

National University of Ireland Maynooth



ESTATE MANAGEMENT PRACTICES ON THE WENTWORTH-  
FITZWILLIAM CORE ESTATES OF IRELAND AND YORKSHIRE:  
A COMPARATIVE STUDY, 1815-65

By  
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## **Declaration**

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of Doctor of Philosophy, is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my own work

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ (Candidate)

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the internal workings of the Earls Fitzwilliam core estates in Yorkshire and Ireland from 1815 to 1865. While the Yorkshire estate benefitted from the presence of a resident landlord, the family's Irish holding in county Wicklow enjoyed a far greater degree of autonomy devolving power to a resident land agent. This comparative study aims to examine the different management strategies introduced in each location and how decisions made impacted local communities. The configuration of the estate administration structure in each location varied considerably due to the different environments in which they operated. While the Irish estate was primarily agricultural in nature, its Yorkshire counterpart contained sizeable mineral reserves which necessitated a more complex management structure. Consequently, these differences resulted in very different power dynamics in each location. Furthermore, outside the management structure resided the tenantry of various gradations who relied on the estate for their livelihoods.

Through the analysis of estate records, church records, parliamentary papers, print media and census material, this study charts the trajectory of two aristocratic landed communities located on opposite sides of the Irish Sea from the early to mid-nineteenth century. Case studies are utilised throughout to demonstrate the complex connections and difficulties that existed in each location. It exposes how the estate administration sometimes clashed over decisions concerning the management of the estates, and how decisions made ultimately affected landlord, agents and tenants as all were intrinsically connected by a shared reality.

## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my mother Mary Byrne née Rossiter, who was a constant source of love, support and encouragement.

*'Our stories are the glue of what we are. They stitch together what we become. Our ability to tell them is fundamental to how we celebrate and examine our lives.'*

Colum McCann.



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When I made the decision in 2009 to return to education, I could never for a single moment have imagined it would culminate in a Ph.D. This thesis is the product of enormous support that I have received over the past four and in many instances, seven years, from numerous people to whom I will forever be indebted.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

N.A.I.	National Archives of Ireland, Dublin.
N.L.I.	National Library of Ireland, Dublin.
R.A.L.S.	Rotherham Archives and Local Studies, Rotherham, South Yorkshire.
R.C.B.	Representative Church Body Library, Dundrum, Dublin.
S.A.	Sheffield Archives, Sheffield, South Yorkshire.
W.C.L.	Wicklow County Library, Bray, Co. Wicklow.
W.F.H.C.	Wicklow Family History Centre, Whitegates, Wicklow.
W.W.M.	Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments.
W.Y.A.S.	West Yorkshire Archive Service, Wakefield, Yorkshire.

## AUTHOR'S NOTE

The sources contain a number of variations in the spellings of personal and place-names. As a general rule, these have been changed to reflect modern conventions except where they form part of a quotation in which case the given orthography is adhered to. Thus, Aghowle is used instead of Aghold, Ballynultagh instead of Ballinulta, Moylisha instead of Melitia and so on. In terms of religion, the term 'Protestant' is used to identify Church of Ireland individuals on the Wicklow estate while 'Anglican' is used to denote members of the Church of England faith on the Yorkshire estate. For convenience, all acreage and percentages have been rounded to the nearest acre or percent and appear in numeric format.

## INTRODUCTION

*He never failed both to conciliate the regard and to command the respect of those that approached him: so perfectly also did he blend the mildest manners with an exalted carriage, that, whilst he retained the full dignity and authority of his high station, he lost not the attachment and love of his inferiors.*

Rev. John Hopkinson, 24 Feb. 1833.<sup>1</sup>

### *Introduction*

The fourth Earl Fitzwilliam died on 8 February 1833. His funeral took place two and a half weeks later at Marholm near Peterborough. In his sermon, the rector, John Hopkinson captured the paternalism of the fourth earl, a trait inherited by successive generations of Earls Fitzwilliam whose paternal philosophies largely dictated how they conducted their lives.<sup>2</sup> This conviction, as this thesis will demonstrate, transcended religious and class boundaries and was defined by a moral sense of duty to the lower classes. This paternal ideology had a dramatic impact on estate management practices on the Wentworth-Fitzwilliam core estates of Wicklow and Yorkshire. Outwardly, the Earls Fitzwilliam typify the traditional nineteenth-century Irish landlord represented in Irish national historiography: a man of English birth, an absentee who devolved the daily management of his Irish estate to his Irish land agent.<sup>3</sup> Peter Gray contends that historical representations traditionally: ‘expressed little sympathy for Irish landlords, who were depicted as ready to rob John Bull to line their own pockets and subsidise a lifestyle of

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<sup>1</sup> Author unknown, *The annual biography and obituary, 1834* (21 vols, London, 1834), xviii, pp 93-107; p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Patrick J. Duffy, ‘Colonial spaces and sites of resistance: landed estates in nineteenth-century Ireland’ in L. J. Proudfoot and M. M. Roche (eds), *(Dis)placing empire* (Aldershot, 2005), pp 15-40.

cowardly absenteeism' particularly in the aftermath of the Great Irish Famine.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, the portrayal of the Irish land agent was no less appealing. This cohort was widely condemned in the traditional narrative as the ruination of nineteenth-century Irish society and the root cause of bad relations between landlord and tenant.<sup>5</sup>

It is against this traditional narrative that this thesis is set. Closer examination of the management practices on the Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates in both Wicklow and Yorkshire largely refute these claims but builds on the work of Vaughan and others. Since the 1970s, historians have moved the debate on landlord and tenant relations significantly forward presenting a more nuanced interpretation of events which considers the complexities of nineteenth-century Irish rural society which is reflected in the historiography.<sup>6</sup> However, there is a dearth of studies of individual estates that might expose anomalies with the exception of W. A. Maguire's study of the Downshire estate, Ciarán Reilly's study of the Strokestown estate and Gerard Lyne's analysis of the Lansdowne estate in county Kerry.<sup>7</sup> This thesis covers both the pre and post-Famine eras

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<sup>4</sup> Peter Gray, 'Punch and the Great Famine' in *History Ireland*, i (1993), pp 26-33; p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> See for example, W. E. Vaughan, *Landlords and tenants in mid-Victorian Ireland* (Oxford, 1994); James S. Donnelly Jr., *The land and people of nineteenth-century Cork: the rural economy and the land question* (London, 1975); Ciarán Reilly, *The Irish land agent, 1830-60: the case of King's county* (Dublin, 2014).

<sup>6</sup> See for example, M. R. Beames, *Peasants and power: the Whiteboy movements and their control in pre-Famine Ireland* (New York, NY, 1983); Gaelen Broeker, *Rural disorder and police reform in Ireland, 1812-36* (London, 1970); Philip Bull, *Land, politics and nationalism: a study of the Irish land question* (Dublin, 1996); Samuel Clark, *Social origins of the Irish land war* (Princeton, NJ, 1979); R.V. Comerford, *The Fenians in context: Irish politics and society, 1848-82* (Dublin, 1998); Peter Connell, *The land and people of county Meath, 1750-1850* (Dublin, 2004); L. P. Curtis Jr, *The depiction of eviction in Ireland, 1845-1910* (Dublin, 2011), Terence Dooley, *The decline of the big house in Ireland: a study of Irish landed families, 1860-1960* (Dublin, 2001); Idem., 'The land for the people': *the land question in independent Ireland* (Dublin, 2007); Idem., *The murders at Wildgoose lodge: agrarian crime and punishment in pre-Famine Ireland* (Dublin, 2007).

<sup>7</sup> W. A. Maguire, *The Downshire estates in Ireland, 1801-45: the management of Irish landed estates in the early nineteenth century* (Oxford, 1972); Ciarán Reilly, *Strokestown and the Great Irish Famine* (Dublin, 2014); Gerard J. Lyne, *The Lansdowne estate in Kerry under the agency of William Steuart Trench, 1849-72* (Dublin, 2001).

and more significantly, attempts to compare estate management practices on the core estates in Wicklow and Yorkshire. Throughout, this thesis will emphasize how estate management practices in both locations were defined by a paternal philosophy which impacted the economic performance of both estates. Consequently, the management structures in Wicklow and Yorkshire remained conflicted between the business acumen of the land agents and the economic naivety of the earl. The use of the word ‘paternalism’ throughout this thesis is understood to mean the sense of duty embodied by a father-like figure, such as a landlord, who is bound by tradition and is both altruistically motivated and morally inclined to enhance the lives of his tenantry. This definition contrasts significantly with existing interpretations of the term paternalism. Contemporary historiography of the landed classes aligns the term paternalism with the act of deference. Howard Newby, among others, has suggested that the term paternalism is employed to highlight the superior and inferior characteristics of the landlord-tenant relationship. He argues that any paternal concessions are offered merely to reinforce and sustain class differences and social stagnation.<sup>8</sup> However, the paternalism which characterised the Earls Fitzwilliam during the period under study challenges the traditional representation of landlords in the Irish context while simultaneously extends their interpretation in the British context.

### *Study region and time period*

Characteristically, the study regions are very different (see chapter one). The core estate in Yorkshire was approximately half the size of the Wicklow core estate, yet it remained the primary seat of residence for the family. Although the Wentworth-

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<sup>8</sup> Howard Newby, ‘The deferential dialectic’ in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, xvii (1975), pp 139-64.



Fitzwilliam's Yorkshire estate at Wentworth forms the basis of previous doctoral research, this has largely excluded the family's Irish estate at Coollattin in south-west Wicklow.

Furthermore, while the Yorkshire estate benefitted from the presence of a resident landlord, the Wicklow estate arguably enjoyed a greater degree of autonomy. That said, as absentee landlords, the Earls Fitzwilliam were atypical in that they were highly engaged in the management of their Irish estates. Despite the fact that the Earls Fitzwilliam owned large tracts of land in Wicklow and Yorkshire, these estates were treated as independent entities with their own management structure, policies and economies.

The starting point of 1815 was chosen as it represents what historians such as Roy Foster and Raymond Crotty consider was the major watershed moment in nineteenth-century Irish history, the end of the Napoleonic wars.<sup>9</sup> It ends in 1865, over a decade into the post-Famine era but before the outbreak of the land war in Ireland. Given the extensive nature of the archives, the significant time period under study and the study regions, it is difficult to document and interpret all aspects of estate life contained within the estate records. Consequently, this research focuses on selected key events in each location in order to provide a continuous and coherent comparison.

### *Historiography*

Since the 1970s renewed interest among Irish and British historians concerning the study of nineteenth-century landed estates has produced a wealth of publications on the subject. However, irrespective of country this historiography largely considers specific

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<sup>9</sup> See R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland, 1600-1972* (London, 1988), pp 318-44; see also Raymond Crotty, *Irish agricultural production: its volume and structure* (Cork, 1966), p. 35.

landed estates in isolation. This is despite the fact that a great many British landlords owned land on both sides of the Irish Sea.

Within the existing body of work historians in each country have tended to focus on certain eras or aspects of land questions. For example, Irish historians such as James S. Donnelly Jr, W. E. Vaughan and Desmond Norton have focused on the social impact of landed estates examining landlord-tenant relations at various points throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>10</sup> Others such as Samuel Clark and Terence Dooley examine how socio-political and economic reform during the latter decades of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century brought about the decline of the Irish landed class.<sup>11</sup> Landlordism has also formed the basis of numerous local studies such as those by Joe Clarke, Rob Goodbody, Anthony Doyle and Patrick Vesey.<sup>12</sup> These works cover a diverse subject matter ranging from a Catholic landlord's attempt to construct a model community on his Galway estate, to the murder of a Protestant landlord during the Great Irish Famine.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, historians such as Gerard Lyne and Ciarán Reilly have brought the role of the Irish land agent to the fore in recent years.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> See James S. Donnelly Jr, *Landlords and tenants in nineteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 1973); Vaughan, *Landlords and tenants in mid-Victorian Ireland* (Oxford, 1994); Desmond Norton, *Landlords, tenants, famine: the business of an Irish land agency in the 1840s* (Dublin, 2005).

<sup>11</sup> See Samuel Clark, *Social origins of the Irish land war* (Princeton, NJ, 1979); Dooley, *The decline of the big house in Ireland*; Idem., *The decline and fall of the dukes of Leinster, 1872-1948: Love, war, debt and madness* (Dublin, 2014).

<sup>12</sup> See Joe Clarke, *Christopher Dillon Bellew and his Galway estates, 1763-1826* (Dublin, 2003); Rob Goodbody, *Sir Charles Domvile and his Shankill estate, county Dublin, 1857-71* (Dublin, 2003); Anthony Doyle, *Charles Powell Leslie II's estates at Glaslough, county Monaghan, 1800-41* (Dublin, 2001); Patrick Vesey, *The murder of Major Mahon, Strokestown, county Roscommon, 1847* (Dublin, 2008).

<sup>13</sup> See Clarke, *Christopher Dillon Bellew*; Vesey, *The murder of Major Mahon*.

<sup>14</sup> See Lyne, *The Lansdowne estate in Kerry*; Reilly, *The Irish land agent*.

The topic of nineteenth-century assisted-emigration as a solution to landlord difficulties is explored by Tyler Anbinder, Gerard Moran and Jim Rees. Each author's account of how such schemes were managed varies considerably from the humane as outlined by Rees to the inhumane documented by Anbinder.<sup>15</sup> In addition, Tim P. O'Neill and L. P. Curtis Jr have focused on eviction.<sup>16</sup> Yet, despite the extensive volume of publications that exist, certain areas and eras have tended to appeal to historians more than others. This partly explains the paucity of works relating to the management of Irish and British landed estates.

In 1972, W. A. Maguire's *The Downshire estates in Ireland, 1801-45* was published providing the first comprehensive study of estate management in Ireland during the pre-Famine period.<sup>17</sup> The study, which focused on the Downshire estates and in particular the role of the land agent, contained a regional dimension as the land was spread across four different counties. From his research, Maguire contends that 'a new attitude towards the work of estate management' developed post-1815 leading to 'improved methods of accountancy and administration.'<sup>18</sup> Since that time, further monograph studies on nineteenth-century estate management practices have been slow to materialise apart from the appearance of Robert MacCarthy's 1992 study of institutional management of the Trinity College estates and William Crawford's account of management practices on the

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<sup>15</sup> See Tyler Anbinder, *Five points: the nineteenth-century New York city neighbourhood that invented tap dance, stole elections and became the world's most notorious slum* (New York, NY, 2001); Gerard Moran, *Sending out Ireland's poor: assisted emigration to North America in the nineteenth century* (Dublin, 2004); Jim Rees, *Surplus people: from Wicklow to Canada* (Cork, 2014).

<sup>16</sup> See Tim P. O'Neill, 'Famine evictions' in Carla King (ed.), *Famine, land and culture in Ireland* (Dublin, 2000), pp 29-70; L. P. Curtis Jr, *Notice to quit: the Great Irish Famine evictions* (Cork, 2015).

<sup>17</sup> See W. A. Maguire, *The Downshire estates in Ireland, 1801-45*.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 252.

eighteenth-century Abercorn estate in county Tyrone.<sup>19</sup> More often, the subject of estate management has appeared as journal articles by authors such as Proudfoot, Duffy or Hunt or book chapters such as those in Donnelly's *Land and people of nineteenth-century Cork: a rural economy and the land question* (1975). In his assessment of the precarious economic position of landed estates, Donnelly contends that the Famine was not the catalyst, it was merely a symptom of decades of sustained defective practices in terms of 'estate management, land tenure and labour' which began post-1815.<sup>20</sup> These works, while highly illuminating, offer only a brief insight into estate management rather than a systematic examination of the process and its effect.<sup>21</sup>

Similarly, nineteenth-century British historiography concerning landed estates has also focused on specific themes such as society, politics and industrialisation, reflective of the different aspects of each country's history. In 1963, F. M. L. Thompson's *English landed society in the nineteenth century* considered the social and political role of the upper classes but dedicated only a single chapter to the management of landed estates.<sup>22</sup> Some twenty-five years later, society remained at the core of another book by Thompson as it did

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<sup>19</sup> Robert MacCarthy, *Trinity College estate, 1800-1923: corporate management in the age of reform* (Dundalk, 1992); William H. Crawford, *The management of a major Ulster estate in the late eighteenth century: the eight Earl of Abercorn and his Irish agents* (Dublin, 2001).

<sup>20</sup> Donnelly Jr, *The land and people of nineteenth-century Cork*, p. 9.

<sup>21</sup> See *Ibid.*, Lindsay Proudfoot, 'The management of a great estate: patronage, income and expenditure on the duke of Devonshire's Irish property c. 1816-91' in *Irish Economic and Social History*, xiii (1986), pp 32-55; P. J. Duffy, 'Management problems on a large estate in mid-nineteenth century Ireland: William Steuart Trench's report on the Shirley estate in 1843' in *Clogher Record*, xvi (1997), pp 101-22; Nuala Hunt, 'Estate management at Powerscourt, 1847-57' in *Journal of Enniskerry and Powerscourt Local History*, i (2011), pp 31-49.

<sup>22</sup> F. M. L. Thompson, *English landed society in the nineteenth century* (London, 1963).

for subsequent publications by David Cannadine and G. E. Mingay.<sup>23</sup> Politics was the focus of a 1975 publication by E. A. Smith in which he charted the political career of the fourth Earl Fitzwilliam through a time of great political upheaval. Smith notes that ‘the possession of a substantial house and estate [aided the development of] a close relationship to the highest Whig circles’.<sup>24</sup> Yet, many historians have overlooked the management of the estate itself.

Unsurprisingly, studies concerning landed estates and the industrial revolution are plentiful. J. V. Beckett (1986) argued that the ability of great estates to weather periods of economic difficulty was dependent upon them having access to alternative sources of income; industrialisation provided many with such sources.<sup>25</sup> This point is developed in studies by historians such as Graham Mee and Catherine Bailey who examine the industrial interests of the Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estate in Yorkshire in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries respectively.<sup>26</sup>

Regarding estate management practices, English and Scottish historians have produced many in-depth studies on this subject. Beginning in 1963, the publication of David Spring’s *The English landed estate in the nineteenth century: its administration* was one of the first to analyse the management structure, although his contribution was widely perceived by his contemporaries as an introduction to a more comprehensive study to

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<sup>23</sup> Idem., *The rise of respectable society: a social history of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, MA, 1988); David Cannadine, *Lords and landlords, the aristocracy and the towns, 1774-1967* (Leicester, 1980); G. E. Mingay, *Land and society in England, 1750-1980* (London, 1994).

<sup>24</sup> E. A. Smith, *Whig principles and party politics: Earl Fitzwilliam and the Whig party, 1748-1833* (Manchester, 1975), p. 14.

<sup>25</sup> J. V. Beckett, *The aristocracy in England, 1660-1914* (Oxford, 1986), pp 85-7.

<sup>26</sup> Graham Mee, *Aristocratic enterprise: the Fitzwilliam industrial undertakings, 1795-1857* (London, 1975); Catherine Bailey, *Black diamonds: the rise and fall of an English dynasty* (London, 2008).

follow.<sup>27</sup> A decade later, Eric Richards' study of the Sutherland fortune examined the industrial and agricultural history of England's wealthiest family through an analysis of estate management with an emphasis on the role of James Loch, the land agent or factor as the position was known in Scotland.<sup>28</sup>

In the intervening forty years since Richards' publication appeared, interest in the estate management of landed estates in England and indeed Scotland has produced a number of publications such as those by Susanna Wade Martins, J. R. Wordie, Brian Bonnyman and Annie Tindley.<sup>29</sup> These works, collectively spanning the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries, reinforce the importance of the study of estate management in ascertaining the rise and fall of landed estates and their complex relationships with communities. For example, a competently managed East Anglian estate accrued sufficient profits to allow its landlord invest in railway expansion,<sup>30</sup> while on an eighteenth-century West Midlands estate profitable marriages and stringent management strategies created an almost totalitarian system of management.<sup>31</sup>

In a Scottish context, Bonnyman contends that management practices on the Buccleuch estates under the third duke were 'proactive and interventionist' in nature and

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<sup>27</sup> David Spring, *The English landed estate in the nineteenth century: its administration* (Baltimore, MD, 1963). See for example, J. D. Chambers, 'Review of *The English landed estate in the nineteenth century: its administration* by David Spring' in *The English Historical Review*, lxxx (1965), pp 633-4.

<sup>28</sup> Eric Richards, *The leviathan of wealth: the Sutherland fortune in the industrial revolution* (Toronto, ON, 1973).

<sup>29</sup> Susanna Wade Martins, *A great estate at work: the Holkham estate and its inhabitants in the nineteenth century* (New York, NY, 1980); J. R. Wordie, *Estate management in eighteenth-century England: the building of the Leveson-Gower fortune* (London, 1982); Brian Bonnyman, *The third duke of Buccleuch and Adam Smith: estate management and improvement in enlightenment Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2014); Annie Tindley, *The Sutherland estate, 1850-1920: aristocratic decline, estate management and land reform* (Edinburgh, 2010).

<sup>30</sup> Wade Martins, *A great estate at work*, pp 61-3.

<sup>31</sup> Wordie, *Estate management in eighteenth-century England*, pp 214-5.

revolutionised agriculture.<sup>32</sup> Driven less by economic profitability, strategies here were aimed at the long-term improvement of the estate and its tenantry.<sup>33</sup> Similarly, Annie Tindley's study of the Sutherland estate reveals how public image mattered more to the dukes of Sutherland than economics. Infamous clearances in the early nineteenth century remained in the collective consciousness of this landed community and cast a dark shadow over the family's legacy. In terms of estate management, Tindley contends that an elaborate management structure compromised the estate as competing expectations and principles among the various agents led to escalating tensions, a point which bears uncanny parallels with elements of the Fitzwilliam story.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, her examination of the Famine in the Scottish Highlands mirrors the Irish context as a time when Scotland's 'crofting economy [was] atrophied'. Tindley contends that: 'although [the government] provided some aid during this crisis, it also spent a lot of time and effort pressurising Highland landowners to support their suffering tenantry.'<sup>35</sup>

Barbara English's work identifies changing trends in agency in east Yorkshire from the mid nineteenth century and suggests that the level of input by land agents in estate management policy was determined by the personalities of landlord and agent, while Hartley's examination of five west Yorkshire estates demonstrates the contrasting management policies which operated on urban and rural estates.<sup>36</sup> Spring's assessment of

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<sup>32</sup> Bonnyman, *The third duke of Buccleuch and Adam Smith*, p. 195.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 196.

<sup>34</sup> Tindley, *The Sutherland estate 1850-1920*, p. 11.

<sup>35</sup> Annie Tindley, 'They sow the wind: they reap the whirlwind': estate management in the post-clearance highlands, c. 1815 - c. 1900' in *Northern Scotland*, iii (2012), pp 66-85; pp 71-2.

<sup>36</sup> Barbara English, 'Patterns of estate management in east Yorkshire c. 1840 - c. 1880' in *Agricultural History Review*, xxxii (1984), pp 29-48; W. P. Hartley, 'Five landed estates in Yorkshire and the development of coal mining during the nineteenth century' in *The Local Historian*, xxiii (1993), pp 188-98; p. 191.

landed proprietors' mining endeavours included those of the fifth Earl Fitzwilliam and indicates certain flaws in the earl's personality which are explored in greater detail throughout this thesis. Most recently, Webster's study demonstrates that not all estates were moving towards the professionalisation of agents. In fact, those estates that retained a qualified legal professional as agent were more successful than those that employed a professional one.<sup>37</sup>

The diversity and range of the scholarship pertaining to this period and subject, far exceeds the confines of a literature review. The works considered here are best viewed as the most influential in terms of historiographical debate and pioneering in terms of new avenues of research. Collectively they display a vibrant ongoing interest in the field of nineteenth-century landed estate studies and highlight the need to examine comparatively Irish and English landed estates in their wider British Isles context. Hence the purpose and place for this thesis within the current historiography.

### *Research aims*

Throughout this thesis, estate management practices are defined as the policies and strategies introduced by the management layer (landlord, land agent and auditor) on each estate, in order to manage agricultural and industrial interests, as well as the sizeable tenantry in both locations.

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<sup>37</sup> David Spring, 'The English landed estate in the age of coal and iron, 1830-80' in *The Journal of Economic History*, xi (1951), pp 3-24; Sarah Webster, 'Estate improvement and the professionalisation of land agents on the Egremont estates in Sussex and Yorkshire, 1770-1835' in *Rural History*, xviii (2007), pp 47-69; p. 61.



The topic of landed estates has largely been examined in geographical isolation by historians in Britain and Ireland. However, this thesis is the first transnational comparative study examining how multiple estates owned by the same family are managed in a variety of contexts. Throughout, it challenges the broad generalisations concerning Irish landlords, agents and management styles by comparing them with British landed estates during the same period. By examining the internal workings of these two estates, the management structures and interactive relationships between management and tenantry become evident. These interactions provide a more balanced overview of what would have otherwise gone unnoticed if only one single estate was considered.<sup>38</sup>

This thesis has three aims. Firstly, it contrasts estate management strategies in Wicklow and Yorkshire to determine if policies made in one location were implemented in the other or whether different environments and contexts required different responses.

Secondly, this thesis explores the management structure of the estates in each location. The configuration of this managerial hierarchy was inherently different on each estate. In county Wicklow, the chain of command consisted of landlord and land agent followed by the auditor in Yorkshire who reconciled the annual accounts. The Yorkshire estate contained sizeable mineral reserves in addition to agricultural land and thus, required a more complex management structure. Here, the managerial hierarchy was tiered. It consisted of landlord, auditor, land agent and house/colliery agent. The organisational structure resulted in very different power dynamics in each location. This thesis examines these power relationships, their complex connections and the difficulties encountered in

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<sup>38</sup> Jürgen Kocka, 'Comparison and beyond' in *History and Theory*, xlii (2003), pp 39-44.

managing two very diverse estate units. It explores how successive earls' paternalistic philosophies often clashed with economic policies. Failures in estate management practices suggests that estate management was a far more complex task than previously envisaged.

Thirdly, this thesis considers how estate management practices adapted to deal with crisis and change in each location. In particular, it examines how policies implemented across both estates affected the various grades of tenantry.

### *Methodology*

The principal theoretical framework underpinning this study is generally referred to as comparative history. This approach is complemented by a transnational methodology. The concept of comparative history began to develop in the late nineteenth century and became popular throughout the twentieth century. Initially, it was perceived as a means of comparing likenesses but by the second half of the twentieth century, this point of view had altered dramatically and the method was used: 'primarily as a way of illuminating social differences rather than similarities.'<sup>39</sup> Haupt and Kocka contend that this method is beneficial on a number of levels. Empirically, it allows the scholar to identify differences which would not exist if only a single unit was examined. Descriptively, it provides structure to the case-study method (qualitative evidence) and exposes peculiarities in statistical data (quantitative evidence) by comparing more than one location. Analytically, it creates a laboratory in which certain premises can be tested for generalisations. Perhaps most importantly it: 'can help to de-familiarize the familiar' while removing any bias that

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<sup>39</sup> Harry Ritter, *Dictionary of concepts in history* (Westport, CT, 1986), p. 55.

may exist.<sup>40</sup> This research topic is particularly well suited to this methodology. The composition of each core estate, the configuration of the management structure and the context in each location differed greatly. Thus, while events in one location are not always comparable to events in the other, the comparisons and contrasts that do exist provides for a deeper understanding of these aristocratic landed communities within their wider social contexts.

Transnational history or entangled history as Haupt and Kocka refer to it: ‘deals with the transfer, interconnection and mutual influences across boundaries’. Unlike comparative history, this approach is not interested in the similarities or differences which exist but rather: ‘the relationships, transfers and interactions’ between people/locations.<sup>41</sup>

Using the wealth of primary source material available for the Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates, information was entered into a relational database which, when filtered, provided much of the detail for specific chapters on economics and emigration and also highlighted interesting case studies. The database, referred to throughout this study as the ‘Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates database 1815-65’ was constructed using estate records, church registers and census material and contains biographical details for selected parishes/townships, emigration details for the Irish estate, as well as occupational and population statistics for both locations. Following the Act of Union of 1801, Ireland was governed from Westminster; however, although politically united with England, Ireland’s

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<sup>40</sup> Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka (eds), *Comparative and transnational history: central European approaches and new perspectives* (Oxford, 2009), pp 1-33; pp 4-5.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2; see also Patricia Clavin, ‘Defining transnationalism’ in *Contemporary European History*, xiv (2005), pp 421-39.

distinctively rural character separated it from industrial England. Thus, Ireland and England are viewed as two separate entities to facilitate this transnational analysis.

### *Sources*

Estate papers by their very nature are extensive. The principal primary source for this research is the Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments which contains the family and estate papers of the Wentworth, Watson-Wentworth and Fitzwilliam families including their Irish estates. This is the largest private collection in the care of Sheffield Archives and spans the twelfth to twentieth centuries. The Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments contain a large volume of material highly pertinent to the study of estate management. For the purposes of this study items covering the period 1795 to 1865 were consulted including farm rentals, colliery accounts, household accounts, wage books, agents' papers, general correspondence and maps and surveys.

The second major source used was the Fitzwilliam papers held in the National Library of Ireland, Dublin. This archive contains material specific to the Irish estate. Material accessed here included abstract leases, arrears books, memoranda relating to tenancies on the estate, emigration books, maps, shipping lists, wages and accounts and correspondence relating to important issues such as the episode of the school wars (see chapter five). In comparison to the Yorkshire material, this archive was tremendously rich in detail, in particular the letter-book of Robert Chaloner Jnr covering the years 1842 to

1853. This letter-book paints a vivid picture of the estate during the Famine and reveals how estate management policies were adapted to respond to the situation.<sup>42</sup>

Aside from the major archives mentioned above, a number of smaller collections were accessed. In Yorkshire, these included Rotherham Board of Guardian minute books and Wesleyan Methodist records both held by Rotherham Archives and Local Studies. In Ireland, the Shillelagh Workhouse register was accessed at Wicklow County Library, Bray, while tithe applotment books and other ancillary sources were examined at the National Archives of Ireland.

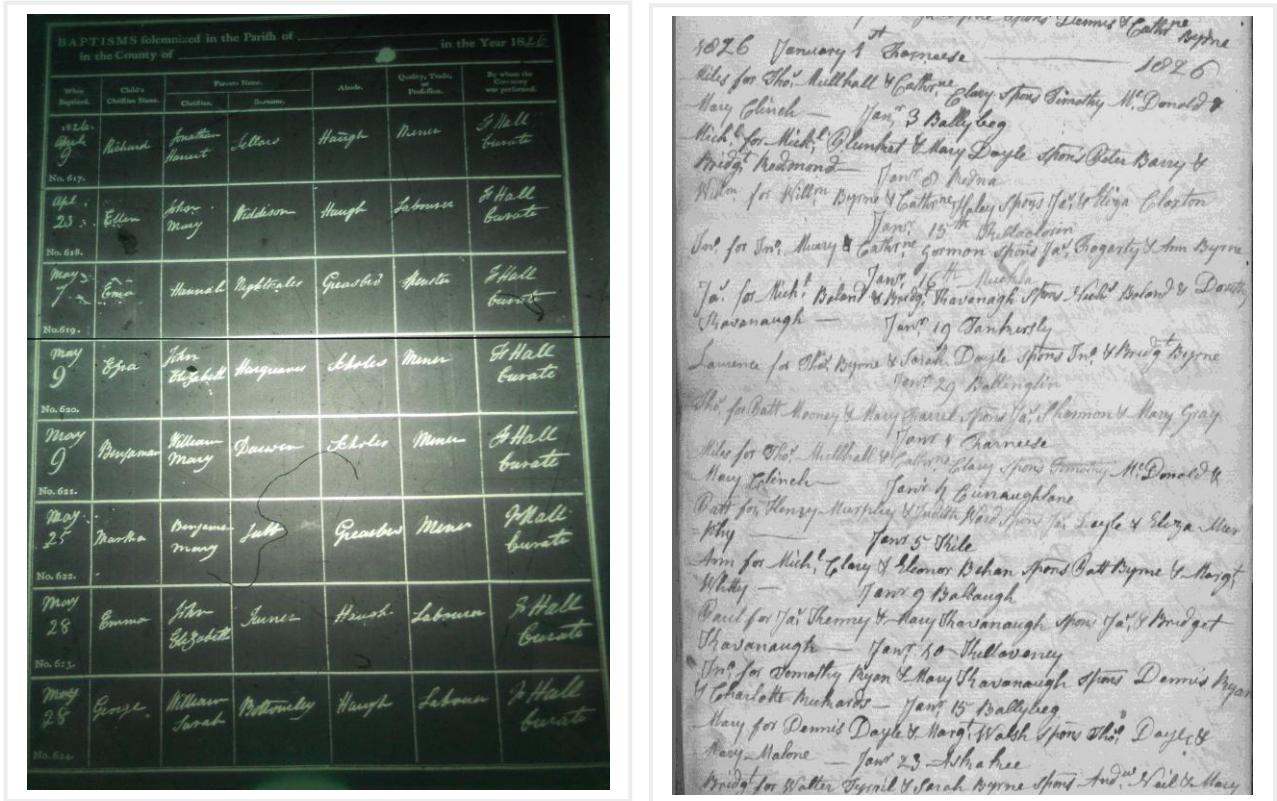
Church registers were an important component of this research. Although the information gathered from Roman Catholic registers was somewhat limited in scope, these records were accessible online via the National Library of Ireland's website.<sup>43</sup> Contrastingly, Church of Ireland registers and Anglican parish registers were available on microfilm through the Representative Church Body Library in Dundrum, Dublin and Wicklow Family Heritage Centre, Wicklow town. Anglican registers were accessed through Sheffield Archives and Rotherham Archives and Local Studies. As a source, the church registers contained information on religion, occupations and demography (see Fig. 1). In addition, parliamentary papers, census material and local newspapers in each country proved invaluable as they contained a wealth of information both in terms of each estate and indeed, the wider social context.

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<sup>42</sup> See Letter-book of Robert Chaloner Jnr, Mar. 1842 – Jan. 1853 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 3,987).

<sup>43</sup> See Roman Catholic parish registers available at: National Library of Ireland (<http://registers.nli.ie/>) (8 Aug. 2015).

Fig. 1 Sample pages from church registers, on the left is a page from an Anglican register and on the right is a page from a Roman Catholic register<sup>44</sup>



### Overview of thesis

Chapter one serves as a prologue to the narrative which follows. It introduces the core estates of Coollattin in south-west Wicklow and the Wentworth estate in south Yorkshire and details how they came into the possession of the Fitzwilliam family. It provides a brief biography of the fourth earl (1748-1833), fifth earl (1786-1857) and sixth Earl Fitzwilliam (1815-1902) who presided over the estates at various stages between 1815

<sup>44</sup> Greasbrough, St Mary's parish register, 9 Apr. – 28 May 1826 (S.A., Parish registers, PR16m); see also Killaveny, St Kevin's parish register, 1 Jan. – 23 Jan. 1826 (N.L.I., Parish registers, Pos. 04257/01).

and 1865. It also introduces the various agents that assumed management positions on each estate over the same period and discusses the religious composition of both estates.

Chapter two examines the period from 1798 to 1815 as a means of contextualising both estates in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It discusses the emergence of sectarianism on the Wicklow estate during the Irish rebellion of 1798 while also considering the impact of the Act of Union (1801). It also explores the Luddite movement in Yorkshire and its impact on the Wentworth estate. The chapter concludes with an analysis of how the cessation of the Napoleonic wars affected the tenantry in each location.

Chapter three examines the economic fortunes of both estates during the period 1815 to 1845. On each estate there were tenants who were non-agricultural so chapter three examines the occupations of these people. It begins by comparing the occupational trends of the tenantry to reveal the sharp contrasts which existed within the pyramidal occupational structure in each location. It analyses the leasing practices in Wicklow and Yorkshire before considering the impact of the middleman system on the Wicklow estate. The agricultural/industrial divide which distinguished each estate is analysed to ascertain if the presence of a dual economy in Yorkshire provided a buffer to economic depression.

Chapter four explores how political change impacted the estates. This chapter considers three key pieces of legislation enacted during this time, namely the Catholic Relief Act (1829), the Reform Act (1832) and the Poor Law Act (1834 & 1838). The issue of protest against church tithes in Ireland is addressed before assessing the implications of

granting Catholic emancipation. The poor law, its introduction and its consequences in both locations are then explored in the context of estate management practice.

Chapter five examines the impact of religion in each location. The Yorkshire estate's denominational identity remained largely unchanged throughout the period due to its Anglican majority. In contrast, the presence of a sizeable Protestant large farmer class on the Wicklow estate required stricter management policies in order to quell sectarian tensions. A micro-analysis of a random sampling of parishes on each estate used baptism and marriage records to construct a profile of the tenantry. In the 1840s, religious difference began to affect education on the Wicklow estate. Consequently, management practices had to deal with a Protestant rector whose religious prejudices threatened to undermine the management's attempt at integration through non-denominational education.

Chapter six examines the level of indebtedness that existed on each estate on the eve of the Famine and how the management structure attempted to deal with this catastrophe. This chapter concludes by examining the effect of famine in terms of altering the demographics and exacerbating arrears.

Chapter seven examines the strategies of ejectment and emigration carried out on the Irish estate from 1847 to 1856. In particular it considers how these policies were arrived at, agreed upon and implemented. A quantitative and qualitative analysis of statistical data underpins the enormity of the estate's assisted-emigration scheme, while the consequences of consolidating holdings for those that remained are also considered. An important aspect of this chapter is the role of the land agent in facilitating the scheme and



choosing emigrants. Case studies are used to provide a more vivid depiction of those that left.

Chapter eight contextualises estate life in the mid-nineteenth century. It begins in 1847 in Yorkshire and building on the work of Melvyn Jones, it exposes how paternalism was particularly damaging to estate economics. Comparing the situation in Yorkshire with that in Wicklow, it considers how a change in landlord and agents altered relations in each locality. Ultimately, this was an opportune time to rectify any defects in the management structure of each estate but amidst competing ideologies changes to estate management practices were slow to materialise.

Chapter nine focuses on a period of relative calm in both locations. The chapter begins by discussing the impact of the arrival of the railway on the Wicklow estate. Despite the brief hiatus, residual sectarian tension remained a characteristic of the Irish estate creating a ripe environment for nationalism. By the 1860s, Yorkshire became the epicentre of trade-unionism, although it did not draw any support from the Wentworth tenantry. In the 1860s, the Yorkshire estate fell into significant arrears yet managed to recover quickly.

The conclusion draws together the key observations and findings of this study. In particular, it highlights the competing ideologies that underpinned the management structure in each location and how these affected the economic performance of each estate. Fundamentally, it indicates the benefits of adopting a comparative approach when examining nineteenth-century estate management practices as it exposes the structural and social processes that underpinned estate management policies in each location. This in turn

offers a new perspective on landlordism, agency and estate relations in nineteenth-century Britain and Ireland.

## CHAPTER 1: A RICH INHERITANCE: THE ORIGINS OF THE WENTWORTH-FITZWILLIAM CORE ESTATES & THEIR MANAGEMENT STRUCTURES

*I have found that which I do not believe had been in Ireland a place ... which ... affords sports to pass over a grass-time in as great measure, and with as much delight, as most that are in England.*

Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford to King Charles I, 31 Mar. 1637.<sup>1</sup>

### 1.1 Introduction

The above description by Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, of his newly acquired estate in county Wicklow in the seventeenth century suggests that he viewed it as nothing more than a recreational retreat, an appendage to his primary residence in south Yorkshire. This was a viewpoint shared by successive generations of his family who resided for limited times on their Irish estate. Indeed, the Fitzwilliam family who succeeded the Wentworths were of a similar mind-set, infrequently visiting their Irish holding. They were viewed as absentee landlords, though as D. R. Hainsworth has suggested: ‘absence of body did not [necessarily] imply absence of mind’.<sup>2</sup> Over the course of this study, three successive generations of the Fitzwilliam family presided over landed estates in Ireland and Britain. Each landlord was assisted throughout his tenure by various agents. This short chapter is intended as a prologue to introduce the lords, the land and the agents which feature throughout the narrative. It also provides context on how the core estates came into the possession of the Fitzwilliam family, notable landowners in their own right, but whose political and economic standing was greatly enhanced by their acquisition of the Rockingham inheritance.

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<sup>1</sup> William Knowler (ed.), *Letters and dispatches of the earl of Strafford* (2 vols, London, 1737), ii, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> D. R. Hainsworth, *Stewards, lords and people: the estate steward and his world in later Stuart-England* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 1.

## 1.2 'The lords' - the earls Fitzwilliam and the Wentworth connection

By the 1740s, the Fitzwilliam family, reportedly, possessed 'more titles than a well-stocked bookshop'.<sup>3</sup> Their interests included land in Norfolk, Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire as well as the family's principal residence, the Milton estate on the outskirts of Peterborough in Northamptonshire.<sup>4</sup> However, 1744 was to be a defining moment in the family's history. On 22 June 1744, the third Earl Fitzwilliam married Lady Anne Wentworth, the eldest daughter of Thomas Watson-Wentworth, first marquis of Rockingham at St George's, Hanover Square, London. This association, which allied the Fitzwilliams to the Wentworths, created what E. A. Smith contends was 'one of the greatest Whig connexions of the century', and simultaneously rendered the family one of the richest landowners in Britain.<sup>5</sup>

William Fitzwilliam, the fourth earl, was born on 30 May 1748 in Milton, Northamptonshire. By all accounts his childhood was one of happiness albeit frequented with debilitating bouts of migraine that continued throughout his life. By 1756 the family had grown to include two sons and five surviving daughters.<sup>6</sup> Outside the environs of the home, schooling had a profound effect on the young viscount. Like his father, William was sent to Eton in 1756. However, a few months after his arrival, he received news of the premature death of his father. Thus, at the age of eight, he succeeded his father to the earldom. William continued at Eton and completed his education in 1764. Though not academically inclined, Eton provided William with lifelong friends who included Frederick Howard, future fifth earl of Carlisle and the

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<sup>3</sup> Jim Rees, *Surplus people: from Wicklow to Canada* (Cork, 2014), p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> John Bernard Burke, *A genealogical and heraldic dictionary of the peerage of the British empire* (8th ed., London, 1845), pp 400-1.

<sup>5</sup> E. A. Smith, *Whig principles and party politics: Earl Fitzwilliam and the Whig party, 1748-1833* (Manchester, 1975), p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4. A sixth daughter Amelia Maria was born on 12 December 1751 but died on 8 August 1752.

most enduring of all, Charles James Fox.<sup>7</sup> Upon completion of his studies, William embarked on his grand tour visiting many European destinations. He returned to England in January 1769 and eight months later his mother passed away. The following year, he married Charlotte Ponsonby (1747-1822), the second daughter of the second earl of Bessborough and the couple welcomed a son, Charles William, in 1786.

In 1794, the minister for Irish affairs, the duke of Portland, decided Fitzwilliam was an ideal candidate for the position of lord lieutenant of Ireland and after much cajoling Fitzwilliam accepted the viceroyalty in August of that year. His term of office was short-lived, however, primarily because he was a sympathetic supporter of Catholic rights.<sup>8</sup> Away from high politics, Fitzwilliam's life was defined by his estates and the responsibilities he had to them. This was a world in which 'agents, tenantry, mortgages, leases and properties were his daily concern' and where the decisions he made had far-reaching and personal consequences.<sup>9</sup> In 1822, after fifty-two years of marriage, his first wife Charlotte died. A year later, at the age of seventy-five, the earl married Louisa Ponsonby, the widow of his good friend William Brabazon Ponsonby. She was seventy-three years old. However, the marriage was brief and in September 1824 Louisa passed away. From the 1830s, his health began to decline which required his son and heir to take a more pro-active role in the running of the estate. Thus from 1831 to 1833, Viscount Milton assumed increasing responsibilities in the management of the estates and succeeded his father upon his death in February 1833.

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<sup>7</sup> David Wilkinson, 'Fitzwilliam, William Wentworth, second earl Fitzwilliam in the peerage of Great Britain, and fourth earl Fitzwilliam in the peerage of Ireland (1748–1833)' in H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (eds) *Oxford dictionary of national biography* (60 vols, Oxford, 2004), xix, pp 969-72.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 969-72.

<sup>9</sup> Smith, *Whig principles and party politics*, p. 5.

Charles William Wentworth-Fitzwilliam was born on 4 May 1786. His mother, Lady Charlotte, had suffered a miscarriage early in the marriage and the heir apparent, styled Viscount Milton, was a cherished son as his coming-of-age celebration demonstrated. On this occasion, 10,000 invited guests including 1,000 tenants were ‘entertained most sumptuously in the House [Wentworth] itself’.<sup>10</sup> In keeping with the family tradition, he was educated at Eton and in July 1806 he married Mary Dundas, his first cousin. Mary was the fourth daughter of his paternal aunt Charlotte. A year later, the viscount and his wife welcomed a daughter, by which time he had also been elected as M.P. for the county of York. The victory was a costly one with election expenses estimated at £98,614 which were paid by his father.<sup>11</sup> Socially and politically, the future fifth earl shared the same paternalistic ideologies as his father. He was a liberally minded young Whig, although he rejected the *laissez-faire* attitudes of his father’s political generation. The fifth earl believed in a business-like approach that could encompass paternalistic ideologies.

By 1820, he had thirteen years’ experience in the political sphere, the majority of which he had spent as the holder of one of the most sought after seats in Yorkshire.<sup>12</sup> Although he was a supporter of the Corn Laws until 1815, he subsequently revised his opinion and became a firm advocate for their repeal, despite the fact that his livelihood depended on the land. He supported Catholic emancipation on numerous occasions, and voted in favour of the Catholic Relief Bill in 1825, which disenfranchised the forty-shilling freeholders. He believed this would secure emancipation while ‘striking a

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<sup>10</sup> *The Iris*, 5 May 1807.

<sup>11</sup> Earl Fitzwilliam’s final election account undated (S.A., WWM/E/92).

<sup>12</sup> E. A. Wasson, *Whig renaissance: Lord Althorp and the Whig party, 1782-1845* (New York, NY, 1987), pp 47-52.

blow at the oligarchy ... one of the greatest curses in Ireland', notwithstanding the fact that he was of course, one of them.<sup>13</sup>

On 1 November 1830, his wife who was six months pregnant, went into premature labour and died suddenly at the age of forty-three. He now found himself widowed with ten children, three of whom were under the age of six. In addition, his father's declining health required him to take a more active approach to the family business. Taking these personal circumstances into consideration, Milton took the decision to surrender his parliamentary seat to allow him to devote more time to his family and his inheritance.<sup>14</sup> Five years later, his eldest son and heir apparent, William Charles, died prematurely at the age of twenty-three.<sup>15</sup> Charles Wentworth-Fitzwilliam presided over the Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates in Wicklow and Yorkshire for twenty-four years until his death in 1857. This was a crucial time in the history of the estates. The onset of the Great Irish Famine had an immense social and economic impact on his Irish estate while in contrast the estate in Yorkshire underwent massive industrial expansion during this period.<sup>16</sup> Upon his death in 1857, he was succeeded by his second son, William Thomas Spencer Wentworth-Fitzwilliam.

Catherine Bailey describes the sixth earl as a man: 'moulded in the cast of the Victorian patriarch ... a figure who inspired fear and awe among his family and his employees', a formal and detached individual almost alien in nature to his predecessors caring dispositions.<sup>17</sup> In 1838, he married Frances Harriet Douglas, the eldest daughter

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., pp 146-7.

<sup>14</sup> *The Times*, 27 Nov. 1830.

<sup>15</sup> Rees, *Surplus people*, p. 127. For a more detailed analysis of the assisted emigration scheme see chapter eight.

<sup>16</sup> See chapter seven for information of the Great Irish Famine and chapter eight for a discussion on the policies implemented in response to it.

<sup>17</sup> Catherine Bailey, *Black diamonds: the rise and fall of an English dynasty* (London, 2008), p. 30.

of the seventeenth earl of Morton. Together they had fourteen children, eight boys and six girls, two of whom died in infancy. Uniquely, he named all of his sons William. Estate records suggest that he had a dark side, using his wealth as a *modus operandi* to reward and punish his children as he saw fit.<sup>18</sup> To him, the symbol of family was status and social omnipotence which must be preserved at all costs. Politically, he adhered to the family tradition representing Malton in parliament from 1837 to 1841 and again in 1846. From 1847 to 1857, William Thomas Spencer sat in parliament as an M.P. for county Wicklow. In 1857, he replaced his father as landlord and was also appointed to the position of lord lieutenant of the West Riding.<sup>19</sup>

Although the sixth earl presided over his estates for almost half a century, it is only the first decade that is examined in this thesis. Though all three were absentee landlords, choosing Yorkshire as their primary seat of residence, William Thomas Spencer spent the most time at Coollattin in county Wicklow. He inherited the estates at a time of great change.

### 1.3 *'The agents' – the men responsible for the daily management of the core estates*

Similar to the varying temperament of successive generations of earls, the agents that managed the Fitzwilliam enterprises during the years from 1815 to 1865 were as eclectic.<sup>20</sup> The responsibilities of land agent or steward as the position was referred to in Yorkshire, were far-reaching. From an Irish perspective, their duties included the

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<sup>18</sup> Epitome of Earl Fitzwilliam's will and codicil dated 1895 (S.A., WWM/T88).

<sup>19</sup> *The Times*, 21 Feb. 1902.

<sup>20</sup> The term land agent is a loose term used throughout the narrative. It refers to the principal manager that managed the day-to-day business upon the estate and reported directly to the earl on matters of importance. While in Ireland the land agent was responsible for the demesne and the estate, in Yorkshire this role was divided between the house steward and the estate steward until 1864 when both roles were merged and the term estate agent was used thereafter.



upkeep of the house and demesne, substantial record keeping especially concerning leasing practices, the collection of rents and the elimination of arrears. In a supervisory capacity, those appointed as land agents monitored agricultural improvements, ensured lease covenants were adhered to and, most importantly, acted as intermediaries often negotiating terms and easing tensions between landlord and tenant. Beyond the confines of the estate, the land agent represented the landlord at county level acting as a magistrate, a guardian at poor law meetings and, on occasion, he also assumed the position of director of elections.<sup>21</sup> These educated men were extracted from among the landed gentry. Until 1855, whether by coincidence or design, the Fitzwilliam land agents in Wicklow and Yorkshire also shared a common trait: they were all of Yorkshire extraction highlighting the inter-connectedness of the Fitzwilliam interests.

From 1813 to 1825 William Haigh served as land agent on the Irish estate. He assumed the position following the death of William Wainwright who had served the estate for thirty-three years. Almost the polar opposite of Wainwright, Haigh was described in 1817 as a man ‘goaded by unfeeling and brutal conduct ... [full] of deep designs and malpractice’ and was despised by everyone he encountered.<sup>22</sup>

In 1825 Haigh was replaced by Robert Chaloner Snr who held the position for seventeen years until his death in 1842. Chaloner Snr was born at Guisbrough Hall in north Yorkshire in 1776. He enjoyed a privileged upbringing and the political trimmings associated with it. In 1805 he married Frances Laura Dundas, second daughter of the first Baron Dundas of Aske and niece of the fourth Earl Fitzwilliam.<sup>23</sup>

He was a partner in the banking firm of Wentworth, Chaloner & Rishworth based in

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<sup>21</sup> Terence Dooley, *Sources for the history of landed estates in Ireland* (Dublin, 2000), p. 3.

<sup>22</sup> Mr Symme to Earl Fitzwilliam, 16 Oct. 1817 (S. A., WWM/F79/68).

<sup>23</sup> Charles Mosley (ed.), *Burke's peerage, baronetage & knightage* (107th ed., 2 vols, London, 2003), ii, p. 1556.

York, until the financial crisis of 1825 left him penniless.<sup>24</sup> The fourth earl provided surety to secure his family's ancestral estate and offered Chaloner Snr the position of land agent which he gratefully accepted. He served the fourth earl until 1833 and his heir for the remainder of his life. His appointment was the first semblance of professionalism within the management structure of the Irish estate. His financial expertise was a driving force throughout his tenure and although not all his strategies were successful, the estate agency that passed to his son was undeniably more structured and economically viable than at any previous point.<sup>25</sup>

Robert Chaloner Jnr was the third child and second son in a family of four. For seventeen years, under his father's tutelage, he acquired the necessary skills to succeed his father. From 1842 to 1855 he managed the estate on behalf of the fifth earl through one of its most tumultuous periods, the Great Irish Famine. Professionally, he was a meticulous record keeper. Personally, he was a trusted employee of the fifth earl as evidenced by the fact that he acted as *de-facto* landlord for much of his tenure. Memoranda attest to this latter point, as year after year grievances were recorded with his suggested solutions, the majority of which were subsequently approved by the earl.<sup>26</sup> However, his agency was tarnished considerably by the controversial Famine assisted-emigration scheme carried out during his tenure. Robert Chaloner Jnr died in 1855 and although the scheme continued for a further two years after his passing, he is viewed as

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<sup>24</sup> *The Times*, 13 Dec. 1825.

<sup>25</sup> See chapter three on economics regarding the strategies and management of Robert Chaloner Snr.

<sup>26</sup> Memoranda in respect of the estate of Earl Fitzwilliam in county Wicklow including conditions on which land and tenements are held, 1843-68 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,967).

the principal instigator of a programme reputed to have banished one-third of the Irish estate's tenantry to British North America.<sup>27</sup>

Ralph Lawrenson of Paulbeg, a townland a short distance from Coollattin Park was appointed as Chaloner's successor and served as land agent from 1855. Lawrenson was the first Irish-born land agent on the Irish estate since the Fitzwilliam acquisition in 1782. He had worked for many years as a clerk in the office at Coollattin under the supervision of his predecessor.<sup>28</sup>

On the Yorkshire estate, the management structure was inherently different. There, the role of agent was divided in two: land agent, and house and colliery steward. The former was responsible for all matters relating to land and tenantry, while the latter was accountable for the efficient running of the house, demesne and coal enterprises. Each man was responsible for furnishing the earl with a separate set of annual accounts, although it was the land agent's responsibility to reconcile the house and colliery steward's accounts. This situation remained until 1864 when the roles were merged and the position of estate agent came into being.<sup>29</sup>

Charles Bowns was born in the township of Wentworth in 1753. Bowns qualified as a solicitor and assumed the position of land agent and auditor in 1789 following the death of his uncle, Richard Fenton. He retained this dual position until his death in 1818 after which time the fourth earl decided that the demands of the job were too onerous for one individual and henceforth subdivided the position into two distinct

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<sup>27</sup> Rees, *Surplus people*, p. iv. For full details of this scheme see chapter eight concerning assisted-emigration.

<sup>28</sup> Eight memoranda books of Ralph Lawrenson and Frederick Ponsonby, agents of the Coollattin estates containing details of business appointments, transactions and correspondence relating to the Fitzwilliam estates in counties Wicklow and Wexford, 1871-76 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MSS 5,992-9).

<sup>29</sup> Fidelma Byrne, 'Divisions of labour: inter-managerial conflict among the Wentworth-Fitzwilliam agents' in Annie Tindley, Lowri Rees and Ciarán Reilly (eds), *The land agent* (Edinburgh, 2016, forthcoming).

roles, that of land agent and auditor.<sup>30</sup> Bowns was succeeded by his nephew William Newman who retained the position of land agent for forty-six years from 1818 to 1864. Consequently, Newman was one of the longest serving agents in the history of the Yorkshire estate. Although trained by his uncle, Newman's job description was substantially different from Bowns'. Francis Maude of Wakefield was appointed to the position of estate auditor. Throughout this period three household stewards managed the demesne. In 1805 following the death of his uncle, Joshua Biram assumed the position of house and colliery steward. After thirty years in the position, Joshua passed away in 1835 and he was replaced by his son, Benjamin, who served as household steward and colliery superintendent until his death in 1857. He was replaced by Richard Massey who assumed responsibility for the house and John Hartop who managed the mining interests.

Notably, Massey's previous experience was as land agent to the Fitzwilliam estate in Cloghan in King's County, Ireland.<sup>31</sup> The death of Newman and the departure of Massey in 1864 heralded a new style of agency on the Yorkshire estate. George Henry Douglas assumed the position of estate agent at Wentworth and was answerable to the sixth earl. Douglas was born in 1821 and was the second son of the seventeenth earl of Morton and brother of Frances Harriett who had married the sixth Earl Fitzwilliam in 1838. He gained the rank of admiral in the Royal Navy prior to taking up his position at Wentworth having served in the East Indies during the 1840s.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Paul James Nunn, 'The management of some south Yorkshire landed estates in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries linked with the economic development of the area, 1700-1850' (Ph.D. thesis, Sheffield University, 1985), pp 166-7.

<sup>31</sup> Report to Earl Fitzwilliam on the Cloghan estate, King's County from Frederick Ponsonby, June 1847 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 13,020). Fitzwilliam subsequently sold the estate in 1853 through the encumbered estates court see *Freeman's Journal*, 23 Feb. 1853.

<sup>32</sup> Mosley, *Burke's peerage, baronetage & knightage*, p. 2788.

#### 1.4 'The land' – Coollattin estate, Wicklow and Wentworth estate, Yorkshire

The Fitzwilliam estate in county Wicklow was established by Thomas Wentworth, first earl of Strafford and lord deputy of Ireland in 1637. That year he purchased the Cashaw estate in the barony of Ballinacor in the south-west of the county.<sup>33</sup> The following year he increased the holding substantially by acquiring the adjoining half-barony of Shillelagh. This extensive tract of land constituted the core estate in Ireland and was complemented by the acquisition of satellite regions, most notably at Rathdrum in the north-east of the county and also between Rathnew and Wicklow town where a fertile belt of land stretched in a south-west trajectory along the east coast. A further outlying region located to the north at Newcastle completed the Wentworth land portfolio for county Wicklow.<sup>34</sup> The combined acreage of these areas rendered this estate the largest in the county and this remained the case for almost three centuries.<sup>35</sup>

By the latter part of the nineteenth century, the family's Irish holdings consisted of land in counties Kildare (1,532 acres), Wexford (325 acres) and Wicklow (89,891 acres). The Wicklow holdings were scattered throughout five of the county's eight baronies and covered twenty-two civil parishes.<sup>36</sup> The most substantial contiguous block constituted the core estate. It contained 75,559 acres, approximately 90 percent of the total land holding in the county and encompassed 150 townlands.<sup>37</sup> Collectively

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<sup>33</sup> See Appendix 1a for definitions of territorial terms in both locations.

<sup>34</sup> William Nolan, 'Land and landscape in county Wicklow c. 1840' in Ken Hannigan and William Nolan (eds), *Wicklow history and society: interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county* (Dublin, 1994), pp 649-93; p. 657.

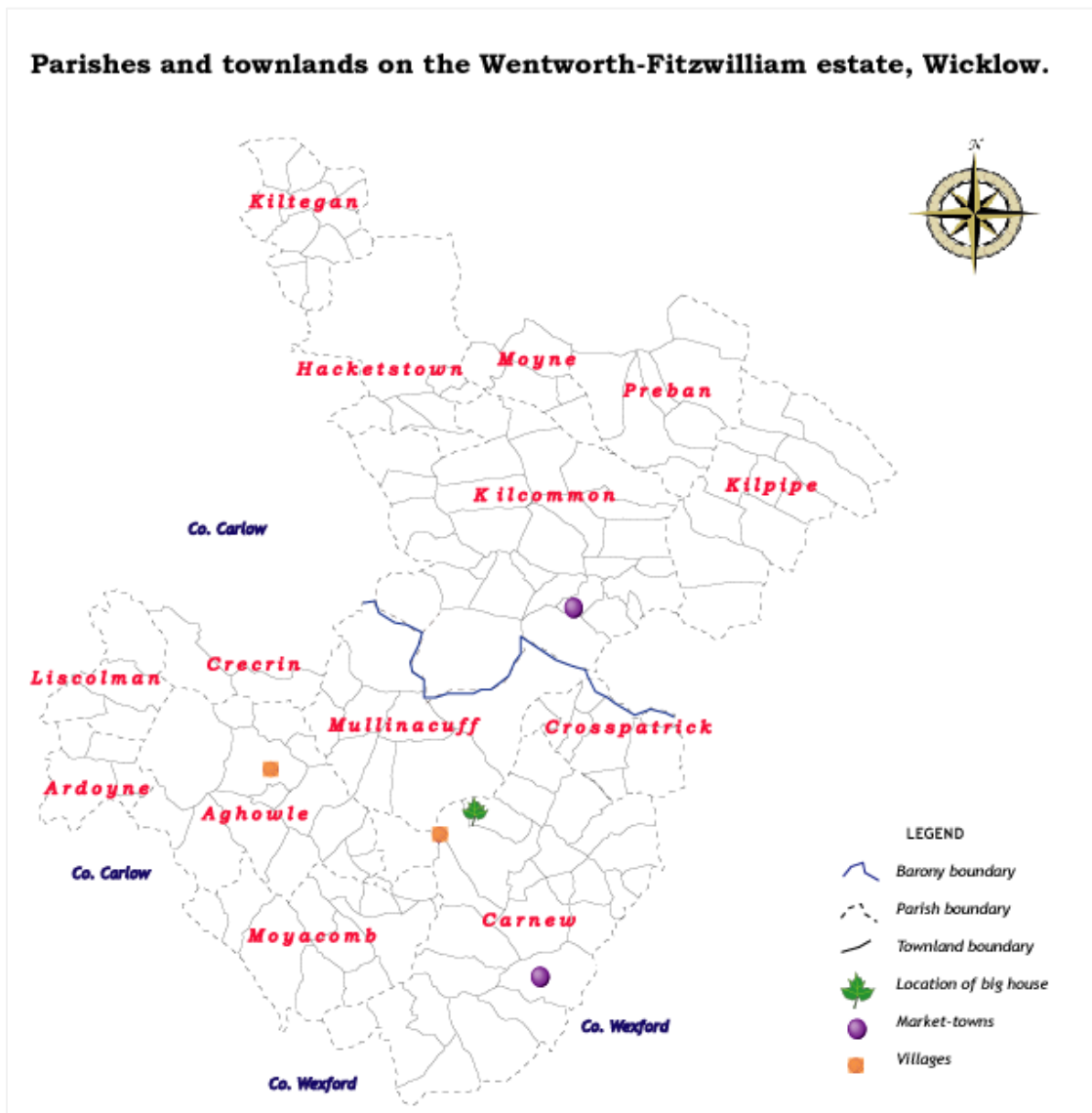
<sup>35</sup> Smith, *Whig principles and party politics*, p. 30.

<sup>36</sup> John Bateman, *The great landowners of Great Britain and Ireland* (4th ed., Leicester, 1971), p. 168. County Wicklow had seven baronies until 1841 at which time the barony of Ballinacor was divided into two, Ballinacor North and Ballinacor South. The Irish estate was situated in the southern barony.

<sup>37</sup> Robert Fraser, *General view of the agriculture and mineralogy, present state and circumstances of the county Wicklow with observations on the means of their improvement* (Dublin, 1801), p. 115.

these constituted fourteen civil parishes throughout the baronies of Ballinacor and Shillelagh. Within the confines of the estate were the market-towns of Tinahely and Carnew, as well as Coollattin Park, the family seat in Ireland. Hence, it is this area that forms the basis of the Irish case study (see Map 1.1).

**Map. 1.1 Civil parishes and townlands on the Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estate, Wicklow<sup>38</sup>**



<sup>38</sup> Base maps used were Maps of the Cashaw estate of the Right Hon. the earl Fitzwilliam (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 22,019-20)

The most significant parish on the estate in terms of extent and prominence was the parish of Carnew. It lay in the extreme south-east of the county, less than a mile from the border with Wexford and formed part of the barony of Shillelagh. To the north of Carnew was upland, mountainous terrain interspersed with bog and parkland and in the south of the parish lay the more fertile land.<sup>39</sup> Historically, the region was ‘covered in [a dense] wood’ which stretched in a north-west trajectory primarily through the townlands of Tomnafinnogue, Ballykelly and Coollatin Park in the north of the parish.<sup>40</sup>

To the west of Carnew parish lay the parish of Moyacomb, or Clonegal as it was also known. This was a parish dissected by three county boundaries. It comprised a total of 17,412 acres, 5,770 acres of which were part of the core estate. North of the parish of Moyacomb was the ancient parish of Aghold or Aghowle as it is now known. Located approximately five miles’ south-east of the market-town of Tullow in county Carlow, Aghowle consisted of an area of 4,965 acres divided into sixteen townlands.<sup>41</sup> Throughout the nineteenth century, the landed gentry presided over many of its townlands. Notable residences dotted the landscape, such as Munny House, the seat of Captain Abraham A. Nickson constructed in the 1770s and from 1820, Archibald Montfort esquire’s residence in the townland of Killinure. These were very large Protestant farmers/middlemen who aspired to a gentry-type lifestyle. To the north of the parish of Aghowle lay the parishes of Ardoyne, Liscolman and Crecrin which formed the western boundary separating counties Carlow and Wicklow.

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<sup>39</sup> Survey of the Right Hon. Lord Malton in counties Kildare and Wicklow, mid-eighteenth century (N.L.I., Rockingham papers, MS 4,944).

<sup>40</sup> Fraser, *General views of agriculture and mineralogy*, p. 115.

<sup>41</sup> Samuel Lewis, *A topographical dictionary of Ireland comprising the several counties, cities, boroughs, corporate, market and post towns, parishes and villages with historical and statistical descriptions* (2 vols, London, 1837), i, p. 20.

Mullinacuff lay to the north-west of the parish of Carnew. The large Protestant class in this parish resided chiefly in the townland of Ballyraheen. At the foot of Ballyraheen hill was Ballyraheen House, the residence of Mrs Chamney. The house had been attacked during the 1798 rebellion. She had been widowed as a consequence of the insurrection when her husband Captain Joseph Chamney led the Coollattin Corps into battle against insurgents and was fatally wounded.<sup>42</sup>

The parish of Crosspatrick, approximately three and a half miles to the east of the market-town of Tinahely contained a total of eight townlands. In addition to the usual Roman Catholic and Protestant churches, Crosspatrick also had a Methodist church to cater for Wesleyan Methodists resident in the area.<sup>43</sup>

The civil parish of Kilpipe extended into county Wexford but was primarily located in the barony of Ballinacor South. The Dublin, Wicklow & Wexford Railway line, a project engineered by I. K. Brunel, began construction in 1846. The tracks ran parallel to the parish boundary separating its western border from the eastern edge of the adjoining parish of Preban.<sup>44</sup> The civil parish of Preban comprised six townlands and was situated in the barony of Ballinacor South. The entire parish was part of the Fitzwilliam estate and amounted to 2,637 acres. During the nineteenth century, it was the location of a flour-mill owned by a Mr Gilbert and also the seat of residence of the Newton family, who like many of their Protestant class chose a site with ‘commanding views of the vale of Derry and Croghan Mountain.’<sup>45</sup> In the townland of Tomcoyle was

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<sup>42</sup> Rev. James Gordon, *History of the rebellion in Ireland, in the year 1798, &c. containing an impartial account of the proceedings of the Irish revolutionists, from the year 1782, till the suppression of the rebellion* (London, 1803), p. 211.

<sup>43</sup> Lewis, *A topographical dictionary of Ireland*, p. 438.

<sup>44</sup> *Returns relating to Waterford, Wexford, Wicklow and Dublin railway company, required by sessional resolutions of 1846 relative to railway bills*, p. 381, H.C. 1851 (291) li.

<sup>45</sup> Lewis, *A topographical dictionary of Ireland*, p. 472.



Tankersley House, the home of Charles Coates, a residence whose name suggests transnational links with Yorkshire, as the township of Tankersley formed part of the Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estate in Yorkshire.

The parish of Kilcommon dominated the southern portion of the barony of Ballinacor South. Twenty-eight townlands covering an area of 6,757 acres were under the control of the estate.<sup>46</sup> This parish contained the principal seats of residence of several landed gentry who generally named their dwellings after the townland within which they were constructed. These included the Symes family of Ballybeg House, a family that had emigrated from Northamptonshire during the late seventeenth century.<sup>47</sup>

Tinahely was situated on land to the east of the townland, an area described by Samuel Lewis as: ‘a wild and mountainous district, on the banks of a small stream, over which [was] a stone bridge of five arches.’<sup>48</sup> The town was significant in that it was also the location of the chief constabulary barracks on the estate, a premises that was a hive of activity throughout the period under study as a consequence of agrarian and sectarian agitation.

The final three civil parishes of the Irish estate were Moyne, Hacketstown and Kiltegan. Moyne townland was arguably the most developed of the three, benefitting from the existence of a church, school and dispensary which were erected over the course of the nineteenth century.<sup>49</sup> Hacketstown was a civil parish in the barony of Ballinacor South though primarily situated in the barony of Rathvilly in neighbouring county Carlow. It was partitioned into twenty-one townlands. Six of those in county

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<sup>46</sup> Maps of the Cashaw estate of the Right Hon. the earl Fitzwilliam (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 22,020), no. 46, no. 34, no. 28.

<sup>47</sup> John Burke, *A genealogical and heraldic dictionary of the landed gentry of Great Britain and Ireland* (2 vols, London, 1847), ii, p. 1344.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 405.

Wicklow belonged to the Fitzwilliam family.<sup>50</sup> The civil parish of Kiltegan straddled three baronies. Thirteen of its fifty-seven townlands were situated in the barony of Ballinacor South and formed part of the core estate.<sup>51</sup>

This was the Fitzwilliam core estate in county Wicklow. It was a collage of mountain, bog and parkland.<sup>52</sup> The landscape was in many respects as colourful at the strata of tenantry that inhabited this space and breathed life into its society. By 1843, it generated an annual revenue of £38,000 for the family.<sup>53</sup> The Yorkshire estate centred on the township of Wentworth was distinctly different.

When the third Earl Fitzwilliam succeeded to the Rockingham inheritance in 1782, he also inherited two estates in Yorkshire, as well as the Irish estate. The Malton estate in the north of the county was the less significant of the two containing approximately 3,000 acres. The Wentworth estate in the south of the county was the more valuable.<sup>54</sup> It comprised approximately 17,000 acres of woodland, agricultural land and a network of mines across three wapentakes: Staincross, Strafforth & Tickall Lower Division and Strafforth & Tickall Upper Division.<sup>55</sup> At the heart of the estate was the Palladian mansion of Wentworth Woodhouse surrounded by 1,600 acres of

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<sup>50</sup> Maps of the Cashaw estate of the Right Hon. the earl Fitzwilliam (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 22,019-20) nos 15-7, no. 43,

<sup>51</sup> Maps of the Cashaw estate of the Right Hon. the earl Fitzwilliam (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 22,019), nos 19-25.

<sup>52</sup> See Appendix 1b for description of the estate by parish.

<sup>53</sup> Gerard J. Lyne, 'Landlord tenant relations on the Shelbourne estate in Kenmare, Bonane and Tuosist, 1770-5' in *Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society Journal*, xii (1979), pp 19-62. Note £38,000 equates to £3.2 million in today's value. Relative values arrived at throughout this thesis were obtained from [www.measuringworth.com](http://www.measuringworth.com) an organisation founded by two academics in 2006 and presided over by a Board of Advisors comprised of a number of economists including Joel Mokyr (Northwestern University), Jeffery Williamson (Harvard University) and Gavin Wright (Stanford University).

<sup>54</sup> Smith, *Whig principles and party politics*, p. 30.

<sup>55</sup> Nunn, 'The management of some south Yorkshire landed estates in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', p. 131. The second marquis married sixteen-year-old Mary Bright in 1752. Her dowry included estates at Badsworth, Eccleshall and Ackworth Park although were heavily burdened with jointures.

parkland.<sup>56</sup> Extensive remodelling by Thomas Watson-Wentworth in the eighteenth century had transformed the ordinary Jacobean dwelling into a palatial residence. Construction on the west front began in 1725. It was built in the baroque style and faced northwards towards the village of Wentworth. Less than a decade later, however, work commenced on the construction of a south-facing east front designed by the architect, Henry Flitcroft.<sup>57</sup> The fourth earl, eager to place his stamp on his new home, embellished it further by employing the prominent Yorkshire architect, John Carr, to add a third floor to each pavilion.<sup>58</sup> After its completion, the residence consisted of 365 rooms and covered an area of 2.5 acres.

Outside of the demesne, the wider core estate was primarily concentrated on the wapentake of Strafforth & Tickall Upper Division which contained the townships of Wentworth, Brampton Bierlow, Hoyland, Wombwell, Kimberworth, Greasbrough, Rawmarsh, Swinton, Wath-Upon-Dearne and Darfield. To the east of the core estate was the annexed township of Edlington where Fitzwilliam's interest mainly consisted of woodland.<sup>59</sup> The township of Darfield also straddled the wapentake of Staincross which contained the township of Tankersley forming the north-western edge of the estate. In Strafforth & Tickall Lower Division were the townships of Hooton Roberts and Tinsley.<sup>60</sup> One defining aspect of the Yorkshire estate was its location within the area of the South Yorkshire coalfield which had been mined since the fourteenth century. This expansive area was defined by a triad extending from Barnsley to Sheffield and

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<sup>56</sup> George Alexander Cooke, *Topographical and statistical description of the county of York containing an account of its situation, extent, towns, roads, rivers, lakes, mines, minerals, fisheries, manufactures, trade, commerce, agriculture, fairs, markets, curiosities, antiquities, natural history, civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, &c. to which is prefixed a copious travelling index* (London, 1802), p. 96.

<sup>57</sup> Christopher Christie, *The British country house in the eighteenth century* (Manchester, 2000), pp 35-6.

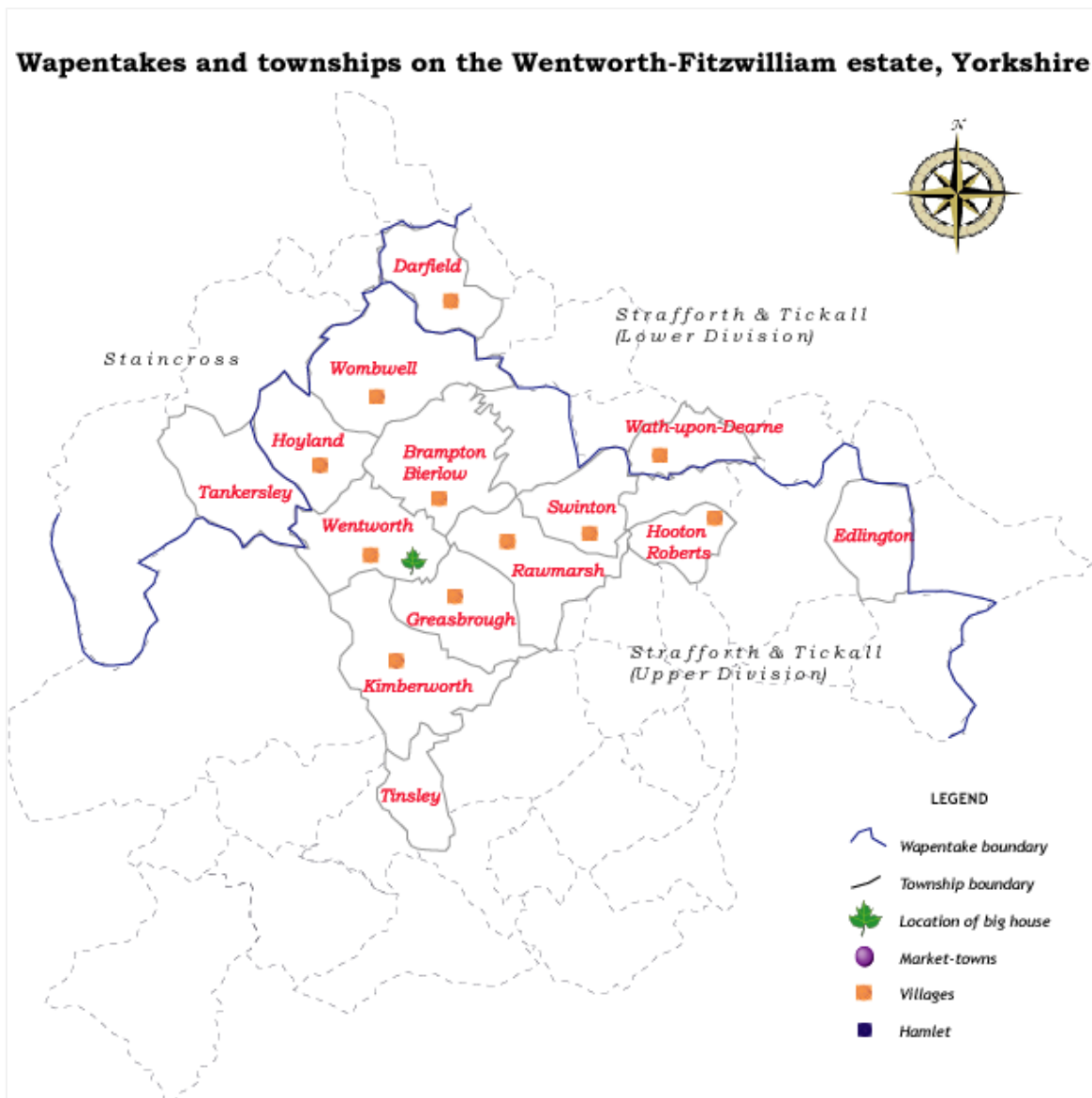
<sup>58</sup> Plans and elevations numbered 1 and 2, John Carr, 1783 (S.A., WWM/MP/13/1-2).

<sup>59</sup> Nunn, 'The management of some south Yorkshire landed estates in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', p. 67.

<sup>60</sup> Census of Great Britain, 1821, observations, enumeration and parish register abstracts, pp 420-2.

Doncaster (see Map 1.2). The most productive seam was the Barnsley seam. This extended beneath the surface of the Wentworth estate and had major implications for the communities that lived above it.<sup>61</sup>

**Map. 1.2 Wapentakes and townships on the Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estate, Yorkshire<sup>62</sup>**



<sup>61</sup> David Spring, *The English landed estate in the nineteenth century: its administration* (Baltimore, MD, 1963), p. 15.

<sup>62</sup> Base map used was Map of West Riding wapentakes available at: West Riding Hearth Tax online ([http://www.hearthtax.org.uk/maps/westriding/wriding\\_waptkns.pdf](http://www.hearthtax.org.uk/maps/westriding/wriding_waptkns.pdf)) (20 Feb. 2014).

Wentworth was a village, chapelry and township in the parish of Wath-upon-Dearne. It was situated five miles from Rotherham, seven miles north-west of the manufacturing town of Barnsley and eight miles south of the industrial town of Sheffield. The township comprised 2,234 acres including the village which was situated 'near the western boundary of the park'.<sup>63</sup>

To the north-east of Wentworth was the township of Brampton Bierlow. Situated on the Dearne and Dove canal, the township comprised approximately 3,168 acres. Of this, 1,633 acres was arable land, 1,203 was used for grazing livestock and 245 acres was woodland, while 76 acres were taken over by homesteads of varying classifications.<sup>64</sup> A number of hamlets existed within the township including Coley Lane, Hooper and West Melton.<sup>65</sup>

Hoyland was a village, a chapelry and township situated to the west of Brampton Bierlow and consisted of 2,008 acres.<sup>66</sup> The village was sometimes referred to as Nether Hoyland in order to distinguish it from High Hoyland, a township further north.<sup>67</sup> The township also contained the village of Elsecar. Coal mining began in earnest in 1795 with the establishment of the Elsecar New colliery, simultaneously transforming the region and its people.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Samuel Lewis, *A topographical dictionary of England comprising the several counties, cities, boroughs, corporate and market towns, parishes, chapelries and townships, and the islands of Guernsey, Jersey and Man with historical and statistical descriptions* (4 vols, London, 1848), pp 509-13, available at British History Online (<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/topographical-dict/england>) (13 Jul. 2014).

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 343-7.

<sup>65</sup> W. Edwards and F. M. Trotter, *The Pennines and adjacent areas: handbooks on the geology of Great Britain* (3rd ed., London, 1975), p. 1.

<sup>66</sup> Lewis, *A topographical dictionary of England*, pp 569-74.

<sup>67</sup> John Wolffe (ed.), *Yorkshire returns of the 1851 census of religious worship: West Riding (South)* (3 vols, York, 2005), pp 90-1.

<sup>68</sup> Marilyn Palmer and Peter Neaverson, *Industry in the landscape, 1700-1900* (London, 1994), p. 58; see also Graham Mee, *Aristocratic enterprise: the Fitzwilliam industrial undertakings, 1795-1857* (London, 1975). See chapter three for detail concerning coal mining activities.

The two townships of Wombwell and Darfield lay adjacent to each other and formed the northern boundary of the estate. The former was a township within the ecclesiastical parish of Darfield. It comprised 3,460 acres, 410 of which were woodland and contained the villages of Wombwell and Hemingfield.<sup>69</sup> Wombwell village was located on the Dearne and Dove canal in a valley surrounded by rolling hills.<sup>70</sup> Darfield township was five miles north-east of Wentworth Woodhouse. It contained 1,640 acres and included the villages of Darfield, Mill House and the hamlets of Edderthorpe and Tyers-hill. Darfield village was situated on a hill between the Dearne River and its network of tributaries.<sup>71</sup>

To the extreme north-west of Wentworth Township was the township of Tankersley. It was situated in the wapentake of Staincross and formed part of the parish of Tankersley. The township comprised of 2,500 acres the majority of which belonged to the earls Fitzwilliam.<sup>72</sup> To the extreme south-western edge of the estate was the chapelry of Tinsley. It contained 1,570 acres which included the village of Tinsley and was situated in the wapentake of Strafforth & Tickall Lower Division.<sup>73</sup> The Sheffield and Tinsley canal, constructed by an act of parliament in 1815, ran straight through the village and merged with the river Don a short distance below before continuing on to Sheffield.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Census of Great Britain, 1831, enumeration abstract, (part 2), p. 818.

<sup>70</sup> Margaret E. Mann, *Darfield village and church* (Stockwell, 1966), p. 47.

<sup>71</sup> David Hey, *A history of Yorkshire: county of the broad acres* (Lancaster, 2005), p. 407.

<sup>72</sup> Lewis, *A topographical dictionary of England*, pp 297-300.

<sup>73</sup> Census of Great Britain, 1831, enumeration abstract, (part 2), p. 820.

<sup>74</sup> *An act for making and maintaining a navigable canal from Sheffield to Tinsley, in the West Riding, in the county of York, 1815* (2 Geo. III, c. lv).

To the south of Wentworth lay Kimberworth which contained 2,940 acres and a large population.<sup>75</sup> The township contained the villages of Kimberworth, Masborough and Holmes. Kimberworth village was located two miles west of the market-town of Rotherham which was the nearest urban centre to the core estate.<sup>76</sup> The village of Masborough lay three quarters of a mile further east towards Rotherham. From the mid-eighteenth century, the iron industry was the principal employer in the village and throughout the nineteenth century, Masborough foundries grew substantially owing to advances in technology.<sup>77</sup>

To the east of Kimberworth township lay the chapelry of Greasbrough which contained a total of 2,270 acres, approximately 2,000 acres of which formed part of the Fitzwilliam estate.<sup>78</sup> The village of Greasbrough was situated equidistant from the big house and the town of Rotherham which lay to the south-east of the village. In the surrounding countryside were a number of hamlets including Cinder Bridge, Ginhouse, Bassingthorpe, Nether Haugh and Parkgate.<sup>79</sup>

The township of Rawmarsh was situated north-east of Greasbrough. The majority of the soil in this area was high yielding in mineral content and a number of earthenware manufactories were established in Rawmarsh.<sup>80</sup> Perhaps, the most famous of these was Northfield Pottery managed by the Hawley family.<sup>81</sup> The residents of the

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<sup>75</sup> Census of Great Britain, 1831, enumeration abstract, (part 2), p. 818.

<sup>76</sup> Wolfe (ed.), *Yorkshire returns of the 1851 census of religious worship*, p. 129.

<sup>77</sup> Canon William Odom, *Memorials to Sheffield: its cathedral and parish churches* (Sheffield, 1922), p. 226.

<sup>78</sup> Census of Great Britain, 1831, enumeration abstract (part 2), p. 818.

<sup>79</sup> Thomas Langdale, *A topographical dictionary of Yorkshire containing the names of all the towns, villages, hamlets, gentlemen's seats, &c. in the county of York* (2nd ed., Northallerton, 1822), p. 224.

<sup>80</sup> Lewis, *A topographical dictionary of England*, pp 640-5.

<sup>81</sup> See chapter three concerning economics for more information on pottery manufacturing.

village were employed chiefly in the many collieries and ironworks that encircled Rawmarsh, most notably, in the hamlets of Kilnhurst and Parkgate.<sup>82</sup>

Swinton was bordered on its western margins by Rawmarsh. Swinton contained approximately 1,600 acres, 930 acres were set for cropping, 531 were used for grazing, 11 were given over to the navigational system, 74 acres were covered in woodland while 64 acres consisted of farmsteads with associated gardens and orchards.<sup>83</sup> Swinton was known for the manufacturing of both earthenware and china. At the height of production these industries employed 600 people. Central to its success and longevity was the fourth Earl Fitzwilliam.<sup>84</sup>

The final two townships were Wath-upon-Dearne and Hooton Roberts. Wath-upon-Dearne contained 1,550 acres, 832 of which were planted with crops. Almost 600 acres were set to pasture with the remaining acreage divided between homestead, woodland and canal. Wath-upon-Dearne bore the hallmarks of a bustling market-town and was situated five miles north of Rotherham and four miles east of Wentworth Woodhouse.<sup>85</sup> Hooton-Roberts was a parish in the wapentake of Strafforth & Tickall Lower Division. It contained approximately 1,050 acres. With the exception of 34 acres, 66 percent of the land was arable while the remaining 33 percent was grassland.<sup>86</sup> It is these townships that form the basis for the Yorkshire case study.

The detail outlined here serves to illustrate just how contrasting the Wicklow and Yorkshire core estates were in terms of extent, topography and economic

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<sup>82</sup> Lewis, *A topographical dictionary of England*, pp 640-5.

<sup>83</sup> Lewis, *A topographical dictionary of Ireland*, pp 289-92.

<sup>84</sup> Gordon Campbell (ed.), *The Grove encyclopaedia of decorative arts* (2 vols, Oxford, 2006), ii, pp 280-1.

<sup>85</sup> Lewis, *A topographical dictionary of England*, pp 486-90. See also Appendix 1b for description by township of Yorkshire estate.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 542-5.



development and settlement. Thus, the management practices introduced in each location had to adapt to landscape, resources and people.

### 1.5 *'The people' – the religious composition of the Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates*

Similar to the geographical characteristics, the religious composition of each estate was also very different. For much of the nineteenth century, the religious persuasion of the Irish people was divided between three main groups. In the 1830s, the Whig administration established a commission to ascertain the religious composition of the island. The commissioners' report, published in 1835, stated that: '80.9 percent of the population were Catholics, 10.7 percent were members of the Church of Ireland and 8.1 percent were Presbyterians.'<sup>87</sup> In Wicklow, the Protestant population 'accounted for almost 22 percent' of the county's inhabitants, although individual baronies often exceeded this figure.<sup>88</sup>

The Fitzwilliams' Irish estate was served by fourteen Church of Ireland parishes and six Roman Catholic parishes. The ecclesiastical parishes differed in size, with the Church of Ireland parish mirroring that of the civil parish (see Map 1.3). Roman Catholic parishes covered a greater area due to a larger population coupled with a shortage of clergy to administer to their needs (see Map 1.4).

Although Methodism was a feature on the Yorkshire estate for the first half of the nineteenth century, the actual number of Methodists was miniscule in the context of the larger religious landscape. It was not until the late 1840s that this religion experienced an upsurge in membership. Consequently, in the 1840s church building on

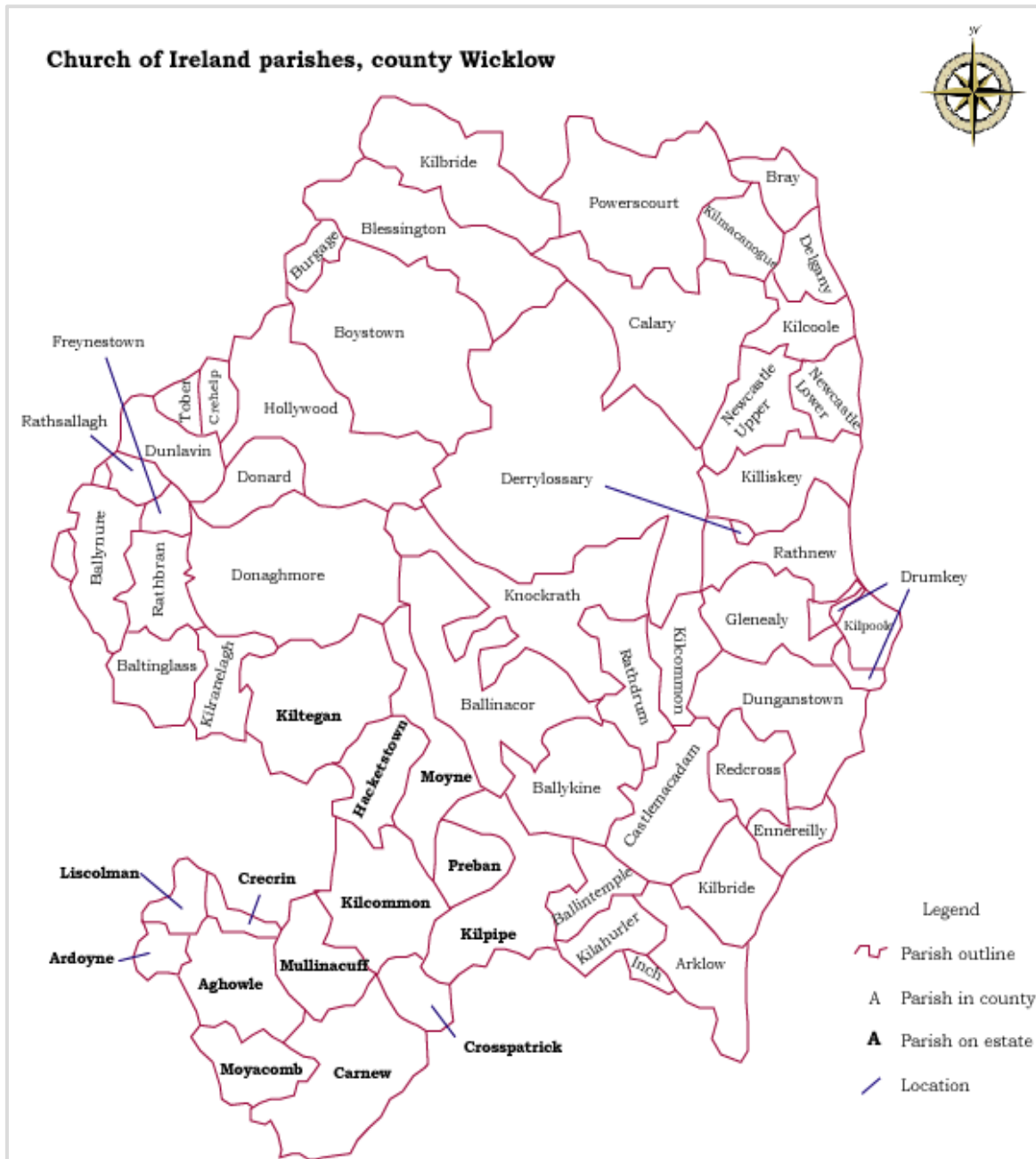
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<sup>87</sup> Séan Connolly, *Religion and society in nineteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 1994), p. 3.

<sup>88</sup> Ken Hannigan, 'Wicklow before and after the Famine' in Ken Hannigan and William Nolan (eds), *Wicklow history and society: interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county* (Dublin, 1994), pp 789-823; p. 794.

the estate resulted in the emergence of Methodist churches in Swinton, Thorpe Hesley, Hooper and Elsecar.<sup>89</sup> Therefore, from 1815 to 1845, the religious composition of the Yorkshire estate was almost uniformly Anglican.<sup>90</sup>

**Map 1.3 Church of Ireland parishes in county Wicklow<sup>91</sup>**

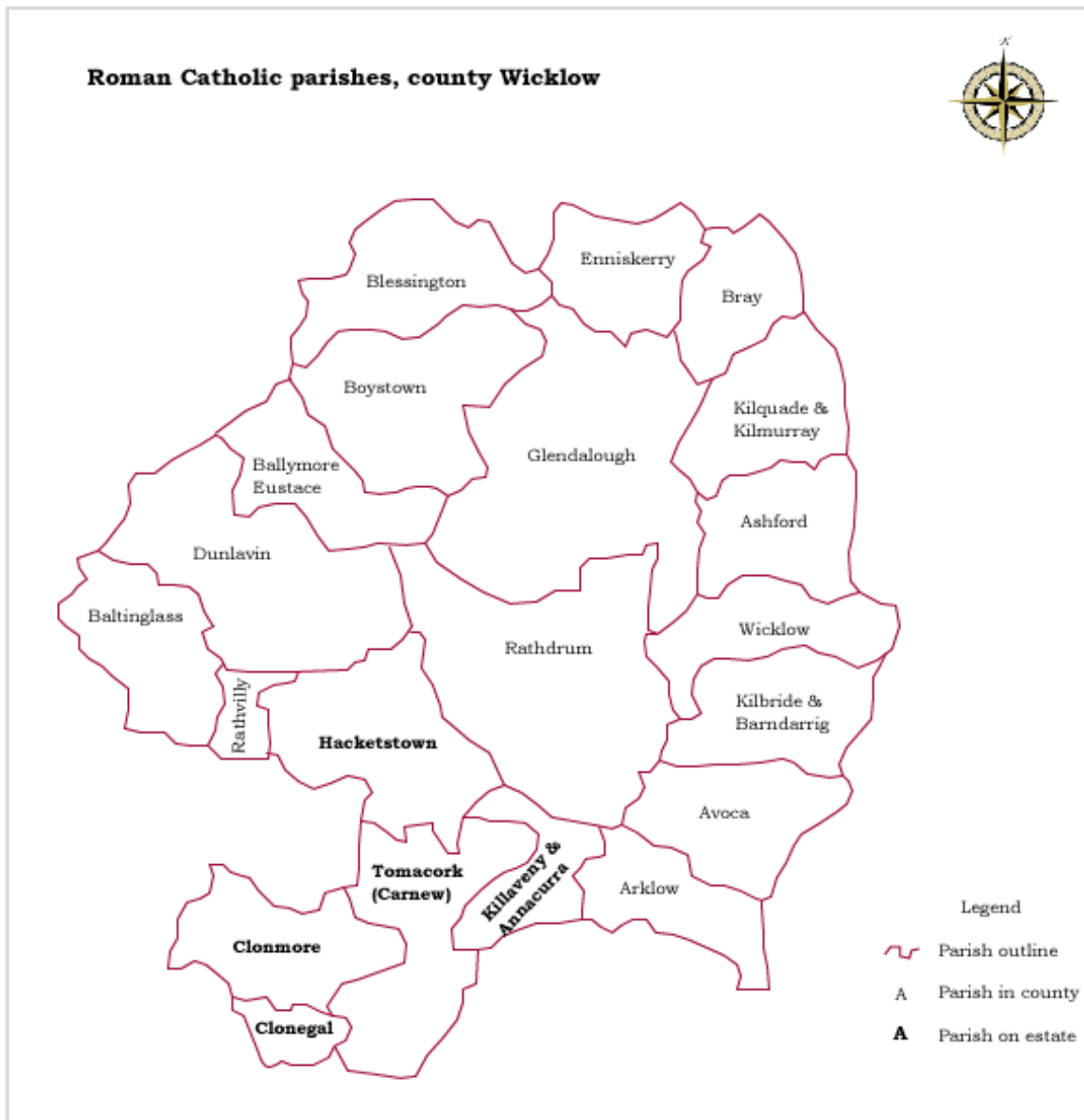


<sup>89</sup> See Swinton St John's Wesleyan Methodist church, transcript of baptism register, 1850-1942 (R.A.L.S., 58-N/28/2/49).

<sup>90</sup> For more information on the religious composition of the estate see chapter five.

<sup>91</sup> Base map taken from County Wicklow parish records available at: Our Wicklow heritage ([http://www.countywicklowheritage.org/page\\_id\\_24\\_path\\_0p4p10p.aspx](http://www.countywicklowheritage.org/page_id_24_path_0p4p10p.aspx)) (1 Apr. 2016).

Map 1.4 Roman Catholic parishes in county Wicklow<sup>92</sup>



### 1.6 Conclusion

The Wentworth-Fitzwilliam cores estate in Wicklow and Yorkshire were markedly different in terms of extent, topography, resources, economy and religious composition; these variations determined the style of management in each place and

<sup>92</sup> Base map taken from County Wicklow parish records available at: Our Wicklow heritage ([http://www.countywicklowheritage.org/page/2\\_county\\_wicklow\\_p parish\\_records?path=0p10p](http://www.countywicklowheritage.org/page/2_county_wicklow_p parish_records?path=0p10p)) (1 Apr. 2016).

dictated the strategies that were implemented. On the absentee Irish estate, a single agent was responsible for its management and its tenantry. Agriculture was the sole driver of the Wicklow estate's economy and consequently the community were wholly dependent on access to land for their survival. As the population increased, the pressure exerted on land and resources required careful management to protect the rural economy and, by extension, the people. In contrast, the Yorkshire estate was considerably smaller in size, but although it contained an agricultural component, the presence of coal and the family's growing interest in this commodity resulted in increased industrial activity on the estate. This required a dual management approach to oversee agricultural and industrial enterprises. Furthermore, the occupational structure that developed in Yorkshire among the tenantry was more varied than that of Ireland and less reliant on a single labour stream.

Despite the many degrees of separation that existed on the land, the lord and agents that presided over the management of these estates connected both locations on two levels. Firstly, the Earls Fitzwilliam ideology of landlord paternalism was an important component irrespective of location or the level of commitment by the landlord to this philosophy. Secondly, landlord paternalism was also highly influential in directing estate management policies; this was evident in the recruitment process which took place on both estates. With few exceptions between 1815 and 1865, the Wentworth-Fitzwilliam agents of Ireland and Yorkshire were Yorkshire-born and trained. They were drawn from within family groups that had previously served as agents to successive earls. While management decisions made in one location may have been similar to those made in the other, the outcomes were radically different, a

consequence of the economic, religious, political, social and cultural differences which existed on both estates.

## CHAPTER 2: A CHAOTIC WORLD: THE WENTWORTH-FITZWILLIAM ESTATES OF IRELAND & YORKSHIRE, 1798-1815

*I beg to state my entire Conviction that the Arms & Ammunition now collected by the Depredators will first be employed in enforcing their alarming System of Terror & Robbery ... & lastly, will end, as the same Course of Outrage ended in Ireland, in open Rebellion against the Government of the Country.*

Sir Francis Wood, Vice Lieutenant West-Riding to Earl Fitzwilliam, Lord Lieutenant, June 1812.<sup>1</sup>

### 2.1 Introduction: the historical context

The Irish landed class reached the zenith of their political and economic hegemony in the mid-eighteenth century; a burgeoning urban class had begun to threaten the *status-quo* by the latter decades. Simultaneously, an increasing rural poor, largely of the Roman Catholic religion, simmered with growing discontent as laws were introduced which further weakened their influence and threatened their very existence. It was inevitable that the power of the oligarchy would begin to unravel should these lower classes join forces. Minor concessions granted to Catholics by a Protestant Irish parliament in the late eighteenth century did little to quell the agrarian discontent that had manifested itself in Irish rural society by this time. Laws that prohibited Catholics from voting or holding land were revoked too late to prevent an uprising. However, the passing of various relief acts ultimately empowered Catholics while simultaneously

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<sup>1</sup> Sir Francis Wood to Earl Fitzwilliam, 17 Jun. 1812, (Public Records Office, Home Office papers, 40/1/1) available at: The Luddite Bicentenary (<http://ludditebicentenary.blogspot.ie/2012/06/17th-june-1812-francis-wood-writes-to.html>) (3 Jul. 2014).

diminishing Protestant morale. Thus, the rebellion which erupted in Ireland in May 1798 was a response to the disaffection prevalent among the masses that had gathered momentum during the century.

Similarly, in late Georgian Britain, the general prevailing mood was one of discontent. The country was governed by the elite. The process of industrialisation had created new working conditions and also new social classes. Mechanisation revolutionised the mode of production as goods once manufactured in private dwellings could now be mass produced more efficiently in a factory setting. Consequently, these high-productivity enterprises demanded a larger labour force which created new employment opportunities not least for women and children, who provided ‘a cheap and constant source of labour.’<sup>2</sup> In the long term, technological advancement led to an improvement in living conditions. However, at the turn of the nineteenth century, it seemed to bring more losses than gains. In the absence of adequate infrastructure, cities and towns were unable to cope with the migrant population that moved *en masse* from the rural to the urban environs to work.<sup>3</sup> In the cities in the north, disgruntled textile workers made redundant by industrialisation vented their anger by destroying factories and machines.

The events in both countries happened against the backdrop of the American and French revolutions. As K. Theodore Hoppen contends: ‘revolutionary events in North America and France encouraged those of more radical tendencies’ to move beyond the boundaries of meagre concessions.<sup>4</sup> The ideologies embodied by these global

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<sup>2</sup> William J. Ashworth, ‘Industry and transport’ in Chris Williams (ed.), *A companion to nineteenth-century Britain* (Oxford, 2004), pp 223-38; p. 227.

<sup>3</sup> Jane Humphries, ‘Standard of living, quality of life’ in Chris Williams (ed.), *A companion to nineteenth-century Britain* (Oxford, 2004), pp 287-305; p. 297.

<sup>4</sup> K. Theodore Hoppen, *Ireland since 1800: conflict and conformity* (2nd ed., Essex, 1999), p. 12.

revolutions affected the Fitzwilliam estates in both Wicklow and Yorkshire in a local context. These ideologies of liberty, equality and civil rights inspired local communities and liberal politicians to challenge the accepted norms. For example, in 1795 when William Pitt proposed changes to Irish trade, Fitzwilliam was the leading opponent against such measures. As the proprietor of land in both Britain and Ireland he was an ideal spokesperson. He publicly denounced suggestions of levying a commercial tax on Irish goods and openly criticised proposals to open Irish markets to the empire, viewing both as useful to neither country nor trade.<sup>5</sup>

The aim of this chapter is to contextualise life on the Wicklow and Yorkshire estates in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It discusses the sectarian tensions that emerged on the Wicklow estate in 1798, describes the impact of the Act of Union three years later and then examines the impact of the Luddite movement on the Yorkshire estate. The chapter concludes with an analysis of how the Napoleonic wars affected the tenantry on both estates.

## 2.2 ‘A disordered state’ – Ireland 1798

The 1798 rebellion was organised by the Society of United Irishmen. This liberal movement was established in Belfast in 1791, with the objective of instigating parliamentary reform. The society was an eclectic cohort whose membership was drawn from the three principal denominations on the island, Anglican, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic. Though the name symbolised unity, the different belief systems contained within the group threatened the achievement of its aspirations. While all concerned desired an independent Irish republic free from British rule, liberal Protestant

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<sup>5</sup> David Wilkinson, ‘Fitzwilliam, William Wentworth, second earl Fitzwilliam in the peerage of Great Britain and the fourth earl Fitzwilliam in the peerage of Ireland (1748-1833)’ in H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (eds), *Oxford dictionary of national biography* (60 vols, Oxford, 2004), xix, pp 969-72.



elements within the society viewed themselves as the natural successor to govern, despite the fact that 80 percent of the island's population was Roman Catholic.<sup>6</sup>

Ruan O'Donnell contends that before 1795 the United Irishmen were content to advance their political agenda through various forums such as the Catholic Committee, but the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam from the viceroyalty in 1795 coupled with 'other parliamentary reverses' greatly altered the society's resolve. Consequently, the association metamorphosed into an increasingly militant and revolutionary organisation and in 1796 it merged with the Defenders. The Defenders were a Roman Catholic agrarian secret society which had emerged in southern Ulster in the mid-1780s in response to local sectarian unrest.<sup>7</sup> It was an unlikely alliance in that Defenderism envisaged Catholic domination rather than equality as espoused by the United Irishmen. And yet, the pre-existing organisational structure of the Defenders facilitated the easy infiltration and rapid expansion of the movement into areas like Munster and Leinster which had previously been unaffected by such groups. Furthermore, the existence of the Orange Order from 1795 strengthened links between the Defenders and the United Irishmen.<sup>8</sup>

In comparison to the rest of the island, eighteenth-century Wicklow displayed minimal traits of social unrest despite the presence of a large loyalist population. It appeared unaffected by the agrarian agitation prevalent in the bordering counties of Wexford and Carlow. Yet, on the eve of the rebellion the county contained the largest contingent of United Irishmen in the province.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Hoppen, *Ireland since 1800: conflict and conformity*, p. 12.

<sup>7</sup> Ruan O'Donnell, *The rebellion in Wicklow, 1798* (Dublin, 1998), p. 37.

<sup>8</sup> Hoppen, *Ireland since 1800: conflict and conformity*, p. 13.

<sup>9</sup> O'Donnell, *The rebellion in Wicklow*, p. 12.

In 1798, the number of Wicklow Protestants was in the region of 12,000. By contrast, Roman Catholics totalled 44,500, a ratio of approximately 1:5. Moreover, the county contained the largest Protestant enclave outside of Ulster.<sup>10</sup> Protestants were found in clusters on the various estates that had been created during the preceding century. In the south-west of the county, the principal villages on the Fitzwilliam estate - Coolkenno, Shillelagh, Tinahely and Carnew - were predominantly Protestant in composition. This was as a consequence of Thomas Watson-Wentworth's efforts from 1713 'to set the estate to a Protestant colony and not suffer any Romans to live' upon it.<sup>11</sup> Though arguably not an immediate success, a steady stream of Yorkshire emigrants arrived on the Wicklow estate tempted by the prospect of land and employment in the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>12</sup>

Consequently, in the pre-rebellion period the barony of Shillelagh became one of the most sectarian areas in the county. A wave of violence against members of the yeomanry had taken place in 1797 including the murder of eighty-year old Richard Nixon of Killinure. The elderly magistrate, described by the parish priest of Clonegal as 'one of the most inoffensive men in the world', was shot during an arms raid on 7 November that year.<sup>13</sup> Fr Purcell, the Roman Catholic priest, in an address to his parishioners, maintained that Nixon's death was most probably the tragic consequence of his deafness, which prevented him from following the raiders' demands. Three other

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<sup>10</sup> L. M. Cullen, *The emergence of modern Ireland, 1600-1900* (London, 1981), p. 37.

<sup>11</sup> Copies of letters of the Marquess of Rockingham, mainly concerning the rents from his estate in county Wicklow, 1747-8, together with a survey of his estate made before 1735, including names of tenants and the number in each family (N.L.I., Rockingham papers, MS 6,054), p. 7.

<sup>12</sup> Account of William Wainwright Esq., receiver of the estates of the Right Hon. William Earl Fitzwilliam in the counties of Wicklow, Wexford and Kildare in the kingdom of Ireland for one year's rent due Lady's Day 1801; also, of the said accountant's receipts and disbursements, from 25 Mar. 1801 to 25 Mar. 1802 (S.A., WWM/A/889), entries 45-9. [Hereafter annual rental accounts are referred to as Irish estate rental or Yorkshire estate rental.]

<sup>13</sup> Quoted in O'Donnell, *The rebellion in Wicklow*, p. 106.

Protestant homes were targeted the same night, though no further fatalities were reported.<sup>14</sup>

The escalation of violence and the losses incurred on the estate throughout the rest of 1797 and into 1798 are perhaps best understood within the context of the Irish situation. At a local level three related factors fuelled discontent. Firstly, the close proximity of the village of Carnew to the Wexford border, a county where rebel forces achieved their most significant victories during the course of the rebellion, rendered Carnew a likely flashpoint. Secondly, the religious configuration of its tenantry pitted United Irishman against Loyalist and employee against employer. A prime example of this was the case of Ralph Blayney of Carnew, a Protestant businessman whose premises was set alight by Patrick and John Murray. The brothers were United Irishmen who prior to the outbreak of the rebellion had both been employed as chandlers by Blayney.<sup>15</sup> Finally, and arguably most significantly, the presence of what O'Donnell describes as 'an aggressive magistracy with extremist tendencies' existed in Carnew. These included the Rev. Charles Cope, the Protestant rector, and Henry and Francis Morton, two large Protestants farmers whose presence fuelled animosity among the sects and resulted in a sharp escalation of violence in the town.<sup>16</sup>

Throughout May 1798 violence continued to escalate and on 8 June Wainwright wrote to Fitzwilliam in Yorkshire to inform him that 'amongst a great many other houses Malton [Coollattin] is burned to the ground, Carnew for the most part [is] in the same state.' Wainwright had 'fortunately secured the papers on Wednesday evening and ha[d] them [t]here ... sev[eral] armies are marching to our assistance and ... [he]

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<sup>14</sup> William Wainwright to Earl Fitzwilliam, 9 Nov. 1797 (S.A., WWM/F30/166; WWM/F30/168).

<sup>15</sup> Petition of Patrick Murray, Carnew, Jun. 1800 (N.A.I., Rebellion papers, 620/9/100/9).

<sup>16</sup> O'Donnell, *The rebellion in Wicklow, 1798*, p. 71.

hoped to see Malton again in the course of this day so as to be able to relate whether any remnant is left standing or any part of the household furniture spared.’<sup>17</sup>

In addition to the destruction of the big house, the villages of Carnew and Tinahely were razed to the ground by rebels throughout June.<sup>18</sup> In July a number of raids and the subsequent burning of houses across the county resulted in an increase in the number of fatalities. The arrival of a French army in August on the west coast of Ireland to support the rebels was soon curtailed and ultimately, although skirmishes continued for another two months the insurrection was finally suppressed in November 1798 with the defeat of the rebels. The rebellion in Wicklow was one of the last to be extinguished, despite the presence of several English regiments including the First West Yorkshire militia whose company of 600 men volunteered to serve in Ireland in an effort to restore peace.<sup>19</sup>

Despite the obvious financial implications of having to rebuild a sizeable portion of the estate post-1798, bricks and mortar were far easier to reconstruct than relationships across the religious divide which had been far from amicable in the pre-rebellion period. 399 claims for compensation from tenants on the estate amounting to £33,459 2s. 1½d. were received by government. This accounted for 26 percent of the entire total claimed by inhabitants in the county.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, the effect of fatalities on the management of landed estates was immense. This was due to the fact that the majority of the leaders of the yeomanry corps were head-tenants as correspondence between land agent and earl in July 1798 demonstrates. Wainwright informed

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<sup>17</sup> William Wainwright to Earl Fitzwilliam, 8 Jun. 1798 (S.A., WWM/F89/206).

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> William Wainwright to Earl Fitzwilliam, 10 Apr. 1799 (S.A., WWM/F89/220).

<sup>20</sup> List of persons who have suffered losses in their property in the county of Wicklow, 6 Apr. 1799 (S.A. WWM/F94/5, pp 1-11).

Fitzwilliam that clashes between rebels and loyalists had resulted in the death of two large tenant farmers Captain Nickson and Captain Chamney, who were officers in the yeomanry. Nickson had held ‘a large tract of mountain ground [which was] out of lease’ while Captain Chamney and the named life on his lease which had ‘17 or 18’ years remaining had both fallen in battle. Equally, Thomas Braddell and Richard Twamley, head-tenants in the townlands of Cronyhorn and Rosnastraw respectively, were both murdered by rebels.<sup>21</sup> Fitzwilliam directed Wainwright that: ‘a new life [was] to be put in, in every lease, [in place of] ... the life which fell in battle’.<sup>22</sup> The deaths of these large farmers necessitated a restructuring of holdings. Their murders at this time might raise questions about the motivations of the rebels in the first place.

While Ireland was in turmoil, eighteenth-century British society was grappling with a deepening urban rural divide, which emerged as a consequence of industrialisation. The division between manufacturing and agriculture resulted in an increased awareness of class divisions among its population. The Fitzwilliam interest in Yorkshire was not only landed but commercial. Though ‘agriculture might be the base of England’s prosperity’ the fifth earl, M.P. for Yorkshire from 1806 to 1833 believed that ‘manufacture was the shaft and commerce the capitol (*sic.*) of that column, if the shaft and capitol (*sic.*) were destroyed, the base would be useless’.<sup>23</sup> Although the number employed in mining pursuits had grown exponentially during the latter decades of the eighteenth century, agricultural activity remained the primary source of revenue for the Wentworth Woodhouse estate until the 1830s.<sup>24</sup> Asa Briggs states it was not the

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<sup>21</sup> William Wainwright to Fitzwilliam, 8 Jul. 1798 (S.A., WWM/F89/211).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> David Spring, ‘Earl Fitzwilliam and the Corn Laws’ in *The American Historical Review*, lix (1954), pp 287-304; p. 291. See chapter three on economics for discussion on the economic impact of the Corn Laws.

<sup>24</sup> West Riding annual estate account 1833-4 (S.A., WWM/A/363).

industrial revolution but rather an agrarian revolution pre-dating it, that ‘produced immediate results long before the new technical devices of ploughing, sowing, reaping and threshing were generally adopted’, and that had a significant impact on English society.<sup>25</sup>

While this may have been the case in many parts of the country, the French Revolutionary Wars and the recurrence of famine conditions between 1799 and 1801 left tenants on the Fitzwilliam estates of north and south Yorkshire suffering the effects of hunger. William Hastings, the earl’s land agent at Malton, outlined in a letter dated 1 January 1800 that the earl’s recommendations of establishing a soup kitchen had been accepted at a town meeting the previous day. Initially, it was agreed that soup and bread would be provided for the poor three times a week. A collection for that purpose had yielded £125 with Hastings subscribing an additional £25 on the earl’s behalf. In addition, Hastings also offered the committee the use of ‘brewing vessels [kept in] outbuildings a distance from the house’ as a means of storing the soup.<sup>26</sup>

In March 1800, the increasing price of grain eroded the purchasing power of those on meagre incomes.<sup>27</sup> J. D. Chambers and G. E. Mingay note that within a decade (1791-1801) the price of wheat had risen from 48s. per quarter to 119s. 6d.<sup>28</sup> By December 1800, the effects of famine were again visible on the Wentworth estate, as were growing hostilities towards the earl because of practices on his northern estate. On 17 December Samuel Tooker, an attorney at Moorgate near Rotherham, wrote to the earl to inform him that a meeting had been held in the town two days previously to

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<sup>25</sup> Asa Briggs, *The age of improvement, 1783-1867* (2nd ed., Essex, 2000), p. 36.

<sup>26</sup> William Hastings, Malton to Earl Fitzwilliam, 1 Jan. 1800 (S.A., WWM/F47/15).

<sup>27</sup> Duke of Portland, Whitehall to Earl Fitzwilliam, 3 Mar. 1800 (S.A., WWM/F47/39).

<sup>28</sup> J. D. Chambers and G. E. Mingay, *The agricultural revolution, 1750-1880* (New York, NY, 1966), pp 112-3.

agree a plan of reducing the quantity of grain used by the more prosperous families in order to sell the surplus to the poor in the townships of Rotherham and Kimberworth at a reduced rate. In addition, £760 was collected, which was to be utilised to purchase grain and distribute it amongst the most distressed.<sup>29</sup> It appears that despite the earl's best efforts to alleviate the want experienced by the lower classes, local feeling concerning the amount of oats used in his stables at Malton during this crisis had elicited widespread resentment. He was quick to rebuke the charge.<sup>30</sup> As a new year dawned, famine-like conditions prevailed in Yorkshire while Irish concerns turned to the Act of Union of Great Britain and Ireland which was enacted on 1 January 1801. These political issues would have implications for the management structure on both estates.

### 2.3 *'An agitated lot'*

As the Act of Union was being implemented in Ireland, wartime conditions boosted the demand for Irish produce. However, trade was largely dictated by the free trade agreement that existed between each country as a consequence of the act. Despite a slight improvement in economic conditions, sporadic episodes of crime and lawlessness erupted into widespread outrage in many counties. During the winter of 1812 disturbances emerged in the midland regions as grievances concerning inflation, escalating rents and associated evictions combined. Furthermore, a plentiful harvest in

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<sup>29</sup> Samuel Tooker, Moorgate, Rotherham to Earl Fitzwilliam, 17 Dec. 1800 (S.A., WWM/F47/39-40).

<sup>30</sup> Charles Hudson, Halifax to Earl Fitzwilliam, 22 Dec. 1800 (S.A., WWM/F127/56); see also Earl Fitzwilliam to Charles Hudson, 31 Dec. 1800 (S.A., WWM/F127/57).

the autumn of 1813 led to a sharp decline in grain prices and the following year less demand for provisions resulted in diminishing prices for agricultural products.<sup>31</sup>

As a result of the economic crisis, local secret societies emerged to protect the *status-quo* in terms of rent levels and access to land. Sometimes these developed a sectarian character. James S. Donnelly Jr has described them as: ‘a form of nationalism combining popular political radicalism or republicanism with anti-Orange Catholic sectarianism’.<sup>32</sup> These local organisations adopted fictitious names as a means of maintaining anonymity.<sup>33</sup> In the counties of Carlow and Wicklow, this type of society was known as ‘Moll Doyle’ and members who engaged in night-time violence were referred to as ‘Moll Doyle’s daughters’.<sup>34</sup>

By 1821, agrarianism on the Fitzwilliam estate was proving problematic especially on the townlands of Kilquiggan, Killinure and Killabeg. As anonymous letters threatened the re-letting and disposal of land, many of the estates head-tenants formed the Shillelagh Association as a means of counteracting such activity. A subscription fund was established which offered a reward of £50 to ‘be paid to any person or persons, who shall prosecute to conviction any of the writers or publishers of the ... threatening notices, or for such private information to any of the members of the committee’ that would also result in prosecution.<sup>35</sup> The subscriptions which were collected mirrored the social hierarchy of the estate with the chief subscribers being the fourth earl who pledged £100 and his son Viscount Milton who donated £50. William

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<sup>31</sup> S. J. Connolly, ‘Union government, 1812-23’ in W. E. Vaughan (ed.), *A new history of Ireland, v: Ireland under the Union, i, 1801-70* (Oxford, 1989), pp 48-74; p. 57.

<sup>32</sup> James S. Donnelly Jr, *Captain Rock: the Irish agrarian rebellion of 1821-4* (Cork, 2009), p. 20.

<sup>33</sup> See for example Jennifer Kelly, *The downfall of Hagan: Sligo Ribbonism in 1842* (Dublin, 2008).

<sup>34</sup> Donal McCarthy, *The dawning of democracy, 1800-70* (Dublin, 1987), p. 93.

<sup>35</sup> Notice of the Shellelagh Association meeting, 30 May 1821 (S.A., WWM/F79/123). The sum of £50 in 1821 has a relative worth of approximately £3,719 today.



Haigh, the land agent gave £20 while the remaining subscriptions received ranged from £10 to £2 depending on means. Thomas Swan for instance donated £10 to the fund.<sup>36</sup> Swan was a large farmer in the townland of Tombreen and leased a total of 1,184 acres directly from Fitzwilliam.<sup>37</sup> Though he farmed some of the land, the bulk of the 272 holdings that comprised the townland were sub-let to twenty-one under-tenants. Contrastingly, the Rev. John Frith contributed £3. Rev. Frith was the Protestant curate of Carnew and leased a more modest dwelling from the earl, hence donations reflected one's social standing. Subscriptions to the Shillelagh Association by Protestant large farmers demonstrate the sectarian tension that existed on the Wicklow estate.

As agitation intensified in Ireland from 1813, a different kind of discontent had simultaneously established itself in Yorkshire. The Luddite movement was borne out of a rising tide of dissatisfaction among the British working class and, in particular, among the textile artisans. In each of the three industries involved - the Lancashire cotton trade, the East Midlands hosiery trade and the West Yorkshire woollen trade - the livelihoods of skilled workers were under serious threat from two quarters. Over-saturation of the labour market, coupled with advances in technology that replaced man with machine, planted 'seeds of disaffection' that spread rapidly through the country's labouring classes.<sup>38</sup> The human hand could not compete with a machine that could 'make 200 tacks ... and 100 nails in a minute.'<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Maps of the Shillelagh estate of the Right Hon. Earl Fitzwilliam, 1842 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 22,020), no. 61.

<sup>38</sup> Frank Peel and E. P. Thompson, *The rising of the Luddites, Chartists and Plug-drawers* (4th ed., Oxford, 2013), p. 11.

<sup>39</sup> Letter to Fitzwilliam containing information on the state of the cloth industry, Apr. 1812 (S.A., WWM/F47/47).

Those most affected joined forces in an attempt to instigate change, initially through democratic means. However, when it became obvious that this course of action was having little effect on the campaign, a more practical intervention was applied.<sup>40</sup> A statement of the petitions of the manufacturers in April 1812 demonstrated the stark reality that existed. It stated that ‘upwards of 20,000 families’ across the West Riding were engaged in this type of textile industry. This computed to approximately ‘80,000 individuals – men, women and children who had until lately obtained their subsistence’ directly from this form of employment.<sup>41</sup> Of this number, approximately 3,300 were categorised as ‘master manufacturers’. These men possessed a small amount of capital that enabled them to employ a working manufacturer allowing them to pursue managerial duties. One thousand looms operated in 127 mills across the region.<sup>42</sup> Mills were collapsing under the weight of stock which was no longer being exported to American markets as a consequence of the Embargo Act (1807) and subsequent Non-Intercourse Act (1809). These acts had been introduced by Thomas Jefferson in an effort to damage the economies of Britain and France as retribution for their interference in America’s involvement in the Napoleonic Wars.<sup>43</sup> Consequently, the weekly wage of a weaver plummeted from ‘17s. per week ... to 10s. or half a guinea’.<sup>44</sup>

In April 1812 two mills were attacked. The first was in Manchester, while the second was at Rawfolds Mill between Huddersfield and Leeds and approximately twenty-five miles from Wentworth. The mill was owned by a William Cartwright who

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<sup>40</sup> J. R. Dinwiddy, *From Luddism to the first reform bill: reform in England, 1810-32* (Oxford, 1990), p. 21.

<sup>41</sup> Statement on the petitions of those employed in the woollen manufacture in the West Riding of Yorkshire, 13 Apr. 1812 (S.A., WWM/F47/49).

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> Briggs, *The age of improvement*, p. 143.

<sup>44</sup> Statement on the petitions of those employed in the woollen manufacture in the West Riding of Yorkshire, 13 Apr. 1812 (S.A., WWM/F47/49).

had purchased a number of machines, much to the disdain of his workforce. On Saturday 11 April 1812, a number of Luddites attacked the premises intending to destroy the equipment. However, Cartwright had been informed of the potential threat to his business and had assembled a small guard comprising some employees and members of the Cumberland militia inside the mill. At half past midnight, the unsuspecting Luddites launched their attack and the sound of gunfire rang out. Twenty minutes and two fatalities later the violence ceased. The Luddites had failed to gain entry to the mill and suffered their first defeat in the West Riding.<sup>45</sup> A week later, the group murdered William Horsfall, the proprietor of another mill in the area.

The authorities acted swiftly, detaining upwards of 100 men. Of these, sixty-four were eventually charged and sentenced at York Castle. Seventeen were convicted of rioting and murder and were executed 'at the usual place behind the castle' in a bid to deter further activity.<sup>46</sup> Another twenty-five were found guilty of taking the secret oath and were duly transported to the penal colonies. The remaining twenty-two were acquitted due to insufficient evidence, further suggesting that the purpose of these trials was to make an example of those captured.<sup>47</sup> Agitation in both locations was a prevalent feature of life at the turn of the century. Many challenges faced the Fitzwilliam tenantry in both Wicklow and Yorkshire. In Ireland, the crisis was a result of the economic downturn which took on political and religious tones whereas in Yorkshire, agitation was due to changing economic circumstances.

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<sup>45</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 18 Apr. 1812.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> *The York Herald, County & General Advertiser*, 23 Jan. 1813.

Fitzwilliam's tenantry on both estates were uniquely positioned as their landlord possessed a paternal philosophy in which he liberally supported political, religious and economic parity.

#### 2.4 *'A time of peace and plenty' – Wicklow and Yorkshire, 1815*

By 1815, Ireland was a country almost solely reliant on agriculture. Attempts in the eighteenth century to create a dual economy had shown initial signs of promise as the wool, cotton and linen manufacturing industries aided by investment appeared in centres around the country and expanded rapidly. In 1795, for example, the town of Rathdrum in Wicklow had become a thriving centre for linen and cloth manufacturing. Responding to demand, the earl invested in the construction of a factory named Flannel Hall at a reputed cost of £3,500. In the fifteen-year period from 1794 to 1809, the factory manufactured 55,042 pieces. However, by 1812 Edward Wakefield, following a visit to the site concluded 'that trade [was] not increasing'. The factory ceased operations in 1826.<sup>48</sup> The fact that the Flannel Hall survived for thirty years was noteworthy. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, many such industries were cottage based and displayed signs of decline as economies of scale were hindered by size and outdated technology. Consequently, they were unable to compete with the rapidly developing and sophisticated operations on the other side of the Irish Sea. Those industries which were relatively successful such as brewing and flour milling were linked to agriculture. Although the sector accrued some profits, these were the result of export duties levied on Irish manufacturing goods which were phased out

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<sup>48</sup> Edward Wakefield, *An account of Ireland: statistical and political* (2 vols, London, 1812), i, p. 712.

following the Act of Union. Thus, by the second decade of the new century sanctions imposed by the British government had asphyxiated an already dying economy.<sup>49</sup>

By 1815, Dublin markets had recorded a 39 percent decrease in wheat prices, a 33 percent decline in the price of oats and 42 percent decrease in the cost of barley over a two-year period to May of that year.<sup>50</sup> Although landlords reaped the benefits generated by the wartime boom, the real winners were the middlemen, a cohort borne out of a flawed system of eighteenth-century mismanagement.<sup>51</sup> Alterations to the tenancy and rentals of Fitzwilliam's Irish estate in 1801 not only confirm the presence of this system, but perhaps more importantly, the financial implications for the landlord. Middlemen held large tracts of land on lengthy leases, therefore the landlord could not increase the rent during an economic upturn. Middlemen benefitted from subletting land at market value and during the wartime boom, under-tenants were prepared to pay exorbitant prices for conacre.<sup>52</sup> The estate's knowledge of this system increased as middleman leases expired. When the Irish agent investigated such holdings, he became aware of the existence of a mass of subtenants. In 1801, abatements totalling £1,189 2s. 8d. were sanctioned by Fitzwilliam of which, £595 10s. 7d. or approximately 50 percent pertained to under-tenants on the estate.<sup>53</sup>

Strikingly, an examination of the 1810 farm rentals for the Wentworth Woodhouse estate in south Yorkshire displayed no signs of subdivision. Leases were usually held directly by a single named individual with one or two instances of where

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<sup>49</sup> Cormac Ó Gráda, 'Industry and communications, 1801-45' in W. E. Vaughan (ed.), *A new history of Ireland, v: Ireland under the Union, i, 1801-70* (Oxford, 1989), pp 137-58.

<sup>50</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 2 Jun. 1813; 19 May 1815.

<sup>51</sup> David Dickson, *New foundations: Ireland, 1660-1800* (2nd ed., Dublin, 2000), p. 112.

<sup>52</sup> Conacre refers to land rented on an annual basis.

<sup>53</sup> Irish estate rental, 1801-2 (S.A., WWM/A/889).

this was extended to two named persons.<sup>54</sup> It appears the middleman system did not cross the Irish Sea and the earl was insistent that it would remain that way. In 1809, for example, a tenant on a farm near Badsworth died prematurely. The man's widow, referred to as Mrs Willis in the correspondence, requested that the earl would allow her to retain the lease on the property. Although Fitzwilliam agreed, his response demonstrates clearly his aversion to the practice of subdivision as he stated: 'I shall not object to continue her as tenant, but I must beg to be understood as not consenting to an under-letting.'<sup>55</sup> The contagion of the middleman system became a quest that landlord and agent in Ireland worked tirelessly to end over the subsequent decades, but with limited degrees of success.

In Britain, industrialisation had created a dual economy. Mechanisation was undoubtedly the first step in the process; however, the addition of coal and iron technology unleashed a new economic power which altered both agriculture and rural communities. This was particularly true for landlords where, 'by virtue of being proprietor of the surface' automatic entitlement extended to the subsoil.<sup>56</sup> The advantageous position of the Wentworth Woodhouse estate within the Yorkshire coalfield was harnessed by the Fitzwilliams. Upon acquiring the Rockingham inheritance, coal-mining activities were expanded considerably following the introduction of the Newcomen Beam engine, a steam winding device installed in 1795. The use of steam revolutionised labour and consequently the numbers employed at Elsecar Old colliery increased from nine in 1795 to twenty just thirteen years later in 1808. Similarly, Elsecar New colliery which was sunk in 1795 was providing

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<sup>54</sup> West Riding annual estate account, 1809-10 (S.A., WWM/A/310).

<sup>55</sup> John Willis to Earl Fitzwilliam, 14 Jun. 1809 (S.A., WWM/F106/7).

<sup>56</sup> David Spring, 'The English landed estate in the age of coal and iron: 1830-80' in *The Journal of Economic History*, xi (1954), pp 3-24; p. 5.

employment to ninety-five colliers and labourers by 1808. The variety of occupations at the mine included collier, trammer, gin man, horse man, as well as the rather precarious sounding hanger-on.<sup>57</sup> Though susceptible to inflation, these enterprises remained profitable in the early years of the nineteenth century with the average revenue at Elsecar New increasing from £3,736 to £4,482 over an eight year period between 1803 to 1807 and 1816 to 1820.<sup>58</sup> In addition to an extensive colliery network, developments within the parameters of the estate included ironworks and ironstone pits, while earthenware manufacturing also generated alternative sources of revenue.

Despite industrialisation, Charles H. Feinstein has concluded that the average standard of living of the British working class improved by less than 15 percent over this period.<sup>59</sup> While a middle class emerged, an increasing population placed pressure on both labour and land. During this period of progress and invention, those who had always been poor and destitute remained so and were all the while dependent on climate, harvests and the charity and the goodwill of others to survive. David Spring contends that the Fitzwilliam coal-mining enterprises accrued marginal profits until the mid-century, when the revenue from mining activities replaced agricultural income as the primary source of revenue on the Yorkshire estate.<sup>60</sup>

In a time when both estates were dependent on agriculture, protectionist policies particularly those concerning trade, not only set the political agenda, but the social tone for the coming decades. None were more controversial than the introduction of the

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<sup>57</sup> A list of colliers and labourers at Elsecar, 20 Jul. 1808 (S.A., WWM/F106/56).

<sup>58</sup> I. R. Medlicott, 'The development of coal mining on the Norfolk and Rockingham-Fitzwilliam estates in South Yorkshire' in *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, lix (1987), pp 103-18; p. 112.

<sup>59</sup> Charles H. Feinstein, 'Pessimism perpetuated: real wages and the standard of living in Great Britain during and after the Industrial Revolution' in *The Journal of Economic History*, lviii (1998), pp 625-58; p. 625.

<sup>60</sup> Spring, 'The English landed estate in the age of coal and iron', p. 22.

Corn Laws in 1815. In the eighteenth century, laws governing grain aimed to prevent steep fluctuations in price and simultaneously protect the producer and consumer alike. This can be seen as early as 1791 when a parliamentary debate concerning laws pertaining to the corn trade highlighted the social and economic resentments that underpinned British society. Rather than embrace the reciprocal effect of the process of industrialisation and the dual economy it created, manufacturers across Britain viewed the protection of grain at inflated prices as a protection of the landed interest. This was despite the fact that many of the industries relied on agricultural raw materials for their operation.<sup>61</sup>

However from 1791, there was a shift as the Corn Laws reversed this trend placing greater emphasis on maintaining high prices in order to safeguard domestic markets from foreign grown exports. Further laws in 1804 compounded the crisis, as prices began to escalate. Bad harvests, trade embargos, and war were given as justifications for protecting the producer as opposed to the consumer. In 1815, peace did little to rectify the situation and a fall in prices led the Tory government under Lord Liverpool to pass the Importation Act (1815). This copper-fastened the position of the landed classes and large farmer class as it stipulated that foreign imports could only be sold once domestic produce reached certain price levels. These were set at '80s. per quarter for wheat ... 40s. for barley and 26s. for oats.'<sup>62</sup>

On 25 May 1814, Jonas Oldfield, a constable at Honley, a town twenty-three miles north-west of Wentworth called a meeting at the behest of local inhabitants. A similar public meeting had been held two days previously in Bradford with the purpose

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<sup>61</sup> Asa Briggs, *The age of improvement*, p. 31.

<sup>62</sup> Stephen J. Lee, *Aspects of British political history, 1815-1914* (Abingdon, 1994), p. 102.



of petitioning parliament against legislation that would discourage the importation of corn. The *Leeds Mercury* reported on the event noting: ‘it was a well-known fact, that the land in this kingdom did not produce a sufficient quantity of corn equal to satisfy the wants of the population’. The meeting resolved that a petition would be gathered against any proposed changes and forwarded to the fourth earl, then the lord lieutenant of the West Riding, for presentation at parliament. The leading adversary against these laws was Lord Milton. Given his potential inheritance, which included vast mineral resources, it could be argued that repeal of these laws would have had little impact on his overall economic interests. The assembled crowd cited the passing of such a bill into law as ‘impolitic, unwise, unjust and severe, because corn [was] the bulk of food of the great mass of the people’.<sup>63</sup> This was an invention of a landed parliament enacted to preserve their own interests, rather than improve the welfare of the people they represented. Milton’s condemnation of the Corn Laws although at odds with his class, clearly demonstrates his paternal philosophy. He could see the economic hardship these laws would place on the lower classes.

## 2.5 Conclusion

From 1798 to 1815, the Fitzwilliam estates of Wicklow and Yorkshire were characterised by disorder, disaffection and depression. Disorder in Ireland in 1798 was due to the political polarisation which emerged as a result of religious difference. The lower classes in Ireland remained undeterred in their quest for civil rights in the period after the 1798 rebellion. Equally, when the textile workers in Britain were threatened by mechanisation in 1811, the Luddite movement emerged and challenged the

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<sup>63</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 28 May 1814.

authorities to acknowledge economic disharmony. The executions at York were an attempt to subdue a highly disordered society.

Both estates were primarily agricultural economies but the industrial outlets on the Yorkshire estate distinguished it from its Irish equivalent providing it with an additional commercial dimension. Though economists may still ponder the failings of Ireland ‘to convert a large proto-industrial base to modern industry, while the “workshop of the world” was being built next door’, the industrial revolution nonetheless marked a defining moment in the modern history of each state.<sup>64</sup>

By 1815, national trends were replicated on each estate as growing populations placed unprecedented pressure on resources. The middleman system, arguably the ruination of Irish landed society, thrived. Legislation in 1801 and 1815 hindered the economies of both nations with prohibitions on trade while maintaining the vested interests of the landed class. The enactment of the Corn Laws was to have serious societal ramifications over the subsequent three decades in both locations. Though on the surface, the ranks and orders of the old ascendancy remained, beneath the façade secret societies, popular radicalism, and modernity encroached on the landed world, bringing radical change.

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<sup>64</sup> Ó Gráda, ‘Industry and communications, 1801-45’, p. 138.

## CHAPTER 3: AFTER WATERLOO: THE ECONOMIC FORTUNES OF THE WENTWORTH-FITZWILLIAM ESTATES, 1815-45

As many men be immediately discharged from the manufactory as can be conveniently done, retaining for the present only as many as may be necessary to complete the orders already taken, and make a few things that may be needful to assort the stock on hand.<sup>1</sup>

*Resolution concerning dissolution of Swinton Pottery, 1806*

### 3.1 Introduction

Thomas Brameld of Swinton was approximately four years old when the French wars broke out on the continent. Born in Swinton *circa* 1787, he was the fifth of seven children born to John Brameld and his wife Hannah née Bingley.<sup>2</sup> During the 1760s, John had completed his apprenticeship at the earthenware works in Swinton, qualifying as a potter. By the 1780s, he had earned a reputation as a skilled craftsman and amassed sufficient capital to become a partner in the firm which was by then trading under the name of Bingley & Co.<sup>3</sup>

Samuel Burgan was born in Thorpe Hesley in September 1792 and baptised a month later at Holy Trinity Church in Wentworth. He was the first born child of Thomas Burgan and his wife Mary née Goddard. While Samuel's paternal grandfather was a bricklayer by trade, his father was a nail-maker, as was his maternal grandfather.<sup>4</sup> This profession, a consequence of early industrialisation in the region, was common on

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<sup>1</sup> Llewellynn Jewitt, 'Rockingham China and the Yorkshire potteries' in *The Art Journal*, xxvii (1865), pp 348-53; p. 349. See section 3.5 for further information on the Brameld family.

<sup>2</sup> See Wath-upon-Deerne, All Saints baptism registers 1778-1903 (R.A.L.S., Parish register, 942.74 WAT).

<sup>3</sup> Jewitt, 'Rockingham China and the Yorkshire potteries', p. 349.

<sup>4</sup> See Wentworth, Holy Trinity (Bishop transcripts): baptism register, 7 Oct. 1792 (S.A., SY337-X1-88). For details of the marriage see Wath-upon-Deerne, All Saints marriage register, 23 Jan. 1792 (R.A.L.S., Parish register, 942.74, WAT).

the Wentworth estate. As a result of the presence of ironstone and coal, ‘farmers and smallholders’ were, as Jones notes: ‘matched or outnumbered by miners and workers in the metal trades’ by families such as the Burgans.<sup>5</sup> Thomas Appleby was born in the townland of Coollattin in south-west Wicklow in 1801 a number of years into the conflict. He was the son of James Appleby, one of twelve under-tenants on the late Bartholomew Burland’s holding known as the Rock.<sup>6</sup>

The French Wars which began in 1792 continued almost unbroken for a period of twenty-three years. During much of this time, the Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates of Wicklow and Yorkshire reaped the benefits of war. However, with the cessation of war in 1815, economic depression descended on Western Europe. Beginning in 1815, this chapter examines the economic effect peace had on both locations as mass unemployment, a depressed market and a diminished cash economy ensued. As agriculture was the cornerstone of the Irish economy, the Irish estate had to formulate and implement counter measures to mitigate against impending disaster. To achieve this, the eradication of the middleman system became a primary objective.<sup>7</sup> The Yorkshire estate, although rural, was predominantly industrial in nature. Thus, when the fiscal screw began to turn in 1815, unlike Coollattin, the Wentworth tenants were not solely dependent on agricultural pursuits to the same degree as the Irish tenantry. This chapter begins with a discussion of the pyramidal or layered occupational structure that existed in each location and how this evolved over time. It examines the leasing

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<sup>5</sup> Mel Jones and Joan Jones, *Thorpe Hesley, Scholes and Wentworth through time* (Gloucestershire, 2013), Introduction.

<sup>6</sup> Memoranda relating to tenancies on the Fitzwilliam estate, 1798-1841 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,948), entry 1810:14.

<sup>7</sup> See section 3.3.

practices that existed on each estate and how this impacted the estate finances.<sup>8</sup> In particular, the middleman system in Ireland is examined. By contrast two of the Fitzwilliams' industrial enterprises in Yorkshire are investigated to ascertain if the presence of a dual economy in Yorkshire provided a cushion during times of economic hardship or if indeed this proved more of a hindrance during these years.

### 3.2 'A job for life' – the occupational profile of each estate

The type of occupations pursued over the period from 1821 to 1841 provides a clear comparison of the agricultural-industrial divide that underpinned the Wicklow and Yorkshire economies (see Fig. 3.1-3.2).<sup>9</sup> The 1821 Census of Great Britain recorded that 29 percent of the working population on the Yorkshire estate was engaged in agricultural pursuits, whilst 50 percent were employed in the area of trade and manufacturing.<sup>10</sup> By 1831, the statistical data recorded a slight increase in the numbers of inhabitants in employment. However, in this ten-year period, employment in these two main sectors experienced a decline of 5 and 14 percent respectively. Despite this, trade and manufacturing remained a dominant employment sector in the region engaging one and a half times more people than the agricultural sector (see Fig. 3.1).<sup>11</sup>

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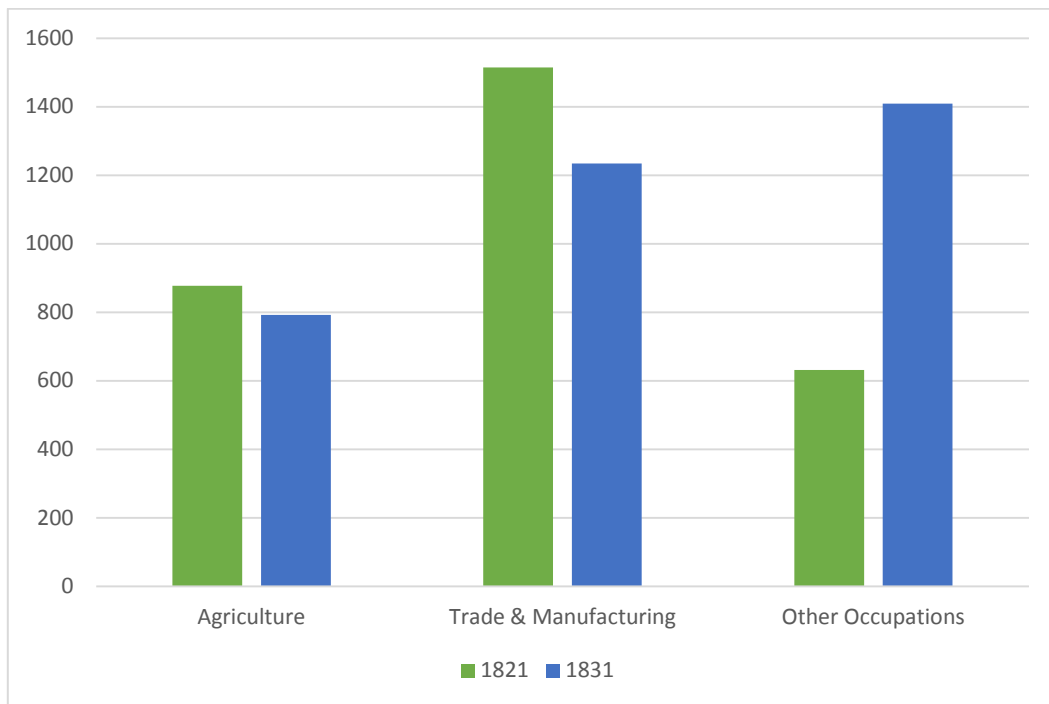
<sup>8</sup> Pyramidal occupational structure is a sociological term used to describe employment structures within society. Sørensen has defined this concept as a societal construct where 'the density of jobs decreases as the level of qualification increases'. In applying this concept to the Fitzwilliam tenantry, the bottom of the pyramid consists of the labouring classes, the middle tier constitutes semi-skilled workers for example blacksmiths while the top of the pyramid is represented by those with professional qualifications. For more see Aage B. Sørensen, 'The structure of inequality and the process of attainment' in *American Sociological Review*, xlii (1977), pp 965-78; p. 968.

<sup>9</sup> For definition of employment sectors see Appendix 3a.

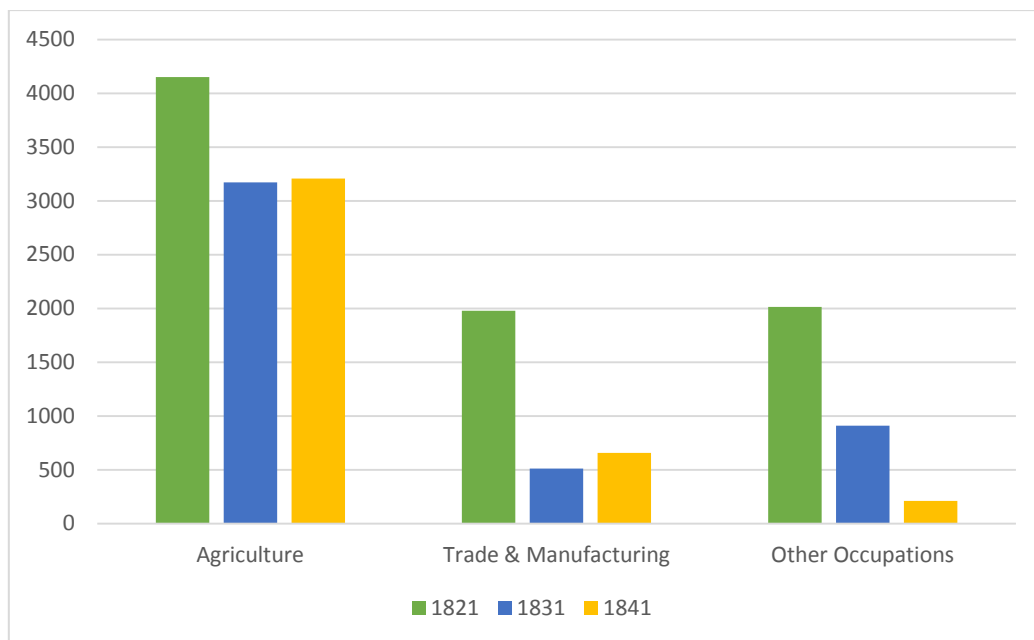
<sup>10</sup> Census of Great Britain, 1821, observations, enumerations and parish register abstracts, pp 402-26. The remaining 21 percent were classified as working in other occupations apart from agriculture and trade and manufacturing.

<sup>11</sup> Census of Great Britain, 1831, enumeration abstract (part 2), pp 816-21. In 1841, householders' schedules were introduced in an effort to capture more accurate information. However, when published the report listed 877 occupations in alphabetical order with little reference to spatial distribution. Therefore Fig. 3.1 only highlights trends between 1821 and 1831.

**Fig. 3.1 Occupational trends on the Wentworth estate, 1821-31<sup>12</sup>**



**Fig. 3.2 Occupational trends on Coollattin estate, 1821-41<sup>13</sup>**



<sup>12</sup> Census of Great Britain, 1821, observation, enumeration and parish register abstracts, pp 402-26; Census of Great Britain, 1831, enumeration abstract (part 2), pp 816-21.

<sup>13</sup> Census of Ireland, 1821, preliminary observation, enumeration abstracts and appendix, pp 125-31; Census of Ireland, 1831, abstract, pp 114-8; Census of Ireland, 1841, report, pp 138-41. These figures refer to the parishes on the Wicklow estate.

Conversely, on the Coollattin estate, agriculture remained the principal form of employment among its inhabitants from 1821 to 1841. In 1821, there were twice as many tenants involved in agriculture compared to trade and manufacturing. By 1841, while the total number employed in agriculture on the estate had fallen, the ratio of agricultural workers to those employed in trade and manufacturing now stood at 5:1 (see Fig. 3.2). Despite the problematic nature of census data, such as its failure to distinguish between particular types of employment, these results are insightful as they clearly highlight the agricultural-industrial dynamic which underpinned each estate's economy. In Wicklow, agriculture was the primary economic driver while in Yorkshire, the industrial sector provided the most employment.

It is only when one begins to analyse the occupational data recorded in the baptismal registers in both locations that a more refined version of the nineteenth-century pyramidal occupational structure on each estate emerges. Examination of the parish registers for Greasbrough, Rawmarsh, Swinton and Wentworth in Yorkshire at decennial intervals from 1821 to 1841 confirms the importance of trade and manufacturing to the area. For over twenty years this sector dominated employment on the estate. However, from 1831 the numbers employed began to fall, while simultaneously engagement in mining pursuits increased significantly (see Fig. 3.1).<sup>14</sup>

This trend confirms the expansion of the Wentworth estate coal-mining activities during this period. In 1823, the Parkgate colliery was opened and fourteen years later, Elsecar New colliery, which had operated since 1795, was expanded due to the growth in the coal market (see Fig. 3.3).<sup>15</sup> Consequently, these works attracted

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<sup>14</sup> See Appendix 3a for occupational classifications and Appendix 3b for a list of occupations on selected townships on each estate during this period.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.





of Shillelagh was documented as having ‘flour mills and a bleach green’, and the larger urban area of Carnew contained ‘a small brewery and tobacco and snuff factories’.<sup>18</sup>

When the dataset for Yorkshire was analysed it was found to contain a total of eighty-three different occupations across nine different sectors. In comparison, the Irish estate recorded thirty-seven occupational categories across seven sectors.<sup>19</sup> In determining the occupational structure of employment in each location, the lack of occupational categories provides vital information concerning economic growth or decline, class structure and employment opportunities in both locations.

In the case of the Yorkshire parishes, the records indicate that in 1821, 56 percent of workers were employed in the trade and manufacturing industry. This classification included the usual trades such as blacksmiths, carpenters, joiners and masons. However, it also comprised a considerable number of nailors and pottery workers. By the 1820s, Swinton Pottery was one of the largest manufacturers of earthenware products in the area outside of Leeds. The company at this time was managed by the Brameld brothers.<sup>20</sup> Outside of this sector, merchant activity was the next most popular, albeit considerably smaller in extent at 10 percent of those sampled. This classification included butchers such as Thomas Jenkinson of Thorpe Hesley and Charles Pepper of Wentworth, together with publicans, merchants and shopkeepers.

A point to note is the equal number of inhabitants who were identified as engaging in agricultural pursuits and equally in the professions. Aside from farmers, those identified with agricultural pursuits included game-keepers, sawyers, grooms and more unusual careers such as that of James Pepper of Wentworth whose occupation was

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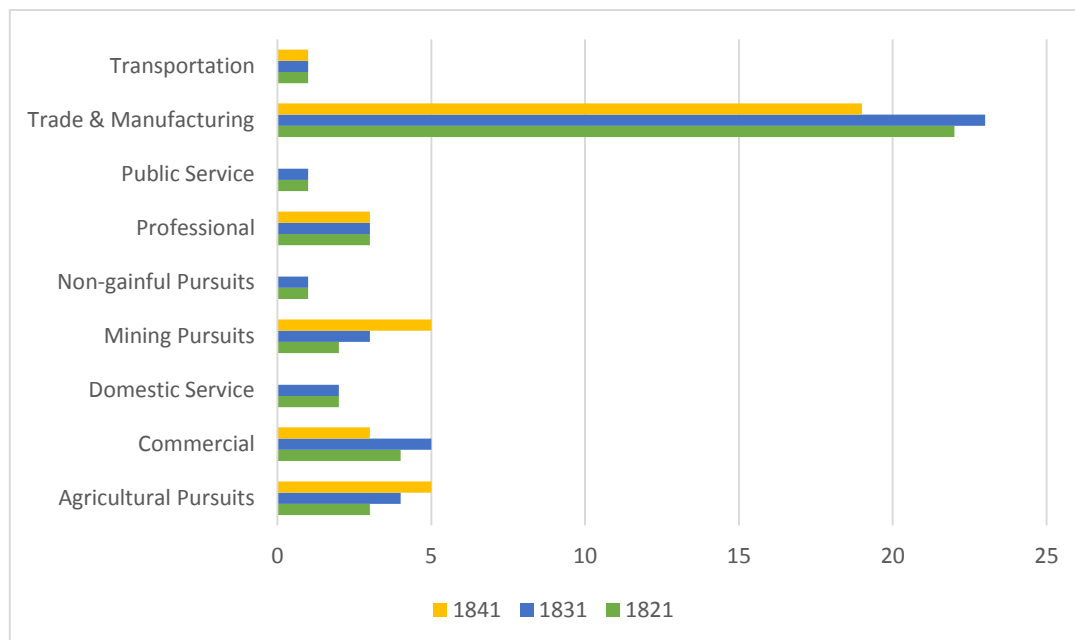
<sup>18</sup> T. W. Freeman, *Pre-Famine Ireland: a study in historical geography* (Manchester, 1957), p. 189.

<sup>19</sup> Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates database 1815-65, personal database, occupational trends.

<sup>20</sup> For further discussion on Swinton pottery please see section 3.5.

entered as ‘menagerie keeper’. Those involved in the professions included clergymen, schoolmasters, solicitors and surgeons. Small scale mining operated in the region although the numbers employed in this sector were low when compared to those involved in agriculture. A number of people were engaged in domestic service (see Fig. 3.4).<sup>21</sup> This is hardly surprising considering the number of staff employed at Wentworth Woodhouse. In 1821, the servants’ wage bill totalled £673 18s. 4d. Wages were paid twice yearly and varied depending upon one’s duties. Sarah Waggett, for example, was the house-keeper at Wentworth. In 1821, she received a half salary of £30 for her service. Elizabeth Hoyland was the cook for which she received £8 twice a year for her service, while John Barwick, the stable boy had to be content with his wage of £4 a year.<sup>22</sup>

**Fig. 3.4 Occupational classifications of the Wentworth estate, 1821-41<sup>23</sup>**



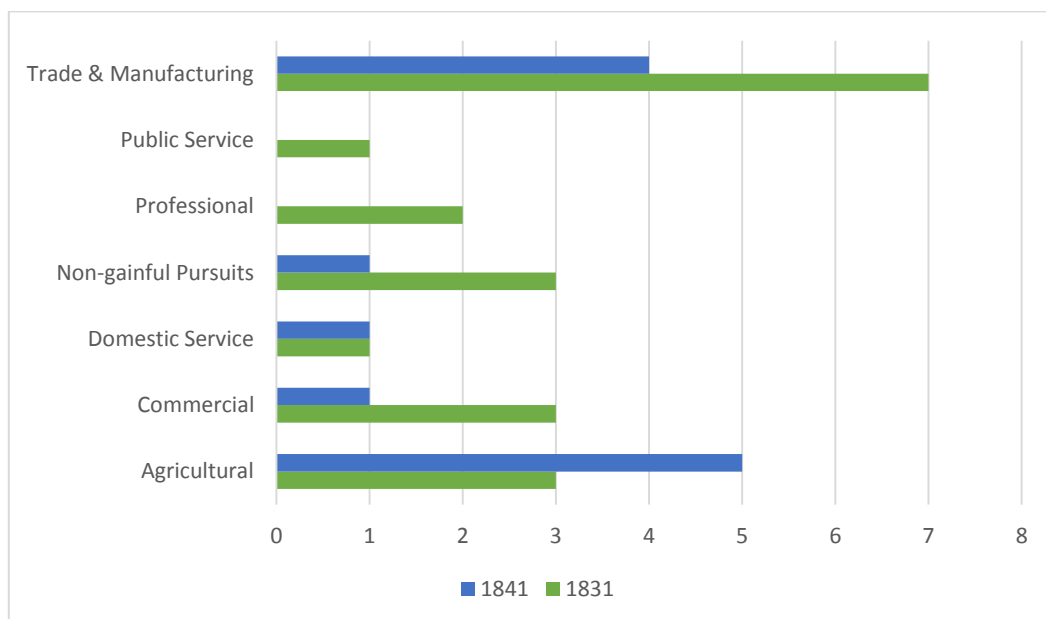
<sup>21</sup> Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates database 1815-65, personal database, occupational trends.

<sup>22</sup> Voucher or receipt book for servants’ wages, 1818-23 (S.A., WWM/A/1527).

<sup>23</sup> Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates database 1815-65, personal database, occupational trends. This information is derived from baptismal records on selected townships on the Yorkshire estate therefore, a more accurate level of information can be obtained than the census abstracts provide. Hence, 1841 is included in this local analysis.

The transport sector was the smallest amongst inhabitants in these four parishes. This category employed watermen and railway workers and demonstrated the vital canal and rail network that existed in the area. These infrastructural links enabled companies in the region to compete nationally by providing a cost-effective method of transporting goods.<sup>24</sup> The village of Masborough in Kimberworth township provides an excellent example of a village whose commerce was dictated by the presence of the canal. The county directory for 1822 recorded that four wharfingers and canal agents operated in the village, around which a microcosm of industry had developed including brick makers, earthenware manufacturers, iron founders and a number of steel refiners including the long established Walker Bros.<sup>25</sup>

**Fig. 3.5 Occupational classifications on Coollattin estate, 1831-41<sup>26</sup>**



<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Edward Baines, *History, directory and gazetteer, of the county of York: with selected lists of the merchants and traders of London, and the principal commercial and manufacturing towns of England; and also a variety of other commercial information* (2 vols, London, 1822), i, pp 258-61.

<sup>26</sup> Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates database 1815-65, personal database, occupational trends. This information is derived from baptismal records for selected parishes on the Wicklow estate. In 1821, no occupations were recorded thus the analysis is only for 1831 and 1841.

Similarly, analysis of selected parishes on the Irish estate demonstrated that more people were employed in trade and manufacturing in 1831. This was followed by the agricultural sector. Over the course of the subsequent decade, these trends were reversed with agricultural employment becoming the leading sector within the four parishes examined. This was followed by trade and manufacturing. Similar to the Yorkshire estate, the numbers employed in domestic service remained static during the period (see Fig. 3.5). This increase in agriculture is reflective of the increasing population coupled with an over-reliance on land, as 93 percent of this cohort comprised of farmers and agricultural labourers while the remaining 7 percent were employed in positions such as gardeners, sawyers and wood rangers.<sup>27</sup> Unsurprisingly, the two categories absent from the Irish analysis were ‘transport’ and ‘mining pursuits’. The railway did not come to Shillelagh until the mid-1860s.<sup>28</sup>

This micro-analysis relies to a large degree on the diligence of clerks in the various parishes. Thus it is somewhat problematic. Nonetheless, this examination proves very beneficial as it allows one to bore deeper than the constraints of statistical census returns. While the overall picture derived from census returns may be accurate, it is only when one moves from the macro to the micro level that anomalies begin to emerge. These anomalies lead to a deeper understanding of the narrative underpinning the economy. A number of factors influenced how individual townships and civil parishes reacted and developed their economies as a consequence of their resources or proximity to infrastructural links. Perhaps most significant is the juxtaposition that existed between the two main sectors in each economy and how these waxed and waned over time according to supply and demand. Furthermore, the multiplicity of

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> See chapter ten for discussion on development of the railroad in county Wicklow.

occupations that existed among inhabitants on the Yorkshire estate demonstrates how in times of economic uncertainty in one sector, the Yorkshire tenantry could refocus their economy or rely on other avenues for income. This contrasts starkly with the Wicklow estate where the single economy was exposed and its vulnerability and lack of options when climatic conditions or market forces conspired. While a limited amount of industry did exist on the Irish estate, this was confined to the market-towns and heavily dependent on the continued success of the agricultural sector in order for it to survive.

### 3.3 *'To lease or not to lease' – tenurial practices in Wicklow and Yorkshire*

At first glance, the system of land occupation which prevailed in Ireland during the nineteenth-century was identical to that of Britain. The land was divided into vast estates, the preserve of wealthy proprietors who were few in number. These in turn distributed their acreage among numerous tenants for a specific period of time at a fixed rent depending on the size of the holding. Significantly, the amount of land one possessed determined their farmer class and by extension their place within this highly ordered and stratified society.<sup>29</sup> A random sampling of tenants from the estate rentals for the Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates support this view with tenants such as Thomas Astleford of Coollattin leasing 38 acres for an annual rent of £35, while Abraham Bates was paying the earl £98 per annum for his 186 acre holding at Ballicionogue.<sup>30</sup> On paper, a similar pattern existed in Yorkshire where Charles Newton paid an annual rent of £133 16s. for Barbot Hall Farm in Greasbrough, while John Scaife held two tenancies that of Wath Town Farm and Wath Wood Farm paying the estate £98 5s. and

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<sup>29</sup> James S. Donnelly Jr, *Landlord and tenants in nineteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 1973), p. 5.

<sup>30</sup> Irish estate rental, 1815-6 (S.A., WWM/A/904), entries 8, 24 and 655.

£210 per annum respectively.<sup>31</sup> Although, in reality the systems differed greatly in each location, farm income was the backbone of the economic structure on both estates until the mid-nineteenth century, at which time mining receipts in Yorkshire surpassed farm income.

From the early nineteenth century, the tenurial practice on the Wentworth estate was relatively straightforward: farms were leased directly to the occupying tenant by the estate for the usual term of twenty-one years. In December 1810 Charles Bowns, the Yorkshire agent, confirmed this practice in a letter to the earl which also outlined the benefit of improvements carried out by the tenantry. The agent stated: ‘the claims of the tenant for money expended by them in substantial repairs and new buildings’ was extensive, and these had the effect of increasing the monetary value of the holding. He felt it ‘beneficial to make allowances in money’ and grant ‘leases for 21 years.’<sup>32</sup> That said, not all occupiers in Yorkshire held leases, some were tenants-at-will. Although this latter category lacked security of tenure, the custom of tenant right was observed by the estate from the mid-eighteenth century. Tenant right or the Ulster Custom as it was also known stipulated that a tenant would not be evicted provided they paid their rent; it also allowed an outgoing tenant to sell his interest in his property to the incoming tenant. The amount payable was calculated on the value of the property inclusive of any work carried out less arrears owed. Oftentimes, this amounted to a considerable sum.<sup>33</sup> This practice was extended further during the nineteenth century becoming an almost universal feature on the estate by the 1850s.

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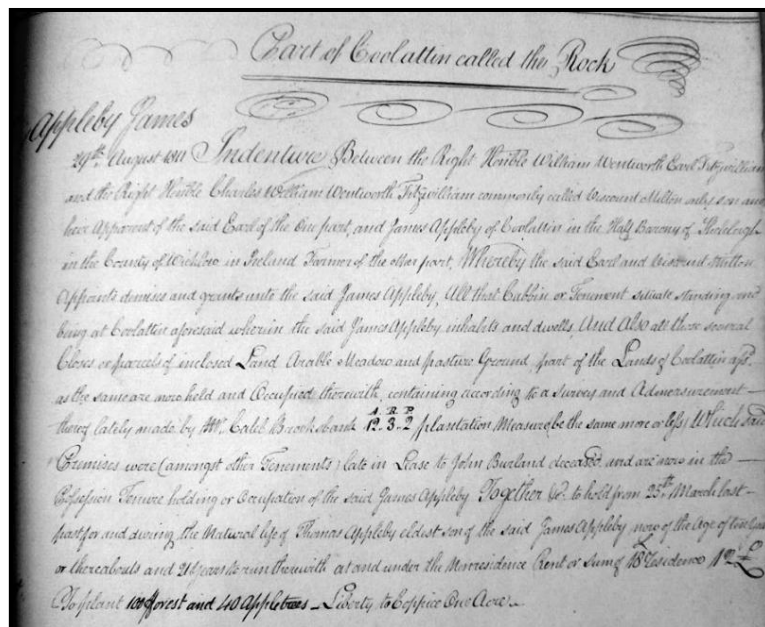
<sup>31</sup> West Riding annual estate account, 1815-6 (S.A., WWM/A/321), entry no. 44 (Greasbrough) and nos 18 and 19 (Wath).

<sup>32</sup> Charles Bowns to Earl Fitzwilliam, 25 Dec. 1810 (S.A., WWM/F106).

<sup>33</sup> Timothy W. Guinnane and Ronald I. Miller, ‘Bonds without bondsmen: tenant-right in nineteenth-century Ireland’ in *The Journal of Economic History*, lvi (1996), pp 113-42; p. 113.

Conversely, on the Coollattin estate in Wicklow, three types of tenancy arrangements existed. The standard practice was to grant a lease for twenty-one years and a named life, which came into force once the fixed term had expired. Usually, the person named was the eldest son of the lessee or, on occasion, the eldest son of a prominent large farmer. On 29 August 1811, the Wicklow estate granted a lease to James Appleby for a 13 acre holding at an area in the townland of Coollattin known as the Rock (see Fig. 3.6). Under the terms of his lease, Appleby was liable for an annual rental of £30, £18 of which pertained to the residence, while the land was valued at approximately 18s. 5½d. per acre. The term of the lease was for the lifetime of Appleby's eldest son, Thomas who was ten years old at the time the contract was drawn up.<sup>34</sup>

**Fig. 3.6 Abstract of lease to James Appleby, Coollattin estate<sup>35</sup>**



<sup>34</sup> Ibid., entry dated 29 Aug. 1811. See section 3.3 for more information on James Appleby.

<sup>35</sup> Abstract of leases on Earl Fitzwilliam's estates in counties Wicklow, Wexford and Kildare, 1810-3 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 6,075).

In addition, some tenants such as the aforementioned Abraham Bates of Ballicionogue were tenants-at-will. They inhabited the land until such time as either they or the landlord decided to terminate the arrangement.<sup>36</sup> The third type of tenancy was a yearly one where the tenant had a twelve-month contract that was subject to renewal from 25 March each year. On occasion, an Irish tenant was granted a building lease as opposed to the general land lease. This was usually for a period of sixty years, while the land lease remained at the usual term of the twenty-one years plus a named life. A building lease was generally awarded to a tenant who had made a substantial investment in his property. Samuel Boyce of Carnew was granted a sixty-year lease by the estate in 1818 having expended £600 in constructing a dwelling and out offices. Boyce was obviously an industrious man for in addition to the capital already invested, he proposed spending a further £200 on improvements over the subsequent three years provided that he was guaranteed a longer lease.<sup>37</sup>

In 1815, in excess of 898 acres of land on Coollattin estate were leased to tenants-at-will. This did not include a further twenty-eight tenants-at-will whose holdings were not documented in the estate rental. In addition, seventeen tenants held cabins with kitchen gardens, while a further three holdings though out of lease, had arrears outstanding. In total, this type of tenancy arrangement accounted for 14 percent of tenancies in 1815.<sup>38</sup> While such tenancies were in the minority in the early part of the century, they grew substantially in the pre-Famine period. Yet, fixity of tenure

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<sup>36</sup> Irish estate rental, 1815-6 (S.A., WWM/A/904), entries 8, 24 and 655.

<sup>37</sup> Memoranda relating to tenancies on the Fitzwilliam estate, 1798-1841 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,948), entry 1818:8.

<sup>38</sup> Irish estate rental, 1815-6 (S.A., WWM/A/904). The total tenancies in 1815 were 730, 104 of these were not in lease.



appears to have mattered as little to Fitzwilliam's Irish tenantry as it did to their Yorkshire counterparts.<sup>39</sup>

Regardless of tenancy, all inhabitants on the Wicklow estate were bound by a specific set of rules to ensure that rent was promptly paid, the holding maintained and the ground 'cultivated in a proper, cleanly and business-like manner'.<sup>40</sup> Similar to the Yorkshire estate, the rules also contained provisions protecting the interests of the tenant and equally, the estate. As article nine stated:

in cases of change of tenancy fair allowance will be made to outgoing tenants for improvements done at their own cost by them or their family within a reasonable time and with Lord Fitzwilliam's consent, regard being had on the other hand any delapidations (*sic.*) or deteriorations that may have been suffered during the same time. Allowance will also be made to the outgoing tenant on a fair valuation for seed, labour and manure in the ground, also for any manure, hay or straw or green crops on the premises and the same amount will be charged to the incoming tenant. Should any money be due by the outgoing tenant to Lord Fitzwilliam, the amount will be set off against the sum to be allowed, unless otherwise arranged in the office.<sup>41</sup>

By 1825, the number of tenants-at-will on the Wicklow estate displayed only a slight increase accounting for 15 percent of the total tenancies that year. However, the number of acres out of lease had risen significantly to 4,204 acres.<sup>42</sup> The constraints of implementing covenants contained in leases exacted a greater financial burden on the local economy as tenants were already struggling to pay their rent amidst the global recession. Over the following decade, when a number of leases fell due for renewal the vast majority were renewed without question. For example, the majority of leases in the townland of Aghowle expired in 1829. Of the thirty recorded tenancies, nine were tenants-at-will, while the remaining twenty-one tenants were leasing directly from the

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<sup>39</sup> Enda Delaney, *The Great Irish Famine: a history in four lives* (Dublin, 2014), pp 37-8.

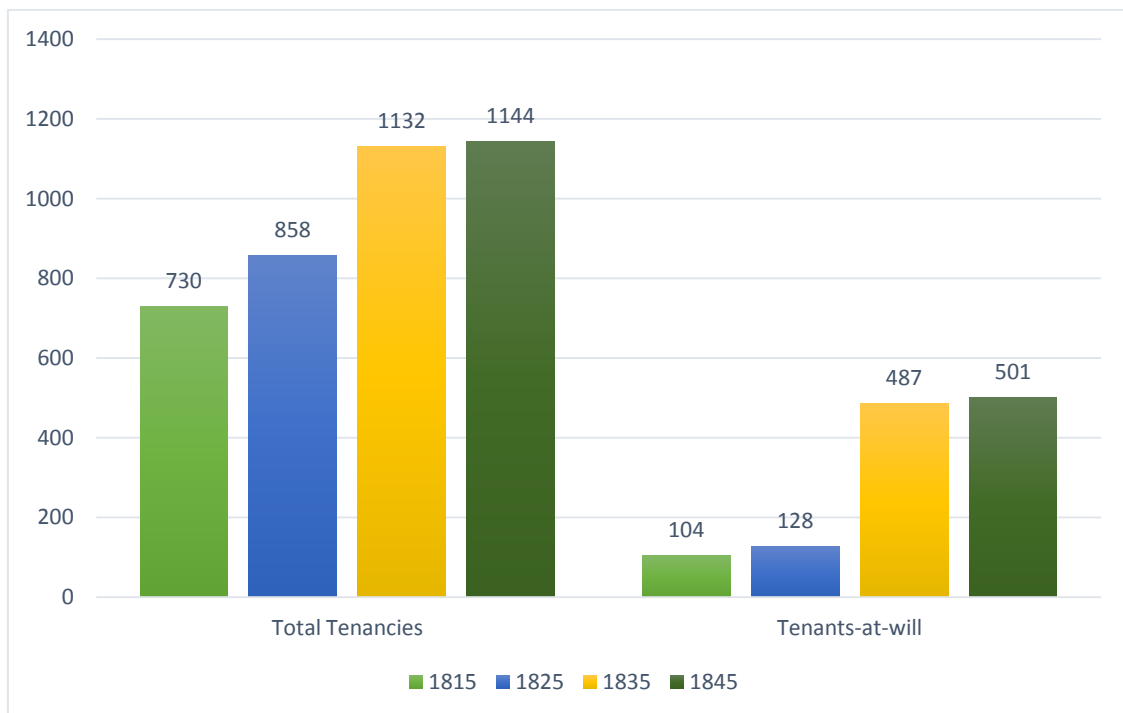
<sup>40</sup> Memoranda relating to tenancies on the Fitzwilliam estate, 1843-68 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,967).

<sup>41</sup> See Appendix 3a.

<sup>42</sup> Irish estate rental, 1825-6 (S.A., WWM/A/914).

estate. By 1835, only two of the original tenancies had changed hands most probably due to the death of the *cestui que vie*.<sup>43</sup> Consequently, this period witnessed a dramatic increase in both the number of tenancies and equally those categorised as tenants-at-will. In 1825, the estate rentals recorded a total of 858 tenancies on the estate; by 1835, this number had increased by 32 percent to 1,132. Perhaps more significantly: by 1835, 43 percent of the estate rental income was derived from tenants-at-will.<sup>44</sup> This almost three-fold increase was due to a number of factors, not least the curtailing of the middleman system on the estate.<sup>45</sup> However, the increase was also the by-product of an attempt by estate management to institute new leasing arrangements in order to make the estate more profitable and sustainable (see Fig. 3.7).

**Fig. 3.7 Total number of tenancies on Coollattin estate, 1815-45<sup>46</sup>**



<sup>43</sup> The two holdings which had changed hands were James Dagg's 32 acre holding now occupied by a man named Bourke and William Dagg's 65 acre holding which by 1835, was held by Robert Collier. See Irish estate rental, 1835-6 (S.A., WWM/A/924), entries 9 and 10.

<sup>44</sup> See Irish estate rental, 1825-6 (S.A., WWM/A/914); Irish estate rental, 1835-6 (S.A., WWM/A/924).

<sup>45</sup> The middleman system is dealt with in greater detail in section 3.4.

<sup>46</sup> These figures are derived from analysing the holdings as contained in the Irish estate rentals at decennial intervals from 1815-45 (S.A., WWM/A/904; WWM/A/914; WWM/A/924; WWM/A/934).

From an economic perspective this policy had distinct effects on both the middlemen and under-tenant classes. Firstly, although it was good management practice to restrict middlemen in economic terms, they experienced financial difficulty as a result. Previously middlemen held larger holdings and could distribute their financial responsibilities among their under-tenants. Under the new system, middlemen held less land while simultaneously their personal financial burden increased, thus affecting their economic performance. Conversely, tenants-at-will found themselves in a more fortuitous financial situation by 1835. They had been liberated from the middleman system and were now direct tenants of the estate. This meant that they were now paying rents commensurate with their land value and while still economically challenged, they were nonetheless the main benefactors of this new policy of estate management as they were free from the tyranny of the middleman system.

Robert Chaloner Snr began managing the estate in 1826 following William Haigh's departure. For the first five years of his tenure, he was content to uphold the practices which existed. When comparing all the land agents on the Irish estate, Chaloner Snr was without doubt not only the most qualified but also the most capable of improving the fortunes of the estate. Coming from a landed background, he viewed the management of the estate as a commercial undertaking and was not bound by the paternal loyalties that appeared to almost dominate the Fitzwilliam management policies.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, his time in the financial sector as a partner in the York banking house of Wentworth, Chaloner and Rishworth reinforced this mind-set as the

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<sup>47</sup> Sir Bernard Burke, *A genealogical and heraldic dictionary of the landed gentry of Great Britain and Ireland for 1852* (2 vols, London, 1852), i, p. 202.

establishment became one of the casualties of the financial crisis of 1825 when the company was forced into liquidation having amassed debts in the region of £110,982.<sup>48</sup>

By 1832 Chaloner was no longer willing to retain the idiosyncrasies of the eighteenth-century tenurial system which prevailed on the Irish estate. He believed this system was preventing the Irish estate from realising its full potential. He implored the earl to agree a ‘general rule ... namely preserving the integrity of holdings’ presently under lease. The agent warned the earl not to deviate from this practice except ‘in the cases of the most urgent necessity.’<sup>49</sup> This he fundamentally believed would redress the imbalance which existed amongst holdings and more importantly break the middleman system. At this time, the estate was comprised of a disproportionate number of small holdings in comparison to the ‘the larger class of farms’. While it is clear the agent had a major issue in how the estate was operating, the earl was reluctant to embrace change. Rather than instigate a blanket ban on small holdings he decided that each leasehold should be assessed on its own merits when a renewal was sought.<sup>50</sup> Not one to be dismissed, Chaloner Snr subsequently sought the support of the estate valuers in an effort to convince the earl that new leasing arrangements were imperative to the longevity of the business. This new management policy was not only time consuming but also naïve given the complex nature of the middlemen system that existed on the estate. Furthermore, it generated conflict within the management structure. On the one hand, the agent was practical and economically driven. He realised that the earl’s unwillingness to implement new economic strategies was jeopardising the economic

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<sup>48</sup> Thomas C. Glyn and Robert S. Jameson, *Cases in bankruptcy containing reports of cases decided by Lords Chancellors Eldon and Lyndhurst and a digest of all the contemporary cases relating to the bankrupt laws in the other courts* (2 vols, London, 1828), ii, pp 124-8.

<sup>49</sup> Memoranda relating to tenancies on the Fitzwilliam estate, 1798-1841 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,948), entry 1832 & 1833:13.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

viability of the estate. The earl had a more paternal outlook and was hesitant to make tough economic decisions in a time of global crisis. Ultimately, this conflict and indecision on the part of the earl compromised the economic potential of the Irish estate.

Having secured the backing of the estate valuers, Chaloner broached the subject once more. Collectively, the three men presented a united front: ‘express[ing] their unanimous disapprobation [to the earl at] the uniform custom ... of granting leases ... especially on the small holdings’ which they feared had gravely damaged the estate.<sup>51</sup> As a counter-measure, they suggested introducing a new system for a number of years to gauge if it could improve the workings of the estate. The fourth earl agreed in principle but cautioned that any alteration should take into consideration the ‘industry of the tenantry’. The specifics of the proposed changes are not outlined in the estate correspondence. However, the contents of the earl’s reply, in tandem with the significant increase in tenants-at-will, suggests the removal of the standard leasing term in favour of a shorter tenure. This would ‘enable the landlord raise their rents occasionally and habitually.’<sup>52</sup> Hence by 1845, 44 percent of holdings on the estate were held at-will (see Fig. 3.7).

In 1815, as recession began, the annual rental income on Coollattin estate was £24,094. One fifth of its recorded tenants were in economic difficulty, unable to pay some or all of their rent.<sup>53</sup> Within ten years, arrears on the estate escalated by 439 percent decimating the local economy of south-west Wicklow. By 1825, arrears now

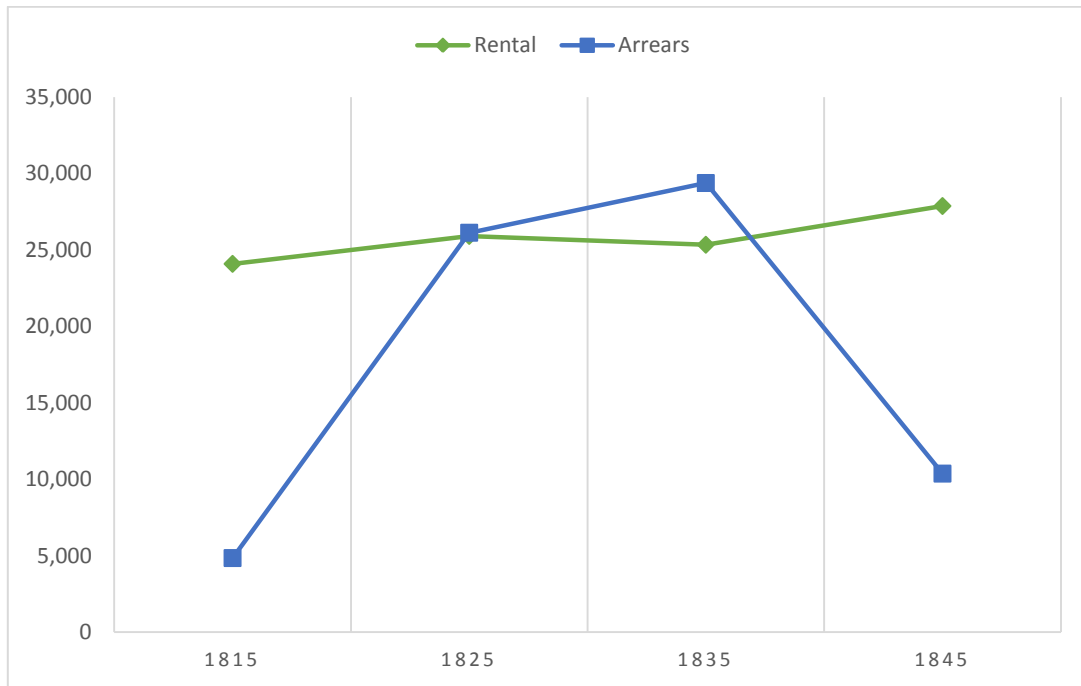
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<sup>51</sup> Ibid., entry 1832 & 1833:14.

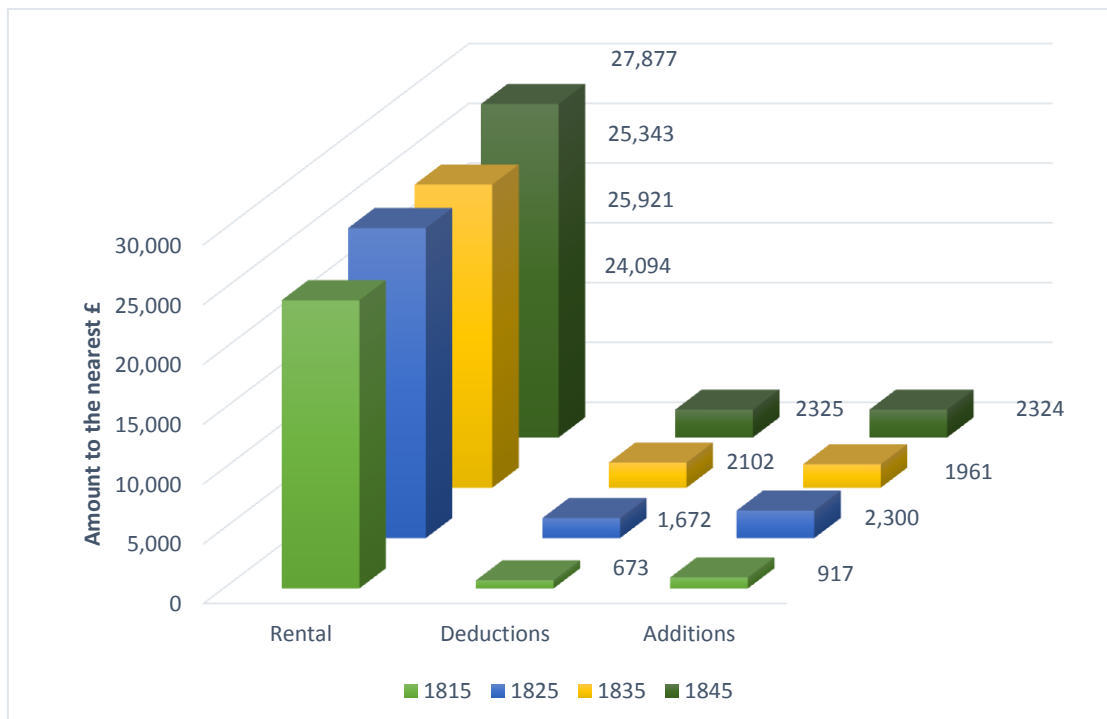
<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Irish estate rental, 1815-6 (S.A., WWM/A/904).

**Fig. 3.8 Rental and arrears on Coollattin estate, 1815-45<sup>54</sup>**



**Fig. 3.9 Rental income and abatements on Coollattin estate, 1815-45<sup>55</sup>**



<sup>54</sup> These figures are derived from analysing relevant sections of the Irish estate rental at decennial intervals from 1815-45 (S.A., WWM/A/904; WWM/A/914; WWM/A/924; WWM/A/934).

<sup>55</sup> These figures are derived from analysing particular sections of the Irish estate rental at decennial intervals from 1815-45 (S.A., WWM/A/904; WWM/A/914; WWM/A/924; WWM/A/934).

exceeded the annual rental income.<sup>56</sup> It was not until 1845 that the level of arrears on Coollattin estate dropped below the rental income received, although arrears still accounted for 37 percent of the annual rent due at this stage (see Fig. 3.8).<sup>57</sup> Between 1815 and 1835, the rental income on the Irish estate remained largely unchanged. An 8 percent increase in the first ten years to 1825 was followed by a 2 percent decrease in the decade which followed. From 1835 to 1845, the rental income increased by 10 percent indicative of the change in tenurial arrangements which allowed the estate greater control over its financial trajectory (see Fig. 3.9).

In 1815 the projected annual rental income on the core estate in Yorkshire was £30,311.<sup>58</sup> This amount included a combination of agricultural and industrial rents comprising urban as well as mining income which was further augmented by sundry items such as the sale of spring wood at Edlington, as well as interest received from loans granted by the estate.<sup>59</sup> One only has to look at this figure to realise that the core estate in Yorkshire was by far the more valuable holding in the family's extensive property portfolio. In relative terms, the core estate at Wentworth which comprised some 17,500 statute acres was 12 percent larger in extent than only the civil parish of Carnew and, yet, its economic worth was 21 percent greater than the entire Wicklow estate. Between 1815 and 1835, the annual rental income on the Yorkshire estate increased by 12 percent and by a further 44 percent in the decade which followed (see

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<sup>56</sup> Irish estate rental, 1825-6 (S.A., WWM/A/914).

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 1845-6 (S.A., WWM/A/934).

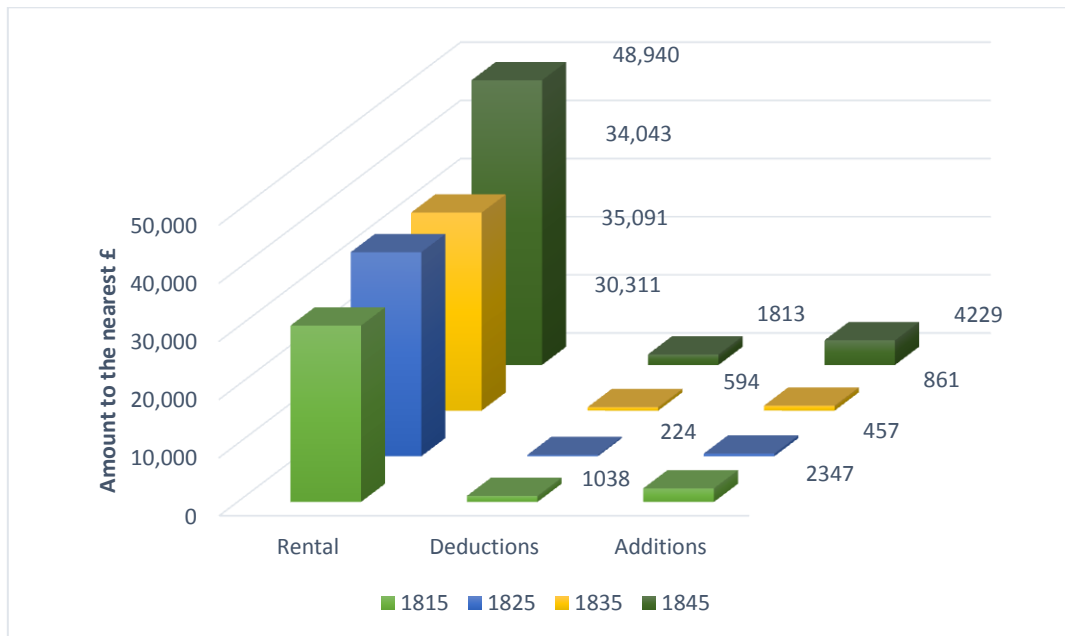
<sup>58</sup> West Riding annual estate account, 1815-6 (S.A., WWM/A/323), p. 7.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74. The family's annual income was also supplemented by the Bright inheritance which was treated as a separate entity in the rent rolls. While this land does not form part of the present study, suffice to say in 1815, it provided £6,188 15s.11¼*d.* in net rental receipts.

Fig. 3.10). This substantial gain particularly from 1835 to 1845 was the result of increased industrial activity on the estate.<sup>60</sup>

One must question the logic of treating the two estates as distinct economic entities, when perhaps a more integrated economic policy might have been more beneficial. Had the earl foreseen the advantages of integrating the estates and allowed them to develop a reciprocal economic relationship, the Wicklow and Yorkshire economies would have been buffered by global fluctuations. Furthermore, this comparison highlights one of the inherent benefits of examining landed estates in a transnational comparative manner. For example, the Wicklow estate was four and a half times larger than its Yorkshire counterpart yet its economic performance was poor when compared with the Yorkshire estate.

**Fig. 3.10 Rental income and abatements on the Wentworth estate, 1815-45<sup>61</sup>**



<sup>60</sup> See Section 3.5 for discussion on the expansion of industrial pursuits on the Yorkshire estate.

<sup>61</sup> This chart is derived from an analysis of West Riding annual estate accounts at decennial intervals from 1815-45 (S.A., WWM/A/323; WWM/A/343; WWM/A/367; WWM/A/396).



The post-war economic recession affected all classes of tenant in both locations. When Patrick Foley acquired Finnegan's holding in Knockeen in 1824, there was an arrear of £102 7s. 6d. outstanding on the 15-acre farm. By 1837, the arrears stood at £137 and Foley requested that the Wicklow estate forgive the arrears upon him surrendering the lease. This was to allow for the amalgamation of this holding with an adjoining property, a proposal that was duly approved by the earl.<sup>62</sup> Yet, despite the economic hardship, the estate endeavoured to provide encouragement to tenants to improve their holdings. When Charles Byrne expressed an interest in a 147-acre holding in the townland of Mucklagh, the estate offered a rent reduction with a five-year abatement to allow Byrne secure sufficient capital to carry out improvements.<sup>63</sup>

Comparatively, the Irish estate was more amenable to tenants' requests than its Yorkshire equivalent because the earl understood the strained economic environment which existed on the Irish estate in the 1840s. Requests for rent abatements were a common feature of estate life in Wicklow and Yorkshire. For example, in 1845 the fifth earl granted the widow Symes a head-tenant on the Wicklow estate a six-month abatement on interest granted for the draining of land, while during the same year Mr Vizard, a tenant at Hoyland on the Yorkshire estate was granted a one-year abatement on his property tax.<sup>64</sup> More often than not, a request for an abatement was granted, however, this practice was far from universal. While Charles Bowns braced himself for an influx of requests for rent reductions on the Wentworth estate in 1816, the vast majority of rents were paid in a timely fashion and arrears, while present, did not reach

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<sup>62</sup> Memoranda relating to tenancies on the Fitzwilliam estate, 1796-1841 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,948), entry 1828:11.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, entry 1828:12.

<sup>64</sup> Irish estate rental, 1845-6 (S.A., WWM/A/934); Yorkshire estate rental, 1845 (S. A., WWM/A/641).

expected levels.<sup>65</sup> Despite the depressed state of the economy, it was not until 1820 that Fitzwilliam's agricultural tenants at Wentworth began to exhibit signs of distress.

Petitions received by each estate were assessed on their own merits by the land agent and a recommendation was made to the earl. The land agent was quick to differentiate between the genuine cases of hardship and those with capital who were simply chancing their luck. Hence, when John Thomas Brownrigg, the head-tenant in Moylisha on the Wicklow estate petitioned the earl for a rent abatement in 1823, his request was denied.<sup>66</sup> Brownrigg had entered into a standard lease in 1818 for the entire townland of Moylisha which comprised of 380 acres at an annual rent of £180. However by 25 March 1826, an arrear of £193 9s. 10½*d.* had accrued and the annual rent was also due.<sup>67</sup> Over time, Brownrigg made additional requests for a rent reduction and following a revaluation by Mr Bingley, the estate valuator, Brownrigg's rent was reduced to £162 per annum, although the arrear remained. The estate's decision in refusing Brownrigg an abatement proved correct, for by March 1837 his financial situation had improved sufficiently to allow him to pay off some of his arrears which by this time had been reduced to £88 12s. 1*d.*<sup>68</sup>

In many respects, tenants-at-will and yearly tenants on the Irish estate were more favourably positioned than those who held lengthy leases. They enjoyed the flexibility of tenure and if they maintained their property to an agreed standard, they stood to reap the benefits in both monetary and tenurial terms. In 1839, the lease on Robert Maxwell's holding at Ballinguile was nearing an end. Maxwell, a solicitor by

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<sup>65</sup> Charles Bowns to Earl Fitzwilliam, 29 Nov. 1816 (S.A., WWM/F107).

<sup>66</sup> Memoranda relating to tenancies on the Fitzwilliam estate, 1796-1841 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,948), entry 1823:56. This townland is recorded as Melitia in the estate correspondence.

<sup>67</sup> Irish estate rental, 1825-6 (S.A., WWM/A/914), entry 62.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 1835-6 (S.A., WWM/A/924), entry 806.

profession, had never lived on the land choosing to reside in Dublin for business reasons. Instead, he had sublet the entire 293 acres to a number of ‘very poor tenants’.<sup>69</sup> When Chaloner Snr became aware of the situation he consulted the earl who recommended that the present occupiers be retained as tenants for a period of twelve months, after which time those who had shown themselves to be industrious and improving tenants were to be granted direct leases.<sup>70</sup> While the leasing practices that prevailed in each location were inherently different, the estates shared a common characteristic during this period in the form of mounting arrears. However, the source which fuelled the level of debt was distinct to each region. In Ireland, it was agricultural in nature, while in Yorkshire it was industrial.

### 3.4 *‘The fly in the ointment’ – the middleman system in county Wicklow*

While the existence of middlemen has been discussed earlier, this section deals with the two issues of subdivision and subletting. James S. Donnelly Jr attributes the emergence of the middleman system in the eighteenth century to a combination of ‘poor markets and low prices [which] encouraged landowners to adopt’ a tiered system of leasing.<sup>71</sup> As Donnelly Jr states: ‘a holding planted with potatoes could sustain twice as many people as one planted with wheat.’<sup>72</sup> This led to an over reliance on the crop and when coupled with an expanding demographic fostered a culture of subdivision. As a consequence, the size of Irish holdings decreased significantly in the pre-Famine period as middlemen further subdivided their land. Indeed, at various times throughout William Haigh’s agency which lasted from 1813 to 1826, the earl openly endorsed this practice by approving leases which upheld subdivision.

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<sup>69</sup> Memoranda relating to the estate of Earl Fitzwilliam in county Wicklow, Sep. 1839-May 1840 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,965), pp 38-9.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>71</sup> Donnelly Jr, *Landlord and tenant in nineteenth-century Ireland*, p. 6.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

In 1818 for example, Joseph Braddell, head-tenant in Lower Ballingate petitioned the estate requesting that he be allowed to subdivide his 583 acre holding into three separate lots in order to provide a moiety for each of his two sons, then aged thirteen and nine years respectively. In his application, Braddell agreed to expend considerable sums constructing a new residence and also undertook to plant ten thousand trees. In addition, he proposed to pay an advanced rent determined by the earl. The request was agreed to with the rent raised from £335 to £355 per annum.<sup>73</sup> Taking into consideration the sizeable acreage, it is easy to comprehend why the estate acquiesced to Braddell's request. A holding of 174 acres was still substantial, arguably easier to cultivate and manage than the original holding, while any capital investment made would undoubtedly increase the market value of the property. However, the estate's consent was dangerous as it suggested that earl and land agent were amenable to the practice.

As an estate policy subdivision was problematic on many levels. In an economic sense it was fiscally unsound as it only benefitted the middle layer of tenantry and not the estate as a whole. Thus, the middlemen sustained a prolonged position of dominance as leases were set for a fixed term and could not be interfered with without due justification. This practice impeded economic growth across the estate. Another reason why subdivision was economically unsound was because it prevented the land from producing a full yield. It was counterproductive to divide the estate into smaller holdings because many were unable to sustain a family. While the management's occasional endorsement of subdivision was undoubtedly economically dubious, its

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<sup>73</sup> Memoranda relating to tenancies on the Fitzwilliam estate, 1796-1841 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,948), entry 1818:7.

attempt to reform the system uncovered the extent of subdivision that existed on the estate.

The management policy on the Irish estate towards subdivision was wholly inconsistent. In some instances, tenants were allowed to sublet or subdivide, while others were strictly prohibited from engaging in the practice. Examination of numerous cases show no clearly defined process underpinning estate management's decisions regarding this practice and although article three of the conditions for holding land on the Wicklow estate explicitly forbade the practice, it also made provisions to safeguard existing under-tenants by stating:

That holdings should not be assigned, transferred, divided or sublet, nor shall any portion be let off for grazing or other purposes without the consent in writing of Lord Fitzwilliam and his agent, and in cases where there are undertenants, that no changes shall be made in the undertenants or their holdings or rents without the like consent.<sup>74</sup>

In order to avoid any ambiguity, the subdivision of dwellings was dealt with separately in the article which stipulated that: 'all houses and buildings ... shall not be let to lodgers or be occupied by more than one family with children nor shall they be added to, altered or divided without the like consent.'<sup>75</sup> Ultimately, the fragmentation of holdings 'created a concealed class of occupiers', who remained invisible on the rentals and leases, yet were exposed throughout the pages of the memoranda as leases expired.<sup>76</sup>

The lease on Abraham Stewart's 301-acre property at Lower Money expired in June 1823 following the death of his wife, Esther, who was the named life on the lease.

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<sup>74</sup> Memoranda relating to the estate of Earl Fitzwilliam in county Wicklow, Sep. 1839 - May 1840 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,965).

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> W.A. Maguire, *The Downshire estates in Ireland 1801-45: the management of Irish landed estates in the nineteenth century* (Oxford, 1972), p. 121.

At this time, the true extent of subletting and subdivision on the holding was revealed. The holding was occupied by twenty-one under-tenants. Each lot varied considerably in extent from the larger holdings of 45 acres and 36 acres held by Thomas Codd and Patrick Cummins respectively, to the more meagre lots such as that of John Hanley which was only 2 acres. The cumulative rent paid by these under-tenants to Stewart was £236 15s., 73 percent more than the rent paid to the estate. Though Codd and Cummins were obviously men of means, as each had constructed a house on their respective holdings, the remaining under-tenants were less prosperous and inhabited thatched abodes.<sup>77</sup>

In addition to the obvious subletting which had occurred, the holding also contained instances of subdivision.<sup>78</sup> When the land was originally leased in 1767 it was let to sixteen rather than twenty-one under-tenants. Michael Byrne, an under-tenant held 32 acres originally, while William Driver Snr inhabited an 11-acre plot. Over time, both men married and had families of their own. Eventually, each parcel of land was further divided amongst their respective sons. Although Michael had died by the time the lease terminated, his sons John and Daniel each held 11 acres of the original 32-acre farm. The remaining 10 acres were divided in equal measure between Edward Kavanagh and Martin McDaniel. In the case of Driver's holding, the father retained 4 acres and divided the remaining 7 acres between his two sons, William and George. William acquired 5 acres, while George farmed the remaining 2 acres.<sup>79</sup> This practice of subdivision was common in the pre-Famine period, as families attempted to provide

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<sup>77</sup> Memoranda relating to tenancies on the Fitzwilliam estate, 1796-1841 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,948), entry 1823:63.

<sup>78</sup> Subletting refers to leasing a portion of a holding from a middleman. Subdivision refers to the familial division of land to provide an inheritance for one's children.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

for their children.<sup>80</sup> This evidence confirms the practice of successive-generational subdivision on the Wicklow estate. On the Coollattin estate the subdivision model included leasing between landlord and head-tenant, head-tenant to under-tenant but more importantly between under-tenant to sub-tenant who continued the sequence through successive generations. As a consequence of this complicated system the practice of subdivision created problems for estate management. In order to reform the system a sophisticated approach and detailed policies were required to counteract the dominance of the middleman system and until these were implemented, the economic balance of the estate favoured the middlemen instead of the estate authorities. Analysis of a random sample from the Memorandum Book highlights the economic impact of the practice on the estate (see Appendix 3c).

By the 1820s, as the population grew, the problem of subdivision was becoming untenable. Consequently, an act of parliament was passed in 1826 which attempted to provide a legal framework for dealing with the issue. In theory, it offered a solution to an endemic problem by empowering the landlord to evict any tenant found subletting. However, in practice, the Sub-letting Act was futile as it merely exacerbated the problem by legalising eviction and restricting the level of subletting to one under-tenant per holding.<sup>81</sup> Thus, by the 1830s, ‘chronic subdivision ha[d] produced an uneconomic and impoverished tenantry’ and urgent action was required.<sup>82</sup> Small holdings dominated the landscape and instances of arrears were on the increase. Table 3.1 charts the change in distribution of holdings on four selected parishes on Coollattin estate taken at ten-yearly intervals between 1825 and 1845. Over this twenty-year period, the

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<sup>80</sup> Cormac Ó Gráda, *Ireland before and after the Famine: explorations in economic history, 1800-1925* (2nd ed., New York, NY, 1993), pp 180-1.

<sup>81</sup> Desmond Keenan, *Ireland within the Union, 1800-1921* (Bloomington, IN, 2008), p. 47.

<sup>82</sup> Reilly, *The Irish land agent, 1830-60: the case of King’s county* (Dublin, 2014), p. 61.

**Table 3.1 Size of holdings on selected parishes on Coollattin estate, 1825-45<sup>83</sup>**

Size of holdings 1825										
Parishes	<1	<5	<15	<30	<50	<100	<200	200+	Arrears only	Total
<b>Carnew</b>	20	23	47	31	22	18	4	11	12	188
<b>Kilcommon</b>	15	9	11	3	15	13	13	6	3	88
<b>Kilpipe</b>	3	0	9	11	30	21	6	2	0	82
<b>Preban</b>	0	1	6	8	11	14	4	1	0	45
<b>Total</b>	38	33	73	53	78	66	27	20	15	403

Size of holdings 1835										
Parishes	<1	<5	<15	<30	<50	<100	<200	200+	Arrears only	Total
<b>Carnew</b>	91	41	72	43	25	22	8	7	29	338
<b>Kilcommon</b>	9	15	21	17	17	14	7	5	24	129
<b>Kilpipe</b>	1	5	9	12	30	23	8	1	8	97
<b>Preban</b>	0	1	6	9	10	12	1	1	5	45
<b>Total</b>	101	62	108	81	82	71	24	14	66	609

Size of holdings 1845										
Parishes	<1	<5	<15	<30	<50	<100	<200	200+	Arrears only	Total
<b>Carnew</b>	82	63	97	45	30	24	10	7	7	365
<b>Kilcommon</b>	29	34	24	21	28	11	11	5	2	165
<b>Kilpipe</b>	1	7	9	15	32	21	11	1	1	98
<b>Preban</b>	3	3	8	9	11	11	3	2	2	52
<b>Total</b>	115	107	138	90	101	67	35	15	12	680

<sup>83</sup> These figures are derived from analysing relevant sections of the Irish estate rental, 1825-6 (S.A., WWM/A/914); Irish estate rental, 1835-6 (S.A., WWM/A/924); Irish estate rental, 1845-6 (S.A., WWM/A/934).



parish populations of Carnew and Kilcommon witnessed the greatest expansion. There are two reasons for this uneven distribution. Firstly, from the 1830s, the estate invested considerable sums of money on estate improvements. The road network was extended in some areas, while additional housing was provided in others. For example, fifteen new houses were erected on Pavey's holding at School Heights in Carnew and added to the 1835 rent roll.<sup>84</sup> That same year, the estate architect, Christmas Johnston was paid £216 3s. for building work he had completed in the town. In total, the amount expended on building by the estate in 1835 was £6,659 18s. 2d.<sup>85</sup> Consequently, in each of these respective parishes there was a proliferation of small holdings, the majority of which constituted residential dwellings in the urban areas. Contrastingly, in the more rural parishes such as Kilpipe and Preban, a greater portion of the land was taken up by larger holdings ranging from 30 to 100 acres in extent. The increase in the number of tenancies during this period is reflective of the estate strategy to tackle the middleman crisis by giving a number of under-tenants official leases which led to an increase in the number of holdings. From 1825 to 1835, the level of arrears in these four parishes increased by an average of 536 percent. Over the subsequent decade, although these recovered significantly, arrears were still 21 percent higher than in 1825. Although the urban parishes were more adversely affected, this can be attributed to higher population densities in these regions (see Table 3.1).

As early as 1819, the post-war economic slump was beginning to have a serious effect on the inhabitants of Coollattin estate and this situation prompted William Haigh to recommend to the earl striking-off certain arrears. One particular entry in the Memoranda Book dated 1819 provides insight into the plight of certain tenants. It listed

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<sup>84</sup> Irish estate rental, 1835-6 (S.A., WWM/A/924), entries 314-28.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

twenty-one arrears, seventeen of which pertained to tenancies on the core estate with the remaining four attached to satellite parts of the family's landholding around Rathdrum and further north at Newcastle. In total, the cumulative arrears outstanding on the core holdings were £1,985 8s. 9½d. Examination of these entries demonstrates that in 1819 hardship was endemic and not restricted to a single townland or parish. However, while poverty had compounded the distress, in some instances poor estate agency was responsible for the escalating arrears. It is clear from estate policy that the management of the arrears crisis mirrored the strategy employed to address subdivision. Instead of adopting affirmative action, the earl favoured a *laissez-faire* approach in the hope that the arrears crisis would be resolved by external factors, specifically a return to a growing economy.

Richard Bagnell of Coollattin and Peter Byrne of Coolafancy 'ran away' from their financial difficulties. Of those that remained almost half were a reflection of the harsh economic climate, while four instances clearly demonstrated the inefficiency of the management structure on the estate. In the case of the Rev. Henry Braddell, a head-tenant at Raheengraney, the arrears were longstanding. According to Haigh's notes, his predecessor William Wainwright had promised to apply an allowance to Braddell's rental in light of the fact that the Protestant rector of Carnew has expended large sums of money constructing a significant dwelling house on the holding (see Table 3.2 and Fig. 3.11). While this case was obviously an oversight on Wainwright's part, the other cases were clearly of Haigh's own making with the exception of Michael McCormick's predicament. The Collins' holding at Kilcavan had been valued the previous year and the estate valuator determined that the rent charged on the holding was excessive. Consequently, the earl approved an abatement which was never implemented by the

**Table 3.2 Arrears recommended to Earl Fitzwilliam for cancellation in 1819<sup>86</sup>**

Townland	Tenant	Amount owed
Coollattin	Richard Bagnell	£7 17s. 6d.
Tinahely	John Bearney	£12 12s. 0d.
Minmore	William Bourk's Exors.	£83 7s. 3½d.
Raheengraney	Rev. Henry Braddell	£104 10s 0d.
Ballykelly	Martin Byrne	£60 4s. 0½d.
Coolafancy	Peter Byrne	£55 19s. 6½d.
Coollattin	Edward and John Carr	£66 16s. 9d.
Coollattin	John Carr	£106 11s. 5½d.
Mullins	John Chamney	£522 12s.10½d.
Kilcavan	William Collins & Bros.	£42 18s. 1½d.
Tinahely	Michael Gough	£37 15s. 3½d.
Coolafancy	Enoch Johnston Exors.	£192 17s. 7½d.
Carnew	Thomas Kerrivan	£40 6s.5d.
Lugduff	Mr McCormick	£334 8s. 10½d.
Carnew	William Rothwell	£30 6s. 10d.
Coollattin	Reps. of Hugh Welsh	£42 2s. 6d.

**Fig. 3.11 Raheengraney House residence of Rev. Henry Braddell, built c. 1810<sup>87</sup>**



<sup>86</sup> Memoranda relating to tenancies on the Fitzwilliam estate, 1796-1841 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,948), entry 1819:11.

<sup>87</sup> The original structure was a two-storey above basement house depicted in the centre of the image. The two-storey bay section to the right was added to the property in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Image of Raheengraney House, available at: National Inventory of Architectural Heritage (<http://www.buildingsofireland.ie/niah/search.jsp?type=record&county=W1&regno=16404601>) (20 May 2016).

land agent. In the case of Enoch Johnson, the earl had directed that the father [Enoch] be removed from the lease and the son, Christmas, inserted on the tenancy agreement. Yet, this instruction was never executed.

The final case was less to do with the agent and more a consequence of leasing practices.<sup>88</sup> Covenants were a common feature in leases on the estate from an early stage. However, as W. A. Maguire contends: ‘on the Downshire estates most covenants were not enforced’, evidence pertaining to Coollattin estate suggests that although regular policing did not occur throughout a tenure, when a lease fell due for renewal compliance with the terms and conditions of the lease were investigated.<sup>89</sup>

W. E. Vaughan contends that Fitzwilliam had the power to affect his income to a certain degree through rent abatements and the striking-off of arrears. However, in many respects he was powerless as the occurrence and scale of arrears was very much linked to agricultural output and by extension, the middleman system.<sup>90</sup> From the 1830s, it is clear that the land agent and by then, the new earl, shared the same view concerning the management of the Irish estate. While the fourth earl was fair in his dealings, he had a tendency to procrastinate over decisions for fear of offending either party. In contrast, the fifth earl took a much more pragmatic or business-like approach to the Irish estate, trusting his agent and issuing clear instructions on how matters should be handled. Consequently, when leases fell due for renewal, the fifth earl resolutely directed that ‘the land should be let to the occupiers [under-tenants] ... but they should be my tenants for the land, not his [original lessee] ... they must hold

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<sup>88</sup> Memoranda relating to tenancies on the Fitzwilliam estate, 1796-1841 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,948), entry 1819:11.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, entry 1826:17; 1819:11. See also Maguire, *The Downshire estates in Ireland*, p. 116.

<sup>90</sup> W. E. Vaughan, *Landlords and tenants in mid-Victorian Ireland* (Oxford, 1994), p. 115.

directly from me.’<sup>91</sup> By 1835, the estate was beginning to see the benefits of this change in policy. Young’s under-tenants now held directly from the estate and this was the preferred option. Rents charged by the middleman had been reduced by the estate, sometimes as much as 36 percent and although arrears were still significant, they were lessening with time.<sup>92</sup> This diminution coupled with a slight improvement in the national economy reduced economic hardship on the estate.

Few under-tenants benefitted from the middleman system, although on occasion, they did manage to improve their circumstances. The Rhames’ holding at Gowle which contained 365 acres exemplifies this point. When Robert Rhames was granted a new lease by the estate *circa* 1831, he took it upon himself to extensively sublet the holding. Though he retained 173 acres, he divided the remainder between twenty-two under-tenants. While relations remained amicable for a number of years, in 1835 a serious dispute developed between both parties. Rhames had been on the estate’s radar from an early stage and the earl had warned Chaloner Snr as early as 1832, that ‘care must be taken [to ensure] that Rhames does not exact too high a rent’ from his under-tenants.<sup>93</sup> Consequently, when the dispute arose the agent intervened insisting that the middleman apply a 20 percent rent abatement to each holding on his property which was duly consented to.<sup>94</sup> This incident exemplifies the new working relationship between Chaloner Snr and the fifth earl. Whereas previously it was the agent who provided the fourth earl with economic advice, the succession of the fifth earl resulted in a more pro-

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<sup>91</sup> Memoranda relating to tenancies on the Fitzwilliam estate, 1796-1841 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,948), entry 1839 & 1840:18.

<sup>92</sup> In 1825 the widow Keoghoe was paying £11 a year rent to the middlemen and had an arrear of £41 2s. 4½*d.* outstanding. By 1835 she was a tenant-at-will holding directly from the estate. Her rent had been reduced to £7 2s. and in the intervening decade, she had managed to reduce the arrear to £37 10s. See Irish estate rental, 1825-6 and 1835-6 (S.A., WWM/A/914; WWM/A/924).

<sup>93</sup> Memoranda relating to tenancies on the Fitzwilliam estate, 1796-1841 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,948), entry 1832 & 1833:15.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, entry 1837:22.

active strategy in addressing economic issues. In this instance, the earl was more assertive in the management of his estate. Thus, on the eve of the Famine, although the estate had not managed to eradicate the middleman system entirely, a decade of sustained policies initiated by Chaloner Snr and continued by Chaloner Jnr, had certainly eroded the hegemony of *de-facto* landlordism on the estate.

Contrastingly, analysis of selected townships on the Wentworth estate, which were surveyed in 1841, seems to suggest that the Yorkshire estate contained some similarities with the Irish estate. In the four townships examined, the predominant class were those holding less than 1 acre (see Table 3.3). In fact, in many instances no land value was entered for these tenancies, although a description of ‘house and garden’ or simply, ‘house’ was included suggesting the prevalence of what once in Britain constituted a cottager class.<sup>95</sup>

**Table 3.3 Size of holdings on selected townships on the Wentworth estate, 1841-2<sup>96</sup>**

Townships	<1	<5	<15	<30	<50	<100	<200	200+	Total
<b>Hooton Roberts</b>	13	3	4	3	2	2	4	0	31
<b>Hoyland</b>	33	17	30	9	1	4	1	1	96
<b>Rawmarsh</b>	13	11	6	5	5	3	2	0	45
<b>Wath-upon-Dearne</b>	20	14	7	3	2	2	1	0	49
<b>Total</b>	79	45	47	20	10	11	8	1	221

<sup>95</sup> For example, George Hanby was recorded as holding a ‘house and garden’ amounting to 1 acre in the survey and valuation book, Hooton Roberts (S.A., WWM/A/1647/10), entry no. 15. For definition and changes in terminology surrounding the cottager class see J. V. Beckett, ‘The disappearance of the cottager and the squatter from the English countryside: the Hammonds revisited’ in B. A. Holderness and Michael Turner (eds), *Land, labour and agriculture, 1700-1920: essays for Gordon Mingay* (London, 1991), pp 49-69.

<sup>96</sup> Survey and valuation books for Hooton Roberts, Hoyland, Rawmarsh and Wath-upon-Dearne (S.A., WWM/A/1647/10-12 & 16).

One obvious case of subdivision concerns the chapelry of Rawmarsh where the amount of acreage classified as ‘in hand’ by the estate was 52 acres. This included land in the hamlets of Stubbing and Haugh, as well as part of the village of Rawmarsh. Designated woodland covered approximately 6 acres of this land, yet the names of sixty-one individuals were recorded on the survey as residing here. The vast majority held a house and garden. Rent varied considerably not only between areas but within the same geographical location. While John Jackson paid £5 to rent a house and garden in Haugh, Thomas Dyson’s rent was £2 15s. for a house and two gardens in the same location.<sup>97</sup> Those recorded as living in Rawmarsh were most likely village dwellers, while those in Stubbing and Haugh suggest the presence of a middleman system. Thus while the middleman system was endemic in the Irish context, in Yorkshire its presence was far more muted.

### 3.5 *‘The problem children’ – Swinton Pottery and Elsecar Ironworks*

In Yorkshire it was the mismanagement of industrial interests that pre-occupied the estate administration. The operation of industrial interests was not that dissimilar to landholdings in that proprietors could choose to retain the business and operate it themselves, or lease it to an entrepreneur or established firms for a yearly rent. The industrial holdings on the Wentworth estate extended beyond collieries into the realm of ironworks and for a short-time tar works. While the estate chose to operate the collieries and the tar works, it took the decision to lease its interests in the ironworks.<sup>98</sup> This strategy contained a fatal flaw, for these entities did not operate in isolation but were inter-dependent on each other for production, particularly in the case of coal and

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<sup>97</sup> Survey and valuation book, Rawmarsh (S. A., WWM/A/1647/12), detailed section entitled ‘in hand’.

<sup>98</sup> For a more thorough discussion on coal mining please see chapter eight.

iron.<sup>99</sup> In terms of estate management this was an economic oversight. To be successful the three entities of coal, iron and tar required succinct management in order to reach their full economic potential. The Fitzwilliam collieries supplied hard coal to the ironworks where its robust quality was used to power the blast furnaces. At the tar works, small, arguably uneconomic, soft coal was burnt in an effort to produce profitable commodities in the form of coal tar and its by-products.<sup>100</sup> In addition to the estate businesses, a number of ancillary works existed including Swinton Pottery which relied on the coal to produce its earthenware products.

In 1819, Darwin's ironworks at Elsecar was said to be 'suffering greatly thro' mismanagement and want of personal attention in the principals'.<sup>101</sup> The company was established in 1795 when John Darwin, Francis Firth and Joseph Ridge took out an eighteen-year lease on the ironworks. By 1810, 50 percent of all coal produced in the Fitzwilliam collieries, some 42,247 tonnes, was being used to power the Elsecar Ironworks and the Milton Ironworks a short distance away. Until 1810, the company was relatively successful in terms of production; however, from 1812 the business was beset with operational difficulties and a steep decline in the iron trade.<sup>102</sup> In 1816 William Mathews, a coal and iron trader from Dudley, recalled before a government inquiry that in the previous few years there were 'several cases of [iron] works sold at a sixth or a seventh part of their cost; and [he] could recollect others that were either

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<sup>99</sup> Graham Mee, *Aristocratic enterprise: the Fitzwilliam industrial undertakings, 1795-1857* (London, 1975), p. 33.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64.

<sup>101</sup> William Newman to Earl Fitzwilliam, 9 Jun. 1819 (S.A., WWM/F107/106).

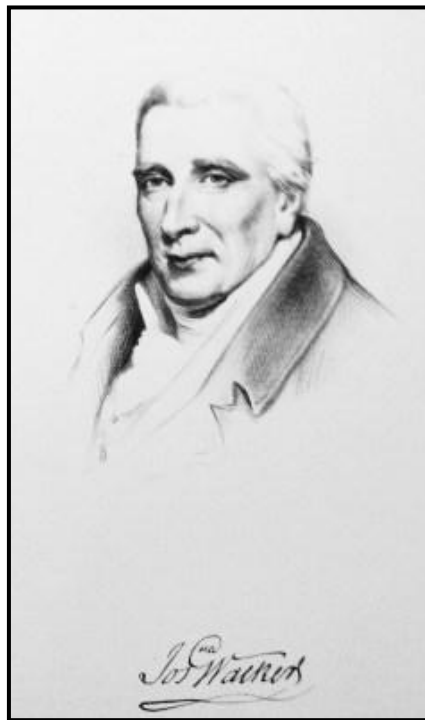
<sup>102</sup> Mee, *Aristocratic enterprise*, p. 32.



abandoned entirely or reverted to the hands of the landlord, or were taken to pieces and sold'.<sup>103</sup>

A mile to the west the Milton ironworks, which had been established by Joshua Walker and Co. in 1795, had enjoyed sustained employment during the war years. However, in the recessionary period, the company had fallen on hard times (see Fig. 3.12). In 1820, it resolved that: 'a letter be written to Mr Newman to endeavour to negociate (*sic.*) for giving up the leases'.<sup>104</sup>

**Fig. 3.12 Sketch and facsimile autograph of Joshua Walker, founder of Milton Ironworks**<sup>105</sup>



Consequently, in 1821 Fitzwilliam bought the company and shortly thereafter leased the business to a Sheffield firm known as Hartop, Littlewood and Sorby. Within the space

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<sup>103</sup> *Report from the select committee on manufactures, commerce and shipping, with the minutes of evidence, and appendix and index*, p. 577, H.C. 1833, vi, 581.

<sup>104</sup> Cited in A. H. John (ed.), *The Walker family, ironfounders and lead manufacturers, 1771-1893* (London, 1951), p. 27.

<sup>105</sup> Image taken from John Guest, *Historic notices of Rotherham, ecclesiastical, collegiate, and civil* (Worksop, 1879), plate between pp 500-1.

of four years, only Henry Hartop remained.<sup>106</sup> The yearly rental charged to Milton Ironworks by the estate was £1,394 1s. 3d. which allowed the company to mine 3 acres of Tankersley Park bed and a further 1 acre segment of the Swallow Wood bed. Yet, even at this early stage Hartop was in arrears.<sup>107</sup> In an effort to secure future capital, Hartop approached Robert and William Graham, London iron agents, with a view to forming a partnership.

From the outset, the relationship between the three was hostile to say the least. In December 1828, Messrs Graham wrote to Newman, the Wentworth agent refusing to renew the lease on the ironworks as the company accounts had ‘been allowed to get into a very confused state; so much so, that even with the assistance of able accountants, they [could not] be cleared up.’<sup>108</sup> This stance is hardly surprising given that Robert Graham was in serious financial difficulty as a consequence of accepting bills totalling £9,500 on the assurance of being paid ‘cash to meet them by remittances from the work’. When the cash failed to materialise, Graham was forced to access £7,500 of his private funds and was at that time owed upwards of £10,000 by the company. Messrs Graham firmly posited that Hartop was entirely to blame for the sorry situation.<sup>109</sup> In response, Newman believed the best course of action for all concerned was if the Grahams bought Hartop’s interest, thus allowing Hartop to discharge his debts.<sup>110</sup> By all accounts, Hartop was a troublesome character. When Newman contacted his family, the agent discovered Hartop had alienated himself from them as a consequence of borrowing nearly £4,000 to invest in the works and failed to repay any of the debt. In

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<sup>106</sup> Mee, *Aristocratic enterprise*, p. 45.

<sup>107</sup> West Riding annual estate account, 1825-26 (S.A., WWM/A/343), p. 38. The rent on Tankersley Park bed was £375 per acre, while the Swallow Wood bed rent was £180 per acre.

<sup>108</sup> Messrs Graham to William Newman, 1 Dec. 1828 (S.A., WWM/G44/9).

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> William Newman to Earl Fitzwilliam, 6 Jan. 1829 (S.A., WWM/G44/10).

the end his siblings engaged their brother-in-law, Mr Sheardown, a solicitor by profession, to recover the outstanding debts.<sup>111</sup> The correspondence appears to suggest that the fourth earl was sympathetic to Hartop's plight, as Newman vigorously impressed upon him the dangers of providing aid to Hartop. Newman stated to the earl that if 'cordiality which is absolutely necessary for the welfare (*sic.*) and success of the works [was present], the case might be different' and he would suggest providing capital 'but as matters now stand ... the aid necessary for Mr Hartop in his personal situation, would be greater than prudence would warrant.'<sup>112</sup> In 1829, when the partnership was legally dissolved, it mattered little to Hartop who found himself gainfully employed by the fourth earl. Despite the fact that both the agent and the earl were aware of the difficulties in the business relationships between the Graham brothers and Hartop, the earl nonetheless employed Hartop after the dissolution of the company. In terms of estate management practices, this appointment demonstrated the fourth earl's lack of business acumen in allowing paternalism to cloud his financial judgement.

From an early stage Hartop had built up a rapport with the fifth earl, then Viscount Milton, and began consulting Milton on business matters. In August 1831, the issue of colliers' wages had arisen during one of their discussions. Hartop had enquired into the matter and found that the wages paid by the estate were exorbitant in comparison to those working in the same conditions in neighbouring collieries. While miners employed in the Fitzwilliam collieries were paid on average '25 or 26s. per week', others elsewhere had to be content with a weekly wage of 16s. or in some instances, 13s. per week.<sup>113</sup> Arguably, Hartop's interest in the rate of pay had little to

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 24 Jan. 1829 (S.A., WWM/G44/12).

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Henry Hartop to Viscount Milton, 15 Aug. 1831 (S.A., WWM/G44/23).

do with the man's concern for estate finances or indeed, the welfare of the workers. The most plausible explanation for his attention to detail was to distract the estate from the real issue at hand, his ineptitude in managing the ironworks. This particular topic drew sharp criticism from workers who were not too enamoured by Hartop's suggestion of high wages.<sup>114</sup> Although Newman consistently made the earl aware of Hartop's shortcomings, the earl repeatedly chose to ignore the agent's suggestions.

Throughout his tenure, Hartop was openly critical of the management structure at Wentworth. On one occasion he criticised the earl for placing 'the management of [the] estate in the hands of lawyers' referring to Newman. However, Hartop's dislike for Newman was superseded by his utter disdain for Biram the house and colliery agent who in his opinion ran the collieries more extravagantly than similar enterprises.<sup>115</sup> While no doubt Newman would agree with this latter point, the fact that Hartop felt able to criticise his employer testifies to where he viewed himself in the social pecking order. Overlooking professional conventions in this manner undermined the integrity of the estate management structure and derided the authority of the agent. This was not an isolated incident. Within the agency structure itself, Biram constantly bypassed Newman communicating directly with the earl on matters of estate management. However, regardless of Hartop's perceived importance, his deficiencies as a manager continued to mount. From the 1840s, he consistently turned to the earl for assistance in order to pay the workers.<sup>116</sup> In October 1841, in a letter to the earl concerning the financial status of the ironworks, Hartop calculated that losses accrued between 1827 and the beginning of 1840 to be £9,955, an average of £796 per annum per furnace. He

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<sup>114</sup> Mee, *Aristocratic enterprise*, p. 50.

<sup>115</sup> Henry Hartop to Earl Fitzwilliam, 14 Apr. 1841 (WWM/G44/45).

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 14 Sep. 1840 (WWM/G44/40).

attempted to legitimise this by proposing that 73 percent of this sum pertained to bad debt and that the actual loss in relative terms was £2,749.<sup>117</sup>

By 1842, Hartop was assisted by his son, John, and they were the highest paid employees at the works being paid 10*s.* 11½*d.* and 5*s.* 5¾*d.* respectively per day. In addition to the Hartops, the business employed sixty-two individuals in various roles including fitters, moulders, engine men, pattern markers and nailors. The average daily wage ranged from 4*s.* for a moulder to the 8½*d.* paid to James Vardy ‘for his care of the Elsecar horse when at Barnborough’.<sup>118</sup>

From 1844, the estate made a concerted effort to scrutinise the workings and more importantly, Hartop. Newman constantly interviewed him exposing his inadequacies and compiled a list of issues. When Daniel Maude, the estate auditor met with Hartop in 1845, it was obvious his days at Elsecar were numbered. The auditor saw past the rhetoric and realised that Hartop had been allowed to continue for far too long.<sup>119</sup> It had taken almost two decades for the agency structure to convince both the fourth and fifth earls of Hartop’s inadequacies. Despite the fact that Maude informed the earl of his findings, Elsecar ironworks remained under the management of Henry Hartop until 1849, at which stage reason prevailed and the earl re-let both the Milton and Elsecar Ironworks as a single operation to the Dawes brothers.<sup>120</sup>

Mismanagement of the estate’s economic interests was not confined to the mining industry. Swinton Pottery was first established in 1750 when Edward Butler rented land from Fitzwilliam. The company changed hands a few times, growing in

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid., Oct. 1841 (WWM/G44/50).

<sup>118</sup> List of workmen at Elsecar Ironworks, Aug. 1842 (WWM/G44/55).

<sup>119</sup> Daniel Maude to Earl Fitzwilliam, 25 Aug. 1845 (WWM/G50/4).

<sup>120</sup> For more information on John Hartop, son of Henry and the fortunes of the works under the Dawes, please see chapter nine.

strength until its success came to the attention of Leeds Pottery who bought a majority stake in the company in 1785.<sup>121</sup> Twenty-one years later, following consistent losses it was decided to dissolve the operation. However, two of the partners, John Brameld and his son, William, were not prepared to let the company cease trading and attempted to purchase the company.<sup>122</sup>

On 1 January 1806, John Brameld wrote to the earl. Over the course of six pages, Brameld outlined the difficulties the business had experienced and what was required to save it. He estimated to buy out the partners and continue the operations would 'require not less than 12 or 15,000£' before adding that: 'had the business been carried on for the last 20 years as it might have [they] should have been able or nearly so to' raise the funds themselves but as it stood they had 'no funds at all'.<sup>123</sup> The fourth earl believed that backing a prospect like Swinton Pottery was financially dubious and declined for business reasons. However, when informed of potential job losses his paternalistic reasoning defeated economic logic.<sup>124</sup> From 1806 until 1815, the estate provided loans to the value of £7,100 to Swinton Pottery.<sup>125</sup>

On 15 June 1819, John died aged seventy-eight years. At the time of his death, it seemed that the earl's investment was reaping dividends. The company was thriving and employed 300 people. However, from the 1820s, the fortunes of the business began to decline.<sup>126</sup> This decline was attributable to a number of factors, no least the depressed market. Furthermore, although the Bramelds were skilled craftsmen, they

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<sup>121</sup> Jewitt, 'Rockingham China and the Yorkshire potteries', pp 348-9.

<sup>122</sup> Messrs Brameld to Earl Fitzwilliam including proposals for sale of interest in Swinton Pottery to John and William Brameld, 30 Dec. 1805 (S.A., WWM/F/106/37).

<sup>123</sup> John Brameld to Earl Fitzwilliam, 1 Jan. 1806 (S.A., WWM/F/106/40).

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>125</sup> West Riding annual estate account, 1815-6 (S.A., WWM/A/323), p. 19.

<sup>126</sup> Wath-upon-Deerne, All Saints burial registers (R.A.L.S., Parish register, 942.74 WAT), entry dated 15 Jun. 1819.

were not astute businessmen. Orders were completed to the highest standard but payments were overlooked. Thus, by 1 May 1825, the pottery owed the estate £4,148 1s. in arrears; twelve months later, this figure stood at £6,062 1s.<sup>127</sup> Inevitably, the company became insolvent and once again, turned to the earl for financial assistance.<sup>128</sup> Despite the company's diminishing profits, the earl acquiesced to their request once more. However, this time, the funding came with a set of *provisos*. In the future, the company was to be known as Rockingham Works in memory of the earl's maternal uncle and trade was to be confined to the domestic market.<sup>129</sup> Considering how ancestral tradition influenced his character, it is understandable that the earl attempted to maintain his uncle's memory. Yet in so doing, he completely overlooked the significantly more important implications of recapitalising a failing company. The earl blindly re-invested money without understanding the intricacies of the business and similar to 1806 placed a greater emphasis on the social implications of its demise rather than what was economically sensible for the estate. Similar to the ironworks project in Elsecar and the striking-off of arrears in Ireland, the earl's access to money coupled with his financial naivety added to the economic complexities on the estate.

As the 1830s began, the company was dependent on estate finances to keep it afloat. By April that year, the company's statement of account demonstrated that the total debts outstanding were £27,677 0s. 7½d. of which the earl was owed £16,083 18s. 4s. This was a combination of 'money advanced for the purchase of stock ... [and] rents and interest.'<sup>130</sup> The ledger contained £12,318 7s. 10½d. in unpaid accounts of

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<sup>127</sup> West Riding annual estate account, 1825-6 (S.A., WWM/A/343), p. 26.

<sup>128</sup> *Sheffield Iris*, 28 Feb. 1826.

<sup>129</sup> See Alwyn Cox and Angela Cox, *The Rockingham works and the Bramelds, 1804-42: the story of Yorkshire china* (Rotherham, 2006).

<sup>130</sup> Copy statement of Messrs Brameld's accounts, Oct. 1831 (S.A., WWM/G47/10).

which £1,085 15s. 3½d. were considered bad debts.<sup>131</sup> The following August, Thomas Brameld wrote to Fitzwilliam's agent to inform him that the company was unable to pay their dues. He attempted to minimise the company's financial difficulties by explaining how the business' outlet in York was performing well, despite 'the present suspension [due to] the pestilence', while the London store at Vauxhall Bridge Road 'lost money at first' but was now breaking even.<sup>132</sup> The company was busy completing a dinner service for the king and also had an order from the duchess of Cumberland which Brameld was confident would raise the profile of the company.<sup>133</sup> Of course, the real reason for the correspondence was to secure further funding. The fifth earl had grown weary of the company's requests for additional funds and refused to provide the money.<sup>134</sup>

By November 1836, the company's finances were dire. In addition to the almost £7,000 owed in rent, Newman estimated that the estate's involvement had cost the earl in the region of £18,000. Consequently, the agent advised the earl not to advance any further sums but to wind down the enterprise. Thus, in 1841 the works ceased operation.<sup>135</sup> It had taken two successive earls thirty-five years to place the financial viability of the estate as a whole before the economic interest of a small pottery company. Although the primary concern for the fourth earl was the preservation of employment, his son, once more, proved himself more fiscally aware than his father. What is more interesting however, is how each earl placed their economic and paternal responsibilities in context. Fostering a sense of social integration through a paternal philosophy was more important to the fourth earl than increasing the wealth of his

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<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> Thomas Brameld to William Newman, 28 Aug. 1832 (S.A., WWM/G47/11).

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> Thomas Brameld to Earl Fitzwilliam, 8 Sep. 1832 (S.A., WWM/G47/12).

<sup>135</sup> William Newman to Earl Fitzwilliam, undated (S.A., WWM/G49/41).



estate. By contrast, the fifth earl placed the viability of the estate as a commercial entity above the paternal sense of duty that characterised his predecessors' management policy. He reformed the estate management structures on his estates.

### *3.6 Conclusion*

Examination of the economic drivers on the Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates between 1815 and 1845 exposes the key differences which separated these estates. Coollattin estate was an agricultural entity which comprised mainly farmers and agricultural labourers. While industry existed, its economies of scale were small and predominantly limited to the urban areas on the estate. Contrastingly, the Wentworth estate was an industrial hub which contained a kaleidoscope of occupations across wide-ranging sectors including mining and transportation demonstrating a level of economic advancement absent from the Irish estate. For thirty years, trade and manufacturing remained the corner stone of the Yorkshire economy. While numbers in mining and agriculture increased during this period, both sectors were overshadowed by the development in trade and manufacturing.

Despite the agricultural-industrial divide that existed, the estates shared a number of common traits. In terms of leasing practices, both contained a significant number of tenants-at-will and the tenant right custom provided a certain level of security for tenants. Arrears were a common feature, as were requests for abatements, although the level of distress in Wicklow resulted in a higher proportion of these being granted. Tenorial practices on the Irish estate were undoubtedly counterproductive. Restrictions imposed by lengthy leases and the prevalence of the middleman system stunted economic growth on the Irish estate.

When considering the issue of culpability for the culture of subdivision and subletting at Coollattin, liability must be levied on the Watson-Wentworths. This practice effectively elevated the middlemen to a squirearchy class. Furthermore, the agents prior to Chaloner Snr are not entirely exonerated, for they were quite happy to allow it to continue unabated, knowing the financial toll it was exacting on the lower classes. It was only with Robert Chaloner Snr's arrival that the estate began to address the issue and even then its response was reactive rather than pro-active. The argument often presented is that landlords were prevented from acting against this pervasive system due to these lengthy leases.<sup>136</sup> However, Coollattin had a set of rules in place which effectively safeguarded the estate giving it the authority to eject any tenant who was found to be breaching these rules, yet these were not enforced. The estate's failure to act was arguably due to fear of alienating its Protestant head-tenantry by enforcing rules and in the process losing their loyalty and support. Hence, while the process of eradicating the system began in the 1830s, it still existed in a diminished form in the post-Famine period.

While the Yorkshire estate exhibited some evidence of the middleman system, its existence was not as prevalent. When assessing which of the two estates was the more fiscally important, there is little doubt that the Yorkshire estate was more valuable. This was mainly due to the mineral content in the landscape which increased the value of land exponentially. That said, not all industry was profitable, regardless of whether a business was run in-house or leased out, it had the potential to drain the estate finances, as the case of Elsecar ironworks and Swinton Pottery illustrates.

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<sup>136</sup> See Oliver MacDonagh, 'The economy and society, 1830-45' in W. E. Vaughan (ed.), *A new history of Ireland, v: Ireland under the Union, i, 1801-70* (Dublin, 1989), pp 218-42; p. 220.

The earl's involvement with, and toleration of, both of these enterprises is questionable. Firstly, at the core of the Wentworth-Fitzwilliam ideology was paternalism which extended beyond the realms of religious belief. This allowed the earls to look past the financial weaknesses of these businesses to see the social benefits to the workforce that was employed. An innate sense of moral duty compelled the earls to intervene in an effort to mitigate against widespread unemployment. Secondly, and perhaps more significantly, the family's wealth allowed them to attempt to rescue ill-fated companies that were doomed from the start.

## CHAPTER 4: EMPTY PROMISES, FALSE HOPE: THE EFFECTS OF POLITICAL CHANGE ON THE WENTWORTH-FITZWILLIAM ESTATES, 1829-45

*It was undoubtedly true that at present the whole population were not able to maintain themselves as they ought to be maintained. That, however, was attributable, not to the poor-laws, but to our immense debt, and to the taxes imposed upon the country to pay the interest of it, the holders of which, as far as that debt was concerned (and he begged not to be understood as making the observation invidiously), were mere drones.*

Lord Milton speaking on the proposed revision of poor relief, 24 May, 1821.<sup>1</sup>

### 4.1 Introduction

The period from 1829 to 1845 was one of the most significant in terms of political reform during the nineteenth century. The early decades of the century saw the introduction of three important pieces of legislation, the Catholic Relief Act (1829), the Reform Act (1832) and the Poor Law Act (1834 & 1838).<sup>2</sup> In 1829, after decades of debate, the issue of Catholic emancipation was finally decided upon. The passing of the Roman Catholic Relief Act in 1829 had major implications for the Catholic population in Ireland. The achievement of Daniel O’Connell and his movement in their quest for civil rights for the Catholic population in Ireland demonstrated the influence of unified collective thinking in altering political policy. Equally, the achievement of emancipation demonstrated that, in future, issues requiring political negotiation ought to consider the will of the people.<sup>3</sup> The passing of the first Reform Bill three years later constituted a departure from the archaic political system. It aimed to increase the

<sup>1</sup> *Hansard 2*, i [*Poor Relief Bill*, H.C. Deb., 24 May 1821, vol. v, cc987-99; cc997-8].

<sup>2</sup> Although this period also includes the Great Irish Famine (1845-52), the social implications of this time are dealt with in greater detail in chapter seven.

<sup>3</sup> Christine Kinealy, ‘Politics and administration, 1815-70’ in Donnchadh Ó Corráin and Tomás O’Riordan (eds), *Ireland, 1815-70: emancipation, famine and religion* (Dublin, 2011), pp 19-33; p. 21.

political franchise although its success was questionable. This period marked a turning point in the manner in which political business was conducted. It symbolised the emergence of a modern democratic system of governance through increased political involvement, albeit somewhat flawed in its infancy.<sup>4</sup> However, the most important piece of legislation during this time was the introduction of the new Poor Law Act in Britain in 1834 and subsequently extended to Ireland in 1838. Its passage had a far greater impact on the lives of the Fitzwilliam tenantry in both locations when compared with its predecessors.

The aim of this chapter is to examine how political decisions made during the period 1829 to 1845 affected the estate and tenantry in each location. Specifically, it utilises a number of case studies in an effort to provide a microcosmic insight to life on the Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates of Wicklow and Yorkshire.

#### 4.2 *'Confronting ecclesiastical extortion' - Ireland, 1830s*

Despite the eventual passing of Catholic emancipation in 1829, relations within Protestant and Catholic communities remained strained as other factors combined to maintain the division between both denominations. The payment of tithes in particular was a highly contentious issue which from the 1830s was greeted with 'middle class opposition'.<sup>5</sup> It was introduced in the sixteenth century and implemented to maintain the Established Church and more specifically, the Church of Ireland clergy. Over the intervening three centuries, demographic increases had rendered it a lucrative source of revenue despite the protestations of the Roman Catholic majority.

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<sup>4</sup> Brian Hill, *The early parties and politics in Britain, 1688-1832* (Basingstoke, 1996), p. 204.

<sup>5</sup> Cormac Ó Gráda, 'Poverty, population, and agriculture, 1801-45' in W. E. Vaughan (ed.), *A new history of Ireland, v: under the Union, i, 1801-70* (Oxford, 1989), pp 108-37; p. 118.

By the nineteenth century, the system was archaic and required a radical overhaul in order to maintain its efficacy. Thus, in 1823, an act of parliament introduced the Tithe Composition Act which commuted this expense to a cash only transaction, eradicating the previous option of payment through produce in kind. The tax payable under this new act was calculated on the principle of the average price of cereals in each parish in the seven years preceding 1821.<sup>6</sup> Commissioners were appointed to survey each parish in order to determine the collective amount owed. This figure was then divided 'among the different occupiers of land on the basis of an examination of the amount and quality of land held'.<sup>7</sup>

The parish of Kilcommon consisted of both Catholic and Protestant inhabitants. The 1821 census recorded a total of 553 resident families. For the purpose of tithe collection, the parish was surveyed in 1826. The commissioners recorded 294 named occupiers of land within the parish. This included the earl as well as a number of joint tenancies and partnerships.<sup>8</sup> A comparison of both sources suggests that approximately 53 percent of occupiers in the parish held rateable land. The remaining 47 percent were presumably sub-tenants of middlemen. Of the 271 holdings surveyed, 65 percent were less than 6 acres in extent, 1 percent comprised between 6 and 9 acres. A further 5 percent were in excess of 50 acres and held by the earl. The total liability levied against the parish was £493 18s. 6½d., a combination of tax on arable land, common pasture and mountainous bog. Fitzwilliam was directly responsible for the payment of tithes on

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<sup>6</sup> Samuel Clark, *Social origins of the Irish land war* (Princeton, NJ, 1979), pp 91-4.

<sup>7</sup> S. J. Connolly, 'Union government, 1812-23' in W. E. Vaughan (ed.), *A new history of Ireland, v: Ireland under the Union, i, 1801-70* (Oxford, 1989), pp 48-74; p. 70.

<sup>8</sup> Census of Ireland, 1821, preliminary observations, enumeration abstracts, appendix, p. 126.

five townlands within the parish which amounted to £119 18s. 1½d. of the total figure.<sup>9</sup> Although the 1821 census identifies the existence of 553 families, the survey confirmed that most of the land in Kilcommon was held by 294 families, the majority of whom were Protestant. The majority of the population in the parish were from the lower classes and Roman Catholic.<sup>10</sup> Given the religious composition of this parish and the estate as a whole, sectarian tensions were unavoidable as more than half of the population on the estate were liable for a tax from which they derived no benefit.

The parish of Carnew was the most extensive parish comprising 530 rateable holdings. As was the case throughout the other parishes, tenure also included a number of joint tenancies.<sup>11</sup> Thomas Goodisson and Edward Smith, the two commissioners in this part of the estate, calculated the tithes due to be £900.<sup>12</sup> Interestingly, examination of the tithe applotment books for the townlands in county Wicklow show this figure to be £586 5s. 6½d. This difference is possibly attributable to the fact that the parish crossed the baronies of Scarawalsh and Gorey in neighbouring county Wexford. Nevertheless, the full proceeds collected were due to the rector of the parish, the Rev. Henry Moore, whose ardent Protestant beliefs caused constant strife on the estate as its management attempted to unite its multi-denominational population and quell sectarian unease.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Tithe applotment book, Kilcommon parish, 1826, available at: the National Archives of Ireland (<http://titheapplotmentbooks.nationalarchives.ie/search/tab/results.jsp?surname=&firstname=&county=Wicklow&parish=Kilcommon&townland=&search=Search>) (28 Oct. 2014).

<sup>10</sup> *First report of the commissioners of public instruction, Ireland*, 216a, [C 45-7], H.C. 1835, xxxiii.1, 829, xxxiv.1, 402.

<sup>11</sup> See for example Coollatin townland which comprised of eighty occupiers, ten of whom were female, p. 4, available at: the National Archives of Ireland ([http://titheapplotmentbooks.nationalarchives.ie/reels/tab//004587411/004587411\\_00614.pdf](http://titheapplotmentbooks.nationalarchives.ie/reels/tab//004587411/004587411_00614.pdf)) (3 Nov. 2014).

<sup>12</sup> Tithe applotment book, Carnew parish, declaration, available at: the National Archives of Ireland ([http://titheapplotmentbooks.nationalarchives.ie/reels/tab//004587411/004587411\\_00654.pdf](http://titheapplotmentbooks.nationalarchives.ie/reels/tab//004587411/004587411_00654.pdf)) (3 Nov. 2014).

<sup>13</sup> For more information on this see chapter five.

Further analysis of the tithe applotment books reveals a strong hierarchical structure in existence in each parish throughout the late 1820s. At the top was Earl Fitzwilliam. Below him in the pyramid came William Haigh, his land agent, who held land in Coollattin and Ballykelly. The next layer comprised of middlemen, Protestant large farmers whose connections and wealth afforded them social status far above that experienced by the smaller farmers. These included Henry Braddell in Upper Ballingate who leased 234 acres and his brother Joseph who farmed 204 acres in the adjoining townland of Lower Ballingate. Thomas Swan controlled the townland of Tombreen where he leased 324 acres which cost him £22 17s. 5½d. in tithes. Swan was also the principal landholder in the townland of Umrigar where he leased 124 acres.<sup>14</sup> At the lowest level were the landless families who although unrecorded in the tithe books obviously existed for they are recorded on the 1821 Census (see Table 4.1).<sup>15</sup>

**Table 4.1 Number and size of holdings in three sample parishes on the Wicklow estate**<sup>16</sup>

Parish	Acres <6	6-9	10-19	20-40	50-100	100+
<b>Aghowle</b>	170	78	99	53	6	2
<b>Carnew</b>	179	93	127	91	32	8
<b>Kilcommon</b>	174	54	27	11	4	1

<sup>14</sup> See for example Henry Braddell available at: the National Archives of Ireland ([http://titheapplotmentbooks.nationalarchives.ie/reels/tab/004587411/004587411\\_00624.pdf](http://titheapplotmentbooks.nationalarchives.ie/reels/tab/004587411/004587411_00624.pdf)); Joseph Braddell, available at: the National Archives of Ireland ([http://titheapplotmentbooks.nationalarchives.ie/reels/tab/004587411/004587411\\_00625.pdf](http://titheapplotmentbooks.nationalarchives.ie/reels/tab/004587411/004587411_00625.pdf)); Thomas Swan, available at: the National Archives of Ireland ([http://titheapplotmentbooks.nationalarchives.ie/reels/tab/004587411/004587411\\_00634.pdf](http://titheapplotmentbooks.nationalarchives.ie/reels/tab/004587411/004587411_00634.pdf)) & ([http://titheapplotmentbooks.nationalarchives.ie/reels/tab/004587411/004587411\\_00633.pdf](http://titheapplotmentbooks.nationalarchives.ie/reels/tab/004587411/004587411_00633.pdf)) (3 Nov. 2014).

<sup>15</sup> Census of Ireland, 1821, preliminary observations, enumeration abstract, appendix, p. 126; p. 128. Carnew parish alone recorded a total of 610 families in 1821.

<sup>16</sup> These figures are derived from the Tithe applotment books available at: the National Archives of Ireland (<http://titheapplotmentbooks.nationalarchives.ie>) (4 Nov. 2014).



A significant number of Catholic tenants including priests leased land and were obliged to pay the Church of Ireland tithes. Fr John Kelly, parish priest of Aghowle rented 10 acres in Killinure townland for a rent of £5 5s. per annum. He also held an additional 5 acres in the townland of Coolkenno which demanded an annual rent of £2 12s. 6d. Fr Kelly paid £1 6s. 11d. towards the upkeep of the Church of Ireland clergy.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, Fr Michael Murphy, parish priest of Carnew, held land in Coollattin and also Cronyhorn for which he was liable.

By 1823, the agricultural depression was seriously affecting the Fitzwilliam tenantry. A public meeting was scheduled for 16 May 1823 to address the issue.<sup>18</sup> Haigh wrote to Fitzwilliam to keep him abreast of the situation. The land agent estimated that approximately twenty middle class tenants attended. Haigh's summation was that the gathering was nothing more than 'an attempt to bully my Lord Fitzwilliam...into universal reduction of rent', a fact that appeared to gall Haigh for he felt of all the tenantry, this middling class had 'the least cause to complain'.<sup>19</sup> It appears however, that some tenants such as George Sherwood did have cause to complain for by Michaelmas 1825, his two holdings were in serious arrears equating to £887. Fitzwilliam ordered him to pay the arrears on the Barracks holding, £487, or face eviction. In relation to his holding at Killinure, the earl was more lenient ordering that 'the land be revalued, the current rent diminished and a more equitable and appropriate rent agreed upon.'<sup>20</sup> This case is telling in many respects. In terms of estate policy, both the earl and agent's failure to control middlemen on the estate resulted in the

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<sup>17</sup> Tithe applotment book, Aghowle parish, 1825, parish total, available at: the National Archives of Ireland ([http://titheapplotmentbooks.nationalarchives.ie/reels/tab//004587395/004587395\\_00495.pdf](http://titheapplotmentbooks.nationalarchives.ie/reels/tab//004587395/004587395_00495.pdf)) (4 Nov. 2014).

<sup>18</sup> William Haigh to Earl Fitzwilliam, 23 Jun. 1823 (S.A., WWM/F79/164); Notice of a public meeting scheduled for 16 May 1823 (S.A., WWM/F79/159), p. 3.

<sup>19</sup> William Haigh to Earl Fitzwilliam, 17 May 1823 (S.A., WWM/F79/159).

<sup>20</sup> Memoranda of the Irish estate, 1826 (S.A. WWM/F81/7), p. 28.

accrual of a substantial arrear. Then, when steps were taken to rectify the situation, the middleman became the primary benefactor instead of the estate itself, thus rewarding both bad management and bad practice. Furthermore, this earl's willingness to reduce the rent on the Killinure holding is a prime example of how paternalism compromised the economic potential of the estate.

Yet, despite the economic hardship on this estate, the issue of tithes appears to have assumed a position of minor importance when viewed in tandem with land issues. Hence, the tithe war that developed initially in county Kilkenny in October 1830 never acquired the same status in south-west Wicklow as it did in other parts of the country.<sup>21</sup> Arguably, this position is attributable to two factors. Firstly, as Samuel Clark has identified, the strength of the anti-tithe movement in Leinster and Munster resided in the fact that such areas held significant numbers of large farmers.<sup>22</sup> Analysis of the holdings on the Fitzwilliam estate demonstrate that while large holdings existed, these were generally held by a small number of Protestant middleman who were far outnumbered by small tenant farmers and consequently, violence in relation to tithes was minimal.

#### 4.3 *'The Irish difficulty is the Irish priest' – the Catholic Relief Act (1829)*<sup>23</sup>

By 1829, the issue referred to as 'the Catholic question' had dominated Anglo-Irish political rhetoric for over half a century.<sup>24</sup> At certain times, most notably in 1795, during the viceroyalty of the fourth earl Fitzwilliam, and again in 1801, as the passing

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<sup>21</sup> Thomas Bartlett, *Ireland: a history* (Cambridge, 2010), pp 271-2.

<sup>22</sup> Samuel Clark, 'The importance of agrarian classes: agrarian class structure and collective action in nineteenth-century Ireland' in P. J. Drudy (ed.), *Ireland: land, politics and people* (Cambridge, 1982), pp 11-37; p. 20.

<sup>23</sup> *The Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 19 Jun. 1886.

<sup>24</sup> This chapter deals with the political effects of emancipation. For discussion concerning the religious implications please refer to chapter five.

of a Catholic relief bill appeared imminent, the Catholic question fractured political relationships at Westminster.

As head of the Established Church, King George III was vehemently opposed to restoring full civil, political and religious privileges to Catholic Ireland, a position that won him popularity among loyalist inhabitants in Ireland and Britain.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, the political fallout of navigating Catholic Relief Bills through parliament destabilised an already weakened government and resulted in the resignation of a number of leading parliamentarians on both sides of the Irish Sea including Pitt, Dundas and Grenville as well as Castlereagh, Cooke and Cornwallis.<sup>26</sup> However, a major turning point occurred in 1820 with the death of George III and the accession of his son to the throne. Unlike his father who was an ardent Tory supporter, the new monarch, King George IV, supported the Whigs who endorsed the granting of Catholic liberty.<sup>27</sup>

Protestant leaseholders far outnumbered their Catholic counterparts on the Wicklow estate. However, Catholic tenants were granted leases as early as 1810. On 27 August 1810 in excess of fifty leases were entered into with tenants of both denominations. That said, William Haigh's depiction of the Fitzwilliam tenants in a letter to the earl twelve years later illustrates that despite the liberal nature of the landlord in granting Catholic leases, the plight of the typical Catholic tenant throughout the estate was particularly poor. Describing conditions in 1822, Haigh stated that: 'there is only one class of tenant, the very small ones that are quite unproductive'. Such tenants, he claimed: 'had prevailed with their own peculiar habits [and were] never

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<sup>25</sup> Bartlett, *Ireland: a history*, p. 240.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 241-2.

<sup>27</sup> Desmond Keenan, *The grail of Catholic emancipation, 1793-1829* (Bloomington, IN, 2002), p. 42.

likely to be able to pay their rents during the continuance of their leases' as the ground they farmed was 'barely enough to feed a small family.'<sup>28</sup>

In a letter dated 11 July 1825, Haigh noted that the Irish estate remained 'quiet and orderly' although an air of fear was prevalent amongst the Protestant tenantry. Haigh however did not particularly understand its significance and many Protestant tenants felt this was because he was an Englishman and as such could not comprehend the cultural differences that existed in Ireland.<sup>29</sup> In terms of estate management, Haigh's appointment as land agent at Coollattin suggested a certain amount of integration between the two estates as he had received his training on the Wentworth estate. Thus while this appointment made economic sense, crucially it was difficult for Haigh to immerse himself in the religious and sectarian antagonisms that characterised the Wicklow estate in the aftermath of the 1798 rebellion. The retirement of Lord Liverpool, the Tory prime minister in 1827 greatly aided the Catholic cause.<sup>30</sup> Within two years, in 1829, 'with astonishing suddenness' Catholic emancipation was finally granted.<sup>31</sup> However, this did little to address issues of land reform or issues of increasing impoverishment.

E. A. Smith contends the fourth earl's personal involvement in the quest for Catholic emancipation lessened considerably from 1807 when a motion by Earl Grey was defeated by 291 votes to 105. However, he remained an ardent supporter. In many respects, he never baulked in his Burkean view that the means of pacifying Ireland was by granting Catholics civil rights while equally lessening the political power of the

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<sup>28</sup> William Haigh to Earl Fitzwilliam, 30 Dec. 1822 (S.A., WWM/F79/152-1).

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 11 Jul. 1825 (S.A., WWM/F89/203).

<sup>30</sup> Hill, *The early parties and politics*, p.159.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 420-1.

Protestant ascendancy.<sup>32</sup> Many Protestants on the Wicklow estate felt that the granting of Catholic emancipation would undermine their hegemony. In reality, the power dynamic was virtually unchanged after the introduction of emancipation. Yet, the earl's liberal position on this issue created sectarian distrust among his tenantry. While on the one hand, Catholics felt encouraged by the tolerance of the earl; on the other, the Protestants were aggrieved by the earl's level of support for the legislation. The Protestants' fears were unfounded however, as the Reform Act introduced three years later nullified any political gains granted by emancipation.

#### 4.4 'the illusion of reform' - Yorkshire and the first Reform Act (1832)<sup>33</sup>

The death of King George IV in 1830 also marked a turning point in the future fifth earl's political ambitions. A decade earlier, Milton, the future fifth earl, had been a strong supporter of the Corn Laws. Until 1821, Milton was of the view that the House of Commons 'did virtually represent the people', although a greater examination of the workings of governance aided by 'a greater maturity of judgement' led him to alter his views. He found himself privy to how the House of Commons 'act [ed] in complete and avowed opposition to the sense and wishes of the people' and as a result became a vehement opponent of the Corn Laws.<sup>34</sup> He henceforth became a firm advocate for reform and in 1825 called for a bill that would erode the hegemony of the 'great proprietors, the oligarchy of Ireland'.<sup>35</sup> In the general election that followed on from the king's death, Milton chose not to stand for the county. Commenting on this decision the

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<sup>32</sup> E. A. Smith, *Whig principles and party politics: Earl Fitzwilliam and the Whig party, 1748-1833* (Manchester, 1975), p. 175; p. 264.

<sup>33</sup> Norman Gash, *Pillars of government and other essays on society and state, c.1770 – c.1880* (Baltimore, MD, 1986), p. 81. This is a quote from Daniel Sykes to Lord Milton, 9 Jul. 1830 concerning the state of Yorkshire politics.

<sup>34</sup> *Hansard* 2, i [*Reform of parliament*, H.C. Deb., 17 Apr. 1821, vol. v, cc359-439].

<sup>35</sup> Ellis Archer Wasson, 'The great Whigs and parliamentary reform, 1809-30' in *Journal of British Studies*, xxiv (1985), pp 434-64; p. 461.

*Sheffield Mercury*, a mouthpiece of the Whig Party, viewed this announcement ‘more as a matter of regret than surprise’.<sup>36</sup> The reason purported by the future earl was his ‘father’s advanced years’ which he feared would force him to relinquish his seat in order to take over the running of his family estates. Having served Yorkshire ‘so ably for nearly a quarter of a century’ his exit from political life undoubtedly created a chasm that had to be bridged and caused confusion amongst the electorate as evidenced by the correspondence.<sup>37</sup>

Though Milton outwardly voiced his support of Henry Brougham to fill the Yorkshire seat, personal correspondence suggests he was less than pleased by the prospect of the Scottish man’s election to parliament as Yorkshire’s representative. In an undated letter to John Nussey, a business man in Leeds, Milton expressed his wish that the future representative ‘could be found in the county ... before we have recourse to a stranger, however talented.’<sup>38</sup> Consequently, at a subsequent meeting in York, Lord Morpeth of Castle Howard was unanimously nominated as the county’s representative, while Brougham’s nomination took longer to secure.<sup>39</sup> Both candidates were elected and honoured at a dinner in Sheffield on 27 September which was presided over by Milton who was accompanied by 230 of the county’s gentleman.<sup>40</sup>

On 1 November 1830, Milton’s wife, Lady Mary, died in premature labour.<sup>41</sup> At the end of that month, the Sheffield Political Union was founded. The organisation was structured along the lines of the Birmingham Political Union which was established by

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<sup>36</sup> *Sheffield Mercury*, 3 Jul. 1830.

<sup>37</sup> Sir F. L. Wood to Lord Milton, 27 Jun. 1830 (S.A., WWM/G2/2a), p. 1. Sir Francis Lindsey Wood became the 2<sup>nd</sup> Baronet of Barnsley in 1795. Through each of the previous five elections, 1807, 1812, 1818, 1826 and 1830, Wood had either proposed or seconded Milton’s nomination.

<sup>38</sup> Lord Milton to John Nussey, undated (S.A., WWM/G2/15).

<sup>39</sup> Thomas Dundas to Lord Milton, 23 Jul. 1830 (S.A., WWM/G2/14), pp 1-2.

<sup>40</sup> *The Times*, 30 Sep. 1830.

<sup>41</sup> The death of Lady Mary in 1830 meant that there was no Countess Fitzwilliam from 1824 to 1857 until William Thomas Spencer succeeded his father as the sixth earl Fitzwilliam.

Thomas Attwood and fifteen others in 1829. At the core of these associations was the protection of civil rights. Deploying a strategy used by O'Connell during the fight for emancipation, Eric Evans estimates that approximately 130 such groups appeared throughout the period 1830 to 1832 accompanied by large scale political meetings with one 'objective, parliamentary reform.'<sup>42</sup> While the broader impact of legislation mattered nationally, it mattered little to the Fitzwilliam tenantry. Consequently, estate management practices on both estates were not unduly affected by the concern of high politics. The ideal of the Reform Act was aimed at improving the electoral system, its implementation still excluded the majority of the Fitzwilliam tenantry in Wicklow and Yorkshire because of the valuation of their freeholds.

In December 1830, Thomas Orme, secretary of the Sheffield Political Union, wrote to Milton requesting that he act as the organisation's patron given that the primary aim of the association was to instigate political reform, a cause that Milton had supported.<sup>43</sup> Yet, he declined and it was at this juncture that Milton's professed liberal thinking was tested. Article one of the objectives of the Sheffield Political Union was to ensure a 'real and effectual representation of the lower and middle classes of the people' in government.<sup>44</sup> However, Milton was a product of his social class and upbringing. Liberty through reform, as he conceived it, offered a more mutually inclusive representation that considered the opinions of the various strata of society, upper, middle and lower in equal measure. These decisions, he believed, were the preserve of his class - wealthy, educated individuals who could ponder issues

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<sup>42</sup> Eric Evans, *The shaping of modern Britain: identity, industry and empire, 1780-1914* (Abingdon, 2011), p. 211.

<sup>43</sup> Thomas Orme to Lord Milton, 28 Dec. 1830 (S.A., WWM/G87/7).

<sup>44</sup> David Gratton, 'Paternalism, politics and estate management: the fifth earl Fitzwilliam, 1786-1857' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Sheffield, 1999), p. 22.

concerning the fate of all.<sup>45</sup> Although privately Milton's political philosophy empathised with the objectives of the Sheffield Political Union and his own practical training in estate management fostered a sense of paternal responsibility, in this instance, his personal beliefs and his professional responsibility collided. Much to the disappointment of the Sheffield Political Union professional responsibility prevailed and he declined the offer.

By the end of the month, the movement for reform had reached fever pitch across the country, meetings were held, petitions prepared for submission to parliament and rumours abounded of what the outcome would hold for the populace. The *Sheffield Mercury* reported on one such meeting in Sheffield in December 1830 and recounted how the event was most agreeable. A 'petition embodying all the most liberal rational reformers' aspirations was presented to Lord Morpeth and the duke of Norfolk for presentation in the parliamentary houses.<sup>46</sup> Despite the successes of the political unions in advancing the programme for electoral change, few would have envisaged when it was presented by John Russell in the House of Commons in March 1831 that it would take a further fifteen months to enact.<sup>47</sup>

The second reading of the bill secured the necessary majority and it passed through the House of Commons in September 1831. At a county meeting in the West-Riding, Milton and Morpeth's speeches attempted to cajole the Lords into supporting the bill, though their efforts were in vain.<sup>48</sup> The bill encountered stiff resistance in the Lords, despite the fact that an additional twenty-five Whig peer had been added to the

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., pp 22-3.

<sup>46</sup> *Sheffield Mercury*, 4 Dec. 1830.

<sup>47</sup> Samuel Allen to Lord Milton, 24 May 1831 (S.A., WWM/G8/7).

<sup>48</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 15 Oct. 1831.



house. The motion was deliberated over for more than a week, until ultimately on 8 October 1831 the bill was defeated.

As a result, the political unions began to mobilise their members with great effect, but riots became the order of the day. In Bristol, much of the central district of the city was razed to the ground by an angry mob following rejection of the bill by the House of Lords. This resulted in the death of twelve people while a further 100 were wounded in the incident.<sup>49</sup> In Yorkshire, or at least on the Fitzwilliam estate, the mood was less volatile.

During 1832, miners' strikes spread across the coalfields of England, while in a display of solidarity with the working-class, the country's middle-class withdrew their wealth from the nation's banks. The Bank of England reserves were depleted by 40 percent as taxpayers simply refused to pay taxes. Lord Milton firmly supported this stance.<sup>50</sup> Finally, bowing to public pressure after fifteen months of heated discourse, the political deadlock was broken and the act pertaining to England and Wales was passed into law in June 1832.<sup>51</sup>

Though the first Reform Act did bring about a new form of governance, its effects were unevenly distributed. Asa Briggs states that: 'the new system of representation ... increase[d] the total electorate by about 50 percent, [giving] one Englishman in five' the vote (in Scotland, the figure was one in eight and in Ireland one

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<sup>49</sup> D. G. Wright, *Popular radicalism: the working class experience, 1780-1880* (Abingdon, 2013), pp 90-1.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91; for information on Milton's resistance please see *Hansard 3, i [Parliamentary Reform – Bill for England, Lords' amendments, H.C. Deb., 5 Jun. 1832, vol. xiii, cc407-62]*.

<sup>51</sup> Two separate acts governing Ireland and Scotland were also introduced at this point. In the case of Ireland, the new legislation incited limited change increasing the number of seats in parliament by five to 105, by conferring a second seat on Belfast, Galway, Limerick, Waterford and Dublin University. From an electorate point of view, it was largely insignificant as the Chandos clause continued to marginalise against political participation. The main differences being that occupiers of property of £10 and above were now eligible to register as were members of trade guilds.

in twenty).<sup>52</sup> Yorkshire from 1832 was divided into three constituencies contiguous with each of the boundary divisions that contained a registered electorate of 33,154. The county's newly enfranchised cities and towns which included Leeds, Sheffield, Bradford and the towns of Wakefield, Huddersfield, Hull and Whitby had their electorate increased to 44,260. Eleven boroughs had existed pre-reform and these registered 11,179 voters which brought the county total to 55,439, or slightly in excess of 4 percent of Yorkshire's 1.3 million population, a far cry from 50 percent representation.<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, the inclusion of clause twenty, or the Chandos clause as it was known, undoubtedly provided a protectionist policy for the elitist interests in the county, which placed an economic value on the ballot box.<sup>54</sup> This clause extended the vote to tenants-at-will whose annual rental was £50 or more and in so doing, created a cohort whose voting rights could be largely dictated by their landlords, thus preserving the landed interest.<sup>55</sup> Prior to the enactment of the bill, Milton vehemently and vocally opposed this clause and quickly drew parallels with Ireland. He was apprehensive that this bill would serve to entice English landowners to treat their 'tenants-at-will franchise' in the same manner as the 'Irish landlords [had] with respect to the[ir] 40s. freeholders' as nothing more than affluent serfs.<sup>56</sup>

The middle and working classes in the West-Riding felt duped by a system that offered much yet delivered little.<sup>57</sup> Tensions continued to escalate with rioting in Sheffield in December which resulted in loss of life including W. Asline Ward, the

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<sup>52</sup> Asa Briggs, *The age of improvement, 1783-1867* (2nd ed., Essex, 2006), p. 229.

<sup>53</sup> Phillip Salmon, *Electoral reform at work: local politics and national parties, 1832-41* (Suffolk, 2002), pp 174-82; pp 257-64.

<sup>54</sup> Briggs, *The age of improvement*, p. 228.

<sup>55</sup> John Beckett, *The rise and fall of the Grenvilles, dukes of Buckingham and Chandos, 1710-1921* (Manchester, 1994), p. 115.

<sup>56</sup> *Hansard* 3, i [*Parliamentary Reform Bill for England*, H.C. Deb., 1 Feb. 1832, vol. ix, cc1100-44].

<sup>57</sup> J. C. Ramsden to Lord Milton, 11 Aug. 1832 (S.A., WWM/G9/4).

founder of the Sheffield Political Union.<sup>58</sup> Interestingly, Milton was returned as M.P. for Northamptonshire North in the 1832 election. Eric J. Evans suggests that the Whig administration believed the Reform Act could stabilise the nation by diffusing revolutionary elements while safeguarding the party's own position as stalwarts of the country.<sup>59</sup> Ironically, the Whigs myopic vision of an egalitarian parliament did not extend beyond the middle classes. Beneath the middle class lay a burgeoning working class now organised, albeit it in fractured associations, who were determined to improve their lot. Meagre concessions to a select few and the continued polarisation of the majority population was simply not conducive with a harmonious society. Hence, it was inevitable that these groups would rise again against the landed classes, the only question remaining was when? However, Milton had more pressing issues of a personal nature to contend with. On 8 February 1833, the fourth earl died at Milton House near Peterborough. He was eighty-five years old. On that day Milton, now described as 'a conspicuously public character as M.P. for Yorkshire, and latterly for Northamptonshire' succeeded to the earldom, while his eldest son William Charles inherited the title of Viscount Milton.<sup>60</sup>

#### 4.5 'Prisons for the poor' - the New Poor Law, Yorkshire (1834 & 1838) - Yorkshire

Writing on the Poor Law Amendment Act and its effect on England and Wales, David Englander distinguishes it as: 'the single most important piece of social

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<sup>58</sup> Earl of Wharcliffe to Earl of Harewood, 15 Dec. 1832 (N.A., H.O./52/20/294-5); see also Earl of Harewood to Viscount Melbourne, 16 Dec. 1832 (N.A., H.O./52/20/297-9), available at: the National Archives (Kew) (<http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C1905592#imageViewerLink>) (15 Nov. 2014).

<sup>59</sup> Eric J. Evans, *The great Reform Act of 1832* (2nd ed., London, 1994), p. 1.

<sup>60</sup> Obituary of Earl Fitzwilliam in Sylvanus Urban, *The gentleman's magazine and historical chronicle* (103 vols, London, 1833) ciii, part 1, pp 365-7; p. 367.

legislation ever enacted' as it impacted every aspect of Victorian life.<sup>61</sup> By 1832, Lord Grey had established a Poor Law Commission to examine the workings of the Victorian welfare system. Two years later, the commission published its findings together with a series of recommendations concerning the administration of poor relief.<sup>62</sup> Consequently, these latter proposals underpinned the 1834 act replacing the Elizabethan poor law of 1601. Though referred to as an amendment, in truth, it was a radical departure from all previous provisions. Parishes that had administered poor relief previously were henceforth replaced by newly formed unions.

Poverty was an expensive outlay at the turn of the century with the cost of relieving the poor of Great Britain equating to almost £4,000,000. By 1831, this figure has soared to £6,800,000.<sup>63</sup> At the second reading of the bill in the House of Commons in 1834, Mr Robert Algionby Slaney, an elected representative for the borough of Shrewsbury described the harsh realities facing Victorian society by stating that: 'the increase in paupers had kept pace with [the] increase [in] population ... in 1811, they amounted to 1 in 8; in 1821 to 1 in 7; and, [by] 1827 [they accounted for] 1 in 6' or 1,850,000 of the country's population.<sup>64</sup> These numbers were conservative as Slaney continued that in a number of instances he was aware of parishes in which 50 percent of the population were destitute.<sup>65</sup>

From the commissioners' report, it appears that a variety of coping mechanisms existed depending upon the type of relief required and one's geographical position.

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<sup>61</sup> David Englander, *Poverty and poor-law reform in nineteenth-century Britain, 1834-1914: from Chadwick to Booth* (Abingdon, 2013), p. 1.

<sup>62</sup> *Report from his Majesty's commissioners for inquiring into the administration and practical operation of the poor laws 1834*, H.C., 1834 (44).

<sup>63</sup> Census of Great Britain, 1831, enumeration abstract (part 1), p. viii.

<sup>64</sup> *Hansard 3, i [Amendment to the poor laws (England)]*, H.C. Deb., 9 May 1834, vol. xxiii, cc805-42].

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

Outdoor relief for the able-bodied was administered as benefit in kind or more often as part payment of rent. In rare instances, cash payments were also given to those in need. The latter frequently occurred in Devon, while the former practice was favoured across Yorkshire's West-Riding. John Drumelzier Tweedy, assistant commissioner, expressed his view that in Yorkshire this system of benefit-in-kind was 'a mode of relief mischievous in its effects and liable to great abuse.'<sup>66</sup>

Tweedy, while conducting his examination of this area, found that in relation to providing 'profitable employment to the poor' few in the West-Riding had complied with this apart from a sprinkling of townships near Doncaster and pertinently from the point of view of this thesis, the Fitzwilliam estate at Wentworth. Such was the success of these limited enterprises that Tweedy felt compelled to recommend it as a strategy to be adopted nationally. He understood that the success of such a recommendation was dependent upon the full support of the landowners, such as Fitzwilliam. He was also astute enough to warn against 'the dangers of it creating a cottier population resembling that of Ireland'.<sup>67</sup>

Specific to the Wentworth estate, examination of Rotherham parish's expenditure for 1821 and 1831 which was responsible for six townships on the estate demonstrates that poor relief remained largely static over the decade, declining slightly from £3,831 in 1821 to £3,787 ten years later. By November 1832, the workhouse in Rotherham had twenty inmates, seven males and thirteen females. Of the males, six were elderly while one was under nine years of age. Three females were under nine, while one was elderly with the remainder suffering from ill-health. The building was

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<sup>66</sup> *Report from his Majesty's commissioners for inquiring into the administration and practical operation of the poor laws 1834*, p. 11.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 730A.

deemed hazardous as a consequence of the sickness that prevailed. To the north-east of Rotherham, forty or fifty inmates were recorded at the workhouse in Rawmarsh. Analysis of the workhouse documents expose the prejudices that existed between the various social classes. Tweedy, obviously a man of means given his position felt outdoor relief should be dispensed with in favour of the workhouse. This he determined, would act as a deterrent and lessen the financial burden on society.<sup>68</sup>

Outdoor relief was generally paid at 1*s.* with an additional allowance of 1*s.* 6*d.* for each child under the age of nine. In Kimberworth, relief was paid at a rate of 5*s.* for both man and wife with the normal rate applied thereafter according to the number of children under nine in each family. The majority of poor in this township comprised agricultural labourers although some were metal workers who had previously been employed in Walkers' ironworks in Masborough. A lesser portion again were involved in mining pursuits. The closure of a linen factory as well as the scaling down of the ironworks, which at one point employed 300, compounded the level of destitution in the area. By 1832, only fifteen workers were employed there. Despite this, Tweedy was of the opinion that financial relief had rendered the labourers an 'improvident and careless' class.<sup>69</sup>

Prior to 1834, poor-rates were levied on all rateable property throughout the parish as a means of financing the archaic welfare system. The rate charged on cottages was approximately 33 percent less than that of other buildings and was generally paid by the landlord. As a means of lessening the burden, Fitzwilliam granted certain farmers permission to sublet portions of land as gardens for an annual rent of £3 which

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p. 845A-6A.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p. 846A.

he calculated would be sufficient to offset the cost of the tax. For those unable to sublet, the earl set aside approximately eight acres of land which he subdivided into a number of smaller lots and made them available to cottiers for an annual rent of 3s.<sup>70</sup> Thus, at Wentworth the earl was micro-managing his estate something he was unable to do in Wicklow.

The New Poor Law enacted in August 1834 abolished outdoor relief. Thus, the only avenue remaining for the poor was as an inmate in the workhouse. It further stipulated that conditions in such institutions should be made as dire as possible in order to repel people from seeking assistance.<sup>71</sup> In theory, this undoubtedly would have a dual effect, as reduced numbers would result in less expenditure, while those devoid of hope and willing to accept a place would be removed from sight and would no longer be a constant reminder of how this stratified society treated the most vulnerable amongst them. Parishes that were large enough to warrant a workhouse could remain independent while those incapable of operating alone would be grouped together to form unions with each united union expected to construct a workhouse. All workhouses were to be administered by an elected Board of Guardians whose responsibility it was to oversee the management of the facility. In addition, guardians were also accountable for collecting the poor rate within their district and reporting to a central commission. This central authority continually monitored the implementation of the act at a national level.<sup>72</sup>

Under the new act, the relief of destitution on the Fitzwilliam estate in Yorkshire was overseen by three poor law unions which were established between 1837 and 1850,

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid., p. 848A.

<sup>71</sup> L. J. Donaldson and R. J. Donaldson, *Essential public health* (2nd ed. rev., Plymouth, 2003), p. 170.

<sup>72</sup> *A bill for the amendment and better administration of the laws relating to the poor in England and Wales, 1834*, pp 1-49, 1834 (211), iii.235 (4 Will. IV).

that of Rotherham, Barnsley and Wortley. Of the three institutions, Rotherham was the most important as it was responsible for providing relief to nine of the fourteen townships which constituted the core estate and contained a total population of 25,881.<sup>73</sup> Perhaps more significantly, the Board of Guardians elected the fifth earl Fitzwilliam as chairman of its board at its inaugural meeting in Rotherham courthouse on 3 July 1837.<sup>74</sup> The new union comprised twenty-seven parishes of the West-Riding and one additional parish located in Derby. Each parish elected one guardian as their representative with the exception of Rotherham, Kimberworth and Handsworth whose large populations warranted the appointment of two representatives.<sup>75</sup> The Board of Guardians were guided in the early stages by a set of instructions furnished by the commissioners.<sup>76</sup> These were further supplemented by correspondence detailing the duties of the guardians.<sup>77</sup>

In addition to electing its board, the first sitting also resolved that a workhouse would be constructed with the capacity to accommodate 350. At the second meeting a week later, a list of paupers residing in Rotherham, Greasbrough and Kimberworth was circulated among the members. It was decided that a relief officer would visit each of these paupers to ascertain their present condition and thereafter report findings to the board. Until the new workhouse was built, the board decided that in the interim period outdoor relief would continue in the form of money and bread. Finally, in October 1837, a 5-acre site was procured for the sum of £1,000. The following May, a loan application for £6,000 was made to the Sheffield and Rotherham Bank for the purposes

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<sup>73</sup> Poor law commissioners: creation of the Rotherham Union 1837 (S.A., WWM/H/175); For details on population see A. Bingley to Earl Fitzwilliam, 3 Jul. 1838 (S.A., WWM/ G83/273).

<sup>74</sup> Margaret Drinkall, *Rotherham workhouse* (Kindle edition, Gloucestershire, 2013), chapter 2.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

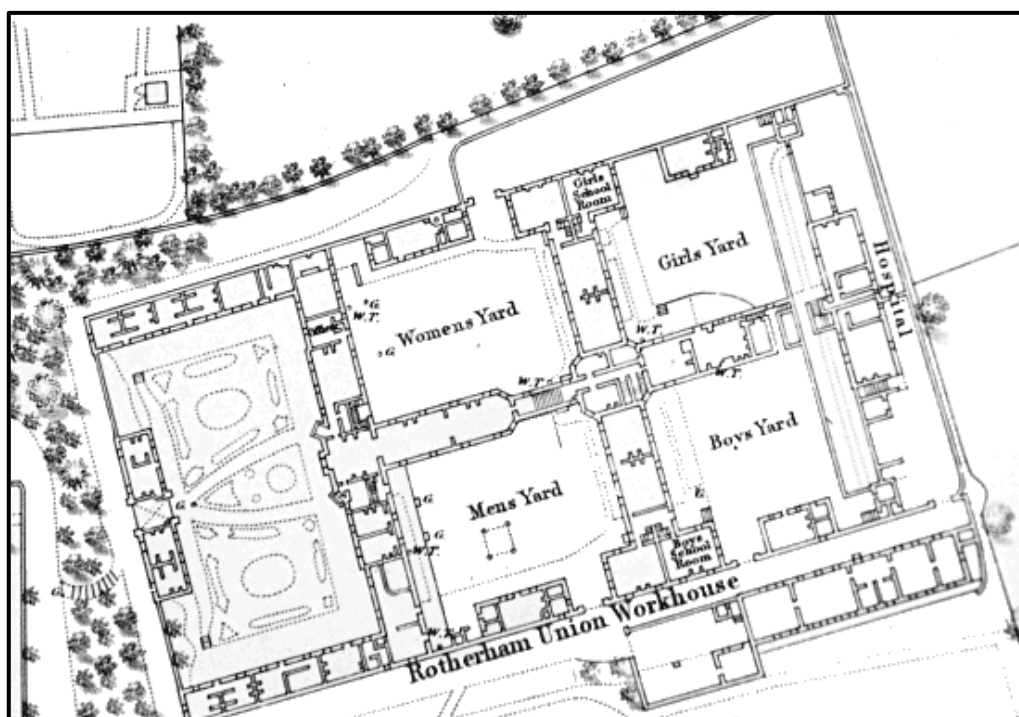
<sup>76</sup> Poor law commissioners: instructions to guardians 1837 (S.A., WWM/H/174).

<sup>77</sup> Orders setting out the duties of guardians of Rotherham Union 1837 (S.A., WWM/H/177).



of covering building costs which was agreed on 5 June 1838. In 1839 an additional sum of £800 was required to complete the building works.<sup>78</sup> The positions of master and matron, medical officer, school master and school-mistress were subsequently advertised and duly filled when the workhouse opened in 1840. A policy of segregating family members was adopted. Women were housed in one wing, while males were confined to another (see Fig. 4.1).

**Fig. 4.1 Rotherham workhouse site c. 1851<sup>79</sup>**



Examination of the Board of Guardian minutes for Rotherham Union from 1837 to 1839 reveals the type of assistance sought by paupers, and the manner in which this was furnished. The majority of cases pertained to pregnant unmarried women. The board began proceedings by making an application on the woman's behalf to secure maintenance from the father for his illegitimate child. This is consistent with the so-

<sup>78</sup> *Sixth annual report of the poor law commissioners* (London, 1840), p. 426.

<sup>79</sup> Plan of Rotherham workhouse site c. 1851, available at *The workhouse: the story of an institution* (<http://www.workhouses.org.uk/Rotherham/#Records>) (20 Nov. 2014).

called ‘bastardy clause’ contained in the new act which was highly contentious and was partially rescinded in 1844.<sup>80</sup> In January 1838, petitions from residents on the Wentworth estate included Avril Hoyland, Sarah Sykes and Hannah Denton of Swinton and their respective offspring.<sup>81</sup> Peter Day of Wentworth made application to the board in February that same year. Day stated he was ill and was granted a loan of 2s. per week to purchase bread until he had returned to full health.<sup>82</sup> Two weeks later, the board ordered that the wages of Joshua Best, an employee of Messrs Taylor earthenware manufacturers at Rawmarsh should be given up to support his elderly mother.<sup>83</sup>

The board also dealt with desertion. Thomas Copley of Brampton Bierlow was apprehended by the authorities after he deserted his children. The board ruled that an order should be made to commit him to the Wakefield House of Correction until such time as the Sheffield sessions met and Copley’s fate could be decided by the relevant authorities.<sup>84</sup> Similarly, Francis Barwick was brought before the magistrates and ordered to pay maintenance in respect of the upkeep of his parents.<sup>85</sup> However, abuse of the system was also apparent. Following the opening of the workhouse in 1840, John Sylvester arrived in a supposed state of unconsciousness as a consequence of a stroke. It later transpired that Sylvester’s unconsciousness had no medical aetiology but rather was induced by his excessive drinking at the Red Bear public house in Rotherham.<sup>86</sup>

The fifth earl and his eldest son Lord Milton were strong advocates of the new system in England, viewing it as ‘eminently conducive to the comfort of those who are

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<sup>80</sup> Thomas Nutt, ‘Illegitimacy, paternal financial responsibility and the 1834 poor law commission report: the myth of the old poor law and the making of the new’ in *Economic History Review*, lxxiii (2010), pp 335-61; p. 335.

<sup>81</sup> Rotherham Board of Guardian minutes, 1837-48, (R.A.L.S, MS 279/A), entry 1 Jan. 1838; 8 Jan. 1838.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, entry 5 Feb. 1838.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, entry 19 Feb. 1838.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, entry 2 Sep. 1839.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, entry 21 Oct. 1839.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, entry 19 Oct. 1840.

objects of charity’, while ‘protect[ing] the public purse against those who have no just claims upon it’. However, many in the industrial north vehemently opposed it.<sup>87</sup> Nicholas Edsall notes that: ‘every major town in the textile districts held at least one public anti-poor law meeting’ in the opening weeks of 1837 which was attended predominantly by perspective ratepayers.<sup>88</sup> This hostility did not appear to exist in the Rotherham Union where Fitzwilliam was chair of the Board of Guardians and fully supportive of the measure. Speaking in the House of Lords one week after the inaugural meeting of Rotherham workhouse, Earl Fitzwilliam reported that: ‘not the slightest symptom of dissatisfaction had been expressed’ concerning the establishment of the union.<sup>89</sup> Yet, approximately twenty-eight miles north-west in Huddersfield, one of the county’s most vocal opponents of the new system, Richard Oastler, perceived the act as ‘an attempt by financial and industrial interests, abetted by a governing class which had forgotten its social obligations, to deprive the working classes of what economic rights and security they still retained’, a view shared by many conservatives.<sup>90</sup>

Though Oastler’s rhetoric undoubtedly generated ill-feeling that extended far beyond Huddersfield, on the Fitzwilliam estate the residents of Brampton Bierlow had other issues to contend with. Writing to the earl from Hemingfield near Barnsley in May 1838, John Birks placed the plight of the ratepayers in context. Although willing, they were unable to pay the rates required for the creation of the new workhouse. Twelve of the principal ratepayers had approached the commissioners with the intention of auctioning off a portion of the land around the town that amounted to 8 acres. However, the commissioners had refused to sanction such a measure. The land was of

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<sup>87</sup> Address by Lord Milton to the gentlemen, clergy, freeholders and other electors of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 3 Jun. 1841 (S.A., WWM/G6/3).

<sup>88</sup> Nicholas C. Edsall, *The anti-poor law movement, 1834-44* (Manchester, 1971), p. 69.

<sup>89</sup> *Hansard* 3, i [*The New Poor Law*, H.L. Deb., 10 Jul. 1837, vol. xxxviii, cc1847-9].

<sup>90</sup> Edsall, *The anti-poor law movement*, p. 60.

little use as it had fallen into a state of bad cultivation, despite a valuation which estimated its worth at £700, a sum that would cover their contribution and also leave a balance which could be used to repair cottages in the village of West Melton. Birks requested that the earl intervene on this occasion in an effort to persuade the commissioners to agree to the proposal.<sup>91</sup> However, the estate records only contain one-way correspondence and it is impossible to ascertain if he agreed to become involved.

On Sunday 6 June 1841, the fifth census of Great Britain took place. It recorded a total of 139 inhabitants residing in the Rotherham workhouse, sixty-nine or 50 percent of whom were male while the remainder were female. Of this total, 136 were listed as paupers. The three other individuals were employees. Forty of the paupers were children under the age of ten.<sup>92</sup> Closer analysis of the inmates reveals that poverty was not confined to a particular social cohort. Whole families were listed including the Flints which included George, aged thirty-three, his wife Sarah, twenty-five and the couple's two children, four-year-old Joseph and two-year-old Emma. Four-year-old Charlotte Elam appears to have been an orphan as no other person by that name was recorded, or possibly, she was one of many illegitimate children that began life in the Victorian workhouse. Similarly, the elderly was represented by individuals such as seventy-nine-year-old Benjamin Gray.<sup>93</sup> Though the majority of inmates were Yorkshire-born, two were of Scottish birth while four gave their origin as Ireland, including fifty-year-old Michael Heely.<sup>94</sup> By the time of the next census in 1851 the number of inhabitants had fallen to 100. Five of these were employees of the union

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<sup>91</sup> John Birks to Earl Fitzwilliam, 19 May 1838 (S.A., WWM/G83/270).

<sup>92</sup> Census of Great Britain, 1841, Rotherham Union Workhouse, pp 1-6.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

including the governor, John Boyes, a forty-seven-year-old gentleman originally from Sheffield. Thus, ninety-five individuals were now dependent on the facility for their existence.<sup>95</sup> The gender bias in this instance was 56 per cent male and 44 per cent female. Approximately one-fifth of these were children under ten years.<sup>96</sup>

The Wortley Poor Law Union was founded on 21 August 1838 and also provided assistance to Fitzwilliam's tenants who were resident in Tankersley parish. The Barnsley Union further north, was one of the last to be established and did not come into effect until 15 January 1850. The new workhouse at Gawber Road was completed in 1852 to the designs of William Mawson and Henry Lockwood, two Yorkshire architects. It cost approximately £6,000 to construct and had the capacity to accommodate 300.<sup>97</sup> Until construction work was completed, relief was administered from the original workhouse at St Mary's Place. From 1852, the new union provided relief to seventeen constituent townships and parishes, including Darfield, Wombwell and Nether Hoyland, which formed part of the Wentworth estate.<sup>98</sup> In 1856, Ann Wood and her four children of Nether Hoyland sought assistance from the union as her husband had deserted her. She was awarded £15 12s. Similarly, Bridget Robinson of Nether Hoyland turned to the board to support herself and her two children when her husband absconded. She was awarded £12 that year. Another example was Ann Ashton of Wombwell who was unable to care for her two children. She was granted £4 7s. by the union.<sup>99</sup> When those availing of poor relief are examined in detail, the number of Fitzwilliam's Yorkshire tenantry constitutes a small portion of the overall

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<sup>95</sup> Census of Great Britain, 1851, Rotherham civil parish, enumeration district 5H, p. 61.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 61-6.

<sup>97</sup> Isaac Slater, *Slater's royal national commercial directory of the northern counties: Durham, Northumberland and Yorkshire* (2 vols, Manchester, 1864), i, p. 8.

<sup>98</sup> Rowland Jackson, *The history of the town and townships of Barnsley, in Yorkshire, from an early period* (London, 1858), p. 137.

<sup>99</sup> Barnsley Union printed accounts, 1855-6 (W.Y.A.S., John Goodchild collection, poor).

total (see Table 4.2). Poverty on the Fitzwilliam estate in Yorkshire was far from endemic when compared with statistics on the other side of the Irish Sea.<sup>100</sup>

**Table 4.2 Analysis of Fitzwilliam townships with inmates in Rotherham workhouse, 1851**<sup>101</sup>

Township	No. of males	No. of female	Of total pop. aged <10	Total no. of inmates
<b>Brampton Bierlow</b>	1	0	1	1
<b>Greasbrough</b>	1	1	0	2
<b>Hooton Roberts</b>	0	1	0	1
<b>Kimberworth</b>	0	0	0	0
<b>Rawmarsh</b>	0	0	0	0
<b>Swinton</b>	1	0	0	1
<b>Tinsley</b>	2	3	0	5
<b>Wath</b>	3	2	1	5
<b>Wentworth</b>	4	1	0	5

The introduction of the New Poor Law in 1834 was an important piece of social legislation. Its objectives in some respects complemented the paternalistic ideals of the fifth earl who fundamentally believed it was the duty of his class to assist those less fortunate. However, over time the establishment of workhouses rather than offering a solution exacerbated the problems experienced by the poor. The introduction of the poor law on the Yorkshire estate had little overall impact, but it highlighted the plight of the poor to the estate's administration. However, although some altering of estate management practice was necessary in Yorkshire, restructuring on a wide scale was

<sup>100</sup> For comparative analysis of poverty in Yorkshire and Shillelagh please compare Table 6.2 and Table 6.3 and 6.4.

<sup>101</sup> This analysis is derived from the Census of Great Britain, 1851, Rotherham civil parish, enumeration district 5H, pp 61-6. Thorpe Hesley is partially located in Kimberworth but primarily in Wentworth and hence included in Wentworth's figures. Similarly, Kilnhurst is centrally located in Swinton and Rawmarsh townships and so here, it is included in Swinton's figures.

unnecessary. Though the new poor law came into effect in England and Wales in 1834, it did not become law in Ireland until 1838 and Scotland until 1845.<sup>102</sup>

#### 4.6 'A poverty-stricken class' – the New Poor Law, Ireland 1838

The Irish Poor Law of 1838 was a replica of the British model. Over the course of the preceding four years, the British model had become more refined and by 1839, there were 583 poor laws unions in England and Wales.<sup>103</sup> However, the situation in Ireland stood in stark contrast to its British counterpart, as the levels of poverty in Ireland were significantly worse.<sup>104</sup> Ireland was divided into 130 poor law unions. Similar to the British model each of these contained a workhouse which was administered by a Board of Guardians.<sup>105</sup> Although the earl was an absentee landlord in Wicklow, his influence on the implementation of the Irish Poor Law was nonetheless significant. He took an active interest in the establishment and operation of the Board of Guardians in Shillelagh, where his Irish agent represented him on the board.<sup>106</sup>

A decade prior to the introduction of the Irish Poor Law, pre-Famine Irish society was deeply afflicted by widespread poverty. Climatic conditions, economic depression in the post-war years after 1815, and recurrent famine in 1800, 1807, 1822 and at various intervals throughout the 1830s merely compounded the misery experienced by the population. Within the confines of Westminster, British statesmen were acutely aware of the distress. In July 1830, the duke of Wellington, then prime minister, wrote to the duke of Northumberland that starvation in Ireland caused him

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<sup>102</sup> *An act for the amendment and better administration of the laws relating to the relief of the poor in Scotland, 1845* (8 & 9 Vict., c. lxxxiii).

<sup>103</sup> *Fifth annual report of the poor law commissioners with appendices*, p. 118, H.C. 1839 (239) xx.

<sup>104</sup> *Poor Laws – Ireland. Three reports by Sir George Nicholls, Esq., to her Majesty's principal secretary of state for the Home department* (London, 1838), p. 100.

<sup>105</sup> *An act for the more effectual relief of the destitute power in Ireland, 1838* (1 Vict., c. lvi).

<sup>106</sup> Graham Mee, *Aristocratic enterprise: the Fitzwilliam industrial undertakings, 1795-1857* (London, 1975), p. 19.

‘more uneasiness than any other evil existing in the United Kingdom’.<sup>107</sup> Wellington correctly prophesied that Ireland’s increasing population would trigger an event that would result in loss of life on an unprecedented scale.<sup>108</sup> In 1821, the population of Ireland stood at 6.8 million.<sup>109</sup> By 1831, that number had increased by 15 percent to 7.8 million people. Fifteen years later, the country was ravaged by the Great Irish Famine.

Estate records confirm that as early as 1827 the issue of poverty was evident on the Wicklow estate. In correspondence with Lord Milton in June 1827, Chaloner Snr attached a paper entitled *A plan for lessening pauperism* and sought Milton’s thoughts on the matter. This paper written by Thomas Chalmers, a Scottish minister in Glasgow detailed how the establishment of a charitable association could offer relief to the poor. Chaloner advised Milton that he was aware of a particular case where William Steuart Trench had implemented the plan to great effect on the Shirley estate in county Monaghan as the number of paupers in that area had decreased significantly.<sup>110</sup>

However, by 1830, Fitzwilliam’s agent had other matters to contend with including negative publicity that reached the corridors of Westminster. Coollattin became embroiled in controversy in 1830 when the estate instigated a programme of consolidation under the direction of the fourth earl. The criticism did not concern the overall objective of the scheme, but rather the manner and extent to which it was executed. Ó Cathaoir contends that approximately 1,530 notices to quit were served on county Wicklow’s tenantry that year. Of these a little over 52 percent were served on

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<sup>107</sup> Duke of Wellington quoted in P. S. O’Hegarty, *A history of Ireland under the Union: 1801-1922* (London, 1952), p. 292.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Census of Ireland, 1821, preliminary observations, enumeration abstract, appendix, Ireland, p. 378; Census of Ireland, 1831, population returns, p. 1.

<sup>110</sup> Robert Chaloner Snr to Lord Milton, 6 Jun. 1827 (S.A., WWM/G35/1).



Fitzwilliam's tenants on the Coollattin estate.<sup>111</sup> This fact that a policy of consolidation was implemented by the Irish estate as early as the 1830s suggests the need to address the problem of uneconomic holdings. While this scheme was pro-active in terms of estate management objectives, its implementation appeared harsh as it targeted the poorer tenants on the estate.<sup>112</sup>

The controversy concerning consolidation came to the fore on 9 November 1830 when during a House of Commons sitting, an incident concerning the eviction of families in Hillbrook took centre stage during a debate concerning repeal of the Act of Union.<sup>113</sup> By 1830, the issue of repeal had formed the basis of much discourse within the Commons. During this particular debate, O'Connell was challenged about his remarks on the alleged evictions by a number of M.P. landlords in Ireland including George Dawson, M.P. for Londonderry. Dawson chastised O'Connell for his 'gross falsehood' which called into question management practices on the Fitzwilliam estate.<sup>114</sup> Though others attempted to steer the discussion to the matter in hand, Lord Althorp and James Grattan dismissed O'Connell's claims as ludicrous. In his defence, O'Connell reiterated the facts as he knew them stating that:

a farm of 800 acres was to go into lease on the 1st of May next: there were sixty families upon it, consisting of about 300 persons; these had all got notice to quit, as Mr Challoner (*sic.*) had disposed of the farm to a person of the name of Singe. He had now disposed of 300 persons out of the 800. He had got details from two clergymen as to the remaining cases, into which he should not enter at present.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> Eva Ó Cathaoir, 'The poor law in county Wicklow' in Ken Hannigan and William Nolan (eds), *Wicklow history and society: interdisciplinary essays on an Irish county* (Dublin, 1994), pp 503-81; p. 503.

<sup>112</sup> See James S. Donnelly Jr, *Landlord and tenants in nineteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 1973); see also L. Perry Curtis, *The depiction of eviction in Ireland, 1845-1910* (Dublin, 2011).

<sup>113</sup> Oliver MacDonagh, 'Politics, 1830-45' in W. E. Vaughan (ed.), *A new history of Ireland, v: Ireland under the Union, i, 1801-70* (Oxford, 1989), pp 169-93; p. 174.

<sup>114</sup> *Hansard 3*, i [*Repeal of the Union: personalities*, H.C. Deb., 9 Nov. 1830, vol. i, cc318-30].

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, cc325-6.

In an attempt to diffuse the situation O'Connell exonerated the earl from any wrongdoing by attributing blame to the Assignment and Sub-Letting of Land Act (1826) which made provision for terminating a lease agreement if sub-letting was discovered.<sup>116</sup> Althorp retorted that he was reliably informed by Lord Milton that following an investigation into the matter there were only four families in total that had been served with ejectment notices, three of whom held land in common. As to the fourth family, it resided elsewhere and had been served notice as a consequence of being four years in rental arrears. O'Connell offered to retrieve the documents in support of this accusation. However, James Grattan, M.P. for Wicklow defended the earl's position concurring with Althorp's summation of events and the debate turned to ejectments elsewhere.<sup>117</sup>

O'Connell returned to parliament on the 19 November 1830 with documents in hand, at which point he revised his original figure of 800 upwards, now claiming that in fact, 1,544 individuals had received eviction notices. Furthermore, he also claimed to have in his possession a notice circulated by Chaloner informing the Fitzwilliam tenantry that 'if any of them had sublet, they should not have their leases renewed.'<sup>118</sup> Grattan retained his original position as defender of management practices upon the estate stating that notices were a necessary element of the aforementioned act and did not signify full scale eviction. This matter had an obvious effect on the management of the estate. In 1831 Chaloner, in correspondence with Fitzwilliam, advised it would be 'necessary to turn several families adrift' to which the earl recommended such measures

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<sup>116</sup> *Assignment and sub-letting of land act 1826* (7 Geo. IV, c. xxix [Ire]). This act made the process of eviction easier and curtailed subdivision by restricting the number of under-tenants to one. For more information on this see Desmond Keenan, *Ireland within the Union, 1800-1921* (Bloomington, IN, 2008).

<sup>117</sup> *Hansard 3*, i [*Repeal of the Union: personalities*, H.C. Deb., 9 Nov. 1830, vol. i, cc318-30], cc328-9.

<sup>118</sup> *Hansard 3*, i [*Oppression of the peasantry - Ireland*, H.C. Deb., 19 Nov. 1830, vol. i, cc592-5].

be entered into with due care.<sup>119</sup> Equally, correspondence between Chaloner and Lord Milton that same year indicates that Grattan's defence of Milton's father in 1830 had lost him political sway among the Fitzwilliam electorate.<sup>120</sup> That said it was insufficient to affect his political tenure as he was returned unopposed in the general election of 1832.

In 1833, in an effort to ascertain the full extent of destitution in Ireland, Lord Melbourne's administration established a royal commission which conducted its enquiries over a three-year period from 1833 to 1836.<sup>121</sup> Completing the questionnaires for Carnew parish in 1836, Robert Chaloner Snr, Joseph Symes, a head-tenant in the townland of Hillbrook and Thomas DeRenzy, a head-tenant in the townland of Cronyhorn provided a description of the Fitzwilliam labourers at that time. Though unable to quantify the number of agricultural labourers in the parish, all three were agreed that generally all labourers were in regular employment. When unemployed, this class maintained themselves growing produce on their small holdings. The three men outlined how potatoes formed the basis of the labourer's staple diet, oftentimes supplemented by either milk or herrings.

In response to questions concerning the economic stability of labourers, each respondent offered his own opinion. Chaloner stated that labourers were paid *6d.* per day with food, if they chose not to avail of food the labourer received *8d.* during the winter. This increased to *10d.* in the summer months due to a longer working day. Symes appeared more generous allowing male labourers *10d.* daily without food

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<sup>119</sup> Household and other expenses of the earl Fitzwilliam in connection with his estate in county Wicklow, 1831-3 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,963).

<sup>120</sup> Robert Chaloner Snr to Lord Milton, 14 Jan. 1831 (S.A., WWM/G35).

<sup>121</sup> Stuart J. McLean, *The events and its terror: Ireland, famine and modernity* (Stanford, CA, 2004), p. 57.

regardless of the season, while women were paid the daily rate of 6*d.* for the same work. If men wished to receive a meal their daily rate was 6*d.* DeRenzy did not provide meals but paid men 8*d.* per day and women and children 6*d.* The work was manual in nature as no skilled work existed for labourers in the parish. Winter took a heavy toll on labouring families as inclement weather conditions resulted in large scale unemployment. The method of payment was sometimes monetary, but more often through provisions or conacre. Thus, an agricultural labourer on the Fitzwilliam estate in the mid-1830s could expect to earn between £10 and £12 per annum.<sup>122</sup>

In 1836, labourers employed on the Coollattin demesne sought an increase in their daily pay of 10*d.* arguing that other labourers in the region were receiving considerably higher rates for less intensive work. Chaloner informed Fitzwilliam of the request, commenting that the majority of these estate employees were paid 1*s.* daily as opposed to labourers employed by tenant-farmers whose average wage was 10*d.* In response the fifth earl instructed his agent to supply those earning 10*d.* daily with a 6*d.* loaf weekly for a period of six months provided they had completed a full week's work. The earl also stipulated that Catholic labourers were entitled to the loaf if absent from work due to days of religious devotion, thus highlighting the constant paternal and liberal nature of the earl.<sup>123</sup>

Though in principle while all the Wicklow gentry supported a measure that would ease the plight of the destitute, few supported the legislation underpinning it. At

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<sup>122</sup> *Poor inquiry (Ireland). Appendix (C)- Parts I. and II. Part I. Reports on the state of the poor, and on the charitable institutions in some of the principal towns; with supplement containing answers to queries. Part II. Report on the city of Dublin, and supplement containing answers to queries; with addenda to appendix (A), and communications*, [C. 35-42], pp 151-2, H.C., 1836, xxx.35, 221, xxxi.1, xxxii.1, xxxiii.1, xxxiv.1, 427, 643, 657.

<sup>123</sup> Memoranda dealing with tenancies on the estate of Earl Fitzwilliam in county Wicklow, 1796-1841 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,948), entry 1836:28.

a House of Lords session on 21 May 1838, Fitzwilliam stated before the house that: ‘any legal institution for the maintenance of the poor was not a consistent and wise system of legislation [for Ireland]’.<sup>124</sup> The Poor Relief (Ireland) Act of 1838, when enacted, divided Wicklow into five unions each of which were established during 1839.<sup>125</sup> The final union, Shillelagh, was declared on 12 July 1839. Twenty-four Board of Guardians were elected and eight *ex-officio* guardians nominated to oversee its operation. They were drawn from the strong farmer class resident upon the estate. The catchment area of the union was eighty-nine square miles which divided the population of 32,592 into nineteen electoral divisions, sixteen in county Wicklow and the remaining three in county Carlow.<sup>126</sup> It essentially provided relief to the entire core of the Fitzwilliam estate.

Shortly after the establishment of the Shillelagh union, a 6-acre site in the townland of Ballard on the outskirts of the village was acquired from Fitzwilliam for the purposes of constructing the workhouse at an annual rent of £8.<sup>127</sup> Although the earl agreed with the principle of relieving the poor, his support of the Irish Poor Law was slow to materialise as he believed the country lacked the financial means to maintain the system.<sup>128</sup> Building tenders were sought and the contract was subsequently awarded to John Edwards in June 1840. The following month, the Board of Guardians made an application to borrow £5,300 towards the building costs.<sup>129</sup> An additional sum of £1,000 was required to finish fitting out the premises and it was declared fit for

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<sup>124</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 31 May or 1 Jun. 1838.

<sup>125</sup> Ó Cathaoir, ‘The poor law in county Wicklow’, pp 508-9.

<sup>126</sup> *Seventh annual report of the poor law commissioners with appendices* (London, 1841), p. 466.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 488.

<sup>128</sup> Ó Cathaoir, ‘The poor law in county Wicklow’, p. 506.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 355; p. 489.

habitation on 21 December 1841.<sup>130</sup> It finally opened on 18 February 1842.<sup>131</sup> Correspondence from Chaloner to Fitzwilliam a mere five months later described the severity of pauperism in this part of the country. Chaloner informed the earl that returns pertaining to the workhouse indicated that on 15 July it had 315 inmates.<sup>132</sup> By 29 September 1842, the total expenditure of Ireland's poor law unions amounted to £296,834 11s. 0¼d. The amount expended by the Shillelagh union at that point was recorded as £2,553 12s. 10d.<sup>133</sup>

Analysis of the 160 individuals on the workhouse register for the period 1842 to 1853 reveals some interesting trends as illustrated in Table 4.3. Women were more acutely affected by Famine than men. Desertion appeared to be a primary motivating factor which caused many women to seek help. Children accounted for 40 percent of the inmates, 15 percent of whom were illegitimate. Almost half of the population were sick on admission. The majority of the workhouse population were Roman Catholic however, approximately 20 percent of inmates in this union were members of the Protestant faith.<sup>134</sup> The proportion of the Protestant poor challenges many widely held beliefs that this was a class immune to poverty.<sup>135</sup> Equally, there was no discernible geographical pattern to the poverty that existed on the estate, though the largest cohort were from the market-towns (see Table 4.4). The cost of maintaining the poor system depended heavily on the support of the rate-payers and, of course, an efficient means of collection. On 8 November 1842, Robert Bates, the clerk for the union sent in his return

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<sup>130</sup> Memoranda dealing with tenancies on the estate of Earl Fitzwilliam in county Wicklow, 1796-1841 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,948), entry 1841:12.

<sup>131</sup> *Ninth annual report of the poor law commissioners with appendices* (London, 1843), pp 486-7.

<sup>132</sup> Robert Chaloner Snr to Earl Fitzwilliam, 20 Jul. 1842 (S.A., WWM/G35/37), p. 2.

<sup>133</sup> *Belfast News-letter*, 5 May 1843.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>135</sup> See for example Desmond Keenan, *Pre-Famine Ireland: social structure* (Bloomington, IN, 2000), p. 324.

**Table 4.3 Analysis of inmates in Shillelagh workhouse, 1842-53<sup>136</sup>**

<b>Details</b>	<b>Total no.</b>	<b>% of total inmate pop.</b>
<b>No. of males</b>	71	45
<b>No. of females</b>	89	55
<b>No. of unmarried inmates</b>	21	13
<b>No. of married inmates</b>	2	1
<b>No. of widows</b>	10	6
<b>No. of widowers</b>	3	2
<b>No. of orphans</b>	41	26
<b>No. of Illegitimate children*</b>	23	15
<b>No. of people deserted</b>	47	30
<b>No. of inmates ≤5 years</b>	54	34
<b>No. of inmates 9 to 15 years</b>	27	17
<b>No. of Protestants</b>	31	19
<b>No. of Catholics</b>	129	81
<b>No. deemed ill</b>	42	46
<b>No. classified as idiotic</b>	4	3
<b>No. of labourers</b>	26	16
<b>No. of beggars</b>	7	5
<b>No. with no occupation</b>	126	79

\* Of this no. 7 were deserted while 3 were orphaned.

<sup>136</sup> This analysis is derived from Shillelagh workhouse register, 25 Feb. 1842 (W.C.L., PLUS/ WR/1).

**Table 4.4 Origins of Shillelagh workhouse inmates, 1842-53<sup>137</sup>**

<b>Electoral Division</b>	<b>No. of inmates</b>	<b>Electoral Division</b>	<b>No. of inmates</b>
<b>Aghowle</b>	4	<b>Cronolea</b>	4
<b>Ballingate</b>	4	<b>Hacketstown (Carlow)*</b>	25
<b>Ballinglen</b>	1	<b>Killballyowen</b>	3
<b>Ballybeg</b>	9	<b>Killinure</b>	14
<b>Carnew</b>	21	<b>Kilpipe</b>	4
<b>Clonegal (Carlow)*</b>	13	<b>Munny</b>	1
<b>Clonmore (Carlow)*</b>	11	<b>Rath</b>	1
<b>Coolballintaggart</b>	9	<b>Shillelagh</b>	2
<b>Coolboy</b>	3	<b>Tinahely</b>	20
<b>Coollattin</b>	3	<b>Other+</b>	8

\* This was not part of the estate but included for completeness.

+ This refers to electoral districts not part of the Shillelagh Union.

of parliamentary electors in which he documented the number of tenements in each electoral division valued for the purposes of collecting poor-rates. The sixteen electoral divisions within the Shillelagh union contained a total of 3,148 properties of varying classifications. Of this figure, 1,232 were under £5 valuation, 691 were valued at between £10 and below £15 and in the £15 and less than £20 category, Bates recorded a total of 219 holdings. Those between £20 and less than £25 amounted to 130, while there were 194 dwellings at a valuation of £50 and upwards. In total, the annual gross valuation for the union was recorded as £84,495 1s. 0½d. which gave a net value of £67,681 15s. 5d. On receiving the report, the assistant commissioner observed that the

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid.



valuation was high on account of the fact that Fitzwilliam ‘let his land at a very low rate’, though the valuers deemed it adequate as it was 10 percent under the letting value.<sup>138</sup>

Ten years later, the statistical returns to the poor law commissioners recorded a total of 664 inmates in the workhouse on 1 July 1852. Of this number, 168 were classified as aged, infirm or sick, while 261 were engaged in employment both within the facility and the work-yard outside. A large proportion, equating to 37 percent, were children under the age of nine, while those between the ages of nine and fifteen accounted for approximately 28 percent of the workhouse population.<sup>139</sup>

Throughout the 1830s and into the 1840s, destitution was a feature of the Fitzwilliam estate. For the more well-off members of the estate, the imposition of poor rates coupled with increasing numbers in the workhouse no doubt increased their financial burden. For the lower classes left with no alternative, the workhouses which appeared on the rural landscape from 1840 onwards provided many with potential refuge.

#### 4.7 *Conclusion*

In 1830, an invigorated electorate imbued by Whig promises of equality and universal suffrage voted in a liberal government. Tired of the constraints of a Tory administration, the Whigs won a landslide victory that arguably, took the party itself by surprise, catapulting them from the backbenches of Westminster to the forefront of British politics. Rumours of social reform, electoral representation and improved

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<sup>138</sup> *Return of parliament electors in Ireland, 1842-3*, p. 154, H.C. (1844) lxiii, 1.

<sup>139</sup> *Abstract return from poor law unions in England, Wales and Ireland on employment in workhouses or land attached; number of adult able-bodied persons engaged in handicraft and agricultural industry, July 1852*, p. 30, H.C. 1852-3 (513), lxxxvi., 299.

conditions for the working class poor abounded. Although in theory, the policies that underpinned the administration sought to create more equality, strategies fell short of universal inclusion, repeatedly creating an air of resentment among the marginalised.

Despite this, some legislative progress was made during the period. The granting of Catholic emancipation had little practical effect on the Wicklow estate as the earl was leasing directly to Catholic tenants prior to its enactment. While the act seemed conciliatory, it was in fact disadvantageous to Catholic political aspirations. Although Catholics were permitted to sit in parliament, the Catholic franchise as a whole was decreased as a consequence of the act. Similarly, the Reform Act (1832) was ambitious in scope as it attempted to reform political structures and increase the franchise. While in theory it addressed both of these aims, its impact was limited. Perhaps the greatest achievement of the Reform Act was the way in which it mobilised local politics. Similar to the mobilisation of Irish Catholics in the previous decade, the British electorate became increasingly politicised although its impact on the Fitzwilliam tenantry was inconsequential.

Undoubtedly, the most significant piece of legislation in terms of Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates was the New Poor Law of England (1834), and Irish Poor Law (1838). Although the workhouses of Rotherham and Shillelagh were built around the same time, the numbers entering the workhouse in each location provides a striking comparison of the social environment on Fitzwilliam's two estates.<sup>140</sup>

From 1838 until 1847, authority of the Irish workhouse system remained firmly with the English commissioners who espoused a *laissez-faire* approach to Irish relief. The fifth earl Fitzwilliam grappled considerably with its enactment and provided

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<sup>140</sup> This figure is derived from Shillelagh workhouse register (W.C.L., PLUS/WR/1).

opposition at every avenue before eventually accepting defeat and striving to work in conjunction with the defective system.<sup>141</sup> Its implementation was dependent on the support of the estate administration and landed proprietors such as Earl Fitzwilliam.

Though politics was not confined to the 1830s by any means and the acts discussed herein are far from definitive, the framework established under the Whig government undeniably politicised each nation, creating an awareness in the psyche that change was necessary regardless of the pace at which it occurred.

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<sup>141</sup> See section 4.6.

## CHAPTER 5: NO EASY MATTER: RELIGION, EDUCATION AND ESTATE RESPONSE TO THE SCHOOL WARS.

This is the last struggle for your independence and will you shrink from it? Will you desert the church of your forefathers? Will you allow yourselves to be trampled on by infidels and those whom they have called to their aid? No you will not, you cannot: remember what your ancestors suffered, imitate their brave example.

Placard 'To the loyal Protestants of Carnew' c. 1840.<sup>1</sup>

### 5.1 *Introduction*

In chapter one the religious composition of the estates was set out. This chapter examines how the religious composition affected the Wentworth-Fitzwilliam core estates during the period 1815 to 1845. It contrasts the religious uniformity in Yorkshire with the diversity that existed in Ireland. This composition invariably altered the power dynamics on the estate both in terms of tenant-to-tenant relations and equally, landlord-tenant relations. It explores the background to the violence which was manifest, to a peculiar degree upon the Wicklow estate as a consequence of this diversity. In the 1840s, religious animosity on the Wicklow estate spilled-over into the realm of education resulting in the so-called 'school wars'. This chapter examines how the Wicklow estate reacted and managed these events before contrasting it with the system of education on the Yorkshire estate.

### 5.2 *'Counting the people' – the religious profile of the core estates*

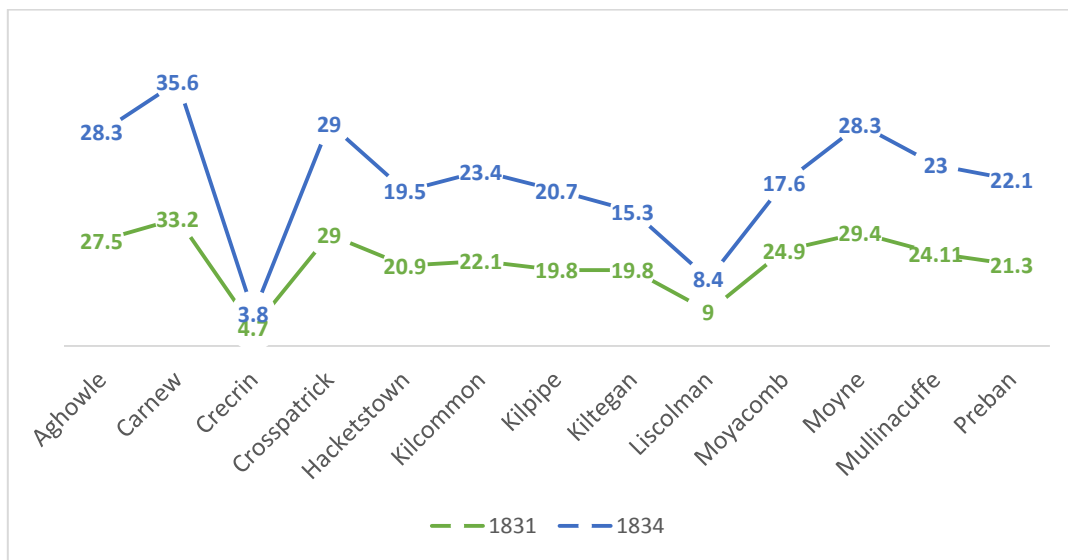
By the 1830s, the percentage of Protestants on the Wicklow estate was double the national average. In some parishes, such as Aghowle and Moyne, this figure was

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<sup>1</sup> Correspondence of Earl Fitzwilliam in relation to Carnew, Co. Wicklow, school and church, especially with Robert Chaloner, agent, 1840-43 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 8,816).

nearer to 30 percent and in the case of Carnew Protestant tenants accounted for one-third of inhabitants in 1831 and 36 percent three years later.<sup>2</sup> The lowest concentration of Protestants resided in the townlands of Crecrin and Liscolman. From 1831 to 1834, the number of Protestants increased in five of thirteen parishes (see Fig. 5.1).

**Fig. 5.1 Percentage change in Protestant population on Coollattin estate, 1831 and 1834<sup>3</sup>**



For the purpose of this study, a sample set of seven parishes in county Wicklow were chosen for examination. These were the Roman Catholic parishes of Killaveny, Tomacork and Clonmore in tandem with the Church of Ireland parishes of Aghowle, Carnew, Kilcommon and Preban. In Yorkshire, by way of comparison, five Anglican churches on the estate were chosen. They were Wentworth, Greasbrough, Hooton Roberts, Thorpe Hesley and Tinsley, together with the mother church, Rotherham All Saints which lay outside the southern boundary of the estate.<sup>4</sup>

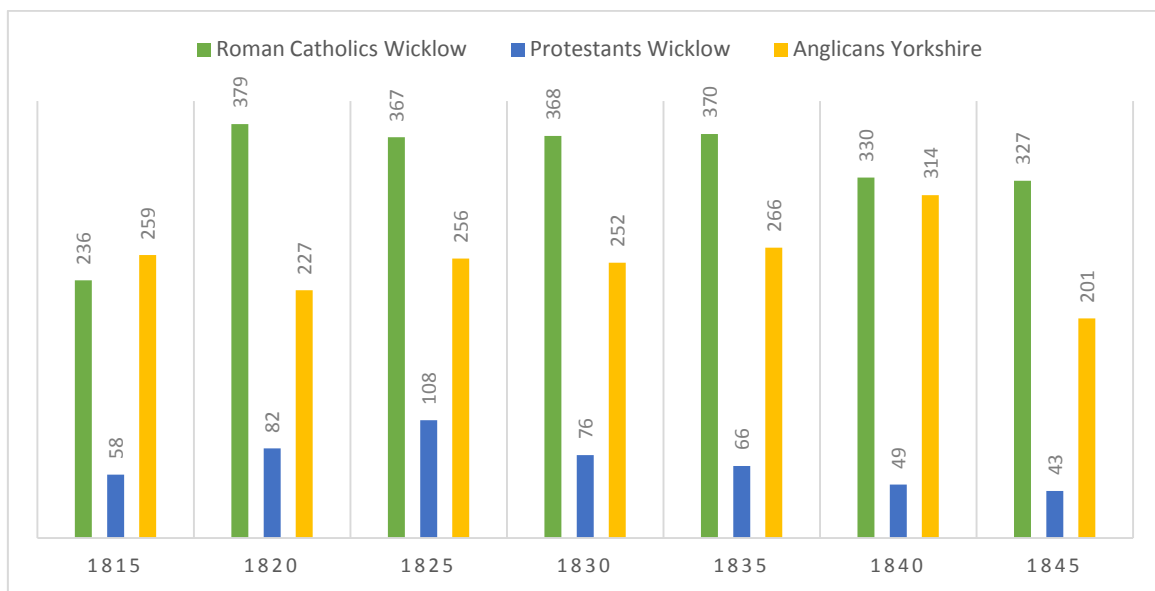
<sup>2</sup> *First report of the commissioners of public instruction, Ireland*, [c. 45-7], H.C. 1835, xxxiii. i, 829, xxxiv. i, 268. This figure is the average of thirteen of the fourteen parishes, Ardoyne did not exist in 1835. The reason these years were chosen is due to the fact that the commissioners survey was carried out in 1831 and again in 1834.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Prior to the establishment of Thorpe Hesley church in 1839, the parishioners had to walk to Rotherham to attend service. Similarly, other tenants also used Rotherham All Saints as a place of worship until a church was established in their area.

Analysis of the selected church registers for each estate at five yearly intervals, demonstrates the converging and diverging trends in each location. During the period 1815 to 1845, the three Catholic parishes performed a total of 2,377 baptisms, while the Church of Ireland clergy officiated at 482 baptisms. By comparison, a total of 1,775 children resident on the Yorkshire estate were baptised into the Anglican faith during this time (see Fig. 5.2).

**Fig. 5.2 Total baptisms by denomination on the Wicklow and Yorkshire estates, 1815-45<sup>5</sup>**



The mean number of Anglican births per year was 254. This contrasted with 340 Roman Catholics and sixty-nine Protestants per year in Wicklow. Over a five period from 1815 to 1820, the number of Roman Catholic baptisms in the three parishes increased by 61 percent, while Protestants recorded a 42 percent increase. However, from 1820 until 1835, the rate of growth among Catholics remained virtually unchanged

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

with the exception of a slight decrease in 1825 and a more dramatic decline of 11 percent in 1840.<sup>6</sup>

During the same period in Yorkshire, the number of Anglican baptisms per year in the selected churches remained essentially the same from 1815 to 1840, before falling dramatically between 1840 and 1845.<sup>7</sup> It is difficult to ascertain the cause of this decrease, no single incident can be identified in the estate papers or indeed, the print media to explain it. The area was not immune to the presence of pestilence having suffered from an outbreak of cholera in 1832 which claimed many lives in Sheffield and its surrounding hinterlands.<sup>8</sup> However, if this was the case between 1840 and 1845, the number of deaths recorded should have increased, instead these decreases suggest that another factor was responsible.<sup>9</sup> The answer may lie in marriage trends which drop significantly in number in Yorkshire in 1840. Comparably, this downward trend was replicated in Ireland in 1845, in this case related obviously to the onset of the Famine. Fewer and later marriages would result in a lower birth rate and may provide a plausible cause for falling populations (see Fig. 5.3).<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> The information for this analysis is derived from the Roman Catholic Registers for the parishes of Clonmore, Tomacork (Carnew) and Killaveny & Annacurra available at: N.L.I. (<http://registers.nli.ie/>) (8 Aug. 2015). The information concerning Aghold Church of Ireland is available at the R.C.B. Library in particular, Aghold minute book, 1814-27 (R.C.B., P522.1.2); Aghold baptism, marriage and burial registers, 1829-75 (R.C.B., P555.1.3); and Aghold, marriage register, 1845-1900 (R.C.B., P555.3.1). The records concerning the Church of Ireland parishes of Carnew, Kilcommon and Preban are held by Wicklow Family History Centre (W.F.H.C., MFC1/96/1-2). For the Yorkshire analysis, baptismal marriage and burial records for churches at Greasbrough, Hooton Roberts, Kimberworth, Thorpe Hesley and Tinsley were consulted at Sheffield Archives (see S.A., Parish registers, PR16 m; PR26 m; PR116 m; PR55 m and PR144 m). The bishop transcripts relating to Wentworth were also analysed (S.A., SY337-X1-88), as was Rotherham All Saints records (R.F.H.S. RTM-118). This material was compiled into a relational database [hereafter referred to as Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates database, 1815-65, personal database].

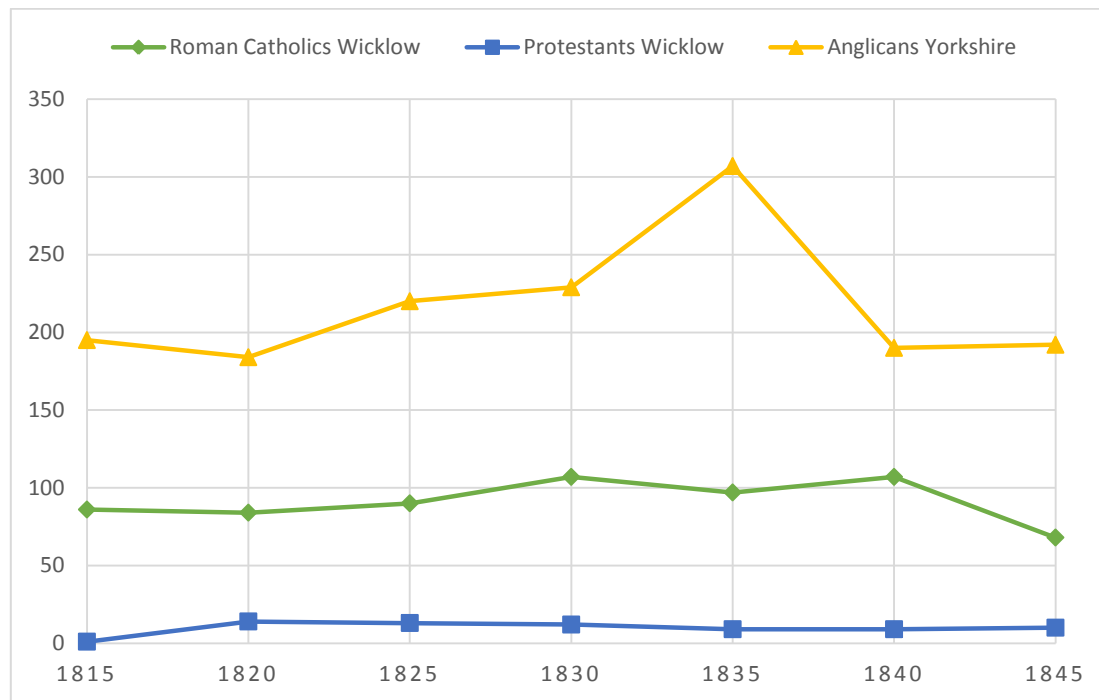
<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Melyvn Jones, *The making of Sheffield* (Barnsley, 2004), pp 56-66.

<sup>9</sup> Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates database 1815-65, personal database, religious profile.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

**Fig. 5.3 Marriage by denomination on the Wicklow and Yorkshire estates, 1815-45<sup>11</sup>**



Brian Gurrin in his analysis of the religion composition of Wicklow between 1600 and 1840 remarks that: ‘mixed marriages exercised the concerns of both Protestant and Catholic ecclesiastics, each of which strongly discouraged the practice.’<sup>12</sup> Attempts were made by both sides to dissuade people from entering into an inter-denominational marriage which the Catholic clergy openly condemned as ‘unlawful, wicked and dangerous’.<sup>13</sup> Thus, the identification of inter-marriage is wholly dependent on the fastidious recordings of the clergy or clerk. It was illegal for the Catholic clergy to conduct such a marriage, yet despite all the discouragement, a few random instances were noted.

When Timothy Halvey had his son baptised by Henry Moore in 1827, the Protestant minister wrote ‘RC’ beside the entry. Halvey, a gardener from Carnew, and

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Brian Gurrin, ‘Land and people in Wicklow, 1660-1840’ (2 vols, Ph.D. thesis, National University of Ireland Maynooth, 2006), ii, p. 36.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.



his wife Fanny had obviously married across religious denomination, although, the note did not identify which of them was Roman Catholic.<sup>14</sup> William Barber, the rector of Kilcommon church was more conscientious in his record-keeping. In September 1853, he christened the first child of William Hannan and his wife Mary of Knocknaboley. Beside the father's name, the rector wrote: 'Mr Hannan is a papist'.<sup>15</sup> Mary Hannan was pregnant almost yearly between 1853 and 1860. All the Hannan children were christened in the Church of Ireland and reared according to their mother's faith.<sup>16</sup> Due to the religious uniformity in Yorkshire, inter-marriage between Anglicans and Methodists was not identifiable.

There were also incidents of child desertion. On 2 May 1826, a special meeting of Carnew Vestry Committee was convened to discuss the abandonment of a baby girl in the parish four weeks previously. The committee passed a resolution instigating measures to uncover the identity of the perpetrators of what was deemed a horrific crime.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, in January 1831, little Rebecca Ferguson was 'deserted by its parents and exposed in the yard of Preban school at night'.<sup>18</sup> The child did not succumb to hypothermia and was found alive. Subsequently, she was baptised privately in the parish church.<sup>19</sup> Lyne in his study of the Lansdowne estate in county Kerry suggests that William Steuart Trench, the land agent, viewed himself as the moral enforcer on the estate.<sup>20</sup> However, on the Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates of Wicklow and Yorkshire, the administration did not concern itself with the morality of its tenantry. While paternalism influenced many aspects of estate management, the estate did not have a

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<sup>14</sup> Carnew All Saints baptism register, 1808-65 (W.F.H.C., MFC1/96/1), entry dated 23 Aug. 1827.

<sup>15</sup> Kilcommon church baptism register, 1814-65 (W.F.H.C., MFC1/96/1), entry dated 25 Sep. 1853.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, various entries pertaining to William and Mary Hannan (parents) 1853-63.

<sup>17</sup> Carnew vestry minute book, 1811-1978 (R.C.B., P793.051), entry dated 2 May 1826.

<sup>18</sup> Preban church baptism register, 1828-65 (W.F.H.C., MFC1/96/2), entry dated 24 Jan. 1831.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Gerard J. Lyne, *The Lansdowne estate in Kerry under the agency of William Steuart Trench, 1849-72* (Dublin, 2001), p. 216.

strategy for dealing with moral issues. There was a policy for paying widows an annual pension, however, there was no such allowance for single unmarried mothers. Arguably, this was because it was a moral issue and highly influenced by church thinking. In the 1840s, Shillelagh schoolhouse became a theatre of war for the Church of Ireland clergy as they attempted to exert their influence on education (see section 5.4).

### 5.3 'When bad men combine' – sectarian undertones on the core estates<sup>21</sup>

By the mid-nineteenth century, the main dissenting religion in the West Riding was Methodism. J. F. C. Harrison contends that:

in the first half of the nineteenth-century, the rate of dissenting chapel building far exceeded that of the Anglican churches. Whereas the number of Anglican churches in the manufacturing districts of the West Riding increased from 87 to 167 between 1800 to 1843, the dissenting chapels grew from 116 to 617.<sup>22</sup>

Of the 600,000 dissenting church attendances recorded during census Sunday in 1851, 72 percent aligned themselves with this religion, which in itself was far from homogenous.<sup>23</sup> Over time, schisms occurred which produced a number of divergent sects including New Connexion Methodists, Primitive Methodists and Congregational Methodists.<sup>24</sup> Yet irrespective of creed, the estate policy was to grant land for places of worship and in many instances, provide a subscription towards building costs. On 28 September 1826, Viscount Milton, the future fifth earl, opened the new Anglican church at Greasbrough which replaced a chapel of ease (see Fig. 5.4).

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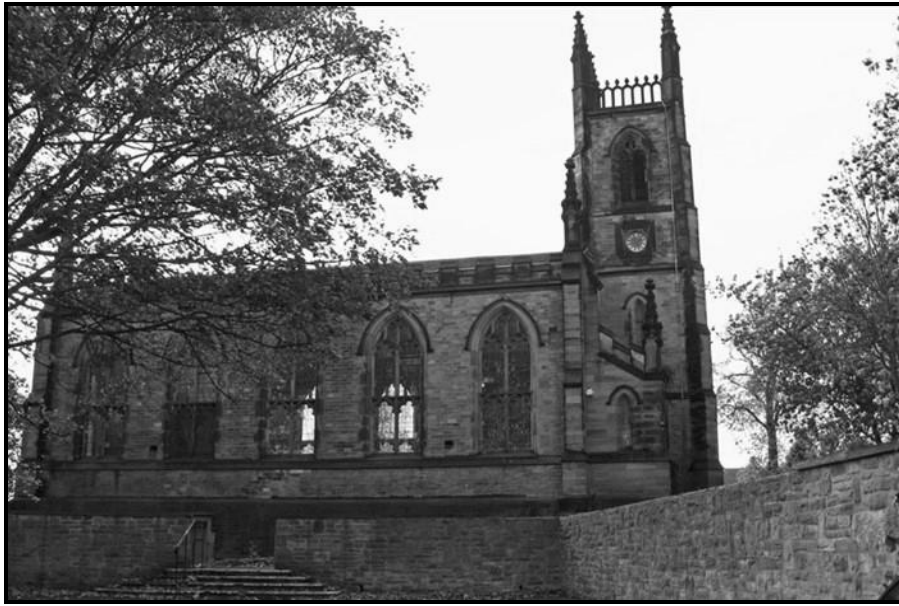
<sup>21</sup> William Haigh to Earl Fitzwilliam, 12 Jun. 1821 (S.A., WWM/F79/127).

<sup>22</sup> J. F. C. Harrison, *Learning and living, 1790-1960: a study of the history of the English adult education movement* (Routledge ed., Abingdon, 2007), p. 162.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 163. The religious census was conducted on Sunday, 30 Mar. 1851. Attendance was taken at all services held that day across Britain and the figures collated.

<sup>24</sup> For further information on Methodism see David Hempton, *Methodism and politics in British society, 1750-1850* (London, 1984).

**Fig. 5.4 St Mary's Anglican church, Greasbrough<sup>25</sup>**



Reporting on the event, the *Sheffield Independent* described a gala occasion full of ceremony, which was attended by an estimated 5,000 people from many strands of society. Dignitaries included the fourth earl Fitzwilliam, Viscount Milton, the Hon. Frederick Ponsonby and members of the Anglican clergy. The Gothic style church cost approximately £4,600 to construct. His Majesty's Commissioners for building new churches provided a grant of £2,000 towards works, while private subscriptions generated a further £200 towards costs. The fourth earl 'made himself responsible for the remaining sum' upwards of £2,400.<sup>26</sup> In consequence of his benevolence, the Majesty's Commissioners took the unusual step of placing 'the entire management of the building' in the earl's hands.<sup>27</sup>

Similarly, in Ireland, the Rev. Henry Moore, the Church of Ireland rector in Carnew, wrote to Viscount Milton in August 1831 minister requesting 'a small spot of

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<sup>25</sup> Image of St Mary's, Greasbrough available at: Waymarking.com ([http://www.waymarking.com/waymarks/WMJD5Z\\_Wooden\\_Cross\\_St\\_Marys\\_Church\\_Greasbrough\\_Rotherham\\_UK](http://www.waymarking.com/waymarks/WMJD5Z_Wooden_Cross_St_Marys_Church_Greasbrough_Rotherham_UK)) (1 Apr. 2016).

<sup>26</sup> *Sheffield Independent*, 7 Oct. 1826.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

ground on which to erect a church.’<sup>28</sup> He had managed to secure the conditional offer of a £900 grant from the Board of First Fruits subject to him procuring a site.<sup>29</sup> The site was subsequently donated, arguably thanks to Chaloner Snr who impressed upon Milton the fact that the Board of First Fruits was inundated with requests for support and should the offer lapse, the probability of a future offer was highly unlikely.<sup>30</sup> Numerous other requests included a site to erect a Catholic church near Crossbridge and a Methodist church in Carnew.<sup>31</sup> In both instances, the estate management agreed. The management rarely refused an application for land for religious or charitable purposes, particularly, if it was deemed to improve the life of the tenants.<sup>32</sup>

However, despite the best efforts of the estate management, animosity between Protestant and Catholic tenants remained a constant feature of estate life on the Wicklow estate. As William Nolan notes, in the civil parish of Crosspatrick: ‘the respectable leaseholders [were] Protestant and Methodists, the small farmers and labourers [were] Roman Catholics’ and this type of socio-religious segregation was replicated across the estate.<sup>33</sup> The spatial distribution which Nolan refers to was the creation of Thomas Watson-Wentworth, first marquess of Rockingham who was intent on establishing a Protestant colony on the Wicklow estate in the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>34</sup> Although the plan essentially failed with far fewer Protestants emigrating

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<sup>28</sup> Rev. Henry Moore to Viscount Milton, 1 Aug. 1831 (S.A., WWM/G35/25).

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Robert Chaloner Snr to Viscount Milton, 3 Aug. 1831 (S.A., WWM/G35/26).

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 4 Aug. 1832 (S.A., WWM/G35/39); Memorandum dealing with tenancies on the estate of Earl Fitzwilliam in county Wicklow, 1796-1841 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,948), entry 1839 & 1840:22.

<sup>32</sup> Charitable buildings included dispensaries and fever hospitals, savings banks and other establishments.

<sup>33</sup> William Nolan, ‘Land and landscape in county Wicklow c. 1840’ in Ken Hannigan and William Nolan (eds), *Wicklow history and society: interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county* (Dublin, 1994), pp 649-93; p. 684.

<sup>34</sup> Copies of letters of the Marquess of Rockingham, mainly concerning the rents from his estate in county Wicklow, 1747-8, together with a survey of his estate made before 1735, including names of tenants and the number in each family (N.L.I., Rockingham papers, MS 6,054), p. 7.

from Yorkshire to Wicklow than anticipated, numbers were nonetheless sufficient to dispossess their Catholic neighbours creating a fertile environment for hostility.<sup>35</sup>

In 1817, hostilities culminated in a murder on the estate. Robert Rickerby, a Protestant, was an estate steward at Coollattin for upwards of thirty years. On 26 February 1817, the fair day was held at Coollattin. Upon finishing his day's work, Rickerby locked up his office and taking his usual route home, made his way to his residence at Ballykelly. His route involved taking a short-cut through the woods at the rear of the house. When he failed to return home, his son Jeremiah went in search of him. A little after six o'clock, Jeremiah found his father's body 'not much more than 100 yards from [Coollattin] house'. Rickerby had sustained fatal injuries, 'his head was nearly sever'd from his body', he had been stabbed in the 'head with an instrument like a cooper's gouge', and had sustained multiple fractures to both his arm and chest.<sup>36</sup> The murder resulted in an extensive investigation in which the agent, William Haigh, procured witness statements from many in the locality. Three men, neighbours of the deceased, were subsequently tried for his murder. The case finally went to trial in July 1819 with the Hon. Baron McClelland presiding over the proceedings. The prosecution had three key witnesses, all of whom were female. While one witness could categorically place the accused in the wood with Rickerby on the day of the murder, as she was alleged to be a prostitute and of low moral character, her testimony was disregarded. Inaccuracies in the accounts given by the other two female witnesses led Haigh to declare them to be unreliable witnesses. With nothing but circumstantial evidence, the judge directed the jury to be 'cautious how they consigned to an untimely death, three men.' At this point, the jury acquitted Patrick Byrne, William Breen and

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<sup>35</sup> See chapter two for information on the 1798 rebellion on the estate.

<sup>36</sup> William Haigh to Earl Fitzwilliam, 2 Mar. 1817 (S.A., WWM/F79/55).

his son-in-law John Carey of any wrongdoing.<sup>37</sup> The print media reported the murder as a case of a robbery gone awry, yet money remained in Rickerby's pocket.<sup>38</sup> While a sectarian motive was not explored, given the religious tensions that existed among the Wicklow tenantry, it is plausible that the murder was motivated by sectarian tensions. The fact remains that the deceased was Protestant while his accused were all Roman Catholics. However, in the absence of any further evidence, the culprits were never brought to justice.

James S. Donnelly Jr, in his assessment of agrarian violence during this period, contends that: 'it is quite wrong to suggest, as some historians have done, that pre-Famine agrarian rebellion can be explained more or less exclusively in terms of economic rationality.'<sup>39</sup> Donnelly believes that the ideology of secret societies deserves wider analysis which examines political and religious motivations. His remarks are particularly interesting if one examines the religious composition of the Shillelagh Association (see chapter two). By 1821, 'a refractory spirit had been manifested' on the estate, particularly on a number of townlands in the parish of Aghowle.<sup>40</sup> Numerous tenants at Killinure, Killabeg and Kilquiggan had received anonymous letters threatening their lives if they disposed of their land in a manner deemed inappropriate by its authors.

Haigh himself received an anonymous letter in which the author threatened to inflict 'a worse death than Rickaby's (*sic.*)' on the agent.<sup>41</sup> In correspondence with the earl, Haigh attempted to play down the seriousness of the threat claiming that he paid

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<sup>37</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 2 Aug. 1819. The newspaper inaccurately named the accused as P. Byrne, E. Breen and J. Carey. However, the court transcript contained the correct names.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> James S. Donnelly Jr, *Captain Rock: the Irish agrarian rebellion of 1821-4* (Cork, 2009), p. 87.

<sup>40</sup> Notice of the Shelelagh Association meeting, 30 May 1821 (S.A., WWM/F79/123).

<sup>41</sup> William Haigh to Earl Fitzwilliam, 12 Jun. 1841 (S.A., WWM/F79/127), p. 4.

little heed to the contents of such letters. However, given the circumstances of Rickerby's death, it is obvious the author wanted to instil fear. Haigh was not without reproach as his brutal conduct had created enemies across all classes of the tenantry on the estate.<sup>42</sup> Equally, the many aspects of estate management such as the collection of rent arrears or the process of ejection had the ability to create disgruntled tenants. However, for now at least, he remained unharmed.

Stephen Gibbons notes that post-1823, the issuing of threatening letters nationally was clearly aligned with grievances over the tithe system.<sup>43</sup> This tax on land levied against both Catholics and Protestants alike was used to maintain the Established Church and was a constant source of conflict. The civil parish of Aghowle contained 4,925 acres spread across sixteen townlands. Although 12 acres at the glebe were exempt from the tax, the remaining land generated £502 16*d.* 11*s.* in tithes which was given in full to the Rev. James McGhee.<sup>44</sup> In July 1823, the Tithe Composition Act was introduced which provided for the appointment of commissioners to calculate the liability in each parish and the amount due by each occupier. S. J. Connolly contends that while the legislation did little to improve relations: 'it did make the actual collection of tithes less aggravating.'<sup>45</sup> In 1824, the Rev. Henry Moore of Carnew appointed Thomas Goodison of Carnew and Edward Smith of Buckstown in county Wexford as tithe commissioners for the parish. The men calculated that the amount of tax due in this parish was £900 sterling which was payable solely to the rector.<sup>46</sup> While

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<sup>42</sup> Mr Symme to Earl Fitzwilliam, 16 Oct. 1817 (S.A., WWM/F79/68).

<sup>43</sup> Stephen Randolph Gibbons, *Captain Rock, night errant: the threatening letters of pre-Famine Ireland* (Dublin, 2004), p. 68.

<sup>44</sup> Tithe applotment book for Aghowle parish, 1825 available at: N.A.I ([http://titheapplotmentbooks.nationalarchives.ie/reels/tab//004587395/004587395\\_00493.pdf](http://titheapplotmentbooks.nationalarchives.ie/reels/tab//004587395/004587395_00493.pdf)) (28 Mar. 2016).

<sup>45</sup> S. J. Connolly, 'Union government, 1812-23' in W. E. Vaughan (ed.), *A new history of Ireland, v: Ireland under the Union, i, 1801-70* (Dublin, 1989), pp 48-74; p. 70.

<sup>46</sup> Tithe applotment book for Carnew parish, 1824 available at: N.A.I. ([http://titheapplotmentbooks.nationalarchives.ie/reels/tab//004587411/004587411\\_00656.pdf](http://titheapplotmentbooks.nationalarchives.ie/reels/tab//004587411/004587411_00656.pdf)) (28 Mar. 2016).

arguably, resistance to tithes was not as severe in Carnew, given that it was a Protestant stronghold, in other parishes such as Crecrin, which were overwhelmingly Catholic, resentment prevailed.<sup>47</sup>

By the mid-1820s, the issue of Catholic emancipation had gained popular support and Catholics on the Fitzwilliam estate seem to have rallied to the cause and instilled a sense of dread in their Protestant neighbours. In February 1825, Haigh wrote to Fitzwilliam to keep him updated on Irish affairs. While the agent felt that all was ‘quiet and orderly on the estate’ his optimism was not shared by ‘the most respectable [Protestant] people’ who spoke as if ‘a rebellion, a massacre,’ or some other calamity was about to befall the estate.<sup>48</sup> When Haigh laughed at the suggestion and questioned these men as to why they perceived an imminent threat, he was told: ‘you are an Englishman and know nothing of priests and popery; had you been here in [17]98 you would know, that apparent tranquillity is the trap which the priests make use of to watch unwary Protestants.’<sup>49</sup> Haigh could not understand this viewpoint for he had ‘without exception found the priests, to be a quite amenable class of person.’<sup>50</sup>

Fr Michael Murphy, the parish priest of Tomacork had a good relationship with Haigh. Out of courtesy, the Catholic priest met with the agent prior to commencing the collection of the Catholic rent in the parish of Carnew to ascertain if Haigh had any objections.<sup>51</sup> The priest went so far as to state that if either earl or agent had any issue: ‘he would not allow it to be collected in his parish’. Haigh advised the priest to use his

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<sup>47</sup> Tithe applotment book for Crecrin parish, 1824 available at: N.A.I. ([http://titheapplotmentbooks.nationalarchives.ie/reels/tab//004587426/004587426\\_00354.pdf](http://titheapplotmentbooks.nationalarchives.ie/reels/tab//004587426/004587426_00354.pdf)) (28 Mar. 2016).

<sup>48</sup> William Haigh to Earl Fitzwilliam, 11 Feb. 1825 (S.A., WWM/F79/203), p. 2.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>51</sup> The Catholic rent was a monthly subscription of one penny devised by Daniel O’Connell to raise money to finance his campaign for Catholic emancipation. The meagre amount allowed the lower classes to join O’Connell’s Catholic Association.



own discretion in light of Fitzwilliam's liberal view that once the action did not contravene any law of the land, he was perfectly free to do 'as the rest of his brethren did'.<sup>52</sup> As a sign of support, Fitzwilliam pledged £10 towards the Catholic cause, a measure that while greatly appreciated by his Catholic tenantry caused a sensation among his Protestant inhabitants.<sup>53</sup>

By 1824, the Orange Order had grown on the estate. At a special meeting of the Shillelagh Loyal Orange Order Association held in Tinahely in May that year, a decision was taken to form a grand lodge in the area.<sup>54</sup> By the 1830s, the organisation had lodges in Coolkenno and Tinahely. The 12 July each year was a highly significant date for the Orange Order. It was a day of celebration commemorating both the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the victory of William of Orange at the Battle of the Boyne in 1066. Consequently, it created an obvious flashpoint on the estate between the Protestant and Catholic tenantry. On 12 July 1831, the chief constable in Tinahely, Francis Young, took steps to quell tensions among loyalists and Catholics. Although the day passed off peacefully, at four o'clock the following morning, a mob of Orange supporters marched to Dowse's house, one of the Protestant tenants, and then on to the market house firing shots as they went. This trouble continued for a number of hours. The following afternoon Chaloner Snr, accompanied by Francis Henry Morton, in their capacity as magistrates, went to Tinahely and attempted to prevent the Orangemen from causing further damage. An eye witness account, most likely from a Roman Catholic, contended that neither magistrate made any attempt to intervene until the chief constable got involved, at which point they stepped forward to prevent the raucous

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<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 3-4. Fitzwilliam received a letter of thanks from Nicholas Purcell O'Gorman, secretary to the Catholics of Ireland, Dublin acknowledging his liberal remittance (S.A., WWM/F80/81).

<sup>54</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 5 May 1824.

crowd from lighting a bonfire in the street. At the fair the following day, further shots were fired at two Catholics. One of those fired upon subsequently complained to Dowse who replied that he had no business being among the Protestants.<sup>55</sup> Sean Farrell in his analysis of sectarian violence in Ulster observes that: ‘Orange processions conveyed a not so subtle reminder of who controlled power on the ground’. This viewpoint is easily transferrable to the Fitzwilliam estate where Protestant large farmers held better land than their Catholic counterparts.<sup>56</sup>

#### 5.4 ‘Education among the poor is all the rage’ – the school system in Wicklow<sup>57</sup>

Prior to the establishment of the national school system in Ireland, the promotion of education was largely undertaken through private means generally under the direction of the landlord. Endeavours were aided by the presence of a number of voluntary and philanthropic societies including the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland, better known as the Kildare Place Society, which was established in 1811, and the Erasmus Smith Trust, an endowment fund established during the Cromwellian period by a wealthy London merchant for the purposes of funding educational programmes.<sup>58</sup> In addition, the Association for Discountenancing Vice existed. It was first established in 1792 and was very much the organ of the Established Church. From the 1820s, its teaching was overtly proselytising which alienated Roman Catholics.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> *Freeman’s Journal*, 27 Jul. 1834.

<sup>56</sup> Sean Farrell, *Rituals and riots: sectarian violence and political culture in Ulster, 1784-1886* (Lexington, KY, 2009), p. 106.

<sup>57</sup> William Haigh to Earl Fitzwilliam, 1817 (S.A., WWM/F79/88).

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* For information on the Kildare Place Society see Susan M. Parkes, *Kildare Place: the history of the Church of Ireland training college, 1811-1969* (Dublin, 1984); for details on the Erasmus Smith educational charity please see W. J. R. Wallace, *Faithful to our trust: a history of the Erasmus Smith Trust and the High School, Dublin* (Dublin, 2004).

<sup>59</sup> Neil. J. Smelser, *Social paralysis and social change: British working-class education in the nineteenth century* (Berkeley, CA, 1991), p. 196.

In 1817, William Haigh, the earl's Wicklow agent, wrote to Fitzwilliam in Yorkshire advising him that 'education among the poor is now all the rage'.<sup>60</sup> Two years later, the Wicklow Education Society published its first report concerning the state of education in the county. Commenting on the half barony of Shillelagh, the report stated that the educational needs of the populace were largely found wanting until a few years ago when: 'Lord Fitzwilliam, with much liberality, has built and is building, excellent and spacious school houses, in many parts of the half barony'. The society asserted that when supplied with good educators 'as two of them appear to be at present', the lives of the children would no doubt be greatly enhanced.<sup>61</sup> The estate management policy of providing education for children on the estate reflected the paternal philosophy of the Fitzwilliam family. By 1819, five schools existed on the Irish estate, two in the parish of Carnew and one in the parishes of Aghowle, Crosspatrick and Kilpipe respectively. The oldest educational facility on the estate was in the village of Carnew. It had been established in the eighteenth century and by 1819 it was in obvious need of repair.

Indeed as early as 1815, the rector of Carnew, the Rev. Richard Ponsonby, had sent a memorial to Fitzwilliam requesting a new school house for Carnew.<sup>62</sup> In his correspondence, the rector suggested a site at the bottom of his garden at Carnew Castle. Haigh forwarded the documentation to the earl enclosing a cover note in which the agent outlined the conditions at the school, including the fact that the schoolmaster was

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> *The first report of the Wicklow Education Society for the year 1819 to which is prefixed a list of subscribers with extracts of correspondence* (Dublin, 1819), (N.L.I., Pamphlets, P 1986).

<sup>62</sup> Richard Ponsonby was the third son of William Brabazon Ponsonby, 1st Baron Ponsonby of Imokilly and his wife Louisa *née* Molesworth. His father died in 1806 and in 1823, his mother married the fourth earl Fitzwilliam. See G. E. Cokayne *et al.* (eds), *The complete peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, extant, extinct or dormant* (14 vols, Gloucester, 2000), x, pp 576-8.

about to be relieved of his duties owing to incompetence.<sup>63</sup> By 1817, Haigh had annexed the 8 acres of ground attached to the schoolhouse and re-let it for an annual rent of £20. The ‘poor unfortunate master’ remained in the schoolhouse and the discussion surrounding a new location for a new school began.<sup>64</sup> After months of deliberation, in November 1817, the agent corresponded with the earl on the matter. The vision was to construct a premises sufficiently large enough to accommodate a day school which would operate during the week, while a Sunday school would provide instruction at the weekend ensuring that the building was utilised to its maximum potential. Multiple locations were considered including at one point, Robert Blayney’s malt house on Main Street. However, it appears the most conducive site was that of the present building and Haigh estimated that £200 would be sufficient to upgrade the premises.<sup>65</sup>

Haigh was well versed concerning potential avenues for funding. In November 1817, he informed Fitzwilliam that if the school at Carnew affiliated with Erasmus Smith, the organisation would pay a salary of £30 per annum to employ a schoolmaster. However, when Rev. John Frith, the Protestant curate, filed his return with the Wicklow Education Society in 1821, it seems little progress had been made in the intervening years. The retired schoolmaster David Pavey continued to teach thirty-eight children in the old schoolhouse. The majority of these students attended during the summer and did ‘not pay him anything’. Consequently, he was dependant ‘on a pension of ten pounds per annum’ paid to him by the estate.<sup>66</sup> The new school was expected to be

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<sup>63</sup> William Haigh to Earl Fitzwilliam, 20 Apr. 1816 (S.A., WWM/F79/41).

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 14 Apr. 1817 (S.A., WWM/F79/58).

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 30 Nov. 1817 (S.A., WWM/F79/71).

<sup>66</sup> *The second report of the Wicklow Education Society* (N.L.I., Irish collection, Ir 372 i 11), p. 16.

completed the following year.<sup>67</sup> However, a change of rector later that same year had a dramatic effect on the course of education on the Wicklow estate.

In 1817, the Rev. Richard Ponsonby was elevated to the position of Dean of St Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin. In 1820, he relinquished the rectorship of Carnew and was replaced in 1821 by Henry Moore.<sup>68</sup> At first, Moore presented himself as an amicable individual, grateful for his residence and keen to promote education. In a letter to the earl shortly after his arrival, Moore outlined why he felt the construction of the new school at its present site would be a mistake. He provided three alternative locations; one of these was situated next to his own residence at the castle. Arguably, this would allow him to directly influence education on the estate. Moore succeeded in convincing the agent that this was the most advantageous spot. Within a short time period, the earl had also acquiesced to the rector's suggestion.<sup>69</sup> Moore involved himself at every juncture of the decision making process and provided suggestions on layout and building materials for the construction. He even went so far as to state that he would personally fund the salary of the schoolmaster if there was any difficulty raising funds.<sup>70</sup> On the surface these actions appear magnanimous. However, the rector was solely interested in the education of the Protestant children on the estate. This stance was entirely at variance with the ethos of the fourth earl and indeed, the fifth earl who firmly believed that a non-denominational educational system had the power to heal deep religious wounds which existed among their Irish tenantry. Consequently, inclusive education was a policy pursued by the estate.

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> G. C. Boase, 'Ponsonby, Richard (c.1772–1853)' in H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (eds), *Oxford dictionary of national biography* (60 vols, Oxford, 2004), xliv, pp 815-6; p. 815. Ponsonby would later be appointed Bishop of Derry.

<sup>69</sup> Henry Moore to Earl Fitzwilliam, Mar. 1821 (S.A., WWM/F80/40).

<sup>70</sup> Michael Seery, *Education in Wicklow: from parish schools to national schools* (Wicklow, 2014), p. 54.

By 1825, a total of forty-three schools existed across the Wicklow estate (see Maps 5.1 and 5.2). Collectively, these provided education to 2,234 children, 860 from the barony of Ballinacor South and 1,374 in the half-barony of Shillelagh. While six schools were allied with the various educational societies, the remaining thirty-seven received no endowments and, thus were reliant on the estate or the goodwill of a head-tenant or incumbent for access to a premises or a teacher salary in order to continue delivering the ‘three Rs’. Of the six establishments that received capital investment, all were staffed by Protestant teachers and recorded the largest attendance of children from the Established Church. Collectively, these six teachers taught 571 pupils with a pupil ratio of 3:1 in favour of Protestant children. Conversely, in the non-affiliated schools, the teachers were predominantly Roman Catholics. Approximately 1,663 children attended these schools, where the religious ratio was 2:1 in favour of Roman Catholics.<sup>71</sup>

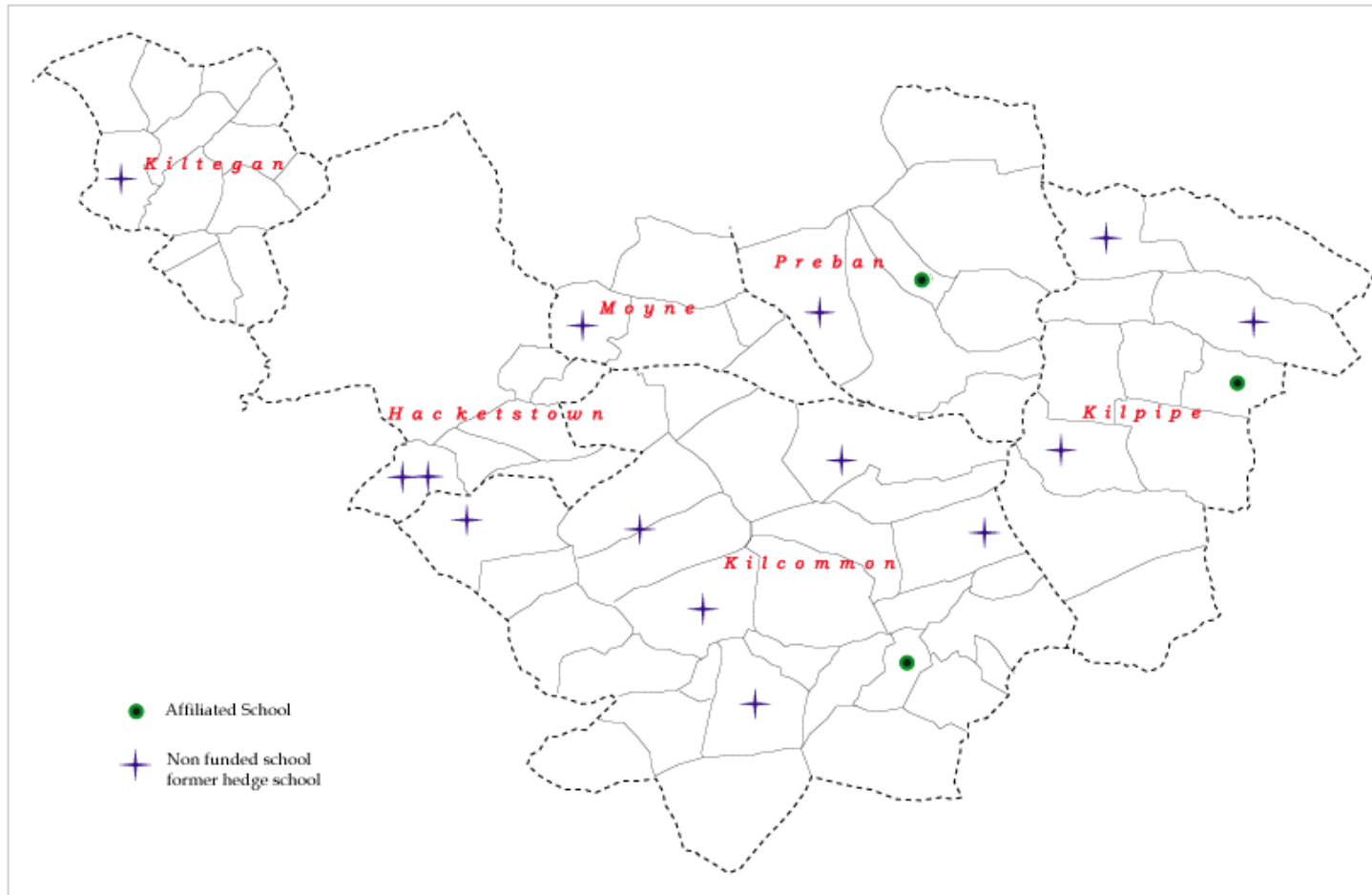
Despite the presence of school houses, a number of issues existed. The lack of training in early nineteenth-century Ireland had a profound impact on the quality of teaching delivered in the schools. While reading, writing and arithmetic were the essential subjects offered to students, not all schoolmasters were competent in all three. Equally, those that were often possessed additional competencies which extended to linguistic and vocational skills training.<sup>72</sup> Michael Seery notes that the Rev. John Frith received complaints concerning Hugh Spence’s qualification after a dramatic

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<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 524-5; pp 528-9; p 820-1; pp 842-5; pp 860-1. Figures are based on Roman Catholic census returns to the commission with the exception of Moyne, Kiltegan, Tombreen and one school in Killinure townland which did not receive Catholic returns. In this instance returns from the Protestant clergy were utilised. Seven of the thirty-seven teachers in non-affiliated schools were from the established church.

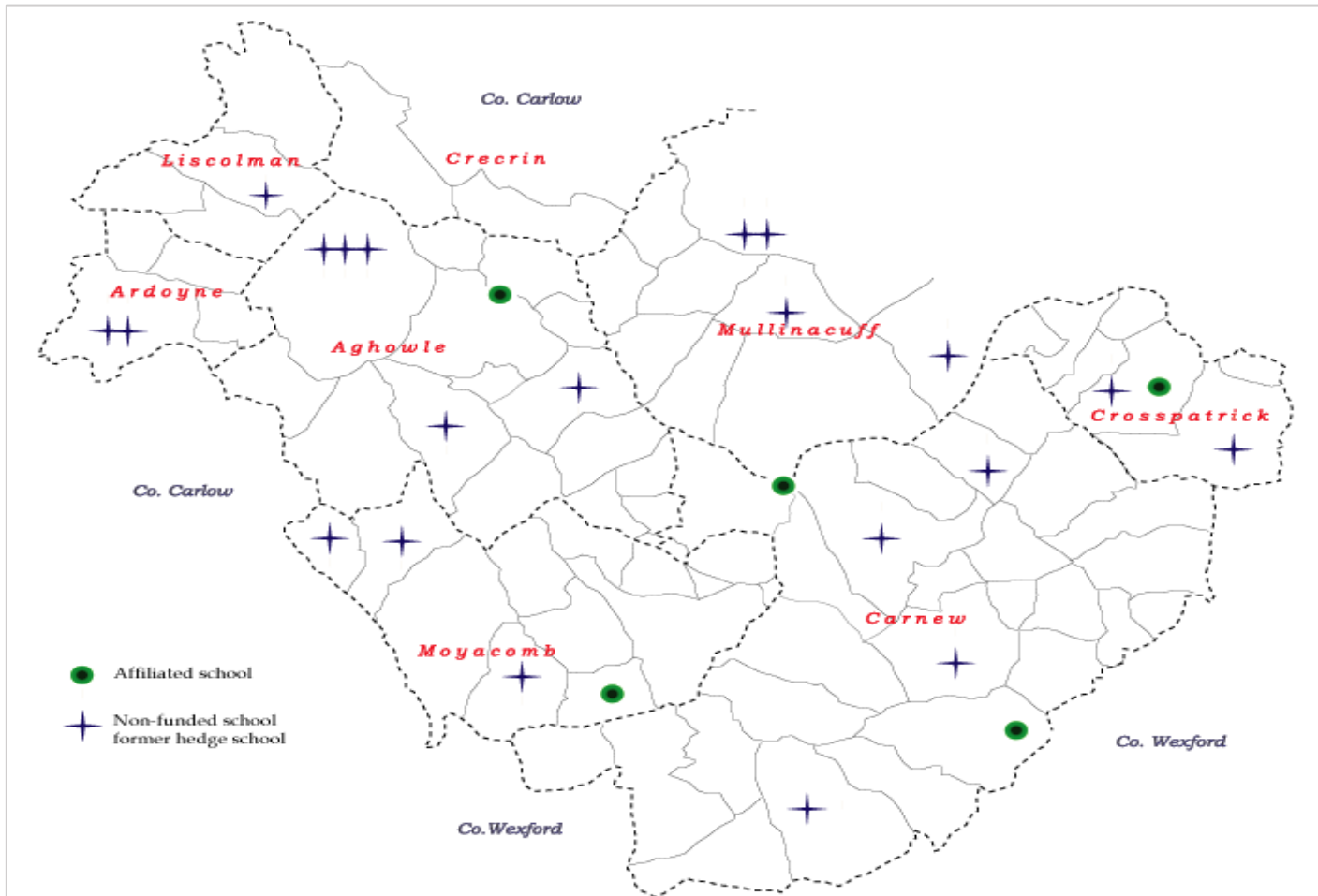
<sup>72</sup> D. H. Akenson, ‘Pre-university education, 1782-1870’ in W. E. Vaughan (ed.), *A new history of Ireland, v: Ireland under the Union, i, 1801-70* (Dublin, 1989), pp 523-38; p. 524.

Map 5.1 Distribution of schools on the Wicklow estate in the barony of Ballinacor South, 1823-5



Source: *Second report of the commissioners of Irish education inquiry, 1826*, H.C. 1826-7 (12) xii.1.

Map 5.2 Distribution of schools on the Wicklow estate in the half-barony of Shillelagh in 1823-5



Source: *Second report of the commissioners of Irish education inquiry, 1826*, H.C. 1826-7 (12) xii.1.



fall in attendance. Spence, schoolmaster at Killabeg, began teaching in 1812 but did not complete any formal training until 1825.<sup>73</sup> Poor attendance was another issue. The majority of pupils ‘attended for three to five years and therefore ha[d] time to learn little more than the fundamentals.’<sup>74</sup> The daily report book for Carnew school in 1827 confirms that punctuality, discipline and learning appeared to be an issue. Inclement weather on Thursday 8 February 1827 resulted in a low class attendance. Thursday 12 April was a particularly busy day as a child simply referred to as Miss Davies was described as being ‘talkative and idle’, while Maria Murphy wrote carelessly. The only positive remark related to Lucy Gilbert who had obviously shown some potential as she was recorded as ‘improving’.<sup>75</sup>

It is obvious from the *Second report of the commissioners of Irish education inquiry* that disparities existed across the school system on the estate. Students attending Jane Kendal’s school in Ballykelly were expected to pay 1s. 7½d. per quarter to attend ‘a wretched cabin’.<sup>76</sup> By all accounts, these children were the lucky ones as the pupils who were taught by Thomas Doyle in Killedrenin had to share their premises with a cow.<sup>77</sup> Despite the fact that schools were fee paying, the report suggests that an inability to pay did not prevent children from attending as the estate contributed to teacher’s salary if parents could not pay.<sup>78</sup> Teachers in endowed schools generally received a more attractive salary. Thomas Pasley, a school teacher in Tinahely

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<sup>73</sup> Seery, *Education in Wicklow*, p. 57; p. 145.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> Daily report book of Carnew school within the estate of Earl Fitzwilliam, 1826-31 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,957).

<sup>76</sup> *Second report of the commissioners of Irish education inquiry*, 1826, p. 852, H. C. 1826-7 (12) xii.1.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

graduated from the Kildare Place Society in 1819.<sup>79</sup> Over a five-year period between 1819 and 1823, Pasley was awarded £42 10s. in gratuities.<sup>80</sup> To place this in context, Pasley's gratuity is important on both an economic and religious level. Joel Mokyr contends that an unskilled Irish labourer in 1836 was earning in the region of '£9 and £10 10s.' per annum which included income derived from crop and animal sales.<sup>81</sup> Pasley's annual bonus was almost on par with this. Secondly, this payment had the ability to reinforce religious division, placing a greater burden on estate finances to maintain a peaceful *status quo*. While the Protestant master of the parochial school enjoyed a secure salary, his Roman Catholic counterpart was reliant on fee paying pupils to provide his salary, or failing this, the estate.

Finally, in 1829, the new school at Carnew opened to children of all creeds. Its non-denominational ethos proved problematic for the rector, and the situation was made worse following the introduction of the national school system in 1831 which supported this stance confining religious instruction to a set date and time.<sup>82</sup> Donald Akenson contends: 'the twisting and shaping of the [education] system was chiefly the work of religious authorities.'<sup>83</sup> The Protestant clergy disagreed, believing that the system 'interfered with the duty of proselytizing Roman Catholics', a viewpoint most likely shared by Moore.<sup>84</sup> In an effort to influence the curriculum and maintain what they viewed as their moral obligation and right to education, the Established Church

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<sup>79</sup> *Eight report of the society from promoting the education of the poor of Ireland to which the accounts for the year, ending the 5 Jan. 1820; an appendix, containing extracts of correspondence, &c. &c.; and a list of donors and subscribers, are subjoined* (Dublin, 1820), pp 34-5.

<sup>80</sup> Seery, *Education in Wicklow*, pp 146-7.

<sup>81</sup> Joel Mokyr, *Why Ireland starved: a quantitative and analytical history of the Irish, 1800-50* (London, 1983), p. 11. These figures are based on Poor Law Commissioner returns.

<sup>82</sup> Donald H. Akenson, *The Irish education experiment: the national system of education in the nineteenth-century* (Abingdon, 2012), p. 160.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 190.

petitioned the government. However, by 1839, it was obvious that constitutional means failed to achieve the desired results and so the Church Education Society was formed in direct opposition to the national system.<sup>85</sup>

The power of the church in nineteenth-century Ireland cannot be overstated. In 1839, the position of schoolmaster at Shillelagh school became vacant. James Savage who had worked for three years in a similar post at Netterville National School at Conyngham Road in Dublin applied and was successful in his application.<sup>86</sup> However, prior to him starting, he received a letter from Fr Michael Murphy the parish priest of Tomacork accusing him of bringing ‘scandal to Protestants & Catholics of this parish by eating flesh meat on a Saturday in Lent.’<sup>87</sup> Murphy advised Savage to tender his resignation immediately. In response, Savage forwarded a memorial to the school committee addressing the charge. When initially accused, he had denied the crime, but on mature recollection he took responsibility offering the committee an apology ‘for the violation of the rules of his church.’<sup>88</sup> Equally, the ties that bound the church and education were laid bare, for as Savage rightly contended: ‘he had committed no offence for which the law of the land would disqualify him from holding’ the position.<sup>89</sup> Yet, in nineteenth-century Ireland, the issue of education was not a legal matter, the law of the church presided over all affairs and adjudicated cases accordingly, a situation that Savage was not aware of. While the estate’s policy on education emphasised the importance of learning, intermittent religious interference by members of both the Protestant and Catholic clergy undermined the estate management’s attempt to promote

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<sup>85</sup> John Coolahan, *Irish education: its history and structure* (Dublin, 1981), p. 16.

<sup>86</sup> James Savage to Robert Chaloner, 10 Mar. 1839 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 18,523).

<sup>87</sup> Michael Murphy to James Savage, 4 Apr. 1839 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 18,523)

<sup>88</sup> The memorial of James Savage, assistant teacher, Shillelagh Schools, Apr. 1839 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 18,523).

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

religious tolerance. By 1840, a new issue arose which polarised each denomination and impeded the education of children in two of the schools upon the estate. In this instance, the chief protagonist was the Rev. Henry Moore of Carnew who attempted to interfere in the non-denominational system implemented by the estate.

### 5.5 *'The rector, the earl and the agent' – the school war years in Wicklow*

From 1831, all children receiving a primary education in Ireland could expect to be taught together for a total of no less than four hours a day. During this time, they would receive literary and moral instructions. An hour was set aside at the end of the school day when the children would be separated and given religious instruction according to their faith. The national school board actively encouraged separating the children for this purpose but warned all clergy 'that anything that smacked of religious controversy was strictly' prohibited.<sup>90</sup> Under the new educational system, the clergy of each faith were free to appoint a person to deliver instruction and also decide on whether that person would attend the school to provide instruction or if they wished, to remove the children to the church to receive their instruction there. For almost a decade, this practice took place on the Wicklow estate. However, in September 1840, an episode occurred concerning religious education which heightened sectarian tensions on the estate.

At two o'clock on Tuesday 22 September 1840, the Protestant curate, Rev. Dowse, sent for the Protestant children of Shillelagh school to be brought to the church door. The schoolmaster, John Sunderland, accompanied the boys to the church where he was met by the rector who informed him that: 'he [Dowse] would provide a person,

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<sup>90</sup> Akenson, *The Irish education experiment*, p. 159.

of his own appointment, to give religious instruction to his children'.<sup>91</sup> Sunderland had been appointed by the school committee rather than the clergy to provide spiritual direction, a situation which obviously angered the Protestant clergy. Grace Innes, the schoolmistress was greeted in a similar manner when she arrived with the female pupils. Sunderland immediately notified the school committee. Chaloner Snr was in London when these events took place but was kept abreast of proceedings by Robert Blayney, a member of the committee. In the interim, the agent wrote to the headmaster directing him to prohibit the rector from providing religious instruction to the Protestant children. Arguably, the land agent hoped this was an isolated event but it was not.

Two days later, Dowse challenged the schoolmaster as to why he had kept the Protestant children from him. Sunderland informed Dowse that he could take them for instruction at three o'clock when class was finished. Unimpressed by the response, the curate issued Sunderland with a stern warning that: 'he would seek redress in his own way, and in a short time'.<sup>92</sup> On 28 September, Chaloner Snr wrote to the earl at Wentworth to notify him of events.<sup>93</sup> However, the earl was already aware of the situation having received a two-and-a-half-page letter from Henry Moore, the rector of Carnew expressing his disgust at the treatment of his curate. His disgust was fuelled by Dowse's one-sided account, which stated that Dowse had: 'rejected the assistance of the schoolmaster ... in the most conciliatory manner' and made no reference to his threat to Sunderland.<sup>94</sup> Fitzwilliam forwarded all accounts to Chaloner acknowledging that the versions were: 'not exactly the same'. The earl stated that the removal of the children

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<sup>91</sup> Robert Blayney, Umrigar to Robert Chaloner, Sep. 1840 (S.A., WWM/G35/100). This letter contains numerous notes from Blayney to Chaloner as well as accounts by John Sunderland.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 2-3.

<sup>93</sup> Robert Chaloner, to Earl Fitzwilliam, 28 Sep. 1840 (S.A. WWM/G35/101).

<sup>94</sup> Rev. Henry Moore to Earl Fitzwilliam, 26 Sep. 1840 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 8,816), p. 2.

to a Protestant place of worship was not common practice, while he was ill-informed on this point, he nonetheless instructed that the children should continue to receive their religious instruction on school premises.<sup>95</sup> The earl's intervention in this instance highlights how important the estate management's policies were in curtailing the influence of church leaders in educational matters. Furthermore, the earl placed the education of the estate's children ahead of the sectarian agenda of clerical leaders, while simultaneously emphasised his paternal aim for children to be educated together. As October began, the situation appeared to have settled down.

Although Dowse 'moved the Sunday School to the church', its relocation failed to generate any interest in the district.<sup>96</sup> He then took to the pulpit and during Sunday service he instructed parents to refrain from sending their children to school. Consequently, parents such as Richard Carr, the blacksmith in Shillelagh, bowed under pressure and kept their children at home. When pressed on the matter by the land agent, Carr told Chaloner 'he did not wish to go against his clergy, that Mr Dowse had promised to find them another master and would have [the children] educated [for] free.'<sup>97</sup> Other Protestant parents spoke to the schoolmistress expressing regret over the whole situation. Dowse's actions had the desired effect as the numbers of Protestant children in attendance fell dramatically.<sup>98</sup>

The agent wondered should attempts be made to intervene or was restraint the best course of action. On the one hand, the estate's policy of integrative education was warmly received by all denominations on the estate. Yet, the Protestant tenantry were

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<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3. See also Earl Fitzwilliam to Robert Chaloner Jnr, 30 Sep. 1840 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 8,816). A resolution passed by the committee for the regulation of the school as early as 17 Jul. 1828 had contained this provision.

<sup>96</sup> Robert Chaloner Jnr to Earl Fitzwilliam, 2 Oct. 1840 (S.A., WWM/G35/104), pp 1-2.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 4 Oct. 1840 (S.A., WWM/G35/105), p. 2.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

coerced by the convictions of their clergymen. Writing from Wentworth in October, the earl was sympathetic to the plight of his Protestant tenantry. He recognised the power the church had over its people, how fear underpinned a parent's decision to withdraw their children from the school for to go against the clergy would:

injure their children by depriving them of education. They love their children and know what is good for them as well as Mr D[owse] ... The very foolish fancies of a very young man are not likely to weigh long with parents who are old enough to be his father. They will show themselves but bad Protestants, if they let themselves be thus priest ridden.<sup>99</sup>

Interestingly, in his next sentence, he verbalised how his fear was that it would be the Roman Catholic clergy that would disrupt education on the estate, not his fellow co-religionists. As regards a resolution, he was resolute in that whatever steps were to be taken, they must improve 'the school war', although he recognised 'this [would] be no easy matter'.<sup>100</sup>

By the end of October 1840, the row had escalated substantially. Fitzwilliam stood firm, Chaloner feared it was only a matter of time before this grievous situation would affect Carnew as the search for a suitable site to build a school with a Protestant ethos for Protestant children was ongoing.<sup>101</sup> By November, the situation had spread to Carnew and Chaloner found himself confronted with 'a new mess'. Hayes, the schoolmaster in Carnew had allowed another teacher named Floyd to provide religious instruction without notifying the school committee. When questioned on the matter, the master addressed the committee 'in a very disrespectful manner' and was subsequently relieved of his duties.<sup>102</sup> Once again, Moore wasted no time in updating the earl on

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<sup>99</sup> Earl Fitzwilliam to Robert Chaloner, 8 Oct. 1840 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 8,816), pp 1-2.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., pp 2-3.

<sup>101</sup> Robert Chaloner to Earl Fitzwilliam, 22 Oct. 1840 (S.A., WWM/G35/110).

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 2 Nov. 1840 (S.A., WWM/G35/112).

events. Moore also condemned the committee for dismissing a man with seventeen years teaching experience.<sup>103</sup> It is clear from Moore's tone and language that he perceived himself to possess a far greater authority than he actually had. Consequently, he decided to take matters into his own hands.

He had a circular printed entitled the *State of education in the parish of Carnew* in which he appealed for funds to construct a Protestant school for Protestant children. His language played on the fact that while the Protestant population was large, they were essentially poor and therefore unable to assist in the building.<sup>104</sup> To secure a site, he took the decision to annex a portion of burial ground in the Protestant church yard for the purposes of constructing a Protestant school. However, this burial site was also used by Roman Catholics.<sup>105</sup> Consequently, the Catholic tenants were entitled to offer an opinion on how the ground should be used.

In February 1841, Dr Thomas DeRenzy, a Protestant large farmer on the estate loyal to Fitzwilliam travelled to Dublin to meet with the estate barrister, Abraham Brewster. The barrister advised that the earl and agent should garner as much support as possible for the establishment of a non-denominational school without alienating the Protestant tenantry. At a vestry meeting in Carnew a few days later, the rector's proposal to build a schoolhouse in a section of the church yard was considered. Those in attendance were given an opportunity to voice their opinions at which point, 'the assembled parishioners expressed their indignation in a long and impressive manner' which led to a serious altercation. DeRenzy proposed a motion to retain the ground as a

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<sup>103</sup> Rev. Moore to Earl Fitzwilliam, 28 Nov. 1840 (S.A., WWM/G36/5).

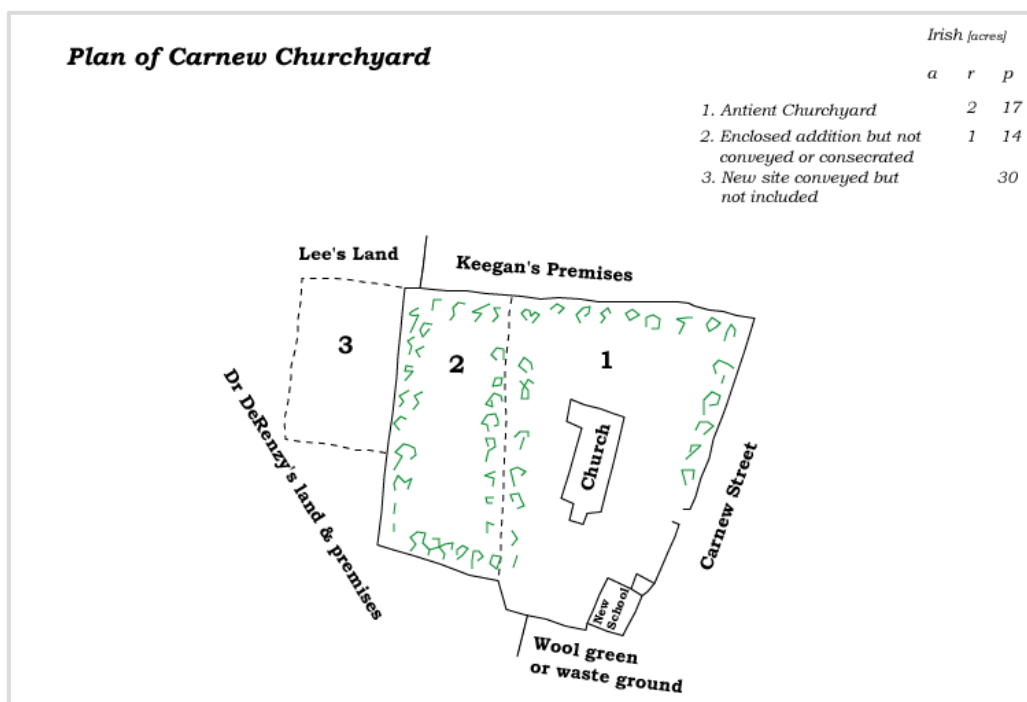
<sup>104</sup> Circular *State of education in the parish of Carnew*, 30 Dec. 1840 (S.A., WWM/G36/9).

<sup>105</sup> See Martin Maguire, 'Churches and symbolic power in the Irish landscape' in *Landscapes*, v (2004), pp 91-114; p. 91.



burial place for the dead which was unanimously passed.<sup>106</sup> Yet, Moore refused to recognise the vote as it was carried on the strength of the Roman Catholics in attendance.<sup>107</sup> Incensed that his own brethren had not only voted against him but had also sided with the Catholics on the estate, Moore proceeded with his plans (see Map 5.3).<sup>108</sup>

**Map 5.3 Plan of Carnew churchyard showing location of new school, 1841<sup>109</sup>**



As the year progressed, anonymous placards were posted in Carnew aimed directly at the loyal Protestants of the town. Inflammatory language with sectarian undertones instructed the reader to ‘Remember the old Malt House’, a direct reference to the 1798 rebellion in the town in which loyalists barricaded themselves into the

<sup>106</sup> Statement of the proceedings at a vestry meeting this day for making of Carnew church yard a building site, 16 Feb. 1841 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 8,816).

<sup>107</sup> An admentment (*sic.*) to the resolution about building a schoolhouse on a part of Carnew church yard, 16 Feb. 1841 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 8,816).

<sup>108</sup> Robert Chaloner Jnr to Earl Fitzwilliam, 12 Apr. 1841 (S.A., WWM/G35).

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 30 Aug. 1841 (S.A., WWM/G35/118).

distillery to escape the Catholic rebels.<sup>110</sup> It appears that the events of 1798 though long past, still lingered in the minds of the townspeople. In response, the earl filed a bill with the Court of Chancery to prevent the minister from exacting any further chaos on the estate.<sup>111</sup>

In the court case that followed, Fitzwilliam stated that Moore had contravened all regulations by encroaching on the site to erect his schoolhouse and other buildings.<sup>112</sup> An affidavit was presented which confirmed the details submitted to the court and added that the earl had built ‘a large and commodious school-house ... within a hundred yards’ of the church for the purposes of educating all of his tenants’ children irrespective of creed.<sup>113</sup> While the earl is to be commended for his foresight in establishing a non-denominational educational system on his estate, his handling of the Moore fiasco highlights serious inadequacies in the management system. By enabling Moore to pursue his Protestant educational agenda uninhibited this compromised the social harmony and the ideals of religious tolerance which the estate management structure aimed to promote.

Moore, in his defence, stated that the amount of land to be annexed was of meagre proportions but would accommodate 160 Protestant children whom at present were scattered between the vestry room at the church and a few classrooms procured by the minister. He denied any suggestion of erecting any building other than a

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<sup>110</sup> Memorial to the loyal Protestants of Carnew, 6 Jun. 1841 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 8,816). See also Ruan O’Donnell, *The rebellion in Wicklow, 1798* (Dublin, 1998), pp 261-2.

<sup>111</sup> Author Unknown, *Irish equity reports: particularly of points of practice argued and determined in the High Court of Chancery, the Rolls Court and the Equity Exchequer, from Michaelmas 1840 to Trinity 1841 inclusive* (11 vols, Dublin, 1841), iii, pp 615-6.

<sup>112</sup> Author Unknown, *Irish equity reports*, p. 616.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 617.

schoolhouse.<sup>114</sup> After closing submissions by both counsels, the judge delivered his verdict and ruled in favour of the rector on all counts.<sup>115</sup> Moore no doubt thought he had gained the upper hand on the landlord, but in November 1841 the estate dealt him a heavy blow. Carnew castle had been long established as the residence of the Protestant rector however, no lease existed. Thus, Moore was essentially a tenant-at-will and could be evicted. The estate served him with a notice to quit giving him until 25 March 1842 to vacate the premises or alternatively, to remain as a tenant subject to a severe rental increase. Moore pleaded his case and claimed he had expended considerable sums over the years repairing the dwelling. In consequence of this, the minister felt the sum spent should negate the necessity to enforce the rental increase.<sup>116</sup> In a further letter, Moore maintained that his security of tenure had been confirmed by his predecessor, now bishop of Derry, when he took over from him as incumbent of the parish.<sup>117</sup> Despite the rector's protestations, it is clear that both earl and agent were past the point of entertaining or placating Moore's assertions. Moore had little option but to quit. In challenging the estate's policy on education, Moore ultimately alienated himself from the earl and agent. Thus, the management structure initiated eviction proceedings. However, it did not enforce this eviction, once again highlighting its propensity towards indecisive management practices. Eventually, in 1844, Moore relocated to Ferns thus ending the episode known as the school wars. Fitzwilliam subsequently built his non-denominational school at the end of Wool Green a short distance from All Saints, Church of Ireland school (see Fig. 5.5).

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid., p. 619.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., pp 621-7.

<sup>116</sup> Henry Moore to Earl Fitzwilliam, 9 Nov. 1841 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 8,816).

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 22 Nov. 1841 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 8,816).

**Fig. 5.5 Carnew National School c. 1930s<sup>118</sup>**



5.6 *'No person need apply who is not married' – education on the Yorkshire estate*

The estate's policy of promoting non-denominational education was not confined to Wicklow. By 1833, forty-eight day schools, twenty-six Sunday schools, four infant schools and five boarding schools were in operation across the Yorkshire estate, with every township offering a plethora of educational institutions.<sup>119</sup> Similar to those on the Irish estate, the schools were financed by a variety of methods. In general, the Sunday schools were supported by annual subscriptions from the local community and education was provided free of charge.<sup>120</sup> The day schools were financed through a combination of private philanthropy and landlord endowments.

Of the forty-eight day schools on the estate, the George Ellis Trust supported three schools by providing an annual subscription which provided a number of free

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<sup>118</sup> Copy of photograph of Carnew school c. 1930s in the personal possession of Annette Murphy, Paulbeg, Shillelagh, county Wicklow.

<sup>119</sup> *Education enquiry. Abstract of the answers and returns made in pursuant to an address of the House of Commons, dated 24 May 1833. England and Wales*, pp 1201-2; p. 1158; p. 1170; p. 1185; p. 1188; p. 1198, H.C. 1835 (62) xliii.i, 271-2; 228; 240; 255; 259; 268.

<sup>120</sup> In the township of Wath-upon-Deerne, two Sunday schools were in operation providing instruction to 122 males and 130 females free of charge. See *Ibid.*, pp 1201-2, H.C. 1835 (62) xliii.i, 271-2.

places to pupils. In the township of Wombwell, the trust paid an annual subscription of £5 per annum which provided tuition for six students. At a second day school, the charity paid a gratuity towards the schoolmistress' salary of £15 per annum.<sup>121</sup> Contrastingly, the estate itself supported ten day schools across the estate and also provided an annual donation of ten guineas towards the running of the Sunday school at Wentworth.<sup>122</sup>

The educational system which existed on the Yorkshire estate was comparable with the Irish system in many ways. Firstly, the estate management structure at Wentworth was heavily involved in the maintenance and development of educational facilities on the estate. Moreover, the paternal management stance on religious tolerance present on the Wicklow estate was also highly visible on the Yorkshire estate. Sunday schools provided instruction not only to children of the Anglican faith, but also to those of the Methodist religion. Of the three Sunday schools in operation in Swinton, one was for those of the Established Church, while the remaining two provided religious instruction to Independent and Wesleyan Methodists respectively.<sup>123</sup> The influence of the church on education policy was also visible on the Yorkshire estate where 'children were taught reading and writing, partly by the rector and neighbouring gentry'.<sup>124</sup>

However, a number of contrasts also existed. While the Wicklow tenantry found it difficult to pay the nominal fee to send their children to school, a large proportion of the educational facilities on the Yorkshire estate were fee paying with

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid., p. 1158, H.C. 1835 (62) xliii.i, 228.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., pp 1201-2; p. 1158; p. 1170; p. 1185; p. 1188; p. 1198, H.C. 1835 (62) xliii.i, 271-2; 228; 240; 255; 259; 268.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., pp 1201-2, H.C. 1835 (62) xliii.i, 271-2.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p. 1170, H.C. 1835 (62) xliii.i, 240.

children instructed at their parents' expense. Furthermore, although small in number, the boarding schools were also fee paying and were more expensive.<sup>125</sup> Undoubtedly, the standard of education on the Yorkshire estate was far superior to that delivered on the Wicklow estate. This was exemplified by the fact that the majority of Sunday schools on the Yorkshire estate had lending libraries providing ready access to resources.

For the most part, the estate management policies on the Yorkshire estate in relation to the appointment of teachers appeared more stringent than those implemented on the Wicklow estate. In 1841, when the position of schoolmaster at Barrow school was advertised, it contained the strict instruction that 'no person need apply who is not married and above thirty years of age'. Applications were to be made to William Newman, the land agent, on the *proviso* that he would only reply to candidates he deemed suitable for the position.<sup>126</sup> The appointment was a lucrative one as it included a residence and an annual salary of £100. The schoolmaster at Barrow was expected to take on the additional role of superintendent of the hospital or almshouse in which the school was located highlighting a level of autonomy that did not exist in Wicklow where the church was highly involved in educational matters.<sup>127</sup>

The fifth earl took an active interest in educative policies on his estates throughout his lifetime. He regularly presented prizes to students and worked to

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<sup>125</sup> For example, the boarding school in Brampton Bierlow and another at Rawmarsh had male students, while its equivalent in Wath-upon-Deane provided instruction to females only. See *Ibid.*

<sup>126</sup> *Thirtieth annual report of the national society for promoting education of the poor in the principles of the established church throughout, England and Wales* (London, 1841), p. 62.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*

promote the benefits of education. Although, absent from his Wicklow estate, his promotion of education in Ireland was no less vigorous.<sup>128</sup>

### 5.7 *Conclusion*

The religious composition of the Fitzwilliam estates of Wicklow and Yorkshire were inherently different and so the way in which each estate was managed needed to reflect this diversity. Although the Yorkshire estate comprised different religions there was no evidence of any religious animosity. However, the Catholic majority in Wicklow came into conflict with a Protestant minority over issues of land on politico-religious issues driven by the 1820s campaign for Catholic emancipation.

In general, the estate management took a liberal approach to religious worship in both Wicklow and Yorkshire. However, adapting a policy of religious tolerance in Yorkshire was significantly easier than in Wicklow, primarily because the estate authorities in Yorkshire did not have to contend with religious tensions. The estate's policy concerning religious tolerance was underpinned by the earl's paternalism, yet this paternalism was material and manifested itself through a programme of church building on both estates. Despite the estate's best efforts to subdue sectarianism on the Wicklow estate, religious animosity resurfaced in the 1840s and was most clearly reflected in the estate's educational system.

The national school system that was introduced in Ireland in 1831 had little effect on the educational structure on Fitzwilliam's Wicklow estate. In many respects, the system established prior to 1831 embodied all the tenets of the new system and less of its fallacies. The new system permitted the segregation of children for religious

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<sup>128</sup> Graham Mee, *Aristocratic enterprise: the Fitzwilliam industrial undertakings, 1795-1857* (London, 1975), p. 19.

instruction and was utterly divisive and juxtaposed to the non-denominational system in operation. Although the conditions of some of the Catholic schools on the Wicklow estate were questionable, in the absence of state funding or indeed a propensity to educate the poor, the burden of responsibility fell to the landlord.

Despite its best efforts, the estate administration in Wicklow was beset with difficulties from external forces, the most destructive of which was the influence of the Established Church on the estate. Whereas the Catholic clergy endorsed the estate's educational policy, the Protestant clergy constantly undermined the earl's philosophy. The Protestant clergy were driven by obstinate dogmatism, prompted by their own self-interest which ultimately jeopardised the education of Protestant children on the estate. In establishing educational systems in both locations, the management policy employed by each administration required an astute understanding of the dynamics by which each society functioned. Undoubtedly, the fifth earl's most significant contribution was the establishment and development of non-denominational schools across both estates. His paternal belief that religious antagonisms could be lessened through such institutions highlights both his liberal vision and intuitive nature at a time when the state system of education consistently upheld religious division.



## CHAPTER 6: SINKING INTO NOTHINGNESS: COOLLATTIN ESTATE AND THE FAMINE YEARS, 1842-1852

*Ireland was a country of which Englishmen were exceedingly ignorant. It was a mirror in which England did not very well wish to look; but from which she ought not to shrink, although she might not see anything reflected there which would cause her to exult. England might see in that mirror much cause of regret and much cause of shame.*

Lord Fitzwilliam speaking in the House of Lords, March 1846.<sup>1</sup>

### 6.1 Introduction

In 1831, the population of Yorkshire stood at 1,366,802. By 1841, that figure had increased significantly to 1,584,116 inhabitants residing in England's largest county.<sup>2</sup> In contrast, the population of county Wicklow increased by a meagre 4 percent during the same period, rising from 121,557 in 1831 to 126,143 a decade later.<sup>3</sup> Of this latter figure, 22,537 equating to approximately 18 percent were recorded as residing in 3,858 dwellings of various classifications on Earl Fitzwilliam's Coollattin estate in 1841.<sup>4</sup> By 1851, the Fitzwilliam tenantry totalled 16,170 individuals inhabiting 2,740 dwellings.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, over a ten-year period, the Irish estate experienced a 28 percent diminution in terms of both its population and its housing stock. Although a Famine-assisted emigration scheme was instigated on the estate in 1846 and continued until 1857, it alone does not account for the total loss during this period.<sup>6</sup> This chapter seeks to examine the effects of the Great Irish Famine on Earl Fitzwilliam's Irish estate. In so doing, it exposes the underlying weaknesses that existed prior to its onset and how the estate responded to Famine

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<sup>1</sup> *Hansard* 3, i [*State of Ireland*, H.L. Deb., 23 Mar. 1846, vol. lxxxiv, cc1405-6].

<sup>2</sup> Census of Great Britain, 1851, preliminary tables, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Census of Ireland, 1841, abstract, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, report, pp 138-40.

<sup>5</sup> Census of Ireland, 1851, pp 348-50; pp 356-8.

<sup>6</sup> The issue of assisted emigration is dealt with thoroughly in chapter seven.

through its management policies. Finally, it examines the mechanisms implemented by the land agent in order to deal with the crisis.

## 6.2 'A very distressed class of people'<sup>7</sup>

While Fitzwilliam's tenantry on both the Yorkshire and Wicklow estates experienced famine during the mid-nineteenth century, it was undoubtedly the Wicklow tenantry who experienced the most distress. On the eve of the Famine, the Coollattin estate was suffering substantial financial losses due to non-payment of rent. In actual fact, as the estate Arrears Book demonstrates, a small number of tenants were experiencing difficulty making payments as early as Lady's Day 1830. On 25 March 1830, the Irish agent recorded a total of £8,965 2s. 5d. arrears across Fitzwilliam's Irish holdings, a figure, the agent noted, was 'doubtful of ever being received'.<sup>8</sup> This point supports R. F. Foster's assertion that the Famine was 'not [the] watershed in [nineteenth-century] Irish history ... but 1815, with the agricultural disruption following the end of the French Wars.'<sup>9</sup> Of the arrears outstanding on the Fitzwilliam estate in 1830, 6,236 4s. 4d. pertained to the core estate with the remainder accruing from satellite regions.<sup>10</sup> A number of townlands were affected on the core estate including Ardoyne, Ballard, Ballynultagh, Carnew, and Coollattin. Monies owed varied considerably from a mere £4 1s. 6d. owed by Mary Philips of Ballynultagh to larger sums such as £376 18s. which the Rev. Richard Henry Ponsonby owed for his holding in Carnew. In Coollattin, four tenancies were in difficulty, these included Thomas Foster who was in arrears of £91 17s. 9d., John Jones Jnr owed the estate £31 10s. while the remaining two tenancies were held jointly by a Mr Keoghoe and a Mr Timmons and by Arthur and Pat

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<sup>7</sup> *Evidence taken before her Majesty's commissioners of inquiry into the state of law and practice in respect of the occupation of land in Ireland*, part iii, pp 529-50, HC 1845 [657], xxi.i, 535-56. [Hereafter cited as *Devon Commission*].

<sup>8</sup> Arrears book of Coollattin estate, 1830-64 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 3,993), pp 1-4. The relative worth of the increase in arrears between 1830 and 1843 in today's value is approximately £2,036,000.

<sup>9</sup> Roy Foster, *Modern Ireland, 1660-1972* (London, 1988), p. 318.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

Murphy. Collectively, the arrears owed on Coollattin townland in 1830 amounted to £293 12s. 9d.<sup>11</sup> A similar picture of distress existed on the townland of Cronyhorn where Mary Braddell's executors owed the estate £1,110 2s. 11d. whilst her under-tenants owed a further £82 17s. 11d. in rent.<sup>12</sup> Yet, the arrears of 1830 were insignificant in comparison to those which had accumulated by 1843.

In the intervening period the total arrears due to Fitzwilliam from his Irish tenants had grown exponentially and now stood at £47,445 3s. 10½d. In excess of 60 percent of this total, equating to £29,231 19s. 4d. related to the core estate. In just thirteen years the arrears had increased by £22,995 15s. It is obvious from the Arrears Book that the level of economic hardship had amplified considerably on certain townlands over the preceding thirteen years. A combination of payment of church tithes and agricultural depression added to the financial woes of the lower classes.<sup>13</sup> In 1830, twenty-four townlands were recorded as being in debt. By 1843, arrears on the core estate ran to seventeen pages in length and highlighted sixty-six townlands.<sup>14</sup> Equally, the number of distressed tenancies had risen dramatically from fifty in 1830 to more than 380 by 1843 (see Fig. 6.1).<sup>15</sup>

On the townland of Coollattin, a total of nineteen tenancies were in arrears by 1843, owing a total of £1,675 18s. 0½d.<sup>16</sup> On the townland of Ballard, the joint holding of Pat and Simon Donaghue was in arrears of £150 18s. but was also 'under ejectments'.<sup>17</sup> Richard Hopkins, a neighbour of the Donaghues was in a similar situation owing the earl £148 3s. 3d. having also been served with a notice to quit.<sup>18</sup> On the townland of Ballyconnell, in the

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>13</sup> See chapter three and four for further discussion on these causes.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 25. The figure for the core estate is the cumulative sum of all figures from pp 5-20 inclusive as well as the first three entries on p. 21.

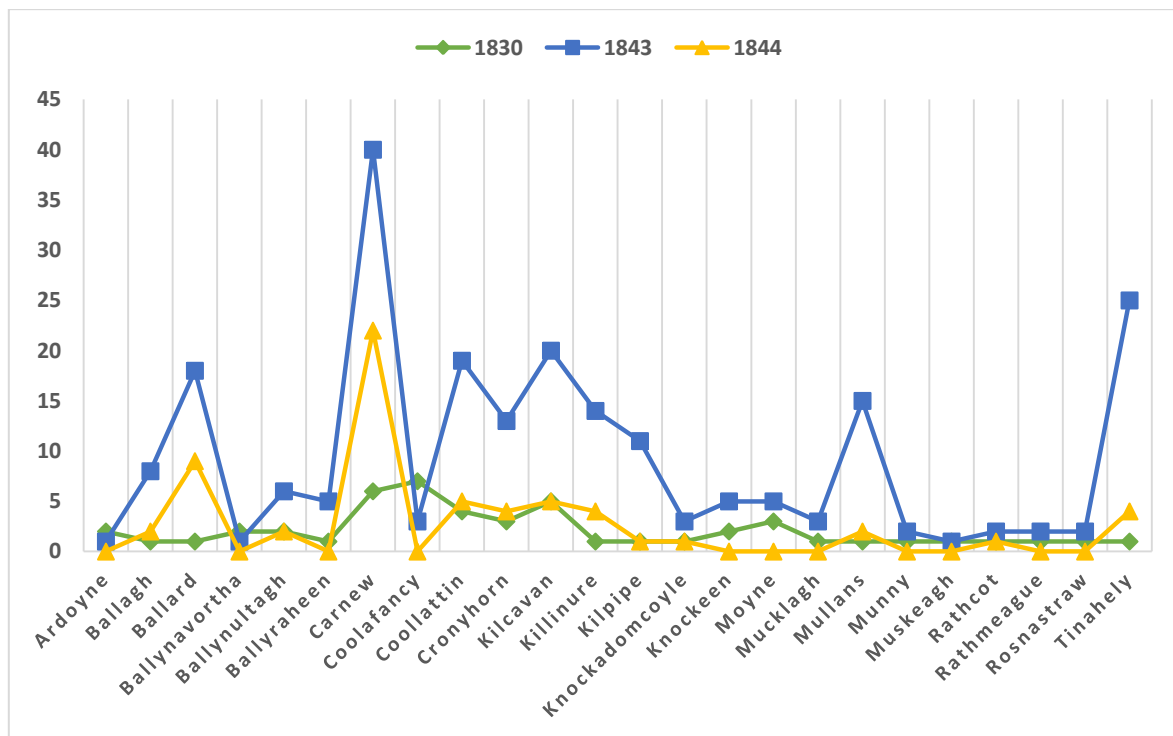
<sup>15</sup> The 1843 tenancy figure is approximate as a number of entries refer to under-tenants and cabin holders so a definitive number of tenants cannot be ascertained.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

**Fig. 6.1 Arrears on twenty-four selected townlands across Coollattin estate, 1830-44<sup>19</sup>**



parish of Crecrin, Richard Kerrivan owed £51 15s. 11d. in arrears. It seemed likely that he too would be ejected for Chaloner Jnr described him as a ‘very poor [man] not able to hold this farm’.<sup>20</sup> Others, it appears were attempting to pay their outstanding debts. George Fling of Boley paid off his arrears of £10 14s. 4d., while Robert Rickerby’s executors originally owed £43 3s. 9d. on one holding which they duly paid off. However, they still faced the onerous task of paying off a further debt on a second holding which totalled £95 3s. 10d.<sup>21</sup> Joseph Page of Kilcavan was not so fortunate. In July 1843, Page owed the estate £379 18s. 6d., although it appears that between the time Chaloner Jnr first listed him in the arrears book in 1843 and subsequently rechecked his figures, Page was ‘ejected’ from his holding and it had been leased to John Page instead.<sup>22</sup> Joseph subsequently emigrated to America.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Arrears book of Coollattin estate, 1830-64 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 3,993).

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>23</sup> Memoranda in respect of the estate of Earl Fitzwilliam in county Wicklow, including conditions on which lands and tenements are held, 1843-68 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,967), 1844:7.

Of the £47,445 3s. 10½*d.* arrears outstanding, Chaloner Jnr recommended striking off £32,098 9s. 1*d.* of tenants' debt, leaving a total amount outstanding of £15,346 14s. 9½*d.* less than one-third of the original figure.<sup>24</sup> However, his shrewd judgment was evident as head-tenants who clearly had the means to pay were refused a write-down, including the widow Symes. In January 1843, Mrs Symes sought a reduction in her rent for land and property at Ballybeg. The holding was substantial totalling in excess of 1,500 acres. Chaloner Jnr fastidiously recorded the details of her case outlining her reasons for requesting this reduction. Mrs Symes felt the profits accruing to her were insufficient given the expenses incurred in keeping the house and offices in good repair. She recognised that the rents charged to her sub-tenants were too high as she stated she felt they should be reduced. A statement of account was attached to support her claim. The sub-tenants who were unnamed in the entry paid an annual rent of £683 4s. 6*d.* She estimated that the farm generated a profit of £172 which collectively left her with an annual income of £855 4s. 6*d.* Her annual head rent amounted to £526 5s. which left her with a net profit of £328 19s., a sum she deemed inappropriate to keep her and her family. The earl's response highlighted his pragmatism and his fair-minded approach. He agreed to reduce her rent in line with the reduction she gave to her under-tenants 'viz £50 if she reduces £50, 100£ is 100£' and so on.<sup>25</sup>

Likewise, Dr Morton of Tinahely was not given any write-down on his £65 arrears. Francis Henry Morton was the son of Henry Hatton Morton, a Justice of the Peace of Fortview, near Tinahely. Francis was born *circa* 1773 and qualified as a medical doctor. In 1804, he had married Mary Chamney and the couple had eleven children.<sup>26</sup> By 1843, Dr Morton was seventy years old and leased 14 acres in the townland of Tinahely. Despite his advanced years, Chaloner Jnr was of the opinion that he still had the means to repay his

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<sup>24</sup> Arrears book of Coollattin estate, 1830-64 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 3,993), p. 25.

<sup>25</sup> Memoranda in respect of the estate of Earl Fitzwilliam in county Wicklow, including conditions on which lands and tenements are held, 1843-68 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4967), 1843:2.

<sup>26</sup> Kilcommon Church of Ireland marriage register, 1813-65 (W.F.H.C., MFC1/96/1-2).

debt.<sup>27</sup> However, on 19 August the following year he struck-off Morton's arrears entirely; due to the fact that the doctor had died on 27 June 1844 rendering the money irretrievable.<sup>28</sup>

### 6.3 'Forgive the arrear, and reduce the rent' – paternalism in practice<sup>29</sup>

It would be remiss to think that the entire estate was heading towards an abyss in 1843 or indeed 1844 for that matter. Though arrears remained, they were at their lowest level since 1830 amounting to £5,104 3s. 1½d. Tenants had been making concerted efforts to pay off their debts particularly in the townland of Killinure. Chaloner Jnr noted that Andrew Dunn's widow of Killinure had owed money 'since 1840 but paid 2 y[ea]rs in 1843' despite being classified as a person of limited means. Similarly, her neighbours Owen Doyle, John Healey, James Hughes and Michael and Henry Hughes had each 'be[en] gradually paying off a large arrear'.<sup>30</sup>

Robert Bates of Ballicionogue was £232 in arrears by 25 March 1844. Bates had incurred considerable personal expense as a consequence of building and drainage works on his holding. An estate valuation estimated the total cost of improvements, less materials, to be £325 19s. 7d. In addition, the estate had erected a new dwelling house at Bates' request which resulted in a 2 percent increase in his annual rent. These factors led to the outstanding arrear. In an effort to discharge it, Bates requested that the earl 'allow him half the ... outlay towards liquidating the arrear.' The earl was more than fair in his response, directing his agent to allow Bates the entire outlay quashing the debt on the *proviso* that he was 'regular in his payment of rent.'<sup>31</sup> That said, other tenants were evidently struggling. Moses Dorcey of

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<sup>27</sup> Maps of the Cashaw estate of the Right Hon. Earl Fitzwilliam situate in the county of Wicklow, 1842 (2 vols, N.L.I. Fitzwilliam papers, MS 22,020), no. 38.

<sup>28</sup> Arrears book of Coollattin estate, 1830-64 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 3,993), p. 30; see also *Freeman's Journal*, 5 Jul. 1844.

<sup>29</sup> Memoranda in respect of the estate of Earl Fitzwilliam in county Wicklow, including conditions on which lands and tenements are held, 1843-68 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,967), 1850:9.

<sup>30</sup> Arrears book of Coollattin estate, 1830-64 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 3,993), p. 29.

<sup>31</sup> Memoranda in respect of the estate of Earl Fitzwilliam in county Wicklow, including conditions on which lands and tenements are held, 1843-68 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,967), 1844:2.

Kilpipe owed £51 16s. 4d., £48 of which was 'due since 1833.'<sup>32</sup> Once again, the earl struck-off the arrears. This reduced the overall figure outstanding to £1,318 3s. 3d. in 1844.<sup>33</sup> These gestures transcended social class and demonstrate the earl's paternalism as he was willing to absorb the debt at his own expense.

Dorcey and Bates were not entirely representative of all tenants on the estate. On the contrary, the Memorandum Book for these years demonstrates an enterprising tenantry existing alongside a poverty-ridden class. In January 1843, William Blake of Ballinglen approached Chaloner Jnr seeking finance to invest in his business. The sum requested was £100. Blake was a part-leaseholder on a holding which comprised 189 acres. He required capital to establish himself as a miller. Blake was well prepared before approaching the agent as Chaloner Jnr was able to set out Blake's repayment plan which consisted of 'half yearly instalments of £25.'<sup>34</sup> It was not the first time Blake was granted credit by the estate and due to his diligence in repaying his previous liability, the land agent actually advanced him £25 subject to Fitzwilliam's approval.<sup>35</sup> Henry Braddell, a head-tenant on the townland of Ballingate Upper was also advanced £200 by the estate in 1843 at a rate of 4 percent interest to carry out building works. In 1844, he requested a further £200 on the same terms and for the same purpose, which also met with Fitzwilliam's approval.<sup>36</sup> The granting of loans to tenants demonstrates the business-like approach adopted by the estate which contributed greatly to improving the estate.

Although Fitzwilliam governed in absentia, his replies throughout the Memoranda Books demonstrate that when it came to decisions concerning leases, rent abatements and other such matters, the fourth earl inherently considered how decisions made would affect the

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<sup>32</sup> Arrears book of Coollattin estate, 1830-64 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 3,993), p. 29.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 26-30.

<sup>34</sup> Memoranda in respect of the estate of Earl Fitzwilliam in county Wicklow, including conditions on which lands and tenements are held, 1843-68 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,967), 1843:1.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 1844:7.

tenant when deciding on a particular course of action. A prime example of this was the case of Edward Balf Snr of Kilcavan. Balf was a tenant-at-will on a holding of 51 acres for which he was charged £25 12s. in rent annually. However, Balf had been struggling financially since the mid-1820s and arrears had been accruing prior to 1826 by which time he owed £147 14s. 3d. In the intervening two decades, the amount outstanding had grown to £365 15s. 5d. despite Balf's own attempts at restructuring the holding. By 1844, he resided on approximately 4 acres rent free. The rent was paid to him from the other three occupiers, his son-in-law Michael Handrick who had married his daughter Mary in 1832 and his two nephews, Nicholas Balf and Edward Balf Jnr.<sup>37</sup> Handrick farmed 12 acres, while Nicholas and Edward Jnr each held 17 acres. All were categorised as 'very poor' and clearly incapable of managing the holding. Fitzwilliam believed that the four occupiers should be served with ejectment notices and duly compensated with a 'reasonable sum of money' upon vacating the holding.<sup>38</sup>

This incident highlights the difficulties associated with a paternalistic approach to estate management. The estate had allowed this arrear to accumulate for almost a quarter of a century until the situation was untenable for all parties concerned. However, an interesting aspect of this case is the fact that Balf was a tenant-at-will and legally was not entitled to any tenant rights. However, on this estate he was afforded the same conditions as leaseholders. Unlike many of his contemporaries, Fitzwilliam did not readily sanction ejectments. When these did form part of the management practices they were not entered into lightly or spontaneously.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, despite the arrear which had been accrued, Fitzwilliam

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 1844:8; see also Tomacork Roman Catholic marriages, 1807-65 (N.L.I., Pos. 04256/03 and Pos. 04256/05).

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 1844:8.

<sup>39</sup> See section 3.4 concerning this point. On the Strokestown estate in county Roscommon, eviction was a regular occurrence and arguably, contributed to the death of Denis Mahon. Despite the landlord's death, the estate continued to engage in ejectments. See for example, Ciarán Reilly, 'Aspects of agency: John Ross Mahon, accommodation and resistance on the Strokestown estate, 1845-51' in Enda Delaney and Breandán MacSuibhne (eds), *Ireland's Great Famine and popular politics* (Abingdon, 2016), pp 172-86; pp 177-8



ensured that the tenants were appropriately compensated. In his discussion of Famine eviction, James S. Donnelly Jr comments that: ‘many proprietors and agents were insensible to the awful suffering of those whom they evicted with hardly any provision for their future’. Although he is indeed justified in his criticism, it clearly does not apply to this estate as ejectments were generally the result of years of non-payment of rent and yet, the outgoing tenant was still allowed compensation for produce and repairs carried out.<sup>40</sup>

Estate correspondence also suggests that the fifth earl favoured resident as opposed to absentee tenants. Wentworth Paine resided in Dublin, yet held a lease for 15 acres in the townland of Lugduff, which carried an annual rent of £11 18s. 8d. However, Paine was faced with the prospect of ejectment when his arrears finally reached £108 6s. 10d. It should be noted that £73 of this amount had accumulated during his father’s time as leaseholder. In 1843, Paine expressed a desire to retain the holding and to ‘someday reside in Tinahely ... [and pay off] the arrear’ so long as the earl agreed to cancel his father’s portion of the liability. In reply, Fitzwilliam was swift and direct in his decision stating that: ‘[Paine] must be ejected’.<sup>41</sup> Occasionally tenants who were served a notice to quit were given a reprieve in the form of a cooling off period during which time, if they repaid the monies outstanding they could redeem their property. In this case, Wentworth Paine was given nine months to comply. However by autumn 1844, Fitzwilliam advised Chaloner Jnr that it was to be leased to William Haskins of Gurteen as Paine failed to repay the arrear.<sup>42</sup>

Contrastingly, in the case of resident tenants, it appears a variety of management practices existed with every effort being made to ensure that holdings which fell out-of-lease were re-let to the families that had laboured and lived on the land. John Goodison of Park

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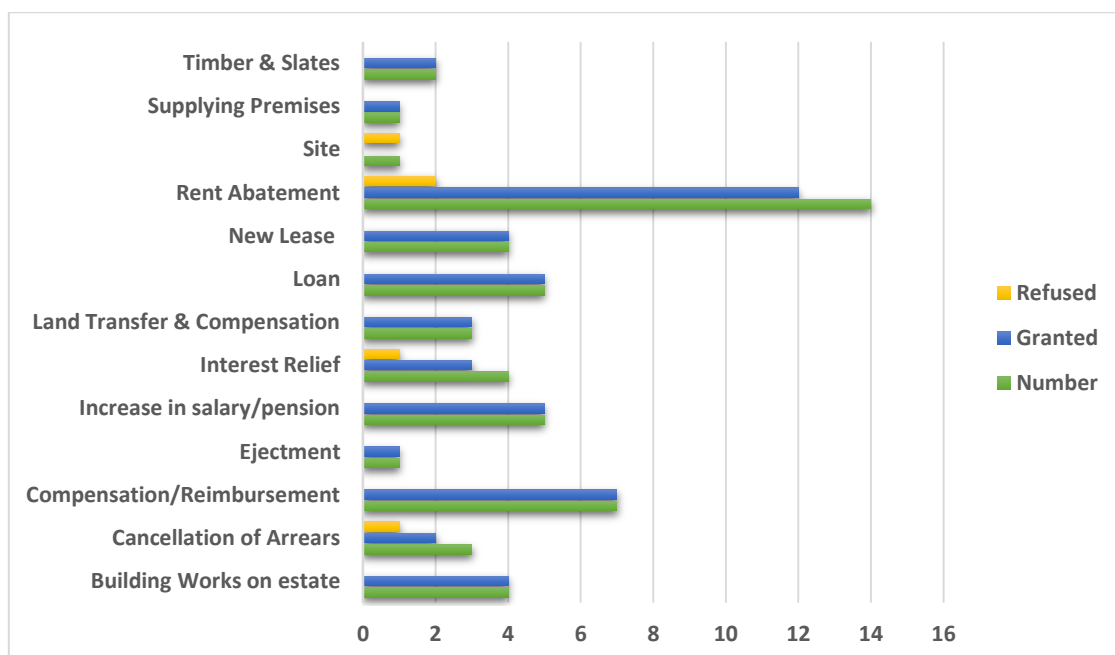
<sup>40</sup> James S. Donnelly Jr, *The land and people of nineteenth-century Cork: the rural economy and the land question* (London, 1975), p. 118. The case of Wentworth Paine is a prime example of this point as his arrears were almost ten times the amount of his annual rent before he was ejected from his holding.

<sup>41</sup> Memoranda in respect of the estate of Earl Fitzwilliam in county Wicklow, including conditions on which lands and tenements are held, 1843-68 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,967), 1843:13.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 1844:19.

died intestate in 1842. His personal property was to be divided amongst his numerous adult children. When divided, the portion of inheritance was so minute that it was impossible for any ‘one of the sons ... at Park to hold the farm’. The Irish agent subsequently petitioned the earl on behalf of the second son, Samuel. Samuel had shown himself to be an enterprising individual. He had established a shop on part of the land which had generated some capital. He proposed to discharge the arrears and ensure the prompt payment of rent if the earl granted him control of the farm which was out of lease following the death of his father. Despite arrears of £203 19s. and an annual rent of £74 18s. for the 85-acre holding, Fitzwilliam agreed that Samuel was to have the farm.<sup>43</sup> During the years 1843 to 1844, tenants made fifty requests to Fitzwilliam via his agent. These ranged from increases in salary and pensions to cancellation of arrears, interest relief and rent abatements. With few exceptions, the tenants’ requests were agreed by the estate management in line with the tenants’ wishes (see Fig. 6.2). This approach resulted in predominantly harmonious relations between both parties.

**Fig. 6.2 Tenant requests and outcomes, Coollattin estate, 1843-4<sup>44</sup>**



<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 1843:16.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

#### 6.4 *'Philanthropy and profit seldom go together'*<sup>45</sup>

The year 1844 represented a time of renewed expansion upon the estate. A national school was constructed in the townland of Rathmeague with financial support from both the National School Board and the earl. Aside from donating the site on a thirty-one-year lease, Fitzwilliam also subscribed £20 towards initial construction costs and perhaps more importantly, granted an additional £60 which was required to complete the project. On the townland of Tinahely, the dispensary committee requested funds to construct a fever hospital in the market-town in order to 'lessen' the spread of disease and provide better patient care to those afflicted. The grand jury had the authority to provide as much as double the amount raised by subscription. In response to the request, Fitzwilliam pledged £150 towards building works provided that the grand jury honoured their commitment and provided the maximum outlay of £300.<sup>46</sup>

Analysis of correspondence concerning the Irish estate demonstrates that tenants repaid the earl for his kindness towards them. Samuel Laurenson of Coollattin is one such example. Laurenson held the court house at Coollattin and approximately 48 acres of land. He had expended £150 on the construction of out-houses on the holding, although over time, both the dwelling house and associated buildings had fallen into a state of disrepair. Fitzwilliam had agreed to employ a Mr Pretchet to design plans to improve the holding. The remainder of the work was not 'carried into effect'. Laurenson reasoned with the earl that if he would agree to 'carry out the necessary alterations and repairs', he [Laurenson] would

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<sup>45</sup> Letter-book of Robert Chaloner, Mar. 1842 – Jan. 1853 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 3,987), entry dated 14 Feb. 1848.

<sup>46</sup> Memoranda in respect of the estate of Earl Fitzwilliam in county Wicklow, including conditions on which lands and tenements are held, 1843-68 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,967), 1844:23; 1844:24.

increase his rent from the current value of £39 9s. to £45 per annum and also forego reimbursement of the initial monies he had paid out.<sup>47</sup>

To the outside observer, such acts of concession and paternalism on the part of the earl could be perceived as maintaining what Howard Newby terms as ‘the deferential dialectic’. Newby explains this as ‘the relational and normative means by which [rural] elites maintain their traditional authority, and the strategies they employ to ensure’ tranquillity across space and time. This ultimately created a situation in which the landed elites retained power over their subordinate tenantry.<sup>48</sup> However, it would be wrong to apply this to the case of Coollattin estate for a number of reasons. Firstly, Newby argues that the social interaction between the various groups required ‘face-to-face interaction’ in order to foster deference, or social distance, between those who owned the land and those who lived upon it.<sup>49</sup> As Fitzwilliam was an absentee landlord, he remained in many respects faceless. It could be argued that the agent assumed the position of *de-facto* landlord in this instance, were it not for the fact that Fitzwilliam’s tenants felt adequately empowered to bypass the agent and corresponded directly with the earl concerning particular grievances.<sup>50</sup> Secondly, to attribute these actions to the deferential dialectic implies a manipulative rather than paternalistic motive. To do so ignores both the tone throughout the earl’s correspondence and his repeated attacks on his class and country for their policies concerning the state of Ireland. This was evident at various intervals, most notably in 1846 when Fitzwilliam contended that: ‘Ireland owed all its evils to the mischievous legislation of England, [and as

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 1844:14.

<sup>48</sup> Howard Newby, ‘The deferential dialectic’ in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, xvii (1975), pp 139-64; p. 149.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 159.

<sup>50</sup> See for example the case of William Haigh, Irish land agent from 1813 to 1826, Haigh was despised by the tenantry and Mr Symes, a head-tenant in Tinahely wrote directly to the earl to complain about his conduct in 1817. Mr Symmes to Earl Fitzwilliam, 16 Oct. 1817 (S.A., WWM/F79/68).

such] the landlords of Ireland had a right to claim assistance from England in this [Great Irish Famine] emergency.’<sup>51</sup>

#### 6.5 ‘Up here we have so little good land’ – the Devon Commission enquiry<sup>52</sup>

In 1843, the British government attempted to ascertain the extent of Irish landholding, its ownership, occupation and condition by establishing the Devon Commission. Witnesses were questioned throughout 1844 concerning the state of land tenure and their replies demonstrate the complexity of this multi-stratified society. The commission’s first report was published in 1845. History acknowledges the inherent bias in evidence presented to the commissioners and although it has to be treated with caution as discrepancies exist, it is nonetheless informative in terms of the social hierarchy and land practices which prevailed. A view of south-west Wicklow during this period confirms the findings of the Devon Commission and reveals a mosaic of small and medium sized holdings which formed vital components of the estate system (see Table 6.1).<sup>53</sup>

On Monday 16 October 1844, they arrived in Shillelagh to interview landholders concerning farming practices in south-west Wicklow. Those selected to provide evidence on the Fitzwilliam estate included Robert Chaloner Jnr, Fitzwilliam’s agent who resided at Coollattin Park, a number of Protestant large farmers and the Roman Catholic curate of Carnew.<sup>54</sup> All men were asked a number of questions that revolved around three central issues, land tenure, occupation and practice, with a particular emphasis on how the estate proprietor managed these.

The evidence presented by these individuals depicted a landed estate comprised of a myriad of small and large sized holdings. In general, the land consisted of boggy,

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<sup>51</sup> *Wexford Independent*, 30 Jan. 1847.

<sup>52</sup> *Devon Commission*, p. 534.

<sup>53</sup> Irish estate rental, 1845-6 (S.A., WWM/A/934).

<sup>54</sup> *Devon Commission*, pp 529-50.

mountainous terrain which required an extensive drainage programme in order to make it profitable. The establishment of the Shillelagh and Cashaw Farming Society in 1830 under the auspices of the fourth earl had greatly improved farming methods on the estate.<sup>55</sup> Cattle from the district, once overlooked at fairs, could now compete with any others when at market. According to those interviewed, tenants-at-will were treated exactly the same as leaseholders, while small farmers which were defined as those holding anywhere between 20 and 40 acres depending on the witness, were said to be economically better off than the large farmer.<sup>56</sup> This was a consequence of an ostentatious lifestyle lived by this latter class of tenant.

Amidst all the positive commentary, the evidence demonstrated the harsh realities of life for the lower classes on the estate. In general, ‘farms held in common, or in joint tenancy’ had left tenants in a very bad way although this was not elaborated upon.<sup>57</sup> The labouring class on the estate lived in dwelling houses sub-let by head-tenants and received a daily wage of 10*d.* for their labour.<sup>58</sup> Their conditions of employment were dire. Rents charged by the estate were based on a valuation that dated back to 1834 when the earl employed Mr Bingley, an Englishman, to carry it out. The rents set by Bingley were subsequently reduced by the earl as he believed they were too excessive. Despite the reduction, Chaloner Jnr’s testimony to the commission exposed the fact that many tenants relied on loan funds as a method of paying their rent. The Irish agent was highly critical of these lending agencies as was Robert Dowse, a leaseholder on the estate, who stated that ‘the farmer’s capital revolves too slowly to be able to meet the instalments of the loan fund.’<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Abraham Tate, county coroner stated a small farmer held between 30 and 40 acres whereas Chaloner Jnr defined a small farmer as those holding 20 acres or less. Ibid., p. 532; p. 535.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 530.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p. 532.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 548.

Given the precarious nature of the lower classes on the Wicklow estate, it was obvious that should a crisis occur, these people would be the first to be affected.

During the course of the enquiry, the issue of emigration arose and Chaloner Jnr described the implementation of a voluntary scheme on the estate as a means of controlling ‘the supply and the demand for labour’ in what was an oversaturated labour market.<sup>60</sup> However, his testimony was contradicted by Fr Daniel Kavanagh, the Catholic curate of Carnew. When questioned about the issue of emigration, Kavanagh stated that tenants were ejected to facilitate consolidation ‘or they were sent to America with a small recompense.’<sup>61</sup> More measured in his response, the Catholic curate stated that ‘none of them went of their own will ... but to accommodate the landlord’ implying migration was forced rather than voluntary as presented by the agent.<sup>62</sup>

Kavanagh’s description of life on the estate questions the credibility of the agent’s evidence. It could be argued that Fr Kavanagh was best placed to provide an accurate account of events because his duties as curate necessitated regular contact with the destitute of the estate. This may not have been the case with the other interviewees who in the majority of instances were mainly Protestant middlemen leasing land directly from the earl and sub-letting to the Catholic lower classes. The influence on the middlemen meant that the commissioners were unable to establish an accurate picture of estate life and conditions. Arguably, it is only the land agent’s testimony that can be verified with any degree of certainty through the examination of leases, memoranda and correspondence. While Chaloner Jnr was aware that the practice of subdivision existed, he was oblivious to the true extent of the problem. Ultimately this unawareness had a negative impact on both the

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 536. Please see chapter seven for a more detailed discussion on pre-Famine and Famine-assisted emigration from the estate.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 544 no. 11.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p. 544 no. 16.

economy and the social conditions on the estate which were set to deteriorate further as 1845 loomed.

#### 6.6 'An unanticipated visitation' – the potato blight of 1845<sup>63</sup>

The year 1845 began as any other for the tenantry on the core estate in Wicklow. In August, the English print media carried stories of 'a fearful malady ... among the potato crop' which had migrated from mainland Europe and made its presence felt in Covent Garden.<sup>64</sup> Less than two weeks later, on Saturday 6 September 1845, the *Dublin Evening Post* carried a story documenting its arrival in Ireland.<sup>65</sup> By 15 September, the list of counties affected included Dublin, Meath, Cork, Wexford, Tipperary, Mayo and Down highlighting the virulent nature of the disease.<sup>66</sup> It would be another month before it reached county Wicklow. Even then, as Rees contends, reports were 'not unduly disturbing' as the onset of potato blight occurred with depressing regularity throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>67</sup>

Fitzwilliam's Irish agent first made reference to the disease on the Wicklow estate in November 1845 in a letter to Peter Serjeantson in Liverpool. The purpose of the communication was to seek advice on how to procure 'a large quantity of rice that would be fit for food for human beings ... and the price per ton.'<sup>68</sup> Chaloner Jnr closed his letter by informing Serjeantson that: 'the disease in the potatoe (*sic.*) crop is [he] was sorry to say progressing since they had been taken up & tho' (*sic.*) the damage so far about here [was] not very great, it is now alarming.'<sup>69</sup> On 18 November he corresponded with Messrs Gladstone & Serjeantson placing an order for 'twenty-five tons of tall Indian rice' for the estate which he estimated would not be required until March or April 1846. The agent also asked the

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<sup>63</sup> *The Times*, 31 Oct. 1846.

<sup>64</sup> *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 23 Aug. 1845.

<sup>65</sup> *Dublin Evening Post*, 6 Sep. 1845.

<sup>66</sup> *Nenagh Guardian*, 15 Sep. 1845; *Leinster Express*, 20 Sep. 1845.

<sup>67</sup> Jim Rees, *Surplus People: from Wicklow to Canada* (Cork, 2014), p. 32.

<sup>68</sup> Letter-book of Robert Chaloner, Mar. 1842 – Jan. 1853 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 3,987), entry dated 12 Nov. 1845.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*



suppliers if it was possible to retain the shipment in storage in Liverpool until such time as it was required. Failing this, the agent asked the company to advise him of the cost of commandeering a vessel for landing the cargo at Courtown Harbour.<sup>70</sup>

Although this correspondence indicated the fear of the consequences of the failure of the potato crop on the estate, Chaloner Jnr did not appear overly concerned as his letters for the remainder of the year involved the more mundane tasks of estate management.<sup>71</sup> One example included a letter to J.P. Pritchett, a York architect, at the behest of Lord Milton who wanted him to design new stables at Coollattin. Benjamin Biram, the estate steward at Wentworth was contacted on 29 December as he had requested the plans of the Irish estate.<sup>72</sup> This correspondence demonstrates two interlocking issues. Firstly, the emergence of the potato blight was greeted with an air of familiarity, it was believed it would be short-lived. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, the issues that concerned Chaloner Jnr and Lord Milton, who had been residing at Coollattin during the final quarter of 1845, demonstrate an obvious disconnect between the future sixth earl and paternalism as it highlights how management policies on the estate were more concerned with superfluous additions to the demesne rather than re-diverting estate revenue to address the escalating crisis.

On 24 December 1845, John Donoghue, the Constabulary Sub-inspector for the district of Tinahely furnished a detailed report to the Relief Commissioners in Dublin outlining the state of the potato crop in the district which provided extensive insight into how blight was affecting the region.<sup>73</sup> In his cover letter, Donoghue apologised profusely to the

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid., entry dated 18 Nov. 1845.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., entry dated 28 Nov. 1845; Irish estate rental, 1845-6 (S.A., WWM/A/934).

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., entry dated 29 Dec. 1845.

<sup>73</sup> The Relief Commission was established in November 1845 in response to the failure of the potato crop. Its remit was to provide temporary relief supplementary to that provided under the Poor Relief (Ireland) Act, 1838. The commission was reorganised in January 1846, disbanded in August 1846 and reconstituted in February 1847 under the Temporary Relief Act. See Christine Kinealy, *This great calamity: the Great Irish Famine, 1845-52* (Dublin, 1994), chapter two.

commissioners for his delay in forwarding the report, citing the diverging opinions among the clergy, gentry and principal farmers concerning the extent of the disease.<sup>74</sup>

Fr Thomas Hore, parish priest of the district of Killaveny reported that ‘the gross produce per acre [was] decidedly more than in former years [and had yielded] a better crop than usual’ in Killaveny. According to Hore, ‘one fourth [was] lost or unfit for human food’.<sup>75</sup> William Barber the rector of Kilcommon parish, provided a similar non-alarming account to Hore. Barber stated that ‘the proportion of & increase in crop and disease [were] balanced or rather in favour of crop’ and added that ‘the disease would appear to be arrested not increasing’. He suspected that the district would weather the current calamity.<sup>76</sup>

Farmers in the district could not so optimistic. George Rothwell of Killaveny found his crop was ‘getting bad in the pits [and] if the disease continue[d] there [would] be no seed for the next year’. In the townland of Tubberpatrick, John Slater and Brien Summers had lost one-third and one-half of their crop respectively. Other reports highlighted the uneven nature of the contagion between townlands (see Table 6.1). In Coolalug, there seemed to be no evidence of blight with one man using the phrase ‘plenty of seed for the ensuing year’.<sup>77</sup> In Ballagh, Richard Webster enjoyed the harvest of a double crop compared with the previous year and believed there would be adequate seed to replant.

In Shillelagh barony, Thomas DeRenzy’s report of Cronyhorn townland described the plight of his under-tenants and the efforts of the local constabulary to lessen the distress in the district. On 15 December 1845, he wrote to the commissioners informing them that the quality of the potatoes free of disease were considerably diminished and ‘unfit for the

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<sup>74</sup> John Donoghue to Relief Commission, 24 Dec. 1845 (N.A.I., Famine Relief Commission papers, Incoming letters, baronial sub-series RLFC3/1/267/1).

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, RLFC3/1/267/2.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, RLFC3/1/267/4.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, RLFC3/1/267/7.

purposes for which they had been designed.<sup>78</sup> Unable to provide an estimate of the damage to his own crop, he contended that 10 percent of his under-tenants' crop was destroyed. In an

**Table 6.1 Extent of potato blight in selected townlands on the Wicklow estate, 1845<sup>79</sup>**

<i>Townland</i>	<i>Farmer</i>	<i>% of crop lost</i>
<b>Ballagh</b>	Richard Webster	17
<b>Ballingen</b>	Hibbert Newton	25
<b>Boleybawn</b>	William Haskins	33
<b>Garryhoe</b>	Patrick Freny	67
<b>Mount Pleasant</b>	Mr Dowling	5
<b>Mucklagh</b>	Charles Byrne	17
<b>Rosbawn</b>	John Burke	33
<b>Tubberpatrick</b>	John Slater	33
<b>Tubberpatrick</b>	Brien Summers	50

attempt to use the diseased potatoes, the constabulary in Carnew were instructing people in the process of bread-making which used the ‘pulp of the very worst potatos (*sic.*) and whole wheaten meal [using] equal weights of each’. Mrs DeRenzy began mass producing bread and DeRenzy contended that ‘it was fit for any man or woman in the British Dominion to use’ even the sovereign.<sup>80</sup>

Constabulary returns for the county indicate that a total of 14,861 acres were replanted with potatoes in 1846, 88 percent of the previous year’s plantation. More detailed examination of the figures at county level highlights the considerable disparities that existed between baronies. Those situated on the east coast were worst affected, while the baronies located in the south and west of the county recorded the least amount of change. While the amount of potato land set to conacre declined by 20 percent overall, the baronies of the

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., RLFC3/1/267/11, pp 1-2.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., RLFC3/1/267/7-10.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

Fitzwilliam estate recorded a marked increase in 1846 indicating a confidence amongst the tenantry that the worst of the crisis was behind them (see Table 6.2).<sup>81</sup>

**Table 6.2 Extent of potato planting and conacre in county Wicklow, 1845-6**<sup>82</sup>

<i>Barony</i>	<i>No. of acres planted 1845</i>	<i>No. of acres planted 1846</i>	<i>% of land let in conacre, 1845</i>	<i>% of land let in conacre, 1846</i>
Arklow	2,469	2,054	12.2	6.7
Ballinacor North	1,714	1,583	-	-
<b>Ballinacor South</b>	2,759	2,606	3.2	4.8
Newcastle	2,268	1,790	8.3	6.0
Rathdown	804	585	3.1	3.2
<b>Shillelagh</b>	2,272	2,186	2.3	4.3
Talbotstown Lower	1,611	1,458	11.0	10.7
Talbotstown Upper	2,974	2,599	13.3	10.7
<b>Total</b>	16,871	14,861	7.3	6.6

Examination of the relief commission reports for this area suggests that the crisis of 1845 did not leave the estate with a supply issue *per se* but rather one of affordability. The onset of blight inflated the cost of basic food stuffs to such a degree that it was inaccessible to the average unemployed labourer. In January 1844, a stone of potatoes could be purchased at Carnew market for 2½*d.* By January 1846, the price had risen to 3¾*d.* Similarly, the same quantity which previously cost 3*d.* at Tinahely market was selling for 3½*d.* as 1846 began.<sup>83</sup> Analysis of the land agent's letter-book for the first three months of the year reveals snippets of information concerning the estate. In March 1846, Chaloner Jnr wrote to the North

<sup>81</sup> Constabulary returns for county Wicklow, 1846 (N.A.I., Famine Relief Commission papers, RLFC4/2).

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> *Return of the price of potatoes in market towns in Ireland, Jan. 1840-46*, H.C. 1846, (110) xxxvii, p. 7.

American Colonial Association to enquire what assistance was available if the estate undertook a Famine-assisted emigration scheme.<sup>84</sup> This entry is highly significant in that it indicates that assisted emigration was in the mind of the agent as early as March 1846. Furthermore, it signals the organisation of a scheme that would become the most protracted assisted emigration scheme undertaken by a landed estate during this period.<sup>85</sup>

Throughout May and June, various relief committees began to organise themselves requesting books in which to record the provision of relief. Chaloner Jnr was appointed as treasurer of the Shillelagh Union Relief Committee. The area was divided into five sub-districts namely Tinahely, Carnew, Coolkenno, Clonegal and Hacketstown.<sup>86</sup> Stores were provided in these areas for distributing Indian corn meal, oatmeal and other foodstuffs to the needy.<sup>87</sup> Despite the provision of maize, the situation on the estate was very obviously deteriorating rapidly. On 28 May, Chaloner Jnr wrote to the earl at Wentworth to advise him of the situation that existed. He was lodging £7,100 in receipts but cautioned a ‘further lodgement [was] doubtful as we have had a bad receipt and demands at home are considerable’.<sup>88</sup> On 1 June, he wrote to the commissioners requesting a ‘proportionate advance to the relief [effort] ... of Lord Fitzwilliam’s having laid out between £500 & £600 in seed potatoes for persons not dependent on his Lordship tho’ (*sic.*) resident on his property and of the poorest class whereby their prospects are materially improved’.<sup>89</sup> Throughout

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<sup>84</sup> Letter-book of Robert Chaloner, Mar. 1842 – Jan. 1853 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 3,987), entry dated 18 Mar. 1846.

<sup>85</sup> The Famine-assisted emigration scheme began in March 1847 and continued until 1856. Given its longevity and impact on the estate it is dealt with entirely in chapter seven.

<sup>86</sup> Robert Chaloner to Earl Fitzwilliam, 5 Jun. 1846 (S.A., WWM/G35/191).

<sup>87</sup> Robert Bates to William Stanley, Relief Commission, Jun. 1846 (N.A.I., Famine Relief Commission papers, RLFC3/1/3063).

<sup>88</sup> Robert Chaloner to Earl Fitzwilliam, 28 May 1846 (S.A., WWM/G35/188). Chaloner miscalculated the amount to be lodged as he forgot an additional £500 he had in his possession. The total lodged was £7,600.

<sup>89</sup> Letter-book of Robert Chaloner, Mar. 1842 – Jan. 1853 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 3,987), entry dated 1 Jun. 1846.

1846, the agent ordered thirty-three tonnes of Indian corn meal for the various sub-districts (see Table 6.3).<sup>90</sup>

**Table 6.3 Amount of Indian corn meal ordered by Coollattin estate, June 1846<sup>91</sup>**

<i>Sub-district</i>	<i>Amount (in tonnes)</i>	<i>Date requested</i>
Carnew	10	24 Jun. 1846
Coolkenno	3	6 Jun. 1846
Hacketstown	10	13 Jun. 1846
Shillelagh	-	-
Tinahely	10	3 Jun. 1846

The rural classes had never come in contact with maize before and were unsure of how it might be incorporated into their diet. That same month, the Peel administration finally repealed the Corn Laws, removing protectionist tariffs on the import of corn which had long been a source of contention on both sides of the Irish Sea. However, in the immediate term, the measure had little effect.<sup>92</sup> Robert Bates, now secretary of the committee, requested 500 copies of printed booklets advising on the use of maize for distribution with the corn meal. The booklets were sent from Dublin on 15 June 1846.<sup>93</sup> By 1 July, Chaloner had collected £1,003 7s. 2d. in subscriptions for the relief fund. Throughout July, he procured a further 500 tonnes of oatmeal and 28 tonnes of meal.<sup>94</sup> Amidst the crisis, Chaloner continued to juggle his role as treasurer with that of agent.

The annihilation of the 1846 potato crop began in July. In August, as the relief commission ironically began to scale-down its operations, every electoral division in county

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 3 Jun. 1846; 6 Jun. 1846; 13 Jun. 1846; 24 Jun. 1846.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Christine Kinealy, *Charity and the Great Hunger in Ireland: the kindness of strangers* (London, 2013), p. 23.

<sup>93</sup> Robert Bates to Famine Commissioners, 13 Jun. 1846 (N.A.I., Famine Relief Commission papers, RLFC3/1/3215).

<sup>94</sup> Letter-book of Robert Chaloner, Mar. 1842 – Jan. 1853 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 3,987), pp 110-3.

Wicklow reported the reappearance of the dreaded blight. The main relief available from this point forward was a tightly-controlled scheme of public works. While public work schemes continued to operate in local areas, power was transferred from local committees to the central organisation in Dublin. Thus rather than local committees being responsible for issuing tickets of employment to those in need of work, committees now compiled lists of suitable employees which were forwarded to the Board of Works for approval.<sup>95</sup> However, at Coollattin, the situation did not appear to be causing the agent undue concern. On 5 August 1846, Chaloner informed Lister, the assistant commissioner, that he felt no further meal would be required.<sup>96</sup> This is more than likely a consequence of his ill-advised prediction to the earl in May that a bountiful crop would be harvested but associated distress would continue from June through to August.<sup>97</sup>

Chaloner Jnr spent much of the month of September 1846 in Yorkshire. The first few weeks were spent at Guisborough in north Yorkshire dealing with pressing issues concerning his late father's estate. While there, he wrote to Robert Blayney of Umrigar, Carnew. The final line of the correspondence is most telling as Chaloner contended that 'the potatoes are as bad in this country as they are in Ireland'.<sup>98</sup> However, England's reliance on the potato as a staple commodity for its rural poor was considerably less.<sup>99</sup>

As Chaloner conducted his business in Yorkshire, the situation on the Irish estate was worsening. DeRenzy wrote to the commissioners in September enclosing a memorial signed by seventy-five individuals from the town of Carnew including William Myers, Pat and James White, William Quail, Henry Walker and Loftus Porter, who described their situation

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<sup>95</sup> Ken Hannigan, 'Wicklow before and after the Famine' in Ken Hannigan and William Nolan (eds), *Wicklow history and society: interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county*, pp 789-823; pp 802-3.

<sup>96</sup> Letter-book of Robert Chaloner, Mar. 1842 – Jan. 1853 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 3,987), entry dated 5 Aug. 1846.

<sup>97</sup> Robert Chaloner to Earl Fitzwilliam, 9 May 1846 (S.A., WWM/G35/180).

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 16 Sep. 1846.

<sup>99</sup> R.K. Webb, *Modern England* (London, 1989), p. 278.

and that of their families as being ‘in a state of real poverty.’ The signatories implored the commission to recommence public works in the area, as the ‘present high price of provisions and want of employment’ had left them teetering on the brink of extinction.<sup>100</sup> Edward Taylor, Ballyconnell, ‘a respectable good man who farm[ed] on a large scale’, and a number of other witnesses including John Lawrie, the earl’s agriculturalist at Coollattin, provided a carbon-copy account of conditions across the region. Quite simply, supplies were dwindling fast with approximately one month’s provisions left. Unemployment was as rife as the spread of blight and all of those questioned contended there was no public works ‘to provide employment so as to meet in any degree the wants of the labouring classes’.<sup>101</sup> Significantly, this document demonstrates the commission’s attempt to transfer the responsibility for providing employment onto the landed classes as question four enquired whether ‘there any [any] prospect of an immediate extension of [employment] by landowners or occupiers’.<sup>102</sup>

Chaloner returned to Ireland in the final days of September. On 8 October, he attended a meeting of the Carnew and Coolkenno Relief Committee in Shillelagh. Such was the level of misery in the half-baronry of Shillelagh that the committee instructed Chaloner to request the lord lieutenant of Ireland to convene an ‘extra presentment session’ to agree a drainage scheme in the half-baronry as a means of providing employment.<sup>103</sup> Despite his attempts to generate employment, the apparatus of government was exceedingly slow to react. No doubt frustrated by the silence from Dublin Castle, the agent used his initiative to commence remedial works on the estate. On 20 October, he wrote to Fr Thomas Sheridan, the Catholic curate of Coolafancy and John Chamney, a head-tenant at Coolboy requesting

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<sup>100</sup> Thomas DeRenzy to Famine Relief Commission, 14 Sep. 1846 (N.A.I., Famine Relief Commission papers, RLFC3/2/32/31).

<sup>101</sup> John Donoghue to Famine Relief Commission, Sep. 1846 (N.A.I., Famine Relief Commission papers, RLFC3/2/32/43).

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> The Grand Jury Act of 1836 made provision for convening presentment sessions for the purposes of discussing public work schemes before submitting them to the Grand Jury for approval. See Gearóid Ó’Tuathaigh, *Ireland before the Famine, 1798-1848* (Dublin, 1972), pp 95-7. See also Letter-book of Robert Chaloner, Mar. 1842 – Jan. 1853 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 3,987), entry dated 8 Oct. 1846.



they each recommend ‘five labourers and send them to Stoney-batter Bridge at Coolboy’ the following morning for work. He insisted that those chosen should be fit for long-term unemployed.<sup>104</sup>

Attempts by Chaloner to stimulate work and create a cash economy were ineffectual due to high level of unemployment. In mid-November, Fitzwilliam arrived at Coollattin to inspect the estate and made arrangements to employ an extra fifty labourers to carry out improvements on the estate.<sup>105</sup> These fifty men were to be employed at Tinahely where a road was being constructed as part of a public works scheme. Lieutenant Bluderson reporting to the Board of Works on the 15 November, contended that the list of individuals requiring employment in the region would be considerably longer were it not for the actions of the fifth earl.<sup>106</sup> Although the estate’s initial response in 1845 was subdued, when the severity of the crisis became apparent a year later estate management policies on the estate were altered to generate extra employment.

#### 6.7 *‘The lower classes are perishing rapidly’ – 1847: no ordinary year*<sup>107</sup>

In 1846, the fifth earl voiced his discontent with the state apparatus in the House of Lords. Henry Blake of Renvyle near Clifden in county Galway was also resolute in his condemnation of the British administration when he stated that: ‘my firm belief is that the English people are utterly ignorant on the subject [Ireland]; and, acting in that ignorance are committing very grievous wrongs while they imagine they are doing good.’<sup>108</sup> Blake maintained that: ‘day by day, while the lower classes are perishing rapidly, almost without

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<sup>104</sup> Letter-book of Robert Chaloner, Mar. 1842 – Jan. 1853 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 3,987), entry 20 Oct. 1846.

<sup>105</sup> *Wexford Independent*, 21 Nov. 1846.

<sup>106</sup> *Correspondence relating to measures for relief of distress in Ireland (Board of Works Series)*, Jul. 1847 to Jan. 1847, p. 257, H.C. 1847 (764) l.i, 285.

<sup>107</sup> Robert Chaloner to Earl Fitzwilliam, 2 Jul. 1847 (S.A., WWM/G35/202).

<sup>108</sup> Henry Blake to Rev. Cyril Wood Finmere, 14 May 1847 forwarded to Earl Fitzwilliam (S.A., WWM/G83/407).

observation, the destitution is fast reaching the middle [classes], and tho' (*sic.*) it may at first be hardly credible ... it must reach the gentry.'<sup>109</sup>

The geography of Famine displays sharp contrasts across the estate: tenants in certain townlands such as Drummin and Farnees paid their rent in full throughout 1846 and 1847, while a great many more were unable to do so and were obviously struggling. Analysis of eleven randomly selected townlands on the estate indicate that the number of tenants in arrears rose dramatically between 1846 and 1847. Tenants in four of the eleven townlands sampled paid approximately 50 percent of the rent due (see Fig. 6.3 and Table 6.4). By mid-January 1847, five thousand individuals were employed on public work schemes across the south and western divisions of the county. James Boyle, an engineer with the Board of Works noted that on a stretch of road near Tinahely, 570 men were attempting to make a living. In the barony of Ballinacor, 10 percent of the population were employed by public works for a wage of 1s. a day. Over a number of weeks, Boyle was astonished by the obvious deterioration of the men through lack of sustenance.<sup>110</sup>

In the interim, the estate procured a large quantity of seed oats for use by the tenantry. The price charged was set at a rate of 30s. per barrel but by August 1847, the 'amount due on IOU's for oats [was] £1,061 with an additional £38 18s. due for barley. Chaloner requested Fitzwilliam's permission to decrease the price. The earl instructed that the price be lowered by 5s. per barrel.<sup>111</sup> Other industrious head-tenants such as Neville Braddell of Raheengraney attempted to provide relief by establishing a meal fund in order to help the destitute of that townland. In January 1847, he requested a subscription from Lord Milton. The future sixth earl was enthusiastic about the fund. However, failure to provide specific

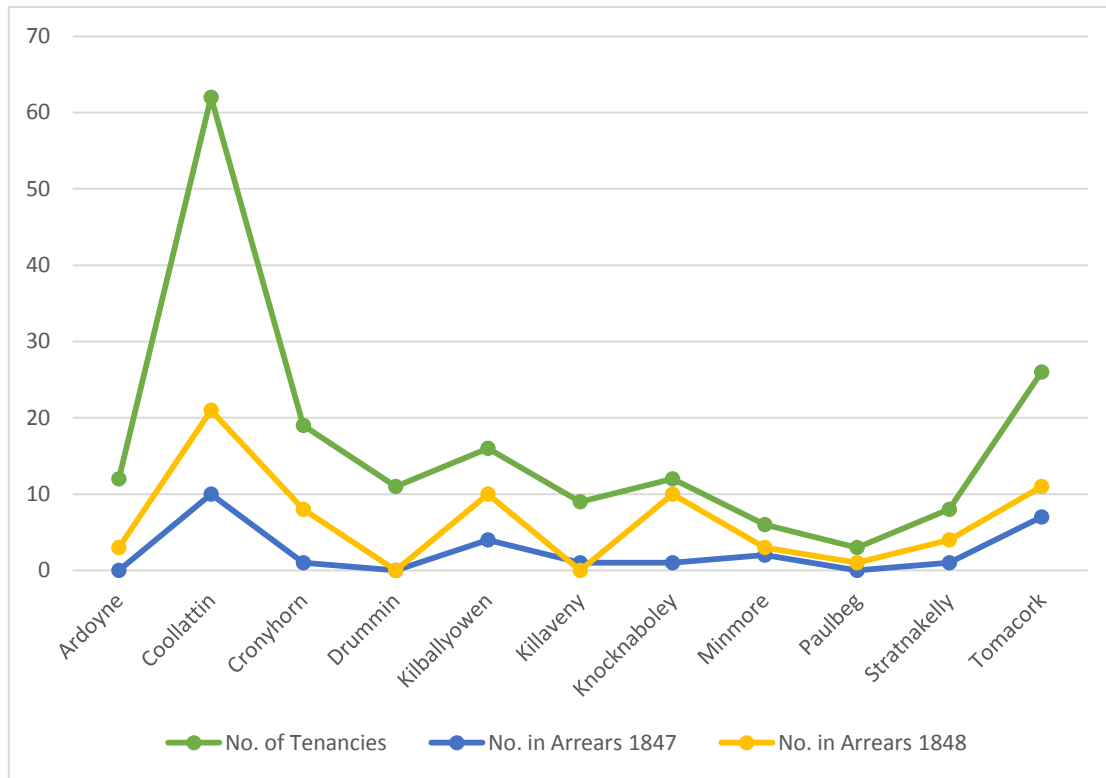
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<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Hannigan, 'Wicklow before and after the Famine', p. 805.

<sup>111</sup> Memoranda in respect of the estate of Earl Fitzwilliam in county Wicklow, including conditions on which lands and tenements are held, 1843-68 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,967), 1846:5.

**Fig. 6.3 Tenancies and arrears on selected townlands on the Wicklow estate, 1847-8<sup>112</sup>**



**Table 6.4 Tenancies and arrears on selected townlands on the Wicklow estate, 1847-8<sup>113</sup>**

<i>Townland</i>	<i>No. of tenancies</i>	<i>No. in arrears 1847</i>	<i>No. in arrears 1848</i>	<i>1847 arrears £ s. d.</i>	<i>Rent due 1847 £ s. d.</i>	<i>1848 arrears £ s. d.</i>
<b>Ardoyne</b>	12	0	3	£0 0s. 0d.	£102 9s. 6d.	£27 18s. 3d.
<b>Coollattin</b>	62	10	21	£449 7s. 11d.	£1,203 6s.	£647 5s. 2d.
<b>Cronyhorn</b>	19	1	8	£1 11s. 5d.	£730 9s. 6d.	£91 19s. 10d.
<b>Drummin</b>	11	0	0	£0 0s. 0d.	£164 14s. 8d.	£0 0s. 0d.
<b>Killballyowen</b>	16	4	10	£54 9s. 8d.	£427 6s. 4d.	£206 8s. 2d.
<b>Killaveny</b>	9	1	0	£27 5s. 8d.	£299 18s. 8d.	£0 0s. 0d.
<b>Knocknaboley</b>	12	1	10	£94 6s.	£265 18s. 8d.	£188 11s. 5d.
<b>Minmore</b>	6	2	3	£71 9s. 8d.	£193 10s.	£98 10s. 4d.
<b>Paulbeg</b>	3	0	1	£0 0s. 0d.	£127 3s.	£13 8s. 6d.
<b>Stratnakelly</b>	8	1	4	£6 18s. 2d.	£206 12s. 6d.	£43 1s. 6d.
<b>Tomacork</b>	26	7	11	£95 13s. 5d.	£409 4s.	£100 10s. 8d.

<sup>112</sup> Irish estate rental, 1847-8 (S.A., WWM/A/936).

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

information as to how the fund would function resulted in the heir apparent recommending that the unemployed ‘apply to the relief committee for the district.’<sup>114</sup>

The government sanctioned the establishment of soup kitchens from January 1847. On 5 February, Chaloner wrote to the Commissary General in Dublin to enquire whether financial assistance would be forthcoming from the government that would allow him to provide ‘soup for the poor’. The estate would remit half the cost incurred and Chaloner Jnr requested that the government share an equal weight of the burden. As treasurer of three relief committees, he provided assurance that full details pertaining to the amounts expended, the application process, and those who benefitted from the scheme would be furnished to the necessary body at specified intervals.<sup>115</sup> His request was agreed to and on 10 February a committee was convened for the purposes of organising the distribution of soup. However, a heavy fall of snow in February 1847 made conditions treacherous and made many roads impassable. Food was in low supply and ‘though some had been ordered’, J. C. Walker, an inspector with the Board of Works, ‘fear[ed] no carts w[ould] reach this place as long as the storm’ prevailed. Walker knew of ‘one family that were laying in a bed as they had neither food nor fuel ...there were many others similarly situated [who] would perish were it not for private benevolence and in this mountainous district it [was] to be feared many may perish unheard of.’<sup>116</sup>

The subscription list for the soup kitchen in Carnew showed that by the end of March donations amounted to £40 5s. 6d. In excess of 60 percent of this amount had been donated by Fitzwilliam and his agent.<sup>117</sup> Figures collated by the relief commissioners in respect of those supplied with food bear testament to the level of destitution which existed throughout

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<sup>114</sup> Letter-book of Robert Chaloner, Mar. 1842 – Jan. 1853 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 3,987), entry dated 16 Jan. 1847.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, entry dated 5 Feb. 1847.

<sup>116</sup> J. C. Walker to Sir R. J. Routh, 9 Feb. 1847 (N.A.I., Famine Relief Commission papers, RLFC3/2/32/17).

<sup>117</sup> Rev. John Corwan to Famine Relief Commission, 27 Mar. 1847 (N.A.I., Famine Relief Commission papers, RLFC3/2/32/33).

the Shillelagh Union during the spring and summer of 1847. In a twenty-four-hour period, 7,201 individuals were supplied with food which constituted 21 percent of the union's population.<sup>118</sup>

By early March 1847, Chaloner Jnr reported there were 'a large number of families desiring to emigrate'. This marked the beginning of an extensive assisted emigration programme that transported one-third of the Fitzwilliam tenantry to British North America.<sup>119</sup> For the two-thirds that remained, the daily drudgery continued. Lorenzo Moore, a tenant on the townland of Liscolman who held 13 acres became deranged in February 1847 leaving Chaloner with no option but to have the man admitted to the Richmond Lunatic Asylum.<sup>120</sup> For those that managed to hold their nerve, the workhouse offered another option. However, as Cormac Ó'Gráda contends: 'resigned to death, many entered merely to assure themselves of a coffin and burial at public expense'.<sup>121</sup>

The impact of the Famine was highly visible in Shillelagh Workhouse. On the week ending 17 October 1845, there was a total of 232 inmates housed within its walls. A year later the figures, though slightly elevated, remained below the maximum capacity and well within the capabilities of the Board of Guardians. However, by 30 January 1847 it had exceeded full capacity. Between January and April 1847, the numbers being admitted on a

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<sup>118</sup> *Supplementary appendix to the seventh report of the Relief Commissioners*, ii, [C956], H.C. 1847-8, xxix, pp 20-1.

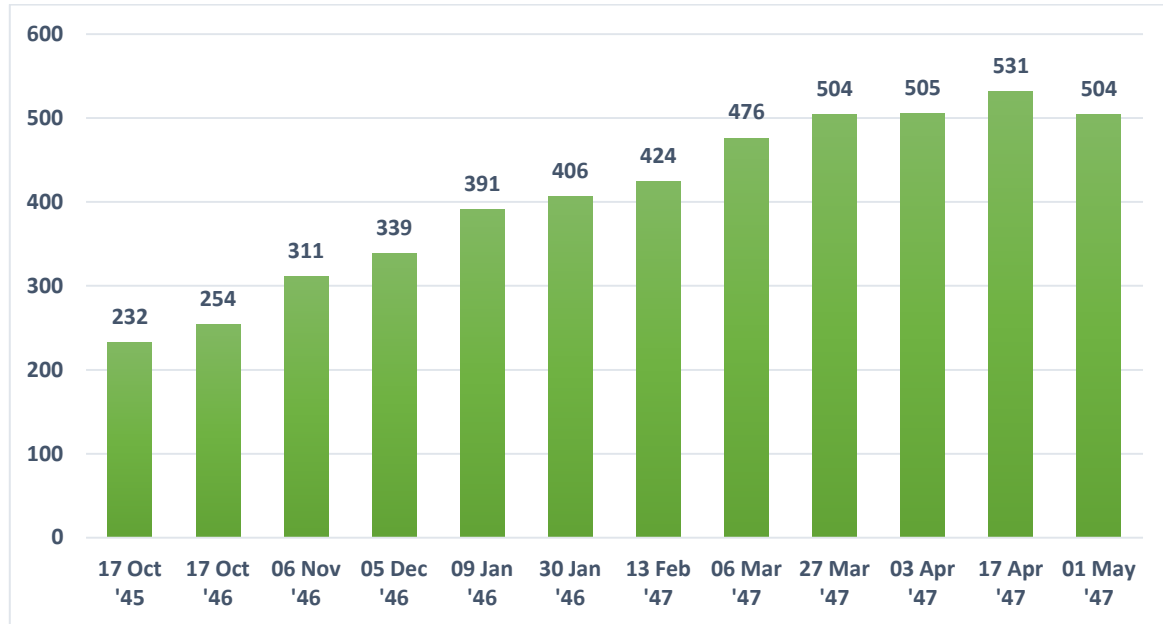
<sup>119</sup> Letter-book of Robert Chaloner, Mar. 1842 – Jan. 1853 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 3,987), entry dated, 9 Mar. 1847. See also Fidelma Byrne, 'A man of integrity? The varying roles of Robert Chaloner, Earl Fitzwilliam's land agent during Black '47' in *Journal of the West-Wicklow Historical Society*, x (2013), pp 9-25.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 15 Mar. 1847. The Richmond Lunatic Asylum named after Charles Lennon, Duke of Richmond opened its doors in 1815. From 1830, it became known as the Richmond District Lunatic Asylum providing psychiatric care to counties, Louth, Meath, Dublin and Wicklow. For more on this, see John Reynolds, *Psychiatric care in Dublin since 1815* (Dublin, 1992).

<sup>121</sup> Cormac Ó'Gráda cited in James S. Donnelly Jr, 'The administration of relief, 1847-51' in W. E. Vaughan (ed.), *A new history of Ireland, v: Ireland under the Union, i, 1801-70* (Oxford, 1989), pp 316-31; p. 319.

weekly basis were steadily increasing placing increased pressure on resources (see Fig. 6.4).<sup>122</sup>

**Fig. 6.4 Number of inmates in Shillelagh workhouse, 1845-7**<sup>123</sup>



One of the largest intakes was between 13 February and 6 March 1847 when an additional fifty-two paupers entered the workhouse over the course of three weeks. This influx is most likely explained by the government decision to suspend public work schemes from 1 May 1847 as a consequence of Lieutenant Harry David Jones' correspondence with Charles Trevelyan in which Jones described the system as 'no longer beneficial employment to many: they have not power to exert themselves sufficiently to earn the ordinary day's wages.'<sup>124</sup> In the immediate term, one-fifth of all those employed on public work schemes were to be made redundant heightening fear among the most vulnerable.

Chaloner wrote to Henry Dowse of Tinahely on 22 March to inform him that he would have to recommend the 'striking off [of] 20 percent' of workers to the relief committee

<sup>122</sup> Eva Ó'Cathaoir, 'The poor law in county Wicklow' in Ken Hannigan and William Nolan (eds), *Wicklow history and society: interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county* (Dublin, 1994), pp 503-81; p. 543.

<sup>123</sup> Ó'Cathaoir, 'The poor law in county Wicklow', p. 543.

<sup>124</sup> Quoted in Donnelly, 'The administration of relief, 1846-7' in W. E. Vaughan (ed.), *A new history of Ireland, v: Ireland under the Union, i, 1801-70* (Oxford, 1989), pp 294-306; p. 305.

the following day. Although the agent was reluctant to do so, he feared that if he failed to comply with the order ‘the works [would] be stopped altogether.’<sup>125</sup> The committee at this stage was also overdrawn by £107 4s. 8½d. By the end of the month, the agent had instigated private works in an effort to lessen the distress for 100 men at least. On 31 March he wrote to John Chamney of Coolbooy to advise him that drainage works were sanctioned on his land. The work required 100 men. In his letter to Chamney, Chaloner instructed that ‘persons holding above 2 acres of land should not be chosen.’<sup>126</sup> Thus, in the absence of an adequate system of relief, the Fitzwilliam estate was endeavouring to alleviate some of the distress.

By June 1847, the situation at the workhouse was dire. Chaloner wrote to Fitzwilliam about the matter on 2 July. It transpired that the Board of Guardians had no surplus cash and though they intended to borrow £500 or £800 from the commissioners, this required a promissory note from the chairman and two other guardians. The advance was to be repaid from the poor rates. Though Chaloner felt there was no risk involved, he was reluctant as chairman of the Board of Guardians to enter into any agreement and stated he would ‘rather the risk was on your [Earl Fitzwilliam’s] shoulders than on mine.’<sup>127</sup> The loan was to be utilised to maintain the workhouse until after the harvest, thus offering a reprieve to farmers liable for poor rates to sell their produce. In theory it was a worthy gesture that during any ordinary year would have probably been more than sufficient to meet the demands of the institution. However, given that 1847 was far from an ordinary year, the amount was insufficient to have a significant effect. Five days later, Thomas DeRenzy of Cronyhorn wrote to the earl to inform him of the presence of disease in the new crop. He proposed growing potatoes on the north and south Yorkshire estates at Malton and Wentworth. David Gratton states that given the fifth earl’s propensity towards agricultural pursuits, it is

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<sup>125</sup> Letter-book of Robert Chaloner, Mar. 1842 – Jan. 1853 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 3,987), entry dated 22 Mar. 1847.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, entry dated 31 Mar. 1847.

<sup>127</sup> Robert Chaloner to Earl Fitzwilliam, 2 Jul. 1847 (S.A., WWM/G35/202).

plausible that such a suggestion would meet with his approval as it was beneficial in both practical and financial terms, particularly, if Ireland was to brace itself for another year of adversity.<sup>128</sup> However, whether this plan was carried out or not is unclear.

The Wicklow estate sunk deeper into despair. Chaloner continued to work to alleviate hardship. On 15 October in an effort to generate employment, he wrote to Fr Daniel Kavanagh, Catholic curate of Annacurragh, Rev. James Cumine of Preban and Fr Thomas Hore, parish priest of Killaveny. Four large farmers in the townlands of Kilpipe, Tomcoyle, Ballinglen and Coolalugg were also contacted. All seven were requested to submit names of men to be employed. In total 100 individuals were sought. Similar to his correspondence in March, Chaloner attached a number of conditions to the selection process which were far more rigid than on the previous occasion. Only ‘able bodies, old residenters, only one from a family of five and under and in no case to exceed 2 from one family’ were to be employed, while he further stipulated that ‘holding more than 3 acres of land must disqualify for the present.’<sup>129</sup> This particular letter is significant for it demonstrates that as the crisis continued it began to affect the different social strata. An extensive drainage programme was begun in an effort to provide work. This placed further pressure on estate finances as considerable sums of money were required for labourers’ wages.<sup>130</sup>

Fitzwilliam’s ire at the British administration’s handling of the Irish crisis failed to dissipate throughout 1847. In November, a number of British newspapers printed a letter from the earl to the Rev. J. Sargeant, rector of Stanwicke. Sargeant had criticised the earl for ‘odd remarks’ made during a speech at the Cutler’s feast in Sheffield two months

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<sup>128</sup> David Gratton, ‘Paternalism, politics and estate management: the fifth Earl Fitzwilliam, 1786-1857’ (Ph.D. thesis, University of Sheffield, 1999), p. 133.

<sup>129</sup> Letter-book of Robert Chaloner, Mar. 1842 – Jan. 1853 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 3,987), entry dated 15 Oct. 1847.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, entry dated 26 Oct. 1847.



previously.<sup>131</sup> Fitzwilliam's argument was that: 'England is the landlord of Ireland; that the Irish are the tenants and that England is deeply in debt to Ireland.'<sup>132</sup> The purpose of his reply to the rector was to merely defend his position while reinforcing it. The print media in response, were scathing in their criticism of the earl, for the use of a metaphor they considered 'very inappropriate and harmful'. The newspapers took his words and turned them against him arguing that

if by England, he means the English aristocracy, who own a large part of the soil of Ireland; then it is true, that the landlords of Ireland are to be found in England, and that they owe to that country a great debt. Year by year they have exported, in order to expend elsewhere large parts of the produce.<sup>133</sup>

However, Fitzwilliam's attack was firmly placed at the door of Westminster and not at the estate gates of his fellow landed class who held property in Ireland. He had proposed a scheme for improving the country that involved land reclamation and improving infrastructure through an extensive railway network. The overall aim was to transform the rural population from one that existed solely on their produce to one 'of farmers and labourers raising agricultural produce for sale'. Though lauded by the broadsheets, they maintained it was the duty of the landed proprietors of Ireland to implement the plan and not the government.<sup>134</sup>

On 13 November 1847, the *Leeds Times* carried an article concerning the same matter, but took their reproach one step further by casting doubt over Fitzwilliam's political allegiance. The newspaper stated that

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<sup>131</sup> In 1624, an act of parliament established the Cutlers' Company for the purpose of upholding quality and standards within the cutlery manufacturing profession in Sheffield and to expand the public's knowledge of the product and the place. The most important annual function was the Cutler's Feast held at Cutler's Hall, Church Street in the city on the first Thursday in September. This celebration was of major significance as it was attended by the politicians and local landed proprietors who could be 'both entertained and influenced' in equal measure. Throughout the nineteenth century, the organisation was instrumental in moulding Sheffield into a hub of modern industry that could compete against the London markets. See Clyde Binfield and David Hey (eds), *Mesters to masters: a history of the company of cutlers in Hallamshire* (Oxford, 1997), p. 1.

<sup>132</sup> *Sheffield & Rotherham Independent*, 6 Nov. 1847; see also *Sheffield Independent*, 11 Sep. 1847.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*

we could not resist the impression that he [Fitzwilliam] allowed his interests as an Irish landowner to predominate over his duties as a British legislator. There was a mark of selfishness ... and eagerness with which he clutched at every measure that seemed likely to put money in the pockets and power in the hands of Irish landlords.<sup>135</sup>

However, the newspaper acknowledged that there were ‘some undeniable facts, and some correct views ... mixed up with what appear[ed] to [them] to be a large mass of fallacies.’<sup>136</sup> It could be argued that in this instance the earl was correct in his summation that England was the landlord of Ireland but it is obvious this accusation of British neglect alienated Fitzwilliam from the conservative populace at least. The attitude expressed in the *Leeds Times* exposes the disconnection between Fitzwilliam’s tenants in Wicklow and Yorkshire during this time. While some Yorkshire tenantry experienced difficulties during this period, hardship was short-lived and the scale was negligible in comparison to that experienced by Fitzwilliam’s Irish tenantry.

#### 6.8 *‘Irish property should support Irish poverty’*<sup>137</sup>

By 1846, Lord John Russell, the third son of the duke of Bedford, was prime minister and it appeared he shared his predecessors view on poor relief. The Poor Law Extension Act (1847) placed all future relief firmly on local districts and more precisely, on local landlords. The most controversial element of this legislation was the infamous Gregory Clause which prohibited tenants in possession of more than a quarter acre of land from accessing relief. David Nally sums up the effect of this policy change for the lower orders stating that: ‘previously, paupers were asked to exchange their liberty and the product of their labour for

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<sup>135</sup> *Leeds Times*, 13 Nov. 1847.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>137</sup> This well-known Whig maxim is quoted in Virginia Crossman, *Politics, pauperism and power in late nineteenth-century Ireland* (Manchester, 2006), p. 9.

the right to live. Now Irish paupers were ordered to relinquish their holdings in exchange for government assistance.<sup>138</sup>

The Fitzwilliam estate in Wicklow was similar to many others in that it was battling against a complex middleman system which was difficult to eradicate.<sup>139</sup> The decisions taken by the estate during this time demonstrates a concerted effort to break the middleman system that existed, while simultaneously acknowledging that not all tenants had the capability of holding land independently. For example, when the lease expired on Abraham Coates holding in Tomcoyle in March 1848, Chaloner Jnr discussed its re-letting with the earl. There were thirteen under-tenants living on the holding. It was agreed that Fitzwilliam would retain a plot for the purposes of constructing a dwelling for the incumbent of the parish of Preban. Coates was to retain the land in his possession at a fixed rent. Regarding Coates' under-tenants, five were instructed to pay their rent to another head-tenant chosen by Chaloner, while the remaining eight were to hold land directly from Fitzwilliam.<sup>140</sup> Although it appears as if the estate was advocating the continuance of the middleman system, estate management practice during this time recognised that less able tenants required the guidance of a head-tenant before being capable of holding a lease directly from the earl. In this way, this policy aimed to promote good farming practice on the estate.

By 1848, Chaloner was optimistic in his outlook. He wrote to the earl in early January informing him that 'the paralysis of last year has improved more rapidly than could have been expected'.<sup>141</sup> Consequently, he proposed laying off the extra labourers on the estate once the situation became more stable. He outlined to William Newman, land agent at

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<sup>138</sup> David Nally, *Human encumbrances: political violence and the Great Irish Famine* (Notre Dame, IN, 2011), p. 150.

<sup>139</sup> The issue of subdivision and the middleman system has been outlined in chapter three.

<sup>140</sup> Memoranda in respect of the estate of Earl Fitzwilliam in county Wicklow, including conditions on which lands and tenements are held, 1843-68 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,967), 1848:11.

<sup>141</sup> Robert Chaloner to Earl Fitzwilliam, 3 Jan. 1848 (S.A., WWM/G35/208).

Wentworth, that early indications showed there was ‘no resistance to rents’.<sup>142</sup> While there was arguably ‘no resistance to rents’, a comparison of the 1846 to 1852 rentals reveals continued difficulties in keeping up-to-date with payments. The combined rental total due on Fitzwilliam’s Irish holdings in counties Wicklow, Wexford and Kildare in 1848 was £39,236 2s. 8d., an increase of £75 3s. 4d. on the previous year’s amount. The core estate’s portion of this sum was £27,885 6s. 6d., up £43 15s. 2d. on the previous year. Arrears during the period 1847 to 1849 increased year on year, albeit at a slower pace, before rising again in 1850 and 1851 (see Table 6.5).<sup>143</sup>

**Table 6.5 Rental and arrears on the Wicklow estate, 1846-52<sup>144</sup>**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Rental (£ s. d.)</i>	<i>Arrears (£ s. d.)</i>	<i>Approx. % increase in annual arrears</i>
<b>1846</b>	27,877 12s. 4d.	6,074 8s.	-
<b>1847</b>	27,874 11s. 4d.	10,371 1s. 2d.	71
<b>1848</b>	27,885 6s. 6d.	13,535 7s. 11d.	31
<b>1849</b>	28,024 1s. 6d.	16,320 16s. 8d.	22
<b>1850</b>	28,137 6s. 8d.	20,943 11s. 2d.	28
<b>1851</b>	27,936 3s. 2d.	27,601 11s.	32
<b>1852</b>	27,792 10s. 1d.	30,545 9s. 1d.	11

Analysis of receipts and expenditure for Tombreen farm illustrates how easily arrears could accrue. John Swan was the head-tenant in Tombreen. Though he held a total of 722 acres, the farm comprised of 327 acres for which he was charged an annual rent of £275 18s. 1½d. Farm receipts from 1 October 1849 to 1 October 1850 amounted to £777 11s. 3d.

<sup>142</sup> Letter-book of Robert Chaloner, Mar. 1842 – Jan. 1853 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 3,987), entry dated 4 Jan. 1848.

<sup>143</sup> Abstract of Irish estate rentals, 1846-52 (S.A., WWM/A/935-40).

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*

However, the expenditure for the same period came to £882 6s. 6d. leaving a deficit of £104 15s. 3d. Swan was a man of means and yet, he was unable to balance the books at this point. The cost of hiring labourers was almost on a par with his total annual rent (see Table 6.6).<sup>145</sup> Even though Swan had other resources to draw upon, he chose not to, thus illustrating the uncompromising attitude of the middleman. The average small farmer was not so fortunate and their annual shortfall was often significantly more. Consequently, their constant inability to pay led to escalating hardship compounded by the prospect of ejection.

**Table 6.6 Income and expenditure Tombreen farm, 1849-50**<sup>146</sup>

<i>Income</i>	<i>Amount</i>			<i>Expenditure</i>	<i>Amount</i>		
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
<b>Dairy</b>	32	3	1	Labour	280	10	6
<b>Live stock</b>	218	1	3	Rent and taxes	292	7	5
<b>Sheep</b>	260	15	4	Stock	138	3	6
<b>Corn</b>	264	7	1	Seed and manure	64	16	7
<b>Potatoes</b>	2	4	6	Tradesmen	12	10	
				Sundries	93	18	6
<b>Total Income</b>	777	11	3	<b>Total Expenditure</b>	882	6	6

It is estimated that ‘between 1846 and 1853, there were an estimated 70,000 families evicted’ which facilitated widespread consolidation of small holdings.<sup>147</sup> James S. Donnelly Jr’s analysis of constabulary records which began in 1849, calculates that 250,000 individuals were forced from their homes during the years 1849 to 1854. Donnelly further estimates that approximately the same number were evicted during the years 1846 to 1849.<sup>148</sup> Eviction was

<sup>145</sup> Irish estate rental, 1849-50 (S.A., WWM/A/938), Tombreen.

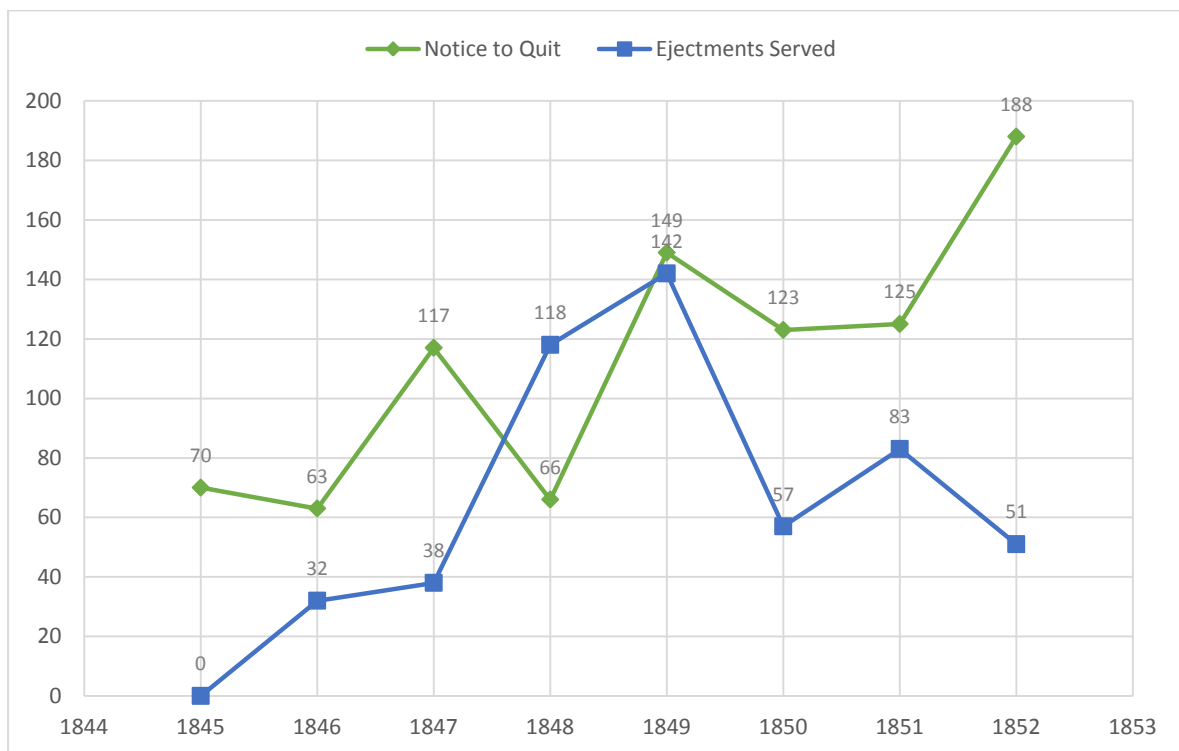
<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> Terence Dooley, *Sources for the history of landed estates in Ireland* (Dublin, 2000), p. 7.

<sup>148</sup> James S. Donnelly Jr, ‘Mass eviction and the Great Famine: the clearances revisited’ in Cathal Póirtéir (ed.), *The Great Irish Famine* (Dublin, 1995), pp 155-74; pp 155-6. The official figures did not record voluntary surrender.

a highly contentious issue in the pre-Famine era as Fitzwilliam was acutely aware of.<sup>149</sup> Non-payment of rent and escalating arrears prompted many proprietors to clear their land of insolvent tenants. During the Famine years, the number of evictions rose sharply in 1847, peaked in 1848 before levelling off in 1849 and 1850.<sup>150</sup> The Ejectment Book for the Fitzwilliam estate challenges the so called ‘nationwide’ trend (see Fig. 6.5).

**Fig. 6.5 Notices to quit and ejectments served on Coollattin estate, 1845-52<sup>151</sup>**



Serving notice on tenants was one of the many duties performed by the land agent. In 1849, the number of cases across the estate reached a peak and the agent felt compelled to inform the earl. On 23 May, he stated that ‘there are about 70 or 80 cases on the whole property that owe two years rent and upwards’. A further statement in his letter reveals how the process was used in the management of the estate. The agent reasoned that ‘the expence (*sic.*) of [legal proceedings] would be large ... a good many [tenants] might make a tolerable

<sup>149</sup> See chapter four for details on alleged evictions in 1830.

<sup>150</sup> John G. Knightly, ‘The Godfrey estate during the Great Famine’ in *Journal of Kerry Archaeological & Historical Society*, ii (2005), pp 125-53; p. 139.

<sup>151</sup> Ejectment Book, 1845-60 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,972).

settlement which they would otherwise [not] think of doing.’<sup>152</sup> Clearly, from both the agent’s comments and scrutiny of the Ejectment Book, this process was deployed to generate fear among the tenantry. Although expensive to execute, the outlay reaped dividend as many tenants paid their outstanding debt. In the case of continued non-payment an ejected tenant could serve to remind solvent tenants of the necessity to meet their rental obligations. This was a tactic to reinforce estate authority.

Of the sixteen cases tabled for the April assizes in 1846, thirteen pertained to the core estate. Three were postponed and a further nine were settled with tenants paying their rent. The arrears outstanding were small and in five instances amounted to no more than one year’s rent. This suggests that this was the first time these tenants had failed to pay and the threat of eviction was the *modus operandi* used to ensure payment of rent.<sup>153</sup> Not everyone was so fortunate. In a letter to the earl in May 1850, Chaloner justified three cases of ejectment. The first pertained to a tenant who had emigrated and whose holding was subsequently taken in hand by a solvent tenant. In the second instance, a single tenant was three years in arrears and had allowed his holding fall into a state of bad cultivation. The holding was now under threat by the prospect of extended family members moving onto the holding. In an effort to prevent this, the agent had allowed the land to be set to an existing tenant. The tenant in the final case had defaulted on his rent for the previous three years and was poverty stricken.<sup>154</sup>

Between 1848 and 1852 the most vulnerable tenants were still experiencing economic hardship. Rather than dismiss labourers as he originally envisaged at the beginning of 1848, Chaloner was forced to recruit additional labourers in May owing to the continuation of the

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<sup>152</sup> Robert Chaloner Jnr to Earl Fitzwilliam, 23 May 1849 (S.A., WWM/G35/222).

<sup>153</sup> Ejectment book, 1845-60 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,972), p. 9.

<sup>154</sup> Robert Chaloner to Earl Fitzwilliam, 11 May 1850 (S.A., WWM/G35/237).

Famine.<sup>155</sup> In 1849, he wrote to John Chamney of Coolboy requesting that he table a motion for the Coolboy Electoral Division Committee stating that employing one member of a family of six was wholly inadequate.<sup>156</sup> Fitzwilliam had donated £200 towards the works schemes in the Tinahely division in the preceding two years which Chaloner allowed had ‘quite relieved the division’.<sup>157</sup> In 1849, the earl wrote to Chaloner to advise him that the budget for drainage, which formed the greater part of the works schemes, should not exceed £2,400 per annum for all of his Irish holdings. Chaloner, in consultation with Gibb the overseer, was tasked to ‘identify works that ought to be executed, calculating accurately the wages ... that will be required’ ensuring a contingency fund was in place to cover unexpected extras. Without analysis, Fitzwilliam estimated that £700 would suffice leaving £1,800 towards employment. This sum he contended, would ‘fill many empty bellies and make many improvements.’<sup>158</sup> Bearing in mind that the Irish estate was economically paralysed at this time, Fitzwilliam nonetheless sought to employ as many labourers as possible on a drainage works scheme in an effort to alleviate their distress.

Although the gross rental income due increased to its highest level in 1850 as a result of the consolidation of holdings as the middleman system was eroded, escalating arrears nullified any gains (see Table 6.5). To those most in need, Fitzwilliam made once off donations to the living and he paid for the burial of the dead. In 1850, he donated £1 towards the burial of William Breen, a pensioner of Ballykelly and another 8s. towards funeral expenses for Michael McDaniel of Rosbawn. The estate paid Margaret Kennedy £1 1s. for tending to Thomas Quail during forty-two days of illness and also paid his medical expenses. The estate office even went so far as to provide the man with a pair of shoes at a cost of 7s.

6d. Others who benefitted from contributions were the widow Sheridan who was supplied

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<sup>155</sup> Letter-book of Robert Chaloner, Mar. 1842 – Jan. 1853 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 3,987), entry dated 15 May 1848.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, 10 Jan. 1849.

<sup>157</sup> Robert Chaloner to Earl Fitzwilliam, 15 May 1849 (S.A., WWM/G35/221).

<sup>158</sup> Earl Fitzwilliam to Robert Chaloner, 8 Nov. 1849 in Irish estate rental, 1848-9 (S.A., WWM/A/937).



with bread on two occasions. In addition, a total of 334 tenants of the 384 listed received half yearly allowances typically ranging in value from 10s. to £2 10s. The greater majority of these were widows. The combined cost of pensions and donations in 1850 totalled £468 9s.

In May 1851, Chaloner expressed concern at the rising cost of charitable donations. In a letter to the earl, he stated that ‘the intention of indulgence and forbearance is very good, but it very expensive and it is very doubtful whether the effect is so good on so large a property’.<sup>159</sup> Chaloner Jnr was concerned that his employer was allowing his heart rather than his head to rule the estate. However, Fitzwilliam’s moral compass would not allow him to detach himself from those who resided on his land.

## 6.9 Conclusion

During the famine, the earl and his Irish agent agreed substantial rental abatements in an attempt to resuscitate an estate community in freefall. Ironically, the onset of the potato blight in 1845 catapulted the Irish estate community into a downward spiral of seven years of economic hardship. Although the Yorkshire estate also experienced economic difficulty during this time, it was on the brink of entering a period of economic prosperity as a result of expansion in coal mining enterprises and railroad development and this further exacerbated the division between both communities.

Fitzwilliam was disillusioned by the British government response to the Famine. Despite Fitzwilliam’s numerous outbursts on the issue, those in authority closed ranks and rescinded what meagre measures had been implemented. The view of the fifth earl as revealed through the estate correspondence depicts a fair minded man who provided abatements, charitable donations and vital sources of employment to the labouring and vulnerable classes on his estate. He recognised the fundamental flaws in the land system and

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<sup>159</sup> Robert Chaloner to Earl Fitzwilliam, 22 May 1851 (S.A., WWM/G35/257).

attempted to rectify these by initiating private work schemes on the estate in order to offer employment. The fact that he was an absentee landlord appears to have had little impact, for the agent was a relative and maintained a presence of authority. Though for the most part, the eviction strategy used on the estate was deployed to instil fright, evictions did happen. However, these were generally executed as a last resort.

## CHAPTER 7: CHOOSING LIFE OVER DEATH: FAMINE-ASSISTED EMIGRATION FROM COOLLATTIN ESTATE, 1847-56

*Nothing can save us now ... hundreds or rather thousands of the west of Ireland's people are determined to leave the British Dominions the first favourable opportunity.*

Henry Blake Esq., Renvyle, Clifden, Co. Galway, 14 May, 1847.<sup>1</sup>

### 7.1 Introduction

In 1847, Henry Blake of Renvyle, Clifden county Galway wrote a letter to Cyril Wood outlining the harsh realities of Famine in the west of Ireland.<sup>2</sup> The week before Blake wrote to Wood, an emigrant ship with Fitzwilliam's tenants sailed out of New Ross bound for Quebec. On Wednesday 5 May 1847, the *Progress* left the south-east port and after fifty-nine days at sea arrived at the quarantine station in Grosse Île.<sup>3</sup> It was to be a further eleven days before its passengers were given clearance to enter British North America.<sup>4</sup> The departure of these ships in 1847 marked the beginning of a decade long programme of Famine-assisted emigration from the Wicklow estate.

Though sporadic emigration occurred in the pre-Famine era, the arrival of the blight in 1845 ignited the interest of many landlords in assisted emigration schemes. However, though agreeing in principle to assisted passage, many landed proprietors claimed financial distress hindered them from actually initiating such schemes. In a letter to John Sargeaunt, rector of Stanwick, in March 1848, Fitzwilliam captured the position of Irish landlords stating that: 'some [landlords] have the means, but not the

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<sup>1</sup> Copy of a letter from Henry Blake to Rev. Cyril Wood, 14 May 1847 (S.A., WWM/G83/407), p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Grosse Île is described in greater detail in section 8.4.

<sup>4</sup> *Papers relative to emigration to British provinces in North America*, p. 28 [C964], H.C. 1847-8, xlvi, 400; see also *The Morning Chronicle*, 7 Jun. 1847.

will; some the will but not the means; while others, again have neither the will nor the means.’<sup>5</sup>

Unlike his peers, the fifth Earl Fitzwilliam faced no such impediments as he possessed both the resolve and the resources. Nine other significant landowners also engaged in large-scale emigration during the Famine period. Historians differ considerably in their estimations of the total number of assisted emigrants who left Ireland during the Famine era. Oliver MacDonagh, Kerby Miller and S.H. Cousens provide a conservative figure of 50,000 which equates to 5 percent of the total migration figure.<sup>6</sup> Gerard Moran believes that collectively the efforts of these ten major landlords resulted in the relocation of approximately 30,000 tenants to British North America.<sup>7</sup> Others, such as David Fitzpatrick and Donald MacKay believe that the number is considerably higher with Fitzpatrick favouring 80,000, while MacKay states it could be as many as 100,000.<sup>8</sup> The aim of this chapter is threefold. Firstly, it discusses the mechanics of the Fitzwilliam assisted emigration scheme. Secondly, it examines how the estate used the scheme as a strategy to respond to the crisis. Finally, it analyses the emigrant profile to determine if this programme was altruistically motivated or simply a

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<sup>5</sup> Earl Fitzwilliam, *A letter to the Rev. John Sargeant, rector of Stanwick, Northamptonshire* (London, 1848), p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> Oliver MacDonagh, ‘Irish emigration to the United States of America and the British colonies during the Famine’ in R. Dudley Edwards and T. Desmond Williams (eds), *The Great Irish Famine: studies in Irish history, 1845-52* (Dublin, 1994), pp 319-91; p. 335; Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and exiles: Ireland and the Irish exodus to North America* (New York, NY, 1985), p. 296; S. H. Cousens, ‘The regional pattern of emigration during the Great Irish Famine, 1846-51’ in *Transactions and Papers (Institute of British Geographers)*, xxviii (1960), pp 119-34; p. 121.

<sup>7</sup> Moran, *Sending out Ireland’s poor*, p. 38. The ten proprietors were Earl Fitzwilliam in county Wicklow, Col. Wandesforde of Castlecomer, county Kilkenny, Lord Lansdowne, Kenmare, county Kerry, Francis Spaight, Nenagh, county Tipperary, Col. George Wyndham, county Clare, Major Denis Mahon, Strokestown Park, county Roscommon, Lord Palmerston and Sir Robert Gore Booth from county Sligo and the Bath and Shirley estates at Farney in county Monaghan both managed by the agent William Stuart Trench who subsequently managed the Lansdowne estate in county Kerry.

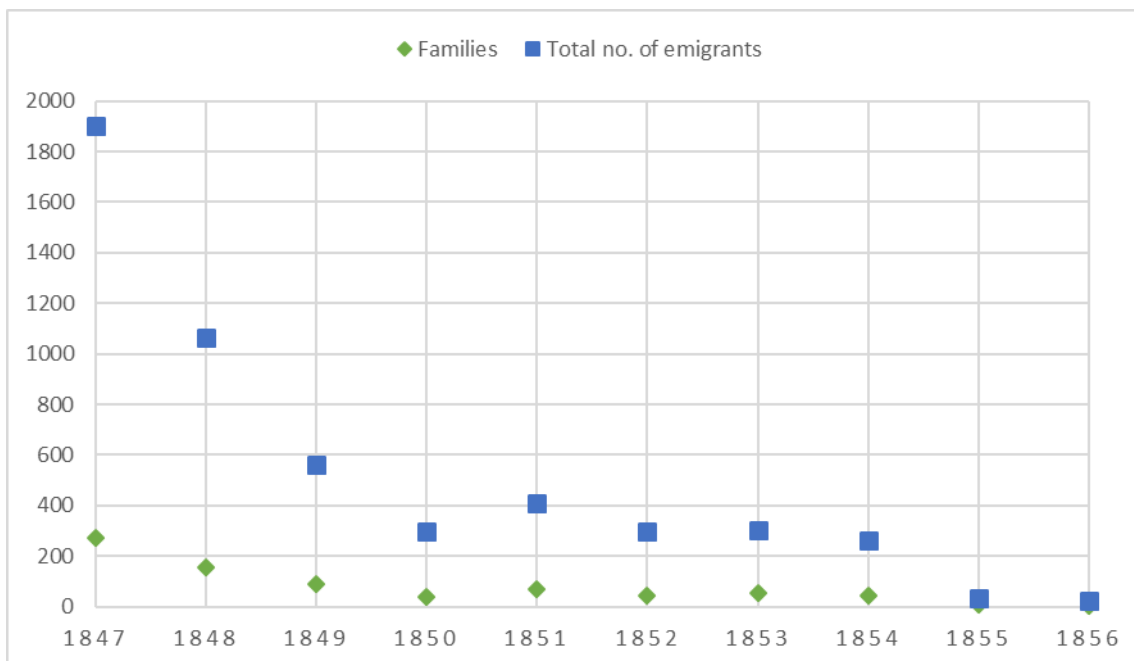
<sup>8</sup> David Fitzpatrick, ‘Emigration, 1801-70’ in W. E. Vaughan (ed.), *A new history of Ireland, v: Ireland under the Union, i, 1801-70* (Oxford, 1989), pp 562-623; p. 592; Donald MacKay, *Flight from Famine: the coming of the Irish to Canada* (Toronto, ON, 2009), p. 193.

case as Patrick Duffy contends of another landlord’s attempt to ‘disencumber [their] crowded places.’<sup>9</sup>

## 7.2 ‘A community in transition’ – creating an emigrant profile

A total of 5,896 named tenants from the core estate were listed for emigration over the ten-year period, 1847 to 1856. All together, they comprised 866 families and ten individuals. However, in-depth analysis of the Fitzwilliam emigration list reveals that only 5,148 of those originally listed, a total of 778 families and ten individuals, actually left the Wicklow estate (see Fig. 7.1).

**Fig. 7.1 Number of families and tenants that emigrated annually between 1847 and 1856<sup>10</sup>**



<sup>9</sup> Patrick J. Duffy, ‘Disencumbering our crowded places: theory and practice of estate emigration schemes in mid-nineteenth century Ireland’ in Patrick J. Duffy and Gerard Moran (eds), *To and from Ireland planned migration schemes, c. 1600-2000* (Dublin, 2004), pp 79-104. Please note this is the total number of emigrants from the core estate recorded in the two volume Emigration Books less duplication and relisting in subsequent years (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MSS 4874-5). The core estate is described in chapter one.

<sup>10</sup> Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates database, 1815-65, personal database, assisted emigration.

The largest exodus occurred during 1847 when a total of 273 families comprising 1,903 individuals left the estate and made their way to New Ross. A further 1,063 people followed over the course of 1848. As a consequence of the first two years of the scheme, the estate reduced its population by 13 percent.<sup>11</sup> In 1849 and 1850, the pace of departures slackened each year. Nonetheless, a further 128 families and one individual emigrated over this two-year period. From 1851 to 1854, the scheme sent a further 1,273 tenants to British North America. By 1855, the programme was nearing an end. Over its final two years, a total of twelve families were listed for emigration, of these, eleven left, while one family, the Doyles of Killballyowen, simply ‘refused to go’ (See Fig. 7.6). Edward Hopkins, his wife Jane and their four children were the last family entered in the emigration book in 1856 (see Fig. 7.2).<sup>12</sup>

**Fig. 7.2 Final page from the Emigration Book for the Wicklow estate, 1856<sup>13</sup>**

The image shows a handwritten page from an emigration book, dated May 1856. The page is titled 'Emigration List May 1856'. It lists several families and their destinations, with columns for names, destinations, and numbers of individuals. The entries are as follows:

Family/Individual	Destination	Age	Sex
1 Longfordian	Ballisland	45	M
Wife		35	F
son		17	M
son		15	M
son		13	M
son		11	M
son		9	M
son		7	M
son		5	M
2 Mary Mary	Ballisland	65	F
3 Nelly Coney M <sup>r</sup>	Melitia	50	F
son		17	M
son		14	M
son		12	M
son		10	M
4 Edward Hopkins	Grandiff	52	M
Wife		50	F
son		24	M
son		22	M
son		20	M
son		12	M

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. See also Census of Ireland, 1841, report, pp 138-40.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. See also Emigration books for the Fitzwilliam estate, 1847 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,975), 1855:4; 1856:4.

<sup>13</sup> Emigration books for the Fitzwilliam estate, 1847 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,975).

They arrived in Quebec aboard the *Woodstock* on 13 July 1856. They were the last family in a decade-long programme of assisted emigration from the Fitzwilliam estate.<sup>14</sup> In analysing the Fitzwilliam emigration scheme, two striking trends emerge. Firstly, 99 percent of the total emigrant population that left the core estate formed part of a family unit. The average family size was 6.5. The average age of the emigrant was twenty-two years. Investigation of the specific household structure of those proposing to emigrate demonstrates that nuclear families defined as parents with or without children, formed 49 percent of the entire grouping. Extended families constituted 22 percent, while one parent families amounted to 20 percent of the overall total. Of this latter group, 5 percent contained extended family members.<sup>15</sup> Hence, this emigration programme erased households and in the process severed the ties that had bound families to the estate, perhaps for generations.

The emigration of one-parent families is a particularly interesting aspect of the scheme. This group comprised 156 heads of household. Twenty-nine of these were male while 127 were female. Seventy-five were identified as ‘widows’.<sup>16</sup> In the year prior to the commencement of the emigration scheme, the estate expenditure on pensions and donations amounted to £979 5s. 4d. A total of 357 of the 503 payments made related to yearly pensions. The majority of these were paid to women and specifically, widows on the estate. The half yearly amount paid varied substantially from 10s. to £5 per person (see Fig. 7.3).<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> *Canadian News*, 6 Aug. 1856.

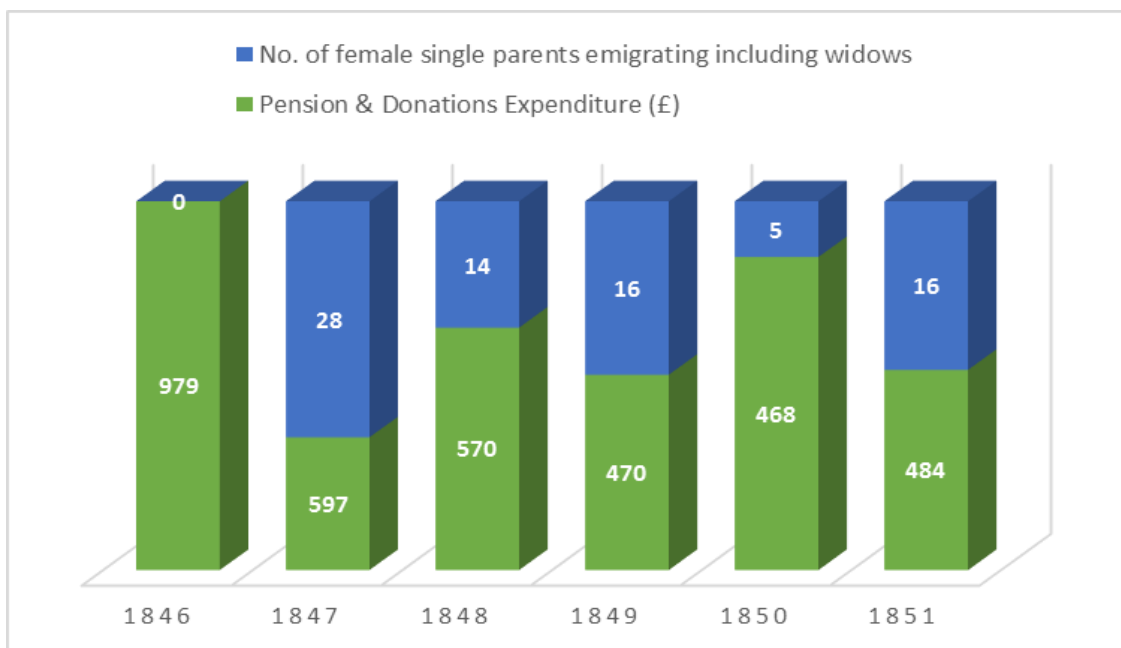
<sup>15</sup> Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates database, 1815-65, personal database, assisted emigration.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> Irish estate rental, 1846-7 (S.A., WWM/A/935), pp 24-32.

Secondly, during 1847 and 1848, the typical Fitzwilliam emigrant came from two distinct strata, that of the cottier and labouring classes.<sup>18</sup> Though these remained the dominant groups for the duration of programme, from 1849 a middle-class emigration was beginning to develop. Consequently, this altered irrevocably the class structure of the Wicklow estate.

**Fig. 7.3 Pension expenditure and number of female single parents emigrating including widows, 1847-51<sup>19</sup>**



The emigration book contains details of 682 of the emigrants' holdings. A total of 296 families and three individuals were part of the labouring class residing in cabins, or occasionally holding conacre from a large farmer. They constituted 44 percent of the grouping. Equally numerous were the cottiers comprising a total of 34 percent of the cohort which equated to 230 families. This group resided in cabins with kitchen gardens and some held land which amounted to between 1 and 5 acres. Less numerous,

<sup>18</sup> Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates database, 1815-65, personal database, assisted emigration.

<sup>19</sup> Irish estate rentals, 1846-51 (S.A., WWM/A/935-9).



though nonetheless substantial, were the small farmers who held between 5 and 15 acres. They accounted for 16 percent of emigrants. Thirty-five families held 15 and 30 acres, constituting 5 percent of the overall demographic. Farmers possessing between 30 and 50 acres and large farmers working in excess of 50 acres represented only 1 percent of emigrants.<sup>20</sup> The common perception has been that only the deprived and undesirable availed of assisted passage.<sup>21</sup> However, as Cormac Ó Gráda asserts, this was a consequence of lacking the ‘capital to be productive at home and [being] too poor to emigrate and be productive elsewhere’.<sup>22</sup> The Fitzwilliam scheme demonstrates that as it progressed larger farmers also seized the opportunity to start afresh (see Fig. 7.4).

In 1851, John Byrne, a strong farmer from Slievenamough in the parish of Kiltegan handed back 135 acres to Thomas Sheil in order to emigrate with his four children. It appears Byrne had married late in life as he was seventy years old when entered in the emigration book. His children, a daughter and three sons, ranged in age from fifteen to nine years.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, in 1847, William Byrne of Munny agreed to give up his 43 acre holding and emigrate in exchange for an allowance as well as passage and support.<sup>24</sup> At the time, Byrne was three years in arrears owing the estate £74 2s. in unpaid rent. Despite his arrears, the earl allowed Byrne £9 2s. towards his passage.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Fitzpatrick, ‘Emigration 1801-70’, p. 577.

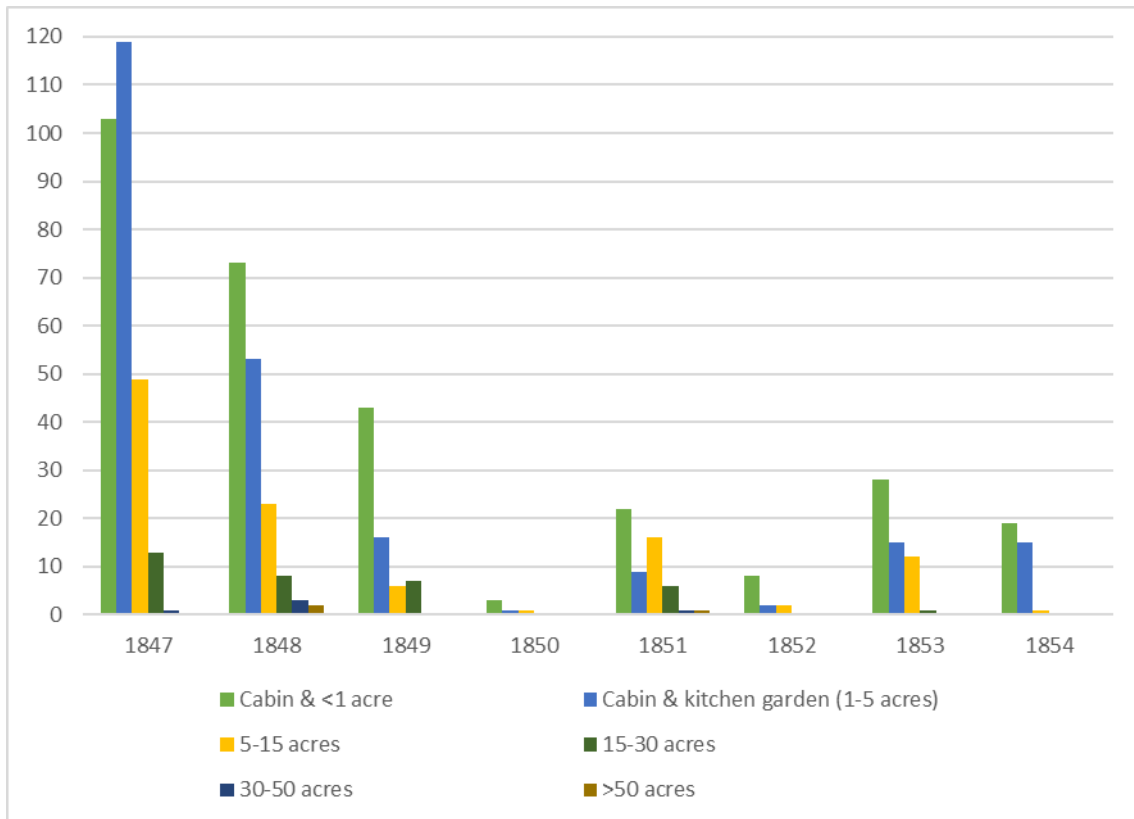
<sup>22</sup> Cormac Ó Gráda, *Black '47 and beyond: the Great Irish Famine in history, economy and memory* (Princeton, NJ, 1999), p. 35.

<sup>23</sup> Emigration books for the Fitzwilliam estate, 1847 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,975), 1851:47.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 1847:117.

<sup>25</sup> Arrears book of Coollattin estate, 1830-64 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 3,993), Oct. 1852, no. 974; see also Irish estate rental, 1847-8 (S.A., WWM/A/936), p. 26.

**Fig. 7.4 Holdings on Coollattin estate pertaining to tenants listed for emigration, 1847-54<sup>26</sup>**



Examination of the tenant holdings of those who emigrated shows that the average farm size was 4 acres. In the majority of cases, land given up was taken in hand by the head-tenant and added to other holdings. Sixty-five of the holdings relinquished amounting to 618 acres were handed back to the estate. Emigration exposed the multiple layers of the middleman system on the estate. A total of twenty-five under-tenants were identified as sub-letting land to families that emigrated. However, in a substantial number of cases, this amounted to no more than a cabin and kitchen garden. Mary Byrne of Hillbrook was a widow renting a cabin and kitchen garden from William Roach, an under-tenant of Mrs Symes. The widow Byrne was in receipt of an annual

<sup>26</sup> Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates database, 1815-65, personal database, assisted emigration.

pension of 20s. from the estate but was one of the early emigrants as she sailed with her family aboard the *Agent* arriving in Quebec on 2 July 1847.<sup>27</sup>

The tenant class that benefitted most from the mass exodus were the head-tenants. For example, Mr Brown, a head-tenant in Killinure and Knocklow townlands regained control of 54 acres as a consequence of seventeen families emigrating. Equally, Mrs Symes of Hillbrook recovered in excess of 75 acres with the departure of twenty-two families from the townlands of Hillbrook, Parkmore, Ballycumber and Ballybeg over the lifetime of the scheme.<sup>28</sup> Thomas Sheil, a head-tenant on Slievenamough townland regained a total of 185 acres as a consequence of his under-tenants emigrating.<sup>29</sup>

Evidence across the emigration records reveal the ambiguities around leaving. Some families initially refused to go; however, there is no explanation given. They left in subsequent years. The Ryan family of Coolafancy were listed in 1849 but refused to leave at this point. However, in the intervening two years, they reconsidered their decision and six of the seven originally listed in 1849 emigrated on 15 April 1851.<sup>30</sup> Willing tenants also used the scheme to their advantage, using their holdings to garner as much financial support as possible. John Lambert and his wife Ann had eight children, five sons and three daughters. The youngest, Mary was eighteen months old when listed in 1847. Lambert was a tenant-at-will holding 13 acres in the townland of Slieveroe. His holding formed part of a larger 42-acre site and he used this to acquire landing money for his family by offering to give up his holding so it could be added to

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<sup>27</sup> Emigration books for the Fitzwilliam estate, 1847 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4974), 1847:95.

<sup>28</sup> Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates database, 1815-65, personal database, assisted emigration. See as an example Emigration books for the Fitzwilliam estate, 1847 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,974), 1847:72; 1847:259.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* See for examples 1847:20; 1848:120; 1851:47.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 1849:18; 1851:29.

another holding.<sup>31</sup> Similarly, John Hinch and his four sisters resided in a house on 5 acres at Killabeg. He was equally willing to give up his holding provided the estate pay him a recompense that would enable him and his siblings to emigrate. Consequently, Hinch was paid £7 10s. in support and advanced a further £16 5s. in cash in addition to the family's passage costs.<sup>32</sup>

The shortcomings of landlord-assisted emigration have been well documented both in historical accounts and by contemporary research. Arguably, one of the best known is the case of the Lansdowne estate in Kenmare county Kerry under the agency of W. S. Trench. This scheme shipped a labouring class described by Tyler Anbinder as 'the most wretched people upon the face of the globe' across the Atlantic depositing them in the notorious Five Points district of New York.<sup>33</sup> This is supported by Gerard J. Lyne's study of the same estate. At least 70 percent of the Lansdowne Famine emigrants sent to America by 1851 were acknowledged by the agent as being "absolute and entire paupers and on the very verge of entering the Union house when they left". A significant number arrived with inadequate means of supporting themselves and were forced to rely on the generosity of their host nation in order to survive.<sup>34</sup>

More recently, Ciarán Reilly has examined the Strokestown assisted emigration scheme which led to the murder of landlord, Major Denis Mahon. In 1845, Mahon inherited what Reilly terms a 'poisoned chalice', a debt ridden estate in county Roscommon, which prompted the agent to recommend a policy of assisted emigration

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 1847:9.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 1847:282. For details of support payments see Irish estate rentals 1847-8 (S.A., WWM/A/936), p. 25.

<sup>33</sup> Tyler Anbinder, 'From famine to Five Points: Lord Lansdowne's Irish tenants encounter America's most notorious slum' in *The American Historical Review*, cii (2002), pp 351-87; p. 360.

<sup>34</sup> Gerard J. Lyne, *The Lansdowne estate in Kerry under William Steuart Trench, 1849-72* (Dublin, 2001), p. 41; p. 91.

as a means of clearing the land.<sup>35</sup> Although the Strokestown emigrants were adequately supplied with food, a fundamental defect in this programme was the fact that many tenants were ill prior to departure. Consequently, a significant number died en route, while a number of others contracted disease and were visibly ill upon arrival in Quebec. Ultimately, this led to public condemnation by emigration authorities which culminated in a government enquiry.<sup>36</sup> Landlord indebtedness prompted the commencement of both the Lansdowne and Strokestown schemes as it was perceived by the estate management in each location as a means of making the estates solvent. The relief of the destitute seems to have been of secondary importance.<sup>37</sup>

By comparison, the Fitzwilliam scheme was extremely well organised. Those who were deemed unfit to travel were prevented from going. For example, John Flusky was supposed to emigrate in 1847. He surrendered his cabin to Thomas Sheil, a head-tenant and it was subsequently pulled down. However, illness prevented him from travelling. He found accommodation with his brother William and the pair duly emigrated in 1848.<sup>38</sup> Yet despite the care taken by the estate, it was not without criticism. In February 1848, the *Leinster Express* published a letter from Adam Ferrie of Montreal to Earl Grey dated 1 December 1847. In his correspondence, Ferrie condemned a number of landlords including Palmerston, Mahon, De Vesci and Fitzwilliam for shipping what he termed were emigrants ‘in a state of fearful destitution’ to British North America. Ferrie was scathing in his attack of landlord assisted emigration and what he viewed as the ‘injudicious and arbitrary measures pursued both by the landed proprietors and their mercenary agents’ to the point that he

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<sup>35</sup> Ciarán Reilly, *Strokestown and the Great Irish Famine* (Dublin, 2014), pp 54-7.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 70-3.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>38</sup> Emigration books for the Fitzwilliam estate, 1848-56 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,975), 1848:117.

implored Earl Grey to ensure that ‘a more humane, liberal and beneficial plan of emigration be implemented’ in the future.<sup>39</sup> The contents of the letter compelled Graves & Son, shipping agents, to respond in defence of De Vesce and Fitzwilliam. The company did not dispute that some of the comments made by Ferrie were indeed correct in terms of certain estates removing tenants without adequate provisions. However, they contended that tenants from the two aforementioned estates were supplied with ample supplies for the voyage or had in their possession money to allow them to purchase the necessary items when on board. The shipping agents stated that it was the landlords’ ‘desire that their poor people should go out as comfortably as circumstances permitted.’<sup>40</sup> While some landlords complained about the excessive amount of foodstuffs required for the journey, Graves claimed that neither of these estates questioned the allowance. Rather they ensured that each passenger had ample provisions to transport them 3,000 miles west. Amounts were checked by the shipping agent prior to embarkation.<sup>41</sup>

### 7.3 *‘Balancing the books’ – the mechanics of Famine-assisted emigration*

The Fitzwilliam estate was atypical of a great many landed estates that engaged in the practice of Famine-assisted emigration. It was well versed in how to organise and execute such an operation for it had been involved in the process for at least two decades prior to the onset of famine. In 1831, the estate made a number of part payments to a Mr Dempsey for assisting tenants to emigrate to British North America. Dempsey was paid a total of £556. Jim Rees’ analysis of this figure estimates that

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<sup>39</sup> *Leinster Express*, 12 Feb. 1848.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 19 Feb. 1848.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

approximately 160 persons left the estate at this time.<sup>42</sup> Further examination of the estate rentals reveal that throughout the 1830s, a steady stream of emigrants were leaving the property. Between 18 April and 23 June 1836, the estate advanced seventy-two tenants a total of £105 4s. for support.<sup>43</sup> The seventy-two individuals consisted of five single people and nine families of varying sizes. In addition, Henry and William Scott shipping agents of 31 Eden Quay, Dublin were paid £66 18s. 1d. for transportation costs.<sup>44</sup> The following year, on 21 July 1837, the estate paid out a further £137 10s. in allowances to aid emigrants. However, it appears that the decision to emigrate was not always a voluntary one. On 27 November 1837, Scott & Co. refunded the estate £22 11s. in respect of twenty-three persons who refused to go after their passage had been paid.<sup>45</sup>

As the 1840s began, tenants on the estate continued to experience economic hardship and emigration rose steadily until 1845. For example, in 1840 Scott & Co. received two payments equating to £375 18s. for their services, a substantial amount of money at this time.<sup>46</sup> Though the numbers and cost borne by the estate were increasing on an annual basis, the annual figure for 1846 was far from perturbing and certainly revealed no indication of the massive undertaking that was planned for the subsequent years. In March 1846, Robert Chaloner wrote to James Dewar, the secretary of the British North American Colonial Office to enquire ‘what if any was the advantage to Lord Fitzwilliam for emigrating persons from his estate to America’.<sup>47</sup> This inquiry is

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<sup>42</sup> Jim Rees, *Surplus people: from Wicklow to Canada* (Cork, 2014), p. 25.

<sup>43</sup> Irish estate rental, 1835-6 (S.A., WWM/A/924, nos 261-76.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> Irish estate rental, 1836-7 (S.A., WWM/A/925), nos 211-31.

<sup>46</sup> Irish estate rental, 1839-40 (S.A., WWM/A/928), nos 271-6.

<sup>47</sup> Memorandum and articles of association for the North American Colonial Association of Ireland, Oct. 1835 (S.A., WWM/G35/82); Letter-book of Robert Chaloner, Mar. 1842 – Jan. 1853 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 3,987), entry dated 12 Mar. 1846.

telling in two respects. Firstly, it highlights the Irish agent's awareness that in the long term, the estate was ill-equipped to deal with the crisis. Given Chaloner's financial training and experience, his loyalty was to the economic survival of the estate and not to the tenants. In contrast, although Fitzwilliam understood the economic situation, his family's wealth nurtured a certain economic naivety. Furthermore, his actions were also influenced by the paternal tradition from which he came and so his primary concern was the tenantry. Even though the estate did embark on a scheme of assisted emigration, the earl ensured that his departing tenants were given sufficient food, clothing and in some instances secured employment upon arrival (see section 7.4). This stance conflicts with the traditional historiography which categorises assisted emigration as benefitting only the landlord class.<sup>48</sup>

In 1846, the estate expended £654 18s. 9½d. on emigration. Five tenants were advanced £7 5s. for clothing, while a further twenty-five received a total of £192 5s. 8½d. 'support money' ranging from £1 10s. to £19 per person. The remaining six payments on the emigration account amounted to £255 8s. 1d. and related to the administration costs for that year. By 1846, the estate had acquired different shipping agents. James Miley was paid a single payment for transporting fourteen families comprising of thirty-two adults and twenty-six children, although this seems to be a once off occurrence. The primary agent was William Graves & Sons of New Ross who

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<sup>48</sup> See for example Moran, *Sending out Ireland's poor*, pp 29-31; Terence Dooley, *The big houses and landed estates of Ireland: a research guide* (Dublin, 2007), p. 29; Ciarán Ó Murchadha, *The Great Famine: Ireland's agony, 1845-52* (London, 2011), p. 141.



**Table 7.1 Duration of voyage and mortality rates 1847-56 (if known)<sup>49</sup>**

Year	Ship	Duration at sea	Total Passengers	Mortality rates at sea	Mortality rates in quarantine
1847	<i>Agent</i>	39	387	8	5
1847	<i>Colonist</i>	43	453	12	13
1847	<i>Dunbrody</i>	40	312	5	3
1847	<i>Pandora</i>	50	401	12	12
1847	<i>Progress</i>	59	555	27	35
1847	<i>Solway</i>	30	364	3	2
1847	<i>Standard</i>	49	369	6	6
1848	<i>Aberfoyle</i>	36	274	2	
1848	<i>Jessie</i>	36	300		
1848	<i>Star</i>		383	10	26
1848	<i>Swan</i>	40			
1849	<i>Bridgetown</i>	44	347	3	
1849	<i>Jane</i>	53	372	33	
1850	<i>India</i>	40	411	6	
1850	<i>Juno</i>	44			
1850	<i>Triton</i>	42	371		
1851	<i>Glenlyon</i>	37	478		
1851	<i>India</i>	35			
1851	<i>Pilgrim</i>	35	485		
1852	<i>Confiance</i>	48			
1852	<i>Lord Ashburton</i>	39	413		
1853	<i>Dunbrody</i>				
1853	<i>Harmony</i>				
1853	<i>Petrel</i>				
1854	<i>Albatross</i>	47		17	
1856	<i>Woodstock</i>		399		

<sup>49</sup> *Papers relative to emigration to British provinces in North America*, pp 25-30 [C964], H.C. 1847-8, xlvii, 397-402; *Papers relative to emigration to British provinces in North America*, pp 36-7 [C1025], H.C. 1849, xxxviii, 42-3. See also Emigration books for the Fitzwilliam estate, 1847 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MSS 4,974-5); Rees, *Surplus people*, pp 119-21.

received a total of £95 from the emigration account and a further £200 from Messrs La Touche, the estate's bankers.<sup>50</sup>

With the exception of the *Star*, all ships that left New Ross with Fitzwilliam's emigrants were destined for Quebec. The average length of the voyage was generally forty-two days or six weeks, although many took longer to arrive. As Table 7.1 demonstrates, the experiences of the assisted emigrants' time at sea varied considerably between vessels, as a comparison of the *Progress* and *Jane* illustrates. The *Progress* arrived in Quebec in July 1847 after fifty-nine days at sea. Of the 555 passengers that had embarked in New Ross, twenty-seven had died during the voyage while a further thirty were ill upon arrival at Grosse Île. Eleven days of detention at the quarantine station further compounded the misery as an additional five individuals became sick.<sup>51</sup> The *Jane*, which sailed the following year, crossed the Atlantic in fifty-three days. Despite this, the mortality rate was considerably higher, a consequence of an outbreak of cholera which claimed the lives of thirty-three people prior to arrival. Official statistics reveal the precarious nature of emigration. Between 1848 and 1849, the number of recorded deaths at sea more than tripled, while those dying in quarantine rose by 38 percent.<sup>52</sup>

It appears news of the scheme had circulated around the estate by the spring of 1847 and tenants were invited to apply for assistance. Equally, a small number were

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<sup>50</sup> Irish estate rental, 1845-6 (S.A., WWM/A/934), p.13; p.23. The La Touches' were a prominent Huguenot family who revolutionised the Irish banking system for more on the family see David Dickson, *Dublin: the making of a capital city* (London, 2014), p. 211; p. 223.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 28 [C964], H.C. 1847-8, xlvii, 400.

<sup>52</sup> *Copy of extract of a despatch, dated 11 day of February 1850, transmitting the copy of a report from the chief agent of emigration in Canada, for the year 1849, and other documents containing information upon the facilities afforded to emigrants from Europe for reaching the interior of the province by completion of the St Lawrence Canal*, p. 6, H.C. 1850 (173), xl. In 1848, 273 people were recorded as dying at sea, in 1849, this number was 863. Quarantine deaths amounted to 112 in 1848, by 1849 that number had increased to 154.

carefully selected by the estate. Over the course of a number of weeks, the emigration list for 1847 was constructed. When completed it contained 317 families. Each family unit was given a reference number, individual names and ages were entered with their relationship to head of household. Townlands were also recorded as was property to be relinquished, if any, and how this was to be redistributed.

In the absence of documentary evidence, it is difficult to determine what specific criteria was required to ensure one's acceptance onto the scheme. However, the manner in which the emigration book is organised suggests that families listed for emigration were sent to New Ross according to the order in which they appeared in the ledger with the exception of those that were unwilling or unable to go. A loose note in the Irish estate rental for 1847 to 1848 is particularly insightful as to travel arrangements during the first year of the scheme (see Fig. 7.5).

**Fig. 7.5 Robert Chaloner Jnr's note concerning assisted emigration from Coollattin estate in 1847<sup>53</sup>**

Number of Individuals Emigrated by Earl Fitzwilliam from off his Lordships Irish Estates in the year 1847 -	
By the "Standard"	192
"Progress"	273
"Agent"	169
"Pandora"	399
"Colonist"	439
Total	1472
at £4:2:5 at three shillings each. £6069:8:7. -	

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

According to Chaloner a total of 1,472 tenants left Coollattin estate during 1847 at a cost of ‘£4 2s. 6½d. or thereabouts each’ which equated to £6,069 8s. 7d.<sup>54</sup> While financially, this figure corresponds exactly with the amount entered into the account’s ledger, the emigration book contains considerably more names. When analysed, it was found that the details of 2,253 individuals were entered for 1847, twenty-one of these pertained to townlands outside the core estate and a further 329 emigrants did not leave in 1847 for various reasons.<sup>55</sup> Equally, the first ship to leave New Ross with Fitzwilliam emigrants was the *Dunbrody* which left the port on Thursday 15 April, 1847.<sup>56</sup> Hence, the five ships listed in Fig. 7.5 are not representative of the entire fleet utilised by the estate during the first year of the scheme. Nonetheless, they provide a means of charting the departure of many of the 1847 emigrants.

Undoubtedly, the departure of these six ships from New Ross resulted in a flurry of activity across Coollattin estate from April until August, as tenants were given a date for embarkation and prepared themselves for the long journey ahead.<sup>57</sup> As Table 7.2 demonstrates, the frequency with which each vessel arrived and departed from New Ross varied considerably. Delays placed a further financial burden on the estate, as tenants left waiting at the dock owing to the late arrival of a ship had to be provided for. In 1847, the expense incurred as a consequence of such delays amounted to £15 13s. 6d.<sup>58</sup> Four shiploads departed New Ross in April and May 1847. The months of June and July witnessed less activity with only one vessel leaving the port each month.<sup>59</sup> The last ship from New Ross to arrive at Grosse Île in 1847 was the *Colonist* which arrived

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<sup>54</sup> Irish estate rental, 1847-8 (S.A., WWM/A/936).

<sup>55</sup> Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates database, 1815-65, personal database, assisted emigration.

<sup>56</sup> *Papers relative to emigration to British provinces in North America*, p. 25 [C964], H.C. 1847-8, xlvii, 397.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 25-30.

<sup>58</sup> Irish estate rental, 1847-8 (S.A., WWM/A/936).

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

on 24 August.<sup>60</sup> The migration season was severely curtailed due to the harsh winters of British North America. Consequently, the window for emigration was confined to the months of April through to August.<sup>61</sup> While the availability of ships was a vital element in the overall operation, it nonetheless constituted one component of this massive task.

**Table 7.2 Details of emigrant ships departures and arrivals, 1847<sup>62</sup>**

<i>Ship</i>	Date of departure (New Ross)	Date of arrival (Quebec)	Days at sea	Days in quarantine
<i>Dunbrody</i>	12 Apr. 1847	25 May 1847	40	3
<i>Standard</i>	21 Apr. 1847	19 Jun. 1847	49	10
<i>Progress</i>	5 May 1847	14 Jul. 1847	59	11
<i>Agent</i>	20 May 1847	2 Jul. 1847	39	4
<i>Pandora</i>	10 Jun. 1847	4 Aug. 1847	50	5
<i>Colonist</i>	13 Jul. 1847	29 Aug. 1847	43	4

David Fitzpatrick states that: ‘emigration sponsored by landlords was usually conducted in a humane if not extravagant spirit ... forced emigration was rare’.<sup>63</sup> Analysis of the two volume Fitzwilliam emigration books essentially upholds this assertion (see Fig. 7.6 and Fig. 7.7).<sup>64</sup> The records are revelatory in terms of voluntary versus forced migration. The emigration ledger contains remarks concerning individual families and their attitudes towards emigration. These demonstrate that while the estate did assert its authority on occasion to forcibly remove itself of undesirable tenants such as Mary

<sup>60</sup> *Papers relative to emigration to British provinces in North America*, p. 30 [C964], H.C. 1847-8, xlvi, 402.

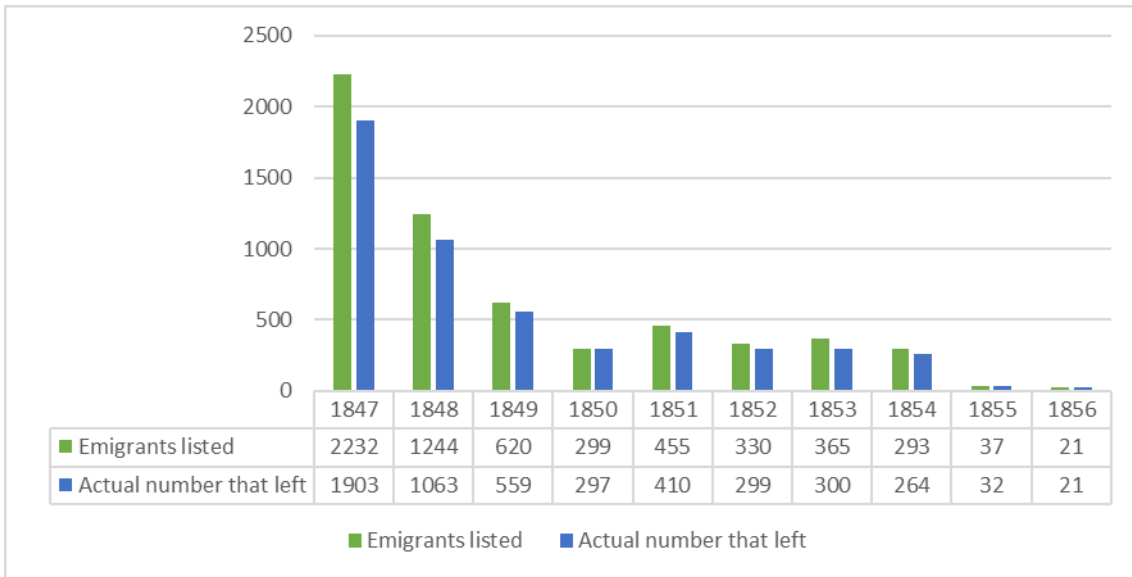
<sup>61</sup> *Eighth annual report of the law commissioners with appendices* (London, 1842), p. 37.

<sup>62</sup> Irish estate rental, 1847-8 (S.A., WWM/A/936); see also *Papers relative to emigration to British provinces in North America*, pp 25-30 [C964], H.C. 1847-8, xlvi, 397-402.

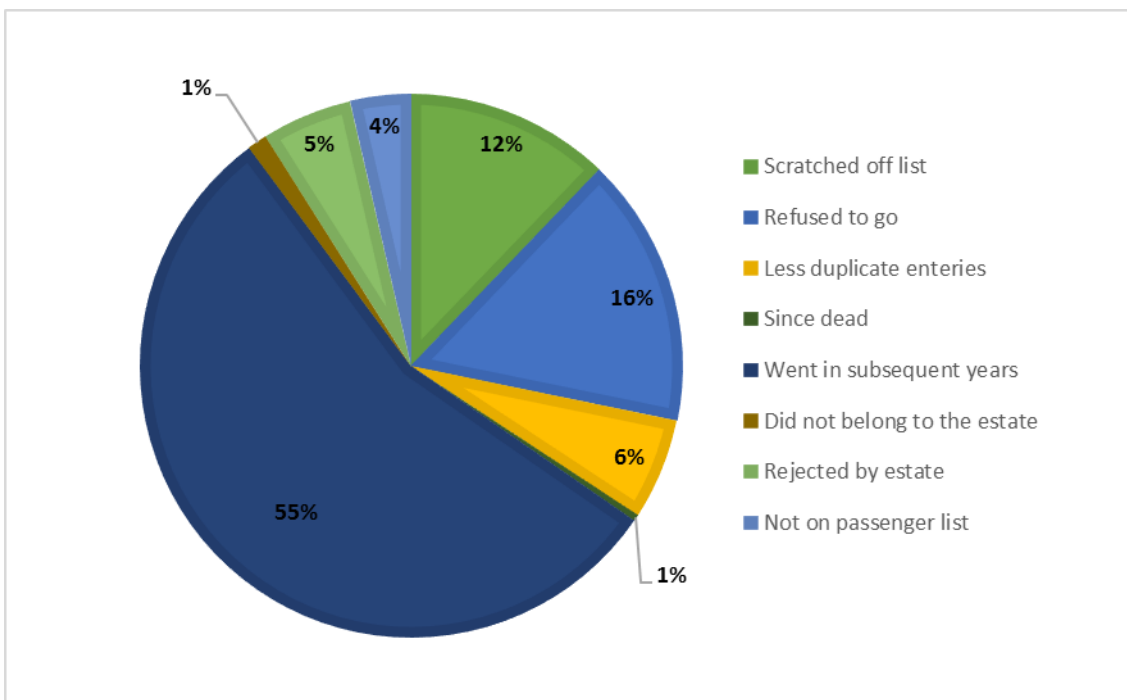
<sup>63</sup> David Fitzpatrick, *Irish emigration, 1801-1921* (Dublin, 1984), p. 20.

<sup>64</sup> Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates database, 1815-65, personal database, assisted emigration.

**Fig. 7.6 Number of emigrants listed versus number of emigrants who left the Wicklow estate, 1847-56<sup>65</sup>**



**Fig. 7.7 Reasons for not emigrating when listed<sup>66</sup>**



<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

May, classified by the estate as ‘a person it would be advisable to get rid of’, in the vast majority of cases, the tenant expressed a wish to emigrate.<sup>67</sup> Some of those who volunteered included the Byrne family of Coolafancy, the Kennys of Tomacork and the widow Byrne of Hillbrook who relinquished her annual pension in order to emigrate.<sup>68</sup>

Occasionally, the earl, heir apparent and agent expressed a wish to emigrate a particular family. For example, in 1847 Chaloner was eager to see Thomas Kinshley, and family leave the estate. Kinshley held a cabin and twelve acres from Mr Rhames in the townland of Gowle but was unable to pay his rent.<sup>69</sup> Consequently, by 25 March 1847, Rhames was significantly in arrears owing the estate £285 13s. 10d. and in a bid to stifle subdivision, the agent decided to emigrate the family.<sup>70</sup> Equally, in 1854, Mary Murphy, aged thirty-eight and her three-year-old daughter Margaret were ‘emigrated [from Roddenagh] by order of Lord Milton’, the future sixth earl.<sup>71</sup> Although economic in their origin, motivations were, on occasion, moral in their intent.

There were instances of head-tenants facilitating the removal of under-tenants by contributing to passage and support. The Kelly family of Farnees held a cabin and 4 acres from Mrs Leonard, a head-tenant. In 1847, Leonard informed the estate that she was ‘anxious to have the person emigrated’ and though listed that year, she had to wait until 21 April 1848 for the family to depart at the estate’s expense.<sup>72</sup> A number of tenants even paid the estate for their passage to the New World, including the first family to be entered into the emigration book in 1847. Thomas Free leased 17 acres in

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<sup>67</sup> Emigration books for the Fitzwilliam estate, 1848-56 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4975), 1856:2.

<sup>68</sup> Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates database, 1815-65, personal database, assisted emigration..

<sup>69</sup> See section 7.2 for emigrant profile and holdings.

<sup>70</sup> Irish estate rental, 1846-7 (S.A., WWM/A/935); Emigration books for the Fitzwilliam estate, 1847 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4974), 1847:84.

<sup>71</sup> Emigration books for the Fitzwilliam estate, 1848-56 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4975), 1854:51.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 1847:17 and 1848:10.

the townland of Kilcavan in the parish of Carnew. The land was leased to him in 1839 at a cost of £10 15s. per annum. Over time, Free had ‘improved [both the] house and the land’.<sup>73</sup> On 6 May 1847, he paid the estate £24 7s. 6d., the amount required to transport him and his family to British North America.<sup>74</sup> Furthermore, a sizeable number of tenants were willing to hand back holdings and forego annual pensions in order to secure a ticket.<sup>75</sup>

Assisted emigration required a substantial financial investment from the estate and as Fitzpatrick observes: ‘few landlords without extensive external income could offer much personal assistance where and when it was most needed’.<sup>76</sup> Indeed, as the Fitzwilliam general accounts demonstrate the cost involved was significant. The cost of financing and maintaining the scheme over the period 1847 to 1856 amounted to £25,020 17s. 10d., the equivalent of three million pounds today (see Table 7.3).<sup>77</sup> Although this was a substantial amount of money, the estate administration believed it was a necessary investment as it aided the eradication of long-term debt which was unlikely to be recovered. The records do not reveal the extent of the money that might be saved through emigration as opposed to paying poor rates if the tenants remained. However, Gerard J. Lyne’s study of the Lansdowne estate in county Kerry reveals that emigration cost that estate £14,000 which equated to approximately £3 10s. per person whereas the cost of maintaining a pauper in the workhouse cost £5 per annum.<sup>78</sup> The agricultural rental received declined significantly during the Famine years (see section

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<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 1847:1.

<sup>74</sup> Irish estate rental, 1847-8 (S.A., WWM/A/936), p. 28.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 1847:96; 1847:124. See section 8.2 for a more detailed discussion on what was relinquished.

<sup>76</sup> David Fitzpatrick, ‘Emigration, 1801-70’ in W. E. Vaughan (ed.), *A new history of Ireland, v: Ireland under the Union, i, 1801-70* (Oxford, 1989), pp 562-623; p. 592.

<sup>77</sup> Irish estate rentals, 1847-56 (S.A., WWM/A/936-944), abstract.

<sup>78</sup> Lyne, *The Lansdowne estate*, pp 44-6.



6.8).<sup>79</sup> Yet, examination of the Wentworth ledgers reveals no payments to Ireland from the Yorkshire estate, so how was the Irish estate financing the programme?

**Table 7.3 Yearly breakdown of emigration expenditure, 1847-56<sup>80</sup>**

Year	Amount paid from Emigration a/c	Amount paid by <i>La Touche</i> on behalf of the estate	Total
1847	£ 6,129 6s. 1d.	£3,000	£9,129 6s. 1d.
1848	£ 5,762 17s.	£1,700	£7,462 17s.
1849	£ 1,983 1s. 9d.	£ 500	£2,483 1s. 9d.
1850	£ 1,948 2s. 1d.		£1,948 2s. 1d.
1851	£ 376 8s. 8d.		£ 376 8s. 8d.
1852	£ 1,052 4s.		£1,052 4s.
1853	£ 1,158 15s.		£1,158 15s.
1854	£ 1,147 16s. 9d.		£ 1,147 16s. 9d.
1855	£ 169 6s. 6d.		£ 169 6s. 6d.
1856	£ 93		£ 93
<b>Total</b>	£19,820 17s. 10d.	£5,200	£25,050 17s. 10d.

Other revenue streams existed on the estate in Ireland. For example, the revenue generated by the home farm continued to grow steadily; it increased by £930 8s. 8½d. between 25 March 1845 and 1846, and over the following two consecutive years generated £2,007 thereby providing money that could be re-invested into the business.<sup>81</sup>

Rees contends that: ‘Graves charged the estate £3 8s. 6d. for each tenant shipped’ to British North America. However, as Table 7.4 and other sources demonstrate, this cost exceeded £4 2s. 5½d. for each adult, with children under the age

<sup>79</sup> See chapter six concerning the Famine.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid. Please note the payments listed represent the estate expenditure devoid of the amount paid to the estate by various tenants. Over the course of the scheme this amounted to ten payments totalling £129 19s. 9d.

<sup>81</sup> Irish estate rentals, 1846-9 (S.A., WWM/A/935-7).

of fourteen years constituting a half fare.<sup>82</sup> Each family was given a quantity of oat meal and rice prior to leaving the estate. This was expected to sustain them during their time at sea and in some instances head-tenants supplied their under-tenants with these provisions. For example, on 14 July 1848, Benjamin Hopkins was paid £1 12s. in respect of ‘18 days’ attendance at Coollattin distributing rice to emigrants.’ Five days later, Robert Gilbert received full payment for supplying the estate with oat meal for intending passengers, by which point his bill amounted to £54 15s. 6d.<sup>83</sup>

Financial support varied greatly and was determined by the quantity of land relinquished, coupled with the number of emigrants within each family grouping. The usual allowance, however, ranged from between 10s. and 15s. per person.<sup>84</sup> In addition, families vacating the estate were supplied with a wooden chest to carry their belongings. This proved a lucrative venture as the building yard supplied the timber and Joseph Exley, a carpenter, was hired to craft the boxes. Over the lifetime of the scheme the building yard was paid £326 8s. 1d.<sup>85</sup> Thus, the scheme generated a considerable amount of employment and indeed, much needed cash for local businesses and tradesmen upon the estate.

A further allowance of 5s. was paid to tenants to ‘enable [them] to get to New Ross’.<sup>86</sup> However, they did not travel alone. A member of the estate’s staff travelled with them to New Ross to address any issues that arose during the journey. The main man charged with the responsibility in the early years of the scheme was Ralph Lawrenson of Paulbeg. Lawrenson was a trusted employee of the estate and had been

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<sup>82</sup> Rees, *Surplus people*, p. 127. See also Emigration account dated June 1847 states the cost per person is £4 17s. 2½d. (S.A., WWM/G35/197).

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>84</sup> See for example Irish estate rental, 1847-8 (S.A., WWM/A/936), p. 24.

<sup>85</sup> Irish estate rentals, 1847-56 (S.A., WWM/A/936-44).

<sup>86</sup> See for example Irish estate rental, 1848-9 (S.A., WWM/A/937), p. 24.

trained by Chaloner Jnr. In the latter years of the scheme, this responsibility was transferred to Charles Copley. Occasionally, neighbours with carts provided transport for luggage and the estate reimbursed them for expenses incurred. More often, the estate provided carts and paid porters to convey the luggage to the port (see Table 7.4).

**Table 7.4 Analysis of emigration expenditure for 1848 as outlined in accounts' ledger<sup>87</sup>**

Payee	Type of Payment	No. of payments	Total paid
<b>Ralph Lawrenson</b>	Expenses to New Ross	4	£ 16 5s. 6d. (a)
<b>Charles Copley</b>	Expenses to New Ross	2	£ 6 5s. 4d. (a)
<b>Graves &amp; Son</b>	Passage & reimbursement	13*	£5,959 6s. (a)
<b>Building Yard</b>	Materials & chests	1	£ 36 2s. 11d. (a)
<b>Tenants</b>	Compensation for late vessel	1	£ 6 (a)
<b>Porters/Tenants</b>	Transport to New Ross	13	£ 27 1s. ½d. (s)
<b>Tenants</b>	Clothing allowance	49	£ 69 5s. (s)
<b>Tenants</b>	Support allowed	252	£1,266 8s. 8½d. (s)
<b>Gilbert, DeRenzy &amp; Hopkins</b>	Supplying oatmeal & rice	3	£ 57 5s. 6d. (s)

(a) Administration.

(s) Support.

\* This total includes four payments totalling £1,700 paid from the *La Touche* account to Graves.

Undertaking an emigration scheme of this scale required precise and efficient management. Throughout this period, estate management practices on the Wicklow estate were influenced by economic necessity and paternal obligation. Assisted emigration benefited the economic stabilisation of the estate. While economic stabilisation was important to the agent, the earl also sought to ensure that those leaving were adequately provided for.

<sup>87</sup> Irish estate rental, 1848-9 (S.A., WWM/A/937), pp 19-25; pp 33-4.

#### 7.4 'Better to starve in hope than in despair' - emigrant lives<sup>88</sup>

David Fitzpatrick asserts that the Fitzwilliam estate was only willing to consider applications for assistance from those possessing a house and consequently, those most in need were excluded from the programme. However, the sources show that the emigration process was much more complex.<sup>89</sup> Remarks such as 'enquire into this case' or 'query if house will come down' are commonplace. Clearly this was the estate management attempting to ascertain living conditions rather than issuing a direct instruction.<sup>90</sup> From the evidence, it is clear that head-tenants were influential in deciding whether a building would remain. For example, Thomas Brennon of Raheenraney rented a cabin from Timothy Whelan. When he emigrated in 1848, Whelan 'consented to pull down [Brennon's] house'. Similarly, John Hagan of Carrigroe leased a cabin and 4 acres from a head-tenant named William Lawrence. Prior to emigrating, Hagan produced a certificate from Lawrence stating that 'the house may come down'.<sup>91</sup> These examples highlight the influence of middlemen on the estate.

The decision to leave was not without risk. The evidence shows that despite due care and diligence to ensure that emigrants arrived safely, some Wicklow emigrants died en route. In June 1850, the *Wexford Independent* printed a note of gratitude from one emigrant who had arrived safely on board the *India*. John Hanlon, a Fitzwilliam emigrant, writing from Quebec in 1850 was full of praise for the captain, crew and medical doctor for all the attention they had afforded the emigrants. Six deaths had occurred during the voyage: three were of new-born babies, while the remaining three

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<sup>88</sup> Henry Blake to Rev. Cyril Wood, 14 May 1847 (S.A., WWM/G83/407), p. 3.

<sup>89</sup> Fitzpatrick, 'Emigration, 1801-70', p. 595.

<sup>90</sup> See for example Emigration books for the Fitzwilliam estate, 1847 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,974), 1847:41; 1847:42.

<sup>91</sup> See for example *Ibid.*, 1848-56 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,975), 1848:86; 1848:90.

people were elderly. No sickness was reported.<sup>92</sup> The estate management ensured medical personnel accompanied the emigrants and reacted quickly when confronted with news of dereliction of duty. On 15 July 1848, Chaloner Jnr wrote to William Graves demanding an investigation be carried out regarding an accusation that the medical practitioner on board the *Star* had neglected the emigrants.<sup>93</sup> Following the investigation, it was found that the surgeon had himself fallen ill and was unable to carry out his duties.<sup>94</sup>

The ship was carrying in excess of 380 Fitzwilliam emigrants, the majority of whom were labourers and cottiers who arrived in St Andrew's, New Brunswick on the 28 May 1848.<sup>95</sup> The town had once boasted a strong fishing and timber industry but over the years these had stagnated and from the 1830s the townspeople explored alternative avenues which would inject life into the region. A railway linking the town to the city of Quebec was believed to be the best solution as it would provide vital trading links. In 1835, the St Andrew's and Quebec Railway Association was founded and immediately began steps to progress the scheme. Money was secured from the British government and plans appeared to be progressing well until a challenge arose from a delegation in Maine concerning territorial rights.<sup>96</sup> This dispute paralysed efforts for almost a decade until a new committee began to move the project forward once more. In 1847, Moses H. Perley, emigration officer for the province and one of the driving forces behind the project travelled to London with a colleague seeking

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<sup>92</sup> *Wexford Independent*, 19 Jun. 1850 .

<sup>93</sup> Letter-book of Robert Chaloner, Mar. 1842–Jan. 1853 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 3,987), entry dated 15 Jul. 1848.

<sup>94</sup> *Papers relative to emigration to British provinces in North America*, p. 15 [C971], H.C. 1847-8, xlvi, 447.

<sup>95</sup> Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates database, 1815-65, personal database, assisted emigration.

<sup>96</sup> Rees, *Surplus people*, pp 84-5.

investment. Consequently, a new committee was formed which elected as their president, the fifth Earl Fitzwilliam.<sup>97</sup>

In February 1848, Fitzwilliam negotiated terms with the company ensuring three months' employment for 100 able-bodied men at a rate of 2s. per day. Fitzwilliam agreed to pay the wage bill for three months in exchange for shares in the company. In Ireland, work began on emigrating the workers. On 6 March 1848, Chaloner wrote to William Graves & Son to enquire about the cost of emigrating 100 families.<sup>98</sup> However, it appears some confusion had occurred during negotiations, while the authorities in St Andrew's were expecting 100 individuals; the estate was emigrating closer to 400 comprising 100 families. Their arrival created a logistical nightmare for the emigration authorities, not least as a number were sick and the quarantine area was ill-equipped to accommodate such a large number. Consequently, a staggered phase of disembarkation began. The issue of responsibility for these emigrants alternated between emigration officials and company personnel. It appears the estate was immune from any accusation of wrongdoing. Eventually, the company compromised and honoured the agreement providing six months' employment at which point the company was forced to let the workers go, and they became 'a charge upon the province' (see Fig. 7.8). Pointedly, the influx of so many migrants resulted in the emergence of a shanty town close to the railway which ultimately provided a home for many.<sup>99</sup>

Pre-Famine Fitzwilliam emigrants, drawn by labour and the prospect of land during the 1820s and 1830s, had settled in two distinct areas: Smith Falls, Ontario and the town of Barrie, sixty miles north of Toronto. In the intervening period, the early

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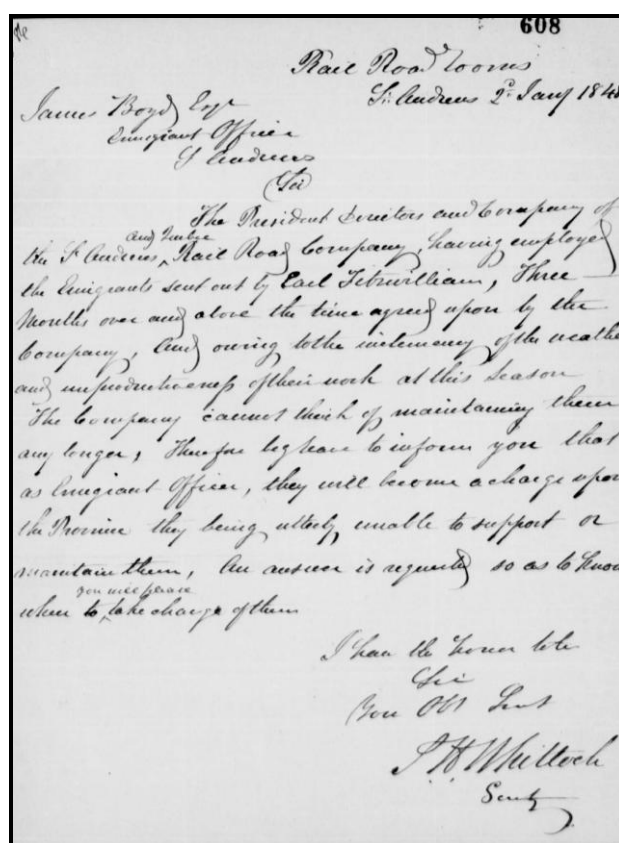
<sup>97</sup> *New Brunswick Courier*, 10 Jul. 1847.

<sup>98</sup> Letter-book of Robert Chaloner, Mar. 1842 – Jan. 1853 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 3,987), entry dated 6 Mar. 1848.

<sup>99</sup> Rees, *Surplus people*, pp 90-1.

settlers had established communities which offered a safe haven to many of the Wicklow Famine emigrants.<sup>100</sup> The Mellon family who left the estate in 1850 were listed a year later as residing in York Co., Canada West, Ontario. Peter and his son John were listed as labourers, while Jane, the matriarch of the family, was listed as house-keeping. No occupation was given for twenty-year-old Jane but the family were living at that time in a one and a half storey frame house, a modest improvement on the cabin and 3 acres they had on the townland of Coolboy [Wicklow].<sup>101</sup>

Fig. 7.8 Letter from J. H. Whittock to James Boyd, 2 Jan. 1848<sup>102</sup>



<sup>100</sup> Anne Burgess and Joseph Kenny, *A story of emigration: southwest Wicklow to Ontario* available at: Bytown.net (<http://www.bytown.net/wicklowemigrants.htm>) (18 Apr. 2015).

<sup>101</sup> Census of Canada East, West, New Brunswick & Nova Scotia, 1851, York Co., ON, Canada West, p.11, available at: Ancestry (<http://www.ancestry.co.uk>) (5 Mar. 2015).

<sup>102</sup> J. H. Whittock secretary of the St Andrew & Quebec Railway company to James Boyd, emigration officer, 2 Jan. 1848, available at: Provincial Archives of New Brunswick (<http://archives.gnb.ca/Irish/Databases/ImmigrationRecords/Documents.aspx?culture=en-CA&F=16226&S=0684&E=0757>) (1 Jun. 2015).

By comparison, the Redmond family of Cronyhorn townland in the parish of Carnew, appeared to swap destitution in Ireland for destitution in Canada in the initial years at least. The family rented a cabin from William Driver in Cronyhorn before taking the decision to leave the estate in 1849. John, his wife Ann and daughter Mary sailed out of New Ross on board the *Bridgetown* on 18 April 1849.<sup>103</sup> In 1851, the family which now included Annabelle aged three who was recorded as being born in Ireland, were listed as living in Huron Co., ON 'in a shanty'.<sup>104</sup> By 1861, the family's prospects had improved considerably. John, then forty years old, had established himself as a farmer while Ann looked after their eight children who ranged in age from fourteen to one year. The family were living in a one-storey log cabin.<sup>105</sup> On 25 August 1870, the couple's ninth child Ellen Jane Redmond died aged eight years. Her cause of death was listed as 'amputation of limb'.<sup>106</sup> Less than eight months later, the family was dealt a severe blow when John died of dropsy aged fifty-three. At the time of his death, he reputedly owned 100 acres of land, a dwelling house, two stables and numerous farming implements.<sup>107</sup> Ann, now widowed at forty-three, continued to farm the land with her eldest son, Richard.<sup>108</sup> She died on 30 November 1896 from an asthma attack at the age of sixty-eight and was buried with her daughter Ellen in Fansville Cemetery, Huron Co., Ontario.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Emigration books in respect of the estate of Earl Fitzwilliam in county Wicklow (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MSS 4,974-5), 1849:86.

<sup>104</sup> Census of Canada East, West, New Brunswick & Nova Scotia, 1851, Huron Co., ON, Canada West, p.19 available at: Ancestry (<http://www.ancestry.co.uk>) (5 Mar. 2015).

<sup>105</sup> Census of Canada East, West, New Brunswick & Nova Scotia, 1861. Huron Co., ON, Canada West, p. 9 available at: Ancestry (<http://www.ancestry.co.uk>) (5 Mar. 2015).

<sup>106</sup> Census of Canada, 1871, schedule no. 2, p. 1 available at: Ancestry (<http://www.ancestry.co.uk>) (5 March 2015).

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., see schedule no. 3, p. 1 for information on real estate and agricultural machinery.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., schedule no. 1, p. 16.

<sup>109</sup> Death Certificate of Ann Redmond, Ontario, Canada, Deaths, 1869-1938 and Deaths Overseas, 1939-47 [database on-line], entry no. 10 for 1896 available at: Ancestry (<http://www.ancestry.co.uk>) (6 Mar. 2015).



Similarly, the Kavanagh family from the townland of Parkmore left the Fitzwilliam estate in 1852 on board the *Confiance*. John, his wife Catherine and five children arrived safely in Quebec on 16 June 1852. The eldest daughter Mary aged twenty-one appears to have remained in Ireland.<sup>110</sup> By 1861, the family had settled in the town of Barrie in Simcoe County, a popular destination for many other Fitzwilliam emigrants. They lived in a timber frame two-storey house. John and his eldest son Patrick were employed in the labouring trade. James, a boy of thirteen when he left county Wicklow was now listed as eighteen years old.<sup>111</sup> Nine years later on 24 October 1870, he married Susannah McBride, the daughter of James and Alice McBride also of Barrie.<sup>112</sup> The young couple resided initially at Mary Street, but as their family began to expand James moved his family to one of the farming communities surrounding the town and began farming. By 1891, the family had grown to include one daughter and seven sons, the youngest son, Aylmer was just three months old at the time of the census.<sup>113</sup> He did not survive infancy as his name is absent from the 1901 census.<sup>114</sup> The other children went on to prosper, marry and raise families of their own in various parts of Canada (see Fig. 7.9).

James Kavanagh Snr died on 6 February 1920. At that time, he lived with Susannah his wife of forty-nine years at 77 Owen Street in Barrie. Ironically, his life had come full circle; he died an old man a short distance from where he originally

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<sup>110</sup> Emigration books in respect of the estate of Earl Fitzwilliam in County Wicklow (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MSS 4,974-5), entry 1852:4.

<sup>111</sup> Census of Canada East, West, New Brunswick & Nova Scotia, 1861, enumeration district 1, Barrie, Simcoe Co., ON., p. 9 available at: Ancestry (<http://www.ancestry.co.uk>) (5 Mar. 2015).

<sup>112</sup> Marriage Certificate for James Kavanagh and Susannah McBride, Ontario, Canada, Marriages, 1801-1928 [database on-line], marriage no. 10 for 1870 available at: Ancestry (<http://www.ancestry.co.uk>) (8 Mar. 2015).

<sup>113</sup> Census of Canada, 1891, township of Vespra, p. 21 available at: Ancestry (<http://www.ancestry.co.uk>) (8 Mar. 2015).

<sup>114</sup> Census of Canada, 1901, township of Vespra, schedule 1, p. 10; see also schedule 2, p. 2 available at: Ancestry (<http://www.ancestry.co.uk>) (8 Mar. 2015).

settled as a young boy. His cause of death simply stated ‘old age’. He was buried three days later in St Mary’s Cemetery, Barrie.<sup>115</sup>

**Fig. 7.9 The Kavanagh family of Barrie, Simcoe County, ON<sup>116</sup>**



Arguably, one the greatest success stories to emerge from the Fitzwilliam famine emigration is that of the Bawlf (originally spelt Balf) family of Hillbrook in the parish of Carnew. The family emigrated from the estate in 1847. The Bawlf's originally resided in the townland of Kilcavan but were ejected from the holding and duly compensated. Nicholas then moved his family to Hillbrook where he rented a cabin and kitchen garden from the widow Shannon, an under-tenant of Mrs Symes.<sup>117</sup> Upon arrival in Quebec, the family made their way to Smith Falls where they settled and in 1849 their son Nicholas was born (see Fig. 7.10). Nicholas Jnr became an apprentice moulder with G. M. Cossitt Bros. at Smith Falls Agricultural Works, a company that

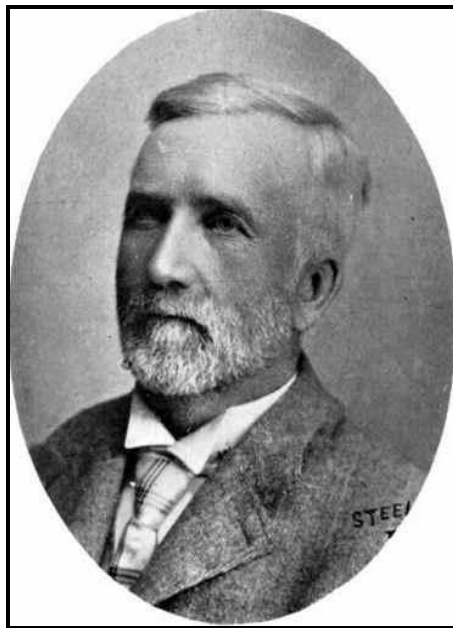
<sup>115</sup> Death Certificate of James Kavanagh, Ontario, Canada, Deaths, 1869-1938 and Deaths Overseas, 1939-1947 [database on-line], entry no. 20 for 1920 available at: Ancestry (<http://www.ancestry.co.uk>) (8 Mar. 2015).

<sup>116</sup> Photograph of the Kavanagh family, Barrie, Simcoe County available at: *Clann Chaomhánach* (<http://www.kavanaghfamily.com/articles/2003/20030602ext.htm>) (12 Mar. 2015).

<sup>117</sup> Emigration books for the Fitzwilliam estate, 1848-56 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,975), 1847:120.

specialised in the manufacturing of agricultural equipment. The business had a second premises in the town of Almonte approximately twenty-five miles north of Smith Falls and it was here that he met Catharine Madden, his future wife.<sup>118</sup> On 6 February 1877 the couple married and shortly thereafter travelled to Winnipeg.<sup>119</sup> It was a decision that was to transform the Canadian grain trade.

**Fig. 7.10 Photograph of Nicholas Bawlf (1849-1914)<sup>120</sup>**



Upon arrival in the city, Bawlf established a business on Main Street South. Success quickly followed and within a few years, the business was operating out of a larger premises at Princess Street. As the 1880s progressed, he advocated for the establishment of a central grain exchange, though few shared his vision. It was only

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<sup>118</sup> Allen Levine, 'Bawlf, Nicholas' in Ramsay Cook and Jean Hamelin (eds), *Dictionary of Canadian biography* (22 vols, Toronto, 2003), xiv, pp 39-40 available at: University of Toronto ([http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/bawlf\\_nicholas\\_14E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/bawlf_nicholas_14E.html)) (28 May 2015).

<sup>119</sup> Marriage Certificate for Nicholas Bawlf and Catherine Madden, Ontario Canada Catholic Church Records [Drouin Collection] 1747-1967 [database on-line] available at: Ancestry (<http://www.ancestry.ca>) (15 Jul. 2013).

<sup>120</sup> Photograph of Nicholas Bawlf available at: Manitoba Historical Society ([http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/people/bawlf\\_n.shtml](http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/people/bawlf_n.shtml)) (2 Jun. 2015).

with the advent of the railway in 1886 coupled with a burgeoning wheat market that the leading grain producers began to envision the benefit of such an enterprise.<sup>121</sup> Thus, in 1887, the Winnipeg Grain and Produce Exchange was founded by Bawlf and a number of the leading traders in the region. As the wheat economy grew exponentially, so too did the business. Diversification into Asian export markets and Bawlf's independent business interests in the manufacture of grain elevators only added to his increasing wealth and notoriety within the city.<sup>122</sup>

**Fig. 7.11 The Bawlf residence at 11 Kennedy Avenue, Winnipeg, MB<sup>123</sup>**



The family outgrew their modest dwelling on Main Street North and relocated to an impressive residence at number 11 Kennedy Street (see Fig. 7.11). The family were of Roman Catholic persuasion and active participants in their local Catholic church, St Mary's. Furthermore, Bawlf's interests extended into the realm of politics where he

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<sup>121</sup> Levine, 'Bawlf, Nicholas', p. 39.

<sup>122</sup> A. G. Levine, 'The Bawlf family: a vanished legend in the Winnipeg grain trade' in *Manitoba Business* 6, vii (1984), pp 33-8.

<sup>123</sup> Photograph of Bawlf residence at 11 Kennedy Street, Winnipeg available at: Winnipeg Residences (<http://www.warrenpress.net/WinnipegThenNow/WinnipegResidences.html>) (12 Apr. 2015).

was an ardent supporter of the inclusion of more Catholic senators in what was arguably a Protestant dominated political sphere. He died of a heart attack on 26 December 1914 and ‘all of Winnipeg mourned his passing’.<sup>124</sup> In his will, he bequeathed \$32,000 of his \$660,000 estate to both ‘public and charitable institutions’ across the city.<sup>125</sup>

## 7.5 Conclusion

Assisted emigration projected the Famine from a domestic crisis to a transnational event. As thousands of Irish emigrants arrived at American ports the issue of disease and destitution extended its borders beyond the confines of the national margins. Though at first sympathetic to the plight of the poverty-stricken emigrants, host communities quickly grew tired of the relentless waves of bodies that landed on their shores. Empathy turned to condemnation as Ireland’s burden became North America’s. Landlords were vilified, portrayed as callous individuals who seized an opportunity to rid themselves of uneconomic tenants.<sup>126</sup>

The Fitzwilliam estate was one of the most prolific in terms of emigrant numbers and yet, it only received negligible criticism. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that a pre-Famine scheme was in-situ which shielded the estate from adverse publicity lavished on those who had instigated emigration schemes during the Famine years. Furthermore, the fact that Fitzwilliam emigrant communities were already established on the other side of the world no doubt provided comfort to some of the Famine emigrants. Ambiguity surrounds the specifics of the Fitzwilliam Famine programme. It is unclear who gave the directive to commence the scheme. Estate records show that wholesale clearances occurred. However, there is no escaping the fact that a year after

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<sup>124</sup> Levine, ‘Bawlf, Nicholas’, p. 39.

<sup>125</sup> *The Brandon Daily Sun*, 27 Jan. 1915.

<sup>126</sup> See for example Anbinder, ‘From famine to Five Points’, pp 351-87.

the arrival of the potato blight in county Wicklow, dire conditions existed on the estate. Similarly, a dwindling rental income and escalating annual expenditure needed to be addressed which provided the impetus for the commencement of the programme.

Outwardly, although the scheme was economically motivated it did not discriminate between social classes. It also contained paternal elements such as the care and diligence shown by the estate towards the tenants with perhaps, the exception of those emigrants who sailed on board the *Star*. The benefits of the scheme were not only reaped by those who left but also by those who remained. The scheme facilitated the emigration of 778 families from the Wicklow estate resulting in approximately 3,925 acres available for redistribution and consolidation.<sup>127</sup>

As to the winners and losers, popular perceptions would dictate that the earl and his estate were the main winners and by extension the emigrants were the ultimate losers. However, though Fitzwilliam and the estate undoubtedly profited from what could possibly be termed paternal capitalism, the cost of under-writing the scheme and subsequently writing down the debt accumulated by the emigrants was substantial. Undeniably, the true victors were the middlemen who rid themselves of uneconomic tenants and in the process managed to consolidate their holdings. Ironically, though historians contend that the Famine broke the middleman system, examination of the Fitzwilliam estate demonstrates that it did in fact strengthen their position.<sup>128</sup> While assisted emigration alone was not the solution to the difficulties besetting many properties, nevertheless, it was an important factor in redressing the crisis.

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<sup>127</sup> Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates database, 1815-65, personal database, assisted emigration.

<sup>128</sup> See for example Ciarán Ó Murchadha, *The Great Irish Famine*, p. 8. See section 8.5.

## CHAPTER 8: A CHANGING WORLD: THE WENTWORTH-FITZWILLIAM ESTATES IN THE POST-FAMINE PERIOD

*As a colliery engineer, he was probably not surpassed by anyone in the neighbourhood. He was very assiduous to attending to the proper ventilation of the mines of which he had the management.*

Obituary of Benjamin Biram, *Sheffield Independent*, 7 Feb. 1857.

### 8.1 Introduction

The effect of the Great Irish Famine considerably altered the social fabric of the Coollattin estate. Death as a result of famine, coupled with the exodus of over 5,000 tenants to British North America created practical difficulties of consolidation at home.<sup>1</sup> Famine, death, disease and the assisted-emigration scheme virtually eradicated the lower classes. The estate was encumbered with debt, and poverty remained a prevailing feature of everyday life for many. Consequently, in order to make the estate profitable restructuring measures were necessary. This task was made more onerous by the death of Chaloner Jnr in 1855 and the fifth Earl Fitzwilliam in 1857.

Across the Irish Sea, the Yorkshire estate was by no means static. Though Famine was perceived as very much an Irish problem, the Yorkshire estate was not immune to the effects of poverty. Throughout the 1840s pauperism was omnipresent among the lower classes of the West-Riding. As chairman of the Rotherham Board of Guardians, the earl witnessed first-hand the large-scale destitution that existed. Yet, from the early 1850s there was rapid expansion in the mining villages on the Wentworth estate. Industry, bolstered by improved infrastructural links, led to increased productivity and by extension, increased employment prospects. These developments

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<sup>1</sup> Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates database, 1815-65, personal database, assisted emigration.

improved the conditions of the working classes.<sup>2</sup> However, following the death of the fifth earl and Benjamin Biram in 1857, estate restructuring was also necessary on the West-Riding estate.

This chapter primarily concerns itself with the issue of change during the decades of the mid-century. It analyses the changing demographics in each location through two case-studies and how this impacted upon each estate in terms of pressure on land, resources and people. The effect of a change in owner and agent is discussed and how this altered landlord, tenant and agent relations. Ultimately, this period offered great hope providing the opportunity to implement sound policies which would ensure the longevity and prosperity of each estate and their remaining tenantry.

## 8.2 *'Farmers, labourers, miners and nailors' – the occupational profile*

Macro-analysis of the population in selected townships for the first five decades of the century provides a clear indication of the disparity that existed across the Yorkshire estate. Between 1801 and 1851, the population of Nether Hoyland, which included part of the village of Elsecar, rose dramatically from 823 in 1801 to 2,912 by 1851. According to contemporary analysts, this 254 percent increase, which was more pronounced from 1831, was solely attributable 'to the opening of the new collieries.'<sup>3</sup> Similarly, in the adjacent township of Brampton Bierlow which contained the remainder of Elsecar, the population increased from 860 in 1801 to 1,741 by the mid-nineteenth century. Contrastingly, the more agricultural parts of the estate such as Edlington remained largely static throughout this period. The township of Wentworth retained its rural characteristics and although the township recorded a 60 percent increase in its

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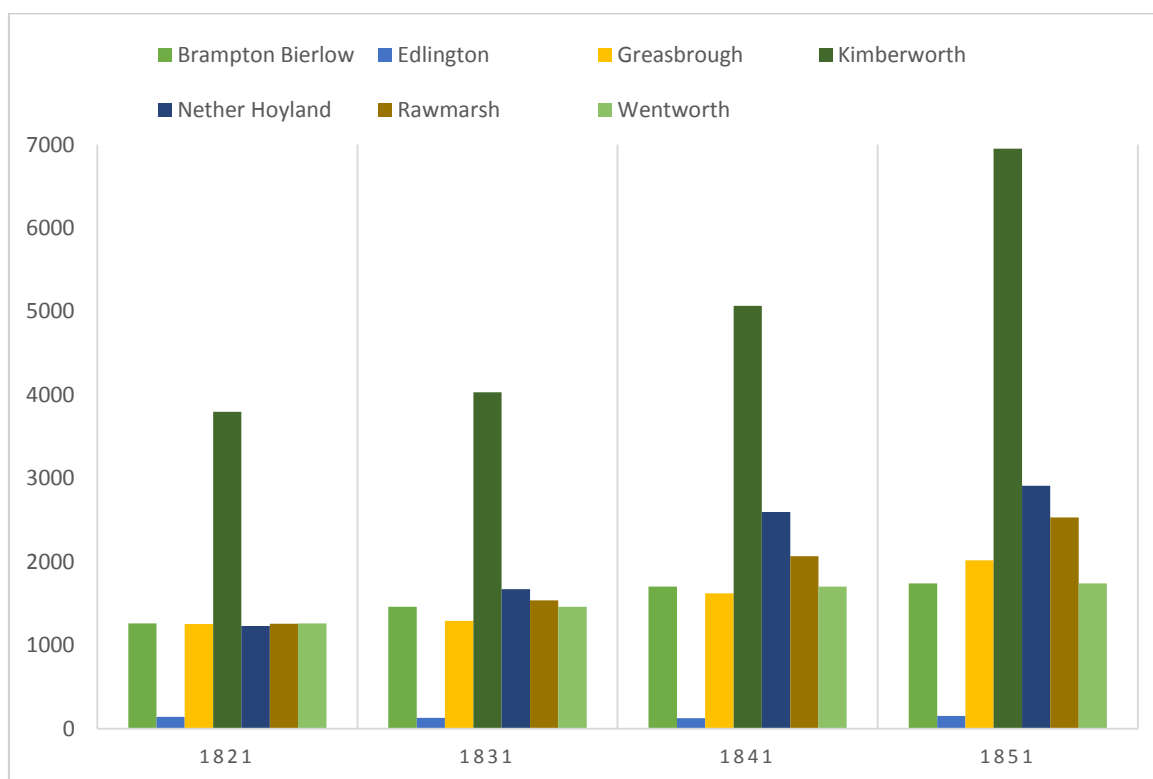
<sup>2</sup> David Hey, *A history of the south Yorkshire countryside* (Barnsley, 2015), p. 151.

<sup>3</sup> Census of Great Britain, 1851, population tables I, vol. ii, England and Wales. Divisions vii-ix, Scotland. Islands, pp 36-7.



population over this period, this was a by-product of its geographical location in relation to local industries that were growing up around its borders (see Fig. 8.1).<sup>4</sup>

**Fig. 8.1 Population returns from 1821 to 1851 on selected townships on the Yorkshire estate<sup>5</sup>**



Analysis of the estate village of Elsecar between 1841 and 1860 demonstrates the dramatic effect mining had on the planning and development of this area and, equally, the fortunes of its inhabitants. In 1841, the village and its surrounding hinterland had a total of 112 dwellings and 800 inhabitants.<sup>6</sup> The greater majority resided in the village around the central area known as the Green and along the streets that radiated off it including Distiller's Row, Meadow Row, Old Row, New Row and the most recent addition, Reform Row, named in honour of the 1832 parliamentary act. The latter was a meandering line of twenty-eight houses constructed in 1837 in an effort

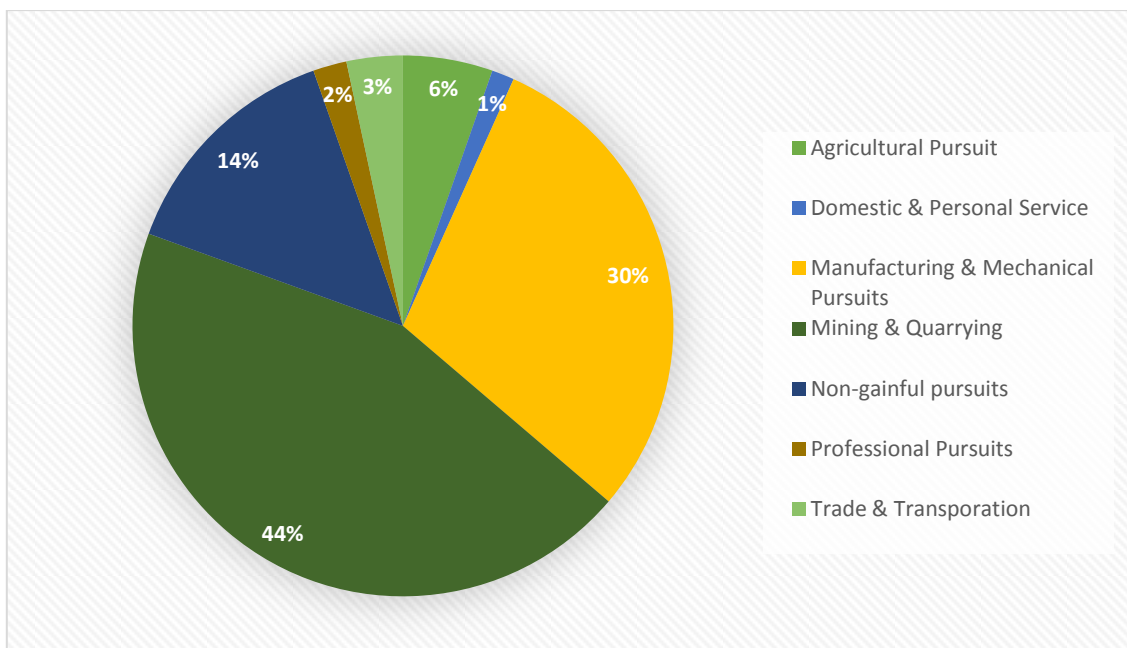
<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 1851, population tables I, vol. ii, England and Wales. Divisions vii-ix, Scotland. Islands, p. 40.

<sup>5</sup> Census returns for England and Wales, 1841, civil parish: Wath-upon-Deerne, enumeration district 8, 8a and 9a, available at: Ancestry (<http://www.ancestry.co.uk>) (25 May 2015).

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 1841, civil parish: Wath-upon-Deerne, enumeration district, 8, 8a and 9a.

to relieve housing congestion.<sup>7</sup> In 1841, these 800 individuals comprised 147 families with eighty-six lodgers. The average family size was 4.6 although this masks the average household size which stood at 7.1. The average head of family was 39.6 years old. An examination of occupational structures show that people were disengaging with agriculture in favour of the rapidly expanding mining activities in the area. Collectively, coal mining and iron manufacturing accounted for 44 percent of the workforce, almost a third of whom were coal miners. Farmers and agricultural labourers accounted for just 6 percent of the cohort (see Fig. 8.2).

**Fig. 8.2 Occupational structure of Elsecar in 1841<sup>8</sup>**



In addition, a total of forty heads of family were engaged in a variety of employments including apprentice moulders, coal labourers, a dressmaker and a milliner, stool manufacturer and so on.<sup>9</sup> Lodgers were also predominantly employed in coal and iron mining activities. Lodgers were also particularly important as sources of additional

<sup>7</sup> Hey, *A history of the south Yorkshire countryside*, p. 150.

<sup>8</sup> Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates database, 1815-65, personal database, occupational trends.

<sup>9</sup> Census returns for England and Wales, 1841, civil parish: Wath-upon-Deerne, enumeration district 8, 8a and 9a.

income to a number of families, and especially hard-pressed widows. Joseph Goldbro was a forty-five-year-old labourer who lived with his wife, Mary, at New Row. The couple had eight children ranging in age from fifteen to three years old. Two of their sons, Thomas and William, worked in the mines, while a third son, Henry, was listed as a potter. In addition, the family had two lodgers residing with them.<sup>10</sup>

Between 1841 and 1851, the urban structure of the area altered significantly. Housing witnessed a 49 percent increase with an additional fifty-five units constructed in the intervening ten years. This was mainly due to the increase in population which rose by 14 percent during this time. In general, colliery proprietors provided housing as a means of enticing labourers. Oftentimes, accommodation was provided free of charge or at a nominal fee of approximately 2s. per week. However, the standard and quality of housing provision varied considerably across regions. As Carolyn Baylies states: ‘miners and their families were largely subject to the conditions in communities as they found them – to the type of housing which their wages allowed – and which the colliery companies or private contractors had constructed, to the provision for sanitation or the lack of it’. This situation she contends was wholly dependent: ‘upon the pit to which its members were attached’ and the willingness of the owner to invest substantial amounts of capital to meet the needs of a particular community.<sup>11</sup>

A government enquiry into the conditions of the mining populations of Yorkshire in 1845 concluded that the standard of housing in Elsecar far exceeded those experienced by the working classes elsewhere. The typical dwelling consisted ‘of four rooms and a pantry, a small back court, ash-pit, a pig-sty and garden’. In addition, the front of the residence was enclosed by a round wall and a low gate while ‘flowers or

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<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, enumeration district 8a, p. 19.

<sup>11</sup> Carolyn Baylies, *History of the Yorkshire miners, 1881-1918* (London, 2003), p. 30.

paving stones' completed the front façade of the property creating a neat outward appearance.<sup>12</sup> It is obvious that tenants took great pride in their homes as the back gardens which consisted of 500 yards, approximately 15 perches, were found to be 'cultivated with much care'. The estate management also provided each household with the option of renting an additional 300 yards for the purposes of growing potatoes.<sup>13</sup> As the housing needs of the community were provided for by the estate so too were any necessary repairs. For example, in 1851, Joseph Evans and William Hurst, coal miners by trade and neighbours at Collier's Row, Elsecar, shared sanitation facilities and requested a new pump from the estate as the old one was giving trouble. Biram sent John Sykes, a clerk of works, to examine the pump to ascertain how the issue could be resolved.<sup>14</sup> Although estate management practices in the early 1850s were primarily concerned with the development of its railway and mining interests, the management structure remained responsible for the daily demands of tenant life. Moreover, the standard of housing provision supplied by the estate received national recognition. The fact that Fitzwilliam's tenants maintained the dwellings to such a high standard indicates the relationship that existed between the estate and its inhabitants.

Analysis of 1851 census data that housing provision between 1841 and 1851 was centred largely on two particular areas, the Milton Ironworks situated on a hill above the town and Elsecar Canal Basin located to the south-west of the village. In 1841, three families had resided in these areas. By 1851, there were thirty-six families living in close proximity to their place of work.<sup>15</sup> Though many of the original families

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<sup>12</sup> *Report of the commissioner appointed under the provision of act 5 & 6 Vict. c. 99, to inquire into the operation of that act, and into the state of the population of the mining districts, 1845*, p. 25 [C 670], H.C. 1845, xxvii.

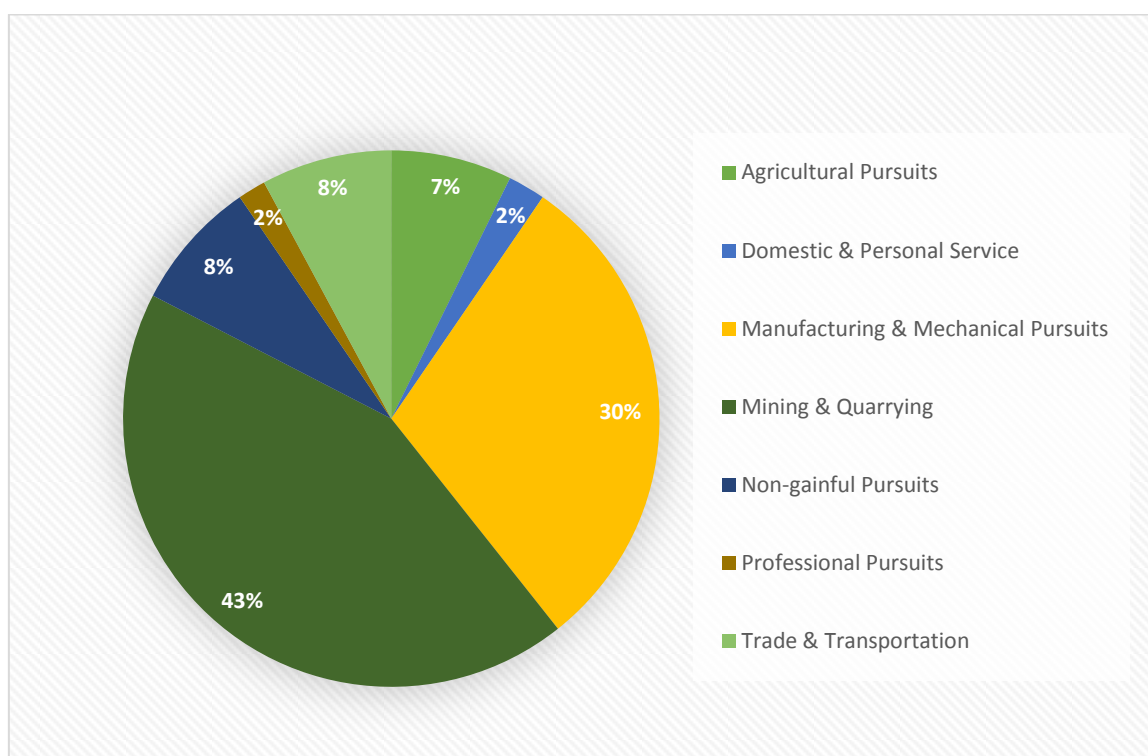
<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Yorkshire estate rental, 1850 (S.A., WWM/A/646), memoranda.

<sup>15</sup> Census returns for England and Wales, 1851, civil parish: Hoyland (Nether), enumeration district, 4a and 4b; see also *Ibid.*, civil parish: Brampton Bierlow, enumeration district, 2a.

remained, the social improvement of some was noticeable. For example, in 1841, John Cusworth, his wife Mary and one-month old son were living with Charles Hurst and his family in Reform Row.<sup>16</sup> By 1851, John was earning enough as a coal miner to rent his own home at 18 Reform Row next door to Hurst. In the intervening years, the family had grown to include three daughters and a son, while William, the eldest, was now nine years old and attending the local school. Lodging with the family was twenty-two-year-old Elijah Evans who also worked as a coal miner.<sup>17</sup>

**Fig. 8.3 Occupational structure of Elsecar in 1851<sup>18</sup>**



Essentially the occupational patterns remained virtually unchanged between 1841 and 1851 with coal and iron workers outnumbering farmers by 6:1 and 4:1 respectively (see Fig. 8.3). Only three farmers were recorded which demonstrates the contrast between the Wicklow and Yorkshire landholdings. The expansion in rail and

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 1841, civil parish: Wath-upon-Deerne, enumeration district, 8a, p. 3.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 1851, civil parish: Hoyland (Nether), enumeration district, 4b, p. 52.

<sup>18</sup> Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates database, 1815-65, personal database, occupational trends.

water navigation services was also evident over the decade. In 1841, there was one head of family listed as a 'boatman', yet by 1851, this figure was six with a further individual employed as a railway labourer.<sup>19</sup>

It appears from estate rentals that when compared to their agricultural counterparts, those employed in mining pursuits were financially better off and more than capable of paying their annual rent. While some farmers such as John Wilkinson owed arrears, analysis of Brampton Bierlow township demonstrates that in May 1851 colliers residing in Brampton Bierlow paid in full their half-yearly rent of £58 15s. 6d. on time. Equally, in Hoyland, which comprised of the largest portion of the village, miners paid a half yearly collective sum of £194 15s. 7d. and an additional £13 due for potato plots.<sup>20</sup> By 1855, the combined rental on colliers' houses in the two townships had increased to £454 7s. 6d. which again was fully received on rent day.<sup>21</sup> The transition from farming to mining not only demonstrates how the estate's economic priorities were moving from agriculture to industry but also that the tenantry were benefitting from this change.

Between 1851 and 1861 the number employed throughout the West Riding's collieries increased by 53 percent from 20,747 in 1851 to 31,703 ten years later. Although the numbers gainfully employed in ironworks also increased during this period, the rate was a more modest 15 percent.<sup>22</sup> Agriculture remained the dominant employer in the region throughout this decade. However, the level of growth in this

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., civil parish: Hoyland (Nether), enumeration district, 4a and 4b; see also Ibid., civil parish: Brampton Bierlow, enumeration district, 2a.

<sup>20</sup> Yorkshire estate rental, 1850 (S.A., WWM/A/646), see Brampton entry no. 107 and Hoyland entry nos 592-3.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 1855 (S.A., WWM/A/651), see Brampton entry no. 112 and Hoyland entry nos 603-4.

<sup>22</sup> Census of Great Britain, 1851, population tables II, vol. i, England and Wales. Divisions vii-ix. Scotland, islands, pp 686-7; see also Census of England, 1861, population tables, England and Wales, vol. ii, part 2, p. 691.

sector was insignificant in comparison with mining. As Table 8.1 demonstrates the decade post-1850 was one of great opportunity for tenants as industrial expansion demanded a larger work force.

**Table 8.1 West-Riding occupations as per 1851 and 1861 census returns<sup>23</sup>**

Year	1851	1861	Difference	% change
Mining Pursuits				
Coal mining	20,747	31,703	↑10,956	52.8
Iron mining	853	980	↑ 127	14.9
Agricultural Pursuits				
Farmers	16,547	17,580	↑ 1,033	6.2
Agri. Labourer	27,565	29,036	↑ 1,471	5.3
Farm Servants	9,296	8,920	↓ 376	-4.0

Between 1851 and 1861, the population of Elsecar grew exponentially. In 1851, a contract to supply 5,000 tons of coal weekly to the Great Northern Railway counteracted the losses in farm rental. However, meeting this demand was far from straightforward as it would require ‘a greatly increased staff of colliers’ and though the earl thought this might be initiated on a phased basis, it was evident that many more hands were required if the colliery was to fulfil the order.<sup>24</sup> In March 1852, the earl visited the village and in a letter to his son expressed his fears that the burgeoning population was a cause for grave concern. He stated: ‘I have been at Elsecar and am obliged to order the building of towards 40 new houses. It is frightful to think of the population we shall have growing up there.’<sup>25</sup> Throughout this time, the village benefitted from housing development particularly along Cobcar Lane and Fitzwilliam

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 685; Ibid., p. 689.

<sup>24</sup> Earl Fitzwilliam to Lord Milton, 26 Nov. 1851 (S.A., WWM/T2).

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 30 Mar. 1852 (S.A., WWM/T2).

Street where individual dwellings were erected. A Church of England school was opened in 1852 to replace the primary school which had been in existence from the 1830s.

Despite the earl's reservations, new ventures were undertaken such as the opening of Simon Wood Colliery in 1853 which contributed to the annual revenue collected by the estate. In 1854, work was completed on the Miners' Lodging House in Fitzwilliam Street in the village. This impressive structure was built specifically to provide accommodation for the miners of Simon Wood colliery (see Fig. 8.4).<sup>26</sup>

**Fig. 8.4 Miners' Lodging House, Fitzwilliam Street, Elsecar, 2015<sup>27</sup>**



Collectively, these endeavours increased the value and profitability of the estate. Given the high level of industry which existed on the estate, land on the Wentworth estate was a much sought after commodity and not purely for the purposes of railway expansion. In 1856, a gas company was willing to pay the estate '£1,200 an acre for

<sup>26</sup> Hey, *A history of the south Yorkshire countryside*, p. 151.

<sup>27</sup> Photograph of Miners' Lodging House, Fitzwilliam Street, Elsecar, 2015 in the personal possession of Fidelma Byrne.



land near the Don Pottery' at a time when the average value of an acre of land on the Irish estate was fetching between 11s. and £2 10s. per acre depending on the townland.<sup>28</sup>

However, while the 1850s was a time of financial regeneration across Yorkshire mainly as a consequence of the railway, the relationship between companies and landed proprietors was prone to conflict as each party sought to profit from their own interests. The issue of pricing was at the core of a dispute in 1855 when the Great Northern Railway withdrew their wagons from Elsecar in protest over what they considered to be excessive coal prices.<sup>29</sup> In March 1855, Seymour Clarke, general manager of the Great Northern Railway wrote to Biram seeking a price reduction during the summer months. Biram would not capitulate and consequently, Clarke, who had obtained cheaper quotes elsewhere, withdrew the wagons. While it was one thing to try and gain the upper hand over the wealthy coal owner, such tactics drew sharp criticism. Their effects were acutely felt by the colliers who would be steadily 'employed at the pits during hay-time and harvest' only to find themselves redundant throughout the winter months as a consequence of railway companies stockpiling reserves when prices were at a minimum.<sup>30</sup> The stand-off between rail officials and proprietors continued until mid-August 1855 when a deal was brokered by the rail companies which introduced a sliding scale system of payment.<sup>31</sup> As F. M. L. Thompson contends, while the coming

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<sup>28</sup> William Newman to Earl Fitzwilliam, 26 Mar. 1856 (S.A., WWM/G49); see for example Irish estate rental, 1855-6 (S.A., WWM/A/943), entry nos 306-16.

<sup>29</sup> William Newman to Earl Fitzwilliam, 15 Jan. 1853 (S.A., WWM/G49); see also Earl Fitzwilliam to Evelyn Denison, 22 Feb. 1853 (S.A., WWM/G88).

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 6 May 1855 (S.A., WWM/G48/108).

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 20 Aug. 1855 (S.A., WWM/G48/115).

of the railway was viewed as a threat to aristocratic life, ‘both learned to recognize an ally as well as a rival’ which resulted in something of a love/hate relationship.<sup>32</sup>

In terms of estate management, fissures were beginning to appear. Newman and Maude had long shared a belief that Biram was reckless in his role as household steward and superintendent of mining, owing to his excessive spending habits which frequently required cross-subsidization in order to maintain both entities.<sup>33</sup> In 1845, Biram’s expenditure was the most excessive of all the Fitzwilliam agents across Ireland and Britain (see Table 8.2). This expenditure included, but was not limited to, management costs associated with the estate, for example miners’ wages and equipment.

**Table 8.2 Extract of annual expenditure to November 1845 across the Wentworth-Fitzwilliam holdings<sup>34</sup>**

Estate	Agent’s Surname	Amount Expended
Wentworth	Benjamin Biram	£28,479 13s. 5d.
Wentworth	William Newman	£ 8,926 14s. 2d.
Milton	Charles Simpson	£14,978 2s. 11d.
Higham Ferrers	Charles Simpson	£ 2,087 18s. 11d.
Malton	William Allen	£ 2,717 14s. 10d.
Wicklow	Robert Chaloner Jnr	£12,731 5s. 10½d.

Tellingly, Biram’s expenditure for 1845 was over three times that of Newman’s and almost two and a half times that of Chaloner’s on the Wicklow estate. The fact that the earl was aware of this exorbitant spending and yet was slow to act calls into question the astuteness of the fifth earl in terms of business management. Furthermore, when both the land agent and auditor attempted to broach the subject of Biram’s over-

<sup>32</sup> F. M. L. Thompson, *English landed society in the nineteenth century* (London, 1963), p. 1.

<sup>33</sup> See chapter three concerning economics.

<sup>34</sup> Earl Fitzwilliam to Viscount Milton, 6 Nov. 1845 (S.A., WWM/T2).

expenditure with the earl in the 1850s, he appeared disinterested and failed to act. This stance was no doubt aided by the fact that any concerns were counteracted against increasing mineral receipts during this period.<sup>35</sup> However, before any action could be taken Biram died prematurely and was followed nine months later by the death of the fifth earl.

Whatever misgivings Newman and Maude had concerning Biram's economic ability, there was no disputing the fact that Biram had devoted three decades of his life to improving the conditions of miners. He understood the challenges faced by miners and sought to develop mechanisms which would improve health and safety throughout the estate-run collieries. The fact that in the mining districts on the Yorkshire estate tenants were living into their seventies, eighties and even nineties in the 1840s diverges from the general trend in Victorian England. Kay Heath has noted that: 'the average life span in 1801 was thirty-six years, by 1901, males were living on average forty-eight years and females fifty-two [years]'.<sup>36</sup> Yet, burial records for the Yorkshire tenants illustrate that many surpassed the national average. Furthermore, the low death rate of people aged between thirty-one and fifty years suggests that estate management policies implemented across the estate's various industries, placed an emphasis on safety and were partially responsible for the low death rate for those aged between thirty-one and fifty years.

Despite this, Biram was a poor financial manager who relied on landlord capital to compensate for his consistent over-expenditure.<sup>37</sup> This, coupled with the fact that the

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<sup>35</sup> David Spring, *The English landed estate in the nineteenth century: its administration* (Baltimore, MD, 1963), pp 81-3.

<sup>36</sup> Kay Heath, *Aging by the book: the emergence of midlife in Victorian Britain* (Albany, NY, 2009), p. 9.

<sup>37</sup> For more on this see Fidelma Byrne, 'Divisions of labour: inter-managerial conflict among the Wentworth-Fitzwilliam agents' in L. A. Rees, C. Reilly and A. Tindley (eds), *The land agent: a transnational perspective* (forthcoming, Edinburgh, 2017).

earl's paternal nature made him reluctant to discharge Biram, meant that Biram's poor management of the mining enterprises which operated at a loss for a considerable period was tolerated. Reporting on Biram's death, the *Sheffield Independent* outlined his many achievements which included installing a proper system of ventilation and inventing an anemometer to measure gas levels which provided protection against firedamp. He later patented this latter product and it was used extensively within the industry, while he also worked tirelessly to provide safer lighting facilities.<sup>38</sup> The workers were very appreciative of his efforts and held him in high esteem, a fact that was borne out at an awards ceremony in October 1856 when upwards of 500 miners from Elsecar collieries gathered to pay thanks to Biram for his management of the collieries. Samuel Thornsby, a collier of fifty-five years was elected to preside over the proceedings and stated that: 'no one could fully appreciate the many comforts and advantages at Elsecar, but those who had worked under tyrannical masters as he [Thornsby] had done before he came to work' here. His sentiments were greeted with much cheer from the assembled crowd.<sup>39</sup> In recognition of his work, the colliery superintendent was presented with a silver cup worth £20 from the miners.<sup>40</sup> Ironically, despite the failings of John Hartop, who had managed the Elsecar Ironworks for more than two decades, he took over Biram's mining duties on the estate. The position of house steward was filled by Richard Massey who had previously managed the Fitzwilliam estate at Cloghan in King's County from its acquisition in 1847 until its sale in 1853.<sup>41</sup> The appointment of Massey illustrates the transnational interactions between the Irish and Yorkshire estates during this period. Although both estates were separate entities in the eyes of the earl,

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<sup>38</sup> *Sheffield Independent*, 7 Feb. 1857.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 Nov. 1856.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> Wentworth household annual statement of account, 1857 (S.A., WWM/A/176); see also *Freeman's Journal*, 20 Jul. 1853.

in terms of estate management there was at least some inter-connectedness between the two.

Four years later, the estate was plunged into mourning with the death of the fifth earl. Although ill, 'it was fully anticipated that he would ultimately recover'.<sup>42</sup> He was succeeded by his second son, William Thomas Spencer Wentworth-Fitzwilliam. As news of the fifth earl's passing was made public, condolences began to flow into Wentworth. The evidence suggests that the late fifth earl was held in high esteem both by those upon his estates and those further afield (see Fig. 8.5). Though some 'may have differed [with his views] in some respects in the ordinary affairs of life ... the expressions of sympathy' demonstrate that a deep sense of loss prevailed.<sup>43</sup> Although the new landlord inherited many of his father's traits, in other respects, he was inherently different. While his late father had immersed himself deeply in issues of national political importance, the sixth earl appeared more at ease at local level. As the second son, he had not anticipated inheriting but on 8 November 1835 his elder brother, William Charles, died prematurely.<sup>44</sup> The sixth earl's approach to the management of his estates was more pragmatic than that of his father and although he too was paternal in his outlook, he nonetheless placed equal emphasis on the interests of the business and the interests of the tenantry.

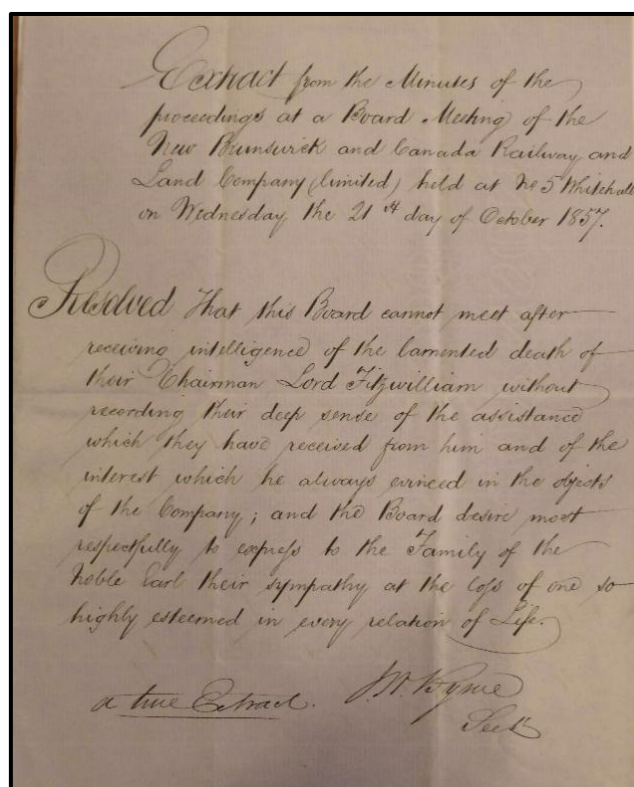
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<sup>42</sup> *The Illustrated London News*, 10 Oct. 1857.

<sup>43</sup> Earl Fitzwilliam to Isaac Ironside, 10 Oct. 1857 (S.A., WWM/T/4). Other letters received from included the Peterborough Mechanics Institute, Rotherham Young Mens' Christian Association, Rotherham Savings Bank, Members of the Guildhall in Cambridge.

<sup>44</sup> William Charles Wentworth-Fitzwilliam married Lady Selina Charlotte Jenkinson, second daughter of the third earl of Liverpool in August 1833. See Charles Mosley (ed.), *Burke's peerage, baronetage & knightage* (107th ed., 3 vols, Wilmington, DE, 2003), ii, p. 2368.

**Fig. 8.5 Extract from minutes of meeting of the New Brunswick & Canada Railway expressing their condolences on the death of the fifth earl<sup>45</sup>**



### 8.3 'On the right track' – rail and industrial development on the Wentworth estate

Insofar as 1847 was a defining year in the life of the Coollattin estate, it also marked a turning point in the industrial fortunes of the Wentworth estate, although it would be the 1850s before these benefits would be fully realised. On 22 July 1847, an act of parliament was passed establishing the South Yorkshire, Doncaster and Goole Railway Company. The legislation empowered the company to construct several miles of track throughout the region and also made provision for the amalgamation of existing rail and water navigation services.<sup>46</sup> By August 1848, construction had commenced on the initial phase of the project connecting Doncaster and Swinton and in the first weeks

<sup>45</sup> New Brunswick & Canada Railway company to Earl Fitzwilliam, 21 Oct. 1857 (S.A., WWM/T4).

<sup>46</sup> Report of the commissioners of railways, on certain railway bills comprises of groups nos 1 and 3 (in pursuance of resolution of the House of Commons, of 23 February 1847, pp 1-2, H.C. 1847 (164) xxxi, 347. See also Railways return of the number of railways for which acts were passed in session 1847; the length of each line; the proposed capital stock, and amount of capital subscribed (in continuation of parliamentary paper no. 708, of sess. 1847), p. 3, H.C. 1847-8 (22) lxiii, 271.

of 1850 the Elsecar branch of the line was completed. The opening of Elsecar station was crucial to the Fitzwilliams' mining industry. Unlike other sections of track which provided passenger transportation, this line that connected Elsecar to Mexborough via Cortonwood was specifically constructed to transport mineral freight and was conveniently located at the rear of Elsecar collieries.<sup>47</sup>

Financially, developments such as this were particularly beneficial for landowners as railway companies were willing to pay attractive prices in order to secure land for capital projects. In 1848 and 1855, the earl received payments of £3,000 from the South Yorkshire Railway Company in respect of the purchase of land at Swinton, Wath and Brampton to facilitate the extension of the railway line.<sup>48</sup> This extension allowed Fitzwilliam to expand into national markets which hitherto had been out of reach due to a poor transport infrastructure. In a six-year period following the opening of the Elsecar branch the sale of Fitzwilliam coal mined on the estate increased by 80 percent.

One of the main areas on the estate to benefit was Elsecar. Elsecar collieries was the collective name given to three coal mining operations dotted around the township and in close proximity to the village. Two of these, Elsecar Old and Elsecar New collieries predated the nineteenth century and in 1848 both were renamed Elsecar High and Elsecar Mid respectively. In 1848, Elsecar Low was only beginning to operate at full capacity<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, the lease on Milton iron-works held by John Hartop fell due for renewal on 1 October 1848 and the decision was taken by the estate

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<sup>47</sup> The development of the railway on the earl's estate was no doubt aided by the fact that he was the chairman of the South Yorkshire Railway from 1845 to 1851. See D. L. Franks, *South Yorkshire railway* (Sheffield, 1971), p. 12.

<sup>48</sup> West Riding annual estate account, 1848-9 (S.A., WWM/A/405), entry dated 4 Dec. 1848. See also William Newman to Earl Fitzwilliam, 8 May 1855 (S. A., WWM/G49).

<sup>49</sup> See chapter three for greater detail on the workings of Elsecar collieries during the early nineteenth century.

to lease the business to work it in tandem with the nearby Elsecar iron-works. Both businesses were duly advertised and the Dawes brothers of Staffordshire subsequently bought the leasehold interest in each with a view to running the two enterprises simultaneously.<sup>50</sup> The Dawes family had gained considerable traction as significant players in the iron industry. From humble beginnings in Bromford, the family business had been developed considerably with each successive generation creating new avenues for expansion. By 1849 the brothers were actively involved in the original family business but were also pursuing their own individual interests. George had an iron, tin and steel plate merchants at 28 Lionel Street, Birmingham, while William Henry had an ironworks in the village of Handsworth a short distance away.<sup>51</sup> Their acquisition of the Elsecar and Milton ironworks was a peculiar decision for as Graham Mee contends, the Fitzwilliam ironworks were far from profitable.<sup>52</sup> From 1827, when the estate assumed direct control of the works, until 1849 when the Dawes' acquired it, the business was experiencing major losses annually as evidenced by the numerous 'promiscuous payments' required to keep it solvent.<sup>53</sup>

It is clear from correspondence that the earl was fully aware of the economic difficulties at the ironworks. In April 1849 Daniel Maude, the estate auditor, wrote to Fitzwilliam to convey his thoughts on the matter. Maude advised the earl that he could not 'carry on the iron trade to profit and that in the long run you will be the gainer by selling your minerals and giving another the fair trader's profit for manufacturing for

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<sup>50</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 24 Jun. 1848.

<sup>51</sup> Francis White & Co., *Birmingham: history and general directory of the borough of Birmingham with the remainder of the parish of Aston, the Soho and part of Handsworth included: being part of a general history and directory of the county of Warwick* (Sheffield, 1849), p. 140.

<sup>52</sup> Graham Mee, *Aristocratic enterprise: the Fitzwilliam industrial undertakings, 1795-1857* (London, 1975), pp 57-63.

<sup>53</sup> See for example West Riding annual statement of household account, 1801-34 (S.A., WWM/A/122). The issue of loss is also discussed in chapter three.



you.<sup>54</sup> Indeed John Hartop, his manager, expressed his relief at the decision to lease both entities. In a letter dated 6 April 1849, he wrote: ‘your Lordship, having let these works close with Milton will I hope and think turn out a good thing and may yield a good profit provided the supply of the minerals to them [by the new owners] be carried on in an economic and judicious manner’.<sup>55</sup> An obvious problem that arose during the course of the take-over was Dawes’ decision to transfer ‘the greater part of his workmen out of Staffordshire’ to the Yorkshire plant, effectively usurping the present workforce. In an effort to mitigate against this Hartop suggested they all be placed on ‘proper notice’ to allow them to find alternative employment.

It is explicitly clear from employee records when cross referenced with census returns that estate policy was to recruit from within the tenant pool and equally, from within mining families resident on the estate. In the mid-1850s, it was reported that Fitzwilliam miners ‘have ever been distinguished from other miners by not possessing what may be term[ed] a migratory character ... [which leads them to] become very attached to the soil’.<sup>56</sup> This strategy had a reciprocal effect for both employer and employee. For Fitzwilliam, the presence of an estate-grown labour force ensured a constant supply of labour. In return, the employee was guaranteed various benefits which in the absence of a properly functioning welfare state provided security and protection. One of the charitable donations paid for by the estate was the annual St Thomas’ Day donation.<sup>57</sup> The feast of St Thomas was traditionally celebrated on the 21 December. Historically, it was perceived as a day of charity. The Fitzwilliam estate appears to have upheld this custom by donating a sum of money and quantity of meat to

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<sup>54</sup> Daniel Maude to Earl Fitzwilliam, 16 Apr. 1849 (S.A., WWM/G50).

<sup>55</sup> John Hartop to Earl Fitzwilliam, 6 Apr. 1849 (S.A., WWM/G45/8b).

<sup>56</sup> *Rotherham Advertiser*, 18 Dec. 1858.

<sup>57</sup> St Thomas’ Day donations list, 16 Dec. 1850 (S.A., WWM/A/1419).

a number of full-time employees on the estate and throughout the various mining operations owned by the family. In addition, a number of widows in receipt of estate pensions as well as widows of former employees also benefitted from this charitable donation. In 1850, the list contained the details of 1,242 recipients, 49 percent were employed in the earl's collieries, while 22 percent were employed in the estate's ironstone mines. The remaining 30 percent comprised of estate employees and also included a small number of widows in receipt of estate annuities.<sup>58</sup>

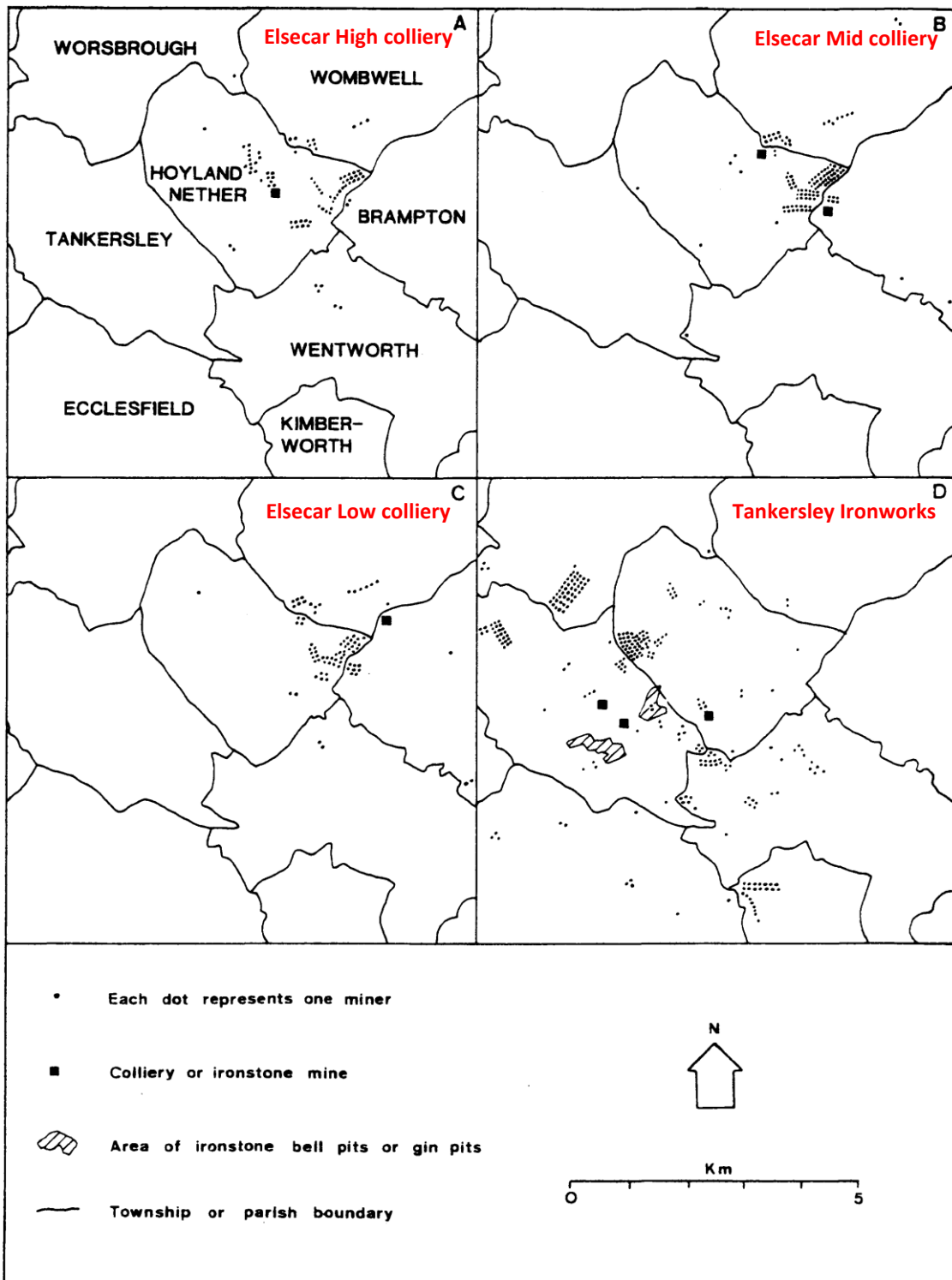
Research carried out by Melvyn Jones demonstrates the contrasting settlement patterns that existed among ironstone miners at Tankersley ironworks and coal miners elsewhere upon the estate. His findings reveal the residential segregation that existed among miners. Jones found that in comparison to coal miners, ironstone workers were more inclined to live in clusters a significant distance from their place of work. In particular, areas such as Pilley and Birdwell seemed to attract considerable numbers (see Fig. 8.6). Conversely, coal miners were more concentrated in specific areas such as the villages of Elsecar and Nether Hoyland where they resided in close proximity to their working environment. Of course the size of these settlements was also indicative of the numbers employed in each mining pursuit as outlined above. More significantly, Jones' analysis exposes the paternalism that underpinned management practices on the Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates. Jones examined the familial relationships between miners and identified seventy-nine of the 100 employees. Of the fourteen teams analysed, ten contained a family member.<sup>59</sup> However, if one scrutinises the employees

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Melvyn Jones, 'Combining estate records with census enumerators' books to study nineteenth-century communities: the case of the Tankersley ironstone miners c. 1850' in *Local Population Studies*, xli (1988), pp 13-28; p. 24.

Fig. 8.6 Residential settlement patterns among coal miners and iron miners relative to their place of work, 1850<sup>60</sup>



<sup>60</sup> This map was produced by Melvyn Jones in his article concerning the Tankersley ironstone miners and provides an excellent visual contrast of settlement patterns. Place names have been added for ease of reference. Jones, 'Combining estate records with census', p. 17.

across teams as well as within them, the family connections are actually much stronger than indicated by Jones. This study identified ninety-three of the 100 employees listed in 1849 and found that only seventeen individuals had no relative working in the pit.<sup>61</sup> For example, James Beardshall in pit five was married to Eliza and they had no children. By 1851, the couple were looking after George Robinson, a two-year-old foundling originally from Tankersley.

In pit six, thirteen-year-old William Bell of 2 Longley Spring, Tankersley worked most likely as ‘a hurrier’, dragging baskets of coal mined at the coal face up to the surface. He had no other family members at the mine. His father had died in 1840 leaving his mother Mary, a widow by the age of thirty-nine, with six young children to support. She remarried in 1842. Her second husband, John Stones, was a carpenter from Ecclesfield who had lodged with the family at Tankersley from 1841.<sup>62</sup> By 1851, there were seven dependants including William living at home. They ranged in age from twenty years to two months. The family were reliant on John’s income as a carpenter and the 1s. a day earned by William at the ironworks to sustain the family.<sup>63</sup> Although William had no blood relatives at the mine he was surrounded by neighbours. Pit one was very much a family affair. The team was comprised of James Burgon and William Smith, co-undertakers and brothers-in-law (James had married Anastasia Smith, William’s sister). The final three members of this team were Anastasia’s

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<sup>61</sup> List of men and boys employed at the Ironstone pits, their place of residence and the age of all those under twenty years and the rate of wages per day (S.A., WWM/G45/21). See Appendix 8a for transcribed list of these employees with cross-referencing to particular census districts.

<sup>62</sup> Census returns for England and Wales, 1841, registration district: Wortley, sub-registration district: Wortley, enumeration district 7, p. 11.

<sup>63</sup> List of men and boys employed at the Ironstone pits, their place of residence and the age of all those under twenty years and the rate of wages per day (S.A., WWM/G45/21).

brother, Thomas, and two nephews: Ezra (William's son) and William (Thomas' son). The Burgons lived two doors down from William Bell at number 4 Longley Springs.<sup>64</sup>

A similar level of connectedness existed in pit two where James Trippett of Barrow Field Wentworth, a forty-five year old undertaker, led his team of four which included his two sons, Edwin, aged eleven, and ten-year-old Henry.<sup>65</sup> He was also assisted by Thomas Sylvester, a fifty-five-year-old miner from Birdwell whose two sons, Edward and Charles worked alongside each other in pit number five.<sup>66</sup> Pit seven contained seven males including a father and his four sons who ranged in age from nineteen to ten years.<sup>67</sup>

As Jones asserts, there were a number of advantages to an undertaker who employed family members. Familiarity allowed for a greater degree of control over a team and, on occasion, a higher output as fathers demanded more from their sons in terms of productivity.<sup>68</sup> However, reports of abuse of children and youths who were faced with unrealistic goals and long hours spent underground were commonplace. Evidence presented to the first Royal Commission into the employment of children in mines in 1842 documented 'the severity of the labour and the great fatigue produced by it'.<sup>69</sup> George Armitage, a thirty-six-year-old teacher at Hoyland school, who had himself laboured underground until the age of twenty-two, noted that 'the hurriers are shamefully over-worked in many cases – not in all, but very often'. When describing

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid. See also Census returns for England and Wales, 1851, registration district: Wortley, sub-registration district: Wortley, enumeration district 2a, pp 11-3; Ibid., registration district: Rotherham, sub-registration district: Kimberworth, enumeration district 1o, p. 6.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid. See also Ibid., registration district: Rotherham, sub-registration district: Wath, enumeration district 1c, p. 20.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid. See also Ibid., registration district: Barnsley, sub-registration district: Darfield, enumeration district 1f, p. 15.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid. See also Ibid., Registration district: Rotherham, sub-registration district: Wath, enumeration district 1c, p. 11, entry for John Smith and family of Harley.

<sup>68</sup> Jones, 'Combining estate records with census enumerators', p. 22.

<sup>69</sup> *Children's employment commission. First report of the commissioners (Mines) 1842*, p. 176, H.C. (1842), xvi, 188.

the nature of the employment he outlined how ‘in going up the board gates they have often to push with their head and when the level is dead it is very hard work’.<sup>70</sup> In a similar vein the evidence of Samuel Hirst concerning his time as a trapper at Jump pit, part of Elsecar New colliery, captured the monotonous nature of the work and the isolation experienced by the nine-year-old boy on a daily basis when he stated: ‘I sit by myself. I never have a light. I sit still all day long and never do anything except open and shut the door’.<sup>71</sup>

In many respects, a job with the Fitzwilliam estate was essentially a job for life and within the mining industry if one entered at a young age and proved oneself an able worker, there were avenues for career progression. It is likely that John Bennett Jnr in pit number four began his working life as a trapper or hurrier and worked his way up the occupational ladder to the position of undertaker. By 1849, he was married with a young family which also included his two nephews, George and Henry. George, who was eleven years old, worked with his uncle in pit number four and by 1851, nine-year-old Henry had also joined his brother in the pit.<sup>72</sup> Although the work was hard, Fitzwilliam was known to be a good employer, paying wages that often exceeding those paid by other employers in the region.<sup>73</sup> Consequently, having numerous family members employed resulted in a sizeable household income. This is evident in the case of the Bennett family of Thorpe Street, Thorpe Hesley who took home a weekly wage from the pit amounting to £5 0s. 6d. a week.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74, H.C. (1842) xvi, 86.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 176, H.C. (1842) xvi, 188.

<sup>72</sup> Census returns for England and Wales, 1851, registration district: Rotherham, sub-registration district: Kimberworth, enumeration district 10, p. 27.

<sup>73</sup> *Children's employment commission. First report of the commissioners (Mines) 1842*, p. 74, H.C. (1842) xvi, 86.

<sup>74</sup> See List of men and boys employed at the ironstone pits, their place of residence and the age of all those under twenty years and the rate of wages per day (S.A., WWM/G45/21).

Of course having multiple family members employed in the one industry in one location could also be hazardous. Ironstone pits were prone to flooding due to the primitive nature of their construction. Coal mines by their very nature resembled incendiary devices as the presence of firedamp made them particularly dangerous. Explosions often resulted in numerous casualties.<sup>75</sup> One of the worst accidents occurred at the Warren Vale colliery in 1851. The pit was situated equidistant between Rawmarsh and Swinton. Owned by the earl it was worked by Charlesworth & Co., mining agents from Wakefield. At approximately seven o'clock on the morning of 20 December 1851, an explosion ripped through the colliery which resulted in the death of fifty-two men. At the inquest into the incident, the jury deliberated for a total of three hours before returning a verdict of accidental death owing to a build-up of firedamp following the partial collapse of the roof of the mine.<sup>76</sup> The accident badly affected many families including the Pursegloves. John Purseglove, a forty-one-year-old miner of 39 Lane Head, Rawmarsh perished with his two sons, James, aged fourteen, and Henry, aged eleven, in pit number two.<sup>77</sup> His neighbour Joseph Bugg also died in the incident leaving behind a wife and two children, the youngest of whom was just one-year-old.<sup>78</sup> Charles Cousens and his son, George, from Dyson Quarry, Swinton worked at Warren Vale, as did their neighbour Jonathon Sellars and his young son George. They all died in the explosion except Jonathon, who though severely injured, survived.<sup>79</sup> Thomas Knapton of Green Lane, Rawmarsh was not so fortunate. He was killed with his son, John, as they worked in pit three and their lodger, James Westerman, a sixteen-

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<sup>75</sup> See chapter three which contains details of construction on the estate.

<sup>76</sup> *The Morning Chronicle*, 3 Jan. 1852.

<sup>77</sup> Census returns for England and Wales 1851, registration district: Rotherham, sub-registration district: Kimberworth, enumeration district 3c, p. 11.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, Wath, enumeration district 4a, p. 24.

year-old apprentice was also fatally injured.<sup>80</sup> Despite the human loss, the economic loss was also difficult though the estate provided for widows by paying an annual pension, as well as including them in charitable donations.

A year later, on 22 December 1852, disaster struck the estate once again when an explosion ripped through the earl's Elsecar Low colliery killing ten and injuring twelve. Many of those injured sustained severe burns and crush injuries.<sup>81</sup> One of the dead was Jonathan Walker, a forty-seven-year-old miner from Stubbin who 'left a family of seven children wholly unprovided for'. He was described as 'a regular and steady workman, [who] had been employed in the pit ever since his youth and was highly respected.'<sup>82</sup> Benjamin Biram was immediately notified of the incident, as was the earl. In the aftermath, speculation circulated that human negligence on the part of the workers was to blame and not any 'defect' in the management of the works. At an inquest into the accident held in January 1853, the jury concurred that a trap-door left open together with a tampered Davy lamp culminated in an explosion due to the presence of firedamp. Although Biram was commended for his introduction of Davy lamps and his general management of the colliery, which in the eyes of the law contributed to the minimal loss of life, he was admonished for not displaying rules and regulations concerning safety. It was recommended that printed instructions be displayed throughout the mine and a printed copy given to each employee. The government inspector who gave evidence suggested that disobedience of these rules should result in immediate dismissal. William Newman, acting on behalf of the earl,

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<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, Kimberworth, enumeration district 3e, p 6.

<sup>81</sup> *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 24 Dec. 1852.

<sup>82</sup> *London Daily News*, 24 Dec. 1852.



conveyed the earl's deepest sympathies to all involved and assured those assembled that 'the suggestions they desired to see carried out [would] be immediately attended to.'<sup>83</sup>

From the mid-nineteenth century, despite the omnipresent danger associated with mining, this occupation was radically altering the demographic profile and pyramidal structure upon the estate. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the tenantry and the estate itself was largely dependent on agriculture in order to sustain livelihoods as industrial activities were still in their infancy. Buttressed by agricultural receipts, these early nineteenth-century enterprises frequently operated at a loss, a dual consequence of poor management policies employed by Biram coupled with fluctuations in market prices.<sup>84</sup> However, by the mid-century the mining activities on the estate had reached a position of profitability. In 1850, a total of 1,280 tenancy agreements across the West Riding estate generated an agricultural rental income of £12,923 0s. 4s.<sup>85</sup> By 1855, though the number of tenant holdings had risen to 1,304, the farm rental income from these had decreased by 3 percent to £12,568 19s. 11d. Coal and ironstone mining in 1850 yielded an income of £11,568 19s. 17d.<sup>86</sup> By 25 March 1856, the annual mining receipts had surpassed farm rental generating a total rental income of £17,429 15s. 6d.<sup>87</sup>

#### 8.4 'Coal not dole' – Yorkshire 1858

B. R. Mitchell contends: 'the coal industry was one which was subject to cyclical fluctuations'. His study identified 1858 as marking a 'trough' in the mining

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<sup>83</sup> *The Morning Chronicle*, 7 Jan. 1853; 8 Jan. 1853.

<sup>84</sup> See chapter three on economics for discussion of this time period.

<sup>85</sup> Yorkshire estate rental, 1850 (S.A., WWM/A/646).

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 1855 (S.A., WWM/A/651).

trade.<sup>88</sup> Following Biram's death in 1857, Hartop was appointed as colliery superintendent. The first test of his new position occurred the following year when a dispute arose at the colliery works at Elsecar. In retrospect, the tensions which erupted had been gaining momentum for some time but the death of Biram and the earl in close succession had somewhat curtailed these.

The general consensus among factions of the Elsecar miners was that unionised pits in the region were faring considerably better in terms of production and livelihood. By 1858, miners' unions were still in their infancy. That year, the South Yorkshire Miners' Association was established. Baylies suggests that these unionised workers were 'moderate and reasonable in their approach' in that grievances were first addressed to the management and only brought to the union if a satisfactory solution could not be agreed upon.<sup>89</sup> Thus, while owners such as the Earls Fitzwilliams were opposed to unionism, some of the Elsecar miners were of the opinion that unionised workers were more favourably positioned to refuse to meet all consumer demands.

Amidst diverging opinions and escalating tensions, some Elsecar miners went on strike and signed a petition which was forwarded to the sixth earl. They claimed both their working and living conditions were worse than their unionised counterparts. To support this claim, a calculation of tonnage mined over the preceding three months which was obtained from the dues office in Swinton was enclosed in the petition. This demonstrated that over a twelve-week period, the least productive of these unionised mines had produced 1,505 ½ more tons of coal than Elsecar. As the Fitzwilliam miners were paid on a piece-rate system this had serious implications. The miners appealed to the earl to intervene in the dispute. Between 1854 and 1858, the cost of hard coals

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<sup>88</sup> B. R. Mitchell, *Economic development of the British coal industry, 1800-1914* (Cambridge, 1984), pp 5-6.

<sup>89</sup> Baylies, *History of the Yorkshire miners*, p. 56.

declined by 25 percent, soft coal fell by as much as 30 percent while fleck experienced a 50 percent diminution in its price (see Table 8.3). Simultaneously, between 1853 and 1854 when prices remained inflated, workers received a 5 percent increase in their wages ‘with an understanding they [wages] should be lowered if coal [prices were] lowered’.<sup>90</sup> In September 1858, a wage reduction was proposed which drove the men to strike.

**Table 8.3 Coal prices, 1853-8<sup>91</sup>**

	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	% Difference
Hard	7s.0d.	7s.0d.	5s.0d.	5s.9d.	5s.6d.	5s.6d.	25
Soft	6s.0d.	6s.0d.	4s.0d.	4s.9d.	4s.3d.	4s.3d.	30
Brass	3s.6d.	3s.6d.	3s.0d.	3s.0d.	3s.0d.	3s.0d.	15
Fleck	3s.0d.	3s.0d.	2s.0d.	1s.6d.	1s.6d.	1s.6d.	50

The issue over wages remained deadlocked throughout September and October with miners refusing to work for less wages and the sixth earl defiant that he would not give in to demands. By 5 November the miners were beginning to experience hardship due to loss of earnings. In a meeting between Hartop and the miners, the superintendent informed those assembled that they could return to work provided they refrained from joining the Miners Friendly Society.<sup>92</sup> In response, the workers wrote to the earl offering to return to work on the same terms as when they left; however, on the issue of membership of the Friendly Society, they attempted to reassure the earl that it ‘is not

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., item 2.

<sup>91</sup> Petition from Elsecar miners to Earl Fitzwilliam concerning Elsecar colliery strike 1858 (S.A., WWM/T29 (a)), item 1.

<sup>92</sup> Friendly societies existed as early as the eighteenth-century and were, in many respects, the precursor to trade unions. They were established to provide both communal and financial support to the working classes. See for example, P. H. J. H. Godsen, *The friendly societies in England, 1815-75* (Manchester, 1961).

such a thing of abhorrence as may have been represented to you as its rules only imply industry humanity and charitableness (*sic.*) and to conduct ourselves with propriety both at our labour and before the public'.<sup>93</sup> The estate remained resolute in its opposition to all forms of unionisation perceiving it to be a malign force. Though the strike of 1858 was resolved and the miners of Elsecar returned to work, disputes became a frequent reminder that the estate was battling an increasingly politicized tenantry. Miners' societies and associations were emerging across England and these merely served to heighten workers' awareness concerning pay and working conditions. While recovery in coal prices from 1859 may have quietened some, others were not convinced that the dark days were behind them.

#### 8.5 'A clean slate' – Ireland 1856

During the 1850s, the Yorkshire estate was experiencing unprecedented growth whereas in Ireland, the Wicklow estate was still coming to terms with the effects of Famine. Between 1841 and 1861, the population of county Wicklow declined by 32 percent.<sup>94</sup> The Fitzwilliam estate in south-west Wicklow recorded a 45 percent decline during the same period. In 1841, the number of tenants stood at 22,456; by 1861 there were only 12,403.<sup>95</sup> Analysis of individual parishes and townlands indicates that while the programme of assisted emigration undertaken by the estate contributed significantly to depopulation, certain townlands were largely untouched by the process and amidst this narrative of decline, a number of areas actually increased in extent (see Map 8.1).

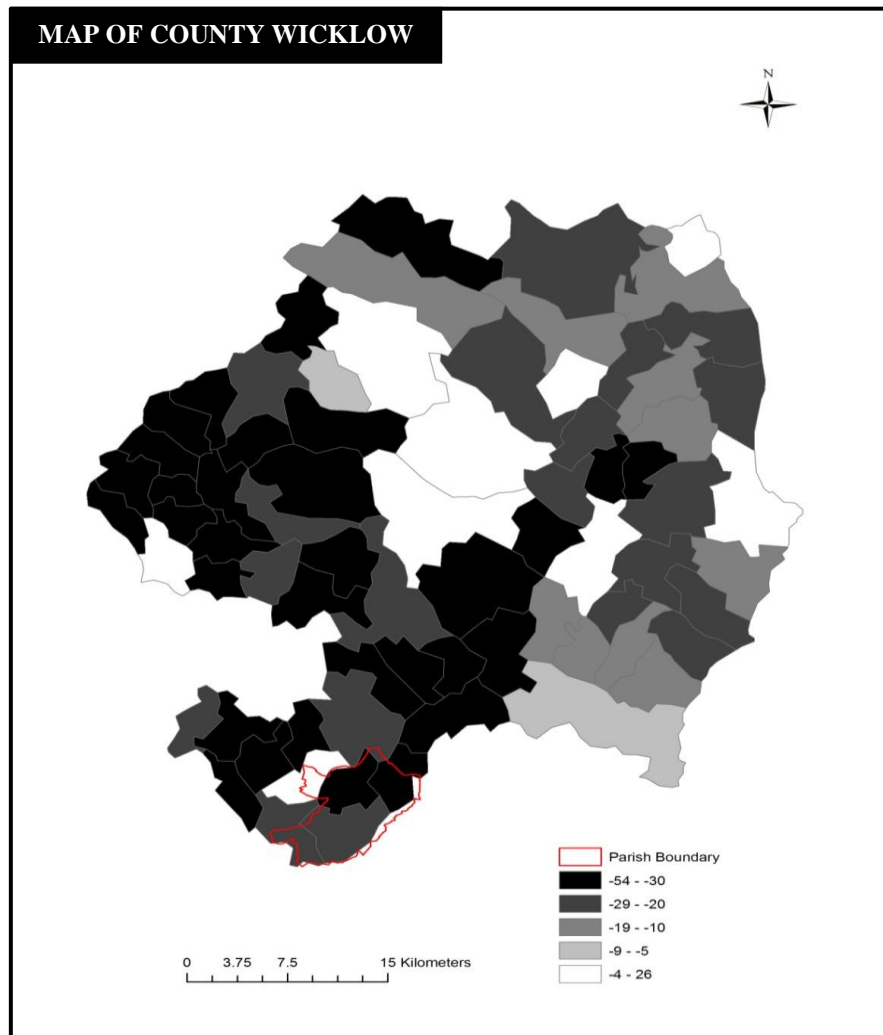
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<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, item 3.

<sup>94</sup> Census of Ireland, 1861, enumeration abstract, p. 8.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, area, population and number of houses, vols I-II, part 1, pp 348-58.

Map 8.1 Map of county Wicklow showing percentage population change, 1841-51<sup>96</sup>



In the parish of Carnew for example, which contained twenty-eight townlands including the village of Shillelagh and the market-town of Carnew, the population fell from 5,186 in 1841 to 4,496 by 1851. This 13 percent decrease is somewhat misleading in that a workhouse constructed on the townland of Ballard in the 1840s had a total of 826 inmates residing there in 1851, this figures helps to disguise the true extent of decline in the parish. Between 1841 and 1851, six of the twenty-eight townlands in the parish recorded an increase in population. These included the two urban areas of Carnew and Shillelagh and Coollattin Park which contained the demesne as well as

<sup>96</sup> Base map is Census of Ireland, 1851. The parish of Carnew outlined in red, is located in the south-west corner of the county.

three additional townlands on the periphery of the parish. The rate of decline in the remaining twenty-two townlands ranged from a mere 2 percent in Ballingate to the more dramatic 77 percent experienced on the townland of Stoops.<sup>97</sup>

Table 8.4 and 8.5 illustrates that the perceived policy of land clearance was not the major contributor of depopulation across the parish. While collectively the population of Ballingate, Ballingate Upper and Ballingate Lower lost eighty-six people between 1841 and 1851, emigration accounted for only 38 percent of these. Similarly, the number of residents in Cronyhorn Upper and Lower decreased by 121 during the same period, though only forty-nine individuals were recorded as having emigrated. In the townland of Tomacork emigration accounted for a mere 4 percent of the total loss. Emigration from some other townlands, most notably Paulbeg, Kilcavan Upper and Lower and Coolboy exceeded the increase in population supporting the argument that in some instances at least, emigration was used as a means of clearing the land. Depopulation as a result of Famine and emigration left large tracts of land vacant. Thus, in the decade after the Famine, it was necessary for the estate to re-organise its internal composition by restructuring holdings.

On the Wicklow estate, the middleman system continued to thrive contrary to some historians' belief that: 'the Famine and the agricultural depression of 1849-52' resulted in their extinction.<sup>98</sup> While it has been argued that the Famine highlighted the inefficacy of a flawed system of management on Irish landed estates, it appears little, if any steps were taken by this estate to mitigate against future disasters. *Griffith's Valuation* published in 1853 provides a more comprehensive image of landholding on the estate at this time and in particular, the landholding practices that prevailed in this

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<sup>97</sup> Census of Ireland, 1861, p. 357.

<sup>98</sup> James S. Donnelly Jr, 'Landlords and tenants' in W. E. Vaughan (ed.), *A new history of Ireland, v: Ireland under the Union, i, 1801-70* (Oxford, 1989), pp 332-50; p. 333.

**Table 8.4 Population and emigration from Carnew parish, 1841-51<sup>99</sup>**

<i>Townland</i>	<i>Population 1841</i>	<i>Population 1851</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>Emigrated 1847-50</i>
Ballard <sup>+</sup>	64	37	-27	52*
Ballingate	180	177	-3	33*
Ballingate Lwr	98	83	-15	
Ballingate Upr	118	50	-68	
Ballykelly	178	126	-52	19
Ballyknocker <sup>+</sup>	25	28	+3	0
Carnew (Rural)	456	206	-250	48*
Carnew (Urban)	979	982	+3	
Coollattin	320	197	-123	118
Coollattin Park	29	71	+42	
Coolboy	300	192	-108	112
Cronyhorn Lwr	120	96	-24	49*
Cronyhorn Upr	260	163	-97	
Deerpark	198	91	-107	0
Glennashouk	38	50	+12	0
Hillbrook Lwr	145	70	-75	134*
Hillbrook Upr	66	34	-32	
Kennystown	69	26	-43	
Kilcavan Lwr	86	100	+14	132*
Kilcavan Upr	169	55	-114	
Minmore <sup>+</sup>	19	5	-14	32*
Parkmore	101	51	-50	0
Parkmore (Page)	23	9	-14	0
Paulbeg	62	50	-12	15
Shillelagh (Urban)	186	156	-30	
Shillelagh Workhouse	0	826	0	
Stoops	69	16	-53	3
Tomacork	205	112	-93	4
Tombreen	332	228	-104	19
Tomnafinnoge	213	139	-74	16
Umrigar	78	70	-8	6

\* This figure is inclusive of more than one area. For example, no distinctions were made in the emigration books concerning upper and lower divisions of a townland, so this is the cumulative figure.

+ Indicates a townland which exists in more than one parish, total is for entire townland.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid. See also Census of Ireland, 1861, p. 357.

**Table 8.5 Housing returns for Carnew parish, 1841-61<sup>100</sup>**

<i>Townland</i>	<i>Housing 1841</i>	<i>Housing 1851</i>	<i>Housing 1861</i>	<i>No. of families emigrated 1847-56</i>
Ballard <sup>+</sup>	15	7	5	10
Ballingate	26	31	17	6*
Ballingate Lwr	15	14	12	
Ballingate Upr	17	7	14	
Ballykelly	23	18	8	13
Ballyknocker <sup>+</sup>	4	5	6	0
Carnew (Rural)	69	39	23	7
Carnew (Urban)	151	182	164	
Coollattin	47	29	24	28
Coollattin Park	3	8	6	
Coolboy	45	34	26	21
Cronyhorn Lwr	16	17	15	7*
Cronyhorn Upr	40	24	21	
Deerpark	29	19	12	0
Glennashouk	8	7	5	0
Hillbrook Lwr	27	15	12	23*
Hillbrook Upr	10	8	5	
Kennystown	12	5	4	
Kilcavan Lwr	15	18	17	21*
Kilcavan Upr	27	8	8	
Minmore <sup>+</sup>	3	1	1	5*
Parkmore	18	10	5	4*
Parkmore (Page)	2	1	1	
Paulbeg	8	6	4	2
Shillelagh (Urban)	23	24	27	0
Shillelagh Workhouse	0	1	1	0
Stoops	14	3	1	1
Tomacork	37	24	21	2
Tombreen	14	12	12	10
Tomnafinnoge	35	24	21	5
Umrigar	14	12	12	1

\* This figure is inclusive of more than one area. For example, no distinctions were made in the emigration books concerning upper and lower divisions of a townland, so this is the cumulative figure.

+ Indicates a townland which exists in more than one parish.

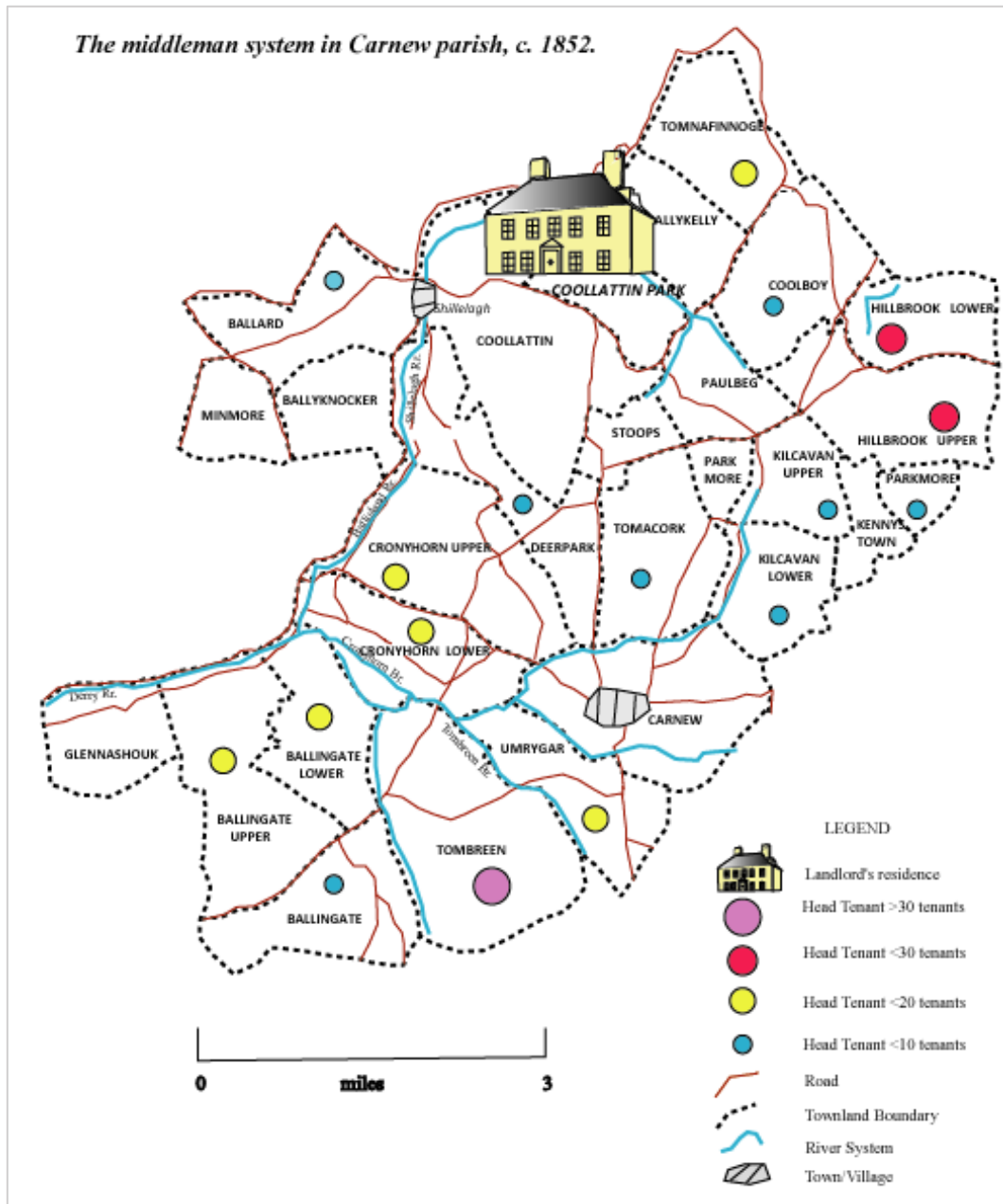
<sup>100</sup> Ibid.; see also Census of Ireland, 1861, p. 357.



post-Famine society. When compared with the estate rentals, it is evident that while the effects of Famine were felt more acutely by the cottier class, the social disaster merely served as a catalyst which aided their decline rather than an instrument which led to their demise. Analysis of *Griffith's Valuation* for the parish of Carnew demonstrates the complex nature of the middleman system on the estate in 1852 which undeniably, the estate rentals fail to depict. Excluding the fifth earl, this parish had a total of eighty-six immediate lessors. Granted, many were no more than quasi-landlords leasing single dwellings to an under-tenant.

In seventeen of twenty-eight townlands which equated to 61 percent of the landholdings within this parish, middlemen not Fitzwilliam, were the people in authority. Thomas DeRenzy governed Cronyhorn Upper and Lower dividing his holdings leased from Earl Fitzwilliam between twelve and thirteen under-tenants respectively. In the south-eastern portion of the parish, the Braddell brothers presided over Ballingate. William leased land to a total of twenty-four tenants across the townlands of Ballingate and Ballingate Lower, while his brother Henry acted as landlord to seventeen tenants in Ballingate Upper. The north-eastern region was somewhat unusual in that it was dominated by a female lessor. Here, the widow Anne Symes controlled three townlands leasing land and property to twenty-one under-tenants in Hillbrook Lower. Hillbrook Upper she divided amongst twenty-three individuals, while she subdivided the entire townland of Parkmore between five under-tenants (see Map 8.2). Thus, while the Famine and emigration loosened the grip of the middleman system on the estate, it remained strong in the post-Famine period.

Map 8.2 The middleman system in Carnew parish, 1852<sup>101</sup>



In relation to rentals, in 1852, the estate employed a Mr Nicholson to carry out a valuation of the estate with the intention of altering rents. Nicholson recommended that John Swan's rental for Tombreen should be reduced to £570 19s. 11d. Chaloner wrote to the earl seeking instructions on how to proceed. Fitzwilliam decided that the head-

<sup>101</sup> Base maps OS index to the townland survey of the County of Wicklow also townland Index of County Wicklow; tenant information from Griffith's *Valuation*, parish of Carnew (Dublin, 1853), pp 65-79.

tenant should be allowed a sum of £12 10s. per annum in consequence of money expended by him to maintain the holding, thus reducing Nicholson's valuation to £558 9s.11d. This was subsequently rounded up to £560 and fixed until 25 March 1870. The fifth earl found himself in somewhat of a quandary in relation to Swan's under-tenants as he attempted to please all sides, highlighting the problem with adopting a paternalistic policy. Nicholson's valuation of the under-tenants' holdings were lower than their current rate of payment and it was felt that reducing these accordingly would provide the under-tenants with an unfair advantage over Swan. Thus, it was decided that the under-tenants' rents should be pitched at an amount somewhere between what they currently paid and the new valuation 'so that they may have some advantage by the reduction and Mr Swan [would] have some remuneration for collecting their rents.'<sup>102</sup> By October 1853, Swan was deceased and his widow met with the agent to relinquish her interest in her late husband's holding as she lacked the means 'to hold it satisfactorily'. The estate was happy to release her from the annuity but left the under-tenants in-situ.<sup>103</sup> This procedure was replicated across the various townlands on the estate throughout the 1850s. By 1855, the number of holdings had increased by 11 percent, yet in terms of extent, many remained too small to be viable and any rental increases suggested by the valuator were reduced by the earl.<sup>104</sup>

W. E. Vaughan has shown that the 1850s was a time when agricultural prices increased and a rent increase of 40 percent would not have been unusual on many estates. However, the average rental increase was around 20 percent.<sup>105</sup> The

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<sup>102</sup> Memoranda in respect of the estate of Earl Fitzwilliam in county Wicklow, including conditions on which lands and tenements are held, 1843-68 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,967), entry 1852:7.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, entry 1853:1.

<sup>104</sup> Irish estate rentals, 1855 (S.A., WWM/A/943).

<sup>105</sup> W. E. Vaughan, 'An assessment of the economic performance of Irish landlords, 1851-81' in F. S. L. Lyons and R. A. J. Hawkins (eds), *Ireland under the Union: varieties of tensions, essays in honour of T.W. Moody* (Oxford, 1980), pp 173-201; p. 180; p. 187.

paternalistic approach of the earl can be seen in the moderate 10 percent increase in rents implemented following revaluation. Moreover, in terms of estate management practice, rather than use the opportunity to rid the estate of uneconomic holdings, the estate continued to endorse the existence of smaller holdings thus jeopardising economic recovery of the estate in the aftermath of the famine.

Though the rental income remained relatively static between 1850 and 1855, 1855 marked a turning point in the financial fortunes of the estate. In October 1852, Fitzwilliam took the decision to write-off the arrears which had asphyxiated many tenants for almost a decade. Arrears amounting to £14,734 6s. 6d. were wiped out. Further arrears were written-off in 1854. Thus, while the Wicklow estate appeared to be showing signs of recovery, this was a result of a management policy of debt-forgiveness rather than increased productivity as a consequence of consolidation (see Table 8.6).<sup>106</sup> The fact that the Fitzwilliams' estate in Yorkshire was performing particularly well during this time enabled it to absorb the substantial losses on the Wicklow estate (see section 8.3).

**Table 8.6 Rental and arrears on the Wicklow estate, 1850 and 1855**<sup>107</sup>

Year	Rental Due Lady's Day	Arrears
1850	£27,936 3s. 2d.	£27,601 11s. 0d.
1855	£27,900 1s. 0d.	£10,283 10s. 5d.

On 21 December 1855, the fifth earl wrote to his son, who was at Coollattin, to keep him abreast of the financial situation. The earl estimated that the gross annual income generated from all Fitzwilliam enterprises throughout England and Ireland had

<sup>106</sup> Arrears book pertaining to the Fitzwilliam estate (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 3,993), entry dated 8 Oct. 1854.

<sup>107</sup> Irish estate rentals, 1850-1 & 1853-4 (S.A., WWM/A/939 & 942).

reached £170,000, an amount far greater than any preceding year. Commenting on the situation, Fitzwilliam stated ‘there seems indeed to be no end of (*sic.*) the increasing income at Wentworth’.<sup>108</sup>

Yet, despite this air of optimism, ejectments remained a reality on the Irish estate. In 1855, fifty-one tenants on twenty-one townlands were served with notices to quit. While one case was postponed, possession was demanded in seven cases throughout 1856 and the other six remained under threat of eviction.<sup>109</sup> Thirteen cases were brought before the assizes throughout 1856. Four were subsequently settled, while two others were postponed. Five of these had a yearly rent of £88 9s. 2*d.* while their arrears totalled £228 3s. 11*d.*<sup>110</sup> In 1856, the estate issued a total of 135 notices to quit. However, this procedure was utilised by the estate to instil fear rather than dispossess, as many of those served with notices in 1855 were also listed as tenants in subsequent years. As an estate management policy, this practice was reasonably successful. However, there were some tenants such as Edward Taylor who chose to ignore the notices. Taylor held multiple tenancies in the parish of Kilcommon including land at Tinahely and Coolruss.<sup>111</sup> By 1845, he was in arrears and was served with a notice to quit. However, it was never acted upon and so from 1845 to 1858, he was served on an annual basis until the estate finally decided to list him for ejectment at the June sessions of 1859.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Earl Fitzwilliam to Lord Milton, 21 Dec. 1855 (S.A., WWM/T2). The figure of £170,000 included £40,000 from Irish rentals which appears somewhat optimistic in that the actual rent due on Lady’s Day 1856 for 1855 amounted to £27,900 1s.

<sup>109</sup> Ejectment book of the estate of the Earl Fitzwilliam in county Wicklow, 1845-60 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,972), pp 95-6.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 97-8.

<sup>111</sup> Griffith, *Valuation*. The parish of Kilcommon is contained in the section entitled ‘County of Wicklow, barony of Ballinacor South. Union of Shillelagh’, pp 7-22; p. 7; pp 11-2; p. 19.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

The death of Chaloner in 1855 and the fifth earl two years later, appears to have had little effect on the general running of the Wicklow estate in comparison to the altered structure in Yorkshire. Arguably, the transition in Ireland was aided by the fact that the sixth earl had spent a considerable amount of time at Coollattin during the Famine period. Perhaps more significantly the new agent, Ralph Lawrenson, though of Yorkshire extraction, had been born and raised in the townland of Paulbeg and honed his trade in the estate office at Coollattin. Thus, he was the first Irish agent to manage the Irish estate. While his appointment to the position offered an opportunity to completely overhaul what was a flawed system, he did not take the necessary action. By May 1859, ninety-one distressed tenancies still remained on the core estate. Collectively, the arrears amounted to £4,694 6s. and were irrecoverable as the majority of tenants had emigrated. The estate once again attempted to redress the imbalance between receipts and liabilities by striking off arrears. Consequently, 66 percent of arrears equating to £3,522 15s. 11d. were cancelled.

By 1860, the Irish estate had recovered from the calamitous effects of the Famine and witnessed the succession of a new earl and agent. Yet in terms of management practice, few lessons had been learnt. Despite the estate's revaluation in the early 1850s, the administration failed to heed the advice of the valuator and continued to be swayed by paternal instincts rather than economic acumen. The decade after the Famine was one of missed opportunity, as the management structure failed to achieve economic equilibrium despite implementing policies which could have accomplished this. The revaluation of holdings and the assisted emigration scheme were just two examples of how the estate could have experienced increased profitability during this time.

## 8.6 *Conclusion*

From the 1850s, the Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates of Wicklow and Yorkshire witnessed dramatic social and economic change. Yet, the lived experience was very different in each location. On the Yorkshire estate, the rapid expansion of industrial and railway networks provided the impetus for change. The associated challenges of attracting a larger labour force and providing adequate housing amidst a burgeoning population were met at every juncture. Consequently, the benefits became noticeable across the mining villages on the Wentworth estate. Elsecar, Parkgate and Stubbing were transformed from sleepy rural hamlets to thriving hubs of industry as a consequence of the emergence of mining and service industries decades earlier. Years of financial loss were finally paving the way for profits, though moderate, as mining quickly replaced agriculture as the dominant industry on the estate.

Contrastingly, the Irish estate was emerging from a social disaster that had decimated its rural population. Understandably in the early years of the 1850s, the people were attempting to rebuild their lives. Unlike in Yorkshire, the Irish estate was still wholly dependent on agriculture. In the aftermath of Famine and the massive emigration scheme, limited action was taken to instigate any type of restructuring programme on the estate, with the exception of debt forgiveness. The archaic landholding system in place since the end of the eighteenth century remained largely intact and was upheld and endorsed by the estate management. Amidst a changing world, the Wicklow estate remained in a state of paralysis despite the fact that conditions existed which were highly conducive to change.

However, it could be argued that both estates were afflicted with the same impediment, Fitzwilliam's paternalism. From a management perspective, this merely

served to restrain the estates in terms of overall productivity, a situation that was replicated through successive generations. Fundamentally, the failure of the Wicklow estate to adequately deal with the middleman system for fear of alienating any particular individual was particularly damaging to the social and economic development of the estate. Thus, while the 1850s was a time of great change on the Wentworth estate in Yorkshire, this was a consequence of external forces rather than internal action. Similarly, Coollattin estate although radically altered by Famine, was merely a by-product of social circumstance. In the absence of leadership at management level any change would have to be brought about by the people.



## CHAPTER 9: THE CALM BEFORE THE STORM: THE WENTWORTH-FITZWILLIAM ESTATES OF IRELAND & YORKSHIRE, 1859-65

*Can anything more horrible and revolting be imagined? An old man accepts a favour (sic.) from his landlord, and he is doomed to death for the offence. He is attacked with stones and pitch-forks, hustled and beaten, and flung into a ditch.*

*Belfast News-letter, 6 Dec. 1859.*

### 9.1 Introduction

On 6 December 1859, the *Belfast News-letter* reported on the death of an elderly farmer in south-west Wicklow, yet the case of Michael Boland was far from unique. Grube notes that as early as the 1830s: ‘scarcely a year would go past without new legislation aimed at quelling agrarian discontent in Ireland’ (see section 9.3).<sup>1</sup> While agrarian unrest was on the rise in Ireland, this was not the primary form of discontent on the Wicklow estate. By the 1860s, the economy was still recovering from the Famine and there was also evidence of increasingly sectarian tensions. Ultimately, this decade prefaced an extended era of discontent which was ultimately manifested through agrarian agitation. While the Irish estate was grappling with these contentious issues, the Wentworth estate in Yorkshire maintained the *status-quo* and although some economic upheaval was evident, its consequences were negligible.

This chapter concerns itself with the issues that affected each location during this period of relative tranquillity. It discusses railway development in Wicklow and how the logistics of establishing this infrastructure impinged on the estate and its

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<sup>1</sup> Dennis Grube, *At the margins of Victorian Britain: politics, immorality and Britishness in the nineteenth century* (London, 2013), p. 11.

tenantry. The ties that bound the Irish people to the land are exposed, as is the issue of sectarian tensions. A common feature of life on the Wicklow estate from the 1820s to 1840s, religious animosity continued to make its presence felt in the 1860s despite the immense alterations to population as a consequence of the Famine. Furthermore, Fenian activity was also present on the estate adding to already strained relations. Conversely, although trade unionism was on the rise in Britain, the Yorkshire tenantry displayed little interest or inclination towards joining such organisations. This chapter examines the new management style on each estate. In so doing, it exposes how the redefinition of policies led to a redefinition in social relations between landlord, land agent and tenant. Ultimately, it considers how the sixth earl's business-like approach affected both estates and their associated tenantry.

## 9.2 *'All abroad' – the impact of the railway on Coollattin estate*

As chapter eight has demonstrated, the expansion of the railway network in Yorkshire during the 1850s had a profound effect on the economic fortunes of the Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estate there. Cheaper transport costs, coupled with quicker delivery times resulted in an expansion of coal mining. Simultaneously, the new improved infrastructural network provided accessibility to largely untapped trade centres at both regional and national levels. By comparison, the first railway line in Ireland was the Dublin & Kingstown line which connected Dublin to the port of Kingstown. In 1834, this six-mile-long stretch of track provided a more expedient form of transporting both goods and people between each location. However, from an early stage, it became obvious that passenger income would far exceed commercial traffic. In 1859, an act of parliament authorised the extension of the existing Wicklow line which had been extended to Gorey and in 1860, a further act extended the line to Enniscorthy

in county Wexford.<sup>2</sup> As the railway network began to infiltrate the south-east of the country, it was inevitable that these improvements would influence development in the rural hinterlands.

On 27 October 1862, the Dublin, Wicklow and Wexford railway company convened a meeting of shareholders at their offices in Westland Row in Dublin. The purpose of the gathering was to discuss the possibility of presenting a bill before parliament outlining the company's intention to construct a branch line in county Wicklow. If implemented, the proposal would connect Woodenbridge to the village of Shillelagh. Despite the low turnout, the company secretary, Mr Maunsell, took this as an indication that the vast majority of shareholders were in favour of the bill. The meeting was quite unique in that the company directors had the authority to present such bills to parliament and following authorisation, seek the shareholders' sanction to proceed with such projects. However, in this instance, the directors were of the opinion that prior approval by the stakeholders was the best course of action.<sup>3</sup>

The proposed project involved constructing sixteen miles of track, three quarters of which cut through the Fitzwilliam estate. Essentially, it was hoped that the development would 'open up the district' connecting isolated towns such as Hacketstown, Newtownbarry [Bunclody], Tullow, Carnew, Coollattin and Tinahely to the main line.<sup>4</sup> Given the economic benefit reaped by the industrial enterprises on Fitzwilliam's Yorkshire estate, it is little wonder that the sixth earl not only supported the Irish project but did everything in his power to ensure its success. In addition to

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<sup>2</sup> *An act for making a railway from the town of Wicklow in the county of Wicklow to the town of Gorey in county Wexford, 1859 (22 & 23 Vict. c. lxxx)*. See also *An act for making a railway from the town of Gorey in county Wexford to the town of Enniscorthy in the same county, 1860 (23 & 24 Vict. c. xlvii)*.

<sup>3</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 28 Oct. 1862.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

providing twelve miles of land *gratis*, he also committed to subscribing a further £1,000 to cover initial outlay costs such as planning, administration and legal expenses. As regards the remaining four miles, it was the company's intention to approach the owners with a view to purchasing the land required. William R. Lefanu, a graduate of Trinity College Dublin was the company's chief engineer and was asked to provide an estimate of the approximate value of the land. He assessed the full cost to be in the region of £64,000 or £4,000 per mile.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, Fitzwilliam's generous offer saved the company £48,000 in initial start-up costs and arguably strengthened the bill to be presented before parliament as the approval of branch lines was somewhat problematic at this time.<sup>6</sup> Speaking at the meeting in Westland Row, Mr Pilkington enquired from Fitzwilliam's agent if the earl's 'offer included the claims of his tenants?' In response, the agent informed the assembled crowd that he could not foresee any opposition from the Wicklow tenantry 'but if any person did offer any opposition, or throw any difficulty in the way ... the company would have to exercise their powers, and Lord Fitzwilliam would ensure the ground was given over'.<sup>7</sup> The meeting concluded with the unanimous support of the assembled crowd.

This incident demonstrates the shrewd business acumen of the sixth earl. Firstly, he clearly understood the benefits of developing a railway network through his Irish estate. Thus, the earl realised this was an opportunity to modernise the estate's infrastructure while simultaneously increasing the value of his land. By using his political influence to ensure the bill's passage through parliament, coupled with the fact that he was willing to give the land free of charge and that he was ready to requisition it

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> This mainly concerned the question of profitability. The cost of constructing branch lines was sometimes excessive and the return by passenger income did not always cover the costs. See Tillo E. Kuhn, *Public enterprise, economics and transport problems* (Berkeley, CA, 1962), p. 199.

<sup>7</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 28 Oct. 1862.

from his tenants if necessary, demonstrates the anti-paternalism which characterised the sixth earl's tenure. Moreover, this incident also highlights that he was deviating from the paternal tradition of his grand-father and father in placing the success of the business ahead of the tenantry.

The Dublin, Wicklow and Wexford Railway Company wasted little time in seeking parliamentary approval for the venture. In January 1863, the *Freeman's Journal* reported that the bill was to be presented in an upcoming session. The bill proposed raising an additional £45,000 in order to complete the Enniscorthy section of the network and secondly, detailed securing an additional £70,000 for the purposes of financing the construction of the Shillelagh branch line. It stipulated generating this latter sum by creating shares which would be sold and the revenue added to 'the ordinary capital stock'.<sup>8</sup> The bill encountered little opposition and on 28 July 1863 it was passed.<sup>9</sup> Exactly one year later, *The Railway News* carried a report stating that 'considerable activity is being displayed in completing the Shillelagh branch of the Dublin and Wexford Railway, 10,000 rails have just been received'.<sup>10</sup> Fine weather had aided the work and those concerned felt the tracks would be in-situ shortly if the current spell of good weather continued. In the company's half-yearly report, the financial benefits of the railway were made clear. In the preceding six months, the Dublin, Wicklow and Wexford railway had enjoyed increased receipts. Public traffic accounted for £6,082 of income. The majority was derived from transporting 'goods, minerals and cattle [while] the convey[ing] of mail' proved a lucrative venture contributing an additional £1,260 to the revenue stream. By August, the work had progressed as far as

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<sup>8</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 24 Jan. 1863.

<sup>9</sup> *An act to enable the Dublin, Wicklow and Wexford Railway company to purchase lands in the city and county of Dublin; to construct a branch railway in the county of Wicklow; to raise additional capital; and for other purposes, 1863* (26 & 27 Vict., c. lxxxvi).

<sup>10</sup> *The Railway News and joint-stock journal* (110 vols, London, 1864-1918), ii, p. 106.

Ballinglen with only the sub-stations of Tinahely and Shillelagh left to be completed. At this point, the inspection team believed the Shillelagh branch would be open to the general public by November 1864.<sup>11</sup> However, this date was soon moved back to early December.<sup>12</sup> Whether bad weather or lack of funds hindered its completion is difficult to ascertain from the estate records. It was May 1865 before the first train departed from Shillelagh station. Its opening was eagerly awaited, particularly by the company directors who estimated that the transportation of 2,000 tons of lead ore per week could yield an annual income of £1,000 per annum, while development of the cattle trade in an area contiguous with the ‘main line from Enniscorthy to Wexford’ had the potential to realise three times this sum annually.<sup>13</sup> In recognition for his generosity in donating the land for the project, the sixth earl was afforded his own private waiting room at the station.<sup>14</sup>

Although the decision to gift the necessary tract of land to the railway developers may have appeared simple, the logistics of annexing sections of ground from the various townlands was a far more complex procedure as it required ejectment and the drafting of new leases. In some instances, it also involved redefining holdings as annexed acres were added to adjoining townlands. Fort Town, as the property was known, had previously been leased to Henry Symes, but following his death in 1862, it was subsequently leased to Tighe from 25 March 1864.<sup>15</sup> In total, the farm contained 115 acres. During Symes’ tenure, it had been sublet to three under-tenants.<sup>16</sup> Prior to Tighe taking possession, Michael Quail, one of the under-tenants was removed from

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 296.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 392.

<sup>14</sup> *Wicklow Voice*, 16 Oct. 2014.

<sup>15</sup> Kilcommon Church of Ireland burials (W.F.H.C., MFC1 96/1), burial date 9 Nov. 1862.

<sup>16</sup> Memoranda in respect of the estate of Earl Fitzwilliam in county Wicklow including conditions on which land and tenements are held, 1843-68, (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,967), entry 1865: 6.

Ballyraheen and transferred to Ballicionogue where he was given his own lease for 7 acres of land.<sup>17</sup> The remaining two under-tenants were accommodated in two holdings of less than 5 acres for which they each paid £3 and £2 10s. respectively. Tighe, the eldest son of a landed proprietor, had married well and was a man of means. Thus, he was a wise choice for securing the tenancy. Prior to granting the lease, the estate management had carried out extensive external repairs on the dwelling house and associated outhouses at no cost to the tenant. Renovations to the internal structure cost £65 for which the estate provided a loan to the new lessee. By 1865, this had been fully discharged. However, the farm was a different matter entirely. It was in a neglected state which ‘require[d] considerable outlay on the tenant’s part to put it in good order’. Despite its dilapidated condition, the agent surmised the estate still stood to profit from a ‘slight increase of rent’.<sup>18</sup> The railway line ran along the boundary line of the farm isolating small slivers of land which were subsequently added to holdings in the adjoining townland of Greenhall.<sup>19</sup>

A similar situation occurred in the townland of Killaveny. Following the death of Robert Gilbert in January 1863, his widow was given the option to take up a new lease on the 107-acre farm. This was estate policy provided she had the means and support to manage it appropriately. However, in this instance Mrs Gilbert declined, arguably as a consequence of its size. Indeed, her late husband had expressed a desire ‘to sell his interest’ in the holding during his lifetime. The estate agreed to her request and she was awarded the compensation for improvements carried out and crops not yet

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., entry 1865: 3.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., entry 1865: 6. Colonel Frederick Edward Bunbury Tighe was the eldest son of Daniel Bunbury Tighe of Rossana, Ashford, county Wicklow. In 1858, he married Lady Kathleen Louisa Georgina Ponsonby, daughter of the fourth Earl of Bessborough. In 1878, he inherited the Woodstock estate in Inistiogue, county Kilkenny from his uncle.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

harvested which collectively amounted to £90. On 25 March 1864, the majority of the original holding was re-let to John Reilly who had held a similar sized property at Ballard which he surrendered in favour of the Gilbert farm. His rent remained unchanged at £45 per annum. The earl acquired 18 acres, 77 percent of which was a turf bog, while the remainder was plantation. Four under-tenants were left in-situ, each retaining meagre holdings of 1 acre or less, while the railway required 6 acres of land in this particular townland. When the restructuring was finalised the rent on this farm had increased by £13 14s. 8d. per annum to £68 10s.<sup>20</sup>

In 1865, the townland of Ballicionogue underwent considerable restructuring. It appears the expiry of a head-tenant's lease which coincided with another tenant's ejectment provided an opportunity to redefine the land boundaries as the 'railway pass[ed] thro' (*sic.*) several of the holdings and it was thought well to put all under notices to quit with a view to new arrangements.<sup>21</sup> The new measures proposed by the agent included reapportioning the 140 acres among fourteen leaseholders including the sixth earl who held the majority share of 32 acres for a nominal rental of £2 per annum. The railway company were given 2 acres free of charge, while the remaining twelve tenants were granted farms of varying sizes which ranged from 17 acres held by William Armstrong down to 3 acres leased by Pat Parkinson. Collectively, the new arrangements resulted in a £5 14s. increase in the annual rent for the townland.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, entry 1865:7.

<sup>21</sup> Memoranda in respect of the estate of Earl Fitzwilliam in county Wicklow including conditions on which land and tenements are held, 1843-68 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,967), entry 1865:3.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*



The existence of the railway line proved very beneficial to the estate. On 27 November 1865, the Tinahely fair took place in a newly designated site near the town.<sup>23</sup> Considerable organisation was undertaken in order to ensure the event was a success. Sections were assigned to particular livestock and pens were set-up in anticipation of a good attendance. Despite the inclement weather, the *Freeman's Journal* praised the railway for its contribution to the success of the occasion as the 'supply of cattle, sheep and pigs were nearly double the number of that which was formerly on view.'<sup>24</sup> Equally promising was the large attendance of prospective buyers which was noted to be up on previous years. This was a very reassuring sign given that Britain was beset with cattle plague at this time and restrictions had been put in place the previous August preventing the exportation of British livestock to Ireland. These were subsequently extended in September to prohibit the transportation of sheep and lambs as well.<sup>25</sup> The episode had a devastating effect on the British cattle trade as the survival rate at this early stage was approximately 5 percent. A lack of knowledge on how to halt the spread of disease resulted in many British farmers slaughtering their herds in order to limit the threat of further cases.<sup>26</sup> Although Ireland remained free of the disease, its prevalence on the other side of the Irish Sea had a significant 'effect on the price of bullocks and heifers'.<sup>27</sup> However, it did little to dampen prospects at the fair. Dr Bookey received £9 10s. for each bullock sold, while Mr Jones received £29 for two heifers and yearlings. Lambs and ewes were also reported to be in high demand.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> The fair previously had taken place in the village of Coollattin but the agent had donated another site for this purpose near Tinahely.

<sup>24</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 30 Nov. 1865.

<sup>25</sup> *The Times*, 16 Aug. 1865; 30 Sep. 1865.

<sup>26</sup> A. B. Erickson, 'The cattle plague in England, 1865-7' in *Agricultural History*, xxxiv (1961), pp 94-103; p. 97.

<sup>27</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 30 Nov. 1865.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

From the outset, the cattle trade in the region was seen as one of the primary beneficiaries of the railway. In November 1868, a decision was taken by the company to despatch a weekly cattle train from Shillelagh stopping at all stations along the branch line for the purposes of transporting livestock to the Dublin cattle market.<sup>29</sup> Undeniably, access to national markets increased the economic return to farmers in comparison to local prices even during recessionary times. By 1870, although war on the continent was affecting corn, wool and money markets, cattle markets remained unaffected as ‘milking cows, and good growing young stocks of all ages’ were reported to ‘meet with quick demand.’<sup>30</sup> Consequently, the state of agriculture changed considerably between 1861 and 1871. Tillage farming in the county declined by 1 percent while the value of livestock increased by 3 percent during the same period and the value per statute acre also rose albeit a modest increase when compared to other counties of a similar size.<sup>31</sup> As an estate management policy the introduction of the railroad on the Wicklow estate was a crucial first step towards modernisation. Despite any misgivings which may have existed, the ultimate construction and operation of the railroad on the estate benefitted both the tenantry and the estate’s administration.

### 9.3 ‘A few acres of land and a row’

Restructuring was not only confined to the townlands impacted by the railway. By their very nature, the expiration of tenancy agreements was a constant feature of landed estate life. Whether as a result of death, non-payment of rent or expiration, holdings regularly fell out of lease and required a new contract to be drafted. This

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<sup>29</sup> *Freeman’s Journal*, 11 Dec. 1868.

<sup>30</sup> *Tuam Herald*, 19 Nov. 1870.

<sup>31</sup> Census of Ireland, 1871, general report, p. 22. The value per statute acre rose from £1.66 in 1861 to £1.71 by 1871. By comparison, King’s county [Offaly] the nearest in terms of extent increased from £1.35 to £1.45 during the same period.

resulted in a constant movement of people as tenants relinquished one holding in favour of another or equally, as children grew up, married and sought their own security by acquiring a direct tenancy from the estate. While the preferred management strategy was to arrive at a decision that was both fair and equitable to tenant and landlord alike, on occasion decisions made by the agents incited tension amongst neighbours and indeed, in some instances family members, often with catastrophic outcomes.

One such incident occurred on Monday 28 November 1859 when a large mob of approximately thirty people assembled outside the residence of Richard Behan at Mucklagh, a townland on the Coollattin estate situated in the barony of Ballinacor South. Behan held two farms on the estate and news had spread throughout the locality that he was about to be ejected from both holdings. Ralph Lawrenson, the land agent, was trying to implement a system of ‘squaring’ the farms upon the estate in an effort to make them ‘look better and tidier.’<sup>32</sup> This measure involved taking a portion of land from one farm and adding it to an adjacent holding. In the spirit of fairness, the estate management agreed that the tenant suffering a loss of acreage would be financially compensated, while the other would be content at increasing their lot. However, it seems Behan was completely averse to the measure and vehemently refused to allow 9 acres of his land to be redistributed to his neighbour, Michael Boland.<sup>33</sup> Consequently, on the morning in question, a legal decree was obtained at the quarter sessions in Tinahely permitting the estate to eject Behan from his holdings. Lawrenson

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<sup>32</sup> *Irish Examiner*, 9 Dec. 1859.

<sup>33</sup> Memoranda in respect of the estate of Earl Fitzwilliam in county Wicklow including conditions on which land and tenements are held, 1843-68 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,967), entry 1862:28.

immediately ordered the surveyor, a bailiff, and a number of assistants to seize the properties.<sup>34</sup>

Upon arrival at the farm, there was no sign of Behan, but his wife greeted the party with a litany of abuse. In an effort to quell the tension, the bailiff attempted to reason with the woman explaining he was merely carrying out his duty. At this time Behan appeared providing assurance that the men's actions would not be met with any resistance. As the crowd began to swell, the livestock were driven from the land, an action that warranted strong protestations. Suddenly, Mrs Behan re-appeared brandishing a sharpened pitch-fork, while Richard threatened the bailiff. Aware of the impending danger, the party left the property and proceeded to undertake other business before returning to secure the house. Unperturbed by the obvious flashpoint, the bailiff commandeered the house and placed an assistant inside before sending for Boland to complete the eviction. When Boland arrived in Behan's field, he was charged upon by the angry crowd and 'forced violently over the fence and onto the road' where Behan began to physically assault him. The officials intervened and managed to extricate him from Behan's hold before a number of onlookers began a fresh assault by hurling stones at the man. Whether or not Boland was overcome by the event or injured during the assault was unknown at this stage. However, he collapsed on the ground and subsequently died.<sup>35</sup>

Boland's death was widely reported by the print media who were disgusted by the callous nature of the attack. In particular, actions of the crowd following the man's death were especially revolting for 'when it was said he was dead there was a general

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<sup>34</sup> *Nation*, 10 Dec. 1859.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

shout of triumph in the crowd.’ Equally provocative was Behan’s comment concerning his deceased neighbour – dancing and clapping his hands in delight, he thanked ‘the Lord ha[d] struck him [Boland] dead before he got possession.’<sup>36</sup> The death of Boland was viewed as a tragedy the deceased had brought upon himself by incorporating a few acres of land into his 20 acre holding.<sup>37</sup> On 21 December 1859, Richard and Anne Behan were both charged with the murder of Michael Boland, despite protestations by the defence that he had succumbed to natural causes as a consequence of his advanced years.<sup>38</sup> This violent episode reveals the tension which existed in post-famine society concerning consolidation of holdings.

Similarly, land transfers were a regular occurrence in the post-famine period and could also be problematic. John Ralph had been granted a lease on a farm in Tomacork in 1818 at a yearly rent of £16 4s. The interest in the property was sold to Charles Kenny in 1848 with the consent of Chaloner Jnr. This transfer of tenancy was granted to Kenny because the estate management regarded him as ‘an industrious man with good means’. In 1858, a farm in the townland of Munny became available to let for a yearly rental of £60. It was considerably neglected and was poorly cultivated. Kenny had proved himself by managing his farm in Tomacork to a high standard and, thus, was chosen by Lawrenson as a tenant-at-will for the holding at Munny. Initially, the estate laid out £200 to cover the cost of repairing and constructing the necessary buildings. Between 1859 and 1860, Kenny carried out renovations which far exceeded the amount invested by the estate. Consequently, given the financial outlay required, Kenny began to question the precarious nature of his tenure and ‘applied [to the estate] for a lease’

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<sup>36</sup> *Belfast News-letter*, 6 Dec. 1859.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, see also Irish estate rental, 1852-3 (S.A., WWM/A/941), entry 1000.

<sup>38</sup> *Freeman’s Journal*, 21 Dec. 1859.

before continuing with any further improvements. The estate, and in particular the sixth earl was unimpressed by the tenant's request. Fitzwilliam responded by informing Kenny 'that he ought to trust to being fairly dealt with without a lease'.<sup>39</sup> However, Kenny remained resolute. He was subsequently granted a twenty-one-year lease on the property and repaid all costs incurred by him at that juncture. While on the surface this may appear extremely generous on the part of the estate management, this latter *proviso* was a measure to protect the landlord rather than the tenant, for as clearly outlined in the Memoranda Book it precluded him from having any further claim on the property upon the expiration of the tenancy agreement.<sup>40</sup> This example occurred within two years of the sixth earl's succession and demonstrates that certain policies of estate management were being redefined.

Other decisions made at management level generated tensions within families. In 1839, Edward Jones was granted a lease on a farm in the townland of Stoops. The holding consisted of 132 acres for which he paid £84 per annum. Jones died *circa* 1847 at which time, the true extent of his difficulties emerged. He had amassed considerable arrears estimated to be in the region of £500 to £600. His brother Michael took over the running of the farm and the liability that had accumulated. However, he too failed to manage the property in a profitable manner and the estate was left with little option but to replace him when his lease lapsed. When the term expired on 25 March 1860, John Ferris was awarded the lease. Ferris was a brother-in-law of Jones and had agreed to support him and his family. In return, the estate consented to forgive the arrears in consequence of alterations 'alleged (*sic.*) to have been made by Michael Jones' during

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<sup>39</sup> Memoranda in respect of the estate of Earl Fitzwilliam in county Wicklow including conditions on which land and tenements are held, 1843-68 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4,967), entry 1860:9.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

his tenure.<sup>41</sup> While the estate stood to profit economically by the new arrangement, this arguably provided little solace to Michael Jones who, after thirteen years, was usurped by his brother-in-law and relegated to the position of under-tenant.

Family disputes over land were commonplace. In the townland of Coolroe, Robert Collier Snr was recognised as an ‘industrious man [who had] made great improvements on his holding’. However, owing to a lack of education and business acumen, coupled with possibly some gentle persuasion from his son, he handed over the task of managing the property to the latter without prior approval from the estate office. By the time the situation was discovered by the agent, the circumstances of the transfer and the new working conditions had created large divisions between father and son. In an effort to repair the fractured relationship, the estate intervened offering Robert Snr a pension of £20 per annum on the condition that he relinquish all interest in the property. Simultaneously, the estate issued Robert Jnr with a lease designating him the official lessee of the farm.<sup>42</sup> This example highlights that although the management style of sixth earl was more business orientated and less patriarchal than that of his predecessors he was, on occasion, aware of his paternalistic responsibilities.

#### 9.4 *‘Endangering the public peace’*

Aside from the persistent squabbles over land ownership, dissent among those living on the land continued into the 1860s. The sectarian events of 1798 and the school war of the 1840s remained firmly etched in the collective consciousness of Fitzwilliam’s Wicklow tenantry.<sup>43</sup> While episodes were interspersed with periods of

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., entry 1861: 5.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., entry 1865:11.

<sup>43</sup> For information on 1798 see chapter two and for further discussion concerning the school wars of the 1840s please refer to chapter five concerning education.

calm, sectarian animosity continued to bubble beneath the surface. The effect of Famine emigration disproportionately affected the Catholic population. By 1861, the Church of Ireland congregation of county Wicklow was 18 percent, and 0.3 percent was Presbyterian, while the remaining 82 percent were Roman Catholics.<sup>44</sup> However, Hannigan makes the point that dynamics varied considerably depending on the civil parish. In five out of eight parishes in the barony of Shillelagh, including Carnew, the Protestant inhabitants accounted for between 20 and 30 percent of the total population in 1861. In the parish of Crosspatrick, this figure exceeded 30 percent and these statistics remained virtually unchanged at the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>45</sup>

In 1849, the *Wexford Guardian* reported on 12 July celebrations and went so far as to describe the town of Carnew as the ‘great seat of Orangeism and party bigotry in Leinster.’<sup>46</sup> Antagonism between religions remained a common feature of everyday life. In 1858, William Colles Moore, the Protestant rector, had placards erected around the market-town of Tinahely in advance of the annual fair day. The content was highly offensive to the Catholic inhabitants and seditious in tone. In an effort to keep the peace, the head constable on that occasion, a man named Lenihan, used his initiative and promptly removed the notices without consulting his superior officer. The man was subsequently reprimanded before an inquiry after Moore became aware of the situation and referred the matter to the relevant authorities. The incident received significant exposure in many regional and national newspapers. Moore perceived his calling ‘to

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<sup>44</sup> Census of Ireland, 1861, enumeration abstract, p. 10.

<sup>45</sup> Ken Hannigan, ‘Wicklow before and after the Famine’ in Ken Hannigan and William Nolan (eds), *Wicklow history and society: interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county* (Dublin, 1994), pp 789-823; pp 814-5. The exception was Mullinacuff parish whose Protestant population in 1901 had fallen from 20 to 30 percent in 1861 to 10 to 20 percent by 1901.

<sup>46</sup> *Wexford Guardian*, 27 Jul. 1849.



vilify [the Catholic] religion and denounce' those of that faith at every opportunity.<sup>47</sup> It was extremely difficult to silence the man, as his profession provided him with a platform and his oration skills drew large crowds.

On 4 August 1860, an incident caused Moore to lodge a complaint against the conduct of the police at Carnew.<sup>48</sup> His grievances were outlined in a letter dated 6 August 1860 which signalled the beginning of a month long exchange of correspondence between the Protestant clergyman and Sir Henry John Brownrigg, Inspector General of the Constabulary Office at Dublin Castle, the full contents of which appeared in the print media in September 1860.<sup>49</sup> On the surface, Moore's angst appeared to concern the presence of a Roman Catholic band which on previous occasions paraded through the street in Carnew playing music and drawing support from its Roman Catholic inhabitants. On closer analysis, his condemnation appeared more specifically directed at one man, the local sergeant, David Lynch, who according to Moore, failed to put a stop to what he described as an act 'to defy and annoy the Protestant inhabitants' of the town.<sup>50</sup> Consequently, due to Lynch's inaction, on 4 August, the band returned and played at the bottom of the town where a large crowd of Catholics gathered. Eventually, the Protestant inhabitants of the town emerged from their houses calling on the local constabulary to disperse the crowd but Lynch failed to intervene. According to Moore, had he not been present 'a breach of the peace' would

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<sup>47</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 23 Jan. 1858.

<sup>48</sup> Rev. William Colles Moore was the second son of Rev. Thomas Ottiwell Moore and his wife Rachel Colles. William married Mary Jane Boyce in 1834. He was rector of Carnew for nineteen years from 1847 until his death in 1866. It should be noted William Colles Moore was not related to the Rev. Henry Moore who features heavily in the school wars, however, both men seem to have possessed a vitriolic streak towards Roman Catholics.

<sup>49</sup> *Belfast News-letter*, 5 Sep. 1860.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

have occurred which would have ended in large scale violence.<sup>51</sup> Although Coollattin estate experienced relatively low levels of criminality during the 1860s, sectarian tensions were never far from the surface. In managing the estate during this time, both the agent and the earl needed to be cognisant of these tensions when implementing management policies.

Five days later Moore received a reply, although not the response he had wished for. Brownrigg's tone was quite dismissive stating that he was 'not aware of any law to prevent parties walking after a band, provided no party tunes are played.'<sup>52</sup> In relation to Moore's complaint, Brownrigg advised him to refer the matter to the magistrates who had the authority to investigate such complaints. Moore filed a complaint and on 24 August wrote once again to Brownrigg to inform him of the outcome. Five policemen were held accountable for failing to deal with the issue, three were Catholics, while the other two were Protestants. There is no doubt that Moore felt vindicated by the result as he laboured the point that Lynch had been derelict in his duty by 'creating and perpetuating animosities between different classes of her Majesty's subjects, and endangering the public peace'. Continuing to stir trouble, he stated that 'in both instances the guilty parties are Romanists [referring to both the band and Lynch's religious denomination] and the present policy is not to offend in any way those of that persuasion.' In closing, he contended that had the roles been reversed and the perpetrators been of the Protestant faith, the final outcome would have been far harsher and more punitive.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> *Belfast News-letter*, 5 Sep. 1860.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

Three further communications took place, all dated 1 September 1860. Two were from Thomas Kennedy, sub-inspector of the constabulary. It appears Brownrigg had grown tired of Moore's complaints and raised the matter with Kennedy requesting he should conduct an inquiry. He wrote to the rector inviting him to attend the court to hear the magistrate's verdict on the 'conduct of the police'. Moore declined the request on the grounds that Brownrigg had treated the matter and him in a neglectful manner. Moore arguably aggrieved by the constabulary's response, gathered all material concerning the incident and forwarded it to the *Daily Express* for publication. However, Kennedy had the last word on the matter. The sub-inspector responded by stating that he would forward the judgement to Brownrigg for in his opinion; they alone were the most qualified to rectify any shortcomings as identified by the inquiry.<sup>54</sup>

In 1861, Moore was invited to give a public lecture at the Victoria Hall in Belfast and seized every opportunity to defame those of the Catholic faith. To rapturous applause, referring to scripture, he contended that:

Some people might speak of forgetting the past, and living in harmony with those around them; but, while they should love the Roman Catholics, there should be no compromise with popery. While he had a tongue to wag, or a leg to stand on, [he vowed] he would lift his voice against all that was Popish or anti-Protestant in the land. There should be no marrying into Roman families.<sup>55</sup>

Ironically, during this fifty-year period, the estate had to contend with a second clergyman by the name of Moore who was intent on disturbing the peace and pre-occupied with increasing hostilities between neighbours. By the 1860s, sectarian tensions on the estate were nothing new and the estate's management should have been more deliberate in its handling of this particular situation. As a result, social relations

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> *Belfast News-letter*, 6 Nov. 1861.

on the estate were constantly undermined due to its own failure to act when sectarian tensions emerged.

9.5 ‘A grazing farm for foreigners’ cattle ... our only hope is revolution<sup>56</sup>

On 30 September 1865, the *Freeman's Journal* published an article concerning Fenian activity in county Wicklow. Specifically, the article alluded to the prevalence of nationalist activities on the Fitzwilliam estate. Laurence and Philip Crimeen of Carnew appeared before the petty sessions at Carnew on 28 September ‘charged with drilling and being members of the Fenian conspiracy’, while a second charge of police obstruction was also levied against Philip. A search warrant had been obtained by the constabulary and a house search was conducted which resulted in the discovery of a ‘fowling piece, belts, ball cartridges and cartridge papers.’<sup>57</sup> Thomas Rossiter, Michael Nolan and Michael Travers all provided evidence to the Protestant magistrates which included the Braddell brothers, Henry, Thomas and William, head-tenants on Ballingate townland, Messrs Tracey and R.U. Boyce, son of John Boyce of Carnew Castle who also presided over proceedings. Each of the witnesses called before the bench presented similar testimonies, namely that they were familiar with the prisoners and had never seen either engage in any Fenian activity. In the absence of any incriminating evidence, both were acquitted of Fenian involvement. In relation to the second offence, Philip was ordered to pay a 5s. fine and further costs as he admitted liability to assaulting one of the officers as he attempted to arrest him.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Quote from the *Irish People*, Sep. 1865 cited in Frank Rynne ‘Focus on the Fenians: the *Irish People* trials, Nov. 1865 - Jan. 1866’ in *History Ireland*, xiii (2005), pp 41-6; p. 42.

<sup>57</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 30 Sep. 1865.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

Ironically, both men were from a family with known Fenian links. At the time of their arrest, Laurence was twenty-eight years old, while Philip was just eighteen.<sup>59</sup> Laurence was no stranger to the law. On 8 December 1860, he was one of eight men accused of party demonstrations in the town of Carnew, although all were acquitted on this occasion including his brother Thomas.<sup>60</sup> The following year, he appeared once more before the petty sessions. This time however, he was the victim of an alleged assault at Kilquiggan on 4 October 1859. It appears he was acquainted with his attackers as no information was lodged with the magistrates; rather a summons was issued seeking the arrest of James Byrne and Richard Kirwan. Both men were subsequently convicted of the offence.<sup>61</sup> In 1863, he was accused of stabbing Patrick Lamb, a farmer from county Wexford following a heated exchange between the two men in the town of Carnew. The victim suffered multiple injuries to his arms and chest during the attack. Following the trial, Crimeen was jailed and sent to the Bridewell in Tinahely.<sup>62</sup> His two other brothers, Denis and John, were also known to the authorities. By the 1860s, Denis was living in Dublin's inner city, a short distance from the headquarters of the organisation. Employed as a foreman, he oversaw construction on John's Lane church where it was noted that: 'by day [the men] were the busy builders of John's Lane, by night they talked of arms and drilled in halls and fields.' Within this environment, Denis Crimeen utilised his authority by reputedly swearing 'a thousand men of the building trade into his [Fenian] circle.'<sup>63</sup> Although the Crimeen family appear to be ardent supporters of the movement, there is a dearth of information

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<sup>59</sup> Tomacork St Brigid's church, baptisms, 1832-1910 (N.L.I., Parish registers, Pos. 04256/3-5), entry dated 21 Apr. 1837; entry dated 12 Dec. 1847.

<sup>60</sup> *Return, by counties, of offences committed in 1860-62*, p. 371, H.C. 1862 (231) xlvi.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 367.

<sup>62</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 20 May 1863.

<sup>63</sup> D. Fallon, *The hidden republican history of John's Lane church* (Dublin, 2013), available at: John Lane's church, (<http://comeheretome.com/2013/08/20/the-hidden-republican-history-of-johns-lane-church/>) (4 Jan. 2016).

concerning support for the movement elsewhere throughout the estate. Interestingly, while R.V. Comerford states that the organisation drew its support from ‘respectable wage earners and some of the urban lower middle classes’, the case of the Crimeen family suggests that familial allegiances also played a part for although Denis had well paid employment, Lawrence was a labourer eking out an existence.<sup>64</sup>

#### 9.6 ‘That “expensive luxury” land’ – Yorkshire, 1860-65<sup>65</sup>

Between 1860 and 1865, the Wentworth estate in south Yorkshire enjoyed a period of relative calm particularly in comparison to its Wicklow counterpart. The Elsecar colliery dispute had been settled and the miners had returned to work.<sup>66</sup> Trade unionism was growing in popularity from the early decades of the nineteenth-century, but in many respects, it was overshadowed by the Chartist movement. The economic prosperity of the 1850s had led to a renewed interest in trade unionism and consequently unions such as the Miners’ National Association was established in 1863 and the Amalgamated Association of Miners was formed six years later. Such organisations ‘advocat[ed] social progress’ and were a channel through which the grievances of coal miners’ could be aired.<sup>67</sup> Despite their existence, the Fitzwilliam miners remained loyal to the earl who abhorred such organisations and many refrained from joining a union until 1872. J. T. Ward notes that ‘the union itself made little effort to recruit Fitzwilliam’s men,’ and when a dispute in 1873 led to strike action, the organisation instructed Fitzwilliam’s employees to return to work and ‘apologise to the

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<sup>64</sup> R.V. Comerford, ‘Patriotism as pastime: the appeal of Fenianism in the mid-1860s’ in *Irish Historical Studies*, lxxxvii (1981), pp 239-50; p. 242.

<sup>65</sup> J.E. Denison to Lord Fitzwilliam, 18 Aug. 1847 (S.A., WWM/G20).

<sup>66</sup> See chapter eight, section 8.4.

<sup>67</sup> Catherine Mills, *Regulating health and safety in the British mining industries, 1800-1914* (Surrey, 2010), p. 115; See also Donald M. MacRaild and David E. Martin, *Labour in British society, 1830-1914* (London, 2000), p. 29.

earl.<sup>68</sup> The lack of interest in trade unionism among Fitzwilliam's miners is somewhat unusual given that Sheffield, a short distance away, was one of the primary hubs of trade unionism and collective action in Britain at this time. By 1867, a series of conflicts known as the Sheffield outrages had seriously undermined the progress of the trade union movement. The city had gained an infamous reputation because of these militant activities which resulted in the establishment of a commission of inquiry. The commission found that one-fifth of the trade unions operating in the city were engaging in violent and intimidating behaviour levied against employers and non-unionised men.<sup>69</sup> The enquiry unearthed 'evidence of 166 cases of rattening and twenty-one cases of sending threatening letters' over a prolonged period.<sup>70</sup>

Equally, relations between the estate and its agricultural tenants remained harmonious. In 1850, the estate had fixed the rent to the value of corn and the fifth earl questioned the validity of setting rents at too high a level. In a letter to Viscount Milton in November 1850, he expressed his anxiety stating 'the rent days are this week and I am afraid there will be a great deal of complaint ... Unfortunately, I left matters here ... to Newman and Mr Bingley ... it is clear to me that rents founded on such a basis cannot stand' and amendments were made to mitigate against any conflict.<sup>71</sup> By Lady's Day 1861, the rental income for the Wentworth estate totalled £58,949 10s. 7½d. Coal, iron and mineral rents accounted for 42 percent, while farm rents accounted for the remaining 58 percent. Rental arrears increased by 24 percent over a twelve-month

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<sup>68</sup> J. T. Ward, 'West Riding landowners and mining in the nineteenth century' in J. Benson and R.G. Neville (eds), *Studies in the Yorkshire coal industry* (Manchester, 1976), pp 45-66; p. 50.

<sup>69</sup> Eric Hopkins, *Industrialisation and society: a social history, 1830-1951* (London, 2000), pp 64-5.

<sup>70</sup> Melvyn Jones, *The making of Sheffield* (Barnsley, 2004), p. 86. Rattening was the term used to describe incidents of violence and intimidation.

<sup>71</sup> Earl Fitzwilliam to Viscount Milton, 11 Nov. 1850 (S.A., WWM/T2).

period from 1860 to 1861.<sup>72</sup> Across the various townships, the estate made a number of alterations. In the township of Brampton, John Swallow relinquished his holding and George Blackburne was inserted as the new tenant. William Gascoigne's demise led to William Connelly securing his cottage. Thomas Bramforth's tenancy was discontinued owing to arrears and his house was re-let to William Mills.<sup>73</sup> In the township of Greasbrough to the south of the demesne, similar changes were afoot. David Willey took the decision to 'give up his house and shop' and Richard Birks Brooksbank became the new tenant of both premises. The colliers and garden tenants enjoyed a combined reduction in their rent of £19 4s. 2d., while George Dams discharged his arrears and left the estate, one of seven tenants to leave that year. Dams' holding was subsequently leased to a syndicate of four individuals at an advanced rental demonstrating subdivision continued to be a feature on the Yorkshire estate.<sup>74</sup> By 25 March 1866, rental receipts totalled £67,130 1½d. In five years, mineral receipts had increased by 25 percent, while income from the farm rental though elevated witnessed a more modest rate of increase at 6 percent. Perhaps, the greatest improvement lay in the reduction of arrears. Within the space of five years, the debt owing to non-payment of rent fell by 63 percent from £17,813 4s. 6½ in 1861 to £6,589 2s. 6d. in 1866.<sup>75</sup> In comparison to the Irish memoranda, the Yorkshire notes for the same time period provide no detail of dissent or agitation on the Wentworth estate. It merely records repairs to particular dwellings, applications for tenancies and payments to various individuals for work carried out on the estate. Not one single entry mentions angst

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<sup>72</sup> West Riding annual estate account, 1860-1 (S.A., WWM/A/422), p. 65.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 2-3.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65; see also West Riding annual estate account, 1865-6 (S.A., WWM/A/427), p. 66.



either between landlord and tenant, agent and tenant or neighbours alike, despite the fact that a significant number of tenants were leaving the estate.<sup>76</sup>

### 9.7 *Conclusion*

In assessing the tenantry on the Wicklow and Yorkshire estates during this time, a number of comparisons emerge. Firstly, the effects of Famine were still clearly visible on the Irish estate even into the 1860s. Throughout this decade, poverty was still a social issue for some of Fitzwilliam's tenantry. Although the railway did improve the economic situation, the Irish tenantry were far from achieving economic self-sufficiency. Furthermore, sectarian and agrarian tensions were beginning to emerge and this presented its own problems. By contrast, Fitzwilliam's Yorkshire tenantry continued to thrive economically and even though the estate fell into significant arrears during the 1860s, it managed to recoup its losses over a five-year period, a feat impossible in the Irish context. The Yorkshire tenantry were disinterested in pursuing sectarian and political agendas. Thus, while the Wicklow estate might well have been bracing itself for a period of political and social uncertainty, the Yorkshire estate continued to focus on economic matters.

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<sup>76</sup> Yorkshire estate rental, 1860 (S.A., WWM/A/656).

## CONCLUSION

### *Introduction*

The landed estate was the fulcrum of nineteenth-century society in both Yorkshire and Wicklow. Its function was vital to the local economy. However, its successes and failures were largely dependent on its management structure and how it reacted to economic, religious, political and social change. The primary purpose of this comparative research was to examine estate management practices on two landed estates over a fifty-year period. Although owned by the same family, their geographical location dictated certain differences. While Wicklow was agriculturally based, Yorkshire was industrial in nature. Thus, during the course of this analysis, a number of similarities and differences between the estates and their management structures have been highlighted. The most important of these are discussed below.

### *'Islands of isolation'*

During the period from 1815 to 1865, the economies of Britain and Ireland experienced intermittent periods of growth and depression. Neither estate was immune to these cyclical fluctuations. However, from the 1840s, the Yorkshire economy became primarily industrialised. The development of a railway network on the estate led to an expansion in the mining industry, particularly in the villages of Elsecar and Rawmarsh. By the 1840s other industries, such as Swinton Pottery emerged; however, poor management decisions compromised their economic potential and eventually the estate refused to continue subsidising them. There may have been some tenants on the Yorkshire estate who fell into arrears, but given the strength of the Yorkshire economy as a whole their impact on the financial viability of the estate was minimal.

By comparison, the Wicklow estate possessed a much larger impoverished tenant class than its Yorkshire counterpart. Subdivision was a common feature of the agricultural economy. This was an inherited system that the management structure failed to adequately deal with until the 1830s, by which point the damage had already been done. Coupled with the prevalence of subdivision was the dominance of the middleman system which prevented economic exploitation of the estate during periods of economic growth because of the length of the leases they held. Thus in the period under question, the estate management structure in both locations were compelled to deal with two contrasting economic scenarios. In Yorkshire, the period represented an era of unprecedented economic growth, while in Wicklow, it was defined by the social and economic catastrophe of the Great Famine.

The Yorkshire estate was predominantly Anglican in composition, although there were isolated clusters of Methodist communities. There was no evidence of denominational conflict or sectarian tension on the estate and by and large religious identity did not pre-occupy everyday life. The Wicklow estate was predominantly Catholic in composition, although a minority of Protestants comprised the social and political elite. Denominational tension and sectarian conflict characterised the religious landscape of Fitzwilliam's Wicklow estate during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. This led to the emergence of secret societies and sectarian associations which harnessed religious animosities to further political and social agendas. The significantly contrasting social and religious topography of Yorkshire and Wicklow forced each estate to adapt their own set of management policies.

Religious diversity also influenced the educational strategies in each location. In Yorkshire, a policy of non-denominational education was promoted. This resulted in

a variety of schools operating in each of the townships across the core estate. While some were endowed by philanthropic trusts and landlord donations, the majority were fee-paying indicating a more affluent society resident on the Yorkshire estate. In terms of composition, the educational system on the Yorkshire estate was better organised, had more access to resources and its teachers had a better standard of training than on the Wicklow estate. Unlike its Irish counterpart, which was besieged by religious interference, educational matters on the Yorkshire estate embodied a more secular approach. Consequently, matters tended to resolve themselves naturally.

On the Wicklow estate the connection between church and state was highly visible through the educational structure that existed. Prior to the introduction of the national school system in the 1830s, the estate management structure was pro-active in establishing an extensive school system. Similar to the Yorkshire structure, this was non-denominational in orientation. While the implementation of this system was progressive by Irish standards, when compared to its Yorkshire equivalent, the educational system on the Wicklow estate was rudimentary. In general, Catholic teachers taught in deplorable conditions often without adequate training. Although the majority of schools were fee-paying, the dire financial circumstances of Fitzwilliam's tenantry prevented many of them from accessing education. In many instances however, fees were waived as the education of the estate's children took precedence. Despite the best efforts of the estate management structure to implement a policy of co-education on the Wicklow estate, this was met by fierce opposition from the Protestant clergy who feared that their authority was being undermined. This culminated in an episode known as the school wars which was more divisive than constructive and stunted the fifth earl's policy of religious tolerance.

While the school wars in Ireland highlighted the interconnectedness of religion and politics at a local level, these themes also dominated political discourse in Westminster. In many ways, Irish politics was overshadowed by religious issues. Since the seventeenth century, the payment of tithes had generated sectarian tensions on the estate, as many Catholics resented financing the upkeep of the Established Church. This, coupled with the introduction of the Catholic Relief Act in 1829, heightened tensions further and created a sense of distrust between Catholics and Protestants; the latter felt threatened by the concessions now being afforded to Catholics. Prior to the introduction of the act, Catholic tenants on the Fitzwilliam estate in Wicklow were in a favourable position as the estate management structure openly promoted a policy of religious tolerance and tenant right. Moreover, in its own right the Catholic Relief Act was merely a pyrrhic victory as the introduction of the Reform Act in 1832 countered any political gains made by Catholics on the Wicklow estate

In the 1830s, the formation of a liberal government under Earl Grey marked the beginning of a period of political reform which culminated in the introduction of the Reform Act (1832) and the New Poor Law Act (1834 & 1838). However, in reality, not all the legislation passed lived up to its promise. While the Reform Act offered the illusion of reform, in reality it made little difference to the Fitzwilliam tenantry because of the new criteria attached to voting rights. Moreover, while the Poor Law did benefit the poor, a burgeoning population in Ireland rendered it defective from the outset. Similarly, in Yorkshire, although it did remove the poor from the streets, it was nonetheless problematic. For example, in 1849 Shillelagh Board of Guardians admitted twenty-eight inmates per week, whereas the total number of Fitzwilliam's tenants entering Rotherham Workhouse for all of 1851 stood at twenty. Thus, while the

aspirations of the liberal government promised much, they ultimately delivered little to the Fitzwilliam tenantry on both estates. By the 1840s, the government had been replaced by a Tory government under Peel which faced its own challenges as Famine was about to consume Ireland.

The 1840s was a decade of utter turmoil on the Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estate in county Wicklow. During this period, the estate experienced high unemployment, escalating arrears, widespread poverty and ultimately, a devastating Famine. Contrastingly, the Yorkshire estate was enjoying a period of rapid growth, as the expansion of the mining industries led to increased employment and improved infrastructure across the Wentworth estate. Although some tenants on the Yorkshire estate did have difficulty paying their rents, their level of arrears did not even remotely compare with the financial hardship experienced by Fitzwilliam's Wicklow tenantry. Ironically, on the Yorkshire estate during the same period, the fifth earl willingly subdivided the land to assist poor tenants. This highlights the stark contrasts between both estates in the 1840s. In a Yorkshire context, the conscious subdivision of land highlights how insignificant the arrears on that estate were, particularly when compared with the Wicklow estate where they were unmanageable.

One of the most contentious policies introduced on the Wicklow estate in response to the Famine was an assisted emigration scheme. This policy was favoured above ejection as it aimed at minimising arrears while facilitating the restructuring of holdings in a bid to re-establish economic viability. The majority of emigrants who left Coollattin estate during this period settled in British North America. Their emigration process was underpinned by the earl's paternal philosophy. An emigrant was supplied with food and clothing, had their passage fully paid and in many instances

accommodation and employment were secured for the emigrant prior to departure. Paternalism was also evident on the Yorkshire estate during the 1840s. A report detailing the living standards of miners in Elsecar in 1845 commended the high standard of accommodation provided by the earl to his tenants.

The decade of the 1850s brought its own challenges as the death of agents on both estates were followed by the death of the fifth earl in 1857. As a result, management structures on both estates were redefined. Chaloner Jnr was replaced by Ralph Lawrenson on the Wicklow estate, while John Hartop and Richard Massey became Biram's replacements at Wentworth. These new agents sought to implement their own management styles and so both estates experienced a period of transition as the 1860s approached. In Wicklow, Lawrenson began by restructuring some holdings in order to facilitate the introduction of a railway network on the Wicklow estate, while in Yorkshire, Hartop continued to oversee the mining operations across that estate. However, the succession of the sixth earl brought about the greatest change. His management policy was notably different from that of his predecessors as he placed a greater emphasis on the estate's economic performance than either his father or grandfather. This is not to suggest that economics dominated his decision making process, for he also understood that his new position gave him responsibilities as a father-figure, politician, aristocrat and philanthropist, as well as, a businessman.

By 1865, the tenantry on both estates had adjusted to the new management structures in both Wicklow and Yorkshire. However, in some respects not much had changed. On the Wicklow estate, residual sectarian attitudes and an emerging interest in nationalism provided challenges for the estate's management structure. In Yorkshire, the tenantry were also becoming more politically aware. Miners strikes in the early

1860s as well the increasing popularity of trade unionism mobilised factions of Fitzwilliam's Yorkshire tenantry. Here too, the estate's management policies were forced to adapt to these changing landscapes and so, as the 1870s dawned, many challenges lay ahead for both the management and tenantry.

*'Too many chiefs'*

The success of many of the estate's management policies was dependant on the strength of the management structure itself. This was inherently different in each location. In Ireland, a simplified structure existed in that a single land agent was responsible for the daily management of the Wicklow estate. He communicated directly with the earl in Yorkshire and forwarded annual accounts to the Yorkshire auditor for reconciliation. In many respects, the fact that the Fitzwilliams were absentee landlords afforded the Irish agent a greater degree of autonomy than his Wentworth counterparts.

Similar to Ireland, a single agent was responsible for the management of the Yorkshire estate until 1818. However, the death of Charles Bowns facilitated a change whereby a tiered system of management was introduced. The land agent retained a position of superiority at the top of the hierarchy. However, the Birams perceived themselves to be above the land agent in the management hierarchy and frequently bypassed him on matters of concern. This created deep fissures within the management structure at Wentworth particularly from the 1840s with the succession of Daniel Maude to the position of auditor. Maude's increasing frustration over Biram's exorbitant expenditure and the fifth earl's lackadaisical approach to his business concerns added greatly to the simmering discontent among the Wentworth agents. In



Ireland, the less complicated management structure meant that no such tension existed within the management layer.

*'The final word'*

The fourth, fifth and sixth Earls Fitzwilliam were men of very different character, yet all subscribed to the philosophy of paternalism albeit it to varying degrees. The fourth earl in particular viewed his role as protector and oftentimes made decisions for the betterment of his tenants rather than the economic benefit of his estate. His paternalistic tendencies often clashed with the economic recommendations of his agents but as landlord he chose to take an active role in the running of his estates and, therefore, had the final word on how matters would be managed. Although the fifth earl also adopted a *loco parentis* position in relation to his tenantry, his business judgement was less influenced by his responsibility to those who depended upon him. Although paternalism underpinned his management style, the parameters were slowly shifting with each successive generation. Consequently, while a sense of responsibility remained an important aspect of the sixth earl's management style, the economic losses experienced in the previous decades by his father and grandfather were greatly reduced during his tenure as he adopted a more pragmatic business-like approach.

*'Keeping it in the family'*

In relation to the issue of recruitment, the earls' preference was to fill vacancies in the management structure from within families who had already served the estate. This practice, while admirable, greatly impeded the economic development of the Yorkshire estate as it produced self-taught local agents and workers who lacked the specialised skills necessary to make the estate profitable.

The earl's failure to relieve Benjamin Biram of his duties was just one example. Biram's poor management of coal interests which should have amassed significant profits and placed the family at the forefront of coal production ended up costing the family considerably. Even when the industrial enterprises began to perform and reach a level of profitability in the 1850s monies amassed did not adequately compensate for the sums invested in failed industries across the estate up until that point.

While the appointment of Robert Chaloner Snr and subsequently Chaloner Jnr followed the same pattern as the selection of the Yorkshire agents, the choice of Chaloner Snr was advantageous for the Irish estate. Unlike his peers, he was a member of the landed class and thus understood the need to make the estate an economically viable business. Chaloner Snr had greater authority over the management of the Irish estate which allowed him to make decisions on everyday issues without necessarily consulting the earl. That said, any decision which had major implications for the estate such as the assisted emigration scheme required the earl's sanction.

*'The security of wealth'*

The sheer wealth amassed by the Fitzwilliams allowed them to indulge their paternalistic tendencies by providing significant capital to ill-fated projects. This proclivity to reimburse failing business entities ultimately stunted the growth of the estate as a business in its own right, as personal capital was required to finance some estate industries. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that by 1878, the family's total debt stood at £872,288.<sup>1</sup> Debt did not seem to trouble the earls, however as many of their

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<sup>1</sup> David Cannadine, 'Aristocratic indebtedness in the nineteenth century: a restatement' in *The Economic History Review*, xxxiii (1980), pp 569-73; p. 570.

class were equally encumbered. The danger lay in the fact that even if the cash ran out, they had a significant property portfolio they could borrow against.

*'Ahead of its time'*

While the leasing practices on each estate were quite similar, the presence of a multi-layered middleman system on the Irish estate proved to be the greatest barrier to its economic success. That said, the estate guaranteed a fair rent, fixity of tenure and free sale long before the 1870 Land Act that guaranteed the so-called Ulster custom in law. From a tenant perspective, in the absence of a welfare system, the social provisions provided by the estate in the form of housing, medical care and pensions was unparalleled elsewhere.

In terms of religion, the earls' integration of all denominations upon their estates and the financial support given to these groups to allow them to construct their places of worship was the same regardless of whether one was Catholic, Protestant, Anglican or Methodist. Although, the Irish estate demonstrated the divisive nature of diverging religious beliefs, the earls did everything within their power to protect the right of individuals to choose a particular faith.

By adopting a comparative approach throughout this study, the impact of estate management practices on two landed communities during the nineteenth century reveals how composition and context largely determined the economic, religious and political trajectory of each estate. By exploring each community in tandem over a defined period, the varying degrees of development and difficulty experienced in each location becomes highly visible. Yet despite the obvious differences between the study regions, this thesis reveals the equitable manner with which the earls Fitzwilliam presided over

both estates to the point that ultimately, paternalism cost them financially. Perhaps in assessing the influence of the family and their management strategies, it is more accurate to examine the social rather the economic implications of their decisions. While paternalism was not confined to the Fitzwilliams, the extent to which each successive generation adhered to this ideology was striking. Consequently, from the cradle to the grave, the Fitzwilliam tenantry had access to comprehensive and extensive systems of benefits. The extent to which similar situations existed on other Irish aristocratic estates remains to be elucidated. What this thesis has shown is that the relationships between landlord and tenant (and agents) were much more complex and requires a more nuanced approach to study than has heretofore been the case.

# **APPENDICES**

## Appendix 1a

### Definition of territorial terms in both locations.<sup>1</sup>

Term	Description and relevant location
Barony	A regional division within Irish counties comparable to the wapentake in Yorkshire.
Chapelry	A subdivision of the ecclesiastical parish in Yorkshire, held the same status as the township but differed from in as it possessed a chapel as opposed to a parish church. Established as a subsidiary place of worship when the mother church was located a considerable distance away.
Civil Parish	The smallest unit of local governance in both locations serving administrative functions, surveying, levying taxes and record-keeping.
County	The largest historical unit of administration within a country.
Diocese	Largest ecclesiastical unit presided over by a bishop.
Ecclesiastical Parish	Religious divisions in each location which generally mirrored the civil parish with the exception of Roman Catholic parishes in Ireland. These varied greatly in spatial extent. They were larger than Protestant parishes and their boundaries altered significantly throughout the nineteenth century as a consequence of religious change.
Hamlet	A cluster of houses, devoid of a church and less extensive than a village. These usually developed as a consequence of economic activity. Elsecar was originally a hamlet.
Riding	A historical administrative unit within the county, specific to Yorkshire. Yorkshire had three, North, East and West Riding. In many respects constituted a separate self-governing unit within the county. The Wentworth estate was located in the West Riding.
Townland	The smallest administrative division in Ireland. Formed part of a civil parish and varied in extent from a few acres to over a thousand elsewhere.
Township	A local division within the largest parish in Yorkshire. Characteristically different to the Irish townland in that it contained a small town or village and a church within its boundaries.
Wapentake	Yorkshire administrative division comparable to the Irish barony. It roughly equated to the English one-hundred, an administrative division of a larger geographical area.

<sup>1</sup> See Angus Winchester, *Discovering parish boundaries* (2nd ed., Oxford, 2000), pp 21-9; James G. Ryan, *Irish records: sources for family and local history* (Dublin, 1997), p. 7.

## Appendix 1b

### Description of core estate in county Wicklow by parish.<sup>1</sup>

<b>Parish</b>	<b>Barony</b>	<b>Total Acreage (to nearest acre)</b>	<b>No. of Townlands</b>	<b>Largest Townland</b>	<b>Smallest Townland</b>	<b>Distinguishing features</b>
Aghowle	Shillelagh	4,965	16	Killanure	Minmore*	Bogland with untamed upland; contained the village of Coolkenno.
Ardoyne	Shillelagh	1,111	4	Ardoyne	Knocklow*	Until 1832 was known as Fennagh. Situated at the confluence of the rivers Derreen and Slaney.
Carnew	Shillelagh	15,432	28	Carnew	Minmore*	Granite stone and slate with marsh and parkland; contained the market-town of Carnew and village of Shillelagh.
Creclin	Shillelagh	952	2	Ballyconnell	Gowle	
Crosspatrick	Shillelagh**	1,762	8	Coolafancy	Mill Land	Fertile land with some bogland; Methodist church.
Hacketstown	Ballinacor South	829	6	Rathbane	Rathcot	Arable and grazing land mixed with bog; bedrock was granite
Kilcommon	Ballinacor South	6,757	28	Ballybeg	Bridgeland	Rugged mountainous terrain; contained the market-town of Tinahely with a constabulary barracks.
Kilpipe	Ballinacor South	5,045	12	Coolbawn	Tomnaskella	Upland, woodland and bog most pronounced in the north-east. Railway from 1846.

<sup>1</sup> Maps of the Shillelagh estate of the Right Hon. the Earl Fitzwilliam situate in the county Wicklow (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 22,021); Maps of the Cashaw estate of the Right Hon. the Earl Fitzwilliam situate in the county Wicklow (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 22,020).

**Appendix 1b cont'd.**

**Description of core estates in county Wicklow by parish.**

<b>Parish</b>	<b>Barony</b>	<b>Total Acreage (to nearest acre)</b>	<b>No. of Townlands</b>	<b>Largest Townland</b>	<b>Smallest Townland</b>	<b>Distinguishing features</b>
Kiltegan	Ballinacor South	2,595	13	Slievemaan	Knocknagree	Remote, mountainous area with high elevation, sparsely populated.
Liscolman	Shillelagh	1,532	4	Liscolman	Knocklow*	Upland and lowland with small amount of bog; located 3 miles north-east of market-town of Tullow.
Preban	Ballinacor South	2,637	6	Killballyowen	Preban	Flour mill; Derry river; upland
Moyacomb	Shillelagh	5,770	12	Ballisland	Ballyknocker East	Dissected by three county boundaries.
Moyne	Ballinacor South	1,178	5	Slievemweel	Corndog	Elevated area; contained a church, school and dispensary.
Mullinacuff	Shillelagh	4,024	10	Ballynultagh	Seskin	Extensive bogland.

\* Denotes a townland whose boundaries crossed into more than one parish.

\*\* The townland of Mill Land in the parish of Crosspatrick was located in the barony of Ballinacor South.



## Appendix 1c

### Description of core estate in Yorkshire by township.<sup>1</sup>

<b>Township</b>	<b>Wapentake</b>	<b>Total Acreage** (to nearest acre)</b>	<b>Main villages in the township</b>	<b>Hamlets</b>	<b>Distinguishing features</b>
Brampton Bierlow	Strafforth & Tickall (Upper division)	3,168	Brampton Bierlow; Elsecar (partly)	Coley Lane, Hooper, West-Melton	On the Dearne & Dove canal which was used to transport coal; mixture of arable land and upland due to Pennines.
Darfield	Strafforth & Tickall (Upper division)	1,640	Darfield; Mill House	Edderthorpe; Tyers-hill	Upland region; mainly agricultural until 1860 when mining began.
Edlington	Strafforth & Tickall (Upper division)	450			450 of woodland; annexed from the rest of the estate.
Greasbrough*	Strafforth & Tickall (Upper division)	2,000	Greasbrough	Cinder Bridge, Gin House, Bassingthorpe, Nether Haugh and Parkgate	Varying elevation, rich mineral bedrock, extensive woodland. Greasbrough canal opened in 1780; railway from 1839.
Hooton Roberts	Strafforth & Tickall (Lower division)	1,050	Hooton Roberts		Arable and grassland; limestone bedrock which was quarried. River Don flowed in the valley.
Hoyland	Strafforth & Tickall (Upper division)	2,270	Nether Hoyland; Elsecar (mainly)		Predominantly grassland with a rich mineral bedrock. Coal mining region.
Kimberworth	Strafforth & Tickall (Upper division)	2,940	Kimberworth; Masborough; Holmes	Scholes	Large iron reserves providing principal employment.
Rawmarsh	Strafforth & Tickall (Upper division)	2,470	Rawmarsh; Kilnhurst (partly)		High mineral reserves and clay; collieries, ironworks and earthenware manufacturers.

<sup>1</sup> Census of Great Britain, 1821, pp 420-2; Samuel Lewis, *Topographical dictionary of England* (London, 1848).

### Appendix 1c cont'd.

#### Description of core estates in Yorkshire by township.

<b>Township</b>	<b>Wapentake</b>	<b>Total Acreage** (to nearest acre)</b>	<b>Main villages in the township</b>	<b>Hamlets</b>	<b>Distinguishing features</b>
Swinton*	Strafforth & Tickall (Upper division)	1,600	Swinton; Kilnhurst (partly)		On Dearne & Dove canal and midland railway line; huge clay reserves hence earthenware and china manufacturers such as Rockingham Pottery and Don Pottery.
Tankersley	Staincross	2,500	Tankersley; Pilley		Quarter of land surface was forest; high elevation; Anglican church.
Tinsley	Strafforth & Tickall (Lower division)	1,570	Tinsley		Upland and lowland, prime quality, large mineral reserves though low grade.
Wath-upon-Deerne	Strafforth & Tickall (Upper division)	1,550	Wath-upon-Deerne		Pasture and tillage; main employers were mining and potteries.
Wentworth	Strafforth & Tickall (Upper division)	2,234	Wentworth; Harley		Agricultural area with limestone in abundance.
Wombwell	Strafforth & Tickall (Upper division)	3,460	Wombwell; Hemingfield		Deerne & Dove canal, mining prevalent, Lundhill colliery.

\* Denotes a chapelry as opposed to a township, see Appendix 1a for details of this term.

\*\* Total acreage is that of the township inclusive of the estate holding for example Fitzwilliam's interest in Greasbrough totalled 2,008 acres of the 2,270.

### Appendix 3a

#### Description and example of occupational classifications used in analysis.

<b>Classification</b>	<b>Type of work</b>	<b>Example of occupations within this category</b>
Agricultural Pursuits	Includes those that work the land, engage in forestry and deal with animals.	Farmers, agricultural labourers, wood ranger, sawyer, gardener, groom, stable boy, menagerie keeper.
Commercial	Pertains to business pursuits.	Baker, butcher, shopkeeper, merchant, publican,
Domestic Service	Includes those employed in the home and also in the caring professions	House-wife, servant, house-keeper, footman, butler, cook, nurse.
Mining Pursuits	Involved in all forms of mining and quarrying of minerals.	Coal-miner, iron miner, roller, quarryman, engine tender, bankman, hurrier, trapper.
Non-gainful Pursuits	Those unemployment owing to age or poor health	Child, pensioner, retired person, infirm.
Professional	Those possessing a qualification and employed at a high skill level	Auditor, clergyman, solicitor, schoolmaster, doctor, veterinary surgeon.
Public Service	Those engaged in a serving the general public.	Police constable, fireman, bridewell keeper, excise office, coroner.
Trade & Manufacturing	Those involved in the manufacturing of goods or providing a service as a result of a trade.	Blacksmith, carpenter, cordwainer, joiner, mason, cutler, nailor, glass maker, cooper, tailor, hatter, earthenware manufacturer.
Transportation	Those employed on the railway, canals or in another transport capacity.	Railwayman, waterman, canal agent, lock keeper, wharfingers

### Appendix 3b

Sample of occupations for head of households as per baptismal registers on four selected parishes on Wicklow estate.<sup>1</sup>

Occupation	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	Total
<b>Apothecary</b>		1				1
<b>Baker</b>				1	1	2
<b>Bridewell Keeper</b>				1		1
<b>Carpenter</b>			2			2
<b>Chandler</b>				1		1
<b>Clergyman</b>				1	1	2
<b>Clerk</b>				1		1
<b>Cooper</b>		1				1
<b>Coroner (Retired)</b>		1				1
<b>Farmer</b>		17	17	5	4	43
<b>Gardener</b>			1			1
<b>House-Keeper</b>		1				1
<b>Inn-keeper</b>					1	1
<b>Labourer</b>		12	11	6	2	31
<b>Mason</b>		3				3
<b>Medical Doctor</b>				1		1
<b>Miller</b>		3				3
<b>Nailor</b>		1				1
<b>Non-gainful*</b>	56	3	3	1		63
<b>Officer of Excise</b>				1		1
<b>Painter</b>					2	2
<b>Pensioner</b>		1				1
<b>Police Constable</b>		1				1
<b>Sadler</b>		1	1			2
<b>Sawyer</b>			1			1
<b>School Master</b>		2				2
<b>Servant</b>			1	1	1	3
<b>Sexton</b>		1				1
<b>Shoemaker</b>		4	2			6
<b>Shopkeeper</b>		1	2	1	1	5
<b>Smith</b>		1	1		1	3
<b>Solicitor</b>					1	1
<b>Steward</b>		1	1			2
<b>Surgeon</b>				1		1
<b>Tailor</b>				2	1	3
<b>Weaver</b>		2				2
<b>Woodranger</b>					1	1

<sup>1</sup> Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates database, 1815-65, personal database, occupational trends. The numbers are less in Wicklow than Yorkshire as information refers to Protestants only, in 1821 no occupations were recorded.

### Appendix 3b

Sample of occupations for head of households as per baptismal registers on four selected townships on Yorkshire estate.<sup>2</sup>

Occupation	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	Total
Agent		1	2			3
Blacksmith	5	10	11	12	11	49
Boiler Maker			1			1
Brass Fitter					3	3
Breeches Maker	1					1
Bricklayer			1		3	4
Broker		1				1
Butcher	7	5	6	5	2	25
Butler	1					1
Cabinet Maker					1	1
Carpenter	3	2	2	1	3	11
Carter			1			1
Chair Maker	1					1
Clergyman	1	1				2
Clerk	1	2	1			4
Coke Burner				1		1
Collier	12	15	7		2	36
Colour Maker			1			1
Confectioner					1	1
Contractor				1		1
Cooper			1	1		2
Cordwainer	5	6	4	1	5	21
Crate Maker	3	2	1		1	7
Engine Tenter		1	2	3	7	13
Engineer			3	1	1	5
Engraver	1	1				1
Excise Officer	1					1
Farmer	10	3	5	9	4	31
Filesmith		1			1	2
Fireman		1				1
Footman		1				1
Founder	3	2				5
Furnace man			2	1	7	10
Game-keeper				1		1
Gardener	1	1	3	2	2	9
Glass worker			1	1	5	7
Grinder	2					2
Groom		3	2	3		8

<sup>2</sup> Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates database, 1815-65, personal database, occupational trends.

<b>Iron roller</b>	2	1	1	2	8	14
<b>Joiner</b>	2	3	1	8	5	19
<b>Labourer</b>	65	73	57	51	46	292
<b>Lock Keeper</b>					1	1
<b>Mason</b>	6	7	4	12	3	32
<b>Mechanic</b>		1	1			2
<b>Menagerie Keeper</b>			1			1
<b>Merchant</b>	1					1
<b>Miller</b>	2	1			1	3
<b>Miner</b>	34	39	43	42	74	232
<b>Moulder</b>	1	3	3		2	9
<b>Nailor</b>	10	13	4			27
<b>Non-gainful</b>	9	9		2		20
<b>Painter</b>	1	3		1		5
<b>Park-Keeper</b>			1			1
<b>Pipe Maker</b>	1					1
<b>Plumber</b>				1	1	2
<b>Policeman</b>					1	1
<b>Postboy</b>				1		1
<b>Pot Hawker</b>		1				1
<b>Pottery Worker</b>	15	15	21	9	7	67
<b>Publican</b>		3	1	3	3	10
<b>Puddler</b>			1	3	9	13
<b>Railway worker</b>					2	2
<b>Saddler</b>		3		1		4
<b>Sawsmith</b>	1					1
<b>Sawyer</b>		1			1	2
<b>Schoolmaster</b>	1		1		1	3
<b>Servant</b>	3	3				6
<b>Shopkeeper</b>				1	1	2
<b>Slater</b>	4	1			2	7
<b>Solicitor</b>					1	1
<b>Stove grate fitter</b>				1	1	2
<b>Surgeon</b>	1	2	1	1		5
<b>Tailor</b>	1	1	4	1	3	10
<b>Tinman</b>		1				1
<b>Toll Barkeeper</b>				1		1
<b>Under-keeper</b>	1					1
<b>Valet</b>				1		1
<b>Veterinary Surgeon</b>					1	1
<b>Warehouse Man</b>				1		1
<b>Waterman</b>	2	2		1		5
<b>Weaver</b>		1				1
<b>Wheelwright</b>	1	2			1	4

### Appendix 3c

**Example of middleman system on selected townlands on Coollattin estate as captured through Memorandum Book.<sup>1</sup>**

Year	Townland	Official Lessee	Acreage (to nearest acre)	Unofficial tenancies (u/t)	No. of plot within holding	Official yearly rent	Actual Rent paid by undertenants	Net Profit/Loss	Approx. % difference between official and unofficial rent
1815	Ballicionogue	Abraham Bates	224	13	11	£150	£124 11s. 9d.	£ 25 8s. 3d.	↓ 17
1816	Shillelagh	Mr Barker	N/R	7	7	£ 10 7s. 8d.	£ 48 14s.	£ 38 6s. 4d.	↑ 345
1816	Carnew	Richard Goodison	49	4	3	£ 70	£133 12s. 3d.	£ 63 12s. 3d.	↑ 91
1818	Carnew	Jacob Stone	17	2	2	£ 10	£ 30	£ 20	↑ 200
1818	Knockatomcoyle	Richard Ireland	33	7	6	£ 13 7s.	£ 16 19s.	£ 3 12s.	↑ 31
1818	Mullans*	John Chamney	288	3	3	£230	£233	£ 3	↑ 1
1818	Tomacork	John Slye	125	4	4	£ 76 4s.	£147	£ 70 16s.	↑ 93
1819	Glennashouk	Matthias Edwards	192	2	3	£ 83	£ 98 8s.	£ 15 8s.	↑ 19
1819	Lower Kilcavan	Henry Kempstone	140	8	5	£ 60	£131 3s.	£ 71 3s.	↑ 118
1820	Whiterock	Stephen Morris	593	3	3	£ 70	£265	£195	↑ 279
1820	Parkmore	John Page	88	2	2	£ 17	£ 72 19s. 9d.	£ 25 19s. 9d.	↑ 329
1820	Quigginroe	Abraham Nickson	42	3	3	NR	£ 23 6s. 2d.	NR	Unknown
1820	Moyne	Miles & William Young	128	2	2	NR	£ 99 6s. 6d.	NR	Unknown
1820	Rathbane	Joseph Coates	205	17	12	£ 35	£113 12s. 6d.	£ 78 12s. 6d.	↑ 225
1823	Lower Munny	Abraham Stewart	301	21	21	£138 9s.	£236 15s.	£ 98 6s.	↑ 71
1825	Cronyhorn	Rev. Henry Braddell	215	5	5	£114 10s.	£200 6s. 9d.	£ 85 16s. 9d.	↑ 75
1825	Laragh	John Wall	286	6	6	£ 40	£142 15s.	£102 15s.	↑ 256
1825	Toberlownagh*	Rev. Jeremiah Symes	566	15+	13	NR	£222 18s. 8d.	NR	Unknown

\* Subdivided by estate not original lessee.

<sup>1</sup> Memoranda dealing with tenancies on the estate of Earl Fitzwilliam in county Wicklow, 1796-1841 (N.L.I., Fitzwilliam papers, MS 4948). Abraham Stewart's holding was re-let in 1825 to nine tenants directly. Collectively, they paid an annual rent of £217 6s. 8d. Ibid., entry 1825:23.

## Appendix 8a

### List of men and boys employed at ironstone pits in 1849.<sup>1</sup>

Pit No.	Name	Residence	1851 Census Sub-district /ED	Age*	Pay per day	How related
No. 1 Pit	James Burgon	Longley Spring	Tankersley	42	4s. 0d.	Brother-in Law of William Smith
	William Smith	Harley	Tankersley	44	4s. 0d.	Father of Ezra, brother of Thomas and in-law of James
	Thomas Smith	Thorpe	Kimberworth	51	2s. 7d.	Father of William, Henry and Charles, and brother-in-law of James and William
	Ezra Smith	Harley	Tankersley	15	1s. 3d.	Son of Wm. Smith
	William Smith	Thorpe	Kimberworth	9	0s. 8d.	Son of William, nephew of James and William, brother of Henry and Charles
No. 2 Pit	James Trippett	Spittle Houses	Wentworth	45	4s. 0d.	Father of Edwin and Henry
	Thomas Sylvester	Birdwell	Worsbrough	55	3s. 0d.	Father of Edward and Charles No. 5 Pit
	George Smith	Spittle Houses	Wentworth	15	1s. 0d.	? Son of George in Eng. Pit 1
	Edwin Trippett	Spittle Houses	Wentworth	11	0s. 10d.	Brother of Henry and son of James
	Henry Trippett	Spittle Houses	Wentworth	10	0s. 8d.	Brother of Edwin and son of James
No. 3 Pit	William Bennett Jnr	Thorpe	Kimberworth	27	4s. 0d.	Son of William and brother of George, Thomas and James No. 6 Pit
	Henry Wroe	Birdwell	Worsbrough	31	3s. 0d.	
	David Holden	Birdwell	Worsbrough	15	1s. 2d.	
	Charles Ward	Birdwell	Worsbrough	13	1s. 0d.	Brother of William, No. 5 Pit
	Samuel Smith	Hoyland Common	Darfield	11	0s. 9d.	
No. 4 Pit	John Bennett Jnr	Thorpe	Kimberworth	27	4s. 0d.	Uncle of George Roberts
	Thomas Robinson	High Green	Ecclesfield	29	2s. 10d.	
	William Arnold	Hoyland	Darfield	24	2s. 10d.	
	Amos Green	Hoyland Common	Unidentified	16	1s. 6d.	
	George Walker	Hoyland Common	Cawthorne	17	1s. 4d.	Brother of Samuel in No. 12 Pit
	George Roberts	Thorpe	Kimberworth	11	0s. 6d.	Nephew of John Bennett Jnr

<sup>1</sup> Details in black are from List of men and boys employed at the Iron Pits, their place of residence and the age of all those under twenty years and the rate of wages per day (S.A., WWM/G45/21). Details in red are taken from the Census of England and Wales, 1851, various districts. Actual ages may differ by 1 year either side as list of employees was dated 1849 and census data is March 1851.



### Appendix 9a cont'd

No. 5 Pit	William Edgar	Birdwell	Worsbrough	30	4s. 0d.	
	Henry Hawkins	Tankersley	Cawthorne	29	2s. 10d.	
	George Noble	Birdwell	Worsbrough	27	3s. 0d.	
	Samuel Mitchell	Tankersley	Unidentified		2s. 10d.	
	Luke Noble	Birdwell	Worsbrough	15	1s. 2d.	Brother of Charles, No. 12 Pit.
	Edward Sylvester	Birdwell	Worsbrough	16	1s. 8d.	Brother of Charles and son of Thomas No. 2 Pit
	Charles Sylvester	Birdwell	Worsbrough	14	1s. 1d.	Brother of Edward and son of Thomas No. 2. Pit
	William Ward	Birdwell	Worsbrough	10	0s. 6d.	Brother of Charles, No. 3 Pit
No. 6 Pit	William Bennett	Thorpe	Kimberworth	56	4s. 0d.	Father of George, Thomas, James and William in No. 3 Pit.
	George Bennett	Thorpe	Kimberworth	24	3s. 0d.	Son of William, brother of Thomas, James and William in No. 3 Pit
	Thomas Bennett	Thorpe	Kimberworth	21	3s. 0d.	Son of William, brother of George, James and William in No. 3 Pit
	James Bennett	Thorpe	Kimberworth	19	2s. 9d.	Son of William, brother of George, Thomas and William in No. 3 Pit
	Henry Smith	Thorpe	Kimberworth	14	1s. 10d.	Son of Thomas, brother of William in No. 1 Pit; brother of Charles in No. 10 Pit
	William Bell	Longley Spring	Cawthorne	13	1s. 0d.	
	Samuel Platts	Chapelton	Ecclesfield	9	0s. 6d.	Son of Edward, No. 7 Pit
No. 7 Pit	John Smith	Harley	Wentworth	44	4s. 0d.	Father of Samuel, Charles, George and William
	Benjamin Smith	Wentworth	Wentworth	37	3s. 0d.	
	Samuel Smith	Harley	Wentworth	19	2s. 9d.	Brother of Charles, George and William, son of John
	Charles Smith	Harley	Wentworth	18	2s. 0d.	Brother of Samuel, George and William, son of John
	George Smith	Harley	Wentworth	12	1s. 0d.	Brother of Samuel, Charles, George and William, son of John
	William Smith	Harley	Wentworth	10	0s. 6d.	Brother of Samuel, Charles and George, son of John
	Edward Platts	Chapelton	Ecclesfield	41	2s. 3d.	Father of Samuel in No. 6 Pit
	George Lamb	Birdwell	Worsbrough	16	1s. 3d.	
No. 8 Pit	George Ogley	Harley	Wentworth	44	4s. 0d.	Father of John
	John Whildsmith	Birdwell	Worsbrough	23	3s. 0d.	
	John Ogley	Harley	Wentworth	18	1s. 8d.	Son of George
	Joseph Sanderson	Birdwell	Darfield	11	0s. 10d.	Son of John Sanderson in No. 9 Pit
No. 9 Pit	George Bennett	Thorpe	Kimberworth	24	4s. 0d.	
	James Wroe	Birdwell	Darfield – 1f	35	3s. 4d.	Father of William

### Appendix 9a cont'd.

	John Sanderson	Birdwell	Darfield	44	2s. 9d.	Father of Joseph in No. 8 Pit
	Charles Marson	Birdwell	Unidentified	13	1s. 2d.	
	William Wroe	Hoyland Common	Darfield – 1f	14	1s. 1d.	Son of James
	George Roberts	Thorpe	Unidentified	13	1s. 2d.	
No. 10 Pit	William Jubb	Wentworth	Wentworth	37	4s. 0d.	
	William Hunter	Wentworth	Wentworth	43	2s. 9d.	
	Charles Smith	Thorpe	Kimberworth	16	1s. 6d.	Son of Thomas, brother of William in No. 1 Pit and Henry in No. 6 Pit
	John Senior	Wentworth	Wentworth	14	1s. 0d.	
No. 11 Pit	Matthew Allott	Harley	Wentworth	23	4s. 0d.	
	Thomas Smith	Harley	Darfield – 4c	51	4s. 0d.	
	Joseph Clarke	Hoyland Common	Darfield	41	3s. 4d.	Father of William Clarke
	John Bamforth	Wentworth	Wentworth	48	3s. 4d.	
	Charles Speight	Thorpe	Wentworth	12	1s. 0d.	Brother of Thomas.
	Thomas Speight	Thorpe	Wentworth	11	0s.10d.	Brother of Charles
	William Clarke	Hoyland Common	Darfield	16	1s. 3d.	Son of Joseph Clarke
	John Cutts	Hoyland Common	Darfield – 4c	9	0s. 6d.	
No. 12 Pit	Joseph Parratt	Pilley	Cawthorne	32	4s. 0d.	Brother of Thomas
	Thomas Parratt	Pilley	Cawthorne	39	4s. 0d.	Brother of Joseph
	John Golden	Harley	Wentworth	50	2s. 4d.	Father of William
	Samuel Walker	Hoyland Common	Cawthorne	14	0s. 8d.	Brother of George in No. 4 Pit
	William Ottley	Hoyland Common	Darfield	14	0s.10d.	Possibly brother of George in Eng. Pit 2
	William Golden	Harley	Wentworth	9	0s. 6d.	Son of John
Eng. Pit 1	Benjamin Day	Wood House	Darfield	33	4s. 0d.	
	Thomas Fisher	Pilley	Cawthorne	30	4s. 0d.	
	John Hague	Hoyland Common	Darfield – 4c	32	3s. 4d.	
	Timothy Dickinson	Pilley	Darfield	26	3s. 4d.	Brother of George
	George Dickinson	Pilley	Darfield	32	3s. 4d.	Brother of Timothy
	James Beardshall	Birdwell	Worsbrough	29	3s. 4d.	
	James Carr	Hoyland Common	Darfield – 4c	25	3s. 4d.	
	William Denton	Hoyland Common	Cawthorne 2a	20	3s. 2d.	
	Robert Kay	Hoyland Common	Darfield	34	3s. 2d.	
	Samuel Allott	Hood Hill	Wentworth	19	3s. 0d.	

**Appendix 9a cont'd.**

	George Smith	Ashcroft	Wentworth	49	3s. 0d.	Father of George in No. 2 Pit
	Richard Adkenson	Birdwell	Darfield – 1f	14	2s. 10d.	
	Joseph Freeman	Pilley	Unidentified		2s. 10d.	
	John Goddard	Birdwell	Worsbrough	21	2s. 0d.	
	Charles Fisher	Hoyland Common	Darfield – 4c	17	1s. 8d.	
	Charles Noble	Birdwell	Worsbrough	12	1s. 0d.	Brother of Luke in No. 5 Pit
	William Stancey?	Hoyland Common	Unidentified		2s. 2d.	
	Thomas Wadsworth	Hoyland Common	Darfield	19	2s. 0d.	
	John Dickinson	Hoyland Common	Darfield	18	1s. 10d.	
	Isaac Sykes	Birdwell	Worsbrough	13	1s. 0d.	
Eng. Pit 2	John Beaumont	Hoyland Common	Darfield	56	4s. 0d.	Father of John Jnr, Joseph and Isaac
	John Beaumont Jnr	Hoyland Common	Darfield	28	3s. 0d.	Son of John, brother of Isaac and Joseph
	Joseph Beaumont	Hoyland Common	Darfield	35	3s. 2d.	Son of John, brother of John Jnr and Isaac
	Isaac Beaumont	Hoyland Common	Darfield	26	3s. 0d.	Son of John, brother of John Jnr and Joseph
	Samuel Smith	Harley	Wath – 1c	19	2s. 10d.	
	John Smith	Hoyland Common	Unidentified		2s. 6d.	
	George Uttley	Hoyland Common	Cawthorne – 2a	23	3s. 0d.	Possibly a brother of William in No. 12 Pit
	John Platts	Elsecar	Darfield	15	1s. 3d.	

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#### **IN PRIVATE POSSESSION**

Copy of photograph of Carnew school *c.* 1930s in the personal possession of Annette Murphy, Paulbeg, Shillelagh, county Wicklow.

Photograph of Miners' Lodging House, Fitzwilliam Street, Elsecar, 2015 in the personal possession of Fidelma Byrne.