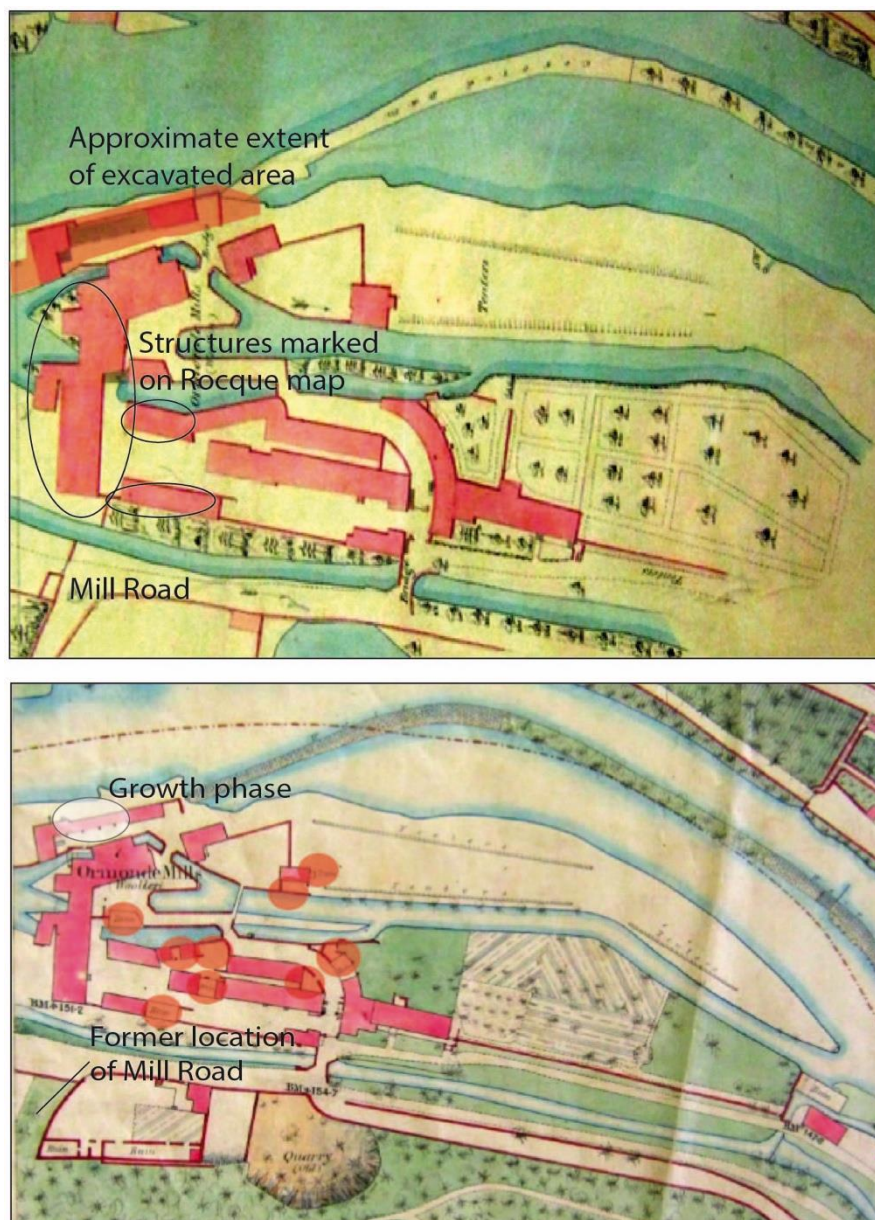
Figure 3.8 The Ormonde Mills on the OS five-foot plans of 1841 and 1871, red shading indicating decline and white shading indicating development.

This change to woollen mills is first evidenced in Pigots' directory of 1824 where the Ormonde Mills are noted as being one of two woollen manufacturers in the city. Pigots' directory of 1824 also notes that there were ten blanket manufacturers.[72] Slater's 1856 trade directory also records a total of twelve woollen and blanket manufacturers.[73] The following three editions of Slater's directory show that blanket making and wool processing had largely stagnated in terms of the numbers employed. By 1870 there were five. The Ormonde Mills were not recorded in the 1881 trade directory that shows only two mill owners in the city along with five blanket manufacturers. Further evidence of the stagnation of milling and woollen manufacturing comes from 1894 when

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[72] Pigots', *Commercial Directory of Ireland* (Dublin, 1824), pp 161-2.
[73] Slater's, *Royal national commercial directory of Ireland* (Dublin, 1856), pp 60-6.

the trade directory for that year shows that there were only three mills and three woollen manufacturers in operation.[74]

Another notable morphological feature of the 1841 OS five-foot plan is that it is the last known cartographic depiction of Mill Road. This was the access road to the Ormonde Mills from the Bennettsbridge road and is marked as early as 1698 on Place's sketch. By 1871 this road had been closed, and access to the mill was either via the narrow roadway known as the Mayors Walk or along the banks of the Nore beside the canal and via a narrow lane just off the Bennettsbridge road.

Coincidentally or not, this closure of the access road appears to relate to an expansion of the private grounds of the castle. The grounds to the east of Mill Road are landscaped and part of the castle grounds or demesne on the 1871 OS five-foot plan, whereas on the earlier plans they appear to be fields.

There are further changes to the structures of the Ormonde Mills evident on the 1871 OS five-foot plan. At least nine separate buildings or parts of buildings are either marked as in ruins or shown with gaps in their walls and are seemingly out of use (figure 3.8). Most of these buildings are on the eastern half of the complex while the main mill building and the building parallel to the Nore at the north of the plot seem to be still largely intact. This is corroborated by the documentary evidence, particularly the entry on industry in Bassett's trade directory of 1884.[75]

The Ormonde Mills were noted as being for sale in the Landed Estates Court in 1869. The only evidence for this comes from newspaper advertisements, as no rental exists in the records of the Landed Estates Court.[76] It seems likely, given the later evidence from the 1890 sale, for which a detailed rental and map do exist, that it was the lease which was purchased locally by the O'Sullivan family, as James Reade leased the mills from them in 1880 after which they eventually opened again as a business concern.[77]

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[74] Slater's *Directory of Ireland*, 1870, pp 112-19; Slater's *Royal National Commercial Directory of Ireland*, 1881, pp 437-42; Slater's *Royal National Commercial Directory of Ireland*, 1894, pp 125-30.

[75] Bassett, *Kilkenny city and county guide and directory*, pp 11, 68.

[76] *The Irish Land Schedule and Landed Estates Court Advertiser*, Nov. 1869, *Freeman's Journal*, 17 Nov. 1869 a review of the index to the Landed Estates Court Rentals in the NLI did not find this rental.

[77] Bassett, *Kilkenny city and county guide and directory*, pp 11, 68; *Rentals, particulars and conditions of sale, Sullivan estate*, Rental of the Land Judges Estate Court, 18 July 1890 (NLI, Landed Estates Court records, 2 M 1); Michael O'Dwyer, 'The Ormonde Mills throughout the centuries' in *Old Kilkenny Review*, lx (2008), p. 97.

The documentary evidence from Bassett's guide supports the morphological analysis that the mills had extensively deteriorated and had fallen out of use by 1869-71 (figure 3.8). The main building on the west of the complex is described as being three storeys high, two hundred feet long and thirty feet wide and was 'almost in ruins'.[78] The structure parallel to the river was three storeys, thirty feet in width and eighty feet in length and in a similarly dilapidated condition.[79] If the two main buildings had declined to such an extent the smaller ancillary buildings and sheds had surely declined as much if not more.

Once Reade took over the lease of the mills it was his efforts that got the woollen industry operating once again, albeit initially on a modest scale. Reade's family also owned some of the Green's Bridge mills and he himself had travelled extensively in England and America.[80] It was his familiarity with modern techniques and machinery that led to his investment in the Ormonde Mills when he first took over the lease in 1880 and then purchased the lease outright in 1890.[81] Extensive mechanisation took place; the result of this is that fewer people were needed to work the mills.

The records of the Landed Estates Court from the advertised sale in 1869 also show just how extensive the plot associated with the milling complex was at 9*a*. 2*r*. 1*p*. At this period the rental of the property was valued at £288, 4*s*. 5½*d*.[82] By the time of the sale in 1890 the value of the mills had drastically decreased and the yearly rental had declined to £100, part of which was a head rent of £21 7*s*. payable to the Ormonde estate.[83] This indicates that the morphological decline so evident from the OS five-foot plans was being matched by a decreasing economic value. There was also a marked fall in the numbers employed in woollens in the city, with Bassett's guide claiming that Reade employed 'about one hundred hands' in 1884. This is a long way removed from the numbers employed in the early nineteenth century.

Despite the efforts of Reade and his family to invigorate the woollen trade, there were further morphological changes to the Ormonde Mills complex. More buildings had fallen out of use by 1902 as shown on the first twenty-five-inch OS map of Kilkenny city (figure 3.9). This shows that more of the buildings on the eastern side of the complex had fallen into disuse. This shows a change in building use and land use and demonstrates how despite the best intentions of a local entrepreneur to reinvigorate the woollen trade it remained largely stagnant and was operating

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[78] Bassett, *Kilkenny city and county guide and directory*, pp 11, 68.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.
[81] *Rentals, particulars and conditions of sale, Sullivan estate*; O'Dwyer, 'The Ormonde Mills throughout the centuries', pp 94-103.
[82] *The Irish Land Schedule and Landed Estates Court Advertiser*, Nov. 1869; *Freemans Journal*, 17 Nov. 1869.
[83] *Rentals, particulars and conditions of sale, Sullivan estate*.

mostly at a local level. The complex had declined in use to the extent that only the two main buildings, with some of the ancillary structures appear to have been in use by 1902 (figure 3.9).
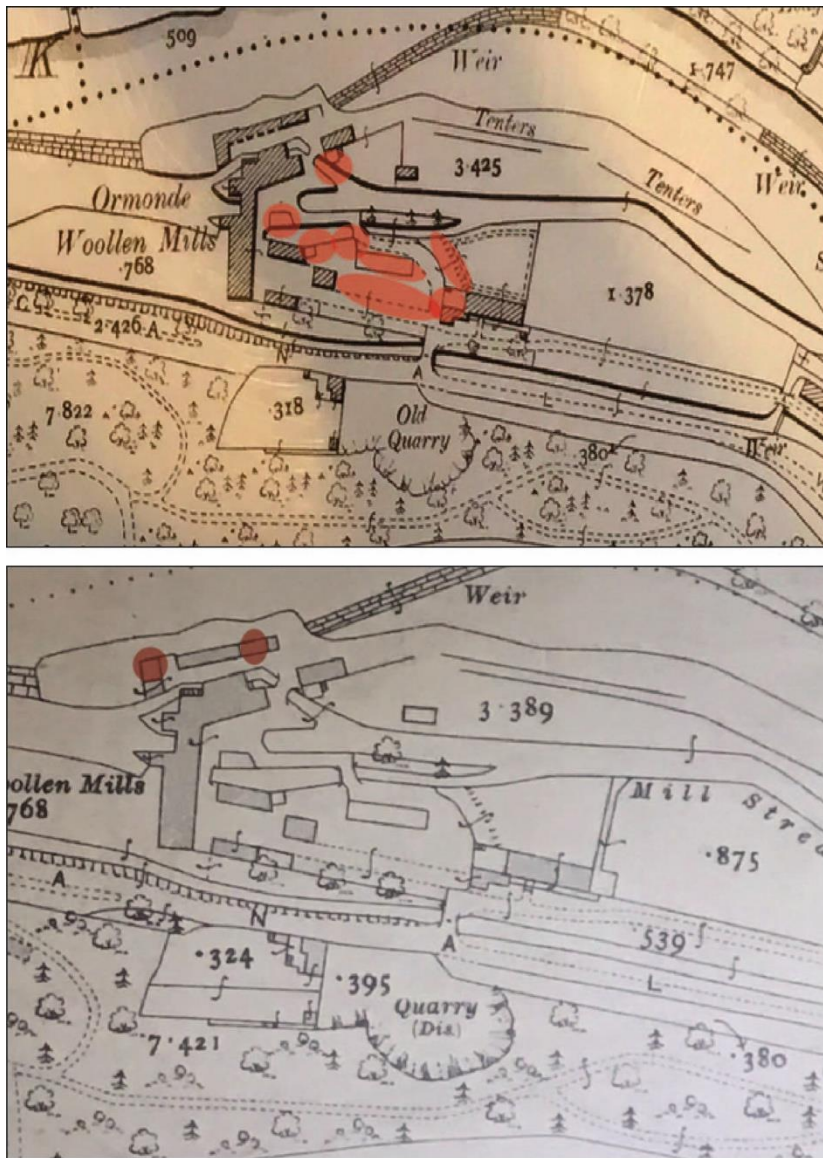
Figure 3.9 The Ormonde Mills on the OS twenty-five-inch plans of 1902 and 1913-14.

In the early twentieth century the mills continued to operate and sell at a local level supplying blankets to the local Poor Law board of guardians'.[84] Following the outbreak of the Great War, the Ormonde Mills obtained army contracts for blankets and frequently advertised for wool.[85] There are further morphological changes to the northernmost building evident from the 1913-14 OS twenty-five-inch plan where only the central portion seems to be intact with the ends of the building in disuse (figure 3.9). The Ormonde Mills continued in operation until a fire destroyed what was left in 1969 and they have since fallen entirely out of use.[86] Part of one structure has been converted into a modern house while the rest of the complex is overgrown and derelict.[87]

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[84] *Kilkenny People*, 30 May 1914.
[85] Ibid., 26 Jan. 1915.
[86] O'Dwyer, 'The Ormonde Mills throughout the centuries', pp 94-103.
[87] Field observation, 25 March 2015.

The archaeological evidence at the Ormonde Mills

The importance of archaeology to plan analysis, and thus its relevance here, is based on arguments made by Bradley and H.B. Clarke discussed earlier in this chapter and in chapter one.[88]

The river Nore city drainage scheme between 2000 and 2002 necessitated the removal or remodelling of several of the city's weirs and mills. The northernmost section of the Ormonde Mills was one of the areas affected. Part of the requirements for this work to proceed was that an archaeological excavation be conducted on this site. The results of this excavation are contained in a detailed, although unpublished, report available through the database of the Kilkenny archaeological project.[89]
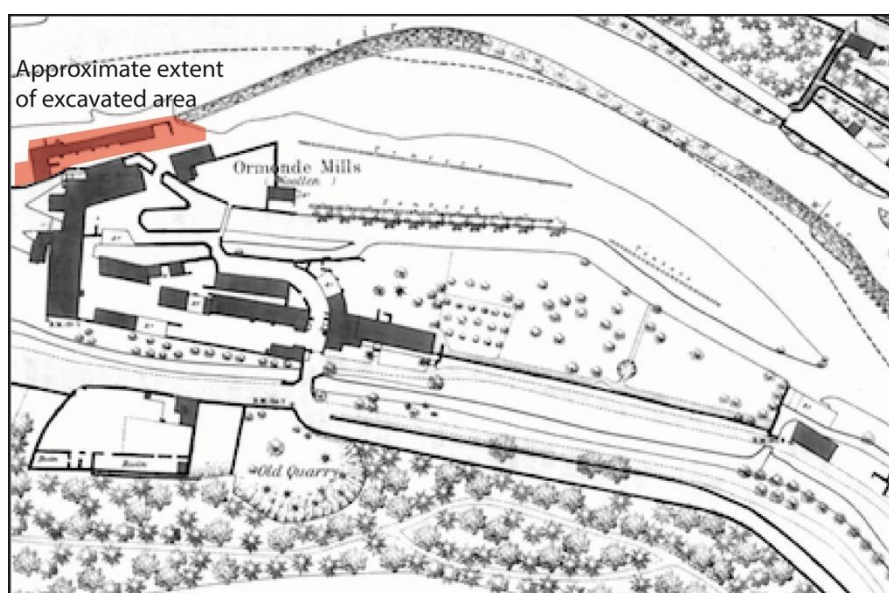
Figure 3.10 The approximate extent of the excavated area of the Ormonde Mills, Kilkenny, on OS five-foot plan, Kilkenny, sheet, xix, 47 (1871).

The excavation report proves that the mills were constructed on reclaimed land, consisting largely of river gravels and clays. The weirs aided in this reclamation by diverting water and allowing a further area to be developed to the north, running parallel to the Nore, by approximately 9 to 11 metres.[90]

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[88] Clarke, 'Construction and deconstruction: components of an Historic Towns Atlas methodology' in Wilfried Ehbrecht (ed.), *Stadteatlanten vier jahrzehnte Atlasarbeit in Europa* (Cologne, 2013), pp 46-8; Bradley, 'The role of town plan analysis in the study of the medieval Irish town', p. 40.

[89] Ó Drisceoil, Bradley and Jennings, *The Kilkenny archaeological project*, pp 32-40 summarise the more significant excavations.

[90] Doyle, 'River Nore (Kilkenny city) drainage scheme final report', p. 10, available as report KK-0179 through the database of the KKAP.

The archaeological excavations also established a specific chronology at the mills for the area excavated. In total, six archaeological phases were determined dating from the pre-eighteenth century to the mid-twentieth centuries. This chronology is based on dating of artefacts and of archaeological deposits as well as on an analysis of the structures. It shows that there were a series of 'construction episodes' at the northern part of the Ormonde Mills complex. This supports the documentary and morphological evidence already discussed in this chapter. All the evidence indicates that the site developed in phases as shown via a plan analysis of the Rocque and Byron maps and the later large-scale Ordnance Survey maps.[91]

It has been suggested that the water levels were high and this is a reason for the omission of the Ormonde and Lacken weirs on the Rocque map of 1758.[92] The process of drawing this map is likely to have taken weeks or longer so either the water levels were very high over this period or Rocque's cartographers simply omitted these weirs. It is very unlikely that the weirs were constructed after this period as both sites are mentioned in the Civil Survey and weirs are necessary to divert water to mills.

The excavation chronology also shows buildings were constructed in the northern part of the Ormonde Mills complex between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This corresponds with the additional building blocks noted on the 1841 OS five-foot plan. The early nineteenth century also saw walls constructed and internal features added that likely relate to the greyed-out area noted on the same plan, which is indicative of a temporary structure or possibly building works. This greyed-out area seems to have been constructed by 1871 when it is depicted as a completed structure.[93]

The final two phases identified archaeologically are from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Again, these phases support the evidence from the plan analysis and the documentary evidence that the mills declined between 1850 and 1922.

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[91] Doyle, 'River Nore (Kilkenny city) drainage scheme final report, p. 22.
[92] Ibid., p. 14.
[93] Ibid., p. 22.

The Green's Bridge mills

Located just south of Green's Bridge this complex consists of six separate mills or manufactories. The earliest definitive cartographic representation of this complex is from Rocque's map of 1758. The earlier Down Survey map does not depict a mill, stylised or otherwise, at this location. There is an unnamed structure just south of Green's Bridge but this could refer to the houses on Vicar Street. The Bishop's Mill is shown north of Green's Bridge while the Civil Survey references 'the other [mill] standing on Grenes Bridge' and 'Helias mill' at this location.[94]

It is on Rocque's map that the first detailed cartographic representation of this complex appears (figure 3.11). An important point to note concerning the Green's Bridge mills is that the weirs are depicted here whereas the Lacken and Ormonde weirs as mentioned earlier are not. It is unlikely therefore that high-water levels accounted for their absence at the Ormonde mill complex and more likely that Rocque's cartographers simply omitted them. The other possibility is that the survey took place over a long period and that water levels were low enough to see the weirs at the northern end of Kilkenny then rose to obscure the weirs when the southern end was surveyed.

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[94] *The Civil Survey*, vol. vi, pp 548-50.
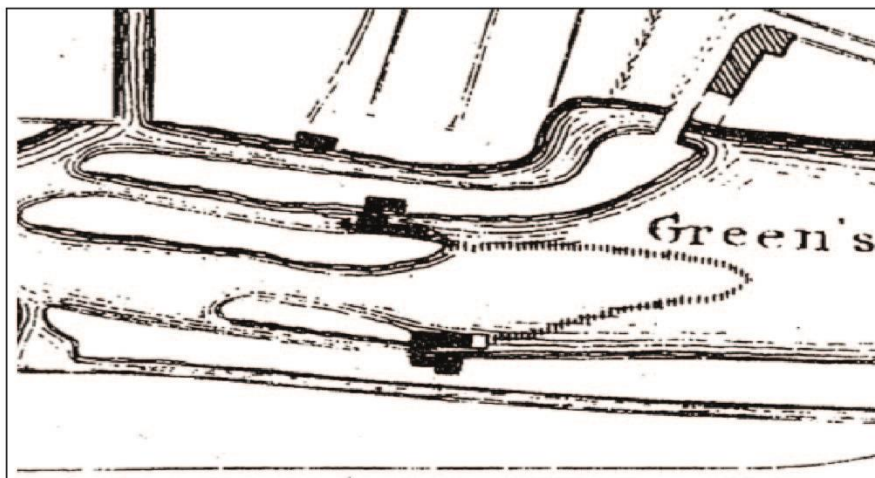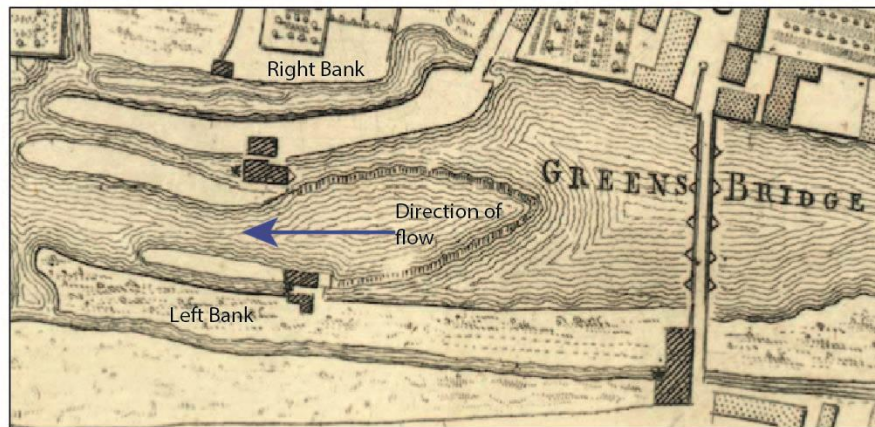
Figure 3.11 Early representations of the Green's Bridge mills: Down Survey *circa* 1654; John Rocque 1758; Samuel Byron, 1795.

Rocque's map depicts four mills or structures south of Green's Bridge on both banks of the Nore and on reclaimed banks of land in the river. By the time of the 1841 OS five-foot plan, five structures are visible and the mill complex appears to have expanded significantly. The Valuation Office map shows that there were six separate buildings at this site; three corn mills and three woollen factories. Whether or not they were recorded separately for the purpose of rates but some were functionally and commercially as one enterprise is not known. There is also some difficulty

in dating the Valuation Office working maps; the evidence on the maps themselves appears to post-date 1861. This can be ascertained as the new market that opened in 1862, is shown the Fair Green is present and can be dated to 1859, also St Mary's cathedral is present and this was constructed by 1857.[95] As they were working maps, additions were made to the plans, they are therefore tentatively dated to 1854, the date of the published valuations for Kilkenny city. There is also expansion evident between 1841 and 1871, particularly on Mill Island that was the focus of the archaeological excavations in 2000, and as evidenced from the nineteenth-century OS five-foot plans.

Signs of the decline in manufacturing start to appear between 1871 and 1902; for example, the tenter's frames that appeared on the 1871 OS five-foot plan are not present in 1902. The woollen factory on the right bank of the Nore is shown as unroofed in 1902, as is part of the corn mill on Mill Island. The tuck mills, now referred to as Green's Bridge Woollen Mill, expanded to the south where an additional building was constructed. Decline in use and indeed change in use of the mills at this complex may have happened slightly later than at the Ormonde Mills but it did occur. There were also signs of expansion and reuse of buildings on the site. The 1913-14 OS twenty-five-inch plan shows that two structures on the right bank of the Nore had been extended and reroofed (figure 3.12). It is quite likely that this relates to the re-opening of Chancellor's Mills in 1908 shortly followed by a sawmill.[96]

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[95] Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, pp 13, 19.
[96] *Kilkenny People*, 10 Oct. 1908, 16 Sept. 1908.
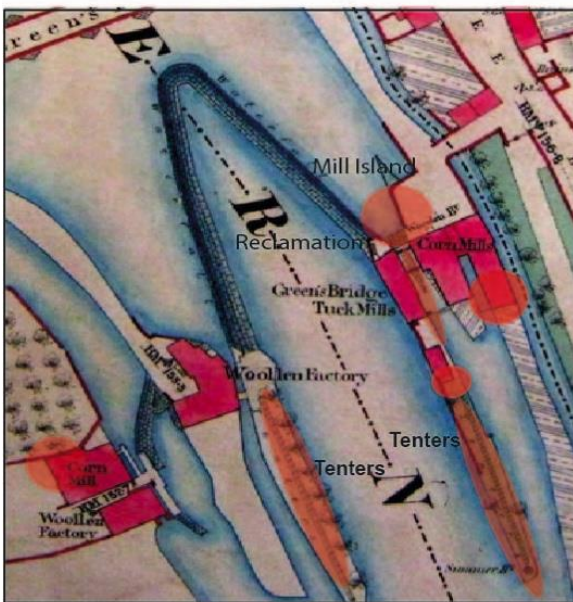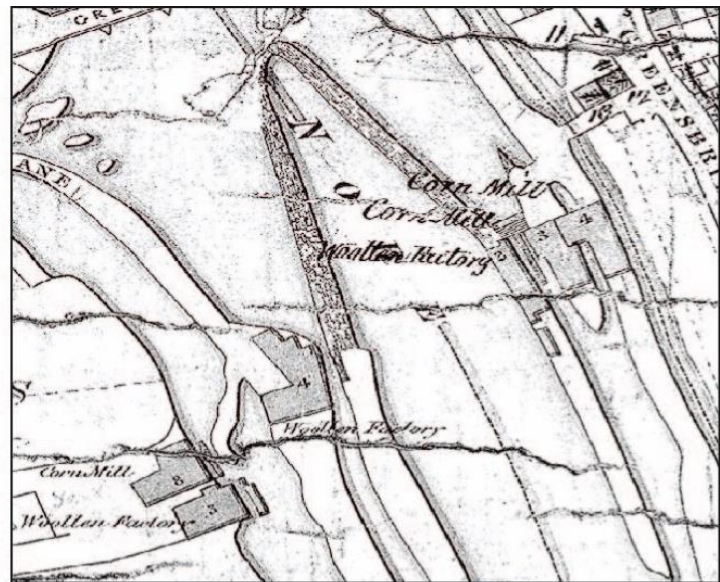
Figure 3.12 The Green's Bridge mills, from left to right: OS five-foot plan 1841; Valuation Office five-foot plan, *circa* 1850; OS five-foot plan, 1871; OS twenty-five-inch plan, 1902; OS twenty-five-inch plan 1913-14 and NLI, stereo pairs photographic collection, *circa* 1900.

The archaeological evidence at the Green's Bridge Mills

In a similar fashion to that of the Ormonde Mills, the archaeological evidence from the excavations at the Green's Bridge Mills not only supports the established documentary chronology but also adds substantially to it. Excavations here were also part of the works associated with the river Nore city drainage scheme between 2000 and 2002. The area excavated included the 'v'-shaped weir and the remaining upstanding structures, the Green's Bridge Mills, on Mill Island, on the left bank of the Nore.[97] This area includes the tenter's rows identified on the large-scale OS plans of 1871.

The nature of the artefacts recovered during the archaeological excavations and the accurate radiocarbon dating show definitively that part of the dam and the southernmost mill room date to the late seventeenth century.[98] No trace of the earlier 'Grenes' mill or 'Grines' mill noted in the corporation book of Irishtown were noted during the excavations; it is possible that it occupied a site north of Green's Bridge.[99]

The first archaeological phase has been interpreted as dating from the mid-seventeenth century and thus roughly corresponds with the Civil Survey of 1654. This phase also saw the creation of Mill Island by virtue of a millstream being cut through the left bank of the Nore. Phase two was again a growth phase and saw the addition of a building onto the existing mill. A dam was built to the north and radiocarbon dating of this dam dates it to the period 1670-80.[100] The third phase again supports the established documentary evidence and the plan analysis and shows that the building portrayed on Rocque's map, marked on figure 3.11, was extended to the west and into the river. A flood in 1763 which destroyed Green's Bridge and John's Bridge caused considerable damage to the mills as well. The fourth phase from 1763 to 1797 identified evidence for this destruction and subsequent repairs including the revetment of Mill Island with stone to act as a reinforcement against possible further flood damage.[101]

The most significant repairs and expansion of this complex occurred between 1797 and 1841. This expansion is shown via a comparison of the Rocque map of 1758 and the 1841 five-foot OS plan (figures 3.11 and 3.12). The archaeological evidence narrows this date range and again shows the benefit of using archaeological evidence to support a plan analysis.

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[97] Stevens, 'River Nore (Kilkenny city) drainage scheme, excavation report', pp 7-8 of the pdf.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Minute book of the corporation of Irishtown, 1544-1649 (KCA, CR, F1, folio 22 verso).
[100] Stevens, 'River Nore (Kilkenny city) drainage scheme, excavation report', pp 7-8 of the pdf.
[101] Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, vol. ii, p. 110; Stevens, 'River Nore (Kilkenny city) drainage scheme, excavation report', pp 7-8 of the pdf.

The period 1841 to 1872 relates to the change in the morphology of the buildings as shown on figure 3.12 and accounts for the wooden bridge shown on the 1871 five-foot OS plan and a stairs to the upper floor of the building. This wooden bridge is visible on a photograph from the stereo pairs photographic collection (figure 3.13).
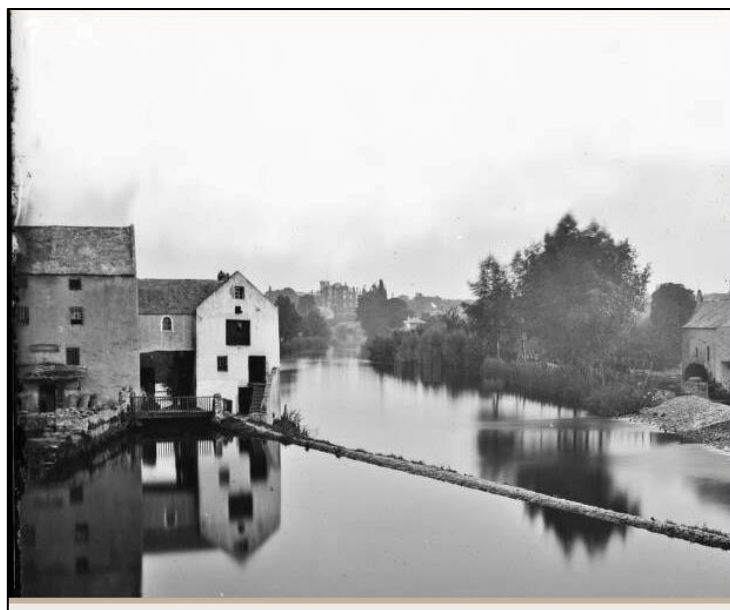
Figure 3.13 Mill Island, *circa* 1880-1914, from the stereo pairs photograph collection, NLI, stp_1213.

A plan analysis of the Ormonde Mills, supported to some extent by the documentary evidence, shows a pattern of decline between 1871 and 1902. This is less obvious at Mill Island and the Green's Bridge mills. The archaeological excavations demonstrate that 1872 to 1900 saw internal features being modified and possible conversion to a tuck mill.[102] This includes a water wheel that was relined with limestone slabs, a central pier built or possibly re-built, and the construction of a new sluice gate made of stone. These mills were obviously still viable and were not deteriorating. The morphological evidence for Mill Island from the plan analysis shows one of the buildings unroofed or in ruins by 1902 with an extension to the south of a structure on the weir. The tenter's rows also appear on the 1871 OS five-foot plan while Chancellors mills on the opposite bank re-opened *circa* 1908.

The twentieth century saw further change in use of the buildings on Mill Island; by the 1940s they were being used to generate electricity, by the 1960s they had fallen out of use and they were completely removed by the 1980s.[103]

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[102] Stevens, 'River Nore (Kilkenny city) drainage scheme, excavation report', pp 7-8 of the pdf.
[103] John Doyle, 'The water mills of Kilkenny' in *The Old Kilkenny Review*, second series, iii, no. 2 (1985), pp 158-9.

Employment, milling and woollen manufacture in Kilkenny city, 1861 to 1922

The various censuses between 1861 and 1926 allow for a determination of the number employed in woollen manufacturing and milling. This approach is not without its difficulties however. The 1861 census does not give a breakdown of particular elements of industry. For example, it does not list how many people were employed in milling or woollens. It simply shows headings such as 'manufacturing and trade' and 'agriculture'. One means of bridging this gap to some extent is the use of trade directories. Slater's directory of 1856 does list principal traders so this is used as a point of comparison with the 1861 census to see what were the significant employment sectors and employers at the start of the study period.[104]

The censuses for 1871 to 1911 follow roughly the same sub-divisions and allow for a compilation of those employed in milling and woollens. The first Free State census of 1926 however uses new categories and headings that do not precisely correlate with the earlier census. They are similar enough however that a rough comparison can be made.

Principal Traders in Kilkenny city in 1856		
Commercial/Retail	354	71.52%
Manufacturing/Industrial	108	21.82%
Judicial	20	4.04%
Educational	5	1.01%
Medical	8	1.62%
Total	495	100.00%
Slater's, *Trade directory for Ireland* (Dublin, 1856), pp 60-6.		

Figure 3.14 The numbers of principal traders in Kilkenny city in 1856.

As can be seen in figure 3.14, manufacturing and industry in 1856 accounted for 21.82 per cent of the principal traders in the city. It is also possible to use Slater's directory to see who were the principal employers involved directly in manufacturing. It needs to be borne in mind that Slater's directory does not reflect the numbers actually employed, only the employers. The commercial and retail traders account for a significant number of the principal traders and it is likely that some of these at least relied on goods produced by the mills.

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[104] Slater's, *Royal National Commercial Directory of Ireland* (Dublin, 1856), pp 60-6.

Principal traders (employers)	Total
Blacksmith	4
Blanket manufacturers	3
Brewers	1
Cabinet makers	3
Carpenters and builders	5
Coach builders	3
Coopers	2
Engineers	3
Fellmongers	5
Glovers	2
Gun makers	2
Ironmongers and hardwaremen	6
Jewellers and silversmiths	3
Maltsters	2
Marble works	1
Millers	5
Nail makers	2
Rope makers	3
Saddlers and harness makers	4
Starch manufacturers	9
Stone and marble masons	2
Strawbonnet makers	4
Tallow chandlers	6
Tanners	6
Tin plate workers and braziers	3
Upholsterers	2
Watch and clock makers	3
Whitesmiths	5
Woollen manufacturers	9
Totals	108
Slater's, *Trade directory for Ireland* (Dublin, 1856), pp 60-6.	

Figure 3.15 The numbers of traders in Kilkenny city directly related to manufacturing in Slater's directory of 1856.

By extracting from the 1856 trade directory a list of the traders directly involved in milling or its by-products, it is evident that the manufacture of wool was still an important element of the city's trade by this date. There were nine woollen manufacturers, five millers and three blanket makers. This is, however, a significant decrease given the earlier evidence concerning the importance of blanket manufacturing to the city and the number of mills. Despite being such a significant part of the city economy in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the manufacturing of blankets seems to have decreased dramatically.

Using the data from the 1861 census and comparing it with Slater's trade directory it seems that there is a correlation between the principal traders and the number of families and their chief occupation. This could be coincidental as Slater's lists the principal traders whereas the census lists families and their chief occupation. Nevertheless, Slater's shows that the manufacturing and industry accounts for 21.8 per cent of all trade in the city and the 1861 census shows that 20.49 per cent of families had trade or manufacture as their chief occupation.

	St Canice's	St John's	St Mary's	St Maul's	St Patrick's	Total of all parishes	% of occupation type
Agriculture	170	39	31	42	47	329	5.26
Manufacturing and trade	406	220	530	34	91	1281	20.49
Other pursuits	635	353	360	61	107	1516	24.25
Vested means	21	20	41	5	29	116	1.86
The direction of labour	430	293	557	36	98	1414	22.62
Manual labour	475	236	192	58	86	1047	16.75
Means not specified	265	83	131	38	32	549	8.78
Total per parish	2402	1244	1842	274	490	6252	100.00

The census of Ireland for the year 1861. Part IV. Report and tables relating to the religious professions, education, and occupations of the people. Vol. II. H.C. 1863 [C. 3204-III], lx, 1.

Figure 3.16 Numbers of families and their chief occupation according to the 1861 census broken down by parish in Kilkenny city.

The main difference between figure 3.15 and figure 3.16 is that the census accounts for families directly involved in a trade or profession whereas Slater's directory accounts for the principal traders in the city. Nevertheless at first glance it seems that there is a distinct similarity between the two sources.[105] The census of 1861 lacks the detail of earlier and later censuses when it comes to a detailed analysis of trades and there is no distinction drawn between trade and manufacturing they are instead correlated as a single statistic. The fact that the two percentages are similar may be coincidental between the 1856 trade directory and the 1861 census. The later census reports from 1871 to 1926 make it much easier to determine how many people were employed directly in either milling or woollen manufacturing. The headings used are taken from the census and concentrate solely on manufacturing not secondary production. In other words, dressmakers and tailors who may have used locally produced wool are not included as it is concerned only with primary production.

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[105] Slater's, *Royal National Commercial Directory of Ireland* (Dublin, 1856), pp 60-6.

Year	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1926
Woollen manufacturing and corn milling						
Cloth, worsted stuff manufacturer, flannel blanket, dealer	0	5	1	0	1	0
Corn or grain millers	11	13	13	5	6	3
Cotton calico warehouseman dealer	1	1	0	0	0	0
Cotton manufacture	2	0	0	1	1	0
Dyer, scourer, bleacher, calendrer (undefined)	1	0	0	0	1	0
Employer or foreman	0	0	0	0	0	3
Factory hand textile (undefined)	0	0	0	0	3	0
Fancy goods	0	1	0	3	1	0
Flannel manufacture	1	1	0	0	0	0
Flax and linen manufacture dealer	1	1	0	12	9	0
Fuller	2	2	0	0	0	0
Lace manufacture, dealer	0	1	0	1	0	0
Mat maker	0	1	0	0	0	0
Other (including textile workers)	1	2	0	0	0	24
Spinners, piercers and carders	0	0	0	0	0	6
Weaver (undefined)	12	18	1	0	0	0
Weavers	23	0	0	0	0	38
Winders	0	0	0	0	0	3
Wool spinner	4	0	0	0	0	0
Wool stapler	1	12	2	0	0	0
Wool, Woollen dyer, printer	2	1	0	0	1	0
Woollen cloth manufacturer	21	30	47	48	79	0
Totals	**83**	**89**	**64**	**70**	**102**	**77**

Figure 3.17 The number of people employed in woollen manufacturing and milling in Kilkenny compiled from the censuses of 1871 to 1926 inclusive.

The morphological evidence showed that mills and mill buildings fell into disuse over the period 1861-1922. The demographic evidence from the various censuses in figure 3.17 somewhat supports this. Clearly the manufacture of wool was nowhere close to being as significant in terms of employment between 1871 and 1926 with just thirty males directly employed in woollen

manufacturing in 1911.[106] This is in stark contrast to the numbers employed at its peak in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[107] Similarly, there is a dramatic decline in corn and grain millers post-1891 falling from a peak of thirteen in 1881 and 1891 to a mere three by 1926.[108]

Conclusions

This chapter examined the historical importance of mills and woollen manufacturing to Kilkenny city and how the decline in this industry paralleled the decline in the city's fortunes seen throughout the study period. Through an overview of the importance of the rivers Nore and Breagagh it was shown that land was reclaimed in order to build mills. Land use is obviously susceptible to change over time; what this chapter showed is that the decline in milling in the study period is evident through a plan analysis of two of the city's more important milling complexes.

The change in land use according to the need of industry at a local level is seen in the presence of tenter-fields at the Green's Bridge mills in 1841 and their absence at this location for the rest of the study period, while they remained a feature at the Ormonde Mills. Mills had been an important element of city life since the medieval period and their growth and subsequent decline can be traced cartographically from their depictions as small two or three-storey mills in the mid-seventeenth century to substantial complexes by the mid-nineteenth century. These buildings were also constantly being adapted to use. The evidence shows that there was not only a change of use, for example from grinding corn to manufacturing woollens, but that as the nineteenth century advanced elements of both complexes fell out of use while others were adapted to alternative uses.

Finally, an overview of employment over the study period showed a decline in both manufacturing in general, and in woollens and milling, in particular. This chapter combined some of Conzen's theories on plan analysis concerning land use and building use with Bradley's supposition concerning the fourfold sources for the study of a medieval Irish town to present a plan analysis of milling in Kilkenny over the period 1861 to 1922.

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[106] *Census of Ireland, 1911. Area, houses and population: also the ages, civil or conjugal condition, occupations, birthplaces, religion and education of the people, province of Leinster*, H.C. 1912-13 [Cd. 6049], cxiv, 1, p. 466.

[107] Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, p. 7.

[108] *Saorstát Éireann, census of population 1926, vol. 2 occupations of males and females in each province, county, county borough, urban and rural district* (paper no. 50), p. 97.

Chapter four
Suburbs in decline: the morphology, social geography and urban tenure of
Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill, 1861-1914

Kilkenny's urban growth in the eighteenth century was characterised by long, linear suburbs. These suburbs grew outside the traditional core of the city, as defined by the town walls, and provide morphological evidence for extramural urban growth. This was the most significant growth of Kilkenny city since the urban expansion allowed by the dissolution of the monasteries and the subsequent development afforded by the corporation gaining church land outside the town walls.[1] The impetus for this growth has been attributed to the development of Catholic chapels outside the town walls as well as a 'policy of trying to keep Catholic merchants and traders outside the walls'.[2] Inward migration from Kilkenny's hinterland due to the rise in the woollen and milling industries and the consequent increase in employment is likely to have led to a rise in population that needed to be housed.

This type of growth, essentially a ribbon pattern, of a town or city suburb is by no means unique to Kilkenny. The linear nature of these suburbs is often characterised by low-quality housing and is diagnostic of many Irish towns in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For example, Barry O'Reilly, when writing about vernacular housing, states that 'Many urban areas had cabin suburbs, streets of two or three bay houses.'[3] The *Parliamentary gazetteer*, in its entry for Kilkenny, describes them as 'Exterior to the city, and forming ugly and erratic suburbs, rather than properly component parts, are six and seven single and double rows of poor houses, principally cabins, wandering away upon the public roads…'.[4] There is a similar description of urban growth in Sligo where the development of the town outside its central streets is referred to as 'straggling, irregular and cabin built suburbs'.[5] In other words, a long, linear series of low-quality, high-density houses, stretched out along a pre-existing road.

In Kilkenny city, these suburbs can be seen in a number of locations, mostly in the west and north of the city. They are evident along Kennyswell Street, Goosehill, Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill and to a smaller extent in other areas of the city. Their growth is first noted cartographically on Rocque's map of 1758.[6] The crowded nature of the housing in these areas in the mid-nineteenth century can be demonstrated both cartographically and by using Griffith's printed

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[1] John Bradley, *Kilkenny*, Irish Historic Towns Atlas, no. 10 (Dublin, 2000), p. 5.
[2] Ibid., p. 6; David Dickson, 'Inland city: reflections on eighteenth-century Kilkenny' in William Nolan and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Kilkenny history and society* (Dublin, 1990), p. 337; William Carrigan, *The history and antiquities of the diocese of Ossory*, 4 vols (Dublin, 1905), vol. iii, pp 124-6, 203-5, 232-5, 241-5, 249.
[3] Barry O'Reilly, 'Hearth and home: the vernacular house in Ireland from *c*. 1800' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Section C*, cxi (2011), p. 199.
[4] *The Parliamentary Gazetteer for Ireland, 1844-1845* (Dublin, 1846), ii, p. 432.
[5] *The Parliamentary Gazetteer for Ireland, 1844-1845* (Dublin, 1846), iii, pp 268-9.
[6] Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, p. 6.

valuations (figure 4.7). The printed valuations, for example, show that in 1850 these four streets accounted for 459 houses with an average valuation of £1.66.[7]

The initial growth, subsequent decline and ultimate stagnation of two of these suburbs is the focus of this chapter through an analysis of urban morphology, patterns of urban tenure and social geography. This chapter argues that the dramatic population decline of Kilkenny city in the latter half of the nineteenth-and early-twentieth century is most evident on the urban fringes. This can be seen in the increasing number of ruined and empty houses shown on maps and noted in other documentary sources such as a local guide that tabulates the number of houses in ruins in the city in 1884.[8] It is also evident through a review of the censuses of 1901 and 1911.[9] It is also argued that the low-quality housing was matched by short leases with little or no security for the tenants and that this led to a fluidity in the population here as people moved in and out. The same surnames do not appear over time. There are distinct variations, for example, between 1890, 1901 and 1911.

Furthermore, this chapter shows how infrastructural developments, in this instance in the form of a railway link, necessitated the removal of a substantial part of one of these suburbs, Broguemakers Hill, on the outskirts of the city. Ninety-seven houses were recorded here in Griffith's Valuation in 1850. By the time of the 1911 census this number had fallen to two, only one of which was occupied. The opening of this rail link in March 1865 to Abbeyleix and eventually on to Portlaoise essentially devastated this suburb. This can be traced both morphologically and through the surviving documentary sources.[10]

Demographic change in the suburbs of Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill in 1901 and 1911 is also examined to determine population density, the average number of rooms per house and occupations. In this analysis of the social geography of these suburbs the surnames from the 1901 and 1911 census are compared with the tenants listed on the Land Judges Estates Court rental from 1890, revealing that the population here was constantly in transition.

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[7] Richard Griffith, *General valuation of rateable property in Ireland, city of Kilkenny* (Dublin, 1850), pp 58-62. The total number of houses on these streets were tabulated along with their valuations, which were converted to a decimal value to allow for more accurate statistical analysis.
[8] Patrick McEgan, *Illustrated guide to the city and county of Kilkenny* (Kilkenny, 1884), pp 112-13.
[9] Ibid.; 1901 Census of Ireland, Kilkenny urban district, Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill, form B1 (www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1901/Kilkenny/Kilkenny_Urban/Greenshill/1450210/ and www.census.nationalarchives.ie/reels/nai000925046/); 1911 Census of Ireland, Kilkenny urban district no. 2, Greenshill form B1 (www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1901/Kilkenny/Kilkenny_Urban/Greenshill/1450210/) (accessed 14 Nov. 2016).
[10] Griffith, *General valuation of rateable property, city of Kilkenny*, pp 58-62; K.A. Murray and D.B. McNeill, *The great southern and western railway* (Dublin, 1976), pp 62-3, 66-7.

Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill; location, topography and development

Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill are located in the north of Kilkenny city and are just inside the revised parliamentary boundary of 1843. As the names imply they are both built on a hill and are part of the same area of rising ground. Broguemakers Hill is accessed off Greenshill at its southern end; the road here sweeps to the east following a natural contour before turning to the north. Greenshill has a steep slope at its southern end before levelling out at the crest of the slope, there is also a very sharp drop to the flood plain of the Nore on the western side. Both suburbs developed along pre-existing roads. The Castlecomer road is to the east while the road forks at the crest of Greenshill with the left fork following the Nore along what is known as Bleach Road and on to Ballyragget. The right-hand fork continues on before turning onto the Castlecomer Road.

Figure 4.1 Location of Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill and the other suburbs of Kilkenny city on an extract from the OS six-inch first-edition map, Kilkenny, sheet xix (1839).

Suburban expansion, population growth and housing density in Kilkenny city, 1731 to 1851

The population of Kilkenny city grew rapidly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Figure 4.2 tabulates this growth and shows that in the century between 1731 and 1831, the population grew by 16,001.

Kilkenny city population from 1731-1851	
1731	7,740
1801	14,935
1821	23,230
1831	23,741
1841	19,071
1851	19,975

Figure 4.2 The population of Kilkenny city, 1731-1851, from *Kilkenny* IHTA, no. 10, p. 10.

Suburban growth to 1850 was necessary due to a growing population, likely drawn from Kilkenny's hinterland and the county at large, in other words inward rural-urban migration. The growth in housing, and particularly in population to 1831, was followed by a sharp pattern of decline. With the exception of a small rise between 1841 and 1851, the population of Kilkenny city fell consistently with every census taken between 1861 and 1946.[11] This fall in population numbers after 1851 is matched by houses being abandoned and left unoccupied at the suburban fringes. There is very little evidence that the houses along the lanes and the lines of the burgage plots were abandoned to the same extent as those on the outskirts of the city.

The Rocque (1758) and Byron (1795), maps show the suburbs at an early phase of development. Their growth and decline can be traced using the OS five-foot plans of 1841 and 1871, the Valuation Office maps, a map from the Encumbered Estates Court, another from the Land Judges Estates Court and OS twenty-five-inch maps from 1902 and 1913-14. While these suburbs grew rapidly between 1758 and 1841, the earlier maps still show that in the city centre the burgage cycle was continuing with stretches of the burgages undeveloped and not built on as far as the enclosing town wall until the end of the nineteenth century. By 1841, this had changed considerably with large stretches of the original burgage plots now built over, a pattern that is also evident on the 1871 OS five-foot plan.

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[11] Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, p. 10.

Suburban growth, Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill, 1758-1841
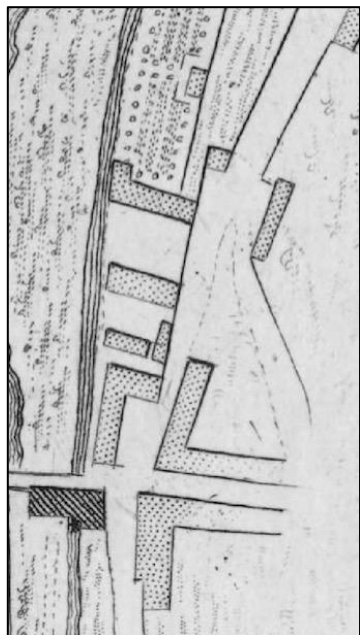
Figure 4.3 Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill on an extract from the Rocque map, 1758, showing the early development of the suburbs.

Figure 4.3 shows that by 1758 the suburbs of Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill had started to develop, though neither of them are named. The houses began to be constructed along the existing road. There are unfortunately limitations to using Rocque's map. There are few if any individual plots or building blocks immediately visible thus making it difficult to determine just how dense the housing was by this point. Byron's map of 1795 is identical to that of Rocque with his work notably described by John Andrews as sometimes being derivative.[12]

Secondly, the accuracy of the Rocque plan in relation to the road layout and the buildings at the southern end of the map needs to be questioned as it does not correlate to the layout on the 1841 OS manuscript five-foot plan. This can be explained as Green's Bridge was destroyed by a flood in 1763 and a new bridge built by 1765, there was therefore an adjustment to the road network in the area to accommodate the new bridge.[13] There is also a large blank area on the eastern side of the map, roughly in the location of Broguemakers Hill, and it is unclear if this was built on or not. Despite these limitations, the Rocque map is the earliest accurate cartographic representation of these two suburbs. The earliest documentary references to both suburbs come from the nineteenth century and are recorded in the topographical section of the Kilkenny fascicle of the IHTA.[14] A slightly earlier documented date of 1827 for Greenshill was found in a letter describing the extents of Irishtown that is inserted into a minute book of the corporation of Irishtown.[15]

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[12] John Andrews, *Plantation acres* (Belfast, 1985), pp 130, 275-7.
[13] Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, p. 21.
[14] Ibid., pp 10-11.
[15] Minute book of the corporation of Irishtown, no. 4, 1799-1834 (KCA, CR, F4). This is a loose item in the minute book.

Figure 4.4 Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill on an extract from the OS five-foot plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 47 (1841), showing the linear growth of the suburbs.

In comparison to the Rocque map, the 1841 OS five-foot plan shows just how much both suburbs had grown. The roads along which the suburbs are built are shown in more detail and there are distinct differences, particularly at the southern end of Greenshill. The problem with the plots and individual buildings not being shown is also evident on the OS five-foot plan; they are still represented by solid blocks. So while the 1841 OS five-foot plan shows that the suburbs had now expanded, the housing density and size is not immediately evident. There is also no indication of the housing quality.

The cholera outbreak of 1832-4, when the city experienced a 7 per cent drop in population, was followed several years later by a commentary on the sanitary conditions of the city in this period.[16] It helps to illustrate living conditions and housing quality in the lanes and back streets of the city and on the suburban fringes.[17] There is a vivid description concerning the houses on Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill:

> …lines of which are continuous and constitute a separate locality. The cabins here were densely crowded and of the most miserable description, filled to overflowing with potato beggars and a class of wretched cottiers who were driven in from the rural districts to seek the means of life and a residence in the city.[18]

This provides documentary evidence to support the assertion drawn from the cartographic material that these two suburbs expanded in a linear fashion and were densely populated, with inhabitants drawn from Kilkenny's hinterland and further afield demonstrating inward rural-urban migration.

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[16] Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10, p. 8.
[17] Robert Cane, *Some practical remarks on cholera: with an appendix containing sanatory remarks for Kilkenny* (Kilkenny, 1849), pp 24-5.
[18] Ibid.

The density of houses and lanes along the lines of the burgage plots is also noted by Cane who refers to the:

> limited space occupied by Guard, Poyntz's, Colliers and Chapel Lanes – lanes and houses so dove-tailed into each other as to be a neighbourhood in itself, and occupying a space, which, under a proper state of city building, would be but large enough for but one of those lanes and its inhabitants a neighbourhood consequently remarkable for its defective ventilation as well as for its imperfect sewerage, filth and abominations that stand out a reproach to all our civic regulations.[19]

Robert Cane's commentary on the poor quality, density and unsanitary conditions of houses following the cholera epidemic in Kilkenny is paralleled by Frank Cullen's research on Dublin city. He comments that 'colonies of the poor inhabited the infill and stable houses in warren like mazes of alleys, lanes and courts'.[20] This is very similar to the description of the lanes and along the lines of the burgage plots in Kilkenny.[21] There were obvious similarities between the living conditions of the urban poor in both cities despite the differences in size.

The houses at the suburban fringes of Kilkenny were therefore not the only part of the city where significant numbers of low-value high-density houses were to be found. The suburbs allowed for linear expansion along the length of pre-existing roads and streets but with the important addition of a small garden or plot of land to the rear. This was not generally available to the houses facing the lanes and back streets as these houses were confined by the width of the burgage plots with the only ground available, if indeed there was any ground available at all, being a small yard.

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[19] Cane, *Some practical remarks on cholera*, pp 24-5.
[20] Frank Cullen, 'The provision of working and lower middle class housing in late nineteenth-century urban Ireland' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Section C*, cxi (2011), p. 219.
[21] Cane, *Some practical remarks on cholera*, pp 24-5.

Suburban decline and vacancy Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill 1845 to 1890

Cullen comments that Irish towns and cities in the nineteenth century saw considerable movement away from their old centres to the suburbs. New suburbs were built and expanded to house the wealthier classes of society.[22] This is the opposite of what happened in Kilkenny; the core of the city saw very little investment or improvement in the latter half of the nineteenth century, while the suburbs, as will be demonstrated, entered a period of decline.

The extent to which these suburbs had grown by 1845 can be shown as a large-scale plan exists of a proposed line for the Galway to Kilkenny railway.[23] The company set up to construct this line, the Kilkenny and Great Southern and Western Railway, failed amidst allegations of an opposing company buying all the shares.[24] The proposed railway was mooted again in 1860 under the new name of the 'Kilkenny Junction Railway', which is how it is recorded on later railway maps. By means of a private bill of parliament it was ultimately constructed and opened in March 1865, albeit only as far as Abbeyleix and then later extended to Portlaoise.[25] The lands proposed for the earlier railway are shown on figure 4.5, a reconstruction drawing of the original that is of poor quality. This railway line, when it was eventually constructed between 1864 and 1865, removed much of Broguemakers Hill and was the catalyst for its rapid decline. Most of the houses on the southern section of the plan within the area marked as a 'limit of deviation' are absent on the Valuation Office maps and the later OS five-foot plan of 1871.

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[22] Cullen, 'The provision of working and lower-middle-class housing in late nineteenth-century urban Ireland', pp 219, 248.

[23] Murray and McNeill, *The great southern and western railway*, pp 62-3, 66-7; Galway and Kilkenny railway, 1845, plans and sketches (KCL, 1845, uncatalogued).

[24] *Royal Commission on accounts and works of railways in Ireland*, H.C. 1867-8 [C. 4018, 4018-1], xxxii, 469, 649, p. 339.

[25] Murray and McNeill, *The great southern and western railway*, pp 66-7; *Royal Commission on accounts and works of railways in Ireland*, p. 339.
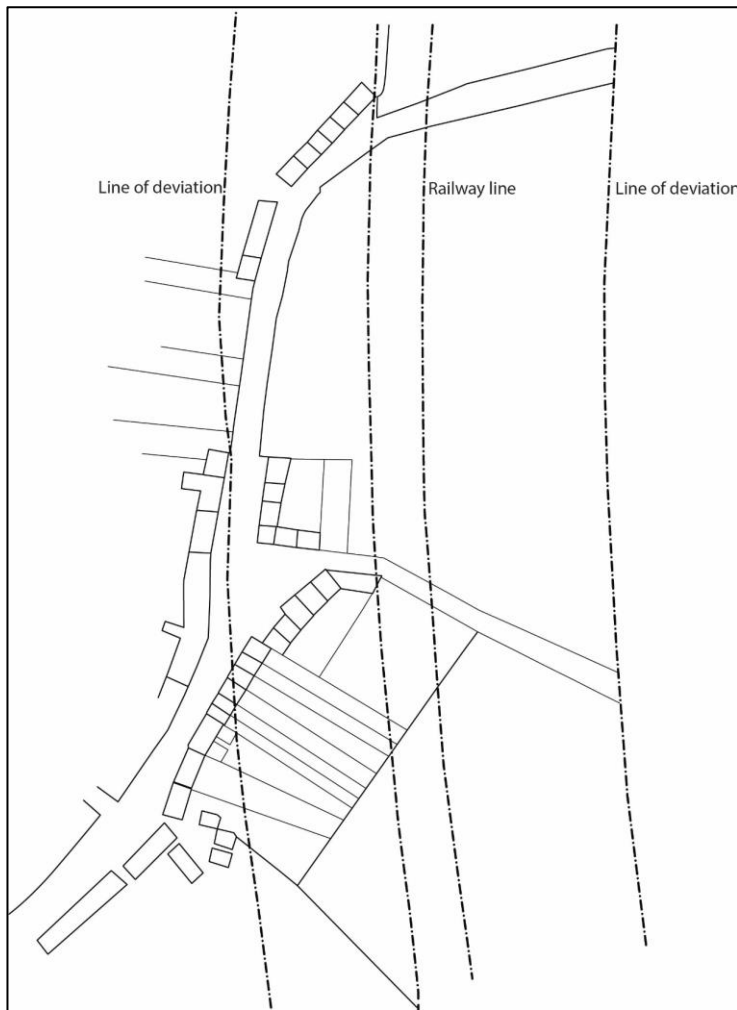
Figure 4.5 Broguemakers Hill *circa* 1845, redrawn from the plan of the proposed Galway to Kilkenny railway line.

This is the first cartographic representation of this suburb that shows individual plots and buildings. While not all the individual plots are shown on this map it does provide evidence for house size and the existence of plots to the rear of the houses. In all there are forty-four individual buildings identified on this plan. Some of the larger buildings depicted as long rectangular blocks were likely multiple properties although this cannot be determined due to the absence of the plot lines. There are no buildings shown outside the line of the proposed railway, marked as 'limit of deviation'.

A reconstruction of the same plan for Greenshill (figure 4.6), where only the southern half of the suburb is shown, illustrates that at least forty-seven individual plots at the rear of the houses.[26] Not all of the individual buildings are shown and some appear to be represented as blocks in a similar manner to the 1841 OS five-foot plan and Rocque's map of 1758. There are thirty-one distinct buildings present with the second plan showing the small size of both the houses and the plots associated with them.

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[26] Galway and Kilkenny railway, 1845, plans and sketches (KCL, 1845, uncatalogued).
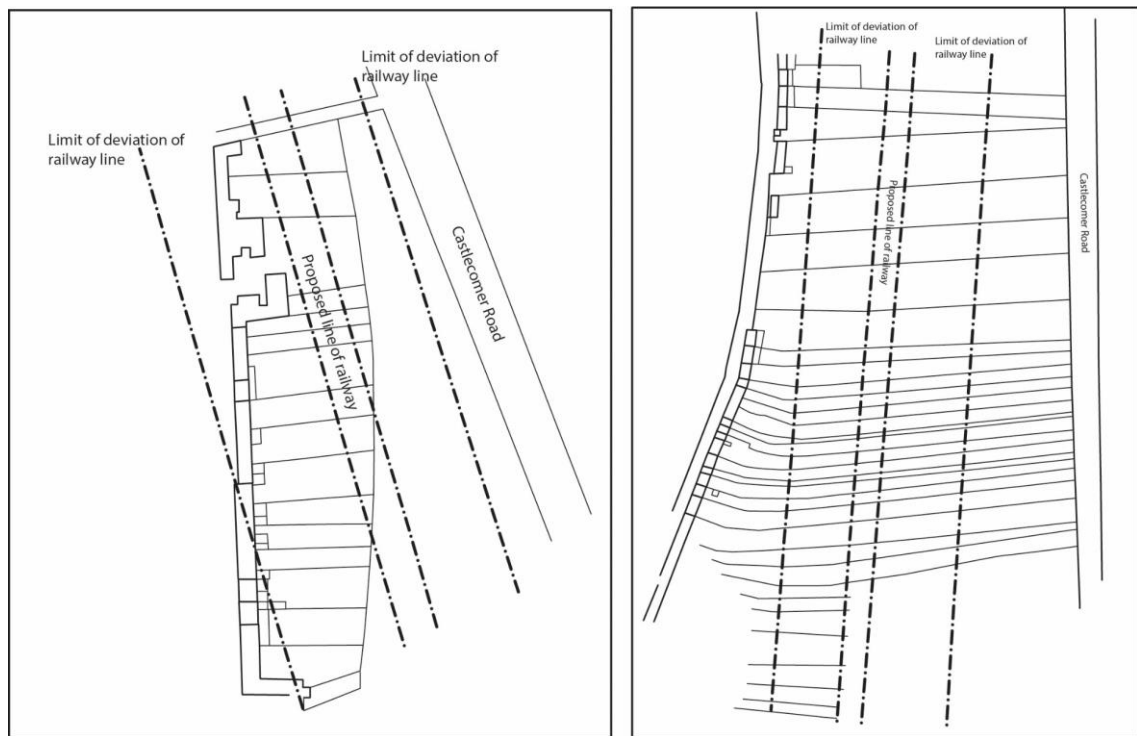
Figure 4.6 Parts of Greenshill *circa* 1845, redrawn from the plan of the proposed Galway to Kilkenny railway line.

While these reconstruction drawings are not an entirely accurate depiction of the density of housing in these two suburbs, they are reliable enough to back up Cane's description of '…lines of which are continuous and constitute a separate locality'.[27] They demonstrate that the suburbs had indeed grown in a linear fashion and were tightly packed and that they formed a quite distinctive locality in complete contrast with the housing patterns in the centre of the city that followed the lines of the burgages.

Griffith's printed valuations of 1850 shows that five years after the railway plans were first drawn there was a combined total of 230 houses on Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill.[28] They had a relatively low valuation for rateable purposes with the average valuation of a house on Broguemakers Hill being £1.05 and that of Greenshill being £2.08 when converted to a decimal value.

Griffith's valuation is the first definitive measure of house quality and it shows poor quality of the housing in these two suburbs. Two other suburbs, Goose Hill and Kennyswell Street, also developed along similar morphological lines and had comparable low valuations.

[27] Cane, *Some practical remarks on cholera*, p. 25.
[28] Griffith, *General valuation of rateable property, city of Kilkenny*, pp 58-62.

Street	No. of houses	Total valuation £	Average valuation in £
Broguemakers Hill	97	102.15	1.05
Goosehill	106	147.4	1.39
Greenshill	133	276.3	2.08
Kennyswell Street	123	235.48	1.91
Totals	459	761.33	1.66

Figure 4.7 The number of houses and the average valuation on Broguemakers Hill, Goosehill, Greenshill and Kennyswell Street, *circa* 1850.

Parts of Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill were sold twice, once in 1854 and again in 1890. The rental map associated with the first sale of 1854 was surveyed by a private firm at the rather unusual scale of 48 inches to the mile.[29] Its scale is certainly large enough to allow for accurate plan analysis and it is also detailed enough that a comparison with later large-scale maps is possible. It is included as figure 4.8. The first sale was through the Encumbered Estates Court and the second through the Land Judges Estates Court.[30]

Where the OS five-foot plan of 1841 failed to show individual buildings and plots the rental map of 1854 seems to show them all. This supports the idea, as shown from the redrawn plan of the proposed railway in 1845, that plots on the suburbs were small and tightly packed. There are sixty-five individual buildings and plots noted on this map, and it provides a unique piece of evidence for suburban housing patterns.

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[29] *Rental and particulars of the Roberts estate*, Rentals of the Encumbered Estates Court, 1 Dec. 1854 (NLI, Encumbered Estates Court Rentals, 2 M 1).
[30] Ibid.
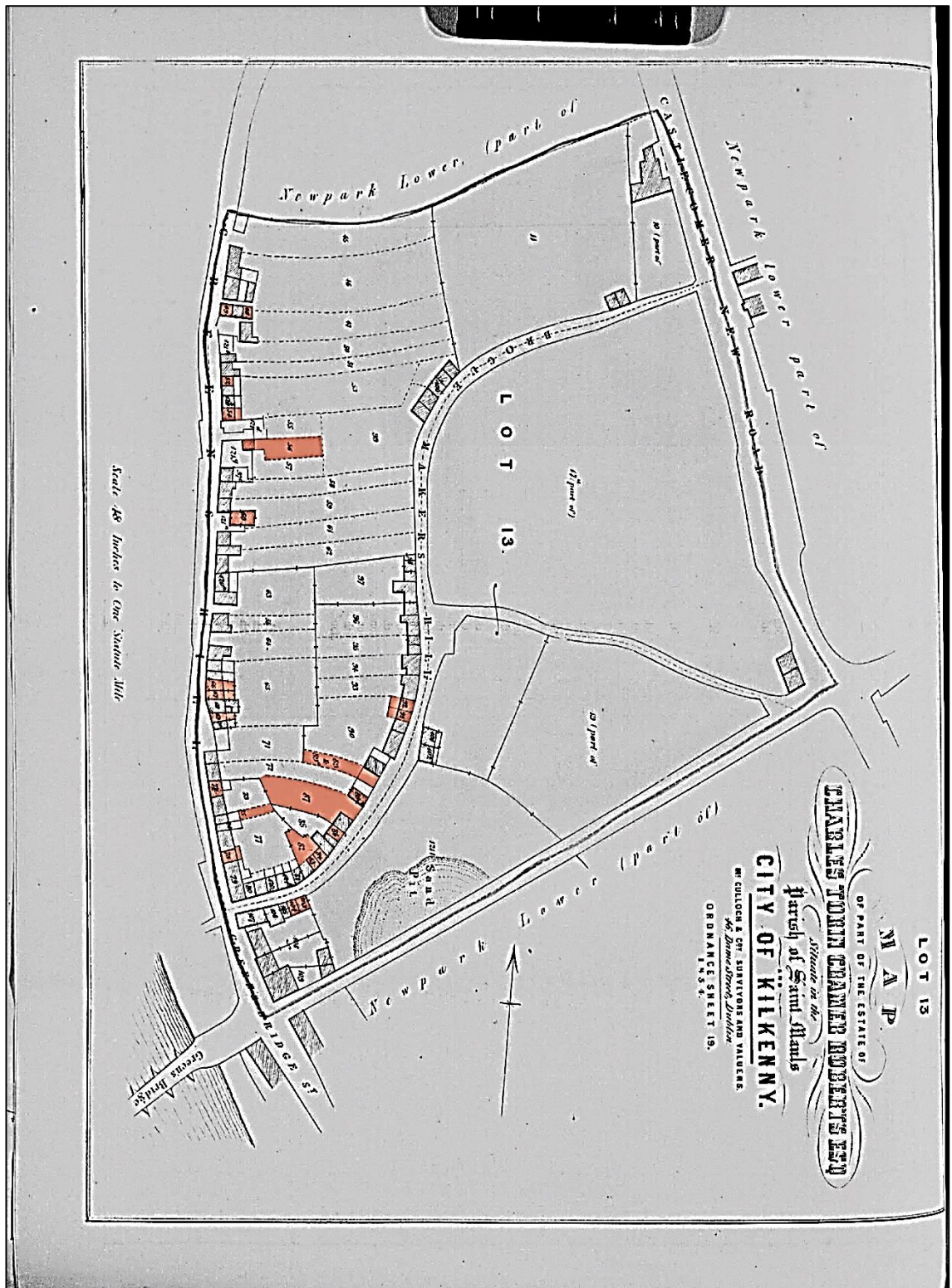
Figure 4.8 Encumbered Estates Court map of Greenshill, Kilkenny, 1854, with weekly tenants and their plots marked in red.

It needs to be noted that this plan does not show any of the houses on the western side, or northern end, of Greenshill. Houses and plots marked on the railway map of 1845 are notably absent particularly on Broguemakers Hill. This possibly reflects ownership patterns as this map is only intended to show the properties that were for sale and not the entire suburb. Nevertheless, it does show housing density and plot size.

The construction of the Kilkenny Junction railway to Abbeyleix devastated the suburb of Broguemakers Hill. There were ninety-seven houses here *circa* 1850 while this number had dwindled to approximately nineteen in the years after the railway was built (figure 4.9). Furthermore, seven of the houses that remain are indicated as being ruins as noted by the lack of shading on figure 4.9, showing further evidence of decline in this suburb. The entire eastern side of Broguemakers Hill was removed during construction of the railway while on the western side a significant number of houses are also no longer present.
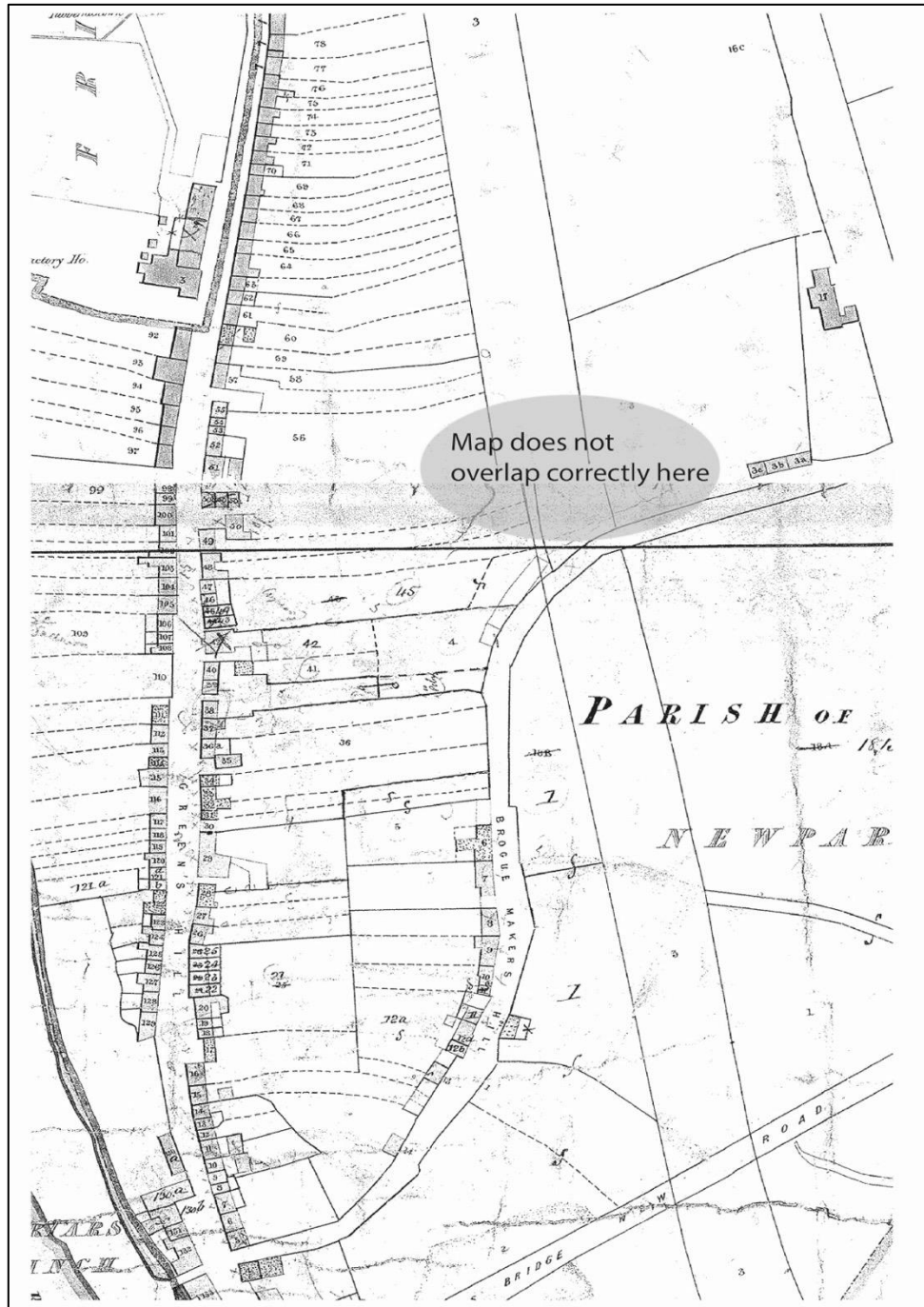
Figure 4.9 Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill, *circa* 1865, on an extract from sheets 1 and 3 of the printed Valuation Office maps.

In contrast to this, Greenshill appears to have changed very little by this date. However, on closer examination of the Valuation Office maps a number of the houses here have a particular type of stippled shading as do several houses on Broguemakers Hill. When this is matched with the corresponding number in the printed valuations it seems that these houses were in ruins or vacant. While they do not match up in every instance evidence from elsewhere in the city supports the assertion that these were in fact vacant properties.[31]
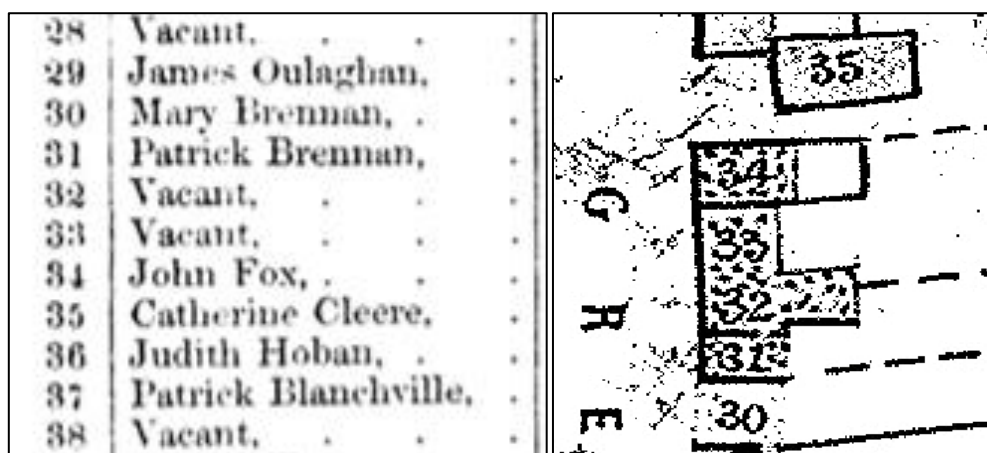
Figure 4.10 Printed valuations, 1850 and the Valuation Office maps *circa* 1854 with the stippled shading possibly indicative of house vacancy.

There are multiple reasons for houses and buildings to become vacant, as summarised by Gerry Kearns.[32] He argues that vacancy can happen at any stage of a building's life cycle, for example it might be built, but not finished, or simply awaiting a tenant.[33] It could also have been vacated by the occupier or built for one purpose and adapted to another. Even when a building is indicated as ruined or abandoned they can still be used for a variety of purposes including storage.[34] Houses can also be adapted by the poorer classes of society that can result in increased population density. Vacancy is therefore not the perfect indicator of lack of use that it first appears to be and other factors need to be considered.

To put the vacant and abandoned houses in Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill into context, a local guide from 1884 tabulates the number of houses including those in ruins in the city.[35] The assertion in this guide that 'In 1821 the number of houses in Kilkenny was 4,321 covering an area of 921 acres' needs to be questioned.[36] In 1821 the older, larger parliamentary boundary was still used to define the boundary of the city (figure 1.5). The smaller area of 921 acres refers to the revised parliamentary boundary of 1843. This information thus needs to be used with a certain

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[31] Griffith, *General valuation of rateable property, city of Kilkenny*, compared with Valuation Office maps *circa* 1854 in author's possession.
[32] Gerry Kearns, 'Vacancy and housing in Dublin: 1798-1911' in *Irish Geography*, xlviii, no. 1 (2015), pp 14-16.
[33] Ibid., p. 14.
[34] Ibid., pp 15-16.
[35] McEgan, *Illustrated guide to the city and county of Kilkenny*, pp 112-13.
[36] Ibid., p. 112.

degree of caution; regardless it indicates that of the 2,388 houses in the city in 1884, 216 were in ruins.[37] There were just eight houses remaining on Broguemakers Hill with two more in ruins. Of the 110 houses on Greenshill twenty were in ruins.[38] Notably there are no houses noted as ruined on High Street with very few noted at all in the core areas of the city.[39] Most of the ruined houses were on the suburbs and outskirts and the peripheral areas such as along the lanes and alleys that formed along the lines of the original burgage plots.[40]

A comparison of extracts from the OS five-foot plan of 1871 (figure 4.11), with the 1890 map (figure 4.12), shows that extensive change to the townscape here had occurred between 1871 and 1890.[41] If the eastern side of Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill are compared, it shows that in 1871 there were forty-six inhabited houses between the two suburbs, and this had dwindled to twenty-seven by 1890. There are also long stretches where no houses are shown; while some of these areas were already marked as ruined in 1871 they had deteriorated by 1890 indicating further abandonment and decline of these suburbs. This is most evident on Broguemakers Hill. The railway removed stretches of this suburb on the eastern side while the western side declined rapidly after this. Where there were ninety-seven houses in 1850, only ten now appear to be inhabited.

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[37] Mc Egan, *Illustrated guide to the city and county of Kilkenny*, pp 112-13.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.
[41] The map associated with the 1890 sale was surveyed by members of the Ordnance Survey almost twenty years after the large-scale OS five-foot plan of 1871. This practice of using officials from the Ordnance Survey to prepare maps for what was effectively a subsection of the Court of Chancery began with the Landed Estates Court in 1858 as the Ordnance Survey maps were deemed to be more accurate than those of private surveyors. The rental map was also produced at a scale of five-feet to the mile thus allowing very accurate comparisons with the earlier OS five-foot plans as there is no difference in scale, see figure 4.12, see also J.A. Dowling 'The Landed Estates Court, Ireland' in *The Journal of Legal History*, xxvi, no. 2 (2005), pp 173-5.
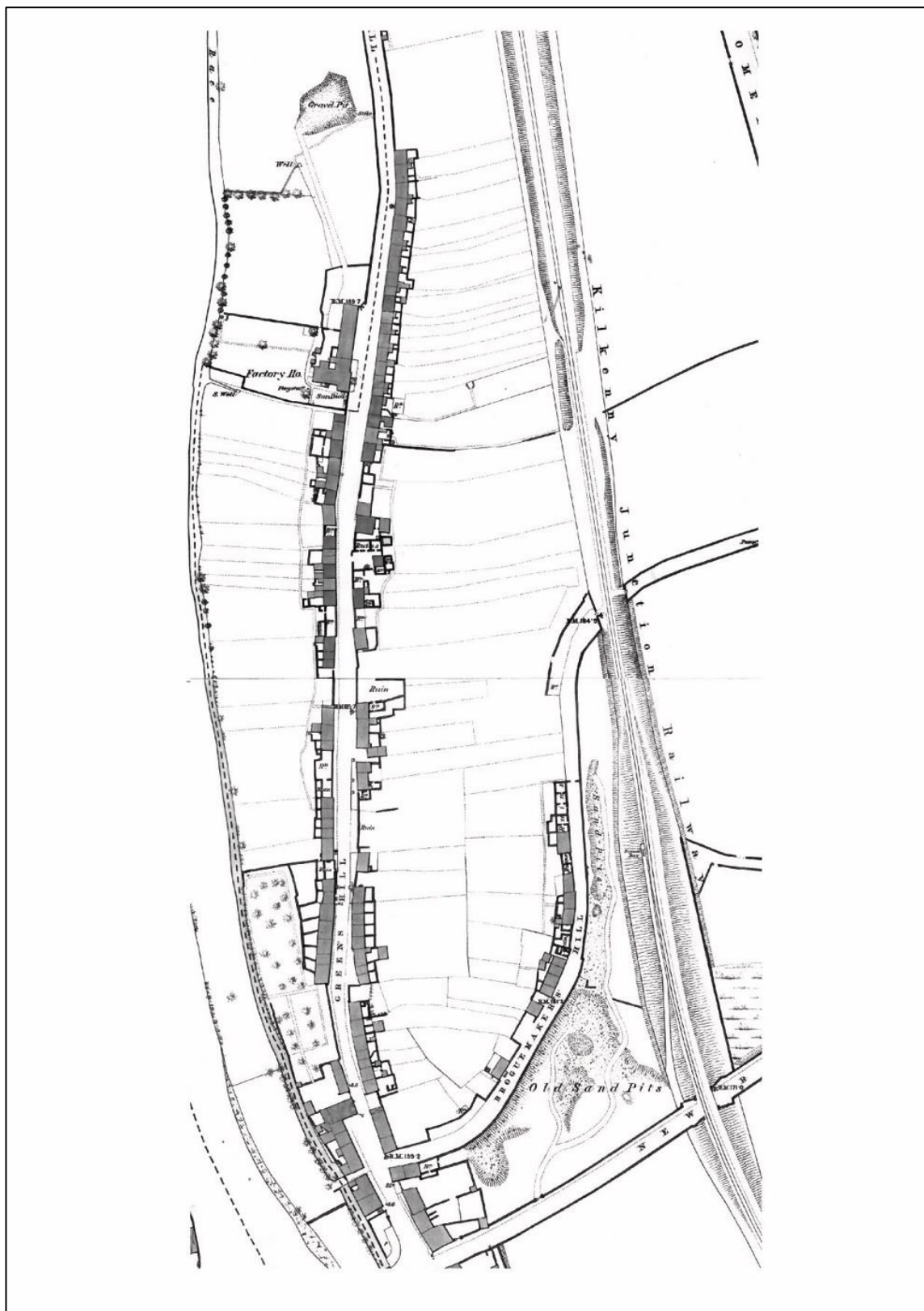
Figure 4.11 A composite of OS five-foot plans, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 27, 37 (1871), showing Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill.
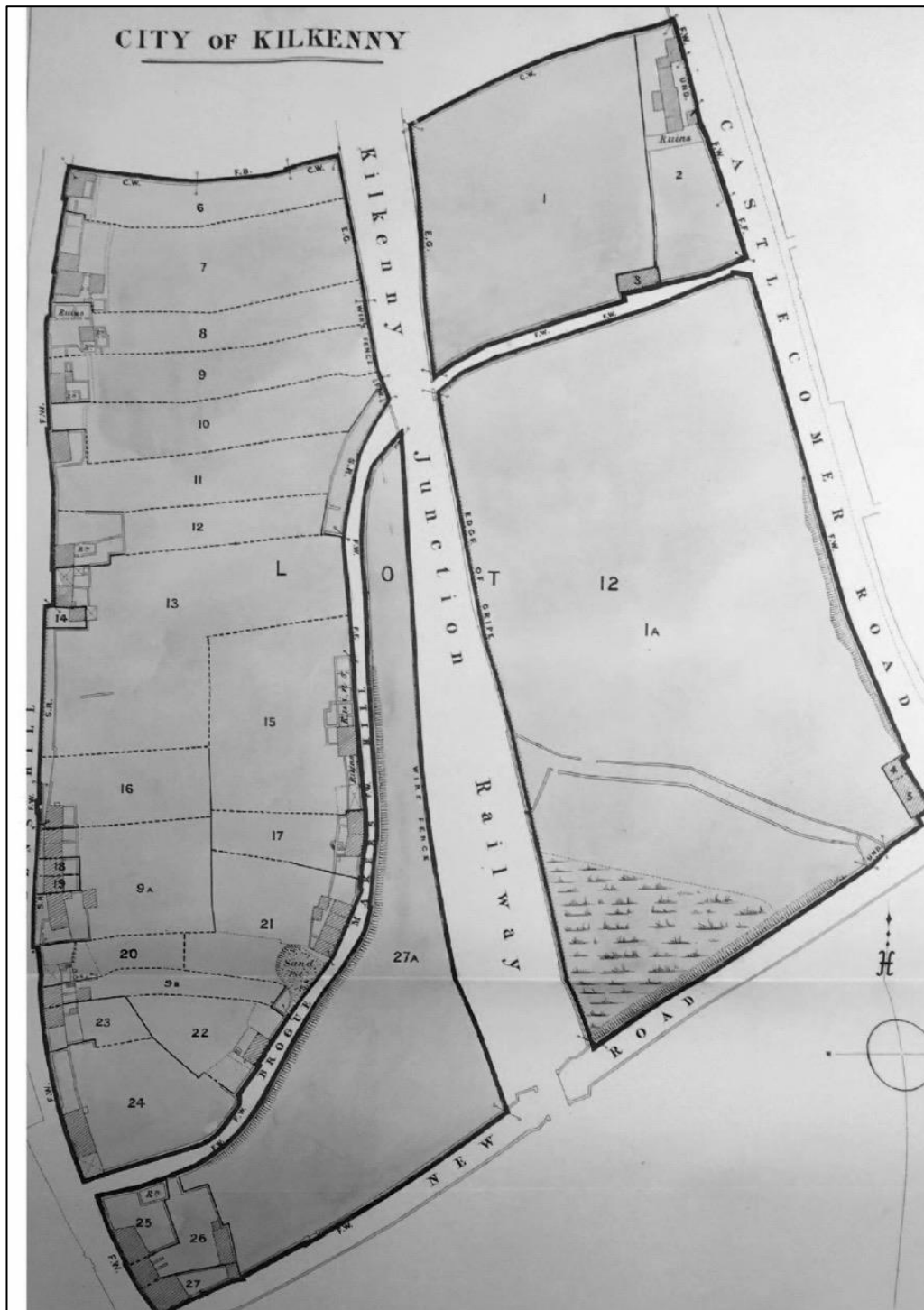
Figure 4.12 Land Judges Estates Court map, 1890, *Rentals, particulars and conditions of sale, Sullivan estate*, sale of lot 12 part of Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill.[42]

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[42] The numbers on the 1890 rental map also refer to a printed rental that forms part of the catalogue for the sale of the property. Again, this gives the tenants name, their yearly rent and, importantly, the type of tenancy. The importance of this information is that it allows for an analysis of urban tenure that is discussed next.

Urban tenure on Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill 1854 and 1890

Urban tenure is concerned with leases and properties in a town or city. If the length and value of a lease can be assumed to represent the capacity of an individual or family to pay the rent, it can be taken as a rough indicator of economic status. Leases can vary in length and value and are generally related to the monetary worth of a property. Most of the evidence for urban tenure in Kilkenny concerns those leases that survive in the corporation archive and are primarily from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, with the exception of a schedule of leases from 1878 and one from 1916.[43] In relation to urban tenure in Kilkenny city, it has been noted as fragmented due to the medieval origins of the city.[44] There was no single dominant landowner. The Ormondes' held about 10 per cent of the city's property and while the corporation had a large financial return from its property it did not hold significant numbers of buildings in the city.[45] A return of the Ormonde properties in the city is in the archive of the KAS and shows that by 1830 they held 187 properties.[46] The result of this pattern of fragmented ownership was a large number of landowners and landholders and middlemen. This can be seen in the printed valuations for the city where there are a wide variety of names listed as 'immediate lessors' and there is no single dominant group or individual with substantial amounts of city property. The type of short lease seen in Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill became quite common from the late eighteenth century onwards as on a national level 'landowners deliberately tried to minimise the property rights delegated to their tenants by reducing the length and security of their tenurial contracts'.[47] Further study over a wider range of properties would be necessary to fully explore this complex question.

Evidence for urban tenure elsewhere in the city is therefore very limited and in Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill it comes from the sale of properties in 1854 and 1890.[48] The 1854 sale through the Encumbered Estates Court saw the leaseholds of 121 properties sold as part of the estate of a minor, John Tobin Cramer Roberts.[49] The leaseholds of twenty-seven properties on Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill were sold through the Land Judges Estates Court in 1890 as part of a general sale of property relating to the O'Sullivan family.[50] The maps and rentals associated with these sales shows the continuing decline of these suburbs, the average rent, as well as the most common types of lease.[51]

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[43] Duplicate copy of corporate leases and deeds etc. 1878 (KCA, CR, O1); Doheny, *Catalogue of leases*, 1916 (KCA, CR, O2).
[44] Dickson, 'Inland city: reflections on eighteenth-century Kilkenny', p. 337.
[45] Ibid., pp 336-7.
[46] Ormonde estate, old description of city property, 1830 (KAS, Q039/B Ormonde Estate), this is a transcription of the original made by the late Edward Law, kindly made available by Ann Tierney).
[47] Brian Graham and Lindsay Proudfoot, *Urban improvement in provincial Ireland: 1700-1840* (Kilkenny, 1994), p. 42.
[48] *Rental and particulars of the Roberts estate* and *Rentals, particulars and conditions of sale, Sullivan estate*.
[49] *Rental and particulars of the Roberts estate*.
[50] *Rentals, particulars and conditions of sale, Sullivan estate*.
[51] Ibid.

The variation in the number of properties sold is explained by the fact that the second sale relates only to part of the eastern side of Greenshill and what remained of Broguemakers Hill. It is this area that is analysed in terms of rentals and the decline shown in the townscape (figures 4.13 and 4.14).

The numbers on the 1854 plan are matched with a rental that indicates the type of tenancy and the rent paid.[52] Of the sixty-five plots and buildings shown twenty-four were held under a weekly tenancy and are marked in red on figure 4.8. The rental value of these properties is very low, ranging from just 2*d*. to 7*d*. per week.[53] The remaining forty-one tenancies were yearly with values varying from £1 6*s*. to £3.[54]

There were ten weekly tenancies and sixteen yearly tenancies in 1890 with an average yearly rental value of £2.88 for the weekly tenancies where the figures are converted to a decimal value, and £4.03 for the yearly tenants. One property was noted as being vacant. There are no long-term leases in evidence. Six properties had what seem to be high rents ranging from £5 to £20 per annum but these were for the larger plots of land and properties marked as numbers 1, 2, 9, 15, 26 and 27 on the map.

Type of Tenancy	Total
Vacant	0
Weekly	28.8
Year to year	80.48
Grand Total	**109.28**

Figure 4.13 Annual value of weekly and yearly tenancies on Greenshill, converted to decimal values taken from the Land Judges Estates Court rental, 1890.

Although the rental values are given as yearly values in 1890, it is possible to convert these to weekly values to see if they were as low as those recorded in 1854. This shows that in 1890 the weekly rentals varied from 3*d*. to 1*s*. 3*d*. per week. Even though this includes the larger holdings this is a very low weekly rent. While not as low as those recorded in 1854, likely due to the fact that more houses were abandoned or vacant, it does raise questions over the quality and types of housing here.

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[52] *Rental and particulars of the Roberts estate*, map of lot 13, pp 15-16.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.

The main issue with weekly and yearly tenancies is that those renting under these terms had no security of tenure.[55] Tenants holding these leases have also been described as the class 'most exploited by urban landlords'.[56] Susan Hood and Brian Graham also make the point that 'urban tenants were as vulnerable to harsh leases, high rents, the absence of compensation for improvements and evictions as their rural counterparts'.[57] The evidence for weekly tenants and rents on Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill taken from the two sales contradicts part of this assertion where the weekly tenants seem to have paid a very low weekly rent.

The *Select committee on town holdings* expands on some of the local evidence concerning rent and rental conditions.[58] One respondent to this committee from Waterford noted that 'there are very few improvements made by the tenants' due to fear of not getting compensation.[59] There is evidence from Wexford town regarding rental values and labourers wages. The respondent here stated that urban rents range from 2*s*. 2*d*. to 2*s*. 6*d*. weekly with labourer's wages falling between 10*s*. and 12*s*. weekly.[60] The vast majority of the rents on Greenshill in 1890 do not conform to this, where the earlier 1854 rental showed very low weekly rents of 2*d*. to 7*d*. per week those tenants holding weekly tenancies in 1890 now paid between 3*d*. and 1*s*. 8*d*. (figure 4.14).

Plot Number	Name	Weekly Rent
2	Thomas Kelly	3*s*.
3	John Corcoran	11*d*.
12	James Keeffe	1*s*. 1*d*.
13	Denis Fox	1*s*.
14	Michael Cleere	3*d*.
16	Ellen Madigan	8*d*.
17	William Delany	1*s*. 8*d*.
18	James O'Neill	8*d*.
19	John Shea	8*d*.
22	Michael Farrell	1*s*. 2*d*.

Figure 4.14 Tenants holding weekly tenancies and their weekly rent, Greenshill, 1890.

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[55] Conor McNamara, 'A Tenants' League or a Shopkeepers' League?: urban protest and the Town Tenants' Association in the west of Ireland, 1909-1918' in *Studia Hibernica*, no. 36 (2009-10), pp 135-7.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Brian Graham and Susan Hood, 'Social protest in late nineteenth-century Irish towns: the House League movement' in *Irish Geography*, xxix, no. 1 (1996), p. 2.
[58] *Report from the select committee on town holdings together with the proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence and appendix*, H.C. 1886 (213), xii, 367, the pdf of this paper is out of sequence.
[59] Ibid., p. 441.
[60] Ibid., p. 485.

The rate of labourer's wages of 10*s*. and 12*s*. as a weekly wage does have a later parallel in Kilkenny from 1915; when discussing rents for newly constructed labourers' dwellings a comment was made that 'there are men working in Kilkenny for 10*s*. and 12*s* a week'.[61] The rents discussed here concerned the corporation houses which were set at 2*s*. 9*d*. to 3*s*. a week.[62]

If this is accurate, and as a point of comparison, the Wexford evidence indicates that some urban tenants were in fact paying 'one fourth of their income in rent', then weekly rent in these two Kilkenny suburbs was low in proportion to weekly wages. Weekly tenancies were of course not unique to Kilkenny. They were very common in Tralee for instance where it is stated that 1500 people lived in 300 houses as weekly tenants.[63] The poor quality of houses held on weekly tenancies is also commented on in the evidence from New Ross and Wexford town.[64]

It is argued several times in the *Select committee on town holdings* report that weekly tenancy was actually an advantage to the labouring classes. For example, if work dried up in one location they could simply move to another town or village and take up another weekly tenancy.[65] The continuing decline of the suburbs in Kilkenny cannot therefore be directly attributed to poor tenancy conditions alone. Employment, or the lack thereof, and the ease with which the urban poor could relocate in pursuit of work also needs to be taken into consideration. When discussing the possibility of weekly tenants becoming owners the 'locomotive character of their occupations would be a strong reason against their becoming owners' was also mentioned in support of this point.[66]

While there is no direct information for housing conditions concerning either of the suburbs under discussion there is evidence relating to suburbs and houses elsewhere in the city. Contemporary documents relating to housing conditions concerns the Mayor's Walk, Flood Street, Michael Street, Gaol Road, Thomas Street, John's Green and Kennyswell Street. The last of these streets developed in a very similar manner to Greenshill. One of the Commissioners of Valuation when writing on behalf of the corporation stated that 'The houses occupied by the poorer classes in the city of Kilkenny are generally of an inferior description. The working people are by no means well housed…'.[67] Twelve houses on John's Green were described as being 'most of them thatched cabins of the worst description'.[68] The probable location of these houses on John's Green, based on the description given, are shown on figure 4.15. They are tightly packed together,

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[61] *Kilkenny People*, 15 Sept. 1915.
[62] Ibid.
[63] *Report from the select committee on town holdings*, H.C. 1886, p. 480.
[64] Ibid., pp 485-6.
[65] Ibid., p. 679.
[66] Ibid., p. 767.
[67] Correspondence and papers concerning Irish corporations, Kilkenny, 1 Jan. 1848 to 31 Dec. 1899 (TNA, treasury records, T103/25 part two), letter in this file dated 13 May 1887.
[68] Ibid.

five more houses here were to be 'thoroughly repaired'.[69] They were further described by one of the city medical officers as having 'no back yards, drainage or other sanitary accommodations'.[70] The density of the housing here is very similar to both parts of Greenshill and Kennyswell Street (figure 4.16).
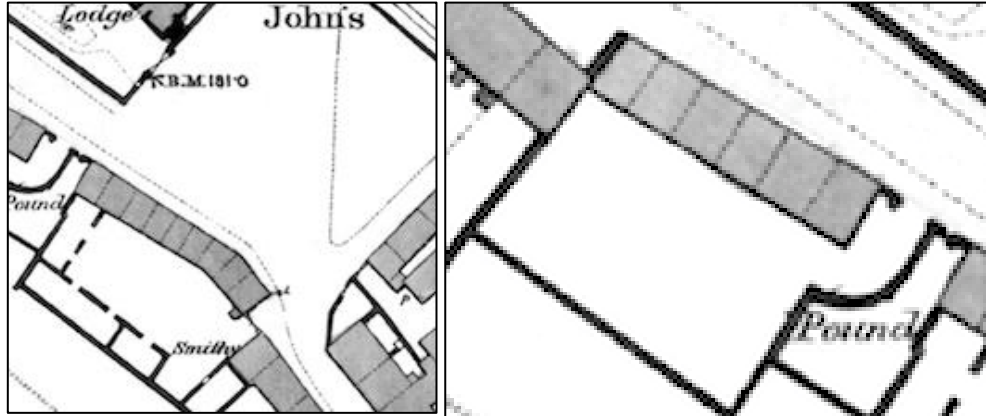
Figure 4.15 OS five-foot plan, Kilkenny sheet xix, 37 (1871), showing houses on John's Green.

Figure 4.16 OS five-foot plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 37 (1871), showing the housing density on parts of Kennyswell Street on the left and Greenshill on the right. The red shading indicates houses marked 'rn' for ruin.

There are also ruined and abandoned houses shown on the extract from Kennyswell Street. Eight houses here were described as 'advancing towards dilapidation'.[71] Houses on Michael Street were referred to as 'wretched hovels and in most cases dreadfully overcrowded'.[72] Suburban decline, therefore, was not just limited to Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill, it was evident across the city.

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[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.
[71] TNA, treasury files, T103/25, part 2, letter in this file dated 13 May 1887.
[72] Ibid., letter in this file dated 31 Mar. 1887.

Form, function and fabric: the social geography of Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill, 1901-26

The 1901 and 1911 census allow for a detailed examination of the form, function and fabric of the buildings in Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill.[73] It is possible through tabulating the data in the census to calculate family size, the number of windows, roof type and housing density. It is also possible to compare surnames from the 1890 Land Judges Estates Court rental to see if any of the surnames match those in the 1901 census in order to determine if occupancy as a result of short leases resulted in a transitory population, one that could move at will to find work. This approach combines elements of the Italian school of urban morphology with its focus on typologies and building use with a traditional social geographical or historical approach to people in a place over time.[74]

The number of houses on Greenshill had dwindled to fifty-four by 1901.[75] This is a drop of seventy-nine from the printed valuations of 1850.[76] The decline as evidenced in the townscape of Broguemakers Hill following the construction of the railway has already been commented on (figures 4.5 to 4.12), and by 1901 there was only one inhabited house here in comparison to ninety-seven in 1850.[77]

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[73] 1901 Census of Ireland, Kilkenny urban district, Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill, form B1.
[74] Karl Kropf, 'Aspects of urban form' in *Urban Morphology*, xiii, no. 2 (2009), pp 105-20; Nicola Marzot, 'The study of urban form in Italy' in *Urban Morphology*, vi, no. 2 (2002), pp 59-73.
[75] 1901 Census of Ireland, Kilkenny urban district, Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill, form B1, this figure was compiled from tabulating form B1.
[76] Griffith, *General valuation of rateable property, city of Kilkenny*.
[77] Ibid.
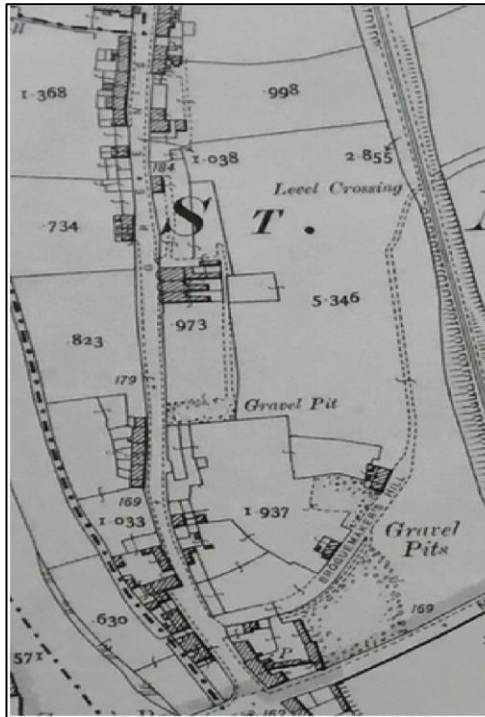
Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill, 1902.
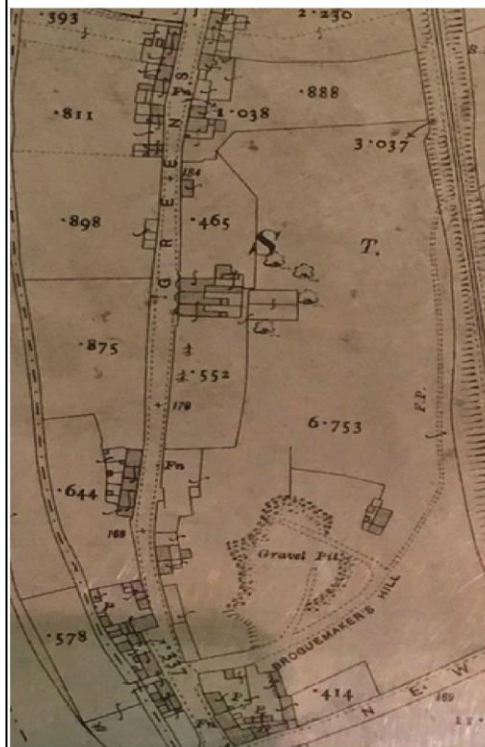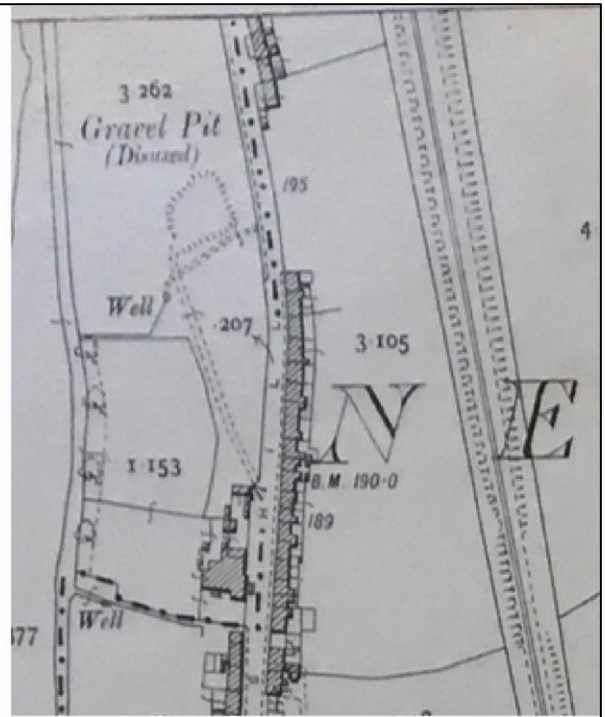
Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill, 1913-14.
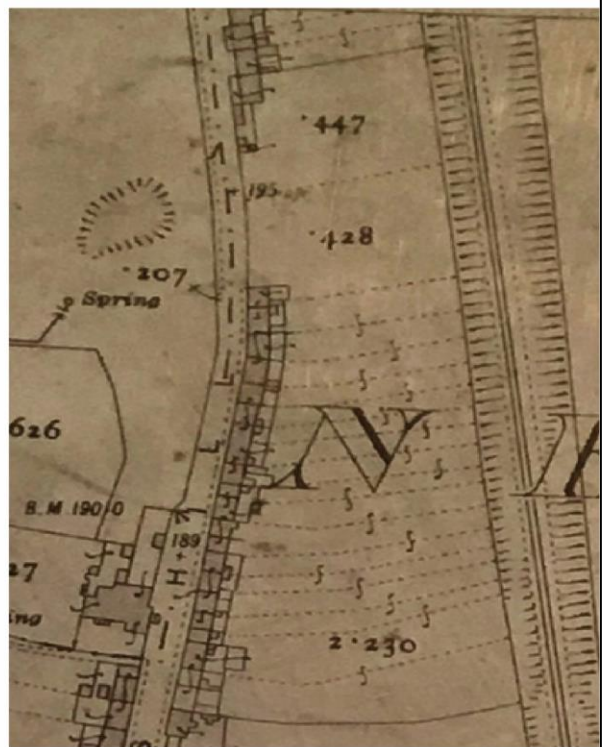
Figure 4.17 OS twenty-five-inch map, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 3 and 11 (1902), and OS twenty-five-inch map, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 3 and 11 (1913-14), showing Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill.

Greenshill in 1901

Of the fifty-four houses noted on Greenshill in 1901, forty-seven were occupied.[78] The vast majority of these houses, thirty-one, were one-or two-roomed dwelling houses with one or two windows.[79] It is likely that the two-roomed houses had a central doorway with a gable-end chimney. While no photographs of any of the houses here survive, there are two undated photographs from other parts of the city that show houses precisely of this type.[80] These forty-seven houses were inhabited by 186 people, or an average of 3.95 people per house, where the total population is divided by the number of occupied houses. Each house on Greenshill only held one family so this is also the average family size although there is a great degree of variation. The average family size in Dublin for the same period was four to five people with a much higher average per house of 8.2.[81]
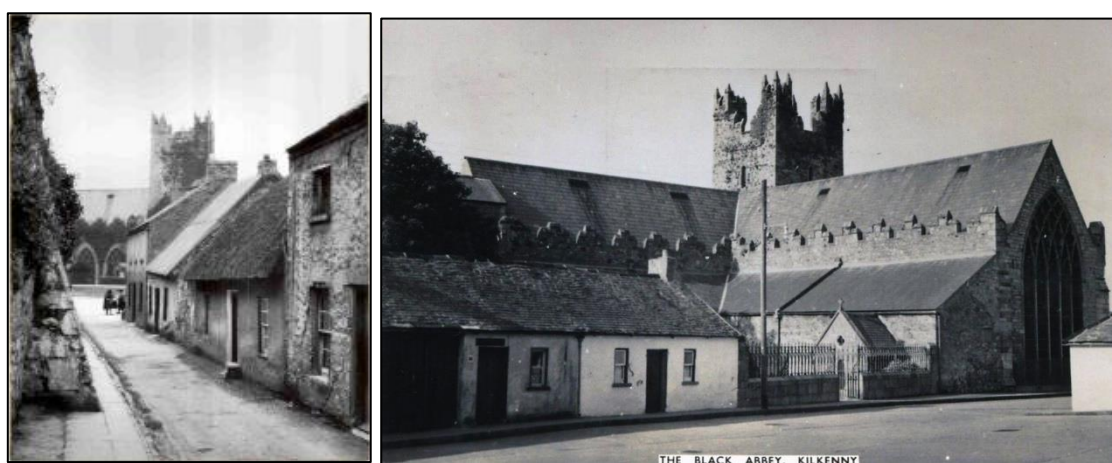
Figure 4.18 Vernacular houses on Abbey Street and near the Black Abbey, undated, *circa* 1950.

In terms of housing density, where the number of people is divided by the total number of rooms, there was an average 1.42 people per room.[82] The average of 3.95 people per house, when the majority of houses had one or two rooms, would have certainly meant that living conditions were cramped and that space was very tight.

These were essentially vernacular houses and conform to the theory that 'many urban areas had cabin suburbs – streets of two-or three-bay houses' that were also commented on in the *Parliamentary gazetteer* for both Kilkenny and Sligo.[83] The single house on Broguemakers Hill was also of this type, a two-roomed dwelling with two windows.[84] The single-storey houses built

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[78] 1901 Census of Ireland, Kilkenny urban district, Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill, form B1, this figure was compiled from tabulating form B1.
[79] Ibid.
[80] O'Reilly, 'Hearth and home: the vernacular house in Ireland from *c*. 1800', p. 193.
[81] Connor, Mills and Moore-Cherry, 'The 1911 census and Dublin city; a spatial analysis', p. 246.
[82] 1901 Census of Ireland, Kilkenny urban district, Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill, form B1, this figure was compiled from tabulating form B1.
[83] O'Reilly, 'Hearth and home: the vernacular house in Ireland from c. 1800' p. 199; *The Parliamentary Gazetteer for Ireland*, ii, p. 432; *The Parliamentary Gazetteer for Ireland, 1844-1845*, iii, pp 268-9.
[84] 1901 Census of Ireland, Kilkenny urban district, Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill, form B1.

by the corporation in the late nineteenth century on the end of Wolfe Tone Street also conform to this pattern, two-bay houses fronting the street with a central doorway and a gable-end chimney. In terms of form, as evidenced cartographically, the one-and two-roomed houses on Greenshill were square or rectangular; they functioned as dwelling places and were generally built of permanent fabric with only four having thatched roofs.

Of the remaining sixteen occupied houses, nine were three-roomed, eight of which had two windows. The remaining one had four while the last seven houses had from two to seven windows. All of these houses functioned as dwelling places with the exception of one that was a shop.[85]

Figure 4.19 shows the occupational structure of working-age adults, deemed in this instance to be those aged over fourteen with a listed occupation. This is a similar approach to that adopted by Connor, Mills and Moore-Cherry in their article on the 1911 census for Dublin.[86] Further rationale for this is that there is only one instance of anyone under fourteen with a listed occupation in the census returns for Greenshill for 1901 and there is no recorded instance of a child under fourteen being employed in the 1911 census. This does not mean they were not working it just means they were not recorded in the census as doing so. Considering the nature of the housing, and the short-term weekly and yearly leases shown on the rental from 1890, was there a significant number of professions that could be considered temporary, seasonal or transitory? This would, if true, support the evidence given to the *Select committee on town holdings* that holding a weekly tenancy was actually an advantage to the labouring classes due to the 'locomotive character' of their occupations.[87]

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[85] 1901 Census of Ireland, Kilkenny urban district, Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill, compiled from tabulating form B1.
[86] Connor, Mills and Moore-Cherry, 'The 1911 census and Dublin city: a spatial analysis', pp 253-4.
[87] *Report from the select committee on town holdings*, H.C. 1886, p. 841.

Occupations	Female	Male	Total
Carrier (common)	0	1	1
Agricultural labourer	0	3	3
Army pensioner	0	2	2
Bank accountant	0	1	1
Blacksmith	0	1	1
Car driver	0	1	1
Coal carrier	0	4	4
Corn miller	0	2	2
Dealer	1	0	1
Gardener	0	1	1
General domestic servant	12	0	12
General labourer	0	16	16
Horse trainer	0	1	1
Housekeeper	34	0	34
Labourer	0	1	1
Laundress	5	0	5
Livestock exporter	0	1	1
None listed	6	1	7
Railway gateman	0	1	1
Railway milesman	0	1	1
Royal Irish Constabulary	0	1	1
Shop porter	0	3	3
Soldier	0	1	1
Van porter	0	1	1
Wool weaver	2	1	3
Grand Total	**60**	**45**	**105**

Figure 4.19 Occupational structure of working-age adults living in Greenshill, compiled from form A of the 1901 census.

There were 105 individuals aged over fourteen listed on the 1901 census. This leaves eighty-one children under the age of fourteen, many of whom simply had 'scholar' listed under occupation. While figure 4.19 shows the employment structure of those aged over fourteen on Greenshill in 1901 it cannot be taken as an indicator of unemployment. There are only seven instances where no occupation is listed; the only male without an occupation was 104.[88]

What figure 4.19 shows is that, for the most part, occupations were divided along gender lines. The majority of the women, thirty-four, appear to have been housewives or involved with the domestic chores of the house and were likely solely responsible for child rearing, in other words subsumed into domestic work. General domestic servants account for 20 per cent of the positions listed by women. 'None listed' is given in six instances. Two wool weavers, a dealer and five

[88] 1901 Census of Ireland, Kilkenny, Greenshill urban district, form A 28, www.census.nationalarchives.ie/reels/nai000925120/ (accessed 14 Nov. 2016).

laundresses make up the remainder. Given the proximity of Greenshill to the Green's Bridge woollen mills the presence of wool weavers in a nearby suburb is not unexpected.

The majority of the males, twenty, were labourers. The remaining twenty-six occupations listed were quite varied, retired soldiers, a blacksmith and a shop porter, for example, and perhaps indicative of wider changes in society. There is only one instance where men and women had the same occupation listed, wool weaving. There is no further breakdown of the labourers and thus no indication whether this refers to building, brewing etc. Labourers have been described as those with 'unskilled manual work that was irregular in nature and poorly paid'.[89] If labourers are taken as those most likely to move in search of work, and thus take advantage of weekly tenancies, then a comparison of the surnames of labourers between the 1901 and 1911 census might show if this was in fact the case.

An examination of the 1901 census for Greenshill shows that in terms of form the majority of the houses were simple one-or two-roomed cottages or cabins that functioned as dwelling houses. Their fabric was generally permanent, with the majority, forty-one, noted as having some form of permanent roof with only six instances of thatch noted.

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[89] Connor, Mills and Moore-Cherry, 'The 1911 census and Dublin city; a spatial analysis', p. 254; see also Mary Daly, 'Social structure of the Dublin working class, 1871-1911', in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxiii, no. 90 (Nov. 1982), pp 128-30.

Greenshill in 1911

The census of 1911 shows that the number of houses, fifty-four, on Greenshill had not changed since 1901.[90] What had changed is the number that were occupied that had risen to fifty-one.[91] Similarly to 1901, most of the houses, thirty, were one-or two-roomed with one or two windows. The population had also increased to 241. The average family size had therefore increased from 3.95 to 4.7 and each house held only one family.[92] The housing density, in terms of people per room, had also increased to 1.57 due to the growth in population.

The form, function and fabric of the houses also showed very little change. Thirty of the occupied houses were still one-or two-roomed.[93] The number of one-roomed houses had decreased to three with the two-roomed houses remaining at twenty-seven. The form of these houses was still therefore quite simple and unchanged from 1901. There were eight three-roomed houses with the remaining thirteen having from four to nine rooms.[94] The function of the buildings here had also changed very little with fifty of the occupied buildings being dwelling houses and with the addition of one public house.[95] Again, similar to the 1901 census, the only definitive determination that can be made concerning the fabric of the buildings is from the description of the roofs, where ten buildings were noted as having thatched roofs with the remaining forty-one having some form of permanent roof.[96]

Figure 4.20 shows the occupation structure of Greenshill in 1911 and was compiled using the same methodologies as the evidence from the1901 census so those under fourteen are excluded.

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[90] 1911 Census of Ireland, Kilkenny urban district no. 2, Greenshill form B1 (www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1901/Kilkenny/Kilkenny_Urban/Greenshill/1450210/) this figure was compiled from tabulating form B1 (accessed 14 Nov. 2016).
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid.

Occupations	Female	Male	Total
Apprentice barber	0	1	1
Army pensioner	0	4	4
Army reservist	0	1	1
Blacksmith	0	4	4
Bombardier (Royal field artillery)	0	1	1
Brewery accountant	0	1	1
Builders labourer	0	1	1
Carpenter	0	1	1
Coal importer	0	1	1
Dentist mechanic	0	1	1
Engine attendant	0	1	1
Excise officer	0	1	1
Farmer	0	1	1
General domestic servant	7	0	7
General labourer	0	31	31
Grocers porter	0	2	2
House painter	0	1	1
Irish prison service	0	1	1
Knotter and darner woollen mills	1	0	1
Motor mechanic	0	1	1
Music teacher	1	0	1
None listed	48	2	50
Oatmeal miller	0	1	1
Presser at woollen mills	0	1	1
Publican	1	0	1
Retired carrier	2	0	2
Road contractor	0	1	1
Scholar	1	3	4
Soldier	0	1	1
Spinner (woollen mills)	1	0	1
University student	0	1	1
Woolweaver	3	2	5
Grand Total	**65**	**67**	**132**

Figure 4.20 Occupational structure of working-age adults living in Greenshill, compiled from the 1911 census.

The occupational structure of Greenshill as recorded in the 1911 census is very similar to that of 1901. While the ratio of males to females is more balanced, occupations are still distinctly divided along gender lines. Housekeeper is no longer listed as an occupation and the forty-eight women who have 'none listed' likely fall into this category. General domestic service still makes up the most common position for women excluding housekeeper, while the woollen industry accounts for five jobs.

Labouring still accounts for the majority of occupations listed for males, occurring thirty-two times. In only one instance is the type of labouring specified in this case builder's labourer. Again there are similarities to the 1901 census in that there are a wide variety of other occupations listed for males, blacksmiths, an accountant, a dentist's mechanic and an excise officer are listed. While labouring makes up almost half of the occupations listed the variety of those remaining and the rising population is suggestive of subtle changes in society. This suburb does not seem to have declined significantly over the ten-year period 1901 to 1911 rather it seems to have slightly grown. The number of houses remains the same albeit with an increase in the population and a small increase in the number of occupied houses.

The 1911 census for Greenshill shows that in terms of form the majority of the houses were still simple one-or two-roomed cottages or cabins that functioned as dwelling houses. Their fabric was generally permanent, with the majority, forty-one, noted as having some form of permanent roof with ten instances of thatch noted.

There is also evidence to support the idea that the labouring classes had a 'locomotive character' using the available sources. It can be stated definitively that of the twenty-one surnames recorded on the 1890 rental thirteen are entirely absent by the time of the 1901 census. Using the surnames of general labourers shows that eleven of the sixteen surnames noted as being general labourers in 1901 are no longer listed in 1911. This suggests that general labourers did indeed occupy a transitory position in society and that they did in fact move where the work was available and that the weekly and yearly tenancies essentially allowed them to do this.

Conclusions

This chapter has examined the decline of the suburbs of Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill through an analysis of their urban morphology and social geography. It has demonstrated that the construction of a railway line in 1864-5 was instrumental in the decline of one while the other simply declined and stagnated over time. The number of houses dropped from 133 in 1850 to fifty-four by 1911 on Greenshill while of the ninety-seven noted on Broguemakers Hill only three remained by 1911.

In terms of their form, function and fabric, the houses on these suburbs were typical urban vernacular houses; they were small and densely packed together. The majority of dwellings here in both the 1901 and 1911 census were simple two-or three-roomed houses, likely with a gable end chimney. An analysis of the occupational structure of the suburbs shows that employment was strictly divided along gender lines. Evidence relating to urban tenure and the transitory nature of the urban labouring classes has shown that there were significant changes between 1890 and 1901 and 1901 and 1911 where surnames were used as an indicator of change.

There are few remnants of these houses today. Both suburbs have totally transformed and the suburban cycle has continued. The closure of the railway line allowed Broguemakers Hill to develop once more while on Greenshill there is only one remaining house contemporary with the study period that conforms to the patterns noted, albeit greatly modernised. Some closed window openings and a door visible as rubble infill in a wall (figure 4.21), are all that remain of the original houses.

Figure 4.21 The only remaining house contemporary with the study period and a closed-up window opening in a rubble wall, also contemporary with the study period.

Chapter five
The economics of local government, Kilkenny corporation, 1865 to 1914

Local government in late-nineteenth century Kilkenny city had three distinct strands. These were the corporation, the city grand jury and the board of guardians' each of which had its own spheres of responsibility.[1] They also had separate forms of income with specific areas of expenditure. The geographical area over which each was responsible also varied. The corporation was responsible for the entirety of the parishes of St Mary and St Maul as these were within the municipal boundary along with parts of the parishes of St Patrick, St Canice and St John. The city grand jury was also responsible for these parishes within the municipal boundary (figure 1.6). The board of guardians' had a much larger area to govern, 110,963 statute acres; this was the entirety of the Kilkenny poor law union and included the city.

The corporation was the most significant of these local government bodies. It was also the longest established with records dating back to 1213.[2] The main focus of this chapter will be on the income and expenditure of Kilkenny corporation, the issue of corporation debt and the impact of the Local Government Act of 1898. Chapter two focused on markets and how the corporation gained an income from a private bill granting it control over market rights and tolls. Chapter six looks at its role in the sanitation of the city and its expenditure in this area. This chapter first examines, briefly, the areas and responsibilities of the three branches of local government prior to reform in 1898. Second, it looks at how the corporation raised and managed its overall income. It provides two small studies of its income and expenditure, from 1870 to 1898, prior to the sweeping corporation reforms of 1898, and then from 1899 to 1908, following the corporate reforms under the Local Government Act of 1898. The problem of corporation debt prior to local government reform is also discussed; it highlights the inertia of local government in Kilkenny, a recurring theme in this thesis. The study of income and expenditure relies on evidence from two parliamentary inquiries and material in the archive of Kilkenny corporation.[3] Local sources are also used in the study of corporation debt.

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[1] Virginia Crossman, *Local government in nineteenth-century Ireland* (Belfast, 1994), pp 43-63, 75-89.
[2] *Liber Primus Kilkenniensis*, Charles Mc Neill (ed.) (Dublin, 1931), p. v.
[3] *Report from the select committee on local government and taxation of towns (Ireland); with the proceedings of the committee* H.C. 1878 (262), xvi, 1; *Local government and taxation (Ireland) inquiry, special report from W.P. O'Brien, Esq., local government inspector, to His Grace the Lord Lieutenant made in pursuance of the report of the select committee of the House of Commons, dated the 20th July, 1877*, H.C. 1878 [C. 1965], xxiii, 707.

Previous work by David Dickson, Brian Graham and Lindsay Proudfoot shows that property ownership in Kilkenny city was fragmented largely due to its medieval origins.[4] There was no single body or individual with a controlling interest This is in contrast to other cities such as Waterford where the corporation owned extensive properties, or the Devonshire estate towns such as Bandon where the duke was the principal owner.[5] The Butlers, Kilkenny's principal family, were not significant landowners within the city and, with the exception of the first duke who constructed the Parade, they did not get heavily involved in city life. This lack of involvement can also be attributed to the fact that the second duke ended his life in exile and his successor was also largely absent from the city.[6] A manuscript of the Ormonde estate properties from 1830 shows that the family owned approximately 187 properties at this time.[7]

The rationale for this extended treatment of the corporation finances and powers is because it had the potential to be the principal agent of change in the city throughout the study period. It had the ability to affect society through, for example, sanitary and infrastructural projects and by constructing artisans' dwellings. It had several options open to it in terms of raising finances. As will be demonstrated, it chose to ignore most of these, possibly for electioneering purposes, and avoided levying a borough rate until after 1898 when it had no choice but to do so.

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[4] Brian Graham and Lindsay Proudfoot, *Urban improvement in provincial Ireland, 1700-1840* (Kilkenny, 1994), p. 25; David Dickson, 'Inland city: reflections on eighteenth-century Kilkenny', in William Nolan and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Kilkenny history and society* (Dublin, 1990), p. 336.
[5] Lindsay Proudfoot, *Urban patronage and social authority: the management of the Duke of Devonshire's Towns in Ireland, 1764-1891* (Washington, 1995), pp 200-7.
[6] Dickson, 'Inland city: reflections on eighteenth-century Kilkenny', p. 336.
[7] Ormonde estate, old description of city property, 1830 (KAS, Q039/B Ormonde Estate).

Local government bodies' responsibilities in Kilkenny city
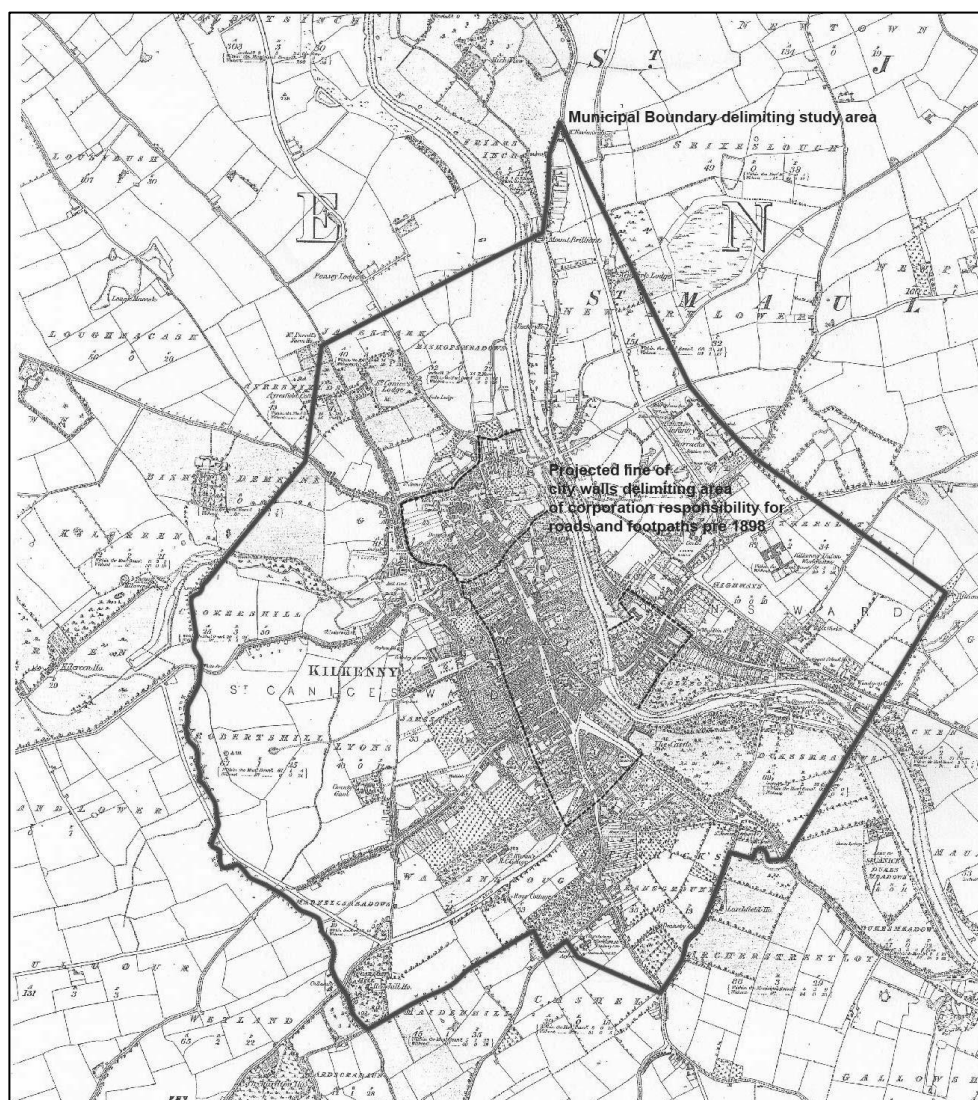
Figure 5.1 OS six-inch sheet xix (1841), showing the revised municipal boundary post-1840 and the projected line of the town walls.

The management of the city was complicated by a traditional agreement between the corporation and the city grand jury.[8] Historically, the corporation only managed and maintained the streets, roads and footpaths within the line of the town walls. The city grand jury was responsible for managing the area outside the town walls but within the revised municipal boundary.[9] This was despite the fact that the town walls were no longer extant along their entire circuit, existing only in short sections. The medieval town walls still had an important impact on municipal management.

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[8] *Local government and taxation of towns inquiry commission (Ireland), Part I, Report and evidence, with appendices,* H.C. 1877 [C. 1696], xxxix, 1, pp 14-15, 201-2.
[9] Ibid.

This duality of governance became more and more blurred throughout the nineteenth century. For example, various sanitary acts gave control over sanitation to the corporation. Its work in this regard, discussed in chapter six, brought it outside the line of the town walls. Kilkenny was not unique in this. Numerous other towns and cities had some form of dual governance, Drogheda and Waterford being two examples.[10] This insistence on managing the roads and streets within the former line of the town walls continued after local government reform in 1898. The corporation were eventually issued with an order from the local government board in 1905 to take over management of the entire area within the municipal boundary.[11]

With three separate bodies all having some function in the maintenance of the city a brief overview of their individual responsibilities is presented in figures 5.2 and 5.3 before the examination of the income and expenditure of Kilkenny corporation from 1870 to 1879.

The following table summarises the role of the board of guardians' in Kilkenny city up to 1878, until the board's ultimate abolition in 1925. Some of these responsibilities only became the onus of a board of guardians' in towns not governed by town councils or corporations; this is mentioned in the summary note.

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[10] *Report from the select committee on local government and taxation of towns (Ireland); together with the proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence and appendix*, H.C. 1876 (352), x, 147, p. 558.
[11] *Annual report of the Local government board for Ireland, for the year ended the 31st of March*, H.C. 1905 [C. 2665], xxxiii, 1, pp 24, 334-5.

Legislation	Year	Note
Medical Charities Act	1851	
Poor Law Act (and amendments)	1838, 1860	
Births deaths and marriages registration	1863	
Marriage Registration Act	1844	
Vagrant Act	1847	
Acts relating to the burial of the dead	1848, 1855, 1863, 1866	In towns not governed by town councils
Evicted Poor Protection Act	1848	
Parliamentary Voters Act	1850	
Apprenticing of workhouse boys	1851, 1854	
Income Tax Act	1853	
Towns Improvement Act	1854	
Valuations Act(s)	1854, 1856, 1860	
Common Lodging Houses Act(s)	1851, 1853, 1860	In towns not governed by town councils
Illegitimate Children Act	1863	
Bake House Regulation Act	1863	In towns not governed by town councils
Cattle Diseases Act	1866, 1870, 1876	
Boarding Out of Orphans and Deserted Children Act(s)	1862, 1866, 1876	
Union Officers Superannuation Acts	1865, 1869	
Juries Act(s)	1871, 1872, 1873, 1876	
Workshops Regulations Act	1867	
National School Teachers Act	1875	
Rivers Pollution Prevention Act	1877	
Local government and taxation (Ireland) inquiry, special report from W.P. O'Brien local government inspector, to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant made in pursuance of the report of the select committee of the House of Commons, H.C. 1878 [C. 1965], xxiii, pp 719-25.		

Figure 5.2 Summary of the responsibilities of the board of guardians'.

In terms of its income the board of guardians' levied a poor rate on valuations on owners and occupiers of land. The sums raised were then spent on maintaining the workhouse and administering poor relief when needed. In Kilkenny the board was also responsible for the fever hospital.[12] By 1876 the average rate was 1*s*. 6*d*. in the pound.[13] The board of guardians' was administered from the city, and held its meetings in the workhouse. However, the area of

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[12] *Local government and taxation (Ireland) inquiry. Special report from W.P. O'Brien, Esq., local government inspector, to His Grace the Lord Lieutenant made in pursuance of the report of the select committee of the House of Commons, dated the 20th July, 1877*, H.C. 1878 [C. 1965], xxiii, 707, pp 719-25; *Local government and taxation of towns inquiry commission (Ireland), Part 1*, H.C. 1877, p. 201; Crossman, *Local government in nineteenth-century Ireland*, p. 46.

[13] *Local government and taxation of towns inquiry commission (Ireland), Part 1*, 1877, p. 201.

Kilkenny poor law union for which the board was responsible was 110,943 acres whereas the extent of the city within the municipal boundary was 921 acres, less than one per cent of the total.[14]

Kilkenny city grand jury

Responsibilities and Legislation	Year	Note
Public works		Roads footpaths etc. outside the town walls
Prisons		
Lunatic asylums and charities		
Reformatory and industrial schools		
Police		
Treasures Act	1837	
Coroners Act	1846	
Barony Cess Collectors Act	1848	
Fines Act	1851	
Public Works Act	1853	
Grand Jury amendment Act	1856	
Valuation of Rateable Property Act	1860	This enabled the treasury to defray expenses out of the consolidate fund i.e. central govt.
Tramways Act	1860	
Weights and Measures Act	1844, 1851	In towns not governed by town councils
County Surveyors Act	1862	
Dogs Regulation Act	1865	
County Treasurer Abolition Act	1867	
Sale of Food and Drugs Act	1875	
Local government and taxation of towns inquiry commission (Ireland) Part 1, report and evidence, with appendices, H.C. 1877 [C. 1696], xxix.		

Figure 5.3 Roles and responsibilities of Kilkenny city grand jury to 1878.

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[14] *The census of Ireland for the year 1861. Part I. Showing the area, population and number of houses, by townlands and electoral divisions. Vol. I*, H.C. 1863 [C. 3204], liv, 1, p. 129.

In terms of its income and expenditure, the city grand jury raised its income entirely through the levying of a cess, or tax, on the city.[15] Despite being levied on the entire city it was spent only on maintenance of the streets and footpaths outside the line of the town walls as shown on figure 5.1. It was also responsible for the scavenging, essentially street cleaning, in this area. The great part of the sums it raised went towards the upkeep of the city gaol and the lunatic asylum.[16] In the early 1870s this rate was one of the lowest in Leinster at 1*s*. 6*d*. in the pound; it increased slightly by 1877 to 1*s*. 9*d*. in the pound.[17] Its limited responsibilities and the relatively small area upon which income generated by the city grand jury was expended is in stark contrast to the income and expenditure of the corporation.

The citizens of Kilkenny city had to pay multiple taxes in the late nineteenth century; grand jury cess, poor law rates, market rates and ultimately, post-1898, water rates and a borough rate. The impact of these taxes, the way in which the corporation gained more responsibilities, and the manner in which its members dealt with its income and expenditure is the focus of the remainder of the chapter.

Kilkenny corporation, structure and management to 1898

Kilkenny corporation survived the sweeping corporate reforms of the late 1830s that abolished many of the inefficient older corporations in Ireland.[18] It was one of ten corporations that became borough councils after the Municipal Corporations Reform Act of 1840.[19] Wexford petitioned for incorporation, which was granted by 1845, bringing the number of corporate towns to eleven.[20] This act of 1840 was very specific, and quite limited, in the powers it vested in these reformed bodies.[21] Numerous other acts passed throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century expanded on these responsibilities. The Town Improvements Act of 1854, the various Sanitary Acts of 1866, 1874 and 1878, for example, all gave additional powers to the corporation.[22] The area over which the new corporation was responsible was reduced by the Municipal Reform Act of 1840 and is shown on figure 5.1.

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[15] *Local government and taxation of towns inquiry commission (Ireland), Part 1*, H.C. 1877, pp 14-15.
[16] Ibid.
[17] *Local taxation (Ireland) returns, returns of local taxation in Ireland, for the year 1871*, H.C. 1872 [C. 650], xlix, 273, p. 281; *Local government and taxation of towns inquiry commission (Ireland), Part 1*, H.C. 1877, p. 201.
[18] Crossman, *Local government in nineteenth-century Ireland*, p. 79; *Report from the select committee on local government and taxation of towns (Ireland)*, 1876, pp 193-5.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Crossman, *Local government in nineteenth-century Ireland*, p. 79.
[21] Ibid., pp 75-80.
[22] Ibid., pp 79-85.

After its reconstitution under the Municipal Reform Act of 1840, Kilkenny corporation consisted of six aldermen and eighteen town councillors.[23] The corporation was an elected body. A mayor was also voted in from amongst the members of the corporation. With the act of 1840 the city was divided into two wards, St Canice's and St John's.[24] There was a franchise of £10 to vote for municipal elections, resulting in a very small electorate of approximately 272 burgesses in 1871.[25] With a population in 1871 of 12,710 this meant that only 2.14 per cent of the population were entitled to vote for the members of the corporation. Other towns and cities took it on themselves to extend the franchise locally. For example, Waterford extended the franchise for local elections from £10 to £4.[26] The result of reducing this franchise was to increase the number of rate payers who were entitled to vote.

Prior to municipal reform in 1898, it was this very small proportion of the population that was responsible for the administration and management of the city. The electorate was composed of the middle classes and upper classes of the city; a sample list of members of the corporation is included in figure 5.4. They governed the city under the Municipal Reform Act of 1840 and under the charter granted to the city by James I in 1609.[27] The members of the corporation were not a representative sample, or cross section, of society at the time. The fact that being a burgess and having property valued over £10 was a requirement to even vote for corporation members, prior to the franchise being extended post 1898, excluded the vast majority of the citizens. The occupations of the corporation members, at least in 1876, tended towards business ownership, while there were also three justices of the peace and a solicitor. They likely had a relatively high standard of education and were literate, in contrast to most of the citizens they represented.

The corporation adopted the Town Improvement Act of 1854 and abandoned its use in 1859 never levying a rate under it; crucially this denied the corporation a significant stream of income.[28] Virtually every other corporate town either levied a rate under this act or imposed one before corporation reform in 1898. Galway imposed a water rate in 1863 after obtaining

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[23] *Local government and taxation of towns inquiry commission (Ireland), Part 1*, H.C. 1877, pp 200, 522.
[24] *Report from the select committee on local government and taxation of towns (Ireland)*, H.C. 1876, p. 175.
[25] *Kilkenny Moderator*, 2 Nov. 1876; *Local government and taxation of towns inquiry commission (Ireland), Part 1,* 1877, p. 200; Crossman, *Local government in nineteenth-century Ireland*, p. 79.
[26] Matthew Potter, *The municipal revolution in Ireland: a handbook of urban government in Ireland since 1800* (Dublin, 2011), pp 164-5.
[27] Municipal reform Act 3rd and 4th of Victoria, chap. 108; *Local government and taxation of towns inquiry commission (Ireland), Part 1*, H.C. 1877, p. 199.
[28] *Local government and taxation of towns inquiry commission (Ireland), Part 1*, H.C. 1877, p. 201.
[28] Ibid., pp 14, 199-200.

the Galway Water Act; Wexford levied water rates in 1862 and a borough rate in 1873.[29] Kilkenny's neighbouring city, Waterford, had traditionally relied on its substantial property portfolio for its income and had long avoided levying a rate but did so in 1896.[30] Kilkenny, instead of levying rates, relied on the borough fund for its income and expenditure. This fund had two important elements, rentals with the associated rent charges and the profits from the markets and fair green.

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[29] Potter, *The municipal revolution in Ireland*, pp 167, 172.
[30] Ibid.

Kilkenny corporation 1876		
Name	**Occupation or profession**	**Position held in the corporation**
Arthur Mc Mahon	None	Mayor
Patrick Murphy	Merchant	Alderman
William Kealy	Merchant	Alderman
Richard Aylward	Grocer and shopkeeper	Town councillor
Thomas Shirley	Grocer and shopkeeper	Town councillor
Thomas Chaplin	Auctioneer	Town councillor
John F. Smithwick	Grocer	Town councillor
Michael Brophy	Baker	Town councillor
James Dunphy	Publican and auctioneer	Town councillor
James Walsh	Shopkeeper	Town councillor
John Fanning	Solicitor	Town councillor
Thomas Power	Justice of the Peace	Alderman
Patrick Meagher	Grocer and baker	Alderman
Daniel McCarthy	Farmer	Alderman
William O'Donnell	Grocer	Alderman
Simon Harris	Hotel keeper	Town councillor
John Hogan	Auctioneer	Town councillor
Andrew Dowling	Provision dealer	Town councillor
Peter McDermott	Justice of the Peace, sub sheriff for the county of Kilkenny	Town councillor
Michael Healy	Grocer and spirit dealer	Town councillor
James Loughlin	Shopkeeper	Town councillor
James S. Loughnan	Justice of the Peace	Town councillor
Michael Timmons	Shopkeeper and provision and corn dealer	Town councillor
Michael Shortall	Solicitor	Town councillor
Local government and taxation of towns inquiry commission (Ireland) Part 1, report and evidence, with appendices, H.C. 1877 [C. 1696], xxxix, 1, appendix no. 32, p. 537.		

Figure 5.4 Composition of Kilkenny corporation in 1876.

Kilkenny corporation income and financial management, 1870-79

By the 1870s Kilkenny corporation had two significant income streams. There was the money from the markets following the markets act of 1861 that was discussed in chapter two; there was also a significant rental income. While they were generally returned in the annual taxation returns as one sum, the rentals actually had two separate features. In 1877, £945 17*s*. 1*d*. was the actual amount that should have been received annually from rentals and landed estates.[31] They also received a smaller sum of £68 18*s*. 2*d*. from weekly and monthly rentals.[32]

As well as this the corporation was entitled to a sum of £1,109 1*s*. 6*d*. from what were known as 'tithe rent charges.' Simply put, these were held under a letter patent of Charles I.[33] They entitled the corporation to 25 per cent of the rent received as a tithe; since the abolition of tithes this sum was now paid by the estate owners. Some of these lands were vested in the corporation following the dissolution of the monasteries in the sixteenth century, while other lands were granted through the letter patent.[34] These lands were not all in the city; some were outside the municipal boundary and in other counties with the corporation holding property in Laois, for example. Redemption of these tithe rent charges became a significant factor in the late 1890s when corporation debt was rising and pressure was being placed on the councillors by the local government board to fund a large-scale waterworks project.[35]

Other income streams were fees received from the mayor's court and some fines from petty sessions but these account only for a very small proportion of overall income. There were also sums received from the sale of manure and miscellaneous sources such as receipts from the Fair Green, interest received on money in deposit accounts, baths on John's Quay and railway debentures.

The corporation also had significant borrowing powers under the Local Government Act of 1871. The valuation of the city in 1877 was £17,268 6*s*.[36] Under the terms of the act of 1871, the corporation was allowed to be indebted to the local government board for up to twice this sum.[37] Therefore they had the capacity to borrow large sums for infrastructural works and other purposes such as artisans' dwellings for the benefit of the city. Whether they had the capacity,

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[31] *Local government and taxation of towns inquiry commission (Ireland), Part 1*, H.C. 1877, p. 199.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid., pp 199-200.
[34] Ibid., p. 200; typescript translation of letters patent of Charles I (KCA, CR, C18, translation of letters patent, this file has a 'constat', i.e. literal copy of the original charter in Latin dated 1839, it has a handwritten English translation dated 1839, and typescript copies dated 1928).
[35] *Kilkenny People*, 5 Jan. 1901.
[36] *Local government and taxation of towns inquiry commission (Ireland), Part 1*, H.C. 1877, p. 14.
[37] *Kilkenny Journal*, 6 Oct. 1900; *Kilkenny People*, 5 Jan. 1901.

the will or the foresight to do so is a question that is addressed in this chapter. Furthermore, under the Municipal Reform Act of 1840 the corporation could have levied a borough rate but did not do so.[38] The Towns Improvement Act of 1854 that was adopted in full by the corporation also allowed for the levying of a borough rate.[39] This opportunity was again spurned, as despite adopting the act it was never enforced locally.[40] It was up to each individual corporation to estimate if they could survive on their income or to levy a rate after the act of 1854 to supplement this. Corporations had other financial options. A rate could be levied to cover sanitary expenses, after the construction of a waterworks scheme, for example. Corporations could also obtain a provisional order and gain independence from their respective grand juries and subsequently levy a rate. Clonmel corporation did so in 1879, Galway in 1875 and Wexford in 1873.[41]

The decision not to levy rates under the 1840 act, the 1854 act or the 1871 Sanitary Act would ultimately have an impact on the corporation's finances. It did not strike a borough rate until the Local Government Act of 1898.[42] There was intense local opposition to this. With the corporation's debt rising throughout the late nineteenth century this was an opportunity lost. The provisions of the 1840 act and its amending acts in terms of levying a rate could not be applied retrospectively.[43] By the time debt started to mount there was very little that Kilkenny corporation could do.

Kilkenny corporation was exempt from the annual audit by the local government board. It was not unique in this; Cork and Waterford were also exempt, all under the terms of the Local Government Act of 1871.[44] Instead of being examined by the auditor of Kilkenny poor law union, as should have been the case, they had their own independent auditors. The ratepayers elected two with a third appointed directly by the mayor. A treasurer was also independently appointed.[45] This exemption from an annual audit was one that was resented by other corporations.[46]

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[38] *Royal commission on local taxation, minutes of evidence taken before the royal commission on local taxation with index vol. 1*, H.C. 1898 [C. 8763], xli, 417, appendix 3, p. 173.

[39] Ibid., p. 175; *Local government and taxation of towns inquiry commission (Ireland), Part 1*, H.C. 1877, p. 199.

[40] *Local government and taxation of towns inquiry commission (Ireland), Part 1*, H.C. 1877, p. 199.

[41] Potter, *The municipal revolution in Ireland*, pp 174, 167, 172.

[42] Analysis of the annual returns of local government post 1898 demonstrate this (figures 5.19 a and b).

[43] *Royal commission on local taxation*, H.C. 1898, appendix 3, p. 173.

[44] *Local government and taxation of towns inquiry commission (Ireland), Part 1*, H.C. 1877, pp 14, 48.

[45] *Local government and taxation of towns inquiry commission (Ireland), Part 1*, H.C. 1877, pp 199-203.

[46] Potter, *The municipal revolution in Ireland*, p. 142.

The treasurer was the individual responsible for the day-to-day management of the corporation finances. He had four separate accounts to oversee. These were for the public markets, the public baths, the fair green, and the borough fund. The sanitary account was paid for out of the borough fund and the whole corporation sat as the sanitary authority.[47]

A committee oversaw the management of each of the four accounts, when the treasurer presented a bill for payment three members of the committee were required to sign it before a cheque could be drawn to pay it. When a cheque was drawn the chairman of the committee, two other members of that particular committee and the town clerk then signed it. Large amounts of money were always held over for deliberation at a council meeting. The composition of each of the committees varied. A minimum number of members, or a quorum, was required to attend the various committee meetings before they could go ahead or decisions be deemed valid. For meetings of the corporation this was eight, or a third of the entire corporation, for committee meetings this was three to five.[48] Each of these separate committees also acted as a finance committee for that particular account. Where there were not enough members for a meeting to go ahead a member of another committee was required to sit in so that the meeting could proceed.[49]

A separate committee then oversaw the whole financial process. Its function was to examine all the payments made by the treasurer each week and to ensure that everything was in order.[50] While there may not have been an official auditor this seemed to be a rigorous process. The financial management certainly appears to have been thorough. One obvious disadvantage to local governance by committee is a diffused responsibility for decision-making. With no individual having overall control, it would have been easy to both avoid making a decision and for a councillor to absolve himself of responsibility for a poor collective decision. With four separate committees and the whole corporation sitting as the sanitary committee this was a very time-consuming process. With so many individuals having a say, indecisiveness was also a key factor. This is seen in depth in chapter six in the discussions concerning the waterworks and the city sanitation.

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[47] *Local government and taxation of towns inquiry commission (Ireland) Part 1*, H.C. 1877, pp 199-203.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid., p. 201.
[50] Ibid.

Income and expenditure of Kilkenny corporation, 1870-9

With the exception of the income from market rights and tolls, the largest source of income available to Kilkenny corporation was rentals. As a point of comparison, figure 5.5 shows the rental incomes of the eleven corporate towns and cities in Ireland between 1871 and 1875.

	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875
Town/city	**£**	**£**	**£**	**£**	**£**
Drogheda	3449	3419	3360	3230	3488
Dublin				18200	32872
Kilkenny	1019	2260	2044	2200	2194
Wexford	326	335	340	324	309
Clonmel			412	679	394
Cork	1373	1503	1920	1517	1504
Limerick	1755	1750	1121	1390	1184
Waterford	7565	7566	9787	9286	8740
Belfast	1300	121	121	1950	69
Londonderry	500				91
Sligo		87	73	72	228
This figure is compiled from the annual reports of local government taxation, 1871-5; a full list is in the bibliography.					

Figure 5.5 Comparative rental income of the corporate towns in Ireland 1871-5.

Excluding 1871 when only a partial return of income and expenditure was made to central government it is immediately obvious that Kilkenny corporation had a very large rental income. Despite being significantly smaller, and with a smaller population than the cities of Cork, Limerick and Belfast, it either held larger amounts of property or received higher rents in conjunction with the tithe rent charges mentioned previously. Waterford, Drogheda and Dublin were the only other places with higher incomes from rents. Similar to Kilkenny, all three were significant settlements dating from the Anglo-Norman period onwards, and they all held a series of charters and grants. It is likely that, just as is the case with Kilkenny, these charters and grants gave them significant economic advantages over newer towns and cities.

If this point is further developed in terms of population and Kilkenny city is contrasted with four incorporated towns of a similar size, it shows that Kilkenny had the second highest population, just behind Drogheda, the only one of these towns with a higher rental income. The historical advantages of property ownership through a long series of charters, patents and grants from the sixteenth century onwards gave Kilkenny city a significant economic advantage over towns of a similar population size.

	Clonmel	Drogheda	Kilkenny	Sligo	Wexford
1861	10,572	14,740	14,174	10,693	11,673
1871	10,112	13,510	12,710	10,670	12,077

Figure 5.6 Population of five of the corporate towns in Ireland after the Municipal Reform Act of 1840.

Year	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875
Town	£	£	£	£	£
Clonmel			412	679	394
Drogheda	3449	3419	3360	3230	3488
Kilkenny	1019	2260	2044	2200	2194
Sligo		87	73	72	228
Wexford	326	335	340	324	309

Figure 5.7 Comparison of income received from rentals in five corporate towns after the Municipal Reform Act of 1840.

When examined over the period 1870-9 (figures 5.8 to 5.9), the significance of the income from the market and the rentals becomes even more evident. With neither a borough rate nor a sanitary rate being levied these two income strands were the primary source of income for the corporation. The markets, as shown in chapter two, paid for themselves and made a small profit. This left rentals as the only other major source of income and until the late 1870s the corporation made a small profit annually. In these tables, 'balance against' is debt, and 'balance in hand' is profit left over from a previous year; where this is left out in some later returns it is still possible to show profit and loss by contrasting the separate tables of income and expenditure.

Year	Balance in hand £	Tolls at markets and fairs £	Fees £	Rents £	Other receipts £	Balance against £	Total receipts £
1870	0.00	1573.82	20.90	1001.77	1468.85	0	4065.34
1871	265.04	1621.08	30.74	1019.05	1501.47	0	4437.38
1872	3130.00	982.00	0.00	2260.00	452.00	0	6824.00
1873	77.00	314.00	26.00	2044.00	567.00	0	3028.00
1874	402.00	1600.00	0.00	2200.00	530.00	0	4732.00
1875	548.00	2076.00	0.00	2194.00	503.00	0	5321.00
1876	587.00	1631.00	96.00	2166.00	660.00	37	5177.00
1877	0.00	1587.00	91.00	2046.00	657.00	259	4640.00
1878	0.00	1720.00	94.00	2147.00	348.00	832	5141.00
1879	0.00	1638.00	127.00	2112.00	639.00	903	5419.00
This figure is compiled from the annual reports of local government taxation 1870-9; a full list is in the bibliography.							

Figure 5.8 Income strands of Kilkenny corporation, 1870-9 in pounds sterling (these are all converted to a decimal value to enable statistical analysis).

Year	Balance in hand £	Tolls at markets and Fairs	Fees	Rents	Other receipts	Balance against (debt)
1870		38.71%	0.51%	24.64%	36.13%	
1871	5.97%	36.53%	0.69%	22.97%	33.84%	
1872	45.87%	14.39%	0.00%	33.12%	6.62%	
1873	2.54%	10.37%	0.86%	67.50%	18.73%	
1874	8.50%	33.81%		46.49%	11.20%	
1875	10.30%	39.02%		41.23%	9.45%	
1876	11.34%	31.50%	1.85%	41.84%	12.75%	0.71%
1877		34.20%	1.96%	44.09%	14.16%	5.58%
1878		33.46%	1.83%	41.76%	6.77%	16.18%
1879		30.23%	2.34%	38.97%	11.79%	16.66%
This figure is compiled from the annual reports of local government taxation 1870-9; a full list is in the bibliography.						

Figure 5.9 Percentage of income strands of Kilkenny corporation, 1870-9.

If the monetary amounts in figure 5.8 are expressed as a percentage of income it becomes even more apparent that there was a significant reliance on market tolls and rents as a source of funding for the corporation. On average, between 1870 and 1879, they accounted for between 70 per cent and 80 per cent of its income. By the end of the 1870s, however, debt had already started to accumulate. The failure to implement either a borough rate or a sanitary rate was beginning to have an impact on the finances of the corporation.

Kilkenny corporation expenditure, 1870-9

What then was this income spent on? Figures 5.10a to 5.10b tabulate the main sources of expenditure for the period 1870-9.

Year	Balance against at start of year £	Improvement by building or demolition £	Paving and repairs of streets £	Cleansing and watering £
1870	0	0.00	382.2	0
1871	0	0.00	419.63	0
1872	0	72.00	648	46
1873	0	0.00	394	28
1874	0	0.00	214	260
1875	0	0.00	125	334
1876	0	0.00	195	295
1877	37	0.00	441	0
1878	294	0.00	320	247
1879	832	0.00	212	251

This table is compiled from the annual taxation returns, 1870-9; a full list is in the bibliography.

Figure 5.10 a Main sources of expenditure of Kilkenny corporation, 1870-9.

Year	Lighting £	Watching £	Water supply £	Sewage Utilization Act £	Making sewers or drains £	Any other sanitary object £	Borrowed money paid off £	Other payments £	Total £
1870	358.07	0	0	0	0	2.39	300	2757.64	3800.30
1871	389.74	0	0	28.75	0	0.94	275	2931.71	4045.78
1872	314.00	0	51	14	0	87	2555	2185	5972.00
1873	280.00	0	48	0	57	0	0	2031	2838.00
1874	380.00	0	28	0	0	86	0	3242	4210.00
1875	263.00	0	10	0	0	230	0	3772	4734.00
1876	28.00	28	0	0	0	670	0	3703	5177.00
1877	327.00	70	0	0	0	350	0	3415	4603.00
1878	348.00	105	0	0	0	370	0	3457	4847.00
1879	271.00	104	0	0	100	211	0	3443	4592.00

This figure is compiled from the annual taxation returns, 1870-9; a full list is in the bibliography.

Figure 5.10 b Main sources of expenditure of Kilkenny corporation, 1870-9.

One striking feature of this expenditure is the small proportion of income used for improving the city through building works or demolition with only £72 being expended between 1870 and 1879. Lighting was another relatively small cost, with the decrease in cost in the late 1870s being accounted for by the change from gas lighting back to oil.[51] Very minor sums were being

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[51] *Local government and taxation of towns inquiry commission (Ireland), Part 1*, H.C. 1877, p. 201.

spent on the water supply or making sewers or drains. The largest cost in relation to these is 'other sanitary object' but with only fragmentary records from the urban sanitary authority surviving, and discussed in more detail in chapter six, it cannot be stated definitively in every instance what this specifically relates to. It is likely that it includes wages and expenses associated with enforcing the Public Health (Ireland) Act of 1874. This is further re-enforced by figure 5.11 taken from evidence in the *Taxation of towns inquiry commission*.

	£	S	D	**Decimal Value**
Salaries	127	4	7	**127.23**
Sewers	101	11	6	**101.58**
Water supply	68	7	5	**68.37**
Sanitary precautions	44	6	6	**44.33**
Advertising and printing	12	13	10	**12.69**
	354	3	10	**354.19**
Local government and taxation of towns inquiry commission (Ireland) Part 1, report and evidence, with appendices, H.C. 1877 [C. 1696], xxxix, 1, p. 203.				

Figure 5.11 Table showing sanitary expenditure in Kilkenny, 1876-7.

Excepting the costs necessary for maintaining the city, light, sewerage etc., the most significant cost is on 'other payments'. Unfortunately, despite the extremely high amount entered under this category relative to overall income, there is no precise information for 1870 to 1879 pertaining to what this was spent on. What can be determined is that the mayor had a salary of £200. The independent treasurer received 5 per cent of every receipt.[52] Also, the loan on the markets, dating back to 1863, was still being paid back at the rate of £166 13*s*. 6*d*. a year and there was an historic mortgage on the tholsel that had never been called in. These account for approximately £600 annually. Most of the remaining amount cannot be made up due to the gap in the local sources.[53]

More detail is available in the later *local taxation returns*, particularly for the period post local government reform in 1898, but the 'other payments' category remains substantially higher for the rest of the study period. One likely solution to the amount included under this heading are the markets and the fair green. There is no category for markets and fairs under expenditure. While both essentially paid for themselves, and produced a small profit annually, they also had substantial overheads. An analysis of these overheads account for a further £717 for the market

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[52] *Local government and taxation of towns inquiry commission (Ireland), Part 1*, H.C. 1877, pp 14, 202.
[53] Ibid., pp 14-15, 199-201.

with £306 being spent on the fair green. It is therefore possible to ascertain what some of the 'other payments' heading relates to.[54]

	£	S	D	Decimal value
Butter inspector salary	100	0	0	100.00
Auditors	5	0	0	5.00
Clerks	90	7	0	90.35
Market ouncel clerk	39	0	0	39.00
Other clerk	39	0	0	39.00
Scalesman no. 1	31	17	0	31.85
Scalesman no. 2	31	17	0	31.85
Porters and other expenses	270	0	0	270.00
Taxes and incidentals	50	0	0	50.00
Treasurers poundage	60	0	0	60.00
Total	717	1	0	717.05
Local government and taxation of towns inquiry commission (Ireland) Part 1, report and evidence, with appendices, H.C. 1877 [C. 1696], xxxix, 1, p. 203.				

Figure 5.12 Expenses incurred in the running of the Kilkenny city market in 1876.

The effective management of any local government body requires productive and profitable use of income and expenditure. In an ideal situation income should exceed expenditure. It is obviously necessary to have money or at least a line of credit before anything can be spent. What this income is then used for is crucial to the development, growth and management of a city or town. With an over reliance on two main strands of income and increasing responsibilities Kilkenny corporation quickly began to accumulate debt. With increasing responsibilities, particularly in the areas of urban sanitation and public health, but with a relatively static income, long-term increases in expenditure could simply not be matched by income.

If the total income per year is then tabulated against expenditure per year it is seen that expenses were increasing throughout the 1870s while profits were relatively static with an average income of £4,675 and average expenses of £4,481. A minor loss is first noted in 1876 and this rises for rest of the study period. Failure to levy rates or to improve the city, whether by

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[54] *Local government and taxation of towns inquiry commission (Ireland) Part 1*, H.C. 1877, pp 14-15, p. 203.

municipalising the gas supply or constructing a water supply and charging a rate, was now starting to have consequences. Other cities and towns had done both. Drogheda municipalised its gasworks in 1898, while Limerick had done so by 1880. In the case of Limerick, it formed a significant part of the corporation's finances, realising £5,900 in 1890.[55] Kilkenny on the other hand was paying for both oil and gas lighting and paying high wages to lamplighters (figure 5.15).[56]

	Total income	Total expenses	Profit/loss
1870	4065.34	**3800.30**	265.04
1871	4437.38	**4045.78**	391.60
1872	6824	**5972.00**	852.00
1873	3028	**2838.00**	190.00
1874	4732	**4210.00**	522.00
1875	5321	**4734.00**	587.00
1876	5140	**5177.00**	-37.00
1877	4381	**4603.00**	-222.00
1878	4309	**4847.00**	-538.00
1879	4516	**4592.00**	-76.00
This figure is compiled from the annual taxation returns, 1870-9; a full list is in the bibliography.			

Figure 5.13 Kilkenny corporation income and expenditure, 1870-9.

By the end of the 1870s corporation expenditure was exceeding income and it would soon find itself heavily in debt.

The issue of corporation debt

We have plenty of debt to our credit[57]

Between 1880 and 1898 the income of the corporation remained stagnant. There was still a reliance on money received from rentals and markets. Money received from rentals was increasing; as leases fell out, they were replaced with longer more profitable ones. Income from the markets and the fair green were starting to show a decrease (see Appendix 3). There were no new forms of income generated in terms of rates for example. Furthermore, the decision to borrow £7,000 for an artisans' dwellings scheme in 1887, while it benefitted working classes of the city, added to debt. While it was within its borrowing powers to obtain this sum paying it back would stretch their finances even further as the rents received would not cover the interest and capital payments.[58]

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[55] Potter, *The municipal revolution in Ireland,* pp 169, 160-1.
[56] *Kilkenny Moderator*, 9 Feb. 1898.
[57] *Kilkenny People*, 6 Feb. 1897.
[58] Correspondence and papers concerning Irish corporations, Kilkenny, 1 Jan. 1848 to 31 Dec. 1899 (TNA, treasury records, T103/25 part two).

Numerous other corporations continued to work to improve their respective town or city. The examples of Clonmel, Drogheda, Galway and Waterford in municipalising gasworks, taking over the responsibilities of the grand jury and constructing a waterworks have already been given. All of these options were also available to Kilkenny corporation but none were taken up. By not taking a more active role in improving the city and by not levying rates, municipalising the gas company or constructing waterworks and levying a sanitary rate Kilkenny fell behind other towns and cities. The corporation had the potential to be a significant agent of change but with the exception of the markets act of 1861 Kilkenny corporation failed to undertake any major improvements to the city until it was forced to construct a new waterworks scheme between 1902 and 1905. The only significant changes to the city prior to this were several small schemes of artisans' dwellings. These did not increase rents significantly when the cost of maintenance was taken into account. Corporate debt continued to rise and by 1897-8 it had reached approximately £5,000, a sum that was in excess of annual income.[59]

Prior to corporation reform in 1898-9 Kilkenny corporation was, therefore, in a perilous financial state. Its creditors, principally the Hibernian Bank, were looking for a return on their money or, at the very least, a guarantee that yearly repayments would be made towards decreasing the debt.[60] To this end, the corporation passed a resolution to levy a sanitary rate of 6*d*. in the pound.[61] The corporation members were of the opinion that the upkeep of the sanitation of the city was the cause of the drain on their finances.[62] This sanitary rate, if levied, would realise an annual sum of £400.[63] This would essentially clear the debt over a period of ten to fifteen years. However, objections were immediately raised by absent members and a resolution was then tabled at the next meeting to rescind the sanitary rate in favour of reducing salaries. This resolution also passed, with the end result that the sanitary rate was not levied and the Hibernian Bank wrote to the corporation stating that it would refuse to honour any more cheques.[64] An analysis of the income and expenditure of the corporation and the sanitary for 1897-8 sheds more light on the underlying issues. This is exclusive of any income from the market and fair green.

[59] *Kilkenny People*, 11 Dec. 1897; *Kilkenny People*, 15 Jan. 1898.
[60] *Kilkenny People*, 9 Jan. 1897.
[61] *Kilkenny People*, 11 Dec., 18 Dec. 1897.
[62] *Kilkenny People*, 11 Dec. 1897.
[63] *Kilkenny People*, 18 Dec. 1897; *Kilkenny Moderator*, 9 Feb. 1898, 16 Feb. 1898.
[64] *Kilkenny People*, 16 Feb. 1898.

Income	£	S	D
Yearly rents	1238	19	3
Yearly rent charges	762	5	2
Monthly rents	76	0	0
Weekly rents	130	8	8
Sale of manure	129	14	2
Petty sessions fines	35	18	5
Borough court and court of consicience	40	13	10
Misc.	5	0	0
Total	2418	19	6

Figure 5.14 Corporation income, 1897-8, this excludes the markets and fair green, *Kilkenny Moderator*, 9 Feb. 1898.

Expenditure	£	S	D
Labourers	315	18	0
Additional labourers	50	14	0
Two horses and men	171	12	0
Additional horses and men	7	16	0
Extra horse	30	19	10
Stonebreakers	35	0	0
Cleaning water closets in artisans' dwellings	15	12	0
Carpenter	67	12	0
Time of mason, pavior, slater, thatcher	135	4	0
Town Sergeant	31	4	0
Ditto as mace bearer	4	0	0
Ditto for clothing	8	10	0
Ditto for coal	1	10	0
Nightwatchman	31	4	0
Ditto for clothing	0	10	0
Sub overseer	40	6	0
Ditto for clothing	2	0	0
Oilcoats	1	8	0
Lacken accident	49	8	0
Pensioners	46	14	0
Lamplighters (3)	109	4	0
Materials for oil lamps	140	7	2
Gas for street lamps	43	7	9
Materials general Hardware	100	0	0
Timber	30	8	3
Sand gravel and lime	28	4	5
Flags and curbing	34	11	8
Stones	70	0	0
Printing, advertising on borough	33	9	3
Printing, advertising on sanitary	12	7	3
Receipt stamps, postage stamps and cheque stamps	6	0	0
Town hall gas	30	0	0
Repairs, clocks, coal etc.	20	0	0
Caretaker	10	0	0
Total	1715	1	5

Figure 5.15 Corporation expenditure, 1897-8, this excludes the markets and fair green, *Kilkenny Moderator*, 9 Feb. 1898.

Salaries	£	S	D
Executive sanitary officer	50	0	0
Public analyst	5	0	0
Consulting sanitary officer	20	0	0
Borough inspector and sanitary sub officer	108	0	0
Sanitary sub officer and lodging house inspector	58	0	0
Keeping pumps in repair	20	0	0
Mayor	100	0	0
Borough treasurer	128	18	11
Town clerk	110	0	0
For return of petty sessions fines	10	0	0
Borough auditors	3	6	8
Borough assessors	4	4	0
Salaries before deductions	617	9	7
Deduct portion of salaries paid by the local government board	73	15	0
Total Salaries	543	14	7

Figure 5.16 Corporation expenditure, 1897-8. This excludes the markets and fair green, *Kilkenny Moderator*, 9 Feb. 1898.

Miscellaneous payments	£	S	D
Rents	131	5	9
Matthews bond interest on old loan for the tholsel	44	12	4
Quit and Crown rent	338	12	0
Total	514	10	1

Figure 5.17 Corporation expenditure, 1897-8. This excludes the markets and fair green, *Kilkenny Moderator*, 9 Feb. 1898.

Labour costs and wages in the corporation were very high which contributed heavily to the debt. The salaries of the corporation members and officials in 1896-7 came to £543 14*s*. 7*d*. More money was spent on salaries in this year than on sanitation. The mayor's salary of £100 had been reduced from £200 the previous year and the borough treasurers from £220 to £128.[65] Where the city grand jury repaired roads by contract the corporation maintained a full-time staff and their costs for road maintenance were significantly higher. The corporation in 1896-7 paid approximately £1 13*s*. 7*d*. per perch to maintain the roads within the town walls whereas the city grand jury contracted repairs outside the town walls for 5*s*. to 10*s*. only, per perch.

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[65] *Kilkenny People*, 23 Jan. 1897.

	£	S	D
Cost on maintaining roads and streets 1896-7 by the corporation	£817	0	0
Cost paid by the corporation per perch	£1	13	7
City grand jury, contractors rates per perch			
Mr Teehan, Upper John Street	0	10	0
James Walsh, Upper Walkin Street		2	5.5
John Lacey from Green's Bridge to the Military Barracks	0	5	0
If contracted at 10*s*. per perch it would have cost £243 as opposed to the actual cost of £817.			

Figure 5.18 Expenditure on street maintenance by the city grand jury and the corporation, *Kilkenny People*, 6 Mar. 1897.

Money was also wasted in other ways; a private bill to bring electric light to the city was obtained and not acted on. This wasted at least £500. This was the financial position of Kilkenny corporation prior to the Local Government Act of 1898. This act took effect in 1899 and its local impact is now examined along with the income and expenditure of the reformed corporation between 1899 and 1909.

The 1898 Local Government Act and corporation reform

Local government reform eventually came about with the passing of the Local Government Act of 1898. It came into effect in 1899 and significantly changed governance on a local level. It was based on a system that had been introduced in England in 1888 and created 'an ordered and systematic set of local authorities in Ireland'.[66] Grand juries were to revert to their original judicial function with the majority of their functions being taken over by the newly elected county councils.[67] Poor law guardians were retained but their membership was altered, they also were to return to something akin to their original functions.[68]

Arguably, the most significant impact on the corporations was the extension of the municipal franchise. Anyone who was a householder or a lodger in a house was now entitled to vote. This resulted in the local government franchise being the same as that for parliamentary elections.[69] The franchise was also extended to women at least for local elections as long as

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[66] Brendan O'Donoghue, 'From grand juries to county councils: the effects of the Local Government (Ireland) Act 1898' in Felix M. Larkin (ed.), *Librarians poets and scholars; a Festschrift for Dónal Ó Luanaigh* (Dublin, 2007), p. 184.
[67] Potter, *The municipal revolution in Ireland*, p. 197.
[68] O'Donoghue, 'From grand juries to county councils', p. 184.
[69] Potter, *The municipal revolution in Ireland*, p. 199.

they met the relevant stipulations.[70] This greatly expanded the electorate in Kilkenny. Women and peers were now enfranchised for local government purposes. Women could now also stand for election at a local level albeit only for urban and rural district councils. There were approximately 300 registered voters in Kilkenny in 1898; the local government elections in January 1899 saw this number rise to 2,230.[71]

The various local rates were amalgamated into one rate, collected by the urban district council in the case of Kilkenny city, with the relevant proportion passed onto the county council where they took over the responsibilities of the board of guardians' and to the board of guardians' for the few responsibilities that they retained.[72] All the functions of the grand jury within the city now passed to the corporation that now sat as the urban district council. It also had the power, finally, to levy rates for the upkeep of roads and associated infrastructure.[73]

Kilkenny city also ceased to be an administrative county in its own right and was thus no longer 'the county of the city of Kilkenny'.[74] Six cities; Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Derry, Limerick and Waterford, retained this particular feature and became county boroughs.[75] Kilkenny and Drogheda were retained as boroughs and had borough councils, yet another name for their respective corporations, while Galway and Carrickfergus were classified as towns.[76]

The local impact of reform

The reality at a local level was that the composition and organisation of the corporation did not change much. The same officials were still in power, namely the mayor, the town clerk and the borough treasurer and a series of committees still organised and ran the business of the corporation. The corporation still consisted of six aldermen and eighteen councillors, one of whom was elected as mayor.[77] What did change is that only twelve of the previous members were re-elected to the new corporation.[78]

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[70] O'Donoghue, 'From grand juries to county councils', p. 187.

[71] *Kilkenny Moderator*, 18 Jan. 1899.

[72] Crossman, *Local government in nineteenth-century Ireland*, p. 93; Potter, *The municipal revolution in Ireland*, p. 198.

[73] Crossman, *Local government in nineteenth-century Ireland*, p. 94; Potter, *The municipal revolution in Ireland*, p. 197.

[74] Potter, *The municipal revolution in Ireland*, p. 198.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid.

[77] *Kilkenny Moderator*, 18 Jan. 1899.

[78] Ibid. The list of elected members here is compared with that of the previous year drawn from the attendance at various meetings reported on in the *Kilkenny People* and *Kilkenny Moderator*.

Whereas pre-reform there were five committees running the business of the corporation, there were now four. These were the fair green committee, the market committee, the finance, leasing and building committee and the lighting and cleansing committee.[79] Six members were appointed to each with the town clerk serving as secretary to each.[80] Three members of each were needed for a meeting to go ahead and only the members of each particular committee could sign cheques for its expenses. This procedure is not at all dissimilar to that of the corporation pre-   reform and the same issues would arise of low attendance and political inertia. This can be seen in chapter six where there is a distinct lack of any impetus to construct the waterworks on behalf of the newly elected corporation.

Kilkenny corporation income and expenditure, 1899 to 1909

Post-reform the income of Kilkenny corporation changed drastically. Figures 5.19a to 5.19b show its income and expenditure. It needs to be borne in mind that the majority of the poor rate was passed on to the county council this is shown under expenditure.

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[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.

	Balance in hand £	Borough rate £	Poor rate £	From imperial taxes £	Local taxation account £	From local tax £	From markets £
1899/1900	0	0	3992	90	0	1000	1187
1901-2	0	1619	2429	0	151	1000	898
1902-3	0	1837	1428	0	147	1000	999
1903-4	0	2506	3003	0	146	750	978
1904-5	0	1770	2644	0	149	500	986
1905-6	0	1620	2433	0	146	400	982
1906-7	0	2034	2486	0	127	1200	934
1907-8	0	1722	2501	0	151	800	926
1908-9	0	2889	3002	0	124	800	949

This figure is compiled from the annual reports of local government taxation, 1899-1909; a full list is in the bibliography.

Figure 5.19a Income of Kilkenny corporation, 1899-1909.

Rents and profits from lands and houses	Money borrowed	Dog licence duty	Other receipts	Total receipts	Balance against	Total
2995	2880	0	404	12548	4660	17208
2718	1950	0	344	11109	3946	15055
2489	4900	0	406	13264	340	13604
2766	10100	0	2140	22389	2147	24536
2497	7010	0	919	16475	1885	18360
2727	1800	0	896	11004	3878	14882
2454	350	37	1079	10701	4832	15533
2823	708	0	0	83	35	0
2562	923	0	0	40	27	

This figure is compiled from the annual reports of local government taxation 1899-1909; a full list is in the bibliography.

Figure 5.19b Income of Kilkenny corporation, 1899-1909.

Despite increased revenue the corporation was still in debt in the early years of the twentieth century. This is partly due to the inherited debt and the fact that it was obliged by order of the local government board in 1902 to borrow £20,000 to construct a waterworks scheme.[81] This is shown under money borrowed between 1902-5. This is discussed in more detail in the following chapter. The borough rate was a significant addition to the corporation finances but this was slightly offset by reduced income from the markets and the fair green, which had dropped below £1,000 per annum. Rents were still a critical part of its income and these had increased throughout the study period. This is partly due to the construction of 140 artisans'

[81] *Kilkenny People*, 5 Jan. 1901, 11 Jan. 1902

dwellings by 1910 and also due to leases being set at more favourable terms.[82] By 1919 the corporation had constructed 187 artisans' dwellings and by the early years of the Irish Free State it was receiving approximately £1,784 in rents from these alone exclusive of its other property.[83]

	Balance against at start of year	Improvement by building or demolition	Paving and repairs of streets	Cleansing and watering	Lighting	Water Supply	Making sewers or drains
1899/1900	5672	2635	1387	420	358	520	30
1901/1902	4792	1648	767	1028	394	1142	14
1902/1903	4593	435	1214	579	410	151	7
1903/1904	239	297	1634	512	472	14544	0
1904/1905	2147	250	1739	495	458	7364	0
1905/1906	3231	224	1859	408	402	1996	0
1906/1907	3878	137	1699	386	431	584	0
1907/1908	5175	94	1656	452	518	322	0
1908/1909	5916	108	1913	331	505	289	0

This figure is compiled from the annual reports of local government taxation, 1899-1909; a full list is in the bibliography.

Figure 5.20a Expenditure of Kilkenny corporation, 1899-1909.

Any other sanitary object	Money supplied to county councils	Educational expenses	Payments in respect of borrowed money	Other expenses	Total expenditure	Balance in favour	Total
270	2896	0	346	2674	11536	0	17208
0	1779	41	536	2914	10263	0	15055
257	2375	233	819	2531	9011	0	13604
234	2374	83	1088	3059	24297	0	24536
280	1413	174	2157	1883	16213	0	18360
249	1988	115	2497	1913	11651	0	14882
279	3174	117	2681	2167	11655	0	15533
303	3056	117	1853	2767	11138	0	16313
584	2680	94	1878	2916	11298	0	17214

This figure is compiled from the annual reports of local government taxation, 1899-1909; a full list is in the bibliography.

Figure 5.20b Expenditure of Kilkenny corporation, 1899-1909.

Between 1899 and 1909 the corporation expended very little on improvements to the city with the exception of the waterworks scheme. Costs for sanitation and cleansing and watering were still very low. Loan repayments and the costs associated with repairing the streets were the highest expenses. Lighting, cleansing and watering and construction of sewers and drains were

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[82] *Kilkenny* People, 19 Mar. 1910; CR O2, pp 10-43.
[83] Department of Local Government and Public Health, *Annual Report*, 1927-8, p. 173.

all relatively small. The sanitation of the city and the state of the streets and the failure of the corporation to act to improve this forms the focus of chapter six.

Conclusion

There were three elements to local government in Kilkenny city between 1861 and 1922. The most significant and longest-serving of these was the corporation. It had the largest income and the greatest potential to act as an agency of change and to improve the city. With the exception of the Kilkenny Markets Act of 1861 it failed in this regard until it was forced to construct a waterworks scheme between 1902 and 1905. Prior to corporation reform in 1898 it had two significant income strands, rentals and the money received at the market and fair green. It failed to build on these despite having the ability to do so through levying a sanitary rate or municipalising the gas company, for example. By 1880 the corporation's debt was rising as a result of overly generous salaries and expenses such as maintaining a full-time staff for repairing the streets instead of contracting for this work. By the time of corporation reform in 1898-9 this debt had exceeded £5,000.

Regarding the political decisions made during the study period it is difficult to determine precisely why the corporation managed, or as shown in this chapter and chapter six, mismanaged, the city in the way that they did. Part at least of the reason was political inexperience combined with the increasing roles and responsibilities placed on its members by the sweeping legislative changes in the latter half of the nineteenth century and corporation reform in 1898 as outlined above. The corporation simply failed to act. Post-corporation reform in 1898 the newly elected body would blame political cliques and deals made between two and three individuals on behalf of the corporation for the mismanagement of the city and the debt incurred as well as simple inaction due to a lack of time afforded to corporation business.[84] Kilkenny's medieval form played a large part in its nineteenth-and twentieth-century problems. These included inadequate sanitation and poor urban housing in the lanes along the lines of the medieval burgage plots and on the fringes of the city as discussed in the next chapter.

Corporation reform also re-structured local government and removed responsibilities from the city grand jury and the board of guardians' and passed these on to the corporation. This significantly changed its financial outlook but did not greatly affect its internal structure or organisation. Its finances slowly started to improve due to the borough rate and after 1905 a water rate. Rising sums from rentals also helped in this regard.

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[84] *Kilkenny People*, 28 Jan. 1899.

Chapter six
Cleansing and improving urban space: Kilkenny city, 1861-1922

Adequate sanitation is essential to the health of a city and its citizens. This chapter discusses the sanitary state of Kilkenny city from 1861 to 1922. A developing concern over sanitation within the British Isles throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century saw public health and its management become a matter of increasing importance. This can be seen in the numerous pieces of legislation enacted to improve the sanitary state of towns and cities.

The 1830s saw numerous outbreaks of cholera in Ireland, including Kilkenny, and there were serious concerns raised about public health, overcrowding and sanitation in the city. This culminated in the publication of a report by Robert Cane with an appendix concerning the sanitary conditions of the city; this was used in chapter four in a discussion of living conditions in Kilkenny in the 1830s.[1] There are similar descriptions of the overcrowding and sanitary conditions prevalent in Drogheda during this cholera outbreak.[2]

Chapter four discussed the crowded nature of Kilkenny's lanes and suburbs and showed how they were densely packed with a high population.[3] The growth of Kilkenny's suburbs, discussed in chapter four, and the impact of the burgage cycle demonstrated in chapter one also play a role in the sanitary conditions of parts of the city in the latter half of the nineteenth century. How the medieval and early modern form of the city affected living conditions and sanitation in the study period is shown through a review of the earliest surviving minute book of the urban sanitary authority. It is demonstrated that the corporation were aware of the sanitary state of the city yet did not do much to change this despite having the financial means to do so, as shown in chapter five. The sums of money that the corporation spent on sanitation for the latter half of the nineteenth century were a fraction of those spent on the wages of three or four of the staff of the corporation, Appendix 5.

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[1] Robert Cane, *Some practical remarks on cholera: with an appendix containing sanatory remarks for Kilkenny* (Kilkenny, 1849).
[2] *Poor inquiry (Ireland) Appendix (C) parts I and II, reports on the state of the poor, and on the charitable institutions in some of the principal towns; with supplement containing answers to queries*, H.C. 1836 [35], xxx, 221, pp 81-4.
[3] Michel Pauly and Martin Scheutz, 'Space and history as exemplified by urban history research' in Michel Pauly and Martin Scheutz (eds), *Cities and their spaces* (Koln, Weimar and Wien, 2014), p. 17.

This chapter begins by examining the inherited sanitary infrastructure and regulations in place prior to the passing of the Public Health (Ireland) Acts of 1866, 1874 and 1878. An examination is made, by means of a case study, of several streets in the city after the passing of the acts and a description of the water quality is given from 1875-6.

All the evidence as judged by contemporary standards indicates that Kilkenny was a very unsanitary place throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This state of affairs was not peculiar to Kilkenny; this was a common feature of city life. Deborah Brunton for example comments that 'In the nineteenth century dirt was a constant feature of urban life.'[4] This can be seen in the high levels of diphtheria in Kilkenny city in the last decade of the nineteenth century that resulted in numerous deaths. This culminated in a bank official instigating an inquiry by the local government board into sanitary conditions in the city.[5] The results of this inquiry were that the local government board forced the corporation to adopt a provisional order in 1902 to construct waterworks. The corporation had previously refused to construct a waterworks scheme under an earlier order of 1895 despite having been granted the money and the legal means to do so.

The reluctance of the corporation to spend significant sums on these works and the consequences of this are also presented. This lack of interest on behalf of the corporation was discussed in chapter five where it was argued that they lacked the will or foresight to carry out improvements to the city partly due to electioneering considerations. This is explored more in this chapter in relation to the waterworks scheme and the failure to construct a main drainage scheme. The sanitary state of the city between 1905 and 1922 is then looked at through the annual returns to the local government board and the few remaining local sources.

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[4] Deborah Brunton, 'Regulating filth: cleansing in Scottish towns and cities, 1840-1880', in *Urban History*, xlii, no. 3 (2015), p. 425.
[5] *Kilkenny People*, 6 Oct. 1900.

Sanitation and street cleaning prior to 1876

Prior to the municipal reforms of the early 1840s it was the practice of Kilkenny corporation to let out the process of scavenging (street cleaning). For example, 'Then the scavengership of Coalmarket from the widow Ryan's house at Watergate to the house of Comerford near the Shambles was set to Mr Benjamin Alcock Junior (he being the best bidder for same) for one year commencing the 29th day of September instant for the sum of £3 8*s*. 3*d*. sterling.'[6] There are numerous references to this in the early corporation minute books. Essentially it was the purchase of the right to collect the manure and sell it, thus generating a small annual income stream for the corporation. This was a practice common to many other Irish towns and cities. In Drogheda, for instance, scavenging was done by a yearly contract with a cost in 1877 of £297.[7] There are also examples from Scotland; in relation to a study on Scottish towns Deborah Brunton states that 'large staffs of scavengers remained the mainstay of urban cleaning throughout the nineteenth century.'[8]

By 1846, after municipal reform, the newly reformed corporation was absorbing the cost of street cleaning itself and generally employed six men to sweep the streets. The streets were scraped clean and the flagged pathways swept. The manure resulting from this was sold.[9] The streets were cleaned seven days a week with the avenues leading to all the churches swept on Saturday nights and on Sunday mornings to clear obstructions for those attending mass and services, for which extra men were hired.[10] It was deemed 'a necessary evil' to employ men on a Sunday morning rather than to have the avenues leading to the churches obstructed with rubbish.[11] The cost of cleaning the streets to the corporation in 1846 was £182 with £75 being raised from the sale of manure.[12]

Evidence presented at an inquiry in 1876 stated that a main sewer was constructed in 1846 and served the central axis of the city namely the Parade and High Street.[13] While there is no direct evidence on the construction of this main sewer in 1846, either in the corporation minute books or the newspapers of the time there are numerous references to it. There is a distinction made, in the newspapers at least, between 'sewer' and 'main sewer'. The inference being that the

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[6] Typescript of evidence relating to markets tolls and customs, 1775 to 1826 (KCA, CR, M1, part 1, p. 16); Kilkenny corporation minute book no. 8, 25 Sept. 1813 (KCA, CR, D8, p. 322), references like these are common in the early minute books of the corporation.
[7] *Local government and taxation of towns inquiry commission (Ireland), part III, report and evidence with appendices*, H.C. 1877 [C. 1787], xl, 225, p. 336.
[8] Brunton, 'Regulating filth', p. 428.
[9] *Kilkenny Journal*, 7 Feb. 1846.
[10] *Kilkenny Journal*, 11 Apr. 1846.
[11] *Kilkenny Journal*, 9 May 1846.
[12] *Kilkenny Journal*, 4 Nov. 1846.
[13] *Kilkenny Journal*, 1 Nov. 1846.

main sewer either pre-dates 1846, or that the large number of sewers constructed in this year, formed a second phase of sanitary development. Either way there was a main sewer along High Street and Patrick Street.

Street	Length	Notes
Michael's Lane to main sewer in John Street	120 yards	
Rose Hill	Not specified	
St Patrick's chapel to the boundary at Loughboy	133 perches	Paved channel
Poyntz's Lane to the main sewer at High Street	Not specified	Not to exceed £30
Butt's Green to the Black Mill stream	Not specified	Not to exceed £30
Coote's Lane to the Quarry on the Kells Road	Not specified	Not to exceed £5
George Reade's gate to the main sewer at Jame's Gate	Not specified	Not to exceed £30
The Cool by Jacob's Lane to man sewer at Patrick Street	Not specified	Not to exceed £20
Angel's Well to Friar's Gate	Not specified	Not to exceed £20
John Hickey's house to the main sewer at Jame's Green	Not specified	Not to exceed £20
David Murphy's house at Patrick Street to the pump at Miss Purcell's	466 feet	£45 12*s.* 9*d.*
From the pump at the Light-house to the old road at the Brega[gh]	478 feet	£47 6*s.*
Flood Street to Walkin Street	660 feet	£66
Lander's Corner to the Parade	588 feet	£175
From the slip in King Street to Rose Inn Street	966 feet	£96 12*s.*
Chapel Lane	Not specified	£48
From the pump in Vicar Street to Mr Connery's corner	416 feet	£41 12*s.*
From pump at Troy's Gate to main sewer at Green Street	405 feet	£40 10*s.*
Butt's Cross	Not specified	£6
From Rev. John Gorman's door to the sewer opposite Butt's Chapel	Not specified	£15 2*s.* 6*d.*

Figure 6.1 Sewers constructed in 1846 with associated costs: *Kilkenny Journal*, 1 Nov. 1846.

The first ten entries were funded via presentment sessions and the last ten via an application to the Board of Works.[14] This ceased to be the case after the acts of 1866 and 1874 when sanitary expenditure came out of borough funds with the urban sanitary authority now being funded by its parent body, the corporation. 1846 also saw the corporation prepare a code of by-laws for

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[14] *Kilkenny Journal*, 6 Apr. 1846; *Kilkenny Journal*, 15 July 1846.

the borough, concerning street cleansing, sewers, nuisances, rules for the constables and the regulation of the council among others.[15]

These by-laws appear to have been the structure by which the corporation concerned itself with sanitation until the passing of the Public Health (Ireland) Acts. It formed a sanitation committee drawn from its own members to oversee the implementation of these by-laws. As the work of the urban sanitary authority deals extensively with the reports of 'nuisances' what was deemed a nuisance in 1846 is tabulated in brief below.

Nuisances as per by laws of 1846
Blocking streets and passages
Riding or driving a horse in a furious or improper manner
Driving a cart or wagon without someone leading the reins
Showing or exposing a stallion in an unauthorised place
Overloading wagons or carts
Keeping building material on the street
Sifting building material on the street
Sifting or screening building material without permission
Not defending or enclosing building material within a rail
Casting or leaving dung, dirt or other noisome matter on the streets except where specified by the mayor
Suffering offal, blood, manure and animal by products to flow from a yard onto the streets
Casting filthy matter on the streets
Carrying or conveying filthy matter between the hours of 8am and 9pm
Gathering material of an offensive nature as to cause disagreeable or noxious smells
Throwing offensive matter into the streets from a window
Playing games in the streets in a manner causing annoyance or obstruction
Making bonfires or letting off squibs or fireworks

Figure 6.2 Summarised list of nuisances as per Kilkenny corporation by-laws of 1846: *Kilkenny Journal*, 14 Feb. 1846.

Somewhat pre-empting the official appointment of inspectors of health and medical officers, the corporation also appointed an 'inspecting bailiff of streets and lamps' in 1849. He was 'accountable for the proper cleansing of the streets and sewers and caring of the sewers and all matters that he be called on by the mayor to do'.[16]

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[15] *Kilkenny Journal*, 14 Feb. 1846.
[16] Typescript of evidence relating to markets tolls and customs (KCA, CR, M1, part 3, p. 13); Kilkenny corporation minute book no. 10, 1843 to 1851, 12 July 1849 (KCA, CR, D10, p. 592).

'A new state of things in Ireland'

Numerous pieces of legislation were enacted in the United Kingdom throughout the nineteenth century with the aim of adequately governing the sanitary functions of towns and cities. The Sanitary Act of 1866 was heralded at the time as beginning 'a new state of things in Ireland'.[17] For the first time 'It placed every part of the country under some single and known authority'.[18] Sanitary authorities created under the act of 1866 vested power in the corporation of a town or city where one already existed. In towns or townships the responsibility fell to the town, township, lighting and cleansing or municipal commissioners. The local board of guardians' managed any areas that did not already fall under a sewer or nuisance removal authority and retained responsibility for dealing with disease. Therefore, for Kilkenny, the corporation became the de-facto sanitary authority.[19] A further effect of all this legislation was that 'a legal framework for prosecution was finally created'.[20] At a local level this meant that the corporation could now first issue a notice to abate a nuisance but then had recourse to a legal summons to enforce it if it was not dealt with.

The sanitary act of 1866 saw a fundamental shift in how sanitation was managed by local authorities in both Ireland and England.[21] Prior to the passing of this act there were two separate sanitary authorities in Ireland.[22] The first operated under the auspices of the Local Boards of Health Act and the Officers of Health Act. The second under the Nuisances Removal and Disease Prevention Acts.[23] In his *Manual of public health*, Thomas Grimshaw quotes evidence taken before the sanitary commission of 1869, that 'these acts were almost inoperative'.[24]

This is backed up by evidence taken from the chief commissioner of the poor laws before the second report of the Royal Sanitary Commission of 1871, which also states that 'the older acts were almost inoperative'.[25] The evidence of Power before this commission further shows how disorganised public health and sanitation was prior to the act of 1866. The responsibilities afforded by the earlier acts were partly held by the poor law commissioners and partly by the grand jury and the local authority. There was in essence no central oversight on a local level

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[17] *Second report of the royal sanitary commission, Vol. II, arrangement of sanitary statutes, analysis of evidence, precis of oral evidence, paper on watershed boards, and memorandum on duties of medical officers of public health*, H.C. 1871 [C. 281-I] [C. 281-II], xxxv, 185, 555, p. 331.
[18] *Second report of the royal sanitary commissioners*, H.C. 1871, p. 332.
[19] Thomas W. Grimshaw, *Manual of public health for Ireland* (Dublin, 1875), pp 1-8.
[20] Bill Luckin, 'Pollution in the city' in Martin Daunton (ed.), *The Cambridge urban history of Britain*, iii (Cambridge, 2000), p. 210.
[21] The Sanitary Act 1866 (29th and 30th Vict. c.90).
[22] Grimshaw, *Manual of public health*, p. 1.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.
[25] *Second report of the royal sanitary commission,* H.C. 1871, p. 331.

over sanitation, nuisance removal and the quality of labourers' and artisans' dwellings.[26] The provision of inspectors was designed to change this.

This situation continued until July 1874 when the Public Health (Ireland) Bill was published in parliament.[27] This was a crucial moment in the development of urban sanitary authorities and for public health in general. One of the more significant changes in this act was the creation of sanitary districts. In Kilkenny these were simply referred to as 'district one' and 'district two' and were identical to those created under the sewer and nuisance districts from the earlier act.[28] Sanitary districts were created in towns only where the population exceeded 6000; a clause which reduced the number of sanitary districts from 111 to forty-two in 1866.[29]

Prior to 1874, and as will be demonstrated, Kilkenny corporation passed a series of by-laws for street cleaning and management of sewers and nuisances. The sanitary authorities established under the act of 1878 now had responsibility under the Sewage Utilisation Act(s), Nuisance Removal Act(s), Labourers and Artisans Dwellings Act(s) as well as the Bake House Regulation Act, Bath House and Lodgings Act(s) and Labouring Classes Lodging House Act(s). The board of guardians' was still the authority under the disease prevention act. Finances were to be provided from the borough fund.[30] This is also a direct contrast to the situation prior to the passing of the acts of 1866 and 1874 when funds were raised by presentment or via grants from the Board of Public Works.

The fortuitous survival of several minute books of the urban sanitary authority allow for an in-depth analysis of the workings of the urban sanitary authority in Kilkenny city in 1875-6. To begin with, a committee governed Kilkenny's urban sanitation.[31] This committee was drawn from members of the corporation. It also had a medical officer, a medical sub-officer, a sanitary officer and two sanitary sub-officers. The sanitary sub-officers were responsible for visiting houses, premises and slaughterhouses. There was also a separate common lodging house inspector.[32] Inspections could be made in response to a complaint about a nuisance. Alternatively, parts of, or in some cases entire streets and lanes were inspected. For example, regarding the inspection of eighty-nine houses on the Kells road in January 1876, 'all these

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[26] *Second report of the royal sanitary commissioners*, H.C. 1871, pp 331-3.
[27] Grimshaw, *Manual of public health,* p. 1; *Public health (Ireland) a bill to amend the law relating to public health in Ireland*, H.C. 1874 (210), iv, 309.
[28] Urban sanitary authority minute books, 1875-6 (KCA, CR, E1, June 1875 to Dec. 1876); Grimshaw, *Manual of public health*, p. 3.
[29] Grimshaw, *Manual of public health,* p. 3.
[30] Ibid., p. 6.
[31] *Local government and taxation of towns inquiry commission (Ireland), Part 1*, H.C. 1877, p. 201.
[32] KCA, CR, E1, pp 1-12, also see entries of 13 Apr. 1876 and 20 Apr. 1876.

houses were inspected for the second time and found to be much improved in cleanliness.'[33] An instance of the reporting of a nuisance comes from High Street; 'a letter was received from Mrs Margaret Coyne of High Street complaining of Mr John Loughrea keeping pigs in a yard under the window of her house.'[34]

It is the role of the inspectors and their constant reports of nuisances that form the basis of much of the evidence that follows. Inspectors essentially acted as the representative between local government and the residents of a town or city acting under laws passed in parliament. Inspections were essentially intrusive and show interactions between a public servant and the private space of individuals. It has been argued that 'Inspection is widely recognised as a defining feature of the modern British state.'[35] The sanitary inspectors in Kilkenny were directly engaged with the population on an almost daily basis. They were employed by the corporation, and represented a very small electorate. It is noticeable in the evidence of the minute books (figure 6.3), that the number of inspections in the higher-value areas of the city were a fraction of those in the lower-value areas of the city. Whether this was done with the purpose of not intruding on the rate-payers, who were the electorate, or whether the inspections needed to focus on the poorer areas of the city remains to be seen.[36] The legislation concerning sanitation allowed inspectors to issue a 'notice' on finding a nuisance or health hazard. This notice generally gave a time frame to remedy the situation. If this was not done they could issue a summons, legally binding the individual to a court appearance to enforce the notice.[37]

The urban sanitary authority, 1875 to 1876: topographical analysis

A topographical analysis of the occurrence of the street names from the earliest of the minute books of the urban sanitary authority is presented in figure 6.3. This shows where the work of the inspectors was concentrated and where it seems that contemporaries deemed that inspections were necessary. Each mention of a street or lane is tabulated. A simple statistical analysis then shows that there are 97 individual streets or lanes mentioned for a total of 392 topographical references. There were a total of 4,542 individual inspections in this year.[38]

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[33] KCA, CR, E1, 6 Jan. 1876.
[34] KCA, CR, E1, 26 Aug. 1875.
[35] Tom Crook, 'Sanitary inspection and the public sphere in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain: a case study in liberal governance' in *Social History*, xxxii, no. 4 (Nov. 2007), p. 369.
[36] Ibid., pp 370-2.
[37] Ibid., pp 376-7; KCA, CR, E1, 3 June 1875, 8 July 1875 for local examples of a notice being issued then a summons.
[38] The total number of inspections was arrived at by tabulating all the entries in the urban sanitary authority minute book, KCA, CR, E1.

Street name		Street name		Street name	
Angel's Well	1	High Street	8	Newpark	1
Archer Street	4	Horse Barrack Lane	8	New Street	4
Barrack Street	3	Horse Barrack Street	1	Ormonde Asylum	1
Barrack Street Lower	1	Hospital Road	3	Parade	1
Beggars Lane	2	Irishtown	4	Parliament Street	11
Bishop's Hill	1	Jacob Street	12	Patrick Street	11
Black Abbey	1	Jacob's Lane	2	Patrick Street Upper	9
Black Mill Street	10	Jame's Green	6	Pennefeather Lane	5
Bull Alley	5	Jame's Street Sconce	1	Poyntz Lane	10
Butt's	1	Jame's Street	1	Railway Arches	1
Butt's Green	3	Jenkins's Lane	1	Red Lane	1
Caigner's Lane	1	John Street	31	Rose Inn Street	7
Carr's Lane	4	John's Bridge	5	Shearman's Lane	2
Chapel Lane	4	John's Green	3	Shortall's Lane	2
City Court House	1	Kell's Road	1	Stephen Street	2
Collier's Lane	3	Kelly's Lane	3	The Butt's	1
Convent	1	Kenny's Well	6	The Ring	1
Cross Lane	1	Kenny's Well Street	1	Thomas Street	7
Dean Street	1	Kilkieran	1	Upper John Street	2
Deane Street	2	King Street	15	Upper Walkin Street	5
Evan's Lane	3	Lacken Hall	2	Velvet Lane	6
Flood Street	6	Lacken well	1	Vicar Street	2
Freshford Road	1	Larch Hill	1	Walkin Street	15
Friar's Bridge	3	Leahy's Lane	2	Walkin Street Sconce	5
Garden Row	5	Lee's Lane	13	Walkins Lough	1
Gas Works	1	Leggetsrath	1	Waterbarracks	3
Gas House	1	Little bridge John Street	1	Watergate	2
Gas House Lane	1	Loreto Convent	1	Watergate Street	2
Goose Hill	30	Mary's Lane	1	Wellington Square	1
Green Street	6	Maudlin Street	11		
Greensbridge	2	Michael's Lane	3		
Greenshill	6	Mr Meehan's pump	1		
Guard Lane	2	New Building Lane	1		
Hebron Road	2			**97**	**392**

Figure 6.3 Number of times each place-name is referenced in the urban sanitary authority minute book, 1875-6, KCA, CR, E1, ninety-seven individual street names are referred to 392 times.

The topographical analysis refers to ninety-seven distinct street names with a total of 392 separate references in the period from June 1875 to December 1876.[39] Relating to the total of 4,542 individual inspections, it is not possible to determine where each inspection took place as the inspectors generally stated the overall number each week and rarely the number of inspections in a specific location. Not every street and lane in the city is mentioned. Streets and lanes where the attention of the authorities was drawn to unsanitary conditions or where they felt their presence was required are the only places noted. The single largest concentration of entries concerns John Street and is mostly concerned with the construction of a new sewer through the college grounds. Goose Hill has the second largest number of entries that concern a variety of different topics. There are also stark differences between the entries for the main streets of the city, namely the Parade, High Street and Parliament Street and the lanes and suburbs.

The burgage cycle also plays a part in the sanitation of the city between *circa* 1200 and 1922. The buildings at the front of the burgage plots were always more important than those that developed along the lanes and side streets. They were the homes and workshops of the city elite in the medieval and early modern period. In morphological terms by the latter half of the nineteenth century these houses along the central streets still occupied some of the largest plots in the city. They had a higher valuation and served as the shops, dwellings, banks and offices etc. that allowed the city to function. The information from High Street, King Street, Lower and Upper Patrick Street reflects this to a certain extent and is examined first, this is followed by Goose Hill and Poyntz Lane, the former is an extramural suburb and the latter lies along the line of one of the original burgage plots. The location of these streets and the number of entries relating to each in the earliest of the minute books of the urban sanitary authority is below as figure 6.4.

Goose Hill developed extramurally at roughly the same time as the suburbs of Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill, discussed in chapter four, where the housing was shown to be densely crowded and of poor quality. The evidence concerning Goose Hill in the urban sanitary authority minute books indicates that housing density and quality was similar. The impact of the burgage cycle on Poyntz Lane was that the individual plots, and subsequently the houses, were small, of low value, densely populated and tightly packed together. The crowded nature of the lanes where houses developed across the confined width and length of the plot, and in the suburbs had a knock-on effect in terms of their sanitary nature. Burgage plots were never

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[39] See figure 6.3, derived from urban sanitary authority minute book, KCA, CR, E1.

intended to be used as the location for multiple dwellings their construction shows the burgage cycle in action.
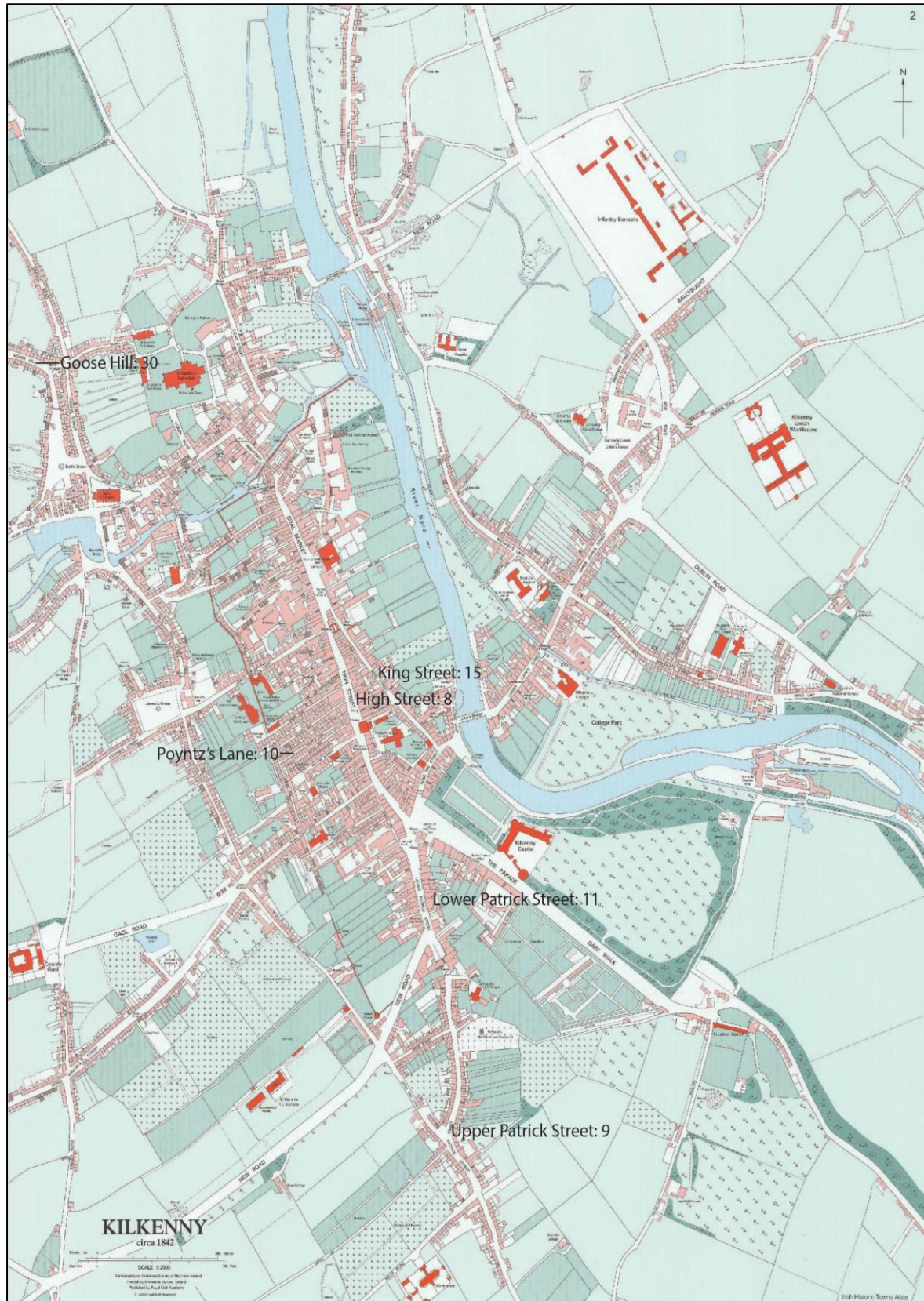
Figure 6.4 The location of the streets examined as part of an analysis of the earliest minute book of the urban sanitary authority, KCA, CR, E1 and the number of times each is referenced.

Sanitation in Kilkenny city, 1875-6

Most of the work of the urban sanitary authority and its inspectors was concerned with dealing with 'nuisances'. The corporation's definition of nuisance in 1846 is shown on figure 6.2. Tom Crook, when writing on inspections in Britain in the nineteenth century, defines a nuisance as dating 'from the Middle Ages and, as developed under common law, referred to a variety of offences which infringed upon civic amenity and decency; while these offences might be environmental, and as such a threat to public health, they might equally be social and civil.'[40] Of particular concern to the inspectors was the accumulation of sewage and the condition of the city sewers. This seeming preoccupation with manure is enshrined in the legislation and is also present in Victorian attitudes to the filth prevalent in urban environments.[41] The 1878 act outlines the range of concerns relating to public health and the breadth of powers vested in the urban sanitary authorities.[42]

Of the eight references to High Street five refer either to the abatement of nuisances or to the seeking of an order from a justice of the peace to remove a nuisance. The vast majority of references in the urban sanitary authority minute books referring to nuisances are of an environmental nature. Of the remaining three references to High Street, two refer to a complaint regarding the keeping of pigs in a yard with an inspection by a sanitary sub-officer declaring that there were no grounds for complaint as there was no offensive odour, ordering only that the shed be kept clean and whitewashed. The final reference is to bacon being condemned as unfit for consumption. There are no references to cleanliness, drains, sewers, water closets or manure on High Street.[43]

The fifteen references to King Street are similar in detail to those of High Street. There are references to nuisances in King Street in the form of both 'foul privies' and lack of sufficient drainage, indicating to contemporary observers, that sanitation had been an issue. The sole reference to a sewer is to a grate outside a house, which the occupier wanted moved. The remaining references to King Street concern the disinfecting, limewashing and fumigation of a house where there had been a recent outbreak of fever. There is no indication of the sanitary conditions in the house affected so it is not possible to state that cleanliness was a concern here.

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[40] Crook, 'Sanitary inspection and the public sphere', p. 373.
[41] David Inglis, 'Sewers and sensibilities: the Bourgeois faecal experience in the nineteenth-century city' in Alexander Cowan and Jill Steward (eds), *The city and the senses: urban culture since 1500* (Aldershot, 2007), pp 106-12; *Public health (Ireland) Bill*, H.C. 1878 (109), vi, 509, pp 511, 549-50, 568.
[42] *Public health (Ireland) Bill*, H.C. 1878 (109), vi, 509.
[43] KCA, CR, E1, 29 July 1875; 26 Aug. 1875; 2 Sept. 1875; 16 Sept. 1875; 24 Aug. 1876; 21 Sept. 1876; 23, 30 Nov. 1876.

Neither is there a reference to the type of fever; typhoid, diphtheria or dysentery for example, which would indicate whether the general condition of the house was a concern.[44]

Comparing the evidence from High Street and King Street it appears that sanitation and public health in the higher-value parts of the city did were not urgent issues at least in the eyes of the inspectors. There were a much smaller number of inspections made and there are no references to inspections of the entirety of either street, in contrast with evidence from lower-value parts of the city (figure 6.4 shows the location of King Street).

With regard to Patrick Street and Patrick Street Upper, there are twenty references in the urban sanitary authority minute books. Six of these refer to nuisances. Of particular interest is the mention of the construction of an underground sewer in order to abate a nuisance, the only time in the minute books such a matter is discussed. A notice had been served to the agent of the tenant of a house on Upper Patrick Street to construct an underground sewer in the yard of the house. When the agent failed to do so the urban sanitary authority sought to issue a summons against him if he did not comply with the notice. The inference that can be drawn from this is that raw sewage either was allowed to drain away naturally in the yard of the house or was deposited there pending periodic removal.[45] Percolation from manure and contamination of the water supply was a serious problem by 1900 and, as will be demonstrated, a major infrastructural project was ultimately deemed necessary to alleviate this problem. The underlying geology of the city is limestone and shale topped with glacial gravels deposited by the Nore and Breagagh. On top of these gravels there is generally a porous sandy layer of clay. These geological layers are quite loose offering little to no impediment to percolation of sewerage into the water table.[46]

There is one further reference in the newspapers to sewerage in the streets being examined for the first case study and refers to Patrick Street Upper being 'in a disgraceful state owing to the want of sewage'.[47]

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[44] KCA, CR, E1, 2, 9, Dec. 1875; 3 Feb. 1875; 2 Mar. 1875; 13, 20 Apr. 1875; 1 June 1875; 24, 31 Aug. 1875; 21, 28 Sept. 1875; 23 Nov. 1875; 14 Dec. 1876.
[45] KCA, CR, E1, 16 Dec. 1875; 13 Jan. 1876.
[46] KCA, CR, E1, 10 June 1875; 19 Aug. 1875; 30 Sept. 1875; 16 Dec. 1875; 13 Jan. 1876; 10 Feb. 1876; 20 Apr. 1876; 13 July 1876; 27 July 1876; 21 Sept. 1876; 1 Dec. 1876; 14 Dec. 1876, see also Cóilín Ó Drisceoil, John Bradley and Richard Jennings, *The Kilkenny archaeological project, report for the Irish national strategic archaeological research programme* (Kilkenny, 2008), p. 71 for a summary of the underlying geology of the city.
[47] *Kilkenny Moderator*, 16 Dec. 1876.

Evidence from a local government board inquiry in 1900 shows that there was a main sewer running along Patrick Street and High Street and that 'any householder could run a sewer into this'.[48] This main sewer was built in 1846 and follows a natural slope.[49] It emptied into the Nore by John's Bridge.[50] The contamination of the water supply as a result of raw sewerage entering the Nore became apparent when samples of water were sent for analysis (figures 6.5, and 6.6).

The remaining fifteen references to sanitation and public health from Patrick Street and Patrick Street Upper concern common lodging houses, public pumps, a piggery, repair of the main sewer and the disinfection, limewashing and fumigation of a house where there was a case of fever. Again, however, there is no further information given as to the type of fever or the general condition of the house so comments on its source are not possible. All that is known is that the person affected was removed to hospital.

Furthermore, the sanitary sub-officer inspected nineteen houses or premises and all were 'found to be clean'. Again, this is on a street in the central area of the city and indicates a generally acceptable level of cleanliness at least in the judgement of the inspectors. The piggery was also found to be clean and it was ordered that the manure be removed twice a week. It appears that this piggery was brought to the attention of the inspectors, although they could have been personally familiar with it.[51]

The issue of reporting nuisances to an inspector is one discussed by Crook who states that 'It was widely acknowledged that complaints emanating from the public were just as likely to be speculative, based on hearsay, or even the product of sinister motives, as they were to be accurate'.[52] This is to be expected if a public inspector was allowed to enter a private space. Complaints, anonymous or otherwise, were easy to make, and show how inspection could work both ways. The inspectors examined the public domain, but the public also examined each other and could use the mechanics of local government to suit themselves.

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[48] *Kilkenny People*, 6 Oct. 1900.
[49] *Kilkenny Journal*, 1 Nov. 1876.
[50] *Kilkenny Moderator*, 30 Jan. 1895; 2 Feb. 1895; *Kilkenny People*, 6 Oct. 1900.
[51] KCA, CR, E1, 30 Sept. 1875.
[52] Crook, 'Sanitary inspection and the public sphere', pp 389-90.

Evidence from the urban sanitary authority minute book for High Street, Patrick Street and King Street in the period 1875-6 shows that in general there were no major sanitary concerns recorded. It is this absence of evidence concerning sanitary matters that is of interest. Interpreting it to show that the central streets of the city were generally clean, healthy and well maintained would be incorrect. While the streets may indeed have been clean and well maintained, this evidence is in contrast with later reports, including three local government board inquiries, concerning water purity and outbreaks of diphtheria. Public health from the water supply was undoubtedly a concern.

Water quality is not mentioned with the exception of some concern over the flagging and paving of the area around the public pump on Patrick Street. Neither was there any significant expenditure on improving the sanitary infrastructure in the 1870s as shown in Appendix 4. Sewerage did not appear to be a major concern excepting the reference to the 'want of sewage' from Upper Patrick Street.

Goose Hill and Poyntz Lane

Having seen how the central streets of the city seemed in general to be quite clean there is an immediate contrast in the urban sanitary authority minute books for 1875-6 concerning the lanes and suburbs where it is 'Recommended that a pony or mule and small cart be purchased and kept by the Sanitary Authority for the removal of the manure from the lanes suburbs etc. of the city.'[53] The inference here is that there was a notable build-up of manure in the lanes and suburbs either from livestock or from the general populace (or both) and that potentially it was causing a health risk to the public. There further references to the removal of manure from the lanes and suburbs, from 26 August for example when for the previous week nine loads of manure were removed from the Railway Arches, Caigner's Lane, Kelly's Lane, Shortall's Lane and Michael's Lane.[54]

Goose Hill and Poyntz Lane account for 10.2 per cent of the topographic references in the urban sanitary authority minute books for the period from June 1875 to December 1876.[55] Considering that there are ninety-seven separate street names mentioned the fact that two of them account for such a high number warrants closer examination.

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[53] KCA, CR, E1, 3 June 1875.
[54] Ibid., 26 Aug. 1875.
[55] This figure was derived by dividing the total number of entries for the entire city by the total for the two streets chosen for the case studies of the lower-value areas.

Goose Hill lies on the fringes of the city with the end of the street bisected by the corporation boundary and was developed extramurally at a much later date than the centre of the city. Thus it never had the same amount of investment enjoyed by the High Street, Patrick Street axis. The extramural development of the suburbs of Kilkenny is discussed in chapter four. The earliest reference to Goose Hill is from 1695, almost 500 years after the centre of the city started to develop.[56] Evidence from Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill showed the temporary nature of tenancies and the fluidity of the population in Kilkenny's eighteenth-and nineteenth-century suburbs. The evidence for their contemporary suburb, Goose Hill, shows that it lacked sanitation and was densely crowded. Goose Hill also displays many of the same morphological characteristics. The plots were small, with limited space to the rear. It also developed in a linear fashion along a pre-existing road on the fringes of the city.

Of the thirty entries relating to Goose Hill half are in relation to nuisances. In some instances, there are multiple reports of nuisances in the same entry. Considering where it is possible to determine their nature, these were predominantly environmental; this indicates that levels of cleanliness were actually quite low. This lends credence to the supposition that the smaller amounts of physical space occupied here were in fact reflected in the social and economic standing of the population. These were also thatched houses with a low valuation indicative of poorer-quality housing as shown by the grey shading on the extract of the 1871 OS five-foot plan. There were considerably higher numbers of inspections made in this area contrasted with High Street, Patrick Street and King Street. For instance, 'Mr Redmond reported as follows: that he had inspected the locality of Goose Hill during the week.'[57] References to inspection of whole streets and lanes are all confined to lower-value parts of the city. The inspectors, and thus the corporation sitting as the urban sanitary authority, were acutely aware of the sanitary condition of this part of the city.

The number of nuisances is also considerably higher when the evidence is examined in greater detail. For example five houses were limewashed and manure removed from them in one week alone.[58] A further notice was served to abate nuisances on eight houses here in February 1876, from the same letting agent.[59] There are numerous further references to levelling cesspits, not allowing stagnant water to stand in a yard, and multiple notices to abate nuisances in this area.[60] This all goes to show that sanitary conditions here were considerably worse than in the areas of the city discussed earlier.

[56] John Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA no. 10 (Dublin, 2000), p. 11.
[57] KCA, CR, E1, 26 Aug. 1875.
[58] Ibid., 27 Oct. 1875.
[59] Ibid., 10 Feb. 1876.
[60] Ibid., 16 Mar. 1876; 28 Sept. 1876; 20 Apr. 1876.

In relation to fever and public health there are multiple accounts in Goose Hill compared to the two instances mentioned earlier. There were five reports of fever, again with the specific type of fever unidentified, with multiple individuals affected including one fatality. As seen above the reaction of the urban sanitary authority when there was a case of fever was generally to have the house fumigated. In the cases at Goose Hill, the clothing of the inhabitants was also fumigated and the houses limewashed.

In September 1876 following the inspection of fifty-one houses in Goose Hill it was reported that 'fever still continues in this neighbourhood, there are three cases at present, two of which are in hospital and one at home all in the one family.' In the following month, two more families were reported as suffering from fever.[61] The reports of fever in Goose Hill where entire families were infected are in stark contrast to those of King Street and Patrick Street where single individuals were affected. Unsanitary conditions, the lack of basic infrastructure and the quality of the housing is likely to have been a considerable issue here. The lack of drainage may also have played a role in this, evidence given before a local government board inquiry in 1876 states that Goose Hill 'was without drainage'.[62] Some of the evidence given before this inquiry is also contradictory. It is stated before the board that there were 'three cases of fever in the last few weeks'.[63] This contradicts the twelve instances that are reported both in the newspapers and in the minute books. Either each house where fever occurred was reported as one case or the answer to the board of inquiry is deliberately misleading.

This part of the city with smaller, poorer-quality houses seems to have been a significant focal point for inspections by the urban sanitary authority. The remaining case study is of a lane that lies alongside the line of an original burgage plot and is immediately accessible off High Street.

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[61] Ibid., 19 Oct. 1876.
[62] *Kilkenny Journal*, 1 Nov. 1876.
[63] Ibid.

Poyntz Lane is located off the west side of High Street and occupies the line of one of the original burgage plots established in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. The burgage cycle was continuing and by this stage the entire plot along its length and width was built on and occupied. Poyntz Lane was one of the areas excoriated by Cane in 1832 when he wrote about the sanitary state of the city where he refers to the 'limited space occupied by Guard, Poyntz's, Colliers and Chapel Lanes – lanes and houses so dove-tailed into each other as to be a neighbourhood in itself, and occupying a space, which, under a proper state of city building, would be but large enough for but one of those lanes and its inhabitants a neighbourhood consequently remarkable for its defective ventilation as well as for its imperfect sewerage, filth and abominations that stand out a reproach to all our civic regulations.'[64] This area is shown on figure 6.4 and illustrates Cane's point about the houses being 'dove-tailed' into each other.[65]

He further describes the density of the population and the sanitary conditions here, albeit in 1832. He refers to the 'two storey houses occupied by the poor' and how

> In the lanes, many of the houses consist of a passage and eight rooms, four above and four below; occasionally a family will be found in each of these rooms, where overcrowding and poverty and the habits it begets, and the want of means as well as the inclination to cleanliness, as well as bad fire arrangements and little or no ventilation, constitute a mass of heavy smells, now familiar only to the wretched inmates, and the clergy and dispensary physicians, whom disease and death bring from time to time to these hot beds for every epidemic.[66]

The density of the housing is shown in Griffith's Valuation of 1854 where there were twenty-seven houses on Poyntz Lane.

Given the evidence from the 1830s about overcrowding and poor living conditions it is not surprising that there are ten reports in the urban sanitary authority minute books referring to Poyntz Lane. Six reports received on houses here in July 1876 found that they were all unfit for human habitation.[67] A further premises was closed until it could be made fit to be lived in. There are three instances of summons being issued for non-abatement of nuisances, including one where the inspector found a large amount of offensive manure.[68] The remaining references are to abatement of nuisances and the whitewashing of one premises. Whitewashing of a house

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[64] Cane, *Some practical remarks on cholera*, pp 24-5.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid., pp 35-6.
[67] KCA, CR, E1, 13 July 1876.
[68] Ibid., 17 June 1876; 28 Sept. 1876.

or premises is usually indicative of it being in an unsanitary state and was generally done after it was ordered that a nuisance be abated.[69]

Evidence from Poyntz Lane in 1875-6 implies that living standards were lower than in the central streets of the city. This supports the earlier evidence of Cane. This is despite the fact that it is directly adjacent to High Street that was central to city life. With six premises deemed unfit for human habitation, there was either a serious structural problem with them or a considerable health risk from them. Either way there seems to have been a considerable lack of investment here in the infrastructure necessary for a clean environment as indicated by the large amount of manure found in one of the yards.

The sanitary situation had not changed in the lanes of Kilkenny city by the end of the nineteenth century. The medical inspector for the local government board inspected three houses in Chapel Lane and described them as having no sewerage. The yards in some of the houses were raised slightly above the ground floor of the houses and in wet weather the manure would flow into the bedrooms of the inhabitants.[70] He further described the houses in this lane as being in 'a state of filth'.[71] When referring to the lanes mentioned by Cane, namely Chapel Lane, Garden Row, Poyntz Lane, Guard Lane and Colliers Lane, he states that they were 'in the same condition as the houses he had referred to'.[72] Despite the frequent inspections and orders to close some of these houses they were still inhabited.[73] All of these lanes lie along the lines of the original burgage plots. While they were once the gardens and orchards and housed the workshops of the city elite by the end of the nineteenth century they housed the poor and unwanted classes of the city.

Therefore, despite attention being brought to living conditions in the lanes in 1832 houses here were still of poor quality by 1899. The hyperbolic assertion at a meeting of the urban sanitary authority that between 1,500 and 2,000 people lived in and along these five lanes however needs to be taken with a pinch of salt.[74] The census of 1901 shows a total population of only 347.[75] While this is still a high population it is a far cry from the total alluded to. This discrepancy perhaps shows that while the members of the corporation were aware of the

[69] Ibid., 17 June 1875; 29 July 1875; 27 July 1876; 31 Aug. 1876; 14 Sept. 1876.
[70] *Kilkenny People*, 4 Mar. 1899.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid.
[75] www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1901/Kilkenny/Kilkenny_Urban/ (accessed 14 Nov. 2016) the figures for each lane noted on form B1 were tabulated to arrive at the total of 347 people.

unsanitary state of the city they had little understanding of the demographics of the city or its social geography.

Sanitation and water quality are closely linked as examined in the next section of this chapter.

'The water we drink'[76]
Sanitation and public health is linked to water quality. Before a more involved discussion of water quality and the waterworks that were eventually constructed in 1903-4 it is necessary to briefly examine water quality and water supply in the early years of the urban sanitary authority to see if it was an issue. The limited evidence for this comes from the urban sanitary authority minute books and from evidence given before a local government board inquiry into municipal governance in 1876 as reported in the local newspapers.[77]

In 1876 Kilkenny's public water was supplied by twenty-two public pumps run by the corporation.[78] There were also a large number of private wells and pumps. These private wells and pumps can be evidenced cartographically on the 1871 OS five-foot town plan. There are also numerous wells and pumps recorded in the topographical section of the Kilkenny fascicle of the IHTA. These fed off the natural water table. There are also two main rivers, the larger Nore, and the smaller, Breagagh. This was the extent of the natural water supply in the city in 1875-6.

Water analysis is first referenced in 1876 when four samples were sent to Charles Cameron in Dublin for analysis. These were from the Presentation Convent on Jame's Street; Shearman's pump the location of which is unknown, the public pump on John Street and a private pump at St Canice's.[79]

Cameron's reports state that the first three samples are 'excessively hard waters quite unfit for cooking or washing with, and too hard for drinking'. Furthermore, the sample from Shearman's pump contained organic matter and they all contained large quantities of nitric acids. The presence of this acid is indicative of a tainted source which was somewhat filtered out through the soil. The final sample was found to be a soft water and free from any impurities.[80] While this is a very small statistical sample it is significant that three out of the four samples were tainted in some way. The fact that the samples were from several different parts of the city also

[76] *Kilkenny Moderator*, 23 Sept. 1876.
[77] *Kilkenny Moderator*, 1 Nov. 1876; *Kilkenny Journal*, 1 Nov. 1876.
[78] *Kilkenny Moderator*, 1 Nov. 1876; *Kilkenny Journal*, 1 Nov. 1876.
[79] *Kilkenny Moderator*, 23 Sept. 1876; *Kilkenny Journal*, 23 Sept. 1876.
[80] *Kilkenny Moderator*, 23 Sept. 1876; *Kilkenny Journal*, 23 Sept. 1876; see also KCA, CR, E1, 23 Sept. 1876 an extract from this is included below.

needs to be considered. The impurities noted, and the poor quality of the water, were not confined to one particular area. If these samples were in any way representative of the water in the city then water quality and its potential for public health issues were definitely a concern.

Figure 6.5 Extract from urban sanitary authority minute book, KCA, CR, E1, showing Cameron's report on water quality in the city, dated 19 Sept. 1876.

Prior to the local government board inquiry in November 1876 a further nine samples of water were sent for analysis. These were from MacMahon's well, location unknown, two pumps at John Street, Walkin Street, Red Lane, Black Quarry, a spring inside 'Lord' Ormonde's wall, the public market and High Street.[81]

The first sample was declared to be 'tolerably good'. Of the two samples from John Street, one was 'not much better than sewage' and the other 'too impure to be regularly used'. That of Walkin Street was 'extremely hard' with large quantities of nitric acid again indicating a tainted source but free of any organic matter. The sample from Red Lane was simply stated to be 'very hard and very bad'. The water from Black Quarry, which was in a relatively undeveloped area

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[81] *Kilkenny Moderator*, 14 Oct. 1876. The reference to 'Lord' Ormonde in this instance is purely a local one.

of the city at the time, was declared to be 'just as good as number one' despite the presence of nitric acids. The well inside 'Lord' Ormonde's wall was free from sewage but also contained nitric acid, while the sample from the public market, which was in proximity to the Nore, was 'extremely hard but free from recent sewage'. The last sample from High Street was found to contain 'immense quantities of solids; unfit for use'.[82]

Again, this is a small statistical sample, but the number of impurities noted and the quality of the samples leaves little doubt as to the poor quality of water in the city in the period 1875-6. The proximity of wells and pumps to sewers is likely to be a cause for some of these impurities. This was almost certainly the case with the contamination noted from the samples taken at John Street.[83] Water quality was therefore a concern although as will be shown in the next section it was a further thirty years before anything was done to remedy this situation.

Figure 6.6 Extract from urban sanitary authority minute book, KCA, CR, E1, showing Cameron's report on water quality in the city, dated 10 Oct. 1876.

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[82] *Kilkenny Moderator*, 14 Oct. 1876; *Kilkenny Journal*, 14 Oct. 1876; see also KCA, CR, E1, 12 Oct. 1876. Again, the reference to 'Lord' Ormonde is a local one.
[83] *Kilkenny Moderator*, 11 Nov. 1876.

Water quality and private bills: Kilkenny waterworks, 1890-1904

We are at no loss for waterworks[84]

It has been demonstrated that water quality and public health were concerns in the period 1875-6. The situation does not seem to have improved by 1890. A letter from the local government board to the urban sanitary authority concerned the outbreak of 'interic' [enteric] fever. The medical officer of health had submitted a report detailing his concerns over this outbreak following an illness on Blackmill Street. The urban sanitary authority failed to do anything about it and in the discussion that followed they stated that 'Kilkenny was never in a better condition than at present'. Despite the medical officer of health stating that waterworks were needed the members of the corporation felt that 'we have got enough water in Kilkenny'.[85]

It was also put on record that they could 'congratulate ourselves on the state of the city'. Flying in the face of this is not only the report of the doctor concerning the outbreak of fever, but also a report of nuisances in Mary's Lane, which runs directly behind the tholsel, the meeting place of the corporation. This concerns scavenging, which was essentially the process of street cleaning and repair. Large amounts of refuse and waste were frequently accumulating here and it was not cleaned regularly. So despite congratulating themselves on the clean and healthy state of the city there was a public health risk immediately adjacent to their meeting rooms. It is difficult to reconcile the contradictory nature of this evidence.[86]

What needs to be borne in mind is that the governing members of the urban sanitary authority were also members of the corporation. With approximately 272 burgesses entitled to vote, and a £10 freehold to do so, their electorate was quite small and they were the shop holders, business owners and more affluent citizens of the city.[87] While a lot of its work, as evidenced above, was concerned with the unfranchised lower classes and the suburbs, they lived and worked in the higher-value areas of the city. They would have had access to a much higher standard of living than the majority of the city. It is possible that despite the evidence their own social class and status led them to being somewhat blasé about the conditions and necessity for improved sanitation and waterworks.

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[84] *Kilkenny Journal*, 12 July, 1890.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.
[87] *Kilkenny Moderator*, 1 Nov. 1876.

The proposed city waterworks, provisional orders and local opposition

Evidence of the pressing need for waterworks continued to be presented to the urban sanitary authority throughout the period from 1875 to the commencement of the waterworks in 1903. Speaking at a conference on water quality, Cameron stated that 'Kilkenny above all other towns required water badly'.[88] The local government board, the medical officer of health and local rate-payers also pressed the corporation on the issue of waterworks.[89] Ultimately, two provisional orders and significant pressure from the local government board resulted in the works commencing in 1902-3. It remains to be seen why this project took so long. The reasons for the glacial reactions of the local corporation to a dire need for a clean supply of water need to be examined. The condition of the city between 1892 and 1902 when the second provisional order was granted and the waterworks finally began to be constructed also warrants examination. The need for this crucial piece of infrastructure and its impact on the urban population and public health is the focus of the next part of this chapter.

The local government board held two inquires into waterworks, sanitation and public health in Kilkenny. The first inquiry was held in 1895, the second in 1900, the evidence from these inquiries is printed in the three local newspapers. It is necessary to look at all three as none reported on the inquiries verbatim. The *Kilkenny Moderator* and *Kilkenny Journal* summarise most of the evidence while the *Kilkenny People* reports it almost verbatim but omits some information contained in the other two. Thus the whole picture is only visible by cross-referencing all the available newspapers.

Following a petition from the urban sanitary authority to obtain a provisional order to borrow £25,000 to allow compulsory purchase power over lands necessary for waterworks a local government board inquiry was convened. This was on foot of discussions the previous year after further evidence concerning poor water quality in the city following analysis of water by Cameron. He stated at the inquiry that the water was a 'serious danger to the health of the city.' Commentary from the members of the urban sanitary authority revealed high levels of typhoid and inadequate sewerage.[90]

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[88] *Kilkenny Journal*, 24 Feb. 1894.
[89] Ibid.
[90] *Kilkenny Moderator*, 2 Feb. 1895.

In relation to the waterworks, three schemes were initially selected for review; the one chosen was known as the 'Douglas scheme' as it would feed off the Douglas river. The water from this river was known to be 'very good' and 'nearly up to the standard of the Vartry which supplies Dublin.'[91] The engineer responsible estimated the cost to be £21,000 with a contract for the scheme signed in October 1896.[92]

Intense opposition to this first scheme commenced almost immediately both from members of the corporation and from rate-payers who were concerned with having to pay for water despite having lobbied for such a scheme just two years previously.[93] As soon as it seemed that the waterworks scheme was practical, factions within the corporation borrowed money for other purposes, particularly artisans' dwellings, some of which were not built. This was a deliberate ploy to overextend their finances to an extent that it would not be able to borrow the money for the waterworks scheme. These delays were also for electioneering purposes, members of the corporation, which was dominated by factions, were elected by the rate-payers and if they wanted to maintain their position they were answerable to them.[94]

The ability of a corporation to borrow money was based, roughly, on twice the valuation of the town or city.[95] Kilkenny corporation was allowed to have approximately £35,000 in loans from the local government board at any one time based on the total valuation of the city at approximately £17,500. Therefore in order to borrow £25,000 it was not permitted to have in excess of approximately £10,000 in loans outstanding.

A provisional order to commence this scheme was obtained by 1897 despite these delaying tactics, including one resolution put forward that a clause be inserted into the order extending the municipal franchise to women, knowing that this would not pass at the time. A provisional bill was also sought for electric light as a further delaying tactic.[96]

This first scheme and its provisional order were abandoned in their entirety in 1899.[97] The following year, after his daughter's death as a result of fever, a bank official impeached the sanitary authority for neglect of duty under the terms of the Public Health (Ireland) Act of 1896.[98] This resulted in a second local government board inquiry into the water quality in the

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[91] *Kilkenny Moderator*, 2 Feb. 1895.
[92] *Kilkenny Journal*, 30 June 1900.
[93] *Kilkenny Moderator*, 2 Feb. 1895.
[94] *Kilkenny Journal*, 30 June 1900.
[95] *Kilkenny Journal*, 6 Oct. 1900; *Kilkenny People*, 5 Jan. 1901.
[96] *Kilkenny Journal*, 30 June 1900.
[97] Ibid.
[98] No author given, 'Happy go lucky insanitation' in *British Medical Journal*, 13 Oct. 1900.

city.[99] In the eighteen months prior to the convening of this inquiry there were 121 cases of diphtheria and twenty deaths with twenty-one people in hospital suffering from fever on the week of the inquiry. By October the number of hospital cases of diphtheria had risen to 178.[100] This appears to indicate that sanitation and water quality was in fact a very serious matter for the urban sanitary authority. The corporation's recalcitrance in relation to improving matters in this regard, irrespective of the expenditure involved, is all the more puzzling given the wealth of evidence and the fact that it was obviously aware of the health impacts. The factional nature of Kilkenny corporation, particularly regarding the waterworks, can be traced in the local newspapers from at least 1895 onwards. An explanation for the opposition to the waterworks following corporation reform in 1898 is that the independent nationalists had stood for election on a ticket where urban housing was a key point.[101] They pushed this agenda and obtained a loan of £5,400 to build a scheme of artisans' dwellings in 1899 at the expense of the waterworks that were discontinued the same year. The excuse put forward by the newly elected corporation was that of rising costs of materials.[102]

Sanitary conditions and the water supply in the city had therefore not improved. Earlier evidence having shown poor sanitary infrastructure and water quality the local government board stated at the second inquiry that 'it was proved conclusively that the supply was bad'. Evidence from the bishop of Ossory stated that 'he considered the sanitary condition of the city was ghastly'. The sanitary inspector reported that 'there was not a well that he had not got analysed, and 'with one exception the waters were second class or inferior'. The poor quality of the water and the want of a sewerage scheme is also evidenced by the engineer appointed to oversee the first waterworks scheme, the water was 'as bad as could be in quality and quantity' with the pumps 'in too close proximity to sewers'.[103]

There is also extensive evidence from respondents to this inquiry that the city was in an unsanitary condition with diphtheria and typhus prevalent. These diseases occurred through contamination of the water supply as a result of poor basic sanitary infrastructure in the form of wells, pumps and sewerage.[104] In spite of the findings of this inquiry, the prevalence of disease and numerous deaths, the corporation still did not act to put a waterworks scheme in place until they received a sealed order from the local government board.[105] Its reluctance to

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[99] *Kilkenny Journal*, 30 June 1900.
[100] *Kilkenny Journal*, 30 June 1900; *Kilkenny People*, 6 Oct. 1900.
[101] *Kilkenny People*, 28 Dec. 1899.
[102] *Kilkenny Journal*, 30 June 1900.
[103] Ibid., 3 Oct., 6 Oct. 1900.
[104] *Kilkenny Journal*, 30 June 1900; *Kilkenny People*, 7 July, 6 Oct, 20 Oct. 1900.
[105] *Kilkenny People*, 5 Jan. 1901.

construct the waterworks was based entirely on the cost of the scheme and the introduction of water rates to help pay for it. It was felt that 'it is disgraceful to put £28,000 on water.'[106] This second scheme was ultimately constructed by 1905 as a variant of the earlier Douglas scheme after the granting of a second provisional order. The city is supplied by an upgraded version of this scheme to the present day.[107] The reluctance of Kilkenny corporation to spend money on such a large scheme has parallels in local government in England where Chris Hamlin discusses local government reaction to sanitation and waterworks schemes in four towns and cities.[108] Bill Luckin also comments on this where he states that 'a community might be paralysed by the prospect of large sanitary works'.[109]

In terms of providing the basic necessities for a healthy city there is no doubt that Kilkenny lagged behind some of its neighbours and fellow corporations. New Ross, also a medieval town founded by William Marshal, used a system of reservoirs above the town and laid pipes along the streets in the 1850s. Householders could choose to then join up with this scheme for a set rate.[110] Waterford, Galway, Drogheda and Clonmel corporations all constructed waterworks prior to Kilkenny without being compelled to by the local government board.[111]

What is entirely absent from the above arguments is that it is one thing for a city to have a proper supply of piped water but if the sewerage system remained defective and if people continued to use wells that were poorly lined and fed by a contaminated water supply then the issue of public health and the ravages of typhus and diphtheria would remain. A main drainage scheme was mooted by the corporation periodically from 1905 to 1922 but was not built until 1929.[112]

The analysis of the city's sanitation after this point becomes somewhat problematic. There is little historiography to draw on and the primary sources become somewhat limited. The outbreak of the First World War and the subsequent conflicts in Ireland meant that there was little time to devote to local Irish affairs in parliament. As a result, the annual reports of the local government board become less informative between 1916 and 1921 to the point where

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[106] Ibid., 11 Jan. 1902.
[107] Personal communication, Brian Tyrrell, Senior executive engineer, municipal district of Kilkenny city, 5 May 2016.
[108] Christoper Hamlin, 'Muddling in bumbledom: on the enormity of large sanitary improvements in four British towns, 1855-1885' in *Victorian Studies*, xxxii, no. 1 (autumn 1998), pp 55-83.
[109] Luckin, 'Pollution in the city', p. 216.
[110] Local government and taxation of towns inquiry commission (Ireland) Part III, H.C. 1877 [C. 1787], xl, 225, pp 402-14.
[111] Matthew Potter, *The municipal revolution in Ireland: a handbook of urban government in Ireland since 1800* (Dublin, 2011), pp 163, 166-7, 169, 174-5.
[112] Honora Faul, Catalogue of Kilkenny corporation (unpublished, 1988), p. 19.

the only evidence is from local newspapers and the surviving corporation records. This is not to denigrate the local evidence; it needs to be borne in mind that the factional nature of the corporation can at times colour the evidence, with few if any alternative sources left to corroborate what is reported.

In relation to public health and sanitation across the remainder of the study period, the records of the local government board show that the death rate in Kilkenny remained very high from 1905 to 1922.[113] There were frequent outbreaks of diseases that were associated with contaminated water supplies or poor sanitation. In the five years after the construction of the waterworks scheme, 1906-10, there were eighty-two reported cases of either diphtheria or typhus, for example.[114] Death rates in Kilkenny city in the same period were among the highest in Leinster and in 1910 even exceeded those of Dublin in terms of deaths per thousand of the population.[115]

The necessity for a main drainage scheme to complement the waterworks scheme was discussed at length by the corporation between 1911 and 1915.[116] Over the course of these five years several schemes were mooted and there was frequent correspondence with the local government board. Loans were discussed and plans were prepared but there was no one on the corporation who took overall responsibility and tried to drive the project forward. Over the same period there were 180 reported cases of diphtheria and typhus with eighty-four cases in 1915 alone. There were numerous deaths as a result.[117]

An inquiry was held by the local government board into the issue of a main drainage scheme in 1915 and was reported, seemingly verbatim, in the local newspapers. The evidence here shows that the poorer parts of the city, again many of the premises that lay along the original

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[113] *Annual report of the Local government board for Ireland*, H.C. 1906 [Cd. 3102], xxxvi, 495, pp 761-3; *Annual report of the Local government board for Ireland*, H.C. 1907 [Cd. 3682], xxviii, 1, pp 482-3; *Annual report of the Local government board for Ireland*, H.C. 1908 [Cd. 4243], xxxi, 1, pp 440-1; *Annual report of the Local government board for Ireland*, H.C. 1909 [Cd. 4810], xxx, 1, pp 272-3; *Annual report of the Local government board for Ireland*, H.C. 1910 [Cd. 5319], xl, 1, pp 270-1.

[114] Ibid.

[115] *Annual report of the Local government board for Ireland*, H.C. 1911 [Cd. 5847], xxxiii, 1, pp 431-2.

[116] *Kilkenny People*, 29 Apr. 1911; 22 June 1912; 19 Oct. 1912; 26 Oct. 1912; 6 Dec. 1913; 21 Nov. 1914; 27 Mar. 1915; 10 July 1915; 24 July 1915, for example.

[117] These figures are arrived at by enumerating the annual statistics supplied in the following reports, a shortened title is used for brevity, *Annual report of the Local government board for Ireland*, H.C. 1911 [Cd. 5847], xxxiii, 1, pp 39-40, 112, 250-1, 431-2; *Annual report of the Local government board for Ireland*, H.C. 1912-13 [Cd. 6339], xxxvii, 1, pp 33, 100, 258-9; *Annual report of the Local government board for Ireland*, H.C. 1913 [Cd. 6978], xxxii, 457, 585-6, 588, 590-1; *Annual report of the Local government board for Ireland*, H.C. 1914 [Cd. 7561], xxxix, 595, pp 712-16, 868-9; *Annual report of the Local government board for Ireland*, H.C. 1914-16 [Cd. 8016], xxv, 341, pp 491-4, 497, 652-3.

burgage plots and the linear suburbs, suffered from poor sanitation and overcrowding.[118] Goose Hill is mentioned again where the corporation were taking some steps to improve the area by 'building new houses to replace the mud walled cabins'.[119] Domestic scavenging was not being carried out in an efficient manner, with the corporation failing to enforce its own by-laws in this regard. This, in the opinion of one respondent to the inquiry, was also one of the causes of the high rates of diphtheria. From the point of view of obtaining a loan for a main drainage scheme the corporation's finances were also discussed. The borough rate of 6*s*. in the pound was described as 'moderate' and the city as being 'very lightly taxed'.[120] Again this shows that the corporation was failing to provide itself with an income large enough to adequately maintain the city and to fulfil its statutory duties.

Despite the evidence pointing towards an unhealthy city where sanitation was a major concern and the acknowledgement of the local government board of this matter, the First World War limited the funds available by the Lords of treasury and the application of the corporation for a loan to construct the main drainage scheme was turned down. In a letter to the corporation to the local government board refer to the report of their medical inspector:

> Domestic scavenging especially in the poorer parts of the city is not satisfactorily carried out, privies and ashpits are not cleaned out sufficiently often, piggeries are very general throughout the district and in many instances they are situated in small confined yards of defective construction with no provision for drainage; manure is also allowed accumulate therein a more careful inspection of the district by the sanitary sub officers is very desireable.[121]

The local government board also intimated that the ultimatum issued by it to the corporation in 1901 concerning the waterworks also contained provision for a main drainage scheme. Yet in the intervening fourteen years the corporation had failed to construct such a scheme. There are few further references to the main drainage scheme until 1919 when plans were again drawn up; this scheme was also abandoned.[122] The debate over a main drainage scheme continued into the early part of 1922 in conjunction with an artisans' dwelling scheme when it was stated that 'they could not have a healthy population unless they had sanitary houses'.[123] It was decided to advance the housing scheme instead and that 'The main drainage scheme should remain in abeyance because, after all, there is an income to be derived from the housing scheme

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[118] *Kilkenny People*, 27 Mar. 1915.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid., 10 July 1915.
[122] Ibid., 8 Nov. 1919.
[123] Ibid., 11 Feb. 1922.

but none from the drainage scheme; it simply means throwing thousands of pounds into the streets and roads without any return'.[124]

Conclusion

Kilkenny city in the nineteenth and early twentieth century was a very unsanitary place. All the evidence by the standards of the time indicates that sewerage was poor, domestic scavenging was unenforced and there were frequent occurrences of dysentery and typhus. This was noted as early as 1832 in Cane's pamphlet on sanitary conditions. On a national level, several pieces of legislation were enacted with the aim of improving sanitation and ensuring that a local body took responsibility for public health. The corporation's work in this regard involved inspecting the city for nuisances and health hazards. While there was a significant number of inspections on an annual basis the amount of money the corporation spent on improving sanitation was low, particularly in the 1870s (see Appendix 4). Despite overwhelming evidence that the water supply in particular was poor, the corporation failed to act to improve it until compelled to do so by the local government board after 1901. Delaying tactics by factions in the corporation prior to local government reform in 1898 were constantly employed to defer the scheme, including applying for a provisional order for electric light, borrowing money to build artisans' dwellings thus over reaching its borrowing powers, and trying to extend the municipal franchise by measures that they knew would not be permitted. This was done for electioneering purposes. After local government reform there was also a reluctance to act with the nationalist independents pushing for urban housing and over extending the borrowing powers of the corporation in lieu of constructing the waterworks that were so blatantly required for the health of the citizens. They had campaigned on the basis of promising more artisans' dwellings would be constructed and tried to force this agenda through. A waterworks scheme was ultimately constructed between 1902 and 1905 but a main drainage scheme was not built until 1929. The sanitation of the city remained almost as poor in 1922 as it had been in 1832 when Cane described it in such graphic terms.

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[124] *Kilkenny People*, 11 Feb. 1922.

Chapter seven
Kilkenny city 1901 to 1922: demographics and urban form

This chapter begins by looking at the demographic make-up of Kilkenny at the end of the study period from 1901 to 1926. Its population, number of houses and spatial extents are discussed. A visual examination is then made of the streets of the city using photographs from the Lawrence collection. Brian Walker and Hugh Dixon, when writing about Belfast, *circa* 1880 to 1914, use a similar approach and the same source material.[1] They present the streets, buildings and sights of Belfast as they would have been seen in a typical guidebook of the time.[2] The available cartographic sources are then used in this chapter in conjunction with the photographs to present a more traditional plan analysis.

Three 'aerial' views, two from St Canice's cathedral and one from the castle, crucially and uniquely provide views of the houses along the lanes, back streets and suburbs of the city. Modern technology allows for close-up study of these Lawrence images. This reveals a stark contrast in terms of the quality and type of housing between the lanes, the main streets and the suburbs. These views also show an economic and social divide as, in the main, Robert French was concerned with producing images that his employer could sell in his shop, thus the main streets of the city are well presented with their strongly-built houses of stone and brick.[3]

Figure 7.1 Close-up view of a section of Irishtown facing south-east from St Canice's cathedral. The streets are of much poorer quality as are the houses. Lawrence collection, Kilkenny, NLI, photograph, L_CAB_00232, *circa* 1900.

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[1] Brian Walker, and Hugh Dixon, *No mean city: Belfast, 1880-1914 in the photographs of Robert French* (Belfast, 2003), ix.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid., viii.

These photographs are used to explore the form and fabric of the lanes and houses that lay along the lines of the medieval burgage plots. This chapter thus analyses the form, fabric and function of the streets of Kilkenny city between *circa* 1901 and 1922. This concept relies on traditional Conzenian methodologies and also on more recent work such as that of Karl Kropf and Albert Levy among others.[4] Lastly, two key elements of the city's inherited morphology, the burgage cycle and fixation lines, are briefly discussed and placed into the context of early twentieth-century Kilkenny.

The demographics of Kilkenny city 1901, to 1926

Population and spatial extents

By 1901 Kilkenny was a city in decline. The population had been falling consistently in every census taken after 1851.[5] It fell from 19,975 in 1851 to 10,046 by 1926.[6] The boundaries of the city were exactly the same in 1922 as they had been at the start of the study period; they were unchanged since the Municipal Corporations Act was enforced locally in 1843. There was an administrative change with the addition of district electoral divisions following the Local Government Act of 1898 but this did not change boundaries on the ground they simply followed the boundaries of the two pre-existing wards. This hypothesis is supported by the census of 1901 where the extents of the district electoral divisions, a combined total of 921 acres, are the same as those of the earlier wards. The extent of the city therefore was still 921 acres consisting of the parishes of St Mary and St Maul and parts of the parishes of St Canice, St Patrick and St John (figure 1.6).

The population of the city had marginally risen in the years immediately after the Famine but there was a sharp drop by the start of the study period in 1861, a trend that was to continue at a lesser rate until the first marginal increase occurred in 1946.[7] This is shown on figures 7.2 and 7.3 and is contrasted with the corresponding census information from five other corporate towns and cities of a similar size.

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[4] Karl Kropf, 'Aspects of urban form' in *Urban Morphology*, xiii, no. 2 (2009), pp 105-20; 'Ambiguity in the definition of built form' in *Urban Morphology*, xviii, no. 1 (2014), pp 41-57; Albert Levy, 'Urban morphology and the problem of the modern urban fabric: some questions for research' in *Urban Morphology*, iii, no. 2 (1999), pp 1-7.

[5] The figures are compiled from W.E. Vaughan and A.J. Fitzpatrick (eds), *Irish historical statistics: population, 1821-1971* (Dublin, 1978), pp 30-1, 43.

[6] See figure 7.2.

[7] Vaughan and Fitzpatrick (eds), *Irish historical statistics: population, 1821-1971*, p. 43.

Years	Towns						
	Clonmel	Drogheda	Dundalk	Kilkenny	Sligo	Wexford	Total
1841	17,720	17,300	10,782	**19,071**	12,272	11,252	88,397
1851	15,204	16,847	9,842	**19,975**	11,047	12,819	85,734
1861	10,572	14,740	10,360	**14,174**	10,693	11,673	72,212
1871	10,112	13,510	11,327	**12,710**	10,670	12,077	70,406
1881	9,325	12,297	11,913	**12,299**	10,808	12,163	68,805
1891	8,477	11,873	12,499	**11,048**	10,274	11,545	65,716
1901	10,167	12,760	13,076	**10,609**	10,870	11,161	68,643
1911	10,209	12,501	13,128	**10,514**	11,163	11,531	69,046
1926	9,056	12,716	13,996	**10,046**	11,437	11,879	69,130
Data compiled from Vaughan and Fitzpatrick (eds), *Irish historical statistics: population, 1821-1971*, p. 43.							

Figure 7.2 The population of Clonmel, Drogheda, Dundalk, Kilkenny, Sligo and Wexford from 1841 to 1926.

What is immediately obvious from figure 7.2 is that by the end of the study period other similarly sized towns were showing signs of population growth whereas the population of Kilkenny city was still decreasing, albeit at a slower rate. These changes to the population of Kilkenny were mirrored to a certain extent in many other towns where it was quite common to see a small increase in population in the 1851 census. This was followed in the intervening decades by gradual but inexorable decrease. T.W. Freeman comments on this pattern: 'From 1841 to 1881, despite increases to 1851 in most towns, eleven towns of over 10,000 or more declined by 12 per cent, twenty-six towns of 5,000 to 10,000 by 25 per cent, and thirty-two towns of 3,000 to 5,000 by 27 per cent, and the decline was still continuing by 1891'.[8]

	Clonmel	Drogheda	Dundalk	Kilkenny	Sligo	Wexford
1851	-14.20%	-2.62%	-8.72%	**4.74%**	-9.98%	13.93%
1861	-30.47%	-12.51%	5.26%	**-29.04%**	-3.20%	-8.94%
1871	-4.35%	-8.34%	9.33%	**-10.33%**	-0.22%	3.46%
1881	-7.78%	-8.98%	5.17%	**-3.23%**	1.29%	0.71%
1891	-9.09%	-3.45%	4.92%	**-10.17%**	-4.94%	-5.08%
1901	19.94%	7.47%	4.62%	**-3.97%**	5.80%	-3.33%
1911	0.41%	-2.03%	0.40%	**-0.90%**	2.70%	3.32%
1926	-11.29%	1.72%	6.61%	**-4.45%**	2.45%	3.02%
Data compiled from Vaughan and Fitzpatrick (eds), *Irish historical statistics: population, 1821-1971*, p. 43.						

Figure 7.3 Population figures expressed as a percentage rise or fall, 1841-1926.

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[8] T.W. Freeman, 'Irish towns in the eighteenth and nineteenth century' in R.A. Butlin (ed.), *The development of the Irish town* (London, 1977), pp 132-3.
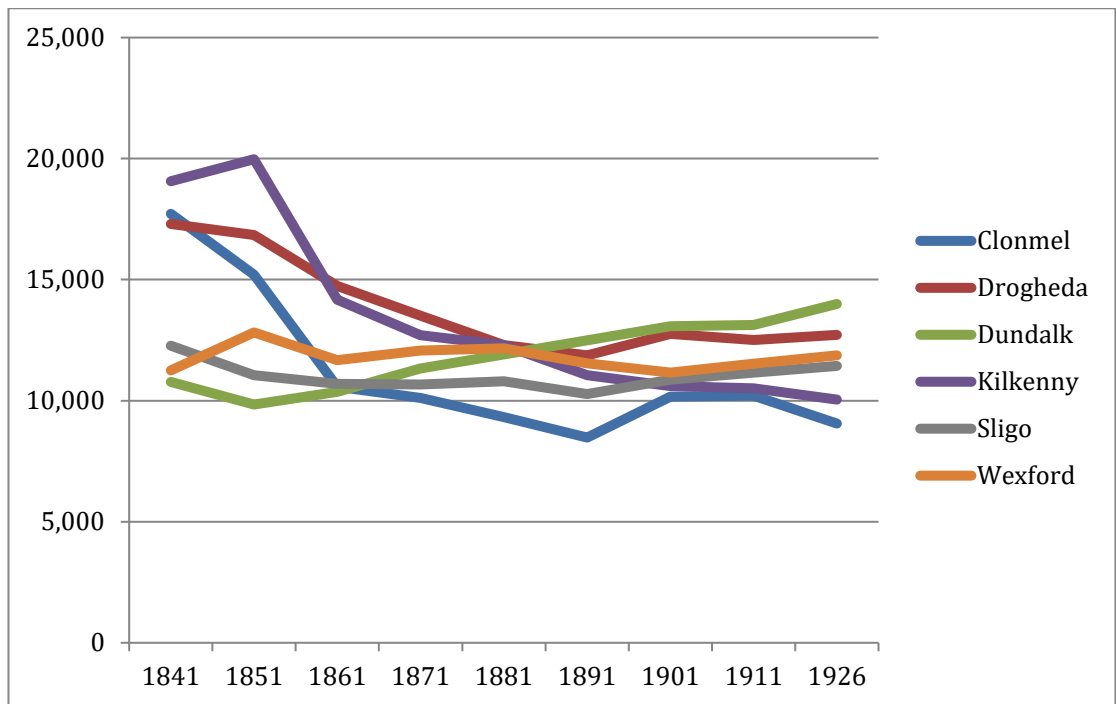
Figure 7.4 The population figures expressed as a chart showing that Kilkenny and Clonmel are the only towns of the six where the population was still dropping.[9]

Coincidentally or not, Drogheda, Dundalk, Sligo and Wexford are all port towns. Kilkenny and Clonmel are both landlocked. Chapter three showed that while in the medieval period Kilkenny held an extremely advantageous position in the lordship of Leinster, its geographical location was now a disadvantage, particularly in light of the failure to develop practical transport links. For example, the Nore had not been navigable past Inistioge since the early nineteenth century. This ended Thomastown's role as the point at which goods were shipped up and down river to New Ross, which had historically been Kilkenny's port town.[10]

The demography of Kilkenny city, 1901 to 1926

The key demographics selected for this study are population density, the number of houses, houses being built, and the number of premises noted as tenements. Chapter four showed that labouring and domestic service were the largest employment sector in the suburbs of Greenshill and Broguemakers Hill. The numbers employed in these two sectors across the city are extracted from the 1901 and 1911 censuses to see if this was the case citywide. The different classifications were used in the 1926 census and the individual forms for this census have yet to be released. The general returns of this first Irish Free State census are used to look at employment sectors across the city. The 1926 census is used as it allows for a more complete picture of the life in the city towards the end of the study period. It shows that there was continuing decline in population

[9] Vaughan and Fitzpatrick (eds), *Irish historical statistics: population, 1821-1971*, p. 43.
[10] David Dickson, 'Inland city: reflections on eighteenth-century Kilkenny' in William Nolan and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Kilkenny history and society* (Dublin, 1990), p. 333.

into the early years of the Free State but there were also signs of subtle changes to the make-up of society.

1901 census							
Total Pop.	Male	Female	Houses	Houses Inhabited	Houses Uninhabited	Building	Tenements
10609	5221	5338	2117	1941	156	20	135
Table compiled from: *Census of Ireland, 1901. Part I, area, houses and population: also the ages, civil or conjugal condition, occupations, birthplaces, religion and education of the people. Vol. I. Province of Leinster. No. 1.* H.C. 1902 [Cd. 847], cxxii, 1, pp 440-1, 501, 548.							

Figure 7.5 Summary of the key demographics concerning population and housing from the 1901 census, Kilkenny city.

1911 census							
Total Pop.	Male	Female	Houses	Houses Inhabited	Houses Uninhabited	Building	Tenements
10514	5309	5205	2135	1948	162	25	79
Table compiled from: *Census of Ireland, 1911. Area, houses and population: also the ages, civil or conjugal condition, occupations, birthplaces, religion and education of the people. Province of Leinster*, 1912-13, H.C. [Cd. 6049], cxiv, 1, pp 392-3, 414-5.							

Figure 7.6 Summary of the key demographics concerning population and housing from the 1911 census, Kilkenny city.

Very little had changed in terms of the population structure of Kilkenny city between 1901 and 1911. The overall population had declined slightly by ninety-five persons. The number of inhabited houses saw an incremental increase of seven. There is a slight discrepancy in that the number of houses noted as being built in 1901, twenty, does not correlate with the number of houses in 1911 including for a rise in inhabited and uninhabited houses.[11] By 1911, the number of inhabited houses rose by seven and the number of uninhabited houses by six. With twenty houses noted as being built in 1901 either building work ceased on some or this statistic is also concerned with repairs or improvements to existing structures. There was also an overall drop by 1911 in the number of buildings classified as tenements of fifty-six. Housing density, where the overall population is divided by the number of inhabited houses, was rather static at 5.46 persons per house in 1901 and 5.39 in 1911.[12]

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[11] *Census of Ireland, 1901*, H.C. 1902, pp 440-1, 501, 548; *Census of Ireland, 1911*, H.C. 1912-13, pp 392-3, 414-5.
[12] Ibid.

In terms of employment type, 779 males were noted as being general labourers in 1901 and 842 in 1911. Domestic indoor servant was the highest employment type for females with 742 noted in 1901 and 452 in 1911.[13] This seemingly large decrease between 1901 and 1911 is likely due to the fact that slightly different classifications were used in the two censuses.

1926 census							
Total Pop.	Male	Female	Houses	Houses Inhabited	Houses Uninhabited	Building	Tenements
10046	5123	4923	2069	1906	161	2	96
Saorstát Éireann, census of population 1926, Vol. 4 housing (paper no. 50), pp 54, 145.							

Figure 7.7 Summary of the key demographics concerning population and housing from the 1926 census.

By the time of the first Free State census in 1926 the population of Kilkenny city was still in decline, having dropped by 458 since 1911. The population density remained much the same at 5.27 persons per house. The number of dwellings being built, had dropped to two, perhaps reflecting uncertain economic conditions in the Free State. The number of tenements had risen to ninety-six.

Two-hundred-and-seventy-three domestic servants are enumerated this profession still accounted for a large proportion of the female working population. There were 130 agricultural labourers and this was among the highest employer for males.[14] The category of 'general labourer' used in the earlier censuses is absent on the general returns for 1926 and is quite likely subsumed into other headings. In terms of overall employment there were 4,436 people over the age of 12 employed with 3,402 in the same age category having no employment.[15]

The 1926 census also shows some subtle changes to employment types indicative of wider changes in society. There are, for example, thirty-seven motor mechanics, five electrical fitters and eight motor-garage owners.[16] While the 1926 census shows some evidence for societal change through employment as a result of technological changes, it does not show how or if these changes were reflected in the streetscape by the end of the study period.

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[13] *Census of Ireland, 1901*, H.C. 1902, pp 531-2, *Census of Ireland, 1911*, H.C.1912-13, pp 468-9.
[14] *Saorstát Éireann, census of population 1926*, vol. 2 (paper no. 50), pp 97, 115.
[15] Ibid., p. 95.
[16] Ibid.

Kilkenny city, form, function and fabric, *circa* 1900, the photographic and cartographic record

Having discussed demography, attention now turns towards the form and fabric of Kilkenny city between *circa* 1901 and 1922. A visitor arriving to Kilkenny city by train in 1901 would not have immediately noticed significant morphological differences to the structure of the city. The view of the city from the train station had barely changed since 1861.

Figure 7.8 View of St John's church and upper John Street from Kilkenny railway station, *circa* 1904. It is possible to date this to 1904 as it was taken to coincide with the king's visit to the city, note the bunting and decorations on the gas lamps in the right upper corner of the photograph, Lawrence collection, Kilkenny, NLI, photograph L_ROY_07902.

Kilkenny as seen in the photographs of the Lawrence Collection

This visual examination of Kilkenny through the medium of photographs looks at several specific buildings and streetscapes. It starts at the top of John Street, before moving on to Rose Inn Street, High Street, the Parade and Patrick Street. High Street and Parliament Street are then examined.

John Street *circa* 1900

St John's church held a prominent position at the top of John Street. The skyline was still dominated by the round tower of St Canice's church, the Ormonde castle and the spires of St Mary's Roman Catholic cathedral, finished in 1857.[17] The spire of St Mary's Protestant church just off High Street was also visible which is in itself on the site of a much older church dating to the foundation of the Hightown by William Marshal. On-going archaeological work on this site has revealed much about the original precincts of this church in Hightown and has uncovered the extent of the original church. This plot has been in continuous use for over 800 years and is currently being restored as a museum; the cupola of the tholsel was also visible just east of this. The streetscape of John Street was also much the same, stone-built buildings, fronting a narrow

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[17] John Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10 (Dublin, 2000), p. 13.

street with two-or three-storey houses and shops with slated roofs. The lamps visible in figure 7.8 still used gas or oil, as electric light did not arrive in most parts of the city until at least 1928, when it tied in with the Shannon scheme.[18]

Figure 7.9 View of Lower John Street looking north; note the two-and three-storey houses and shops; Lawrence collection, Kilkenny, NLI, photograph L_ROY_10035; modern view, from the approximate same position, 18 Mar. 2016, Fergal Donoghue.

Looking back along Lower John Street there are several shops, a hotel, just on the right of figure 7.9 with the lamp over the door, and numerous residential properties. Similar to Upper John Street, these properties are a mixture of two-and three-storey houses, they were well constructed stone-built buildings with slated roofs. This streetscape had not changed substantially since 1861. To give one example in terms of the building plots, the building on the right, the Globe hotel, occupies a square plot, it was constructed *circa* 1825 and renovated *circa* 1900, and displays classic Georgian proportions.[19] Its block plan had not changed since 1871 as shown on figure 7.10.

Figure 7.10 OS five-foot plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 47 (1871); OS twenty-five-inch plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 3 (1913-14), showing the continuity of building blocks and plots.

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[18] *Kilkenny People*, 1 Sept. 1928.
[19] Buildings of Ireland, 'buildingsofireland.ie, available at www.buildingsofireland.ie/niah/search.jsp?type=record&county=KK&regno=12000153 (accessed 10 Mar. 2016).

Moving over St John's Bridge, that was replaced by a much more significant structure in 1910, there is a slightly wider area now known as the Canal Square at the end of Rose Inn Street. As shown on James Healy's map of 1841, this area was used as a cabbage market until the Kilkenny Markets Act of 1861.[20] There is a significant narrowing of the street here with substantial stone-built properties fronted by the local ticket office of the Great Western Railway Company. The plot pattern is a bit more complex as the plots are limited due to a lack of space and tend to take on unusual shapes as a result. The building on the left of the photograph seems to have been subdivided on the 1913-14 OS twenty-five-inch map.

Figure 7.11 Canal Square and Rose Inn Street looking west; Lawrence collection, Kilkenny, NLI, photograph, L_ROY_07892; modern view, from the approximate same position, 18 Mar. 2016, Fergal Donoghue.
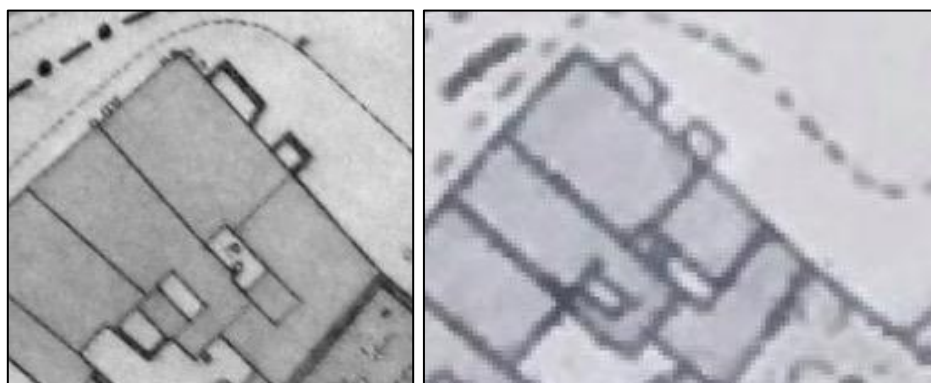
Figure 7.12 OS five-foot plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 47 (1871); OS twenty-five-inch plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 3 (1913-14), showing the building blocks and plots shown in figure 7.11.

In terms of plots and the streetscape the buildings occupied by the Great Western Railway Company and the premises adjoining it occupy a corner plot and are rectangular in shape and were constructed *circa* 1775. They also have a number of late nineteenth-or early-twentieth century additions and as the modern photograph shows, except for some remodelling of the shop

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[20] James Healy, 'A plan of part of the city of Kilkenny', July 1841, scale of 10 feet to the inch, copy in author's possession.

fronts they are largely unchanged.[21] The later map shows that the adjacent property on the right of figure 7.12 was a single premises in 1871 but had been subdivided by the time the 1913-14 OS twenty-five-inch plan was published. It is clearly marked on this later plan as being two distinct blocks or units albeit within the framework of the original buildings.

The Parade

Moving along Rose Inn Street would bring a wandering visitor to the junction of the Parade, High Street and Patrick Street. It is along the axis of these three streets that the most substantial evidence for Georgian Kilkenny lies. The Georgian plots and buildings of the city are virtually impossible to distinguish cartographically from the earlier medieval and early modern elements as they lie along the same plot frontages, occupying the same space though constructed from different materials at a different period. The fabric of the earlier buildings often ended up being reused thus further complicating the matter.[22] Kilkenny did not have anything on the scale of Dublin's Wide Streets Commission or the substantial rows of Georgian Houses along Fitzwilliam Square for example also in Dublin, instead there are large four-storey houses, banks and other buildings in a particularly Georgian fashion. Nevertheless, buildings of this type would have been familiar to any visitor from a large town or city in Ireland. One conspicuous and familiar element of this type of architecture was the classical doorway, what Alistair Rowan refers to as the 'Irish Georgian pattern of a door case flanked by free-standing columns and set immediately within a semi-circular or elliptical relieving arch.'[23] These can be seen most prominently on Patrick Street, John's Quay and Parliament Street. An example of this style of architecture can be seen in figure 7.23 showing the doorway of the Royal Victoria Commercial Hotel.

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[21] Buildings of Ireland, 'buildingsofireland.ie' available at www.buildingsofireland.ie/niah/search.jsp?type=record&county=KK&regno=12000146) (accessed 10 Mar. 2016).
[22] Katherine Lanigan and Gerald Tyler (eds), *Kilkenny its architecture and history* (2nd ed., Belfast, 1987), p. 39.
[23] Alistair Rowan, 'The Irishness of Irish architecture' in *Architectural History*, xl (1997), p.16.

Figure 7.13 View from the Parade looking north towards the southern end of High Street and the eastern end of Rose Inn Street; Lawrence collection, Kilkenny, NLI, photograph, L_CAB_01459.
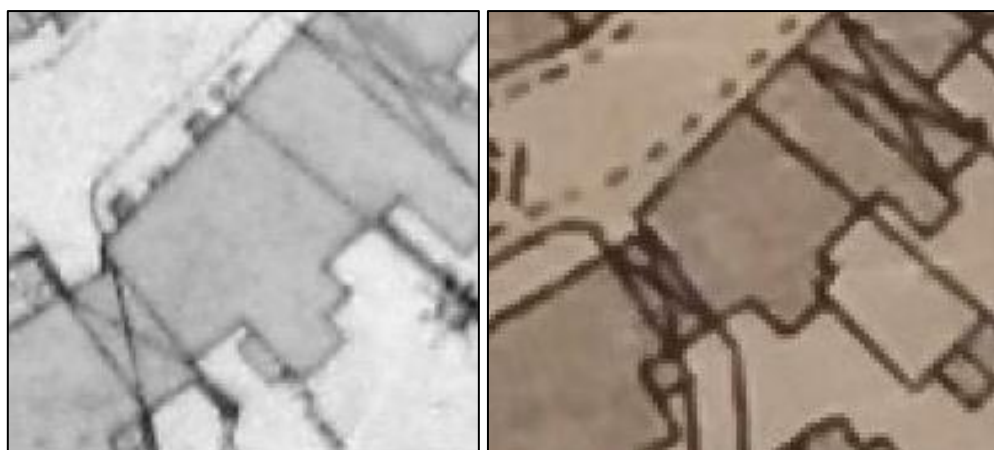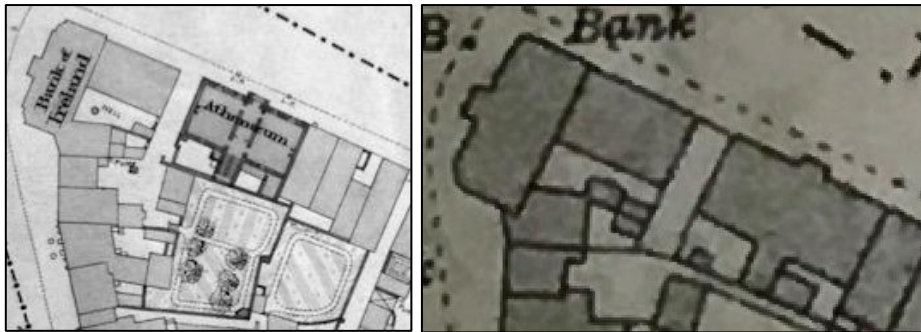

Figure 7.14 OS five-foot plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 47 (1871); OS twenty-five-inch plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 3 (1913-14), showing continuity of plot use. The bank is still in use but the Athenaeum is no longer marked on the 1913-14 OS map.

Again there were no significant changes to the cityscape and streetscape along the Parade or Rose Inn Street. Figure 7.13 shows the Athenaeum on the left, and immediately adjacent to this was a bank. The Athenaeum is shown on the OS 1871 five-foot plan while the bank is evidenced cartographically on this plan and on the OS map of 1913-14, see figure 7.14.[24] The large four-storey white building in the centre was the Victoria hotel. Two shop fronts are also visible although the specific names of these premises are not known. The Athenaeum assembly rooms were originally a private theatre they saw a change in use after its construction *circa* 1853.[25]

Morphologically, the Bank of Ireland occupied an 'L'-shaped corner plot fronting three streets with elevations to both the Parade and the top of High Street. It was built *circa* 1875 and is an example of a classical style of building. The premises of the Allied Irish Bank shown on figure

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[24] OS five-foot plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 47 (1871); OS twenty-five-inch plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 3 (1913-14).
[25] Lanigan and Tyler, *Kilkenny its architecture and history*, p. 47.

7.23 also follows a classical style.[26] The Athenaeum has a rectangular plot, fronting the Parade and again presents a classical front.
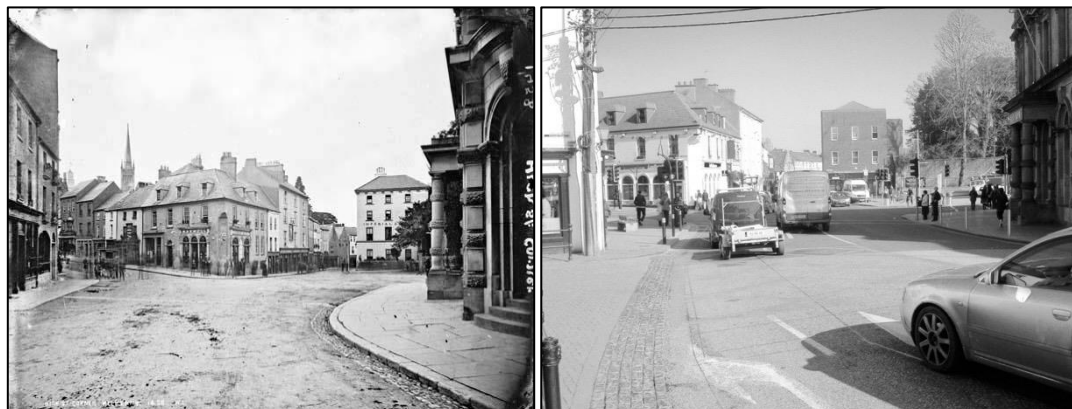
Figure 7.15 View towards Rose Inn Street, the southern end of High Street and the Parade from the bottom of Patrick Street; Lawrence collection, Kilkenny, NLI, photograph, L_CAB_01458; modern view, from approximately the same position, 18 Mar. 2016, Fergal Donoghue.

Figure 7.15 is taken from the end of Patrick Street and looking east towards Rose Inn Street. The building in the centre of the photograph from the Lawrence collection was Maxwell's bookseller, the name can be seen if the photograph is digitally enhanced, figure 7.16. It has a similar siting to the Bank of Ireland, and also shares its street aspect with the Parade and High Street.

Figure 7.16   Close-up view of Maxwell's bookseller and stationer; Lawrence collection, Kilkenny, NLI, photograph, L_CAB_01458.

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[26] Buildings of Ireland, available at www.buildingsofireland.ie/niah/search.jsp?type=record&county=KK&regno=12001058 (accessed 10 Mar. 2016).

Upon closer examination, and by zooming in on the photograph digitally, another rounded Georgian doorway can be seen, and the morphological aspect of the premises and its corner plot is more immediately visible. The 'L'-shaped roof is also discernible. In terms of its cartographic representation it shows on the later OS twenty-five-inch map of 1913-14, as having a very irregular shape and it appears to have been separated into two premises, and extended into the adjoining plot, as shown on figure 7.17. So while the building block retains much the same shape, the individual buildings have been altered. It presents in the photograph as a 'terraced four-bay two-storey house' it is dated architecturally to approximately 1875.[27] The 1839 OS house books also provide more information on the internal sub-divisions of this particular plot.[28]

Figure 7.17 OS five-foot plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 47 (1871); OS twenty-five-inch plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 3 (1913-14), showing the alteration to the building blocks and plots shown in figure 7.16.

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[27] Buildings of Ireland, 'buildingsofireland.ie' available at www.buildingsofireland.ie/niah/search.jsp?type=record&county=KK&regno=12001080 (accessed 10 Mar. 2016).
[28] OS House Books, St Mary's parish, 1839 (NAI, OS, house books, 5.2897/900).

Patrick Street

Nothing seen so far would indicate a city whose population had fallen by over 4,000 since 1861. On the outside at least Kilkenny *circa* 1901 gave the appearance of being a small but relatively prosperous city with large substantial banks and hotels.

Figure 7.18 View looking north along Patrick Street; the buildings in the centre are classical Georgian-period houses, Lawrence collection, Kilkenny, National Library of Ireland, photograph, L_ROY_07928; modern view, from approximately the same position, 18 Mar. 2016, Fergal Donoghue.[29]

Figure 7.18 again shows the outward appearance of normal urban life. The streets are clean, the houses are well built and the view presented shows nothing out of the ordinary. An examination of this streetscape in terms of the buildings and their plots does not reveal any immediate changes.

Figure 7.19 OS five-foot plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 47 (1871); OS twenty-five-inch plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 3 (1913-14), showing continuity of the building blocks and plots shown in figure 7.18.

The streetscape of Patrick Street is virtually unchanged, excepting the removal of St Patrick's gate, discussed below, the width of the street is the same and no significant change can be discerned in the plot pattern and building footprint.

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[29] Lanigan and Tyler, *Kilkenny, its architecture and history*, pp 50-3.

Figure 7.20 View looking south along Patrick Street, decorated for the visit of Edward VII in 1904; Lawrence collection, Kilkenny, NLI, photograph, L_ROY_07893.

Figure 7.20 shows a view of Patrick Street in 1904 decorated for the visit of Edward VII demonstrating how urban space could be used for celebrations and commemorations. The visit of Edward VII was a very controversial event locally with the corporation refusing to fund the decorating of the city in any way. The celebrations were eventually paid for by subscription.[30] The difference in how space could be used to commemorate, or celebrate is shown in figure 7.21 which shows largely the same view but this time as part of a street parade for St Patrick's Day in 1912.

Figure 7.21 St Patrick's day parade, 1912; photograph in private collection in the archive of the KAS, D134, Patrick Street, No. 1.

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[30] *Kilkenny People*, 30 Apr. 1904.

Figure 7.22 View south along Patrick Street from a very similar location to the figure above but without the street decorations; Lawrence collection, Kilkenny, NLI, photograph, L_ROY_04834.[31]

The view in figure 7.22 looks south along Patrick Street and presents a classic view of one of the main streets of an early twentieth-century Irish town. The building on the left with the canopy was the Club House hotel and just down from this is another theatre. On the right are residential buildings again in a Georgian style. This photograph can be dated 1902 to 1914 due to the presence of the theatre. This theatre was opened and sponsored by Lady Ellen Desart and provides an example of how the Lawrence collection photographs can be dated using either local sources or local knowledge. Similar to how Walker and Dixon could roughly date street views of Belfast due to the presence or absence of tram lines, certain views of Kilkenny can be dated due to the buildings shown or indeed absent within them.[32]

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[31] Lanigan and Tyler, *Kilkenny, its architecture and history*, pp 50-3.
[32] Walker and Dixon, *No mean streets*, viii; Lanigan and Tyler, *Kilkenny, its architecture and history*, p. 52.

High Street

Standing at the southern end of High Street and looking northwest shows a busy street with numerous shops and other stores. Again, shop fronts and other premises dominate the streetscape.

Figure 7.23 View looking north along High Street with the Royal Victoria and Commercial Hotel on the left; Lawrence collection, Kilkenny, NLI, photograph, L_ROY_04832; modern view, from approximately the same position, 18 Mar. 2016, Fergal Donoghue.[33]

The Royal Victoria and Commercial Hotel in figure 7.23 has another one of the classic Georgian doorways that were so prevalent in Irish architecture. It was replaced *circa* 1921-2 with the Allied Irish Bank, a building in a uniquely classical style replete with moulded courses and Ionic columns.[34]

Figure 7.24 OS five-foot plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 47 (1871); OS twenty-five-inch plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 3 (1913-14), showing continuity of building blocks and plots.

If the same two photographs are represented cartographically, there are few, if any, changes to the building plots or the streetscape.

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[33] Lanigan and Tyler, *Kilkenny, its architecture and history*, pp 59-68.
[34] Rowan, 'The Irishness of Irish architecture', p. 16; Buildings of Ireland, 'irishbuildings.ie' available at www.buildingsofireland.ie/niah/search.jsp?type=record&county=KK&regno=12001017 (accessed 10 Mar. 2016).

Figure 7.25 High Street looking south-east; Lawrence collection, Kilkenny, NLI, photograph, L_ROY_04829; modern view, from approximately the same position, 18 Mar. 2016, Fergal Donoghue; see also Lanigan and Tyler.[35]

While much of the streetscape appears to be Georgian or late nineteenth century in style figure 7.25 shows elements of a Tudor building. In particular the high pointed gable facing the front of the street. Fragments of the older medieval city were still extant in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century even where they were well hidden. This was one of the houses of the Shee family, a large Tudor house dating to approximately 1580. While the Georgian façade hides much of the older elements of the city, particularly the Tudor-period buildings, they were still visible in places. This building was reconstructed in 1928 and again in 1949 when the attic was removed and today it bears little resemblance externally to the original Tudor house.[36]
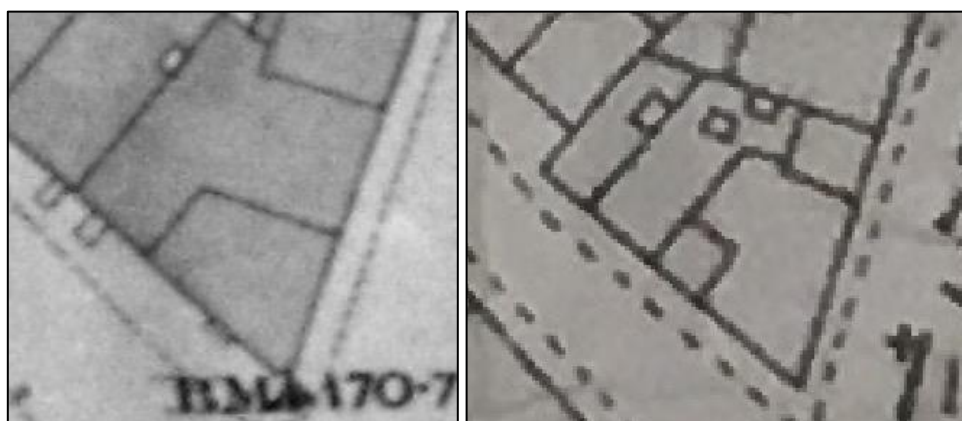

Figure 7.26 OS five-foot plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 47 (1871); OS twenty-five-inch plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 3 (1913-14), showing the possible alteration to the building blocks and plots shown in figure 7.25.

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[35] Lanigan and Tyler, *Kilkenny, its architecture and history*, pp 59-68.
[36] Ibid., pp 38-9; Gertrude Keane, 'Great stone houses' (M.A. thesis, University College, Dublin, 2010), p. 21; 'buildingsofireland.ie' available at www.buildingsofireland.ie/niah/search.jsp?type=record&county=KK&regno=12001085 (accessed 11 Mar. 2016).

The plot pattern here and its relationship to the buildings and their blocks do not appear to have been significantly altered. In 1871 the rear entrance to the plot led into a small yard by the time of the 1913-14 OS twenty-five-inch map this had not changed, although the adjacent building seems to have been abandoned, indicated by the lack of shading. The question needs to be asked as to how accurate the later resurvey was as there is a significant difference in the number of individual plots shown between the early map and the later one. While it is possible that there was considerable amalgamation of plots it is also possible that the earlier map was simply more detailed. For example the OS 1871 five-foot plan displays ground-floor plans of many of the prominent buildings a feature that is lacking on the later maps. The basic shape of the Shee house was still the same; it occupied a long linear plot with a broad street frontage. Keane correctly points out that it originally stretched back as far as St Mary's Lane. This would likely have been the length of the original burgage plot associated with this site.[37]

Figure 7.27 View looking south along High Street with the tholsel visible in the centre of the photograph; Lawrence collection, Kilkenny, NLI, photograph, L_CAB_04831, the tholsel in Dublin is on the right, note the stylistic similarities to that of Kilkenny.

Figure 7.27 looks south along the length of High Street from the junction of Jame's Street. The tholsel dominates the streetscape and forms a very important plan unit in Kilkenny. A building in a classical style, it is very similar to the tholsel in Dublin, itself modelled on another building, the Exchange, the tholsel of both Kilkenny and Dublin follow a largely 'informal pattern'.[38] The tholsel in New Ross has a similar style.[39] This shows that architectural styles were not limited to a particular town or city but that architectural concepts and ideas spread and were used throughout the country thus presenting any visitor new to a particular place with a relatively familiar environment.

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[37] Keane, 'Great stone houses', p. 21.
[38] Rolf Loeber, 'Early Classicism in Ireland: architecture before the Georgian era' in *Architectural History*, xxii (1979), pp 57-8, 71.
[39] Jimmy Fitzgibbon, *A time and place - New Ross, 1890 to 1910: a photographic record of the time* (New Ross, 2007), p. 106.

Figure 7.28 High Street, extract from OS five-foot plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 47 (1871); OS twenty-five-inch plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 3 (1913-14).

Morphologically, High Street had not changed though some of the buildings saw a change of use between 1901 and 1911. The street pattern was the same, a long street that widened considerably in the centre. The subdivisions in the Shambles at the top of High Street that are so prominent on the OS five-foot plan of (1871) seem to have been amalgamated into a number of smaller premises and are still in use as such to this day. The individual buildings and their block patterns were largely similar at both ends of the study period.

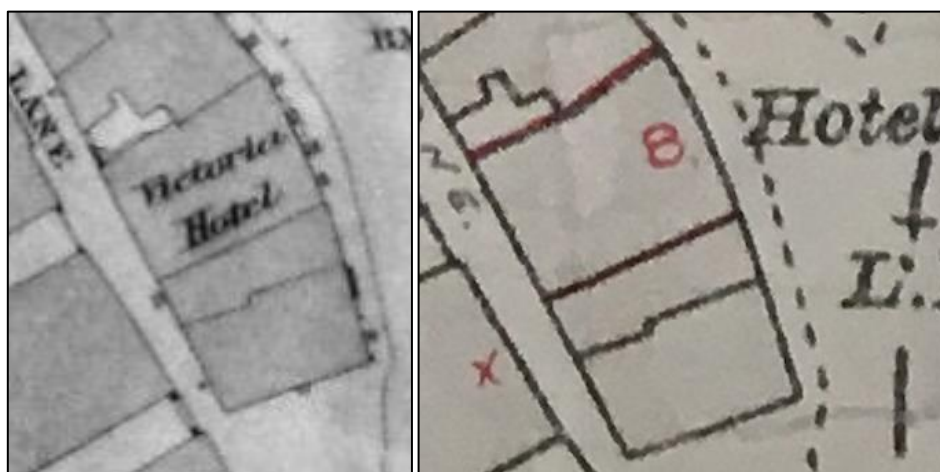**Figure 7.29** OS five-foot plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 47 (1871); OS twenty-five-inch plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 3 (1913-14), showing an alteration to the plot pattern of the shambles shown in figure 7.28. The modern photograph shows the location of the shambles, the shops here have flat roofs, but originally they were open to the air, 25 Dec. 2016 by Fergal Donoghue.

Parliament Street

Figure 7.30 View looking north along Parliament Street, the National bank is on the right and immediately beside that is the entrance to the Market built in 1863; Lawrence collection, Kilkenny, NLI, photograph, L_ROY_10036.[40]

Figure 7.31 High Street *circa* 1871 and 1914, OS five-foot plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 47 (1871); OS twenty-five-inch plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 3 (1913-14).

Parliament Street also shows few alterations by the end of the study period. The buildings and their plot pattern are largely unchanged if at all. Documentary evidence also provides an example of the continuation of the burgage cycle, the buildings at the rear of Rothe House, the prominent

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[40] Lanigan and Tyler, *Kilkenny, its architecture and history*, pp 79-83.

Tudor building marked as 'Wolfs Arch' on the maps, were now abandoned. They are noted as being in 'ruins' and were not valued in the cancellation books for the period 1900 to 1910.[41] The census of 1901 indicates that the building at the front of the plot was in use as a shop but by the census of 1911 the entire complex had been abandoned.[42] As this was originally one of the largest burgage plots in the city the use, re-use and abandonment of the buildings and plots is a perfect example of the burgage cycle in action towards the end of the study period.

The burgage cycle and the back streets

The photographic and cartographic evidence used so far shows a well-ordered, clean and tidy urban environment. The photographs have presented shops, banks, hotels, administrative buildings and essentially show one of many street views of a small Irish urban settlement. What they do not show are the back lanes and streets.

There are three images in the Lawrence collection for Kilkenny that go some way to bridging this gap. Two are views from St Canice's cathedral, one taken from the round tower, with a second likely to have been taken from the belfry. The third image was taken from one of the upper floors of Kilkenny castle. By zooming in digitally on the high-resolution copies of these images it is possible to see the houses and other buildings that made up the lanes and back streets of the city. These would have been the streets that a visitor to the city would have seen if they had ventured west off High Street and Parliament Street.
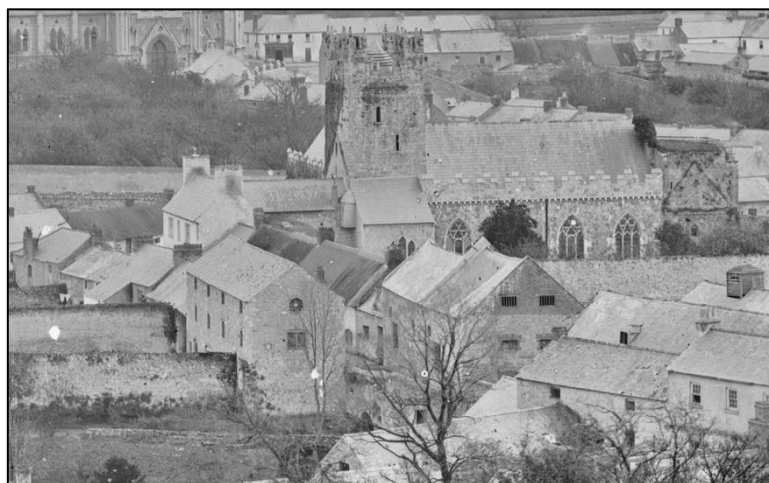
Figure 7.32 View from St Canice's cathedral, this is digitally enhanced and shows some of the houses along Black Abbey Street, and Grey Friar's bridge, *circa* 1900; Lawrence collection, Kilkenny, NLI, photograph, L_CAB_00232.

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[41] Valuation Office, cancelled books, Kilkenny, no. 1, urban, 1900 to 1910 (VO, Kilkenny, no. 1, urban, pp 339-41).
[42] Census of Ireland, 1901, available at
www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1901/Kilkenny/Kilkenny_Urban/Evans_Lane/ (accessed 10 Mar. 2016). See also 'census.nationalarchives.ie' available at
www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Kilkenny/Kilkenny_No__1_Urban/Evans_Lane/ (accessed 10 Mar. 2016); see also Heritage Council, *Heritage conservation plan no. 1, Rothe house, Parliament Street, Co. Kilkenny* (Kilkenny, 2002), pp 27-9.

Figure 7.32 shows the Black Abbey in the centre, the buildings towards the front of the image are along the top of Abbey Street and do not appear to be substantially different to those already seen on High Street. In in the centre left of the original image are a number of smaller buildings that represent an entirely different type of vernacular architecture than has been seen previously in the photographs of the Lawrence collection (figure 7.33).
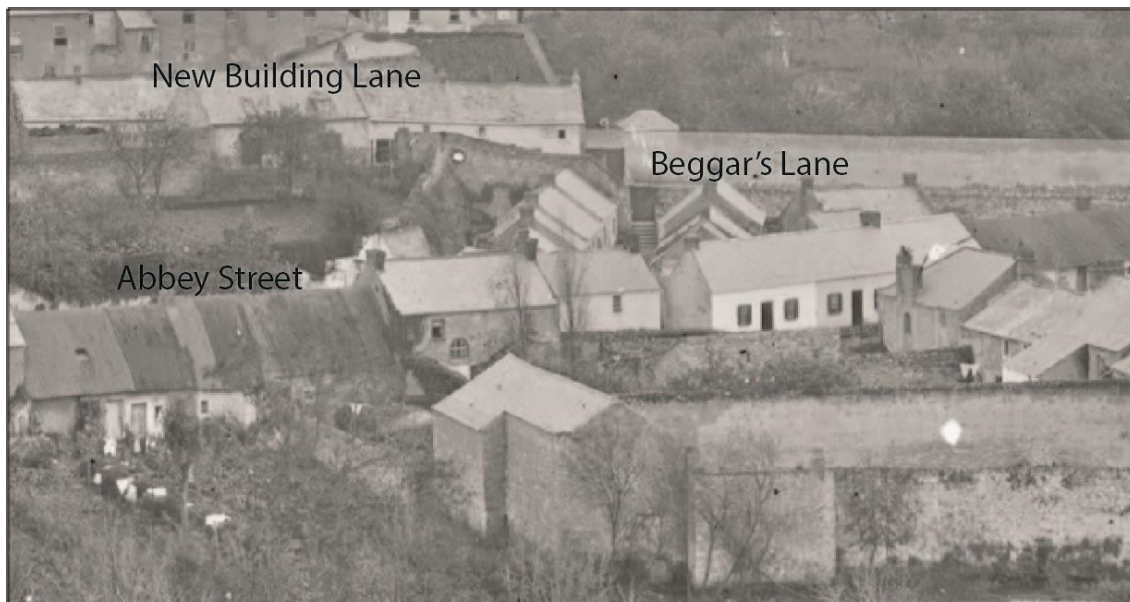
Figure 7.33 View from St Canice's cathedral. This is digitally enhanced from the original and shows houses along Beggar's Lane, later Tilbury's Lane, Abbey Street and the end of New Building Lane, *circa* 1900; Lawrence collection, Kilkenny, NLI, photograph, L_CAB_00232.

The buildings shown on figure 7.33 show a predominance of small single-storey cottages. They are high-density low-value houses and are in stark contrast to the images of the two-and three-storey Georgian buildings that dominate the previous views of Kilkenny. The quality of the construction materials used here is also contrasted with that of the main streets. The buildings on the right which are Beggar's Lane, later Tilbury's Lane, look to be whitewashed, slated and well-constructed, but the buildings on the left centre look to have corrugated roofs and are in a poor state of repair. In terms of their morphology they are shown on the OS twenty-five-inch map of 1913-14, they are also shown on the earlier 1871 OS five-foot plan.[43] They present as rectangular in form and generally face the street front with the exception of the cluster in the centre rear that look like they are separated by little more than a narrow lane or footpath. A further example of the use of impermanent building materials can be seen along Abbey Street and New Building Lane that shows houses with what seem to be thatched or corrugated iron roofs. This is supported by evidence from the 1911 census that shows that there actually was a house on New Building Lane with a thatched roof.[44]

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[43] OS twenty-five-inch plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 3 (1900); OS twenty-five-inch plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 3 (1946); OS five-foot plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 47 (1871).
[44] 'censusofireland.ie' Form B1, part one and two available at www.census.nationalarchives.ie/reels/nai002597088/ (accessed 24 Mar. 2016).

Figure 7.34 Abbey Street and New Building Lane as seen from St Canice's cathedral. This is digitally enhanced from the original and shows the thatched roofs of several cottages, *circa* 1900; Lawrence collection, Kilkenny, NLI, photograph, L_CAB_00232.

Figure 7.35 View from St Canice's cathedral. This is digitally enhanced from the original and shows houses with possible thatched roofs along New Building Lane, *circa* 1900, Lawrence collection, Kilkenny, NLI, photograph, L_CAB_00232.

Figures 7.34 and 7.35 show a type of vernacular cottage that was common in urban environments in Ireland. This type of house follows an 'artisanal tradition' and in their construction tend not to rely on the formal training of architects forming part of what Rolf Loeber refers to as a 'less formal tradition'.[45] Thus there is a mixture of formal and informal planning and construction, that when viewed as a whole, displays the complete character of a town or city. This variety of

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[45] Loeber, *Art and architecture of Ireland, volume iv*, pp 419-20.

building types in the city with the large well-constructed buildings at the front of the streets can be attributed to the original medieval character of the city in the form of the burgage plots.[46]

Whereas the front of a burgage plot was occupied by a large well-constructed building the rear of the plot was limited in terms of width and depth thus it was necessary to build houses with a small footprint in order to make the most of the available space. This then led to long rows of small one-or two-storey densely populated houses. Population density and housing quality along the line of these burgage plots was commented on in chapters one, four and six. This was the common pattern along most, but not all, of the burgage plots. This is particularly noticeable on parts of the west side of High Street and Parliament Street where building was not hampered by the presence of the flood plain of the Nore which acted as a natural fixation point and limited development.

Figure 7.36 View from St Canice's cathedral. This is digitally enhanced and shows some of the houses at the rear of Parliament Street, Lawrence collection, Kilkenny, NLI, photograph, L_CAB_00234. This was taken from the parapet of St Canice's cathedral, by increasing the scale of the photograph digitally, previously unseen views of Kilkenny such as figures 7.34 and 7.35 can be extracted.

This pattern of the burgages being built on along the length of the plot, and roughly conforming to the original width of the plot, is very common for most of Kilkenny city at the end of the study period. It can be seen, in Hightown, the suburb of St John's and to an extent in Irishtown. One of the more notable exceptions to this is the area between Jame's Street and Chapel Lane. Cartographic evidence shows a significant number of large buildings that occupy more than the width of a single plot. It seems likely that plots in this location were substantially amalgamated over time. One possible reason is the proximity of this area to James's Gate that allowed access to and egress from the city until it was removed. This area is also mid-way between High Street and Parliament Street. It was thus ideally situated to take advantage of markets when they were held on the streets prior to the Kilkenny Markets Act of 1861.

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[46] Ibid., pp 419-20.

Kilkenny city valuations, 1901 to 1910

Analysis of the Lawrence collection photographs and available cartographic material shows that there was very little change in form in terms of the buildings and their block patterns along High Street between 1861 and *circa* 1914. It is also possible to see if there were substantial changes in the values of these buildings using the cancelled books of the Valuation Office.[47]

Figure 7.37 Manuscript cancelled book showing marginal change in valuations on High Street, Kilkenny between 1902 and 1910.[48]

This shows only a marginal increase in valuation of a mere £45 over the period 1900 to 1910. The cancelled books for High Street show only a change in valuation where there is change in use this might explain some but not all of the changes made to the building plots that were identified cartographically.

The various coloured inks in the sample above allow for changes in valuation of a street or individual premises to be charted. The colours indicate a change and always follow the same pattern thus the earliest is in black, followed by green etc. as shown. This example is even more useful as the changes are also dated. If figure 7.37 is charted and the percentage increase is noted the marginal changes in value become even more apparent.

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[47] Valuation Office, cancelled books, Kilkenny, no. 1, urban, 1901 to 1910 (VO, Kilkenny, no. 1, urban, p. 95).
[48] Ibid.

Year	£	S	D	Decimal value in pounds	Percentage increase
1902	1398	1	0	1398.05	0.00
1903	1401	0	0	1401.00	0.21
1905	1409	5	0	1409.25	0.59
1906	1418	10	0	1418.50	0.66
1907	1431	7	0	1431.35	0.91
1908	1439	7	0	1439.35	0.56
1909	1441	17	0	1441.85	0.17
1910	1443	7	0	1443.35	0.10

Figure 7.38 Percentage increase in the valuation of High Street, 1902-10, compiled from Valuation Office cancelled books, 1901-10.

Fixation lines, 1901 to 1922

Chapter one discussed fixation lines these are essentially anything that has the potential to limit or define a city or town's physical growth.[49] In the case of Kilkenny the two most significant of these were, the town walls, and the river Nore.

It has already been shown that the town wall served as the point at which the corporation defined its area of responsibility in terms of street cleaning and repair in the nineteenth century.[50] This is despite the fact that during the study period it had ceased to be a physical boundary in most places. It remained a point of division of responsibility between the corporation and the grand jury until this latter body was abolished in 1898. It was not until 1905, following an order from the local government board, that the corporation finally took over management of the streets and roads within the entirety of the city boundary. The town wall had served as a defining factor, both physically and administratively, in the growth and development of the city for almost 600 years. It limited growth internally and extramural development had to take it into account in terms of streetscapes.

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[49] Harold Carter and Sandra Wheatley, 'Fixation lines and fringe belts, land uses and social areas: nineteenth-century change in the small town' in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, iv, no. 2, the Victorian city (1979), pp 214-38; M.R.G. Conzen, 'Alnwick, Northumberland: a study in town plan analysis' in *Transactions and Papers (Institute of British Geographers)*, no. 27 (2nd ed. 1969), pp 1-131.
[50] *Report from the select committee on local government and taxation of towns*, H.C. 1876, p. 559; *Annual report of the Local government board for Ireland*, H.C. 1905, pp 24, 334-5.

By 1901 much of the town wall had long been removed, one of the last elements that served as a physical boundary for entrance to the city was St Patrick's Gate, demolished in 1897. The demolition of this gate and the effective removal of the town wall as a fixation line at this point is one of the few significant infrastructural changes to the city between *circa* 1897 and 1922.[51]

Figure 7.39 St Patrick's Gate *circa* 1865 thirty years before it was demolished.[52]

Figure 7.39 shows St Patrick's Gate prior to its demolition. This was one of eight original town gates, with the only one now surviving being part of the Black Abbey Gate. The confining nature of the town walls and gates is evidenced clearly in the photograph. While originally designed as defences they ultimately became defunct and limited the area available for development in the city as well as hindering access. As the city grew and developed the old defences first depicted on the thirteenth-century seal became obsolete. Their long-term effect was more than merely physical however; they remained as an administrative boundary long after they were removed.

A second major change was the construction of the new St John's Bridge in 1910. The Nore had historically been a significant fixation line in the city and, as was demonstrated in chapter one, much of the medieval city was built on reclaimed land.[53] Through a use of archaeological and documentary evidence it is hypothesised by Cóilín Ó Drisceoil that up to 48 per cent of the Hightown, Irishtown and the suburb of St John's were built on reclaimed land.[54] The construction of a new bridge was therefore important in terms of infrastructure and represents another significant change. The importance of fixation points at the end of the study period is twofold;

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[51] Ben Murtagh and Christiaan Corlett, 'St Patrick's Gate, Kilkenny' in *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, cxxxvii (2007), pp 70-100.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Cóilín Ó Drisceoil, 'Kilkenny reclaimed: the archaeological evidence for medieval reclamation in Kilkenny city' in *Old Kilkenny Review*, lv (2003), pp 61-3.
[54] Ibid., pp 59-60.

they show that physical boundaries were still a factor and that by the early twentieth century there were few major infrastructural changes to the city. The plots, plan units, buildings and streetscapes of the earlier period had in fact changed very little. In terms of growth and development and as intimated in the introduction where the falling population was discussed, the city was essentially stagnant. From its medieval position as the most important inland city in Ireland it had become just another large provincial town albeit one that still served as the main market town for the county.

Conclusion

This chapter looked at the form, function and fabric of Kilkenny towards the end of the study period from *circa* 1900 to 1922. The cartographic and photographic evidence shows that there was considerable persistence in the form of the buildings on the main streets of Kilkenny during the study period. For the most part, while there is evidence of change of use, or function, of these buildings their form and fabric was generally static. The impact of the burgage cycle by the end of the study period was also discussed. This demonstrated that the burgage cycle was continuing and that the plots had been built on along their length with a tendency towards small, poor-quality, high-density housing. Finally, the importance of fixation lines in the city was discussed. The static nature of the city at the end of the study period was a frequent theme in this chapter.

Conclusion

This thesis tells the story of a city in decline in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It does this by examining the urban morphology, social geography and the economics of local government in Kilkenny city between 1861 and 1922.

In the medieval period Kilkenny had become the most important inland town in the lordship of Leinster. By the end of the study period in 1922 with a population in decline and no significant industry to speak of it had dwindled in size and importance and it became neglected primarily due to lack of investment with no immediate prospects for short-term improvement. This decline, which continued into the 1940s and 1950s, is immediately evident when comparing the OS five-foot plan of 1871 with an aerial photograph from 1949 (figure I). This shows the area across from the entrance to the Market Yard as far as Evans Lane. The stores and malt houses depicted in 1871 now lie in ruins. The same pattern of decline and neglect is repeated across the city.
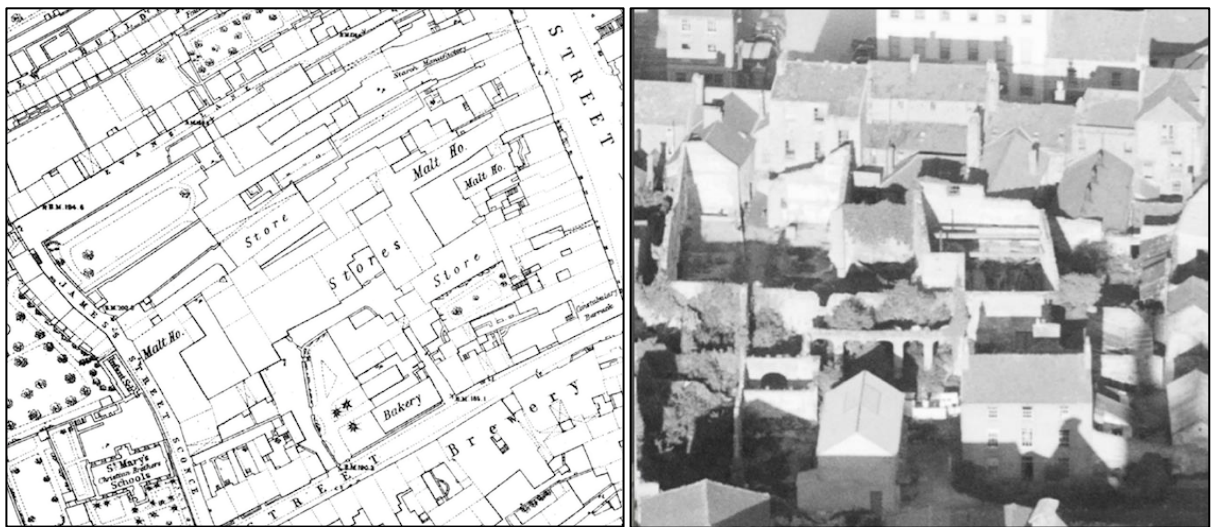
Figure I OS five-foot plan, Kilkenny, sheet xix, 47 (1871), showing the area between Jame's Street and Evans Lane and the same area on an aerial photograph from 3 Oct. 1949, general view, Kilkenny, Kilkenny, Ireland, 1949, oblique aerial photograph taken facing north/east, copyright, Britain from above, britainfromabove.org.uk/ (accessed 17 Mar. 2017).

Urban morphology

Urban morphology and town-plan analysis has been a key methodology in this thesis. Chapter one discusses the morphology of the city from its foundation as an ecclesiastical settlement until the start of the study period in 1861. In the medieval period Kilkenny had a powerful patron in William Marshal who began construction of the castle and gave Kilkenny its first charter in 1207. He expanded Hightown to the south and founded St John's priory on modern-day John Street. His efforts to expand the city attracted settlers who were awarded plots of land. These are the distinctive diagnostic feature of medieval urban form in Ireland and throughout the Continent, the burgage plot. This is explored in this thesis by examining the burgage cycle; how the burgage plots were first laid out and how their use changed over time from gardens, orchards and yards to eventually being totally built over with high-density low-quality housing along many of the original plots. The question asked throughout this thesis was whether or not the medieval layout of the city had an impact in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It has been demonstrated that it had a significant impact; the burgage plots, for example, limited development and led to low-quality, high-density housing and the town wall acted as both a physical and an administrative boundary until the early twentieth century.

While William Marshal was responsible for the layout of much of the medieval city, the most significant morphological change prior to the start of the study period occurred under the patronage of the first duke of Ormonde, James Butler. He obtained a grant of land and houses from the corporation that allowed him to construct the Parade. Until the construction of the Market Yard, this was the single largest alteration to the medieval fabric of the city. While originally intended as a continental-style piazza to display the majesty of the Ormonde castle it has served many functions over the years. From a market place in the nineteenth century to serving as the point of sale for hay and coal in the early twentieth century to the venue for a Christmas festival in the twenty-first century. It remains a crucial element of the urban morphology of Kilkenny city and demonstrates how an active agent of change with an interest in promoting a city or town can have a long-term impact.

The one major morphological change to the city during the study period was the construction of a purpose-built market place by Kilkenny corporation following the Kilkenny Market Act of 1861. This was the only time over the course of this study that the corporation consciously improved the city by means of a significant infrastructural project. By centralising the markets, and taking control of market rights and tolls, only made possible by Ormonde's agreement with the corporation in 1677, it radically altered how markets and fairs functioned. Markets and fairs had traditionally taken place on the city streets; they were now held and regulated under the control of the corporation in a purpose-built public space.

In terms of Conzenian morphological theory, the development of both the Parade and the Market Yard are somewhat unusual. Yvonne Whelan summarises M.R.G. Conzen's standard arguments by stating that 'land use is the most susceptible to change; buildings are adaptable to alternative uses without being physically replaced and so change occurs at a slower rate than land use; and finally the town plan is the least susceptible to change'.[1] The development of both the Parade and the Market Yard saw the removal of houses and buildings as well as the original medieval burgage plots and a drastic alteration of land use for new developments. They represent not only change in land use but show how buildings were physically replaced and how the town plan itself was altered. These developments show how active agents of change can affect the morphology of a town or city. This shows the importance of recognising the original plan units when undertaking a morphological analysis and understanding that elements on large-scale plans can represent accretion or changes to the original plan of a city. It is critical therefore, when viewing nineteenth-century plans of any town with Anglo-Norman or earlier origins, to be able to identify its earliest modern elements to see the plan of the medieval city.

The Parade and the Market Yard, therefore, were major changes to the medieval town plan, permanently altering the morphology of the city. In terms of land use, the Parade is still a large open space used primarily for civic events although it was in use as a car park until it was redeveloped *circa* 2007. The Market Yard has seen a change in land use in the modern period. The original market was removed and a road linking it to John's Bridge was constructed with much of the land being subsequently redeveloped for a shopping development.

Conzen's theories were also tested in terms of industry in Kilkenny during the study period. The decline of industry was traced through a plan analysis of two of the major milling complexes. Chapter three showed how these mills were adapted to changing circumstances and how two of the city's milling complexes saw a change of use from corn to wool. This plan analysis of two mill complexes combined cartographic, documentary, topographic and archaeological evidence to show how the growth and subsequent decline of industry can be traced morphologically. This chapter also demonstrated how the failure to develop effective transport links coupled with the removal of trade tariffs had a detrimental effect on industry in the city. Furthermore, the importance of land reclamation to industry is made clear through available archaeological reports.

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[1] Yvonne Whelan, 'Geographies of urban morphology' in John Morrissey, David Nally, Ulf Strohmayer and Yvonne Whelan (eds), *Key concepts in historical geography* (London, 2014), p. 154.

Another important Conzenian concept examined in this thesis was the burgage cycle. Initially, a burgage plot was a long narrow piece of land intended as gardens, orchards and yards for the medieval burgesses. Gradually these plots were built on, eventually reaching the fixation line formed by the town wall. Development along these plots was in general confined by their narrow width. In the nineteenth century this resulted in low-quality, high-density housing, particularly in the block formed between William Street and Chapel Lane and also between New Building Lane and Evans Lane.

These areas were frequently mentioned in the minute books of the urban sanitary authority as being unsanitary and cramped. The medieval form of the city therefore had a definite long-term impact. It limited the area available for development in the city as a result of the confined width of the burgage plots. The narrow width of these plots, coupled with the fact that they tended to extend as far as the narrow lane or sconce that ran inside the town wall, meant that were ideal for development for houses for the lower classes of the city. These plots were also amalgamated in places, in particular the area shown on figure I. Ownership of these plots is also a very important issue. An owner or owners must have granted permission for construction of houses along the confined width and length of the plots, thus allowing the creation of low-quality, high-density housing.

This ties back into Conzen's theory that land use was subject to frequent change. The fact remains, however, that the change of land use in this area resulted in the removal of plot boundaries that are usually such a static feature of medieval settlements. Future work could see these plots, and thus the form of the medieval city, recreated through a metrological analysis. The width of the buildings at the front of the burgage could be extended back as far as the line of the town wall. This information could then be supplemented with a thorough analysis of the information contained in the Civil Survey, OS maps, plan analysis and the use of archaeological records to recreate the city as it was in the medieval period. Anna Byrne produced a map based on land use in Kilkenny in 1654 that goes some way to doing this, but work remains to be done.[2]

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[2] John Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA, no. 10 (Dublin, 2000), p. 5.

Chapter seven entailed a limited plan analysis of the city at the end of the study period. This chapter looked at photographs from the Lawrence collection and then examined the form and function of key buildings and the streetscape as portrayed in these photographs. This chapter concluded that many of the buildings shown were in fact simply adapted to an alternative use and that the block plans remained largely the same between 1871 and *circa* 1914, modern photographs were also used to show how little the buildings and streets have changed.

Fixation lines in the form of the town walls or other physical constraints such as the river Nore also have a part to play in this thesis. The town walls were largely removed as a physical boundary by the mid-nineteenth century as evidenced on the available cartographic records. They remained as an important administrative boundary to the corporation who only maintained the city streets and footpaths within the line of the town walls until ordered by the local government board to take over maintenance of the entire area in 1905. This again shows how important the form and layout of the medieval city was to the modern city. The defences first depicted on the stylised thirteenth-century seal had long since ceased to serve this function during the study period but still had an important effect on municipal management. The river Nore also functions as a fixation line with up to 48 per cent of the city built on reclaimed land. The construction of the market saw this come to the fore with arguments against its ultimate location focussing on its low-lying situation and that it was a 'swamp' as well as that 'most of the disease in Kilkenny' came from that spot.[3] Land reclamation was, therefore, not only important to the milling industry but also played a part in the land development in the centre of the city.

Social geography

The back lanes and side streets of the city were not the only place where low-quality high-density housing was to be seen in Kilkenny during the study period. Poor-quality housing was also in evidence in the suburbs of the city. This is seen in chapter four which traces the origin and decline of two of these suburbs and also examines the social geography of the urban poor through an analysis of urban form and an examination of urban tenure. It uniquely discusses urban tenure in the suburbs of Kilkenny city through a morphological analysis and shows the decline of these suburbs and the transitory nature of the employment of those who lived here.

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[3] *Kilkenny Journal*, 17 Nov. 1860; *Kilkenny Moderator*, 17 Nov. 1860.

It found that tenancy in the suburbs was transitory in part due to low rent and showed that there was frequent change in the surnames of those who lived there. It showed that in the suburbs of the city at any rate, the make-up of society was constantly changing, possibly as a result of changing labour conditions aided by short-term tenancies with low rents. This is supported by evidence from Waterford, New Ross and Tralee. The tightly packed nature of the houses along the lanes is to some extent mirrored by the development of the suburbs. Instead of developing along the line of a burgage plot, houses on the outskirts of the city followed the line of a pre-existing road. They followed what has been called an 'artisanal tradition' with a chimney at the gable end and a central doorway.[4] There is little evidence of this type of house surviving today in either suburb. Photographic evidence demonstrates that this theory concerning the form of these buildings is correct (figure II).

Figure II Photograph from the Lawrence collection taken from Kilkenny castle with Broguemakers Hill in the foreground and Greenshill in the background showing the dwellings here, *circa* 1900. Lawrence collection, Kilkenny, National Library of Ireland, photograph, L_ROY_04378.

The social geography of the city is also seen through an examination of the records of the urban sanitary authority and the newspapers after the Local Government Act of 1898. A report by a medical inspector from the local government board described Chapel Lane as being in a 'state of filth' and the block of houses formed by Chapel Lane, Garden Row, Poyntz Lane, Guard Lane and Colliers Lane being in the same condition. The 1901 census showed that there were 347 people living along these lanes.[5] They all lie along the lines of the original burgage plots and show how the medieval form of the city was adapted by the poorer classes of society and

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[4] Barry O'Reilly, 'Hearth and home: the vernacular house in Ireland from *c*. 1800' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, *Section C*, cxi (2011), p. 193.
[5] www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1901/Kilkenny/Kilkenny_Urban/ (accessed 14 Nov. 2016), the figures for each lane noted on form B1 were tabulated to arrive at the total of 347 people.

resulted in high-density, low-quality housing. The social geography of nineteenth-and twentieth-century Kilkenny was therefore also affected by its original medieval layout. With no real form of urban slum clearance and a lack of investment by landlords likely as a result of the fractured nature of land ownership within the city there was no impetus or capital for improvement.

In terms of improving the quality of housing in the city through the construction of artisans' dwellings, those built by the corporation during the study period tended to be in the suburbs of the city. The largest development was the scheme of houses built on Goose Hill (modern day Lord Edward Street), between 1914 and 1915.[6] Other schemes were built along John's Quay, Flood Street (Parnell Street) and Kennyswell Street. These were areas where the corporation already owned properties and they focused on these areas rather than on the lanes and side streets. By 1919 the corporation had built a total of one-hundred-and-eighty-seven artisans' dwellings in these suburbs. There was little attempt to improve the environment in which people lived in the centre of the city; further research on public housing and an examination of the remaining minute books of the urban sanitary authority beyond the end of the study period would shed further light on the social geography of the people living along the lines of the medieval burgage plots in twentieth-century Kilkenny.

The economics of local government

The corporation's capability to act as an agent of change is explored through a review of the economics of local government in chapter five. The failure of the corporation either to improve or to add to its income in the latter half of the nineteenth century saw it almost £6000 in debt by the start of the twentieth century largely, at least in the corporation's eyes, due to debt accrued as a result of sanitary expenses. Overspending on salaries was in reality the key factor. Four key members of the corporation, the mayor, the town clerk, the treasurer and master of the markets receiving approximately £600 *per annum* between them. Added to this is the £236 spent on salaries of the four principal individuals tasked with managing the sanitary affairs of the city (see Appendix 5).[7] Expenditure on sanitation in terms of actually improving the city's water supply and sewerage system was actually quite low. In 1894, for example, £758 was spent on sanitation, inclusive of the £236 on salaries. This amounted to 31.13 per cent of the overall spend (see Appendix 4 for a breakdown of the corporation's expenditure on sanitation between 1870 and 1913 and Appendix 5 for a list of the sanitary officers salaries in 1894-5).

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[6] *Kilkenny People*, 28 Feb. 1914; 5 Sept. 1914; 10 Oct. 1914; Department of Local Government and Public Health (Third report, 1927-8), p. 173.
[7] Kilkenny, urban sanitary district, return of officers 1894 (uncatalogued item, Kilkenny corporation archive).

The combined salaries of the sanitary officers and corporation officials were generally over £900 per year and tended to exceed the sums actually spent on the sanitation of the city. The corporation had the ability to add to its income by levying rates but chose not to do so. Even when a vote was eventually carried in 1898 to levy a borough rate, members who were absent when the vote was passed acted to have the motion struck off. It was not until the passing of the Local Government Act of 1898 that came into power in 1899 that a borough rate was finally levied and even then it was 'one of the lowest in Leinster'. Fear of upsetting the ratepayers and the electorate took priority over acting to improve the city. Despite having the capability and the responsibility to act to improve the city the corporation continually failed to do so.

The corporation's failure in this regard and the mismanagement of its financial affairs through a lack of political will to levy a sanitary rate or a borough rate is seen through a review of how it managed the city's sanitation. The survival of a minute book of the urban sanitary authority allows for topographical overview of where the work of the urban sanitary authority was focused. It demonstrates that the burgage plots and suburbs were densely crowded and that the burgage cycle saw houses built across the width and along the length of the plots. The confined space afforded by the burgage plots resulted in cramped living conditions, overcrowding and poor sanitation. The corporation was acutely aware of these conditions and of the sanitary state of the city yet did little to act in terms of improvements to sanitation. Despite thousands of inspections by the urban sanitary authority per annum that clearly showed the squalor and dirt of these lanes and suburbs, nothing was done to improve the city in terms of a fresh water supply until the corporation was forced to do so by an order from the local government board.

This thesis also developed the point that agents of change, those bodies or individuals with the power to alter the city and shape society, did not play a significant part in the city's later development. It argued that the corporation was the body most suited to this role but with the exception of procuring the Kilkenny Markets Act of 1861 they did little to improve the city in terms of infrastructural improvements particularly in relation to sanitation.

This research has the potential for future expansion; a comparative approach to the role of local authorities in relation to sanitation and finances would help to shed more light on the question of the inefficiency of Kilkenny corporation, for example. Was their reluctance to act to improve the city and their finances the norm or the exception? Expanding the study into the 1940s or 1950s would help to further explore the question of the corporation's role in improving the city, particularly in relation to the construction of housing and improving sanitation.

Local politics also need to be addressed and would require a major study in its own right. This would allow for a more in-depth analysis of the decisions taken by the corporation throughout the study period. It would, for example, necessitate studying attendance at meetings and voting patterns over a long period to see precisely how the factions in the corporation influenced local events to suit themselves.

John Bradley, writing in the Kilkenny fascicle of the IHTA, mentioned that the expansion of the Smithwicks brewery might have been the 'most far-reaching undertaking in the twentieth century'.[8] The recent closure of this brewery and the subsequent purchase of the buildings and the site by the County Council (who have replaced the corporation as the city managers) have presented the opportunity for another significant morphological change to the city. The grounds of St Francis' abbey will be re-opened to the public and the potential to redevelop this part of the historic core of the city has been presented with the County Council now having the power to act as an agent of change, a role that their nineteenth-and early twentieth-century predecessors neglected. The recent restoration of medieval St Mary's church, that opened in February 2017, also shows just how important the medieval origins of Kilkenny are to the modern city; not alone does the city retain many traces of its origins in the streetscape, buildings and plots are being actively maintained and restored. Finally, in relation to the importance of the Smithwick's brewery to the city, and the potential for a significant change, whether morphological or economic, Bradley's assertion may yet be proven to be right.

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[8] Bradley, *Kilkenny*, IHTA no. 10, p. 8.

Appendix 1: Glossary of urban morphological terms.[1]

Building pattern	Buildings and their block plans.
Block plan	The area taken up by a building and defined by its walls. This is a plan element.
Plan unit	Comprised of a combination of streets, plots and block plans. A series of contiguous plots as deduced from plot boundaries can be termed to be a plan unit when viewed separately from other elements of the town plan. Specific combinations of streets, plots and buildings and their associated block plans are also identified as plan units.
Plot	Can be defined as a parcel of land with a clearly defined boundary. This is a unit of land use.
Plot pattern	A parcel or parcels of land defined by a clear boundary. When taken as a series or number of contiguous plots and seen as distinct from other elements of the town plan this is the plot pattern. The most prevalent plot pattern in Kilkenny is the burgage series.
Plot series	A row of plots, each with its own frontage along the same street line.
Street system	Consists of a street or series of streets. A street should be seen as the space reserved for the use of any kind of surface traffic and for access and egress through the town. The arrangement of streets when seen independently from the other town plan elements is the street system.
Street block	The elements of a town plan bounded entirely or in part by the streets and the street system. Each of these is either a single plot of land or a parcel consisting of numerous plots of land.
Town plan	The town plan consists of three plan elements, namely: Streets arranged in a street system; Plots gathered into street blocks; and Buildings and their block plans.
Townscape	Consists of three separate form complexes, the town plan, pattern of urban land use and building fabric.

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[1] M.R.G. Conzen, 'Alnwick, Northumberland: a study in town-plan analysis' in *Transactions and Papers* (*Institute of British Geographers*), no. 27 (2nd edition, 1969), pp 123-31.
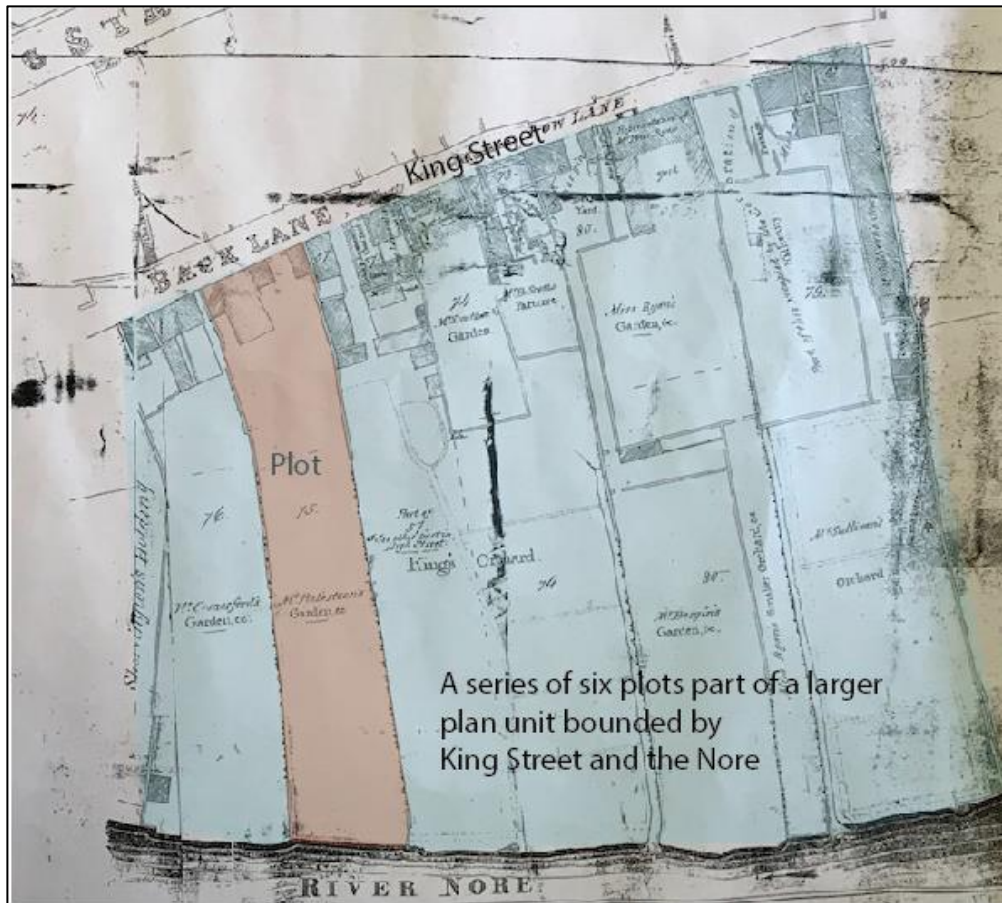
Appendix 1, figure i: A sample of a burgage series in Kilkenny along King Street, part of a larger plan unit with an individual plot highlighted, taken from James Healy's plan of 1844.

Form complex
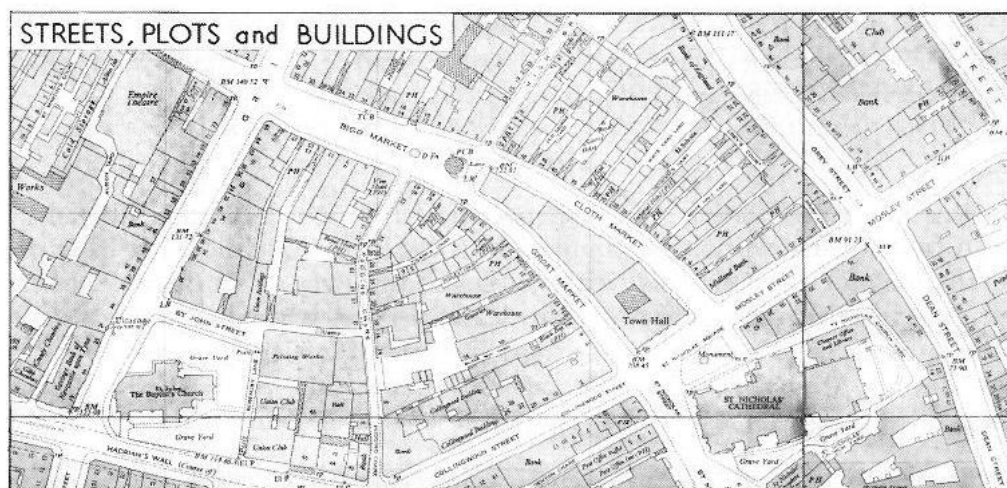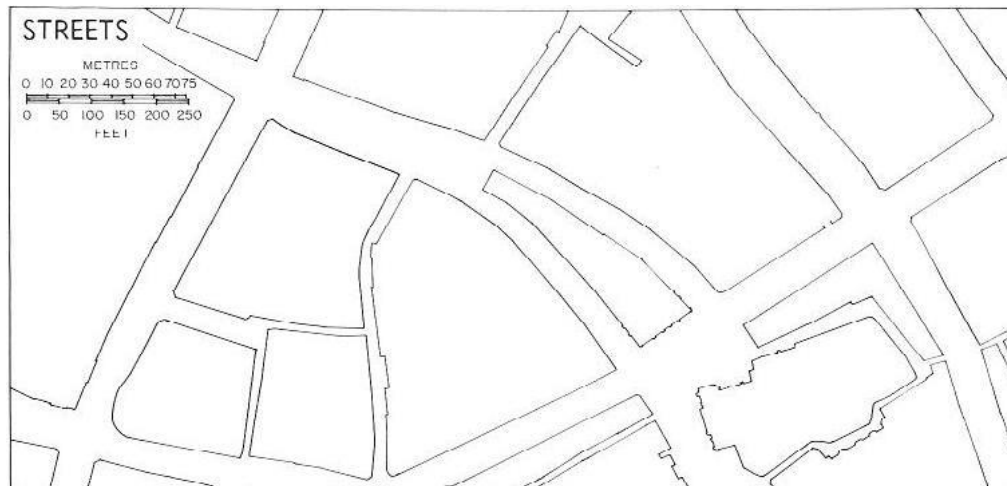
Appendix 1, figure ii: Sample ground plan with its constituent elements, taken from Michael Conzen, *Systematic urban morphology: an approach to understanding the physical fabric of the city*, Royal Irish Academy Masterclass (Saturday, 23 May 2015).

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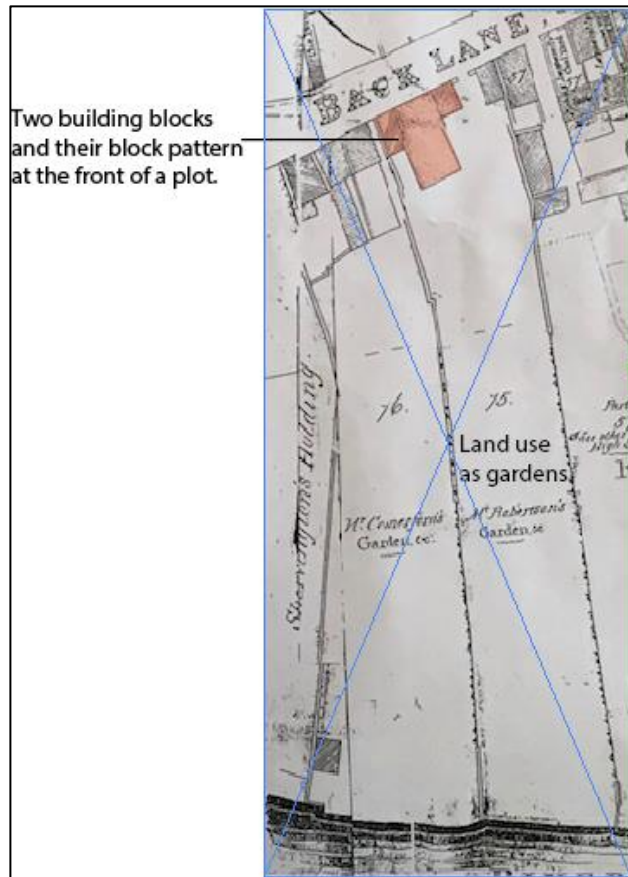
Appendix 1, figure iii: Two building blocks and their blockplans, and the pattern of urban land use on a burgage plot, extracted from James Healy's plan of 1844.

Appendix 2: Topographical references to St Canice's church and cathedral and St Patrick's church taken from; John Bradley, *Kilkenny*, Irish Historic Towns Atlas, no. 10 (Dublin, 2000).

House of relics (martartech), Patrick St E., on site of later St Patrick's church (*q.v.*).
Martartech of Mag Roigne, probably 5th cent. (Doherty, 65), *c.* A.D. 685 (Bieler, 162), *c.* A.D. 830 (*Bethu Phátraic*, 117). Church of Donaghmore *c.* A.D. 800 (Plummer, i, 166–7).

St Canice's church, Church Lane S., on site of later St Canice's cathedral (see next entry).
Said to have been founded by St Canice in 6th cent. (Gwynn and Hadcock, 84). [St] Canice's church, burnt in 1085 (*AFM*, ii, 923).

St Canice's cathedral (C. of I.), Church Lane S. Former church (see previous entry) adopted as cathedral in 1111 (Gwynn and Hadcock, 84–5). Burnt in 1114 (*AFM*, ii, 999). Romanesque fragments 12th cent. (Harbison, 27). New cathedral built on same site in *c.* 1205–85; central tower fell in 1332; tower rebuilt in *c.* 1354; nave reroofed in 1597; damaged, nave unroofed in 1650; repaired by 1672; choir restored in *c.* 1760 (Barry, 33, 42, 45). St Canice Church *c.* 1655 (DS); *c.* 1698 (Place). Cathedral church 1708 (Pratt). St Canice Church 1758 (Rocque); *c.* 1760 (Mitchell). St Canice's cathedral 1841–1946; cathedral 1983, 1999 (*OS*). St Canice's cathedral 2000. Restored in 1863–70 (Barry, 46). See also **20** Education: College of vicars choral.

Churchyard: burials pre-date round tower (*q.v.*) (Graves and Prim, 121); oldest graveslab *c.* 1300 (Bradley, 1985, 66); 1871–1946 (*OS*); disused 2000.

Round tower: built probably in *c.* 1100 (Graves and Prim, 122); *c.* 1698 (Place); *c.* 1760 (Mitchell); St Canice's Tower 1841–1999 (*OS*).

St Patrick's church, Patrick St E., on site of former house of relics (*q.v.*). St Patrick's church, Donaghmore *c.* 1207 (*Ir. mon. deeds*, 216). St Patrykes 1537 (Hore and Graves, 130). Nave and chancel in repair 1615 (Leslie, 358); *c.* 1698 (Place). St Patrick's church 1708 (Pratt). In ruins 1731 (Leslie, 358). St Patrick's Old Church, in ruins 1841; St Patrick's church, site of, 1871–1946; church, site of, 1983, 1999 (*OS*). No visible remains 2000.

Graveyard: oldest dated graveslab 1293 (Carrigan, iii, 210); 1704 (CB 20.10.1704); St Patrick's burying ground 1758 (Rocque); graveyard 1841–1983 (*OS*); disused 2000.

Wayside cross, in graveyard: erected in 1625 (Prim, 1850, 181–2); base extant 2000.

Appendix 3: Summary tables of market income in Kilkenny as a percentage of total corporation income 1865-1913, expressed as £ *s. d.* converted to a decimal format.

Market tolls 1865-1922	Income from markets	Overall corporation income	Percentage of overall income
1865	1568.96	4474.3	35.00
1869	1578.38	3997.63	39.48
1870	1573.82	4065.34	38.71
1871	1621.08	4172.34	38.85
1872	982.00	3694.00	26.58
1873	314.00	3002.00	10.46
1874	1600.00	4758.00	33.63
1875	2076.00	5321.00	39.02
1876	1631.00	4553.00	35.82
1877	1587.00	4381.00	36.22
1878	1720.00	5141.00	33.46
1879	1638.00	4516.00	36.27

	Income from markets	Overall corporation income	Percentage of overall income
1880	1750	4140	42.27
1881	1596	4020	39.70
1882	1624	8859	18.33
1883	1420	3944	36.00
1884	1274	4048	31.47
1885	1225	3868	31.67
1886	1448	3600	40.22
1887	1389	3757	36.97
1888	1355	6163	21.99
1889	1346	6528	20.62

	Income from markets	Overall corporation income	Percentage of overall income
1899	780	2318	33.65
1900	1187	12548	9.46
1901	898	11109	8.08
1902	999	13264	7.53
1903	978	22389	4.37
1904	986	16475	5.98
1905	982	11004	8.92
1906	934	10701	8.73
1907	926	10397	8.91
1908	949	15136	6.27
1909	946	10521	8.99
1910	860	11848	7.26
1911	889	11395	7.80
1912	846	11779	7.18
1913	795	12141	6.55

Appendix 4: Kilkenny corporation expenditure on sanitation 1870-1913

Year	Cleansing and watering	Water supply	Sewage utilization act	Making or cleansing sewers or drains	Other sanitary object	Total expenditure on sanitation	Total corporation income	Percentage of income spent on sanitation
	Decimal Value	Decimal Value	Decimal Value	Decimal Value	Decimal Value	Decimal Value	Decimal Value	
1870	0	0	0	0	2.39	2.39	4065.34	0.06
1871	0	0	28.75	0	0.9	29.65	4172.34	0.71
1872	46	51	14	0	87	198	3694	5.36
1873	28	48	0	57	0	133	3002	4.43
1874	260	28	0	0	86	374	4758	7.86
1875	334	10	0	0	230	574	5321	10.79
1876	295	0	0	0	0	295	4553	6.48
1877	0	0	0	0	350	350	4381	7.99
1878	247	0	0	0	370	617	5141	12.00
1879	251	0	0	100	211	562	4516	12.44
Totals per decade	1461	137	42.75	157	1337.29	3135.04	43603.68	7.19

Year	Cleansing and watering	Water supply	Sewage utilization act	Making or cleansing sewers or drains	Other sanitary object	Total expenditure on sanitation	Total corporation income	Percentage of income spent on sanitation
	Decimal Value	Decimal Value	Decimal Value	Decimal Value	Decimal Value	Decimal Value	Decimal Value	
1880	223	0	0	25	100	348	4140	8.41
1881	236	0	0	0	200	436	4020	10.85
1882	234	0	0	0	135	369	8859	4.17
1883	232	0	0	47	0	279	3944	7.07
1884	281	0	0	52	150	483	4048	11.93
1885	256	0	0	53	0	309	3868	7.99
1886	236	0	0	84	7	327	3600	9.08
1887	257	0	0	51	100	408	3757	10.86
1888	270	40	0	104	267	681	6163	11.05
1889	259	43	0	38	175	515	6528	7.89
Totals per decade	2484	83	0	454	1134	4155	48927	8.49

Year	Cleansing and watering	Water supply	Sewage utilization act	Making or cleansing sewers or drains	Other sanitary object	Total expenditure on sanitation	Total corporation income	Percentage of income spent on sanitation
	Decimal Value	Decimal Value	Decimal Value	Decimal Value	Decimal Value	Decimal Value	Decimal Value	
1890	244	28	0	39	69	380	5365	7.08
1891	280	26	0	49	82	437	5052	8.65
1892	309	29	0	47	82	467	6029	7.75
1893	336	83	0	19	110	548	4616	11.87
1894	316	105	0	70	267	758	4356	17.40
1895	356	158	0	94	254	862	4810	17.92
1896	335	31	0	27	263	656	4362	15.04
1897	325	68	0	26	258	677	4323	15.66
1898	292	50	0	0	51	393	4121	9.54
1899	212	37	0	12	73	334	2318	14.41
Totals per decade	3005	615	0	383	1509	5512	45352	12.15

Year	Cleansing and watering	Water supply	Sewage utilization act	Making or cleansing sewers or drains	Other sanitary object	Total expenditure on sanitation	Total corporation income	Percentage of income spent on sanitation
	Decimal Value	Decimal Value	Decimal Value	Decimal Value	Decimal Value	Decimal Value	Decimal Value	
1900	420	520	0	30	270	1240	12548	9.88
1901	1028	1142	0	14	0	2184	11109	19.66
1902	579	151	0	7	257	994	13264	7.49
1903	512	14544	0	0	234	15290	22389	68.29
1904	495	7354	0	0	280	8129	16475	49.34
1905	408	1996	0	0	249	2653	11004	24.11
1906	386	584	0	0	279	1249	10701	11.67
1907	452	322	0	303	0	1077	10397	10.36
1908	331	289	0	584	0	1204	15136	7.95
1909	332	201	0	441	0	974	10521	9.26
1910	402	326	0	394	0	1122	11848	9.47
1911	293	235	0	563	0	1091	11395	9.57
1912	307	298	0	446	0	1051	11779	8.92
1913	357	298	0	477	0	1132	12141	9.32
Totals per decade	6302	28260	0	3259	1569	39390	180707	21.80

Appendix 5: Kilkenny, urban sanitary district, return of officers salaries 4 Oct. 1894-5 (uncatalogued item, Kilkenny corporation archive).

No. 103—M/94—Exc.

Kilkenny Urban Sanitary District.

RETURN OF OFFICERS, OCTOBER, 1894.

OFFICE.	NAME.	ADDRESS.	Date of appointment.	Date of confirmation of appointment.	If holding any other office under the Sanitary Authority of the District.			Salary under Public Health Act.	TOTAL.
					Name of office.	Salary.	Emoluments.	£ s.	£ s.
		Hibernian Bank Kilkenny							
Executive Sanitary Officer	W. A. Cleere	Archer St	12.2.91	23.4.91	None			50 =	50 —
Consulting Sanitary Officer	C. E. James	Patrick St	Oct. 19.74	26.1.75	None			20 =	20 —
Medical Superintendent Officer of Health									
Sanitary Sub-Officer	Patk Redmond	King St	1.10.74	4.2.75	Boro' Inspr	78 =	House 3ree	30 a 4	108 =
do.	John Delany	Chapel Lane	31.5.83	6.9.83	none			52 —	52 =
do.	do	do	10.2.81		Con Rod Ho Inspc				6 —
do.									
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do.									
do.									
								78 = = 158 = 236 —	
Surveyor (if any)	A. W. Burden	Patrick St	23.10.94		—	Nil			

Signed, *William H. J. Cleere* Executive Sanitary Officer.

Date, _____ 4th _____ day of October, 1894. *-95*

The 1895 Copy Sent 28th -10- 1895

15 300 9/94 A.T.&Co.Ld.

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Appendix 6: Sample extract of entries from the minute book of the Kilkenny urban sanitary authority (KCA, CR, E1).			
Date	**Location**	**Summary**	**Note**
3 June 1875	Not specified	Manure removal	Pony and cart be purchased to remove manure from the lanes suburbs of the city.
3 June 1875	Not specified	Piggery	Removal of manure ordered.
3 June 1875	Chapel lane	Latrines	Nuisance abatement and buildings of latrines five houses in chapel lane.
3 June 1875	Watergate	Latrines	Erection of latrine house in Watergate.
3 June 1875	Jacob Street	Notice served	Notice complied with no detail given.
10 June 1875	Not specified	Limewashing	Limewashing of lanes cost given.
10 June 1875	John's Bridge	Main sewer	Excavation for main sewer John's bridge.
10 June 1875	Patrick Street Upper	Common lodging houses	Five houses ordered not to be re-registered.
10 June 1875	Patrick Street Upper	Common lodging houses	Five houses ordered not to be re-registered.
10 June 1875	Walkin Street	Common lodging houses	Five houses ordered not to be re-registered.
10 June 1875	Various	Common lodging houses	Five houses ordered not to be re-registered.
10 June 1875	Walkin Street	Common lodging houses	Five houses ordered not to be re-registered.
10 June 1875	Various	Common lodging houses	Five houses ordered not to be re-registered.
10 June 1875	Angels well	Sewer	Ordered that the sewer at Angels well be buillt up with bricks and mortar.
17 June 1875	Poyntz Lane	Summons	Summons to petty session ordered to abate premises ordered to be closed until made habitable.

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