Landscapes of Power
The Social Network of the Power Elite in mid-Victorian Ireland Case Study of Thomas Conolly (1823-76) of Castletown, Co Kildare

Suzanne M. Pegley, BA, M.Litt.
PhD Candidate

Maynooth University
Department of Geography

March 2018

Head of Department: Dr Gerry Kearns

Supervisor: Dr. Ronan Foley

Abstract

The focus of this thesis will have at its core an individual and a house around which the social networking of the ascendancy will pivot. Thomas Conolly and Castletown will act as a catalyst to the control of hegemonic power of the ascendancy class in the second half of the nineteenth century. The nineteenth century saw the demesne come to publicly represent the overt economic and social power of the landowning class and has contributed to the highly politicised nature of these spaces. At the centre of this was Conolly who moved from space to space engaging in the social rituals that connected the elites and in the wider social and political arena in connection with the hegemonic acceptance of the social order. This study will step away from a conventional history of the house and look instead at the structure of the society within which it is embedded to provide a new glimpse at a familiar building and of its society. This study will contextualise Conolly's activities and the lifestyles of other ascendancy landowners on Irish society in the third quarter of the 19th century. The mid to late nineteenth century is the culmination of the hegemonic supremacy of the British culture achieved through economic and military strategies across the world. This supremacy, steadily moving toward a proto nationalistic climate, would not irretrievably break down until the end of the century. By looking at Conolly's social interaction to the wider ascendancy spaces during this period Castletown will represent a world that in the 21st century has virtually disappeared.

Acknowledgements

This thesis would never have been completed without the support and direction of my supervisor Ronan Foley. With his encouragement I expanded study of power elites into deeper levels of analysis and with more descriptive maps and tables than I would have considered. He read, reread and edited helping me to explain the stages of power that controlled social and political life in the nineteenth century. I would also like to thank and to say how much I appreciated the contribution of Professor Mary Gilmartin. In reading the final drafts and commenting on their content she helped me to present the research with more clarity. I would also like to thank the External Examiner Mary Kelly and the Internal Examiner Shelagh Waddington for their thoughtful comments on the final version of the thesis.

As the research evolved I visited the main repositories and I would like to thank a number of people who assisted me. Rebecca Hayes, the archivist of the at the Grand Masonic Hall, Molesworth St. and the librarian Natasha Serns at the Royal Dublin Society, Ballsbridge, Dublin who were both generous in their willingness to open up their archives to me. However, I would like to single out The Kildare Street and University Club staff, among them the Secretary Catherine Murphy but particularly I would like to single out Susie Harrington the office manager. During the period I spent in their archive I was welcomed and treated with great courtesy and my commentary on their archive were indulged during the lunches they most thoughtfully provided. I am most grateful to Felix Larkin and Ian D'Alton of the Library Committee, who sponsored my sojourn in the club, as it forms the core of my thesis.

The diaries that are pivotal to the thesis are part of the private collection of Desmond Guinness. In the years I have known Desmond he has been generous with his time and interested in the work that I have carried out transcribing the diaries at the instigation of the Castletown Foundation. This ties in as well with the Irish Architectural Archive who hold Conolly's three other diaries and David Griffith, who generously gave me access and who is now retired. The new staff have been interested in my work and I have collaborated with them and the Castletown Archive by photographing the diaries for their digital archive.

I cannot fail to mention the National Library, Manuscripts library and the staff there who were unfailingly pleasant during my regular visits. Visiting Trinity Library's Manuscript and Rare books hidden archive was a fascinating and useful experience not least of which was facing hundreds of tourists as I made my way up the down staircase and slipped under a no entry rope as per instruction. The other library that was extremely helpful was that of Blackhall Place, through a chance acquaintance with solicitor Paul Kerrigan, they provided material otherwise unavailable and I am grateful to their engagement with the life of Thomas Conolly.

My own library, the John Paul Library at Maynooth University was a home from home in the early days of the thesis and when I came to the end they generously allowed me an extension on my briefly expired card. Any contact I have had with library staff over the last 16 years as an undergraduate and post graduate has been helpful and welcoming and many who have since retired I wish the very best.

The facilities at the library that offer online access to digital journals and other vast arrays of material I would like to acknowledge as being fundamental to the development of the thesis. Without the newspaper archives online the depth of coverage of the Conolly family history would not have been possible as efficiently in as short a space of time. The library at Maynooth also supervises the Castletown Archive at Castletown House and the archivist Nicola Kelly has been most generous in her willingness to discuss the progress of the research and suggest relevant material in the archive. I very much appreciate her collegiality. In the same vein I would like to thank Chris Moore, the chairman of the Castletown Foundation and curator of the house for keeping me up to date with the new donations to the archive.

I would also like to mention a number of sources that have contributed to the historical aspects of the thesis. The first source is the Shaw family history compiled by Christopher

Shuldham Shaw and Dean Crowley, these two gentlemen, one in England and the other in New Zealand have been invaluable in helping me to develop the Shaw Conolly connection. Without their input in providing the family background the depth of understanding could not have been achieved. Second is Joanna Badrock: Archivist and Records manager Harrow-on-the-Hill school who provided the list of students at Harrow in the nineteenth century. Sean and Sile Murphy of Waterford Historic Society sent me a copy of Palliser's letter to his friend Vaux from the British Museum. I would also like to thank June Stuart who holds the largest private archive of Street Directories outside the National Library and who generously allowed me access to this collection and unexpectedly, also provided lunch. Thanks also to Jeanne Meldon Walsh, a member of the Castletown Foundation who kindly allowed me to quote from her unpublished lecture on the history of the Castletown Foundation a source of recent history in relation to Castletown House.

Images are an important tool for explaining any topic and the one very exciting photograph found while reviewing the Hamwood house archive is shown with permission of Charles Hamilton, who also provided coffee and biscuits. Food appears to be a strong theme in this acknowledgement. Other images were given to me by Turtle Bunbury who has a wealth of material and generously allowed me access to the photographs of the Rathdonnell Collection. I would like to sincerely thank these individuals who provided material that added significantly to the core of the thesis.

One does not sit in isolation in life and I would like to thank the members of staff of the Geography Department who frequently provided light entertainment and much needed perspective at morning coffee. The office manager Neasa Hogan was always so willing to advise and simply enjoy a much needed chat. And my friend and colleague Aiden O'Boyle who, with a doctorate in Fine Arts, was so very well placed to discuss Castletown and the nineteenth century over many lunches in Dublin cafes. Among my friends and colleagues a few were helpful by being readers. These readers, who in the early days helped to bring my thoughts together included Patricia Donohoe and Ian D'Alton.

In the same vein are my family and friends who have been most tolerant and supportive throughout the research and writing of this thesis. The people, apart from Ronan, who have been most closely associated with me on this most fascinating of journeys have been Patricia Donohoe, Aiden O'Boyle, Irene Cadogan and my husband Charlie Pegley. Charlie has not only supported me spiritually but also financially. In regard to financial support I have to acknowledge the funding for the project came from a variety of sources, initially my brother Michael's Education Fund, a small but generous contribution from the Kildare Street and University Club, and finally by my State Pension, but by far the greatest of these was Charlie for the roof over our head and the food on the table.

Thank you to everyone and Deo gratis.

Certain things catch your eye, but pursue only those that capture the heart.
Indian Proverb

Table of Contents

<u>Note that the page numbers refer to the</u>

printed copy not the digital copy

Abstract
Acknowledgements i
Table of Contents iii
Timeline: Thomas Conolly 1823-76 viii
List of Tables vi
List of Figures vi

Chapter One: Introduction 1
Thesis Structure 6

Chapter Two: The power elite and the position of the Conolly Family 9
Part One: Histories of the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland: 1200-1700 10
The Eighteenth Century 13
The Changing position of the Protestant Ascendancy in the Nineteenth Century 15
The Famine 16
The Land Wars and Home Rule 17
The End of an Era 19
Part Two: Conolly Family History 19
The Conolly Family and Castletown House 20
Thomas Conolly 1823-1876 26
Politics 27
Private Life 30
Marriage and Later Years 34
The years following Conolly's death 41

Conclusion 45

Chapter Three: Literature Review: The Social Network as a relational geography of power 50
Historical Geography: Context and Approaches 50
Networks: Places and Spaces of Power 53
Relational Geographies: Connecting up the Network 60
Producing and maintaining power: The role of Social Networks 63
Place and its' Cartographic Representation 70
Historical Geographies of the Country House: Performances and Narratives 73
Histories of Castletown 75
Conclusion 76

Chapter Four Part One: Data Sources & Methods 78
Part One: Data Sources: Introduction 78
Primary Sources 78
Conolly Papers 79
Club Archives 84
Hunt Club Sources 88
Cartographic Sources 88
Valuation Office Sources 93
Other Property Related Sources 95
Street Directories 97
Newspapers 98
Part Two: Data Methodology: Designing a database
to capture Social Networks 100
Commentary on the sources and the compiling of the Database 105
Conclusion 108

Chapter Five: Places and Spaces of Power 111
Part One: Houses and Demesnes as
Places and Spaces of Power 111
Houses and Demesnes as Power Hubs 112
Houses and Demesnes as Stage Sets 112
Castletown in Place, Space and Time 120
Castletown as a Nodal Point 121
Cultural Landscapes of the Big House 127
The Roles of Identity and Power 130
Deference as a Practice 133
Elite Influences: constructing Power 134
Part Two: Conolly's Relational Geographies 136
The Season: Dublin and London 139
Institutional Power Hubs 144
Grand Juries 146
Poor Law Guardianship 146
Conclusion 147

Chapter Six: Networks of Power: Associations and Clubs 150
Networks of Association 150
Initial Associations
Education 151
The Church and the Military 153

Marriage 156
Deeper Associations: Clubs as Networked Powerbases/Hubs 157
Elite Gentlemen's Clubs 160
How members were chosen 161
Club Membership as a key aspect of Social Networking 164
Kildare Street Club 165
Thomas Conolly and The Kildare Street Club as exemplar:
Analysis of the sample data base 168
Other Clubs 172
Freemason's 173
Royal Dublin Society 174
Hunt Clubs 176
The Kildare Hunt 187
The Westmeath Hunt 189
The Ward Union Hunt 190
Conclusion 190

Chapter Seven: Performance of the elite within their hierarchies:
Thomas Conolly's Everyday Social Practices 194
Part One: Performing Power 194
Social Magic 196
Performance as a way of life 197
Everyday Performance 199
Speaking with the right accent 201
Public Spectacle 203
Performance in Space and Place 205
Thomas Conolly's Private Life: Paternalism, Benevolence and
Deference in Practice 205
Part Two: Key Performances across Conolly's Life 213
Marriage 215
An elite Autumn Wedding 215
Conolly in London Spatial Networking as Performance 220
Conolly's Everyday Lifeworld 226
Performing Power in Place: Hunting 232
Thomas Conolly and Hunting 233
Conclusion 238

Chapter Eight: Conclusion 241
Summary 250

Bibliography 251

Appendices

Appendix I Database (See separate file in this disk) 271
Appendix II Epilogue: Castletown after 1966 277
Appendix II Harrow & Oxford Connections 281
Appendix III McDowell's Irish Clubs 284
Appendix IV Conolly's Engagements 1857, 1863 & 1864 286
Appendix V Fox Coverts of Kildare Hunt 1865 288
Appendix VI Kildare Hunt Meet Locations 1865 291

Notes on chapters follow the final appendix

TABLES

Table 2.1 Pakenham/Conolly Family Tree 23
Table 3.2 Relational Connections after Cummins 56
Table 4.1 Sample Database 104
Table 6.1 Conolly's Links with Harrow/Oxford/Clubs 152
Table 7:1 Castletown Servant's Wages 1858 214
Table 7.2 Dinner Engagements 222

FIGURES

Fig. 2.1 Castletown House, Celbridge 21
Fig. 2.2 Thomas Conolly. Kildare Hunt Album 26
Fig. 2.3 Thomas Conolly by Osborne 34
Fig. 2.4 Sarah Eliza Shaw by Osborne 35
Fig. 2.5 Sarah Eliza Conolly 35
Fig. 2.6 The Conolly Children 37
Fig. 2.7 Thomas Conolly 1875 39
Fig. 2.8 Thomas Conolly's Headstone
341
Fig. 2.9 National Leinster Express 1890 42
Fig. 2.10 Weekend House Party Castletown 1903 44

Fig. 3.1 Bee Hive 58
Fig. 3.3 Dyadic Links Brayshay 64
Fig. 3.4 Castletown House and Demesne: Map 72

Fig. 4.1 Conolly's Dairies 81
Fig. 4.2 Conolly's Dairies, sample page 83
Fig. 4.3 KSUC Archive 86
Fig. 4.4 Screen Shot OSI web page 89
Fig. 4.5 OSI Newberry Hall 91
Fig. 4.6 Griffith's Valuation Map 94

Fig. 4.7	Griffith's Valuation Sample Entry	94
Fig. 4.8	Conolly entry in Bateman 1882	96
Fig. 5:1	Houses and Demesnes near Castletown	114
Fig. 5.2	West wing kitchen Castletown	117
Fig. 5.3	Kitchen garden gateway, Castletown	118
Fig. 5.4	Garden House, Castletown	119
Fig. 5:5	Castletown House, Celbridge: OSI Map	122
Fig. 5:6	Kiladoon House, Celbridge: OSI Map	122
Fig. 5.7	Celbridge: OSI Map	123
Fig. 5:8	Castletown House, Celbridge	124
Fig. 5.9	Parkland and Demesnes of Ireland: Map	126
Fig. 5.10	Red Silk Room, Castletown	139
Fig. 6.1	Circular Associations	151
Fig. 6.2	Carlton Club, London	158
Fig. 6.3	Kildare Street Club	159
Fig. 6.4	Kildare Street Club members in Leinster: Map	170
Fig. 6.5	Kildare Hunt Map, 1865	184
Fig. 6.6	Kildare Hounds meet at Castletown	186
Fig. 6.7	The Corinthian Cup, 1854, by Hayes	188
Fig. 7.1	Conolly's Movements in London: Map	221
Fig. 7.2	Spaces of Prosperity in London: Map	221
Fig. 7.3	Mary Margaret Conolly Bruen	224
Fig. 7.4	Henry Bruen	224
Fig. 7.5	The Misses Conolly	225
Fig. 7.6	Baron Ribblesdale, by Singer Sargent	231
Fig. 7.7	The Kildare Hunt at Bishopscourt, by Hayes	235
Fig. 7.8	The Ward Union Hunt, 1873, by Osborne	236
Fig. 8.1	Conolly's Combined Social Network: Ireland	243
Fig. 8.2	Conolly's Mobility in January 1853	244

Time Line: Thomas Conolly 1823-1876

1823 Conolly was born to his parents Catherine Ponsonby Barker and Edward Michael. His parents may have been living at Castletown but his baptism was not recorded in the local church. His is either the second or third child of 10.

1845 A diary of 1870 reports that he was touring the continent in this year.

1849 His father Edward Michael died and within a month he had put himself up as member for Ballyshannon.

1852 His was successfully elected as member for Ballyshannon

1853 The death of his sister Louisa Agusta occurred. She drowned while sea bathing at Ardgillan, Co Dublin. She left two children and a husband the earl of Langford who died the following year.

1860 Conolly began to refurbish Castletown, both the house and the parkland building an impressive Garden House and green house in the kitchen garden. He planted the lime walk from the house eastwards toward the Wonderful Barn.

1864 Conolly visits Paris and takes part in the Military manoeuvres with the French Army.

1864/65 Conolly with others set out to run the Yankee blockade of the southern states of America. He remained there until early in 1865 returning to the UK to continue his political career unscathed.

1868 Conolly married Sarah Eliza Shaw in a lavish highly publicized event.

1870/71 Thomas and Sarah Conolly traveled to Italy for three months with their new baby Thomas. Three further children were born to the couple; Catherine, William and Edward between 1872 and 1874

1875 Conolly's health began to fail and be sold off his hunters and his dairy herd.

1876 Conolly died of renal failure on 7th of August.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis will step away from a conventional history of power and will look instead at how those relational structures and processes for networks and connectivity were built from a single individual (Thomas Conolly) and place (Castletown House). In so doing, it will provide an innovative critical understanding of mid-nineteenth century power networks, between 1850 and 1880. Conolly himself is an ideal representative of social-spatial networks at this time. He straddled the aristocratic and upper-middle class groups, interacted positively with those outside his class and had social connections across these groups. His travels across Ireland and between England, France and America were typical of the socio-economic group that he was associated with and his tangible roles of MP, Poor Law Guardian and Magistrate were also held in common with other power elites in this hierarchal group. In addition, by tracking Conolly's tangible and sometimes intangible social interactions within the wider relational ascendancy geographies of this period, the specific ways in which such processes emerged will be a core empirical contribution to the understanding of power landscapes.

This thesis sets out to describe the landscapes of power through Conolly that range across place, space and time and sit visibly and invisibly in our collective consciousness. Its main approach is to consider the landscapes of power of the nineteenth century and how these were associated with the control of society at both a macro and micro level. The themes include the operation of the political economy, the governance of everyday life and the setting out of a set of cultural standards. Public landscapes of power operated through political and legal authority and overlapped with institutions of care and education. Within private lives, landscapes of power emerge through social contact within the spaces and place of employment, housing, education and leisure. Using Thomas Conolly, a nineteenth-century Irish landowner as a case study, this thesis seeks to show that the extended social networks of power operated across multiple layers, working with multiple individuals and operated through a number of spatial processes. This multilayered relational approach will be the core starting point for the work. Landscapes of power operate on both tangible and intangible levels. The tangible power is often vested in the specific places it operates from: government buildings, courthouses, and the homes of the powerful. Intangible power operates in a less visible, but no less understood way. Given the historical setting of this thesis are set within the landscapes of power associated with the 'Big House' in mid-nineteenth century Ireland, the owners of such houses, and indeed the houses themselves, were important brokers of that power. Yet to fully understand how power operated in such times and spaces, it is necessary to move beyond the house to look at a

much more networked understanding of how those geographies emerged in layers and overlapping connective forms.

Essentially what the thesis is concerned with is how power in nineteenth-century Ireland was maintained by a particular power group. The predominance of one group's cultural norms over another in a long-term relationship is often accepted as part of the norm to the subgroups within a country, and was especially evident in relations between Ireland and England at this time (Black, 2007). The power of the ascendancy group to control the social or cultural norms is described with the term hegemony a state of dominance. Such a definition of hegemony has in the past been seen as the state level of dominance exercised over a specific historic period but has generally evolved to mean the power implicit in dominant practices that govern society (Agnew 1999:179). But, the term hegemony is used lightly across the thesis instead power is the more general term used. To speak of the hegemony of a state is therefore to recognize that the everyday practices of social and cultural are unconscious and for the most part accepted by the general population. But, this dominance was, as we know, contested throughout the century. The ascendancy groups who manipulated the value system and cultural norms of society were themselves driven by the accepted norms of the overarching accepted practices of their time and place. The cultural politics of the time saw little difference in the highly social aristocratic and middleclass power elite between Ireland and England: the Irish Sea was only a physical barrier and travel by the power elite between the two countries was normal and ongoing throughout the year depending on the 'season'. It must be said that, for the power elite, standards of entertaining and socializing were informed by practices in England. The elites in Ireland, depending on their income, set out to emulate or replicate these standards whenever possible. This area of emulation included such disparate practices as afternoon tea, dressing in the latest London style, buying the most fashionable material goods, being painted by the currently most popular artist and having the London newspapers delivered. This reflection extended to support of the political stance taken by the parties the elites favoured. However, it should also be pointed out that not all Irish Ascendancy elites supported unconditionally whatever party was in power but nevertheless would have continued to adhere to the background cultural ethos of the British model. Compliance by the majority of non-elites was equally not conscious; it was simply that the control had become so ingrained that only radical movement could change the dominant social and cultural practices, which it would eventually. This unconscious acceptance of the hegemony of the time is very likely to also explain why questions of allegiances and identity came to be an issue in both countries.

Power is a foundational concept in geography, history and the social sciences and is produced by an assemblage of different spatial factors and processes. Historic understandings

of power as enacted by a coercive, central state apparatus gave way to more nuanced understanding of the importance of political economy (Harris, 1991; Harvey, 2001; Lefebvre, 1991). More recently in historical geography, a different understanding of power is emerging through relational geographies that more fully identify the parts played by place and space within a wide range of everyday power practices (Massey, 2005; Morrissey et. al., 2014). These spatial practices are part of the fundamental governance of the state: parliamentary procedures, laws, armies and strategies of enforcement. Given the focus of this particular study, the political and economic power enjoyed by the elite class in mid-nineteenth century Ireland was enacted through a range of institutional, economic and social associations that emphasised the importance of networks of all varieties - social, political, economic and familial - all using influence in degrees to achieve dominance. The processes 'by which that power emerged, sustained and eventually declined' and how these were enacted at a more mundane and everyday scale, is a central focus for this thesis (Holdsworth, 2003).

My interest in Conolly began in 2000, when I started working as an Information Officer, a guide, at Castletown House as an OPW employee. During the following eight years, as I rose to Head Guide and then acting Supervisor Guide, I researched the history of the house by reading every available printed and many other primary sources. Squire Tom Conolly and Lady Louisa were the eighteenth century couple responsible for much of Castletown's interior decoration and in 2004, to gain a greater insight in to Lady Louisa I travelled to England to visit her family home Goodwood and the material in the Goodwood archive. It became apparent however, throughout my time working at Castletown, although there was a wealth of eighteenth century material, equally, that there was also almost no nineteenth century historic material to recount to the visitors. A key turning point to correct this and one that has ultimately contributed to this thesis was an in-house project that I undertook in 2007-8 that involved the transcription of the diaries of Thomas Conolly (1823-76). Conolly was an MP for Ballyshannon, Co. Donegal, who in the second half of the nineteenth century had inherited Castletown Co. Kildare, built by his ancestor William Conolly in 1722 (Walsh 2007). Arguably the finest Palladian house in Ireland, and described by the eighteenth century agricultural commentator Arthur Young 'as the finest house in Ireland…' (Maxwell 1925:8). Conolly was a descendant of Squire Tom, through his sister Harriet. His diaries, eight in total, (one contains only two pages of employees' wages (1858) and one is blank (1861) were kept intermittently between 1853 and 1870-71. Only one diary, in the second group (1865[1] and 1870-71) 1865, contained any significant historical material - specifically in relation to his adventures in the Southern Confederate States (Lankford *1988).* Yet the diaries still acted, in their social contents, as an effective paper trail for life at Castletown in the mid nineteenth century. The first group 1853-64 recorded Conolly's activities; incidental day to day activities, social engagements, hunt

meets, train journeys and some references to his health but only slight references to his political activities as MP. Their significance lies in their documentation of Conolly's extensive circle of friends providing valuable glimpses into the social networking of the power elite at this time, and remind us of Conolly's active connection to the cultural dominance of the period.

This thesis uses Thomas Conolly to consider how power emerged and circulated within his social networks, under a variety of thematic headings that were considered pivotal in the production of a cultural hegemony. By focusing on the period 1850 to 1880 the analysis is set in an especially interesting time, before significant change occurred in the positioning of the ascendency in Ireland. This period was when the structures of the great landed houses, and the wider demesne system, were still functioning, albeit under pressure, and this in turn informed wider political and social change (Boyce 1990).

By looking at Conolly's key activities and his extensive leisure interests in his diaries it became evident that he was part of a network of connectivity in both Ireland and England, although largely only activity concerned London is mentioned. The diaries recorded Conolly's social circle which ranged through family members, other titled and gentry landed families who were often part of his extended family, politicians, fellow club members, and his own estate workers. Leisure was the greatest luxury available to the elites and Conolly's engagement diaries, charting the geography of his comings and goings to England, France and America and around Ireland, show a day by day social geography of activities. This included visits to race meetings, lunches, dinners and theatre going with aristocratic family and friends as well as political colleagues. This well-established pattern where the landed class moved about the landscape, not just as private individuals in their leisured pursuits, but also in their more tangible and authoritative power roles as magistrates and county lieutenants, helps us see exactly how such networks operated for the Ascendancy group in particular. Regardless of the dazzling array of individuals Conolly lists, and the admiring remarks in contemporary memoirs and his laudatory obituary, his life was a pale shadow of the social whirl at Castletown in the eighteenth century. Nonetheless, these diaries with their lists of engagements, locations and contacts, became the genesis for this examination of the social networking of the power elite throughout Ireland in the mid nineteenth century.

One important distinction must be made is that in Ireland, the word 'ascendancy' has come to be understood as referring to all the elite landholding class, also referred to with the generally pejorative term, the Anglo-Irish. While it may be true that many within the power elite were members of the Protestant church and historically of the dominant ascendancy class, not all were and, as the nineteenth century progressed those numbers declined. Class remains

a contested topic but one that cannot not be ignored in this context. The individuals at the heart of the power structure, and the focus of this thesis, were at the top of the class structure while those in other classes were under their direct or indirect governance. It is for this reason that the term 'power elite' is used throughout the thesis with the terms Protestant, Ascendancy or Anglo-Irish to indicate those in the upper reaches of the social structure kept to a minimum. This term, power elite, is, up to a point, less pejorative, more inclusive and non-sectarian, in as much as that is possible in an historical Irish context. The term is used therefore, to describe *any* group or individual who is in a position of power. C. W. Mills' (1956) preference for the term power elite rather than ruling class centres on 'class as an economic term and the word rule as a political term'. Working in post-World War II American society, he considered that, 'combined, the economic class rules politically, which is at times true but does not allow enough autonomy to the political order and says nothing about the military' (Mills 1956:21). Bourdieu's less emotive description of class theory is one of classification. He calls it 'class on paper' allowing the observation of the practices of social networks to become a central part aspect of how class could be explained (Bourdieu 1982: 231).

By using the construct of the social network, and applying this to the life of Thomas Conolly, the thesis also provides empirical evidence of how the hierarchal system operated, and the wider ways in which nineteenth century society was structured. Through a detailed examination of Conolly's connected networks, ranging over many temporal and spatial levels, it is possible to begin to see how landscapes of power were held in place. Such empirical evidence as was available was developed through a database of connections, legal, political, social and cultural, that allowed for the mapping of Conolly's life from the centre (Castletown) out along a series of visible and sometimes opaque routes. The remainder of this introduction will outline the structure of the thesis and establish the aims and objectives of the work.

By constructing the thesis around Thomas Conolly (1823-76), this will provide a representative example of the type of individuals who made up the network, as well as provide a much needed biography of Thomas Conolly who was and is the central character in this endeavour. The aim of this thesis is to examine the detail of how the social connection of the power elite worked to their benefit to disseminate power across the Ascendancy group, especially before significant changes to the established power bases began to impact on this power structure from the 1870s onwards. Ultimately, the contribution of knowledge of the thesis for Irish historical geography is to show how power was used as a commodity and traded within and between the hierarchies of the time, with a particular emphasis on its relational nature. By examining the Irish power elite, a small cohort, it is possible to use them as a model for examining how social networks operated to facilitate the transfer and maintenance of power

not only in Ireland but in any hierarchal structure either historically or in the corporate world today.

Thesis Structure

The following section briefly describes the content of the thesis chapters.

Chapter 2, **The power elite and the position of the Conolly Family,** begins with a historical summary of the role of the English elites in Ireland since the twelfth century moving forward to the nineteenth century and in particular the main protagonist, Thomas Conolly (1823-76). Significantly, the chapter provides a social and spatial contextual background for the study. Understanding how the Protestant Ascendancy achieved and held power, and how this pervasive cultural and political dominance became embedded over the long period of their political domination, allows the reader to appreciate how the vast majority of the population took their positions at the top of the social hierarchy. By examining the mid-Victorian period in Ireland, it is possible to consider the social and cultural norms before the significant political changes that would occur in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and to place Conolly at an important intersecting point in those changes. This is also the first time a history has been attempted that considers the history of the house and family after the death of Lady Louisa in 1821 and until the death of Thomas Conolly in 1876. The impact of his death on his wife and children and their financial circumstances in the years following his death is also briefly considered.

Chapter 3, **Literature Review: The Social Network as a relational geography of power**, is a discussion of how historical geographers have approached the networking of power, and its specifically relational nature, in their research. It will also show that other historical work, outside the analytical methods of historical geography, has contributed less fully to the understanding of power. It identifies how the work of theorists, particularly Bourdieu, can be used to look retrospectively at the past and in this case the mid-Victorian power base within Ireland. This chapter draws together a deeper examination of the processes and practices by which elites managed power and suggests ways in which this work will provide empirical material to extend those ideas and more deeply examine the social networking of elites. This chapter also considers the contribution made by eighteenth century histories about the Conolly family and Castletown.

Chapter 4, on **Data Sources and Methods**, is divided into two separate parts. The first part discusses the various archival sources, many used in assembling the core database

In the second part the description of how the key tool, the database, was developed for the research as a working relational database of elite individuals who were connected to Conolly. This database, for the purposes of manageability, hinges on the record of those who were members of Kildare Street Club during the mid-Victorian period. Given Conolly was a prominent member of this club, it became possible to map his connectivities from this base, and this database was a key source for the thesis.

Chapter 5, focuses on **Places and Spaces of Power,** and works in tandem with Chapter 6 to look at the networks in specific ways that were both effective in describing power and its specific articulation in mid-Victorian Ireland, as a specific representation of an established colonial model. Understanding and framing aspects of social and cultural hegemony and interpreting the specific ways in which power elites operated is an important theoretical underpinning of this chapter. By weaving together, the work of theorists like Weber, Bourdieu, Wylie, and Malpas with empirical material from Conolly's life, this chapter identifies the extent to which these augment a newer relational geographies approach. In particular, the empirical content for this chapter describes how initial components of landscapes of power, both domestic and institutional, could be directly mapped on to the life of Conolly and Castletown at this time.

Chapter 6, **Networks of Power: Associations and Clubs**, considers Conolly's specific social networking as identifiable through the analysis of a database associated with the same. In this chapter the different nodes and scales of the network are brought together and show how the public, private and social components and their specific performance in space, connected up in the network. Chapters 6 and 7 together focus on the overall 'relational performances of power' and attempt to consolidate these through a spatial study.

Chapter 7 is entitled **Performance of the elite within their hierarchies: Thomas Conolly's Everyday Social Practices.** This penultimate chapter is a discussion of how individuals demonstrated positions of authority in society through specific representative performances. Leisure/recreation was a form of social glue within the network. The visible performative elements associated with the elite in their various landscapes of power are identified, and the chapter argues these are pivotal to understanding the production and reproduction of power landscapes. This chapter also include a discussion of both public and private spheres of connectivity and of the performative elements of power and will develop some of the theoretical ideas underpinning the thesis.

Chapter 8, the **Conclusion,** summarizes what the thesis has set out to do: to describe how power cannot exist without deliberate and connected performances, enacted within a social context. One must act powerfully and be surrounded by others who support the performance and act their part in order to reproduce that power successfully. Power can then be translated into compliance by the majority of the population which created a collective social and cultural hegemony. In basing the work on one individual, there is the scope to develop the work in a number of ways: by looking at other individuals, especially where good archival material exists, and building these case studies; by using Conolly as the starting point and mining the database to follow the connective lines to other individuals in future studies to produce more collective mappings; and by exploring more place-based studies of the materials used in the thesis, such as political clubs, sporting clubs, legal and administrative roles, military and finally family connectivity.

Appendices. A number of appendices provide additional detail on some of the key events and sources used in the thesis. Appendix I is a sample of the full database of Kildare Street Club Members the full database is on a CD that accompanies the thesis. Appendix II is an epilogue, a brief history of Castletown House from 1966, (when the Conolly Carew family sold the house) until the present when the house is now under the ownership of the state and in the care of the OPW. Appendix III is a table showing the connections Conolly had with other Kildare Street Club members, through his public school Harrow and Oxford University. Appendix IV provides a list of clubs in Ireland that existed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, compiled by R.B. McDowell (1994). Appendix V is a representative listing of Conolly's engagements from his diaries over two years, 1857, 1863 and 1864 and shows the nature and extent (social and spatial) of his social interaction with his peers. Appendix VI is the full list of Fox Coverts in the Kildare Hunt area and finally, Appendix VII is the full list of the meets of the Kildare Hunt again in Kildare.

Chapter Two:

The power elite and the position of the Conolly Family

Introduction

The gap in the written history of Castletown between the death of Squire Tom in 1803 and the return of Thomas Conolly's youngest son Edward Michael to Castletown in the 1920s (followed by the Conolly Carew family in 1938) is at the heart of the underlying research of this thesis, a central plank of which is to rediscover the lost nineteenth century. Given the focus on socio-spatial networks in this thesis, the Conolly family offer a classic example of the power elite. Through a deliberate decision by the family at the end of the seventeenth century, they were deeply embedded in the Protestant Ascendancy and one of its members, William Conolly, would become one of the foremost players in the governance of Ireland during the complex political manoeuvrings of the early eighteenth century. To better understand the less documented nineteenth century, it is necessary to explore more fully the extent of the family's earlier history, especially in contextualising where the networks came from and the specific familial and societal contexts in which they were formed.

Implicit in any discussion of the power elite during the period covered in this thesis is a pejorative term, Anglo-Irish, first coined in Ireland in the nineteenth century to describe the Protestant landed elite. By the twentieth century, the term Anglo-Irish had become emotive and heavily loaded negative description. It remains a term that is still used - not always accurately - and for those to whom it was applied, there was always a sense of an ascribed alienation from the bulk of the Irish population. It also implies that certain groups in Ireland were not truly Irish but a separate other who were even hostile to Ireland. De Vere White (1972:31) quoted an acquaintance who was in the habit of saying about certain individuals 'he is Irish, but not what you would call Irish' in an implied reference to the visible Protesant elite. This uncertainty about identity was nothing new. In 1599 Shakespeare's *Henry V*, act III a Captain St Lawrence was 'touchy about his unfixed identity' and explained, 'I am sorry that when I am in England, I should be esteemed an Irishman, and in Ireland, an Englishman.' In addition, in the same play addressing this 'haunting question' Captain Macmorris asked 'what ish my nation?' (*Irish Times* 23 April 2016). Up to the middle of the nineteenth century landed families of the power elite, simply referred to themselves as 'Irish'. What set these men, and women, apart were their different cultural practices discernible through income, education, speech patterns and heritage all of which were different from the general population. There is no doubt that there were differences but in a deeply enmeshed society where there is 'still debate

over the precise nature of Ireland's colonial relationship with Britain', even the term Anglo-Irish itself 'is problematic in terms of what it means and to whom it refers' (Kelly 2012:283).

If we accept nonetheless that this Anglo-Irish description refers generally to those who governed Ireland from at least the sixteenth century it is necessary perhaps to set out how they came to be in such a position. The so-called Anglo-Irish had begun to establish their governance of Ireland in the sixteenth century but not until the end of the seventeenth century had it become fixed. As a result, the place (in both social and spatial terms) of the Protestant Ascendancy in nineteenth century Ireland has unfortunately been a complex and contested one.

Despite the political continuity and at times common governance between the two countries, it must be underlined that Ireland was in effect a colony and had been since the twelfth century although with some partial autonomy granted for a period at the end of the eighteenth century. Scholars have addressed the argument that Ireland was a colony of its nearest neighbour in the recent past. While there are differing views as to the degree and the time period of the colonization, Gillespie and Brady (1986) describe Ireland as a 'constitutional anomaly' and therefore its true definable distinction is ambiguous. Certainly, after the Act of Union in 1801 and a more direct colonial positioning for Ireland, British authorities continuously reassured the population that they were equal citizens. In the early centuries of colonization, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the bulk of the power elites were born in Britain but as the eighteenth century advanced the gentry classes were increasingly born in Ireland.

Despite the dominance during the eighteenth century by the Protestant power elite, this position of power began to break down in small increments at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The re-ordering of the power structure escalated in the mid-century and was irretrievably diminished by its close. This chapter will cast light on how such power was established from the sixteenth century and, by using biographical material associated with Thomas Conolly, one can trace a period of decline in the operation of that power.

Part One: The Histories of the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland: 1200-1700

From the twelfth century the power authority in Ireland was vested in the Old English families, such as the Barrys, Burkes, Butlers and Talbots 'on the benches of the Irish House of Lords' (Barnard 2003:21) the descendants of the Normans. These families, who came to describe themselves as the 'English of Ireland', often operated in uncomfortable alliances with the native Irish Gaelic Lordships such as the Macarthys, the MacDonnells and the O'Briens

(Comerford 2003:25). Following the rebellion of 1534 by the Palatine knights, the FitzGeralds, the country was governed directly from London. More upheavals followed and the climax came with the 'flight of the Earls' in 1607; spelling the end to the Gaelic lordships and the 'degenerate' Old English (Comerford 2003:28-29), which in turn generated land confiscations. By the 1630s, new political and social upheavals began to disturb the governance of Ireland once again and the Civil War in England, over the control of parliament, came to a head in the 1640s, and also spread to Ireland. This heralded the Cromwellian period, which further lessened the residual influence of the Gaelic lordships and Old English rule in Ireland with more confiscation of their lands and the influx of New English into Ireland (Comerford 2003:31). Eventually, with the death of Charles I in 1647, and the dissolution of the monarchy another round of confiscations occurred further undermining any remaining advantage of the Gaelic and Old English. Underpinning these conflicts was the religious implications of the Reformation, which had begun much earlier in the Tudor and Elizabethan periods when the religious orientation of the population had become a pivotal political issue. While it is not entirely true to categorise these seventeenth century wars in Ireland as religious 'it was the competition between loosely allied Gaelic lordships and Old English who were Roman Catholic and the new English Protestants pouring into Ireland to become the new power group' toward the end of the seventeenth century (Beckett 1976:37).

Following the death of Charles II and the ascent to the throne of his son James II who was Roman Catholic the newly founded Protestant supremacy came under threat. However, the Williamite Wars in the late seventeenth century that saw the Protestant William of Orange and his wife Mary assuming the throne, heralded the irretrievable decline of both the Gaelic lordships and Old English. At the end of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the individuals who held power in Ireland, as in England, were Protestant and, although in a minority in Ireland, had the 'political and economic strength that give [them] the dominant position in society.' Forming 'a large and well established population [that] spread through all ranks of society…the new English were already beginning to think of themselves as the 'Irish nation' (Beckett 1976:43). The early eighteenth century saw the Irish Protestants complaining about the neglectful treatment by the British government in regard to their commercial interests and national status, which would fester throughout the century (Barnard 2003).

The Old English, were disadvantaged due to the political losses and the impact of the crushing Penal laws, legislated in 1691. '[M]any of the larger landowners who had the most to lose' began to think laterally and convert to Protestantism for pragmatic reasons by the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (Chambers 2004: 43). These included the Earl of Howth and the knights of Glin and Kerry among many others. Some families, if their desire

was to be seen to comply with the law even though they did not agree spiritually, went ahead with the conversion of only one family member, usually the eldest son who would then inherit the lands and be able to participate in the power structure. Unless Roman Catholics became Protestant, regardless of their abilities, they would not be able to better their position under the Penal Laws (Beckett 1976:65). Nevertheless, some aristocratic families continued to worship as Roman Catholics, including Viscounts of Gormanston, the Earls of Kenmare and other Old Irish families such as the O'Connor Don and the McDermotts of Coolavin. As a result, they operated on the margins of any official authority (Chambers 2004: 43). The earls of Ormond embody these very circumstances: having previously been an Old English Roman Catholic family they converted and as a result moved into high office. It was the eighteenth century earl who would oversee the development of Dublin from the Medieval into the Anglo-Irish city it became (Beckett 1976:66).

Into this political and social turmoil of the late seventeenth century stepped William Conolly (1662-1729) of Ballyshannon, Co Donegal, whose family were 'likely minor Catholic gentry' who had made the pragmatic decision sometime before 1660 to become Protestant and thereby secure their future. Evidence for this is suggested because 'both Conolly and his father were attainted by the Jacobite parliament of 1689, and their estates earmarked for forfeiture' (McNally 2008). The Conolly family falls into the 'mere Irish' (Guinness 2008:33) or pure Irish stock that was hitherto undiluted by incomers. The Conolly name derives from the Gaelic-Ulster 'O'Conghaile' a name typical of the North-west of Ireland (Guinness 2008:33). Born a Protestant, William Conolly was unhindered by the Penal Laws and was able to move into the legal profession as his chosen career. During the early part of his career, Conolly benefited from his position as government appointee and was later elected to the Irish House of Commons in 1692 where he served two terms as MP for Donegal. Between 1703 and 1729, he sat as member for Londonderry and would eventually rise to become one of the lord chief justices. He was elected in 1715 as Speaker of the Irish House of Commons and remained in this influential position until weeks before his death in 1729 (McNally 2008 and Walsh 2010). The basis of his influence and ultimately his land portfolio was his connection with the Crown and the forfeited estates following the Williamite War. As a result, he achieved, over his lifetime, a combined landholding across Ireland of 150,000 acres (Walsh 2010:64). His aggregate income in the 1720s from government payments, various investments and rent was estimated to be £150,000[2] at the time of his death in 1729 (Walsh 2010:82). His biographer wrote that 'he died not only the wealthiest and most successful politician of his time but also having established a great Irish landed dynasty' and to have achieved so much in one generation was a remarkable rise (Walsh 2010:82).

The Eighteenth Century

Like the rest of Europe in the eighteenth century, power rested with the landlord group. In many European countries struggling with nationhood, there existed an older hegemonic group toward towards which resistance was directed. For example, in Finland, it was the Swedes; in Hungary, it was the Austrians and England too was not without its own populist uprisings. In Ireland, where elite Protestant power had reached its widest extent, they had political hegemony in every geographical part of the country. Despite their minority position, Protestants were disproportionately represented in the military in large numbers, which was considered 'their best protection against a possible 'popish' terror'' (Beckett 1976:65). But power was a relative term, because the Protestant minority were 'not capable of running the country as planned' (Barnard 2003: 329) given they were scattered unevenly across the country. The highest concentrations of Protestants were found in Eastern Ulster due to the historic Plantations, but were also spread over Leinster, particularly Dublin and in urban centres in the rest of the country. Due to legal constraints on the appointment of officials from outside the established church, 'a small cadre of the busy landowners in rural districts' were responsible for the majority of the official administration…and were saddled with numerous duties'. However, across the board, the local administration was prudent, and ignoring the legalities, employed dissenters (Presbyterians and Methodists) and even Roman Catholics to fill the shortfall. '[I]n England only 5% of the population was debarred from the higher offices'… while in Ireland this rose to 75% which was 'the foundation and the nemesis of the Protestant Ascendancy' (Barnard 2003:329).

Landlords, supported by lower and middle class Protestants and, crucially, backed by the threat of the military, managed to maintain their positions of power even as a minority. For this reason, humble Protestants with aspirations were able to rise in the ranks with social networks of support from other influential Protestant individuals. Protestants as an elite group, dominated most aspects of life in Ireland in the eighteenth century and the evidence can be seen in the large and small country houses and the character of Georgian Dublin as an Ascendancy city. The built environment of Georgian Dublin may have been compromised in the twentieth century but the city retains strong aspects of its older Protestant identity, despite the changes (Casey 2010).

As the eighteenth century moved on, many of the Protestant Ascendancy had a serious identity conflict. In the early centuries of colonization, the bulk of the power elites were born in Britain but as the eighteenth century advanced the gentry classes were increasingly born in Ireland. They were now by birth and circumstance Irish but immersed in Englishness; 'They

could hold these two influences together by postulating a 'Kingdom of Ireland' that was peculiarly their own' (Beckett 1976:59). Chambers offers a conundrum on the term. England represented not just, 'another country it represented the Anglo in their Irishness and for them Ireland meant their own estate to which they were passionately attached' (Chambers 2004:108). Further complications in this issue of self-identity came from their own elite power group and political leaders, who began to debate reforms around the franchise of the population: among them Theobald Wolfe Tone, Robert Emmett and Edmund Burke. Some of the power elite found themselves in political and personal opposition to members of their own group and critically defensive about their previous supremacy in the power structure.

The period would culminate in the 1798 Rebellion of Presbyterians, Methodists and Roman Catholics, spearheaded by Protestant liberals who founded the Society of United Irishmen with a membership that crossed the religious divide (Pakenham 2000). Their subsequent rising would eventually lead to radical political changes and 'signified the demise of the former power system in Ireland' (Comerford 2003:35). After the 1798 Rebellion the then Prime Minister William Pitt, the Younger (1759-1806), began the process of abolishing the Irish Constitution of 1782 and proposed to merge Ireland with Great Britain under the Westminster parliament. With the threat to the Irish parliament looming, the Protestant Ascendancy became uneasy and began to see that their position in the power structure would suffer. Before a time of universal suffrage and majority rule the Ascendancy group, as the largest landowners and the power brokers, hand in hand with political power, saw themselves as the legitimate representatives of the Irish identity. These Protestant power elites, to prevent the Union and its reduced political representation for Ireland, were even willing to complete the emancipation of the aristocratic Roman Catholic and other gentry. Lord Fingall, himself an Old English Catholic aristocrat, voted for the union hoping that with the wider Westminster parliament the Roman Catholic disenfranchisement would be removed (Chambers 2004:77). The Protestant power elite felt that this would help their case against the Union and indeed, following the French Revolution, equally dilute the threat of French revolutionary ideas entering Ireland. However, with the union, it was possible for Ireland to develop a new imagined identity as part of the greater British Empire (Beckett 1976:60-62). Nevertheless, identification with the Empire would remove the idea of the 'Irish nationalist cause' from Ireland's Protestant leaders and contributed to their failure to remain at the forefront of future possibilities concerning Irish self government (Chambers 2004:109). In failing to repel the British parliament in 1800, the Protestant Ascendancy position in Ireland was precarious but not without some hope. However, the Roman Catholic position, without an Irish parliament, was entirely lost. This situation would polarise the two religious groups and dominate Irish

politics in the nineteenth century. Looming large in the equation was the resistance of Protestant conservatives to Catholic emancipation (Duffy 1997:84).

The changing position of the Protestant Ascendancy in the Nineteenth Century

After the drama of the conflict over the Union, Ireland seemed to settle down to business as usual in the early nineteenth century. For the average landowner in the decades following there was little change to the influence of the Protestant Ascendancy, despite their initial fears. The members of the powerful political families, such as the Ponsonbys, were to replicate their roles in Westminster as they had in College Green. There may have been fewer Irish MPs in the united parliament but local elections were still in place, and they facilitated the continuation of government patronage in Ireland. Dublin Castle 'was still the centre of authority and the spirit of Castle administration' remained largely unchanged (Beckett 1976:86). By 1829 however, with Catholic Emancipation opening parliamentary representation to Roman Catholics, and the 1832 Reform Acts that increased Catholic voting strength in the boroughs, the Protestant population almost ceased to be of any consequence in parliamentary politics (Duffy 1997:84). With further reforms in the 1840s, over cities and boroughs, the 'Ascendancy position' was in fits and starts being transferred to the Roman Catholics (Beckett 1976:90). With parliamentary/governance reform and the removal of 'rotten boroughs'[3] this was arguably Phase 1 of that process. Phase 2 would occur at the end of the century with the introduction of the county councils in 1898, the bulk of whose representatives were now Catholic (Crampsie 2014). The controlling hold on the electoral process had been the basis of political power by the elite Ascendancy since the seventeenth century but 'by the end of the nineteenth century Roman Catholic electors returned more than 80% of the Irish MPs' (Beckett 1976:89).

With the changing power dynamics between England and Ireland, Irish landowners, generally speaking the historic Protestant Ascendancy, now popularly beginning to be redefined as the Anglo-Irish had by necessity begun to develop a new identity. While Ireland was their country and they saw themselves as Irish, nevertheless they were culturally different and their deeply felt Irishness had lost its political resonance with the dilution of their power base. Bowen (1929) describes this sense of identity as an 'abstract of several landscapes', which eloquently summarises the many elements that go into an individual's perception of self (Chambers 2004:108). However, their confidence as a group with special connection to the state apparatus was shaken by a serious blow. The Church of Ireland was dis-established in 1869 with the result that the Protestant religion was no longer the official religion of the country. This resulted in

the removal of the financial subsidies and the political influence that this connection embodied. With one brief seventeenth century exception, this situation had been unique in Europe: the placing of a minority religion, as superior to the majority religious affiliation of the population. Contributing to the wrong was the tax burden imposed upon that, majority population to support the minority church that was described as a 'bitterest wrong and heaviest injury' (Chambers 2004: 44).

During the decades of the mid nineteenth century, the Roman Catholic peasantry had been given a courage and ferocity by the events in Revolutionary France that would develop into Irish nationalism (Beckett 1976). The Roman Catholic Church with its close links to nationalism provided a form of cultural identity to the population and this identification with the church would not encourage the old power elite to feel any connection or sympathy with such a brand of Irish nationalism. The Protestant elite involvement in the nationalist ideals and the romantic Celtic literary revival of the past had given 'way to a movement of a very different character' (Beckett 1976:96).

Perversely Daniel O'Connell (1775-1847), himself a member of the old Ascendancy community, after his successful campaign for Catholic Emancipation in 1829 began a second campaign for repeal to the Act of Union, something that many Protestant elites had not wanted in the first place. This created fears that any remaining traditions and characteristics of the prevailing hegemony would continue to be challenged. Ongoing debates over nationalism, race and language would dominate the nineteenth century.

The Famine

A catastrophic event that would have long-term consequences and alter the fundamental pattern of society and its hegemonic processes was the Famine of 1845-47. The decimation of the rural population, the consequent changes to the social order and the resulting issues faced by landlords, that in some cases also led to their ruin, would in the following decades contribute to a new balance of power. The lack of response by the British government to the devastating effects of the Famine fostered an animosity among the Roman Catholic population towards the landed elite. This occurred despite the fact that help was given by many Protestant landlords; 'as in every calamity there were individual acts of gross inhumanity as well as acts of the gravest compassion shown by individual landlords to their tenants' (Chambers 2004:87). In a demonstration of kinship and responsibility, many landowners did what they could to help; they waived rent and spent money on soup kitchens, food and workhouses. The Duke of Leinster raised money and spoke to the British public to raise

awareness while others like Robert Gore-Booth mortgaged their property and for two who followed his example, Lords French and Gort were ‘bankrupted by their endeavours’ (Chambers 2004:87). The 3rd Marquess of Sligo worked hard to care for his tenants and lost two of his wives to Famine fever. George Moore of Moore Hall, Mayo ‘when his horse won the Chester Cup put his winnings of £10,000 into supporting his tenants’ (Chambers 2004:87).[4] Nevertheless despite some generous support, there were as many examples of poor landowners, some of whom were killed by their tenantry in revenge; Major Denis Mahon of Strokestown being one such individual. The animosity toward the landowning group would grow as the country struggled to recover in the 1850s and 1860s.

In contrast to the tragic events of the 1840s. the post-Famine period saw an agricultural boom that enabled the power elite and landlords in general to flourish but this was short lived. With the loss of rental income from the land, given that wealth for the Irish nobility was for the most part derived from land, rather than commerce, the economic future for the landed classes would be bleak without its financial core. The seeds of economic ruin were also sown in the Conolly family’s fortunes particularly in their large landholdings in Donegal. The Land Wars in the early 1880s also contributed to the loss of land for the power elite. With the decline in landholdings and income, this led to a loss in local influence, which ultimately lead to the decline of the landlord class as a whole regardless of religious affiliation (Comerford 1992).

The Land Wars and Home Rule

Many issues associated with power over the agricultural resources of the country gave rise to the Land Wars, which had been simmering in the background of Irish life since the Famine. These were brought to the fore when an attempt was made to bring the legislation established in the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act 1870 up to date. The report by the Commission of Inquiry into amending the acts took place in 1880 and its preamble summarizes the historical position of landlords;

> …land suitable for tillage [has never been] regarded as a mere commodity, the subject of trade, [or] let to the highest bidder in an open market, … except under special circumstances, in Ireland. Not certainly in the times of Irish independence, when chiefs and their septs held land under some form of common ownership; in the times of its disintegration, when the chiefs had become owners and dealt with their followers at pleasure, but never, we may be sure, allowed any but their own personal dependents to settle on their land; nor yet in the later days of English settlement, when landowners were glad to invite tenants of the same race and religion to settle

round them on easy terms in order to secure themselves in their estates, was there any trace of an open land market, and of land let by competition at a commercial rent. The epoch of wars closed, and the population multiplied; but the condition of society remained the same. … Instead of a native landowning class rooted in the soil, the landlords of Ireland were as a class alienated from the mass of the people by differences of religion, manners, and sympathy, and were many of them, strangers and "absentees" (Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the working of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act 1870 and the Acts Amending the Same 1880. Column 4. Hansard. (www.proquest.com).

The penultimate turning point for the Protestant Ascendancy came in 1885-6. Earlier, in 1869, the same year the Irish Church was dis-established, Isaac Butt had proposed the idea of Home Rule and in the beginning many of the power elite supported this call. Despite Butt's well-meaning intentions, the sectarian conditions of the Home Rule bill brought to the surface deeper elements. The Roman Catholic population's belief that to be Protestant was not to be Irish emerged more strongly during this period and the view that the landowning elite represented an 'alien element in the country' gained momentum (Beckett 1976:113). Butt's Home Rule Bill, when it was reformatted, did gain the support of the Roman Catholic majority but this led the way to almost entirely eliminating any Protestant inclusion in future governments (Beckett 1976:113). With their roles in civic authority draining away, their houses and great demesnes being broken up and more significantly the rise of meaningful local government, their real political power was 'replaced by a growing nationalist community that were becoming increasingly active' (Kelly 2012:285).

In Irish constituencies, Charles Stewart Parnell (1846-91), himself a member of the wealthy and powerful Protestant landowning community, led the Home Rule Party to win over eighty per cent of the Irish seats in the 1885 election (Beckett 1976:113 and 115). With this result Gladstone, a Liberal, went into an informal coalition with the Home Rule Party to outdo the Conservatives. With this coalition, it became apparent that the landowning elite had lost the support of the Westminster parliament and their fate was sealed (Beckett 1976). 'The Anglo-Irish community became increasingly alienated from the London administration, which lost confidence in their role as representatives of British authority in Ireland' (Kelly 2012:283). The Celtic Literary Revival that had been taking place in the latter end of the nineteenth century to reimagine Ireland's legendary mythical and historical past had become the new form of patriotism, with a considerable number of Protestant elite adherents,[5] but as the new twentieth century matured, it underwent a fundamental change. Once romantic and mystical, it took a

hard line nationalist turn and with this association the Protestant landowning community were largely alienated from inclusion in the future independent Ireland (de Vere 1972).

The End of an Era

The influence of the landed gentry limped on until the 1920s, with lands and houses diminished in acreage and number. There were however a few from the Protestant Ascendancy, men and women whose commitment to the Nationalist cause made them a minority in both political camps. The idealistic involvement in WWI by Protestant families, which only now has been recognised as the defense of the ideals of Home Rule and nationhood, drove many to join the British army to engage in a war with Germany. The Protestant Community also played a key part in the Easter Rising of 1916 and later held positions in the Free State Senate after 1922. Of a total of 30 Senate members, 20 nominees were of Ascendancy background, among them the Earl of Headfort, Lords Mayo and Wicklow, Countess Desart and Sir Horace Curzon Plunkett the creator of the agricultural co-operative movement (Chambers 2004:132) [6]. Douglas Hyde (1860-1949), a minor member of the landowning elite, Protestant and founder of the Gaelic League, would become the first president of Ireland in 1938 for a full eight-year term. It is worth mentioning as de Vere did that, 'the Anglo-Irish were not a race, they were a class' (de Vere 1972:265) and class, in relation to politics, social and economic power and governance, was always mobile and subject to adaption and change.

Part Two: Conolly Family History

The Conolly family are an illuminating prism through which to study the effects of power on the wider population and the eventual weakening and decline of the Protestant elite. In the case of the Conollys, from the lofty eighteenth-century heights of William's position as Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, a proto prime ministerial position, with highly influential political power, the family's slow decline is reflected in Thomas Conolly's eventual position as a 'jobbing' MP, who had difficulty in retaining his seat. Using Conolly specifically as a case study for his family throws new light on a critical period in the history of Ireland in the mid-nineteenth century and serves as a useful insight into the relational geographies of the influential power elite. It also helps, in the second part of this chapter, to blend the eighteenth and nineteenth century family history into the wider mobile and shifting networks within which it operated.

Thomas Conolly (1823-1876) was an elite member of an elite Protestant land owning community. He drew upon the capital of his family but by the end of his life, his position in the mid-Victorian period has become almost a footnote in the established story of the Conolly family. This has as much to do with his lack of a fortune as the times he lived in. While playing

a minor part in the history of Ireland he lived life socially and politically to the fullest as a resident landlord and was apparently remembered by his contemporaries and his tenants with fondness. As the owner of Castletown, the first great Palladian mansion in Ireland, he was among the last of the classic Protestant Ascendancy landowners of a great house active in the nineteenth century. In framing the social networks he occupied, this place should be identified as, from the start, an important setting for his story.

The Conolly Family and Castletown House

In 1709, Speaker William Conolly bought the lands near Celbridge, Co Kildare on the river Liffey from the Earls of Limerick. The estate included a substantial house but not one that conveyed the statement of power of financial and cultural capital that Conolly wished to demonstrate, which would signify, 'a sense of security and confidence in the future' (Walsh 2011:39). As a result, he set about creating a significant cultural statement in the shape of a Palladian style house, which he named Castletown (Figure 2.1) and that some compared to an Italian palace. The Speaker poured his efforts and his fortune into the building of Castletown and, without children; this would be his splendid legacy. Even in in its unfinished state it would be a 'venue for political intrigue and entertainment…hosting successive lords lieutenants' (Walsh 2011:22).

Figure 2.1 Castletown House. Author's photograph (2017)

After the Speaker's death in 1729, it became apparent that he had invested heavily in the as-yet unfinished house and, compounding the difficulties, he left other major debts. As a result, his fortune was greatly depleted. His wife Katherine Conyngham lived and entertained in the largely undecorated mansion for the remaining 23 years of her life but, to further magnify the financial difficulties, Katherine's jointure[7] had been a generous €5,000 per annum. This she spent freely, in her long widowhood, without re-investing in Castletown. By the time of her death in 1752, there was little money left (Malcomson 2007). The Speaker's nephew and heir, also William, struggled to meet the debts of his uncle and to manage the estate at arm's length (Walsh: 2018). Dying soon after his aunt in1754 the debts fell onto the shoulders of his son and the Speaker's great nephew, Thomas Conolly (1738-1803). Thomas, who came to be known as Squire Tom, also struggled with his great-uncle's debts and also with added burdens handed down by his father that involved responsibility of his mother's jointure and the future marriage settlements of his six sisters, as Malcomson (2007) describes. The house remained much as it had in Katherine's time until it was refurbished around the period of the marriage in 1758 of Thomas to Lady Louisa Lennox, the daughter of the duke of Richmond, whose elder sister Emily was married to the Duke of Leinster. This shows how inter-marriage within the Ascendency network often acted as a cementing of relationships as well as a financial lifeboat. Squire Tom, with the advice of the Duke of Leinster who was apparently the instigator of the project, began the reordering and ornamenting of the house (Kellegher 1979 and Griffin 1998). Marrying Lady Louisa Lennox for love did nothing to improve his finances and their childlessness, while undoubtedly upsetting personally, did nothing to encourage reinvestment in the estate. The magnificent redecorating and the social whirl that accompanied the period of their early-married life did nothing to ease the debts that began to pile higher. These financial burdens, coupled with his family financial commitments, are the background to the nineteenth century decline.

With Squire Tom, the power of the family, while significant, was no longer at the prestigious level of his great uncle the Speaker. He was elected, with his father-in-law's influence as MP for Malmsby, England and sat in this capacity between 1759-68 and for Chichester from 1768 to 1780. At the same time, he was also MP for Ballyshannon and Londonderry between 1761 and 1800. Holding three elected positions at the same time would have been pressure enough, but they were between two countries Ireland and England. There must have been conflicting political stances in such positions. Not to mention the social and geographic differences.

Coupled with Squire Tom's less than top class career was the effect of less economic security which meant that the borrowings from friends and the mortgaging of lands held,

particularly in Ulster, moved the family deeper into financial burden. When the fortune promised to his mother by her uncle the earl of Wentworth went to another family member, this only added to his difficulties (Malcomson 2007). Farrell provides more detail in his entry for Edward Michael Conolly in the *History of Parliament 1820-1832* that 'The estate was encumbered by debts amounting to nearly £50,000 in 1797' (Farrell 2009). Nevertheless, this did nothing to stop the Conollys from enjoying the lifestyles they had always participated in, although they may have been restricted in the variety and level of activities they enjoyed. A lack of fortune might prevent individuals from joining the elite hierarchy but the lack of money by those already well established over the generations did not stop their continued involvement in the social and leisure activities they had always enjoyed and the network of social contact between elites remained as if nothing had changed. Toward the end of his life, one of many difficult decisions for Squire Tom was appointing an heir, having had no children with Lady Louisa. The inheritance came through one of his five sisters, Harriet the first wife of the Rt. Hon John Staples. In 1783, their daughter Louisa Ann married Thomas Pakenham[8] (1757-1836), the younger son of Thomas 1st Lord Longford, who would later become an Admiral and earn himself a knighthood[9]. Table 2.1 below shows a family tree that may clarify some of the family connections.

Pakenham/Conolly Family Tree

	Thomas Pakenham (1714-1766)		1st Baron Longford
		m Elizabeth Cuffe (1719-1794)	
1	Robert	**d 1775**	
2	Edward Michael	**1743-1792**	2nd Baron Longford
3	Frances	**1744-1776**	
4	Helena	**1745-1777**	
5	Mary	**1749-1775**	
6	William	**1756-1769**	
7	Thomas Pakenham	**1757-1836**	

7a	Admiral Hon Sir Thomas Pakenham (1757-1836)		
		m Louisa Ann Staples (died 1833)	
1	Edward Michael	**1786-1849**	Her parents: Rt Hon John Staples &
2	Thomas	**1787-1846**	Harriet Conolly
3	John Pakenham	**1790-1876**	Aunt: Henrietta Margaret Staples m
4	Henrietta	**1795-1869**	Richard Le Poer Trench
5	Richard	**1797-1868**	2nd Earl of Clancarty
6	Robert	**1799-1883**	

7	Sarah	**1802**	
1a	Edward Michael (1786-1849)		
		m Catherine Jane Ponsonby Barker (died 1861)	
1	Louisa Augusta	**1822-1854**	Her parents: Cambre Brabazone
2	Thomas Conolly	**1823-1876**	Ponsonby-Barker &
3	Frederick William	**1826**	Lady Henrietta Taylor
4	Arthur Wellesley	**1829-1879**	Cousins: Taylors, earls of Headfort
5	John Augustus	**1829-1879**	
6	Mary Margaret	**1830-1891**	
7	Henrietta	**1832?**	
8	Francis Catherine	**1833-1874**	
9	Richard	**1834**	
	10 Chambre Brabazone	**died 1835**	
2a	Thomas Conolly (1823-1876)		
		m Sarah Eliza Shaw (1846-1921)	
1	Infant son	**1869**	
2	Thomas	**1870-1900**	Her parents: Joseph Shaw &
3	Catherine	**1871-1947**	Margaret Henry
4	William	**1873-1895**	
5	Edward Michael	**1874-1956**	

Table 2.1 Conolly/Pakenham Family Tree

Admiral Sir Thomas Pakenham and Louisa-Ann had 10 children and their eldest son Edward Michael, born in 1789 was named after his uncle, the 2nd Lord Longford. As the grandson of Squire Tom's sister Harriet and, according to the rules of primogeniture, Edward Michael was the natural heir as the only surviving male of the Conolly family. Harriet's son William Conolly Staples may have been the most obvious candidate but he had died in 1798. For a time, there was also another heir George Byng, member for Middlesex, who Tom disinherited in 1799 because of a quarrel over a lawsuit (Farrell 2009). Like other men in similar circumstances who wished to see their family name continue, Squire Tom had placed the proviso in his will that his heir must change his name to Conolly; failing this the inheritance would pass to the next candidate in the list of five people (NAI Thomas Conolly's Will: 27 May 1799 T17412). When Squire Tom died in 1803, Edward Michael at age 16 became the de facto heir. His father Sir Thomas and Lord Clancarty Squire Tom's other trustee, would assist Lady

Louisa with her financial affairs and the running of the estate during the remainder of her life. Indeed, Tom's niece Louisa Ann Staples was such a favorite of Lady Louisa that the Pakenhams were invited to live at Castletown. Some evidence to confirm this is among Lady Louisa's papers in a letter to her sister where she discussed the manufacture of a 'pretty watch' embellished by '82 diamonds' for Louisa Ann Staples (Lady Louisa to Lady Sarah 1782 Castletown Archive[10]). Sir Thomas' status as a younger son of the Earl of Longford was reflected in the ownership of Coolure, a comfortable house he built in 1776 on the shores of Lough Derravaragh close to Castlepollard, County Westmeath. This middle size demesne was adjacent to the lands of his brother the earl at Tullynally.[11]

Following the death of Lady Louisa in 1821, Edward Michael registered his name change from Pakenham to Pakenham Conolly (Royal License 27 August 1821 NLI). The financial burden hinted at above had remained unresolved and even increased during the 18 years of Lady Louisa's widowhood. At age 35, when he took over the running of the estate, Edward Michael had been handed something of a poisoned chalice with the weighty historical financial burdens and Castletown fell into a steady and largely uneventful existence despite its splendour for the next several decades.

Edward Michael Conolly was a Captain in the Royal Artillery, a Lt Colonel of the Donegal Militia and MP for Ballyshannon (1831-49) and High Sheriff of Donegal and Kildare. He married Catherine-Jane Ponsonby Barker in 1819 and the couple had ten or eleven children between c1822 and 1834. There is little archival evidence of the lifestyle of Edward Michael and Catherine Jane at Castletown at this time but fragments have been revealed through other sources. The Rev Robert Pakenham, Rector of Christ Church, Celbridge, situated at the entrance to the Castletown avenue, was Conolly's uncle.[12] He and his family must have been regular visitors to Castletown since the address given in the parish register of their children's births was Castletown. Besides Robert and his family other Pakenham names appears in the register of Christ Church, Celbridge, which would indicate the possibility of more members of his family living in the area.

Few other personal details about Edward Michael remain with the exception of a single bank book for the year, 1840-41, from La Touché and Co (Castletown Archive) and household account books for 1828-41 (NLI MS 14,342). These do revealed in a second hand nature some comings and goings at Castletown Demesne and slight indication of his engagement with the Donegal property and the wider community. His residence was not restricted to Castletown, he had another fine house, Cliff, Co. Donegal. This was the designated residence for his Donegal

constituency built in 1810 by his father Sir Thomas, despite the family's apparent lack of money.[13]

Edward Michael's obituary in the Belfast News Letter (4 January 1849), was lavish in its praise for him as a resident landlord who was 'deservedly beloved by a numerous tenantry to whom his active benevolence justly endeared him. He was unceasing in his attention to their welfare and spared neither trouble or expense [in the] advancement of their interest or the promotion of that happiness…' (Belfast Newsletter January 1849). While these heartfelt obituaries were well meaning they were not always written with the utmost accuracy and were prone to exaggeration; nevertheless, this obsequious language was an accepted form of address, and by complimenting the deceased wherever possible it conformed to the social niceties of the day.

On the death of Edward Michael, his eldest son Thomas (Figure 2.2). succeeded to Castletown and would declare his candidacy for the family constituency in Donegal the same month of his father's death. From the start, the financial difficulties of the past and the seeds

Figure 2.2 Thomas Conolly. The Kildare Hunt Album 1865

of later difficulties were evident and he was 'obliged to sell off large parts of the family estates to discharge his father's debts…nevertheless, this second Thomas Conolly of Castletown lived recklessly and exceeded the extravagances of his 18th century namesake in his equipage and

entertainments' (Boylan 1968:44). The next sections of this chapter provide a biography of his life as a means to introduce the basic facts of that life. This will stand as a contextual introduction to a deeper mapping out of his social networks that will be presented in the subsequent empirical chapters (5, 6 and 7).

Thomas Conolly 1823-1876

Thomas Conolly was born in 1823 and at aged 25, inherited Castletown. His bachelor ways, involving a busy social life and a full hunting schedule, on top of his responsibilities as MP, meant he spent little time at home. He became a Conservative MP for County Donegal from 1849, giving his residence as Cliff, Co Donegal.[14] He also held the positions of Deputy Lieutenant and Justice of the Peace for Donegal and Kildare and held the office of High Sheriff of County Donegal in 1848 and was a long serving member of the Donegal Grand Jury.

Conolly's political career began on the cusp of a changing political landscape when the shift in power away from the landowners was just beginning. Up to the 1870s, the landlords' political power was still impressive. So much so that, even in the face of a visibly resurgent nationalism, they could still indulge in the essentially British politics of Conservative and Liberal. In the 1840s when he entered politics the old landed power elite were still the political representatives but in the coming decades power would move into the hands of the new Catholic political movements and their own representative elites. In 1874, the last election before his death, and the first to employ a secret ballot, Conolly only just managed to secure his seat.

Between the Famine (when he was first elected) and 1876 (when he died), Ireland changed substantially. It had been a torrid time for landlordism, but not entirely catastrophic. Returning prosperity in the 1850s was followed by a period of quiescence on the land issue. In the 1859 another landlord, reported that the country was quiet, prices good, farmers prospering, rents well paid (Hoppen 1984). But Irish landlords were, in the main, neither efficient nor particularly forward-looking, and were chronically impecunious. This is reflected in Conolly's speeches in the House of Commons. The changes to his world and his perception of it had altered far beyond what might have been perceived when he first took office and his part in the debates gave an indication of the typical difficulties landowners of the period were experiencing.

Conolly's Politics

Something of Conolly's interests and public interventions can be gleaned from his involvement in the ongoing debates in the House of Commons. Conolly spoke on a subject, which encapsulated the fears and concerns of Protestant Ireland, the mooted disestablishment of the Anglican Church. In the late 1860s, the disestablishment debates exposed the concerns of the Anglican community, Conolly among them they were troubled about the threat of how this would play out in their positions of influence. Seen as an integral part of the Union, Protestants feared that, if that bulwark fell, the Union itself would be in danger. As it turned out, they were not wrong. Conolly’s class also saw it as a diminution of their local power and prestige, as well as the not inconsiderable patronage, which would be lost (Bell 1969). Disestablishment eventually went ahead in 1869, and the fear by Protestant MPs of ‘papist’ support for Gladstone to the detriment of the landowning community can be clearly seen during the debates (House of Commons’ Debates 26th of April 1869 (Irish Church Bill), cols. 1613-14. Hansard). Disestablishment may have represented a loss of status in one way, but it galvanized the Anglican community into taking a defensive position and made the Church of Ireland much stronger, positioning itself as a more visible symbol of the Protestant Ascendancy and as their corporate identity (Akenson:1971).

Entering the 1870s Conolly was confronted by an even greater escalation of the challenge to the existing establishment, the perennial question of law and order. He spoke in the debates on the bill for Peace Preservation in Ireland with concern about agitation, specifically in the Dublin area. During the extended debates on the land purchase and tenant rights question, he was surprisingly fulsome and generous in his praise for the relationships he held with his tenants, having ‘spent most of his life… among the tenant-farmers of Ireland, always receiving kind and generous treatment from his neighbours… having received the greatest confidence from his tenants and friends: a confidence almost unmerited on his part [and] had no hesitation in saying that he would cheerfully give up some of his rights for the benefit of his country’ (Irish Land Bill: Question 10 March 1870 [columns 1621-1732]. Hansard). This attitude presents a Janus like position with the forces that were directing Irish politics. On the one hand, he was concerned for his tenants but on the other, he was worried for himself and his fellow landowners and the loss of their lands and significantly, their hold on authority.

Throughout the decade from 1870-1879, parliamentary debates on Irish matters were concerned with the changing tide of political hierarchy from the old order to the rising nationalist interests. Agrarian unrest was a constant preoccupation of the landlord class throughout the century. Agricultural depression did not fully strike until the late 1870s; earlier, agitation was already on the increase around the country prompting a coercive response from

government. During the 1870s in the face of that unrest by land agitators and other similar disruptions, Conolly called for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act.[15] He approved of the suspension, because believed that it would 'give the police a reality which they did not then possess, and if they were to be given this power they could arrest the leaders well known to them across Ireland…' (Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill 1870, 17 March 1870 (Habeas Corpus Act 1870), col. 112, Hansard). Furthermore, he endorsed the ability of his fellow magistrates to deal with any problems locally rather than with outside intervention. His comment that, 'the magistrates and the police would be perfectly capable of maintaining order', reveals his concern for a return to calm in the country (Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill 1870, 17 March 1870, col. 111, Hansard). This was also contextualized by sporadic agricultural agitation in previous decades as well as the looming Land Wars.

In the final record of his career in 1871, we see him facing what was the beginning of the end to the Grand Juries' powerful hold on the country. In the bill, on the reform of Electoral County Boards, it was hoped that the rural population would be given greater power to manage their own affairs, with a resulting revolution in Irish county affairs. These far reaching reforms would pave the way for freer elections and what would eventually become the proto-county councils when the Roman Catholic electorate would participate in greater numbers although local Protestant landlords and merchants continued to participate in local government (Crossman 2006:36). Lord Bandon for example, was Chairman of Bandon Urban District Council. In his comments during the debate, while 'not blind to its defects', Conolly held that the Grand Jury system was, 'not universally disapproved of in Ireland' and was in fact 'highly appreciated.' He failed to see the implications of a system whose rural representatives were appointed by the Sheriff without recourse to open elections. In this final session of his career, he asks 'if the Irish parliamentarians wished to sweep away everything hereditary, an ancient and cherished institution, instead of being improved where necessary [and therefore] ruthlessly destroyed…in favour of elections, what was that but Republicanism?' He believed that 'the people of Ireland had confidence in the gentry, and he should be glad to help… to reform and improve the existing system', a system he believed was beneficial to the country. There were some who may not have been pleased to be referred to as republicans however, Isaac Butt (MP for Limerick), himself of an elite Protestant background, was not among them. He stated that he was pleased to be considered a republican because, 'The one issue before the House was whether the monstrous anomaly of the Grand Jury system should be continued, or whether the people were to be trusted to have a voice in the management of their own affairs' (Electoral County Boards (Ireland) Bill- [Bill 8.] 1876. cols 772-777, Hansard). In 1869 Butt had proposed the idea of Home Rule 'that dominated Irish politics for almost half a century' (Beckett 1976:111). Butt's divisive home rule bill would later cause a fundamental cleavage between

unionists and nationalists under Parnell. As 'protestant' and unionist' began to assume interchangeability, Irish national identity became enmeshed with Roman Catholicism. Ultimately, this would result in alienation (Comerford: 1989).

Conolly died before the fundamental upheaval in Irish politics caused by the rise of Parnell and Gladstone's conversion to the merits of Home Rule. He was the last of his family to participate directly in parliamentary politics, his political position was conservative and, ultimately, unionist; but there is an interesting observation by the *Leinster Express* in his obituary in 1876. They reported that he led those he met in America in 1865 to believe that he supported Home Rule whereas 'When he crossed the pond and came home, [to Britain] Home Rule stank in his nostrils and disturbed his temper'(*Leinster Express* 19th August 1876). The Leinster Express' opinion of Conolly's position is somewhat creative, in 1865 details of Butt's Home Rule bill were yet to be developed and would not be forwarded to parliament until 1869.

Conolly's political pronouncements were a form of final struggle to maintain his own and his classes hold on a power that had begun to slip away. While the later material in this thesis looks at subtler markers of the social network, one can see in the more public and specifically political pronouncements that Conolly made during his life, a clear backing for the tangible material processes and governance that maintained ascendency power during his lifetime.

Thomas Conolly's private life

Conolly's private life is chronicled in his diaries but there is little reflective comment in them; the diaries, largely engagement daybooks, regrettably showed little of the private person. It can be argued however that, by reading between the lines and relying on parallel social histories of the time, the wider lifestyle of Conolly can be deduced and this is their value: to throw light on his own specific place within wider networks. However, on rare occasions they did contain more detail and revealed more about him as a person. The death of his sister Louisa who tragically drowned in 1853[16] was a rare insight into his emotional landscape. In a series of entries, he described how the news was given to him and how he had to relay this information to his mother and sisters, the journey to Ardgillan in Co Dublin where her death occurred and finally he sadly wrote into the diary part of a poem by Byron[17] that reflected a very visible grief (Conolly Diary November 26 1853: Private collection). There were a further two episodes in his diary that were full of adventure and offered a broader impression of his seemingly spirited personality. An exciting episode occurred in August 1863 when Conolly visited France and described spending time in Paris, with his horses and groom, and how he

became entranced with a young woman artist of the demi-mode. He also described his involvement in the French Army manoeuvres at the invitation of Napoleon III, his encounters with the emperor's young son, Napoleon, the Prince Imperial (1856-79), and how very impressed he was by the military men that he met among them General Emile Fleury (Grand Equerry to Napoleon III) and Marshal McMahon the duc de Magenta (1808-1893), Marshal of France later the first president of the Third Republic. Of this event, he offered no commentary on the deeper social and political implications. Instead, the entries are full of exuberant exclamation marks and the significance of mixing with such heroic military men (Conolly Diaries 29 July- 21 August 1863). But despite the social entanglements with such exalted persons, what engaged him most in Paris was his horses. He wrote how immensely proud he was of them and that they matched any other horses he encountered.

Later in 1868, while Conolly and his new bride Sarah Eliza (nee Shaw) were on their honeymoon in Paris an event also concerned Napoleon III, and was an indication of Connolly's extravagance. The two men competed in the equipage of their horses and carriages but Conolly won the competition because his horses were shod in silver (Young, quoted in Boylan 1968:45).[18] The fact that a relatively unknown young MP from rural Ireland has an association with the French Emperor may speak of the more relaxed social networks in the nineteenth century, even if these were rare and unusual events. Conolly's eldest son's obituary in 1900 reported that this friendship with Napoleon III even predated their meeting in 1863. The obituary contained an anecdote about Napoleon III's marriage in 1853 and quotes Conolly, 'I am so old a friend of the Emperor that I can take the liberty of making a wedding present.' The same article also reported that 'Tom Connolly was a good friend to Prince Louis Napoleon following the Franco-Prussian War when he was deposed and living in London' (Otago Witness 14 November 1900).[19]

This level of social connectivity was even more surprising given the financial problems that were ever-present. Inherited debts, jointures and obligations were not his fault; but these were not helped by his own extravagant lifestyle. These combined financial difficulties set him on a very significant episode in his already thrill-seeking life when he began an American adventure at the end of 1864. His diary of November that year showed that for someone who was an elected member of the government he had planned a risky and questionable enterprise. The proposed plan was with others, to finance a boat to run the Yankee blockade then in place in the waters off the Southern confederate states during the American Civil War (Lankford 1988).

Although the details are sketchy, the geographer John Palliser,[20] a member of the Royal Geographical Society, together with 'Lord Charlemont, Col [William Daxon] Bushe, Sir B.

Chapman and Col MacNamara and others that you know' (Letter to Conolly from Emily Barton Nov 6th 1864 (IAA 98/79). Conolly wrote on 26th November 1865, 'Dear old Palliser is waiting at the Inn at Waterford'. After the meeting, they traveled separately with Palliser going to London while Conolly made his way to Cardiff the destination of their ship 'Emily' built on the Clyde estuary. Soon after he wrote, 'Ship has arrived! Go aboard and shake hands with Captain…Telegram to Prichard Walker to arrange money oh dear!!' Later he wrote, providing evidence of the origins of the enterprise, that Palliser was 'the author and founder of our expedition' (8th of December 1864 Diary 1864-65 IAA 98/79and log book 1864-65 IAA A00073).

Conolly had expressed worries and hopes concerning his finances and the economic advantage to the voyage, before and after meeting Palliser. Once the ship set out these concerns were not referred to again. However, things did not go well on the voyage and the ship was storm-damaged in late December (Log book 12 December 1864 Conolly's Diary IAA 98/79 A00073). The 'Emily' with Palliser on board was taken for repairs to Cadiz, Spain and not mentioned again in the diaries. At this juncture, the ship and cargo were no longer part of the equation but Conolly and Bushe did not give up the adventure. He took passage on another ship, 'Florence' and arrived in St George Harbour, Bermuda on 13th of January. Continuing in the 'Florence' to the Bahamas, he obtained passage on a blockade-runner on 2nd of February, but was forced back to the Bahamas. By the end of the month however taking passage via another ship 'The Owl', the last blockade runner on the Carolina coast, Conolly and Bushe were at last able to make land fall, but only Conolly travelled on to eventually reach Richmond, Virginia. Bushe 'chose a less hazardous route to New York' (Lankford 1988:104).

The trip of three months, in the final months, even days, of the civil war, detailed meeting many of the historic figures we are familiar with today including General Robert E. Lee. In Lankford's (1998) study of the Civil War period, he provided passages from memoirs of the period concerning Conolly and these serve to provide us with a portrait of his personality, which ranges from a description of his eccentricities with regard to dress and the vivacity and wit of his social discourse. Though many people were puzzled as to why Conolly would have come to the Southern United States during an especially crucial moment of the war, they were captivated by his 'irresistible humor and cheery talk', which helped to mitigate any objections to his presence (Lankford 1988:130). It is unlikely that Thomas had any realistic perception as to what dangerous waters he was sailing into from a political or physical nature (Lankford 1988:124). The 'Emily' had been identified as early as December 1864 as a possible blockade runner by the 'United States vice consul at Glasgow' but it was not for some time that the 'wealthy MP' who was involved was identified as Conolly (Lankford 1988:14). The State

Department was not immediately aware that it was Conolly they were after. Apparently unaware of any threat, before his return to the United Kingdom by regular steam ship, Conolly visited Philadelphia and New York commenting in passing on the preparations for Lincoln's Funeral in his diary (Lankford 1988: 99-104) sailing for home via Liverpool to take up his political career. Once Conolly had been identified by the Federal Authorities there was some attempt to catch up with him before he returned to England but the investigation languished until Thomas H. Dudley the Liverpool consul, 'concluded it in a report to Washington' that Conolly had returned to Britain (Lankford 1988: 127).

The only serious outcome for Conolly to the adventure appeared to have been financial and on his return to Ireland, he was forced to sell some of the Castletown lands to avert financial problems (Letter 10 November 1865, Conolly MSS, Trinity College). In the following year, just over 1,000 acres in County Roscommon and other lands in Offaly were advertised for sale, lands originally bought by The Speaker in the early eighteenth century (Irish Times June 1867). The family's substantial land holdings in Donegal, totaling 68,633 acres, (although with only a valuation £9,163) were also beginning to be disposed of to settle Conolly's debts. In 1869 the lands close to the town of Bundoran were sold, which was then rising in status to become a seaside resort. He refused the first offer of £45,000 from Lord Lifford, 'Conolly was not prepared to take a half-penny under £60,000' (O'Donnell 2016: 246). The Ballyshannon estates bought by the Speaker in 1718 were subsequently put on the market in 1872. Despite many sales during and after Conolly's lifetime, the Weekly Irish Times 'special correspondent' described the estates in Donegal in 1881 as being the finest in the northwest. This may have been true in terms of total acreage, as O'Donnell (2016) placed Conolly second in the list of landowners. As she points out though, 'the two Donegal properties were very different', one having development potential (in the south of the county) and the other in the 'bleak lands of west Donegal' (O'Donnell 2016:246). Again, the role of land holding and its value as an asset was also part of a wider relational power that was becoming increasingly challenged in Conolly's life. While some of those challenges were undoubtedly of his own making, they also reflected wider upheavals in land ownership that affected the position of the Ascendency elite. With the modest wealth at his disposal, Thomas Conolly carried out some new work and refurbishment of Castletown house. In this, he was not untypical – many owners of Great Houses (and Castletown was a 'Great House', not merely a 'Big House') were literally 'life tenants' under entails and mortgages, and thus had little control over their holdings (Walsh: 2011). Although documentary evidence is limited, his contribution assured that the fabric of the house and its legacy was sustained for the benefit of his grandchildren and ultimately, if not intentionally, for the Irish people.

Thomas Conolly: Marriage and later years

One cannot be sure what the delay on Conolly's part was, given he was 45 when he finally married, but there are several possibilities. Firstly he was hoping to have a better financial base from which to offer marriage, second, he was too carefree to wish to marry and third he was waiting for the right woman to come along. The 'right woman' was crucial. She

Figure 2.3 Thomas Conolly c1865 by William Osborne (1823-1901)

would have to be preferably of the same social group, Protestant of course, young enough to produce an heir and finally and probably most importantly, able to bring

money into the union. The advantageous marriage that he entered into in 1868 did include all the points noted and while this may seem rather calculating it was an accepted practice for elite families with financial difficulties who needed to 'marry well' (Malcomson 2006). Admittedly, the father of the intended bride, Sarah Eliza Shaw (1846-1921), was 'in trade'. However, he

was a very wealthy miller, whose successful business interests were in Celbridge, and this brought a £10,000 [21] dowry, which, if the reports in contemporary memoirs are anything to go by, he spent with alacrity (Boylan: 1968). Although his spending of the dowry may have been flagrant, he had settled on Sarah Eliza £3000 per annum based on the annuities from the Kildare estates (Law Reports (Ireland) Vol XXXI 1893. 329-337).

Figure 2.4 Sarah Eliza Shaw c1868. by William Osborne (1823-1901)

The couple were painted by William Osborne (1823-1901) whose work of equestrian subjects was highly admired. Conolly was painted in 1865 and Sarah Eliza later in 1868 around the time of their marriage shown here (Figures 2.3 & 2.4). There is also an early undated photograph of Sarah Eliza in the Rathdonnell family album (Rathdonell Papers Lisnavagh House) labeled Mrs. Conolly (Figure 2.5), together with those of three of their four children; Thomas (1870-1900), Catherine (1871-1947) and William (1872-95) (Figure 2.6) from the

early 1870s. An unlabeled photo of a baby, not shown here, may be Edward Michael (1874-1956).[22]

Figure 2.5 Sarah Eliza Conolly. Rathdonnell Papers (ND).

Figure 2.6 from the left Thomas Conolly Jr., Catherine Conolly and William Conolly. Courtesy of the Rathdonnell Papers (ND).

Nothing is known of their lives until in 1870, when, with their first surviving son, his nanny, a lady's maid and a valet, the couple embarked on a grand tour. Conolly's diary of

1870-71 recorded an array of sights, as they traveled to Italy through France, Germany and Switzerland, with a commentary on his impressions of the ravages of the disastrous war with Prussia embarked upon by his friend Napoleon III, and from which France was only recovering. They savoured the cultural delights of Italy, and their stay in Rome lasted several months. As they progressed back to Ireland, they visited Florence, which included a tour of the Pitti Palace, a significant destination, thought to be the inspiration for the Red Silk Room at Castletown decorated by Conolly sometime after this tour (Conolly's Diary 1870-71, IAA 98/79 1864-71 and Jenkins: 2016).

In the later years of his life, despite his buoyant personality and lifestyle, conditions had begun to change. His political career began to falter, he was re-elected with only a slim margin in the 1874 election, and because his health was beginning to be of some concern had he lived he would probably not have stood at the next election. *The Leinster Express* (3 June 1876) appears to confirm his state of health when they report that he had been ill and had 'contemplated resigning his seat through ill health' and that he had been 'absent from parliamentary duties for some time'.

The final election of Conolly's career and indeed of his life occurred following an unexpected dissolution of parliament by Gladstone who, as a Liberal, hoped to secure more seats by catching the opposition by surprise. In an open election letter[23] to his Donegal constituents in January 1874, Conolly mentioned the unexpected nature of Gladstone's decision but despite this, hoped for a re-election. This letter revealed his unionist allegiance when he stated in it that 'Home Rule is one full of delusion for our countrymen'. He noted that 'while it evokes all the noblest emotions of patriotism' it would create a 'servile dependent nation' without resources of its own, 'To this I would never consent'. (See endnote 22) This is a definitive answer to the question that arose, following his return from America, about his position on Home Rule.

During the early 1870s, newspaper articles show that he continued to have an interest in agricultural matters and was involved in hunting up until the year before his death. His continuing interest in hunting activities was reflected in the alterations he made to the first floor east wing of Castletown in 1871 as a clubroom. This room is evocative of the hearty lifestyle that men and indeed women of the hunting set enjoyed until well into the twentieth century, as later pictures of the Conolly Carew family will attest.

However, there were signs that all was not well medically or indeed financially. The photograph (Figure 2.7) does not show a man in the full vigour of his health for age 53 and in February 1876, a sale of four hunters was advertised by Mr Sewell a Dublin auctioneer who gave the reason 'as Mr Conolly is no longer able to hunt' (Leinster Express February 1876). In addition, on the eve of the Spring Show on 17th of April of that year, there had been a large sale of stock from Castletown. This consisted, '…of the most fashionable blood…14 cows and heifers and five bulls…' (Freemans Journal 8 April 1876).To dispose of an entire herd and bulls would indicate that Conolly was moving out of dairying, which may have been precipitated by his declining health.

Figure 2.7 Thomas Conolly 1875 (Entry for Thomas Conolly (1823-76) Wikipedia)

Thomas Conolly died aged fifty-three on 10th August 1876. *The Irish Times* mourned him as '*genial, kindly, generous to a fault, patriotic in sentiment where the best interests of Ireland were concerned, and one of the very best of our resident landlords..*.his name was a household word for everything suggestive of benevolent consideration for the welfare of his numerous tenantry' (*Irish Times* 11 August 1876). The *Leinster Express* in the weeks following his death began their obituary 'scarcely a living man who has in his own person exemplified

such a combination of pluck, enterprise, dash, adventure and romance as was realized in the short career of the most esteemed Irish gentleman…' and concluded with, 'His tenantry adored him. Ireland was fond of him. We know of no other man of the time who so completely and so artlessly gathered into his own individuality so many of the characteristics which go to make up the ideal specimen of the type of high-bred Celtic manhood' (*Leinster Express* 19 August 1876). Several decades later, in his son Thomas's obituary, a New Zealand paper recalled him as '*almost the last of the old school of Irish gentlemen – gay, gracious, kindly, brave and chivalrous'* (*Otago Witness* 14 November 1900). His friend Lady St Helier summed up 'dear old Tom Conolly': 'his hospitality was unbounded and his house was always full. There were horses to ride, there were cars to be driven there was an excellent cook and plenty of champagne… he was the kindest the brightest the most delightful of people perfect as a host a kind and staunch friend and universally beloved; and his memory is still green in the recollection of those with whom he came in contact' (St Helier 1909:59). Like the Speaker, Conolly was originally buried in the family chapel at Tea Lane cemetery, Celbridge. Only later were his remains moved to the new family plot in the churchyard of Christ Church, Celbridge where a striking Celtic cross marks his grave (Figure 2.8).

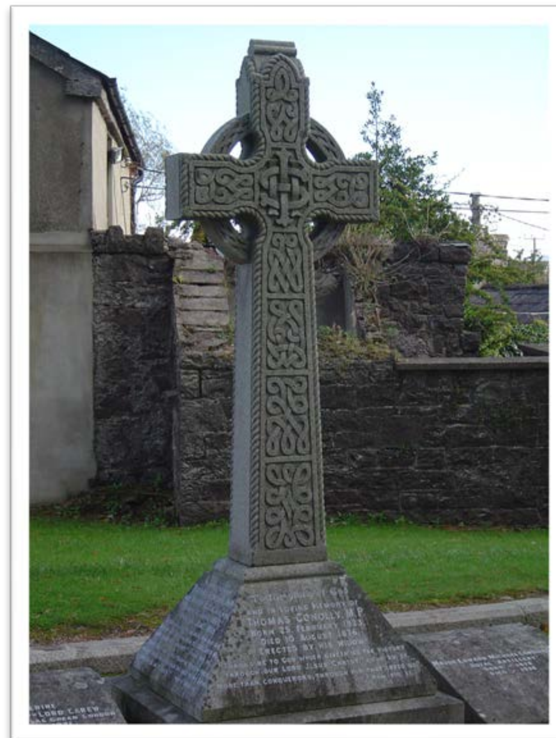

Figure 2.8 Thomas Conolly's headstone in Christ Church Graveyard in Celbridge. Photograph by the author 2015.

The years following Conolly's Death

The Conolly fortunes had already been in decline when Thomas succeeded his father in 1849, the legacy of the family history, and Edward Michael's will shows that he left Thomas only £10,000, a sum his father indicated would barely be enough to sustain the estate (National Archives: Manuscript: Last Will and testament of Edward Michael Pakenham Conolly (1789-1849) NL T17411). Any investments or financial matters during Conolly's lifetime with regard to Castletown are limited to slight evidence in three account books concerning the running of the house. These books are only a small hint of the bigger financial picture, much of it occurring through the land holdings in Donegal, and they fail to provide any detailed clues as to how Thomas Conolly was able to live as well as he did. Given the financial history of the estate and Conolly's profligate lifestyle, it is likely that there were considerable debts to be paid on his death. The final probate, proved in 1877 left £25,000 [24] to Sarah Eliza, but with no hint to the debts that he may have incurred in his lifetime (NA Will Book 1877 entry 381).[25] This sum, in light of the newspaper article and a law report referred to below reveal a number of half understood considerations. In 1890, fourteen years after Conolly's death and the year before her son's majority, Sarah Eliza appears to have been embroiled in a court case concerning complicated financial matters shown in the article below (Figure 2:9, the *Nationalist and Leinster Times* 3 May 1890) with a sum of £100,000 in mortgages mentioned. A search of the Registry of Deeds (RD) also showed other mortgage sums of £1,361 and £3,500 (RD 1875 14 107 and 108) with the same institution involving the same land bank as collateral.[26]

ROLLS COURT—TUESDAY.
(Before the Master of the Rolls),

The Scottish Provident Institution v. Sarah Conolly, the Right Hon. Henry Bruen and others.

The suit is to administer the real and personal estates of the late Thomas Conolly of Castletown, in the County of Dublin, who had large estates in that county, and also in the Counties of Kildare, Donegal and other counties, and who also owned a large quantity of family jewellery, furniture, statuary and plate, which he had devised as heirlooms, to be held by persons entitled to his settled estates.

Mr. Bewley, Q.C., with whom was Mr. J. W. Richards (instructed by Messrs. Reeves & Son), on the part of the plaintiffs, who are mortgagees and creditors for over £100,000, applied for an order that an inventory should be made of the furniture, plate, diamonds and jewellery which are in the possession of Mrs. Conolly, the widow of the deceased, at Castletown, and that they should be sold and the proceeds invested for the benefit of the creditors. Counsel said it was manifest that there would be a large deficiency in the administration

Figure 2.9 Nationalist and Leinster Express 3 May 1890

The article disclosed that some but not all of the Castletown 'real and personal property' was entailed and that Sarah Eliza, in the years following Conolly's death, bought some of the personal property described as 'heirlooms' from the trustees. On foot of this, a Law Report was sourced that reported the case in 1893 (Law Reports (Ireland) Vol. 31, Master of Rolls 1893. 329-337). It seems that in 1875, the year before Conolly's death, he took out two life insurance policies, to the value of £20,000, which may indicate he knew he was not well. Sometime previously, the Scottish Provident Institution, an insurance company, had provided a mortgage to Conolly of £98,000[27] the collateral for the original mortgage was the entire Conolly land bank in Donegal, Dublin and Kildare. Although it is not clear in the 1890 newspaper report the Law report makes it clearer. It emerged that the trustees, Henry Bruen, Arthur Kavanagh and the solicitors William and Henry Cooper, having paid off some of the principal with the life insurance mentioned above, re-mortgaged the lands for a further £17,000 in 1877, for a reason it is difficult to understand. This re-mortgage appears to be partly the basis for the court case in 1890. The court in 1890 had demanded an inventory of the contents with a view to selling some of the 'personal property' due to the inability to pay off the interest on the mortgage either to the trustees or to the Scottish Provident Institution. While these two sources are deeply revealing about the financial circumstances of the Conolly household they raise more questions than they answer.

In the years following Conolly's death Sarah Eliza appeared to have continued to live with her children at Castletown until after her eldest son's twenty-first birthday in 1891. The newspaper reports indicate this was a celebration that took place over several days (*Kildare Observer* 6th September 1891). However, financial pressure by 1895, meant that she and her daughter Catherine had moved into other accommodation to facilitate the renting of Castletown. Moving to more modest accommodation would be the trend for the landowning elites as more and more were forced to sell their country houses due to a combination of financial difficulties and the changes in the late nineteenth century on the legislation regarding tenants' rights. This legislation lead to reduced rents to landowners as well as the sale of the land.

Figure 2.10 Weekend House party at Castletown c1903. (Castletown Archive)

From c1895 until the early twentieth century, Castletown was rented to a number of wealthy individuals when it was once again used for lavish entertaining as it had been in the eighteenth century. The first was Sir Peter O'Brien Lord Chief Justice and later, in 1899, Edward Kelly, son of an Irish American banking family (*Evening Herald* October 1899). Later rentals, when it would see the hosting of the twentieth century phenomenon of weekend parties, have not been publically documented. An evocative photo[28] hints at just such an event (Figure 2.10) shows a group on the front steps of Castletown - some in hunting attire - before a meet of the Kildare Hunt. The group includes the hatless Earl of Dudley, then the Viceroy of Ireland, in the centre of the picture.

The following decade would prove challenging to Sara Eliza. Two of her sons predeceased her, William her second son, born in 1873 died 1895, [29] and in 1900, her eldest son, Thomas, the object of so much idealized admiration, as the testimonials from his 21st birthday celebrations showed, was killed in South Africa during the Boer War. The youngest

son, Edward Michael, also fighting in South Africa at the time, survived. In the 1901, Census Sarah Eliza and Catherine are shown living at St Augustine's Abbey, Tullow Co Carlow but eventually, Sarah after 1906 would move to London. Catherine married the Honourable Gerald Carew in 1904 (*Kildare Observer* 7 May 1904). Her son Edward Michael would later name Catherine and Gerald's son, William Carew, as his heir. Sarah Eliza Conolly died[30] aged 75 in 1921, 100 years after the death of the memorable chatelaine of Castletown, Lady Louisa.

Around 1926, Edward Michael, Thomas Conolly's youngest son, returned to live on the Castletown estate and some limited social events began to take place. He involved himself with the Kildare Hunt whose meets had continued to take place at Castletown, despite the house being rented out. The Conolly Carew family, who came to live at Castletown in the 1938, did not find it an easy time dealing with an ageing early eighteenth century house without finances for essential maintenance. As Edward Michael's health began to fail, his nephew and heir Lord William Carew and his wife Sylvia became his main carers. On his uncle's death in 1956 William Carew like his great grandfather, added Conolly to his family name when he inherited. However with the passing of time Castletown was becoming a huge liability and with the pressing structural and financial difficulties, the family sold the house in 1965 ending an unbroken 265 year association with the lands at Celbridge. See the Epilogue Appendix II for the history of the house and family in the twentieth century.

Conclusion

The Conolly family were involved in what we might now characterise as 'public service' and that pivotal role was evidenced in the power geometry, the 'flow and interconnections' between different social groups and different individuals, over time and space (Massey 1991:25). From the seventeenth century until the death of Thomas Conolly in the later nineteenth century, the Conollys were typical of the aristocratic and landed families of the period. Although the Conollys were not originally Protestant, they switched allegiance and became part of the Protestant Ascendancy machine. The elite landowners through their assumption of leadership, based on their family history and networks of connections, consequently controlled the social and political landscape, as their position in society demanded. While their roles of duty, responsibility and authority were beginning to change radically with the rise of the middle class in the later nineteenth century who demanded a greater role in the running of the country, this did not entirely sweep away the highly structured nature of society at this time.

What was significant across the power elites of the Ascendancy class was the nature of their networks, the pivotal machine of authority driven through the presentation of a largely united front. Change, particularly at this time, was becoming the only constant, and the erstwhile Protestant elite was not particularly adept at adapting to it. However, their performed

roles as authority figures were not necessarily always a reflection of their private opinions or capacities. There were also those who wished to see the reform of the antiquated system that existed out of tune with the rising bourgeoisie and some of the old power elite took part in a new and more egalitarian and democratic governance as it evolved. In the latter stages of the fight for the independence of Ireland, a small number of those who had been part of the power elite took part in an emerging nation state by involving themselves in the emerging radical politics; like Constance Gore-Booth, Albinia Brodrick and Lord Ashbourne. All were prominent in advanced nationalist politics and the Irish language movement and would take part in the newly developing egalitarian state as it evolved. Conolly, while playing a small role in the overall social and political picture of Ireland, was not someone with any visible nationalist sentiments and had found it difficult to come to grips with the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland and the land reforms from 1870 onwards that would ultimately change the power structure of Ireland. Thomas Conolly's personal history straddles a transitional era; this chapter helps us to understand the nature and extent of particular power elite, the landed gentry in Irish history with a particular focus on mid-nineteenth century, and how not just then-current politics, but the inheritance of economic and social burdens from previous family generations crucially formed their world. The remainder of the thesis will put some more meat on the bones of Conolly's life and contextualise it as a connected individual in a wider network of influence through the landscapes of power in which he operated.

Chapter Three: Literature Review:
The Social Network as a relational geography of power

Introduction

Three themes are central within this thesis: firstly, the idea of the social network, secondly, framing it within a wider relational geography and thirdly the ways in which the process of networking produced and maintained power; in this case embedded in mid-19th century landowning society. Across all three themes, the operation of the political economy, the governance of everyday life and the setting out of a set of cultural standards, were key to a fuller understanding of how power was maintained and controlled. Through a specific study of one individual, the thesis sets out to describe how that social network operated by maintaining the cultural norms, through complex negotiations of social engagement and performance both subtle and not so subtle, that in turn generated compliance by the majority of the population, creating a collective cultural hegemony. In uncovering these practices, this literature review sets out a discussion of social networks, relational geographies and their specific application to treatise of power within historical geography, but first introduces the topic more broadly.

Historical Geography: Context and Approaches

This thesis is part of an historical geography approach that considers the social as well as the physical aspects of the landscape by looking at how that social structure operates thorough the social networking of the power elite. By looking at the cartographic evidence of the scope of parklands particularly in Leinster the geographical dominance of the power elite becomes highly visible. In terms of power, those at the top of the social hierarchy, largely through the part they played in their roles as networked actors in the governance of Ireland, determined the social and cultural practices of the time, albeit with moments of resistance from outside the power structure. The more dense the network the greater the influence is generated.

In the early years of the development of historical geography, traditional approaches were employed in terms of methods and key practices from two well-established academic disciplines, history and geography. However, as the general acceptance of a separate concept of historical geography took shape, another approach to gathering spatial knowledge emerged. The work of scholars including T.W. Freeman, Estyn Evans, Jones-Hughes and others, was

evidence-based, employing an almost scientific methodology to produce their descriptions of historical geographical spaces (Strohmayer 2014). Significantly, historical geography was not based on a self-evident uniform set of facts. Context was pivotal in the study of historical geography and the circumstances of having findings A in one place might cause or directly shape a finding B in another location. Bringing new and possibly uncomfortable interpretations to traditional thinking has been an area where historical geography differed most from history. In the 1980s, the most ground-breaking scholar was arguably Denis Cosgrove. His book, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (1984), brought a 'new vocabulary, as well as new methods and sources' to the discipline. Cosgrove insisted on the importance of a closer analysis of the landscapes, especially how they were 'constituted, disseminated and ultimately controlled' (Strohmayer 2014:274). Increasingly historical geography was opening up to thinking about the boundaries of space and the scale of those spaces. In this way and by considering even everyday historical struggles the past becomes more meaningful and concrete (Strohmayer 2014:276).

In Ireland key historical geographers of the twentieth century included T. W. Freeman (1950), Estyn Evans (1981) and Tom Jones-Hughes (2004). As the discipline developed Irish historical geographers, 'avoided the contested issues of inclusion and exclusion by focusing on the material landscapes of pre-colonial Ireland' (Kelly 2012:284). For this reason, their work is less directly relevant to this research but does inform it in the background. Their studies of Irish life reflected Irish cultural geography and largely considered the physical landscape and the structure of settlement and the rural agricultural practices of small farmers. They did not reflect on the elite hierarchy of the Anglo-Irish in any depth beyond mentioning them, usually negatively, as landowners. While Jones-Hughes (2010) provided a breakdown of the Irish population, in a similar manner to Thompson's (1963) work on English society, it did not go into the same detail as Thompson with regard to the cultural practices of the classes and did not offer detailed information on the elites to contribute specifically to this thesis. Indeed, other twentieth century scholars such as Evans (1981) focused on land issues and the complications of tenure with their interest mainly focused on resistance, in all its forms, to the changing social order. Stout (2005) subsequently argued that the most important contribution geography made, even if neither Freeman or O'Grada (1994 and 2004) [31] engaged completely with the spatial, was to introduce the idea of place into historical examinations of society (Stout 2005:79). Even the more recent and influential Atlas of the Rural Irish Landscape (Aalen, Whelan and Stout 1997) was primarily directed toward settlement and an engagement with the physical landscape in a variety of aspects.

Nevertheless, in the last 20 years historical geographers have increasingly engaged with

Irish identity in terms of the way in which this identity is linked with the creation of the lifeworld of different social groups and, 'which emphasize the shared experience of both landlords and tenants…despite having different roles and unequal levels of power' (Kelly 2012:284). The Anglo-Irish elites as a power base had a considerable impact on the structure of the landscape in both its physical and social nature. Historical geographers including Lindsay Proudfoot (2000), Willie Nolan (1988), William J. Smyth (2006) and Paddy Duffy (2007) have all engaged with the notion of identity and the landscape and the link to the social relations between the landlord and tenant. However, rather than considering the social networks of the landlord class their focus has been concerned with the bigger sweep of the population within the periods they studied and the dynamic forms of resistance between the landlord and tenants across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In general, historians and historical geographers have arguably failed to fully articulate the integrated nature of social networks and the specifically spatial elements of the reproduction of power. The aristocratic, gentry and upper middleclass members of society persistently looked to Britain for their social and cultural standards resulting in the creation of the overarching cultural practices that were highly nuanced toward England in their nature. Thomas Conolly represented both sides of the landowning stereotype. As will be outlined below, he argued strongly against the loss of land in the great land reforms of the nineteenth century; yet was also considerate toward his tenants and those dependant on him. Equally, he spent time in England most years and through his role as an MP, was part of a wider political lifeworld as well. This was typical of the grey areas that emerged through the range of materials consciously used by historical geographers in the study of Irish society that in turn informed the highly charged socio-political milieu of the period. One can acknowledge the established paradigms and the inequitable nature of colonial government but it remains valuable to look more closely at historic material on the lives of specific Protestant power elite players; to get a more nuanced picture. Carrying out an in-depth study of one individual opens up a better understanding of these lifeworlds.

This thesis endeavours to consider the power enacted by the elites in the physical and social landscape, to contribute to a fuller understanding of the dynamics of society. Historical geography seeks to 'de-naturalize landscapes where previous scholarship often sought to emphasize those elements that made particular landscapes rhyme…' (Strohmayer 2014: 274). Coupled with contemporary approaches such as the use of biographies and life history, this increases the depth of understanding of the socio-political milieu in which society operated and the spaces and places where power was acted out (Thomas 2004).

Networks: Places and Spaces of Power

Within historical geography, traditional studies of power began with explicit explorations of the specific spaces and places within which that power resided and was maintained. Across nineteenth century society, in Europe and the British Isles, the core setting for such studies were the historic places of the power elites - houses and demesnes - that Dooley's (2001) seminal work, opened up for examination. Duffy's (2007) historical guide usefully introduces the themes considered in this thesis in terms of the connections between the landscape and the dynamics of the population (Duffy 2007:228). His suggestions in the guide contributed to more lateral thinking in an area previously under-explored in terms of hierarchical power and influence. The houses and demesnes developed across time and space and have come to be used to publicly, even symbolically, represent the overt economic and social power of the landowning classes. They also formed the settings for highly politicized and contested debates about how these spaces both acted and operated.

If we see the house/demesne as the starting point of a social network, it is important to consider how such spaces have been discussed and presented in the literature. Proudfoot (2000) argued that there were two distinct sides in debates on the demesne system. Firstly, he argued that the large sums spent on the house and estate were 'driven by the elite's innate sense of their own political and social insecurity' and secondly he suggested instead a different model of class and social order that moved beyond colonial cultural status (Proudfoot 2000:208). He argued that demesne spaces represented a set of spatial nodes within privileged networks that allowed for disengagement with the local, which reinforced a separation of the power group from the general population. In considering such a nodal vision, there were additional nodes beyond the house/demesne, specifically locations of institutional power, such as courthouses and government administration buildings, through which the elites operated, that reinforced the power of homes and demesnes in an active connected way. The combined architectural imagery was a visible projection of power and their representation part of an iconography of same (Proudfoot and Roche 2005).

The history of the nineteenth century contains many studies of historic houses and estates that provide a general glimpse into the social networking of the power elites of different Irish country houses. Local historians (Kelly 2014) and historical geographers have traditionally documented individual houses and demesnes in great depth and such single-site studies include Friel's (2000) study of Heywood House in Laois and its owner Frederick Trench and Reilly's (2007) study on the Downshire estate in Edenderry. Other examples include Moran's (2006) exploration of the Gore-Booth family at Lissadell in Sligo, Mooney (2012) on Headfort House the home of the earls of Headfort and Delaney (2012) on the management of

the Digby estate in Offaly by the well-known land agent Steuart-Trench. Many of these well-researched empirical histories reveal that individuals were networked to other elites in a variety of ways but few highlight or analyse the implications of their findings, underplaying the dynamics and production of those social networks. Nonetheless, these fascinating studies set out the biographies of the individuals and the evolution of their houses and demesnes as 'micro-studies [that] provide a raison d'etre for a form of history that celebrates the diversity that underlies every generalisation that historians aspire to reach' (Kelly 2014:166). Other work in a similar vein include in-depth studies of particular events in the political development of the country or a focus on a single aspect of society, for example recent works on the Royal Irish Constabulary (Herlihy 2016) and The Irish Lord Lieutenancy 1541-1922 (Grey and Purdue 2012). Other studies, centred on tightly bounded highly detailed historical studies, had made little meaningful attempt to connect the people and houses into a wider power structure. As such, those often useful and praiseworthy exercises failed to connect individuals, their houses and their affiliations with the social, cultural and economic history of other individuals and places within the social network. Campbell (2009) who had written in detail on each of Ireland's main institutions, such as the embedded power agents, has shown in a useful overview the civic authority that operated the governance of Ireland; yet he too did not connect up with the networks of social power of the individuals who were the top men in each institution or board. These offer little depth of insight into the spatial nature of the specific organisations or roles described; in contrast perhaps to how the possible focus of a historical geographer should consider the spatial landscape. That more specific spatial framing is something this thesis has attempted to do. Other research into nineteenth century Irish society, while highly informative regarding women's roles and the social practices in the private home and referring to the part played by social networks and the maintenance of cultural acceptance of these practices, still does not examine them in relation to a wider social network (O'Neill 2013; Lane and Murphy 2016).

As a contrast to such worthwhile but limited studies, Proudfoot's exploration of the nature and meaning of space provided a more apposite study of a number of demesnes, among them Gosford Castle and Parkanaur (both in Armagh) and the Duke of Devonshire's estates in Ireland (1995). These three studies focused on themes that considered the relational and spatial geographies of the demesnes, the social and cultural structures of society and their implications for identity and to some extent compliance, which will be discussed at length throughout the thesis. Dooley's (2001) study on the financial downfall of the ascendancy class toward the end of the nineteenth century, in many ways began the process of looking in at the historic houses in an altogether different way.

The idea of historic house and demesne as a form of 'power hub' within a wider social network is a key starting point and one that this thesis will develop. Such houses sat within very specific cultural landscapes of power and within such landscapes, both house and demesne were visible markers of identity and cultural capital. Darby (2000) reflected on how landscape and identity have created the character of the nation state and Proudfoot, considered that, in the relationships of the landowners to their great estates, 'place renders space culturally meaningful in terms of individual and collective experience' (Proudfoot 2000:203). Carl O. Sauer (1889-1975), in earlier writing on cultural landscapes, also suggested one should begin to study society through the principal dwelling place (Wylie 2007:20) and so the house and demesnes of the power elites will be a central part of this research, developed more fully in the following two chapters. In the study of cultural identity, Sauer credits the physical landscape, in this case the house and parkland extending beyond its limits into the surrounding farmlands and local villages, as a representation of the visible cultural identity of the landowner and the family (Wylie 2007:20).

At the heart of Sauer's theories was a concern for the way 'culture groups left their mark on the land' (Whelan 2014:162) and although Sauer's ideas fell out of popularity with the paradigm shifts of the twentieth century, Wylie (2007) has recently revisited his theories and ideas within current examinations of cultural landscapes. For this reason, Wylie has identified emotional space and the surrounding physical landscapes of our lives as relevant to the understanding of the dwelling and identity and the production of the power landscape. Wylie's (2010) work on landscape also examines the shaping of society. Cultural landscapes are produced through specific processes of individual or collective experiences in the landscape either built or planted. Cultural landscapes as a concept are both symbolic and material and illuminate the differences of belief in social organization and cultural values of objects and patterns. These new cultural geographies of landscape implicate images and texts within systems of cultural, political and economic power defining a 'way of seeing' the world (Wylie 2007:55). Landscape represents a discourse through which identifiable social groups historically framed themselves. Henri Lefebvre stated that 'the land carries on its face the pathways, monuments and sites which are a cultural memory and a storehouse of ideas' (Malpas 1999:186). The symbolic place of the big house in Irish imaginations has, therefore, a direct link to political and literary narratives that have created a very particular imaginative social history that this study sets out to clarify and explore.

The networking of this cultural presence and direct associations with the power elite were evident in both visible and invisible ways. The houses, the demesnes, the courtrooms and the hunting field were where the dominant power was created through shared meaning and

everyday practices and were irretrievably linked to the power of the landowning community and their social and cultural presence in the landscape. Throughout the literature on landscape phenomenology, distinguished writers on the subject all agreed that landscape was at heart, a cultural construct and was at the forefront of an understanding of identity (Cosgrove, 1988, 1984; Daniels, 1993; Ingold, 2000; Wylie, 2007; Malpas, 1999). The highly visible big house could represent both the owner's statement of his life world and conversely, the viewer's place in the hierarchy of that life world. In this way the house and parkland and indeed the owner, all came to be influential factors in the shaping of identity within the Irish geographical landscape. Regardless of which side of the coin one occupied, both sides played a part in producing cultural norms within local areas. Extrapolating this concept to the interconnected landscapes, both topographical and topological, shaped the overarching national hegemony of the time; the core rationale of the thesis being that power depended on the visibility and performance of the ascendancy class.

By using a case study of one individual, Thomas Conolly, this thesis attempts to reconstruct key biographical aspects of his life as a representative member of the elite power network. Thomas (2004) in her paper on Lady Curzon sees biography as an important consideration and is of the opinion that 'there is a need to cast biography in geographical terms and not to shy away from reconstructing the experience of individual lives within both a historical and geographical context' (Thomas 2004:498). McGeachan, writing on the potential use of biographies, argues that, 'lives can be deployed in spatially complex ways often using biography strategically to force open new connections between places, people and experiences' (McGeachan 2016:3). She also suggests that they 'sensitize the readers to the fundamental openness of history…to the limited nature of historical knowledge…but also to the limited opportunities and structural limitations in the historical process itself' (McGeachan 2016:3). This has been made clear in the attempt to untangle the reality from the myth in Irish history.

The processes of connectivity occur in and around the stage sets, the power hubs, wherever they lie. They form sites of identity wherein spaces are shared by a variety of social groups that 'transcend …notions of difference' and offer a perspective on the traditional 'exercise of social authority' or even civic authority (Proudfoot 2000:204). These relationships with the geographical and topographical landscapes are significant in the formation of personal identities. They depend on a number of influences: environment, material goods and dress, family, social status. The latter two in particular, being inextricably linked to how an individual established their identity, are discussed with examples across the thesis. The cultural power generated by relationships in these specific places become imbued with meaning and the end

result is a social network that while not heterogeneous is nevertheless a key driver in the acceptance of the established cultural norms.

In a more critically enlightening text on the practices of everyday life among the upper and middling classes, Thompson's *English Landed Society (1963)* provided a valuable framework to this study as it developed. A widely circulated graphic found in the *Illustrated London News* is shown in Figure 3.1. This is a simplistic diagram of hierarchal society, the social Bee Hive, and demonstrates the perceived structure of society in the period.

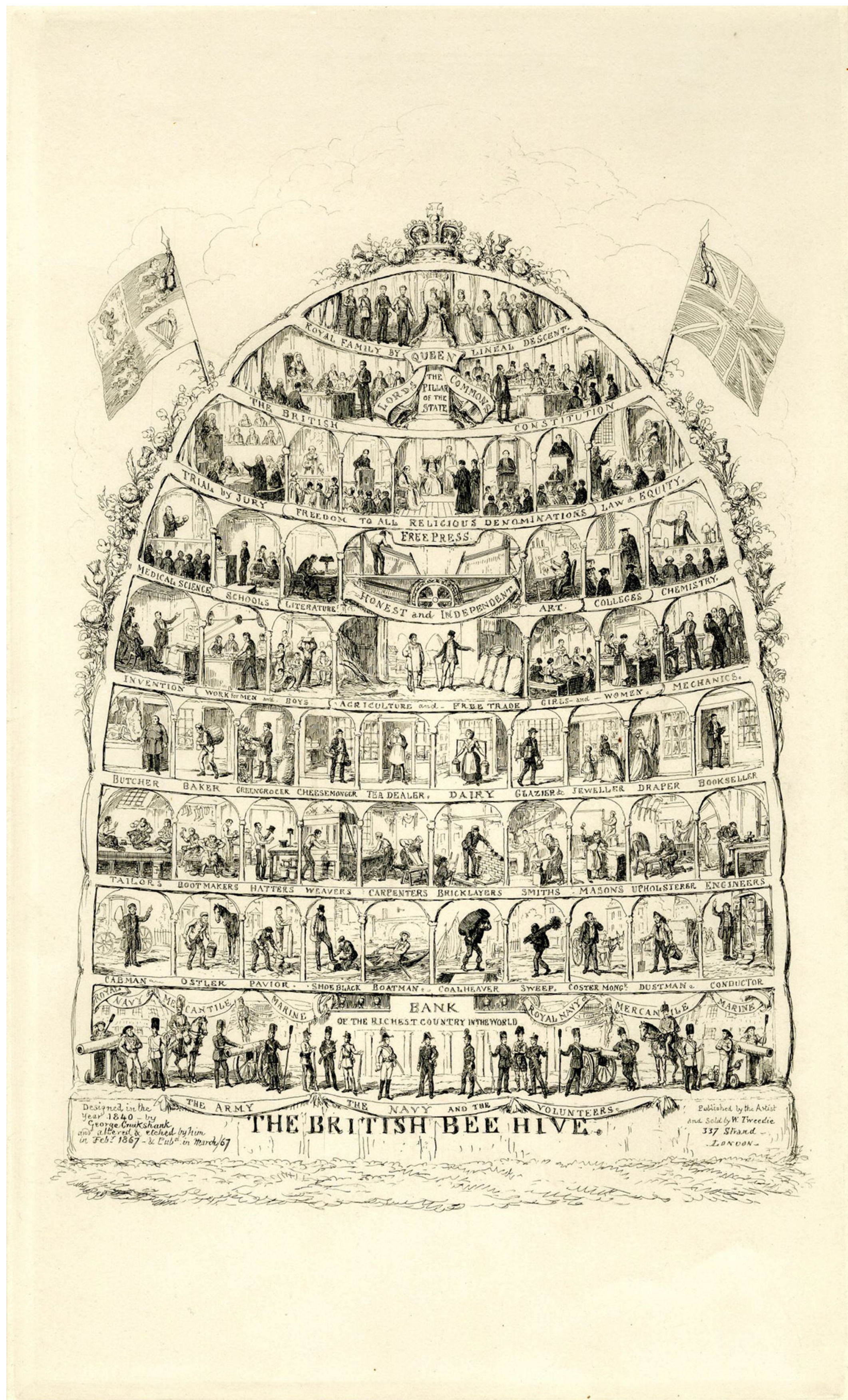

Figure 3:1 The British Beehive by George Cruikshank 1840, London Illustrated News

Thompson's study broke down the classes in considerable detail that mirrored Bateman's (1883) landowning study in the 1880s (that also included Ireland); additionally, Thompson broke down the classes into income brackets. In the late nineteenth century these divisions of class were: gentry, greater gentry, squirearchy and smaller landowners (farmer). This highly significant short list provides a useful framework for how social networks operated. Divisions were socially layered, with a top, middle and bottom and one's relative position within each layer depended on many things, financial, influential, social and cultural. The divisions and movements were never rigidly fixed: the flow up and down and across the framework over one's lifetime or generations could change according to a wide variety of circumstances as mentioned and indeed social changes over time. During the period under study, Girouard (1978) showed that there were wide ranging changes to society from the influence of the rising bourgeoisie creating an identity confusion among the old aristocracy and the upper-middle classes. One of the core aims of the thesis is to use Conolly and Castletown as a way of mapping out the complexities of the shifting connectivity to other social groups. Thomas Conolly was on the cusp of these social changes and his confusion was evident in his reaction to the various bills brought into parliament during the last years of his life. These are discussed elsewhere in the thesis but represents the concerns of others of his class as well.

In the study of nineteenth century Irish society, broadly speaking, historiography has been shaped by a Nationalist perspective that contested the role of the power elite in the latter half of the century. The elite in power were usually grouped together under the highly politicised phrases, 'Protestant Ascendancy' and later again 'Anglo-Irish' against whom a range of social and political problems in Ireland were ascribed. However, in the last ten or fifteen years, researchers have begun to re-examine these heretofore-accepted negative stereotypes and to bring the activities and motivations of the landed class into the understanding and recognition that society is never just one layer and that there were more 'good' landlords than has previously been accepted. The 7th Viscount Powerscourt in the mid-Victorian period was a resident landlord who built good quality two story estate cottages for his workers in Enniskerry Co Wicklow while the 3rd Marquess of Sligo had grain shipped from America during the Famine for his tenants. He also offered assisted passage to Canada and America if tenants wished to go. These actions brought the Browne family close to bankruptcy (Sligo 1981). Many of the surviving Catholic gentry were virtually wiped out by the impact of the Famine partly because of the efforts to help the community and partly because of the failure of their tenants' ability to pay rent. Many of the short histories mentioned earlier set out the landowner's donations of schools and churches in their areas or on the estate itself, indicating that today fresh thinking

has developed about the role and the interaction with the local communities by the elites, during the nineteenth century.

The social structure of the nineteenth century was a complicated and multi-layered web of different degrees of connectivity and in particular, that nineteenth century society was never static, changes were occurring in the social make-up of the Protestant elites as well as in the wider Catholic society. The Conolly family would themselves, typically for their class, experience financial problems that became insurmountable after Thomas Conolly's death. Fortunes rose and fell over time and in the post famine period many great families disappeared to be replaced by others who were on the rise (Dooley 2001). Proudfoot points out that the 'conventional depiction of this 'landlord class' as a homogenous group uniformly separated from the mass of the Irish people by politics, language, religion and ethnicity is a gross oversimplification of a much more complex reality' (Proudfoot 1995:43). He contends that the spaces surrounding the great houses with their created parklands transcend notions of difference and themselves offer a way to understand and to reconsider 'the exercise of traditional social authority in Ireland' (Proudfoot 2000: 204). He shows how this transcendence occurs through descriptions of the cultural practices described as collaborative relationships between of the social groups.

Relational Geographies: Connecting up the Network

At its heart, relational geography is more than just a description of a set of networks. Rather relational geographies are interested in how networks are made, sustained and sometimes broken. A relational geography is at heart about relationships, between people and between places (Cummings 2009). Allen clarifies a networking process as combining both power and social networks; 'power is produced through networks of social action and may expand or decrease in such networks' (Allen 1999:199). Doreen Massey, as a central figure in the development of relational geographies, has influenced thinking on power-geometrics by considering relationships between different actors through their interactions with each other within and across places and spaces (Massey 2005). Massey questioned the stability of space and suggested that space be equally understood as unstable and imagined (Rodgers 2004:281). This can create difficulties when applied to the sometimes fixed nature of traditional historical writing but it has been helpful to consider history through the lens of contemporary writing in historical geography (Graham and Nash, 1999). Relooking at historical events does not change the nature of real places and activities that occurred in the distant past, but the work by Massey can help to broaden our understanding of how places were produced via the networks within which they stood. Her core ideas are here reapplied to nineteenth century Ireland in particular,

with the term 'power geometry' an especially useful way to describe the 'meeting and weaving' of actors and the attendant waves of power of the social network (Chard 2004:224).

Cummings, citing Massey (1999) and Graham and Healy (1999), commented that, 'several geographers have argued that places may be more usefully viewed as nodes in networks than discrete and autonomous bounded spatial units' (Cummins 2007:1827). He also clarifies that relational geography elaborates the notion of proximity and distance as defining the separation of people and places in the use of geometric terms in some analysis of place. In the spaces of the geographical landscape 'here' is always shaped by wider forces and no 'here' ever sits on its own but is connected to 'there' – where people come from, where they are going to, the other people nearby and our connections to other people far away. He discusses Euclidian time where parallel lines run to infinity never meeting, bisecting only when they are created in a grid pattern. Alternatively, and much more realistic given the fuzzy nature of real life, there is a non-Euclidian understanding of time where hyperbolic or elliptical lines allow more connectivity. This may be useful on some level but social networks do not follow a geometric formula even if they are laid on a Euclidian grid. Humans are human and formulaic geometry does not apply unless one is laying out a cityscape. Humans may be assigned to bounded areas but they cannot contain human networks and movements along those networks. We are familiar in everyday life with Euclidian grids, for example, representations of the train network that give no hint of the social networks that in reality overlay or work through them. Cummins offers and alternative suggestions reproduced here (Table 3.1), that compares a conventional view of place with a new relational geographical frame one that informs this thesis; and one can see how workable this concept is to model the fluid dynamic nature of social relationships that operates across space and time (Cummins 2007: 1827).

Conventional View	**Relational view**
Spaces with geographic boundaries drawn at a specific scale	Nodes in networks, multi-scale
Separated by physical distance	Separated by socio-relational distance
Resident local communities	Populations of individuals who are mobile daily and over their life course
Services described in terms of fixed locations often providing for territorial jurisdictions, distance decay models describe varying utility in space	Layers of assets available to populations via varying paths in time and space. Euclidian distance may or may not be relevant to utility

Area definitions relatively static and fixed	Area definitions relatively dynamic and fluid
Characteristics at fixed time points e.g. deprived vs affluent	Dynamic characteristics eg. declining vs advancing
Culturally neutral territorial divisions infrastructure and services	Territorial divisions services and infrastructure imbued with social power relations and cultural meaning
Contextual features described systematically and consistently by different individuals and groups	Contextual features described variably by different individuals and groups

Table 3.1 Conventional and relational understandings of place after Cummins (2007:1828).

Cummins' table above contains a number of very useful ideas that can be used with reference to Conolly and his social network. This thesis is asking the geography community to reconsider the dynamics of historic relational geography and the chart above shows how that process should be approached. Take the third pair of boxes, *Resident local communities* as an example. There was an assumption by many anthropologists (Arensberg and Kimball 1930, Brody 1973) and geographers that rural communities were placed within structured, bounded spaces but in contrast (Gibbson 1973) suggested that, as the paired boxes point out, populations of individuals are much more mobile, both daily and over their lifetime. Refitting this concept to nineteenth century society allows a greater appreciation of the fluid dynamics of social relationships and networks together with Massey's power geometries. This is especially evident in Conolly's diaries, which map out a highly mobile, fluid personal geography.

Through collective, highly ordered and regular social activities, an additional set of locations emerge in place beyond the house and demesne where social codes were visibly enacted and helped fix the cultural and political dominance. Space becomes a key layer of meaning connected with the place of social activity, but also across a clear socio-relational distance. Conolly, with others of his class, demonstrated the prevailing norms of the social elite through a set of networked activities within a visibly performed social calendar, that included membership of clubs, military and clerical associations as well as through marriage, attendance at sporting activities and high profile social events such as those held at Dublin Castle, London and beyond.

Producing and maintaining power: The role of social networks

In describing the form and nature of the social network through the idea of a complex set of nodes and connectors, these provide the schematics for a spatially relational understanding of power in 19th century Ireland. To more fully understand exactly how the social network produced and maintained power, one needs to more fully understand how such processes operated. Social Networking, as a process, was traceable through a variety of routes. Place hubs and their positioning within a wider landscape of power operated across many levels of a highly ordered social activity, governed by social codes that in turn fixed the cultural and political dominance firmly in place. In a sense, these codes and activities were how the homes/demesnes were placed into a wider network of influence, where connections, personal, social and institutional, were formed and performed and resulted in the cultural practices of the nation state. Essentially, the wider social network can be seen as a very clear model of a relational geography founded on a material geography that was both diffuse and dispersed.

Power emerged not only in the overt settings of politics, institutions and social networks but also through mobile performances within everyday life, a process that held and maintained cultural power. These operated in part as a set of cultural performances, through the likes of leisure activities - of which hunting is an ideal case study (see Chapter 6) - but also in more subtly produced forms, through manners and deference. The rationale of performance was based on the differentiation and stratification of society into the recognized classes and what became a hierarchy of power. A study by Brayshay et al (2007) on the social networks of transnational corporations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries deeply resonated with this thesis and helpfully identified that the power generated through the elite schools, clubs and marriages (that this thesis has also identified and described) remains grounded in place and spilled over into the newly emerging business elite that controlled the financial markets until the 1930s - their use of a diagrammatic approach to map out the social network of their subjects is especially helpful. For example the diagram shown in Figure 3.3 below is useful in appreciating that linkages and connectivity can be set out in diagrammatic form. Of particular interest is the idea of the 'interlocks' that Brayshay notes are the same as the links that this thesis explores, based specifically on the number of contacts each elite individual maintains throughout their social network. Brayshay's approach was mainly to consider transnational corporations and the business links, but it has been relatively simple to transfer the concept of 'interlocks', social, political and cultural, to the life of Thomas Conolly as well. By using this model, Conolly's numerous links will be similarly demonstrated and more fully discussed in

Chapter 6 where Brayshay et al's business linkages are converted to social variants and both begin with school. (See diagram in Chapter 6 Figure 6.2)

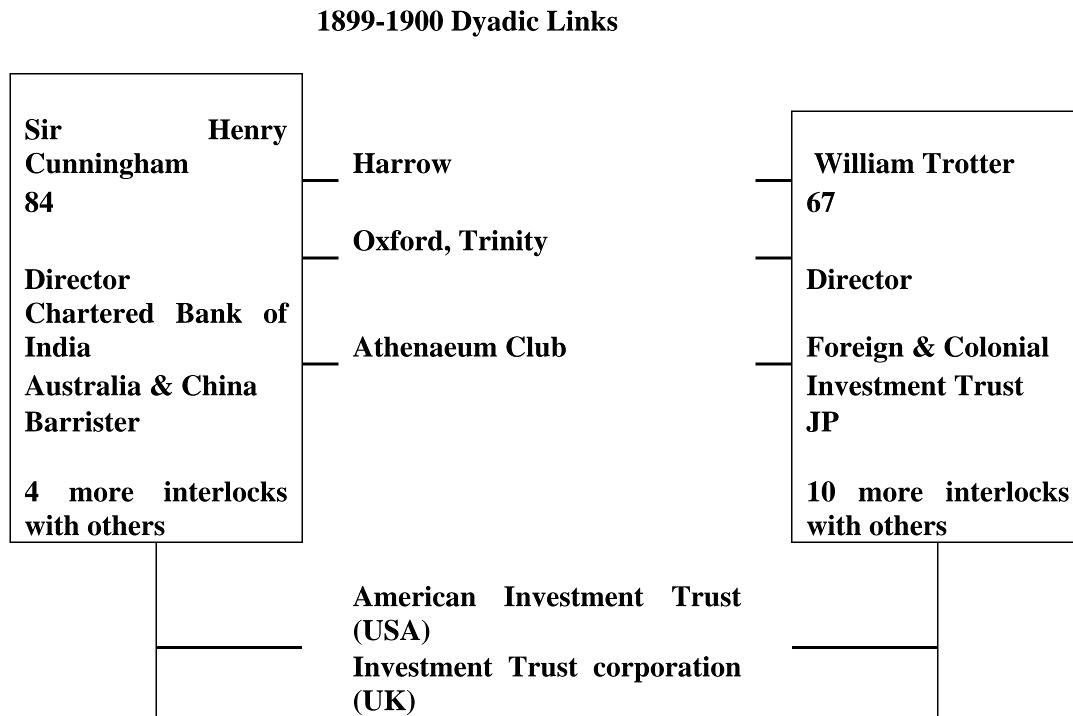

Figure 3.3. Diagram of Dyadic Links: Brayshay et al (2007:163)

In former centuries, the aristocratic and upper class were the dominant power elites, in Ireland as elsewhere (Thompson 1963). They formed a compact social and psychological entity and were self-conscious members of a distinct social class. However the the subordinate groups also played their part; their vested interests were also part of the equation and the wielding of power was/is a co-operative as well as a negotiated process. Regardless of the balance of powerful men in the inner circle of the elites, there were still celebrities who exerted a significant influence on society at a national level while the more non- celebrity power elites carried out the decisions made by those of the inner circle. Brayshay in his study of the early twentieth century argues 'that the directors of early multinationals formed the kind of definable 'power geometries' within the wider corporate elite that have been identified amongst today's business elites' (Brayshay 2006:146). His research focused on those who began their business careers at the end of the nineteenth century mirrored what the findings of this thesis identify. The fathers or grandfathers of his subjects may very well have been specific names mentioned in the thesis' database.

The rise to dominance by an individual or group into a power landscape creates a differential behaviour from the subordinate group that acknowledges the dominant group through deference and in doing so stabilizes and legitimates that power (Mill 1956). However, it is important to understand that deference, as a process, is closely linked to performance in the maintenance of power landscapes. The relationships between the dominant authority, and those they governed in a range of capacities, required some sort of agreement. Deference and performance, as an inseparable unit, provides a key to a greater understanding of how power was maintained and directed through social networking on many levels, some highly nuanced. Those performances are always geographical. Foley (2010) has considered, for example, spatial performances of health, at spa towns and sea resorts, suggesting how 'specific local topographies' were the result of the interactions of people and places. Although his work was centred on landscapes of health, it is relevant to consider how such transient and repeated performances shaped not just sites of healing but any site where performances were enacted. This applied equally to the power elite as they performed their status in society and their connections to each other. Hunting performances are particularly apt in this instance. As an example, Conolly's remaining diaries and account books show how he was reordering his estate at Castletown as a type of performance that demonstrated both his disposable income and his taste. His contemporaries, in their memoirs, recall too the parties he held there with pleasure. For Conolly the place of Castletown became a specifically spatial demonstration of his sophistication, but also as part of the glue and lubricant that both cemented and made mobile his social network.

A number of historical geographers have been exploring a wider 'performative' turn in human geography and this has been the driving interest in the development of the thesis. The connection between society and theatre (performance) is not open to comparison 'because there is actually no division between the two' (Griffin and Evans 2008:9). Performance had a key function in lubricating the movement and flow along the network, whether it was for substantive roles in the mechanism of governance or in smaller acts of influence in sustaining and maintaining the network. Critically, this was not without its pitfalls and blockages but on the plus side could speed the individual upwards into greater influence in the network. Part of that performance was the display of an individual's identity and Castells was of the belief that 'our world, our lives are shaped by conflicting trends of globalization and identity. The information technology revolution and the restructuring of capitalism have induced a new form of society, the network society' (Castells 1997:1). This opening paragraph of Castells' Power of Identity (1997) was an analysis of contemporary societies, but could arguably apply as equally to the mid-nineteenth century. While Castells goes on to qualify his opening remarks with mention of a pervasive interconnected and diversified system based on modern media there is much of relevance in his study. From the mid-nineteenth century the world had become increasingly

connected, building on developments since the closing decades of the previous century. The big change over the nineteenth century was the speed of connectivity and this speed increased exponentially with early technology innovations such as the telegraph system and mechanical development in transportation. Castells' theory is that throughout the twentieth century, with the increase of modern communication networks, the process of constructing an identity produced new forms of social change. If people view themselves differently they expect society to operate differently. By applying Castells' analysis to the nineteenth century, a greater understanding of the structure of society - as seen through the process of identity formation - can be recognized. He outlines a three-tiered description of identity that offers an understanding of how the social network operates in the formation of those identities (Castells 1997: 8-9). First is *Legitimizing Identity generates a civil society*, where dominant institutions of society extend and rationalize their domination through actors in society – such as the power elite - that generate civil society. Second, *Resistance Identity* is where those placed in devalued positions by the dominant society begin to resist the authority of the dominant group, linkable to more revolutionary elements in that same society. Third *Project Identity* is where individuals form groups that create new identities to define their positions within the dominant society but seek to transform the overall social structure: for example the feminist movement, or perhaps in the case of nineteenth-century Ireland, the Gaelic Literary Revival or the newly confident Roman Catholic organisations.

These acts of resistance come to characterize these groups and they form communes or communities. (Castells 1997:8). Castells argues that in early to late modernism Project Identity come from within the legitimate civil society, examples being Marx and Engels, and Amelia Pankhurst of the Suffragette movement. He believed that only the elite with their timeless space of global networks had the capacity for 'reflexive life planning' (Castells 1997:11). However, when the elites were themselves on the cutting edge of the proposed changes to society, how could they confidently plan their own futures? We see Conolly in the House of Commons frantically trying to rein back the changes proposed by Isaac Butt and John Stuart Mill specifically in relation to land ownership. Reaction to the challenges thrown up by the actors in the various political (with a small p) groups cannot result in stable political environments particularly in the context of Ireland as agitation was increasing from the mid-nineteenth century on. The developing political and social difficulties that festered across the nineteenth century in Ireland would eventually change the face of Irish social structures and indeed, political power. Through social networks mapped in this thesis the performance of those who were on centre stage in Ireland during the upheavals of the mid-Victorian period, including the likes of Thomas Conolly, can be examined against these more shadowy and emergent types of different identity formation.

Max Weber's discussion of power and class based domination described how, through economic control of the market; social honour and prestige were achieved and eventually led to other facets of power (Translated by Gerth and Wright Mills, 1958). Central to the manipulation of society, control of economic power brought with it increasing access to the political machine and greater status and honour, leading to even greater power. His theories on the rise of political power, how property functioned in conjunction with the status of the power elite and how status was enhanced through performance, clarified the positions of hierarchies. He showed how property in particular becomes a core determinant in individuals rise to power and status (Gerth and Wright Mills, 1958). Given the centrality of houses/demesnes to power elite of Irish society, a consideration of the relational geographical power of property ownership will be a key component of the empirical parts of this thesis.

Weber's work influenced C. Wright Mills' later discussion of *Power Elites* (1956). As an important attribute in formulating new ideas, Mills considered the rise to power of the 'celebrity', who as part of the power elite in society controlled state institutions. Mills' use of celebrity was associated with someone who had done something outstanding, for example the Duke of Wellington as a leading General at the Battle of Waterloo or Charles Dickens as an outstanding writer and social commentator. Mills describes the stratum of the power elite from the very rich to the political directorate and meaningfully considered the balance of power and how authority was conveyed. Power was conveyed in the public arena through the use of verbal language, body language, clothing and the physical use of particular spaces that were in essence, exclusive. Specific aspects of language and manners exclusive to the aristocratic classes, set them apart in subtle ways that became a form of 'secret language' that could only be learned by those who had grown up within the highest levels of aristocratic and gentry families. Anyone trying to imitate this would be unable to successfully carry it off entirely because there were so many elusive elements. Nancy Mitford (1954) gave a hint at how imitation was not possible. She used the term 'one of us' and shortened this to U and non-U. She described how even one word, for example the pronunciation of the word bath, and the use of certain words such as serviette instead of napkin, could reveal whether the individual was U or non-U. This judgemental attitude would inform the social groups and determine who and who did not belong in the elite group in the twentieth century but would have been much more structured in the nineteenth century. As an element of wider subtle practices of exclusion and inclusion, such ideas are especially pertinent within a study of social networks.

The big house was at the centre of a social change with strong exclusionary overtones that would move down through the strata of everyday life of all social classes. In the big house in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the right of privacy was developing where

previously public reception rooms were also for sleeping but now became individual rooms for the family, a very private space devoted 'to sex and sleeping alone' (Worsley 2011:12). Employees in many cases still slept in dormitories or even in their actual place of work such as the kitchen, laundry and stables. This separation of the social groups into what is commonly called upstairs/downstairs clearly demonstrated the balance of power of the nineteenth century. This was underscored by the widening economic status of the different social groups. Items of clothing and vehicles, that demonstrate the luxury nature of the otherwise every day, also conveyed the power of an elite who consumed differently, and by implication better, with greater taste than the non-elite. Direct power was more visible and performed in the 'upstairs' settings with indirect power more frequently enacted in private or in 'downstairs' settings among those of equal status or between subordinates who were employed to carry out the bureaucratic jobs of the landowners such as land agents.

Mills' theoretical work has been useful in developing ideas of how performance and celebrity worked in tandem and of particular interest to this thesis was his exploration of clubs and associations as routes into networks wherein different clubs used prestigious members to increase their status. These too operate from positions of exclusion and inclusion. The prestigious member raised the status of the club but also increased the flow of influence along the networks of its membership. The wielding of power was made greater through co-operation by the power elite between hierarchies and more easily served to increase the vested interests of all groups, both formally and informally (Mills 1956:19). In his overview of society, he discussed the connectivity of the hierarchy through their various family groups and social relations, again supporting the notion of a connectivity that led to a greater spatial (if not equitable) distribution of power. A key idea in the thesis considers how connectivity distributes and diffuses influence and power back and forth, up and down, and in thicker and thinner lines, out across the network. Conolly was clearly a classic representative of the 'clubbable men' who, as his diaries show, were actively networking across several different but connected power landscapes – social, political, cultural - at different times.

Society was initially constructed around the idea that 'the wealthy governed our lives' and that wealth and power were inextricably joined, whether this was entirely true or not (Mills 1956:277). But, in order to fully control wealth, the elites also needed to control the mechanisms that regulated that wealth. These mechanisms were developed through politics and the law; such elements produce and manage space through governance. Part of Mills' work was concerned with the mechanism of governance. Nevertheless, these formal mechanisms of how power was centrally managed is not what this thesis is considering. Instead, it looks behind them to what were the informal mechanisms and the social networks that drove them.

A more recent significant theorist to consider power was Pierre Bourdieu and one of many publications to his name *Language and Symbolic Power* (1982) informed this thesis. His theories considered the power elite and the use of language and highlighted communication in the performance of power. His work is important for this thesis because it makes the link with performance by describing how individuals with symbolic capital are able to disseminate power. For Bourdieu, elites acted together as a phalanx of influence creating power for themselves and their acolytes. Anyone acting outside this hitherto accepted established norm would become powerless. Only by forming alternative power groups could they resist the hegemony of their period (Bourdieu 1982:239; see also Castells (1997)). In Ireland this took the form of visible political parties such as the Home Rule Party, and other movements in the country which called on the government to create changes to the social order. Subversive groups were also founded that cause disruption to the social order such as Ribbonmen and later a more organized militaristic resistance developed in the form of the Irish Republican Brotherhood. In addition, Bourdieu's article on 'The Forms of Capital' (Bourdieu 1986) has informed the aspects of performance in this thesis and how this contributed to the acquisition and increase of power by the individual within their networks. In this case, he believed that;

> … capital is accumulated labour … and the structure of the distribution of the different types and subtypes of capital at a given moment in time represents the immanent structure of the social world, i.e., the set of constraints, inscribed in the very reality of that world, which govern its functioning in a durable way, determining the chances of success for practices. (Bourdieu 1986: 241).

This quote shows how by performing a role that displayed authority or where one acted as a spokesperson for the dominant authority then that authority was legitimized by the performance and was as he says, successful.

The construction of the 'lifeworld' of the actors in the landscapes of power and, performance as a feature of identity, were considered in Bourdieu's theories, which are the principals of how society operates on a deeper level, and as a result, they have been pivotal in technically providing a rationale for this study. He is the support for ideas shown in the thesis. Although as a rule his theories are used less as part of a concept 'that sees the body as a cultural process or the significant axis of everyday life' (Bridges 2004:62), for this study this is exactly where Bourdieu has proved most relevant, particularly in seeing the performance of individuals like Thomas Conolly, using delegated authority to control and regulate society. Bourdieu's power hierarchies, outlined as part of a theory on symbolic power, included breaking down the

types of structures in place to manipulate power such as language, cultural behaviour and the division of labour in the form of different social classes. He described how power could be visible everywhere and yet invisible at the same time and that people in the past refused to fully recognise the invisible symbolic power. They preferred not to 'know that they are subject to it or even that they themselves exercise it.' (Bourdieu 1983:163) Bourdieu was highly influential in informing a study of elite American country clubs by Diana Kendall (2008) and in many ways her book was the single most relevant initial piece of research I read in researching my own work on the elite clubs in Ireland. Kendall used Bourdieu's theories to construct a sociological model of how power and capital operated historically, a theme especially relevant in relation to this study of the nineteenth century. More than any other theorist Bourdieu has the most relevance to the ideas presented in this thesis, linking social networking to social and cultural capital. However, as this thesis will show, connections and networks weaved and moved through all levels of society, both vertically and horizontally, and in the real world were not fixed as rigidly as the popular conception suggested. One must read between the lines and make connections using the variety of nineteenth century sources. Returning once again to Conolly; by placing him at the centre of his friendship network there is 'a greater engagement with the wider social, economic, political and cultural context' in which he lived. This way we can begin to understand how his life and identity were 'shaped within and through dynamic sets of social networks' (Thomas 2004:500).

Place and its cartographic representation

While cartography and mapping might seem a topic that belongs in the methodological section of the thesis, the wider literature on cartographic sources and representation are considered here. There are several ways to use a map in the interpretation of social spaces, spatial patterns and relationships to other spatial patterns, which are linked to process in the landscape. Cartography is an important tool through which 'people can be watched in the landscape' (Lilley 2004:177). Maps provide a convenient instrument for spatial reasoning about quantitative information and they provide a picture 'assisting the exploration and communication of aspects of the historical world.' (Harley 1989:84). In the same vein,

> Maps are doubly spatial in that they create social spaces while at the same time they are modes of spatial representation...maps connect heterogeneous and disparate entities, events, locations and phenomena, enabling us to see patterns that are not otherwise visible. They also connect the territory with the social order. (Turnbull 1996:7).

This is a significant point in relation to this thesis. It is essential that particular maps, when used as a research tool, are firstly seen in their historical context and secondly read not as a fixed truth. Understanding the first will depend on the results of the second. To read a map imaginatively it should be read as a text and in doing so this 'raises it in status'. In the historic OS map, as a rule, only the more significant houses and parklands of the great demesnes are shown in a shaded illustrative style with a high degree of detail doing just as Harley observed.

The 1837-42 First edition Ordnance Survey (OS) maps raise the most relevant question for this research: why are only the largest houses, estates and/or demesnes illustrated so carefully? One should ask; are there not ordered fields and stands of trees elsewhere in the landscape? Here is where the cartographer and the influence of the commissioning authority need to be considered. If the individuals whose houses and estates were shown were the local authority, the power elites, it is reasonable to suppose that their property had to be appropriately shown. It follows therefore that by reading these early Victorian maps we are equally observing a distinctly hierarchal text. The shadow that Harley speaks of is the lack of description of other valued population groups. 'They are full of silences and narrow our way of seeing the past, freezing it in a didactic image of our own representational culture' (Harley 1989:86) Scale may be the issue here but nevertheless farm fields outside the great estates, or gardens of the small houses or cottages, are not shown in the same meticulous detail. Only industrial areas are given the same attention to detail as the great country houses. Reading a map must be a process of what Harley describes as intertextuality or an 'internal dialectic', where aspects of the map create tension alerting the reader to the greater understanding of the map as cartographic text as noted by Andrews (1974, 1975) and Harley (2001); both of whom have clarified the difficulties with reading maps created during this period. Harley in particular cautioned against reading too much into the finished product of the mapmaker commenting 'cartographers manufactured power, they create a spatial panopticon' (Hubbard, Kitchin and Valentine 2004:177). These scholars have been invaluable because the research for the thesis has considered the important cartographic record built up over the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and how this was a reflection of wider aspects of spatial representations of power. If these maps provided a disproportionate visualisation of the power elite by showing their houses and estates in greater detail than other features, as previously suggested, is this the perceived reality on the ground? Was the cartographer deliberately delineating these dwellings as a representation of the real power elite in the micro-geography of his work in the local area?

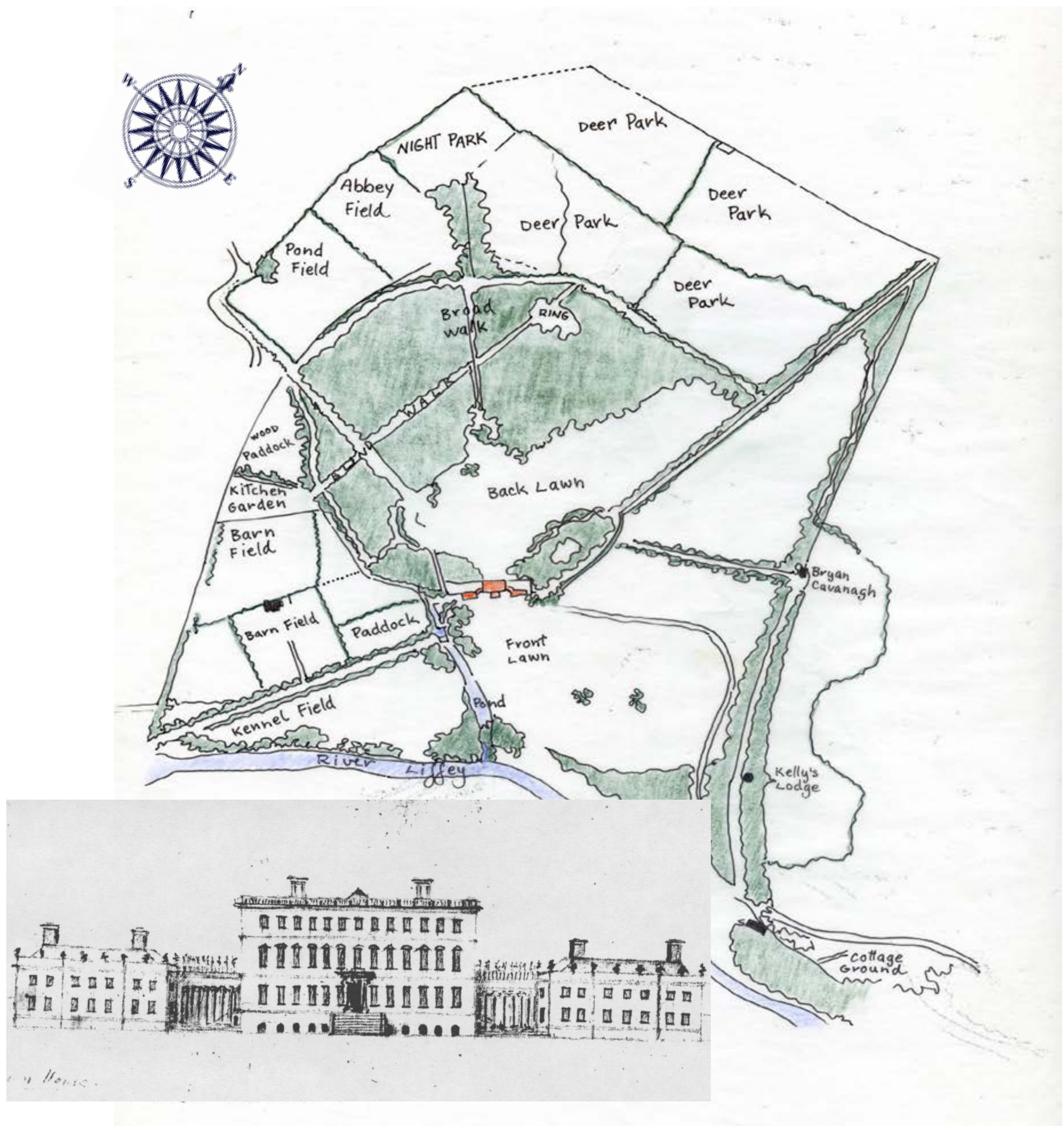

Figure 3.4 Castletown House and Demesne. 1780 estate map hand redrawn by the author from the original (2004).

These maps may be an artificial image of reality but one must accept that at the time the cartographers was putting down on paper what they believed was the scientific truth. On one level we might accept this truth and allow ourselves to be swayed by their graphic potency.

However, they were not an entirely objective representation or innocent reality, given they were weighted toward the power elite and thus the interpretation that the cartographer gives could be considered a second text in the reading of the map. Harley had a wonderful turn of phrase, namely that we are 'prisoners in its spatial matrix' and this is the shadow that falls across the page. (Harley 1989:85). On another level, we might read this type of map as a reflection of the time and accept it with a critical understanding of the time and political dynamics.
Maps become a lens across the landscape in the same way as written histories do. This is evident in the hand drawn map (Figure 3.4) indicating the names of the fields and

their uses. What may appear as an empty space on a map was very likely to be a space of cultural meaning that was not apparent or considered irrelevant to the mapmaker. Maps could block out the everyday reality much of which, particularly during the making of these first 6-inch maps, was not neat and tidy in the way it was shown. There is no evidence of a country teeming with a population we know was present. The estates in the Eastern counties with their large farms are 'not an innocent reality… [they are]…full of silences' (Harley 1989:86) and it is only as the maps progress westward and the field patterns tighten that the silence lifts a little to become a faint hum. Considering the map as a textual source also connects up with those mappable parts of the network that are more fully introduced in Chapter 4.

Historical Geographies of the Country House: Performances and Narratives

As part of the more empirical literature examined for this thesis, contemporary published memoirs, diaries and biographical studies form sub-categories of historic literature and it can be argued that they inform both the relational network and performance perspectives discussed within the thesis. They have been included here in relation to performance because they either describe the activities of their aristocratic authors or other authors describe the lifestyles of aristocratic families, which can be considered both relational networking and performance. An example of using diaries (described elsewhere as important sources for this thesis), is in an analysis of the diaries of Lady Charlotte Stopford. The author shows that creating a biography from diaries is not only possible but that they are useful to, 'provide insights into …personal lives and a deeper understanding of their roles' (Murphy 2016; 226).

Conolly's so called 'American' diaries were transcribed and published as *An Irishman in Dixie* (Lankford 1988) with the editor providing commentary and offering a greater insight into Conolly personality. Also included throughout was a historic narrative, providing the context of Conolly's adventure and the risks he took to travel to a war zone. Lankford writes about the various military figures in the Southern United States remarking on their involvement

with Conolly's visit. The book also provided a background to elite groups of people involved in the venture, such as Palliser the eminent geographer, providing other facets to his social network. This is an indication that Conolly moved in hierarchal circles even while outside Europe. Lankford's style of writing, consisting of a series of asides, has been invaluable for this thesis in formulating an approach to Conolly's earlier diaries. The final diary of 1870-71 shows Conolly as a new father touring Italy enjoying the museums, the art and revelling in the ancient history of the country. In this diary, the reader can see a more mature individual than the one shown in the 1865 adventure, his emotional landscape and to perhaps understand better his popularity within his extensive social network.

As a glimpse of Conolly's elite social milieu in the nineteenth century, there are two significant publications. These are memoirs by the leading socialites of the time, Lady St Helier's *Forty Years Ago* (1913) and the Countess of Fingal's *Seventy Years Young* (Hinkson 1991) where they describe their lives and the social network they moved in. Lady St Helier met Conolly, visited Castletown, and provided the endearing and fulsome description of Conolly on his death in 1876. Both women's spectacular name-dropping included many of the same people Conolly was mixing with and confirms their joint high social status. This also underlines that Conolly's world was both political and social and leads to a direct connection to the idea of a vibrant relational geography. Elizabeth Smith (James and O'Maitiu 1996) was a somewhat less socially elite woman but nevertheless someone who moved in elite circles; she also described a successful party at Castletown in her published diaries. These memoirs on a practical level have also provided a practical source that allowed cross checking of the individuals Conolly named in his engagement diaries.

There are also a number of meticulously researched and referenced biographies that offered insight to the lost narrative of Castletown during the Victorian era. De Courcy (2004) provides an intimate picture of social life, through a biography of the Curzon family in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Though that life was based in England, Conolly and Curzon were acquainted socially and this book offered a useful model when constructing Conolly's lifeworld with regard to their highly networked social lives. This centred around dining, visiting, hunting and how Curzon was taken up with redecorating his various houses. A second book, on the life of Nancy Lancaster (Becker 1996) is set between the last years of the nineteenth century moving up to WWII. Both of these books contributed valuable commentary describing the social and cultural attitudes of the role of hunting among the upper-middle and aristocratic groups. These compelling histories about the late nineteenth and early twentieth century elite society and their connection through the big house pivoted around hunting and power through the organization

of the landscape and offered greater insight to the structured life of the demesne system. This showed how the employment of servants was one of dependence and close association despite the social differences. It demonstrated how the system depended on a high degree of deference on the part of both parties for the arrangements to work (the acts of deferment to servants will be discussed later in the thesis). These two highly personal books showed that when deference broke down, it created difficulties for the upper classes placing them in positions of having to look after themselves, at least temporarily, often with disastrous results. On the other hand, it also showed how successful relationships endured between those upstairs and those downstairs, many through more than one generation.

Histories of Castletown

In researching the house at the core of the case study Castletown, it is apparent that countless studies have been undertaken regarding the eighteenth century. But no studies have been carried out on events in the nineteenth century either in the empirical history literature or by researchers in the historic geography literature. Some work has been done on other great houses in Ireland; Proudfoot (1995) considers two big estates first in his work on the Devonshire family and secondly Parkanaur Co. Tyrone (2000) where he discusses the narratives of landownership in the nineteenth century. Johnson (1996) in her work reflects on the big house in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries as a tourism development in the reimagining of history as a form of entertainment. However, the historiography of Castletown has been almost exclusively centred on the eighteenth century. The earliest studies of the social life of Castletown are the edited correspondence between Emily Duchess of Leinster and her sister Lady Louisa Lennox who married Tom Conolly the then owner of Castletown (Fitzgerald 1949). Fitzgerald, having edited the letters would then go on to write biographies of both sisters (1948 and 1950). Tillyard in her book *Aristocrats* (1994) created a narrative about the Lennox sisters and their hectic social lives at Carton and Castletown, that reflected on the social life in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuies. Based on a multitude of historical sources, it caught the public imagination, resulting in a similarly named television series. A series of Irish Georgian Society (IGS) bulletins have documented the history of the house that included a brief family history (Boylan 1968) and the decorative developments of the house (Keller 1979). A later article in the IGS's journal describes the historic architectural development (Griffith 1999). Other authors such as O'Kane (2004) have considered the development of the parkland but again in the eighteenth century and recently there has been a definitive eighteenth century history that considers Castletown's owner/builder William Conolly and the Protestant Ascendancy (Walsh, 2012). But, these studies, while important, only serve to provide a backdrop to a quite different nineteenth century, whose history, as the case study of this thesis,

is the first to fully address the period after the death of Thomas Conolly in 1803 and Lady Louisa in 1821. An article that does address a void in this history is Malcomson's (2007) description of the Conolly family's financial difficulties in the eighteenth century, which has the most direct bearing on the nineteenth century. Because it illustrates the family's lingering financial complexities, it puts their nineteenth century difficulties in a more specific context.

All of these books and articles are valuable in understanding the history of Castletown and the family but do not contribute substantially to any understanding of the social, economic or political circumstances of the nineteenth century. The place of houses and parklands and the production of a specific symbolic landscape was part of a place performance that fed into the wider social network through the use of those grounding spatial nodes. The elites visited each other for the purposes of viewing the houses and parklands, thus providing common understandings in the development of their estates and future social engagements.

This thesis has endeavoured to address the unknown history of the period between c1820 to c1880 by looking to other histories on the nineteenth century and the diaries of Thomas Conolly described more fully throughout the thesis. McGeachan quotes Lee about the process of creating a biography. 'What makes biography so curious and endlessly absorbing is that through all the documents and the letters, the context and the witness, the conflicting opinions and the evidence of the work, we keep catching sight of a real body, a physical life.' (Lee 2005:3)

Conclusion

During the research for this thesis, it has become apparent that there has been only passing study of historic social networks of power in the available literature. This thesis will begin to address the lack of connectivity made by scholars concerning the social power base that existed among the power elites in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and arguably continues today. Throughout this literature review, various themes have been identified for further development from the wider historical context and the existing literature within the perimeters of the study. These themes include capital in its social, cultural and economic forms and how these are relevant to identity and these themes have in turn produced other ideas around performance and influence, deference/compliance. But central to the contribution to understanding that this thesis provides is how relational networks of social interaction reinforced power in nineteenth century Ireland. Power is not inherent in governments and states but is dependent on social relations (Massey 1999) and in exploring these processes will throw light on the idea that power is all the greater because of its collective nature.

The main approach used to develop an innovative examination of the networks of power will be that of relational geographies. In mapping out Conolly's own relational network, his connectivities and linkages to the wider members of the power group can be more fully articulated. The value of such an approach will especially uncover the specific processes/ways in which that power was managed/maintained. In so doing, the spatial complexities and mobilities of the actors and their access to places/ institutions of power were shaped by their associations with each other and such spatial formations are key in understanding how that power operated. By tracing one individual, Thomas Conolly, as a representative case study and developing his biography, while simultaneously highlighting the fragile nature of those connections as well as the key lubricants that drove the model, this shows the finer complexities of how the ruling elite functioned. The themes mentioned above have also reinforced the value of biography, as a lens in examining a specific time-period and in this thesis it is Conolly whose life is considered. By exploring the nature of power and how it is arrived at by individuals wielding it, we begin to understand how society functions. Using the twentieth century theorists, and in a practical way comparing their findings with hitherto unexamined power dynamics in the nineteenth century, will allow us to realize how the social network of the time operated with regard to the control of power. In the following chapters the nature of the houses and demesnes, power hubs and stage sets as places and spaces of power, will expand on the literature described here. Cultural landscapes of the big house, roles of identity and power networks of association, gentlemen's clubs and hunting in particular are also used to allow a glimpse into the private spaces of power. But the key to this is the glue that held everything together, performance coupled with deference/compliance. This thesis will bring to the fore a complex illustration of the power elites as they went about their extraordinary but everyday lives. By considering connectivity and the interlocking stream of connection the reality of deeply influential networks is revealed.

Chapter Four:
Data Sources & Methods

Part One: Data Sources: Introduction

The main data sources underpinning the thesis are collated here to compile a picture of social networks in the mid-nineteenth century with the primary focus a case study on Thomas Conolly and Castletown house. However, compiling a family history without significant archival material presents a difficulty. The most significant personal documents relating to the nineteenth century are an incomplete series of private diaries kept by Thomas Conolly (1823-76) throughout the 1850s and 60s and one from 1870-71. Though limited, the diaries provide a central source for the thesis alongside a systematic examination of other available categories of documents, especially those which provided some key insights into the connective geographies of Conolly’s networks. These sources will be discussed more fully across this chapter, incorporating textual analysis and interpretation of those additional sources.

Primary Sources

The diaries of Thomas Conolly (1823-76), that document his social connections within aristocratic and upper-middle elite groups, gave rise to the initial focus on social networking for this thesis. These diaries are the single most important source and they offered key knowledge about the extensive network of Conolly's social connections, the locations he visited and his movements during his time away from Castletown throughout the year. While they did not contain a detailed stream of consciousness or anything more than isolated glimpses into the workings of his mind, of the greater importance was his social network. As a consequence, it was clear that the references to clubs and other social meeting places in the diaries, such as other houses, locations both in Ireland and England and meets of the hunting calendar, were the pivotal places where members of the power elite gathered discussed and lived their everyday lives. It seemed reasonable that a logical place to begin to locate connective links between the individuals shown in Conolly’s diaries was to delve into his membership of clubs. This would show the connection between elite clubs, their equally elite members and their geographically dispersed country estates. As a key task, I identified a value in compiling a database from a range of sources that would include memberships of the important Irish clubs. The driving force behind the development of the database was that would transparently demonstrate the memberships of three of the four main Irish ‘gentleman’s’ clubs and two hunting clubs namely: the Kildare Street Club (KSC), the Royal Dublin Society (RDS), the Freemasons and the

Westmeath and Kildare Hunt Clubs which were the most popular clubs for the elite group. This database was specifically developed to show how these members effectively personified the social networks of nineteenth century Irish society and allowed for an analysis of the information gathered. Crucially, Thomas Conolly was involved to a greater or lesser degree, with four of these five clubs and these lists, in tandem with his diaries, became the starting point for a mapping out of his social network.

A wide variety of primary sources, created during the mid-Victorian period c1850 to 1880, were examined that fell into a number of main categories. The first category and a key primary source was *The Rateable Valuation of Ireland*, known as Griffith's Valuation: this government source provided a listing of the landowners and names of estates identified during the survey conducted in the 1840s. This work was carried out hand in hand with the first mapping of Ireland in 1837, which resulted in the maps of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland (OSI), now digitized, were used extensively for this thesis. The second category was printed data and included the popular street directories, Thom's and Slaters; the premier genealogical books, Burke's, and Debrett's in particular; and most importantly, the government-endorsed publication, *Landlords of Ireland 1876,* part of a survey concerning the taxable valuation of the land in the whole of the United Kingdom. A private spin off of the whole survey titled *The Great Landlords of Great Britain and Ireland (1883)* by John Bateman was published four years later. These sources will be discussed in more detail below. Two less structured categories, the privately printed histories of the Kildare Hunt (KH) and Westmeath Hunt (WMH), were examined for membership lists, as were contemporary newspapers of the time such as *The Weekly Irish Times,* the *Leinster Express* and the *Kildare Observe*r. The newspapers particularly threw up information about Conolly and his family that had been forgotten in local memory. In combination, all these sources provided similar but usefully triangulated forms of information. All contributed aspects that revealed the pattern of social order in Irish mid-Victorian life, but equally usefully, provided some sort of a routing back to Conolly in either direct or indirect form.

The Conolly Papers

As a case study concerning Thomas Conolly and Castletown House, initially I thought that the best primary archive would be that of the Pakenham family of Tullynally Castle, who were Conolly's main familial descendants. The Pakenham family have an extensive catalogued archive of private papers, but disappointingly, the Pakenham papers were mainly concerned with the earls of Longford and did not contain any material that concerned the Conolly family.

I explored the collections held in the National Library of Ireland (NLI) and to a lesser extent Trinity Library and subsequently I spent several weeks in both locations reading the limited fragments about the years before Lady Louisa Lennox's death in 1821. I had previously visited the The West Sussex County Council Archives in Chichester, England to examine the Conolly papers referenced in their catalogue (Steer & Venables 1972). However, like the Trinity material, it contained only eighteenth century correspondence relating to Lady Louisa and nothing later than 1821, the year of her death. Together these three repositories produced nothing of any specific significance although I found that some slighter pieces of information were useful to bring into focus a hitherto indistinct picture of the early nineteenth century.

The library of Maynooth University maintains an archive in Castletown House known as the Castletown Archive and in 2014, a number of account books relevant to Castletown from the 1840s, 1850s and 1860s were donated to the archive. These fragmentary account books hinted at what constituted everyday life at Castletown, bringing to light the numbers employed on the demesne and some information on those who were employed in the house itself. In answer to the question about his absence from Castletown his signature appears on each fortnightly double page of household accounts and indicates his payment in cash of the expenses incurred. One of several household expenses that appeared was an upgrading of the green house in the kitchen garden in 1854 (O'Regan 2015) and expenses for the installation of gas fittings for lighting, and possibly heating, also appear. That gas was being used by 1857 is mentioned in a brief description of a ball at Castletown in the *Leinster Express* (7 February 1857). Later photographs show impressive gas lamps on the staircase. There were also indications recorded in the accounts that a new kitchen was being created by Conolly during late 1863 and in the first 6 months of 1864 with many 'cases for kitchen' arriving from London, with Irish tradesmen carrying out the work (Account Book December 1863-January-June 1864. Castletown Archive). Victorians were very interested in their kitchens and saw them as laboratories of domestic science (Girouard 1978). Having examined the four account books in great detail, I transcribed them and wrote a report summarizing them for the Castletown Foundation.

Other documents, mainly eighteenth century, concerning Castletown were donated to the OPW in late 2016 and lodged in the Castletown Archive that are as yet not available to researchers. However, following a request through Christopher Moore Castletown's Curator to the donor, the artist Richard Gorman, I was given permission to view Conolly's will of 1872 shown the catalogued list of the new donations. Although it only confirmed what was already known this was a generous concession on his part. One other document seen at the time of the donation, on public view, did show that a civil engineer was contracted to carry out work to

Castletown house in 1850 but the exact project is not known. Again, as these slight pieces of information begin to reveal themselves, they contribute to a slowly emerging whole that help to bring greater insights into Conolly's life.

The transcription I did in 2016 of the account books for the Castletown Foundation followed on from my work on the transcription of Thomas Conolly's diaries, carried out at the Foundation's behest in c2007-9. The diaries dated 1853, 1857, 1858, 1861, 1863 and 1864 (Figure 4.1) and are owned by Desmond Guinness, the former chairman of the Foundation and then president of the Irish Georgian Society. Of the six diaries disappointingly, 1858 has only two

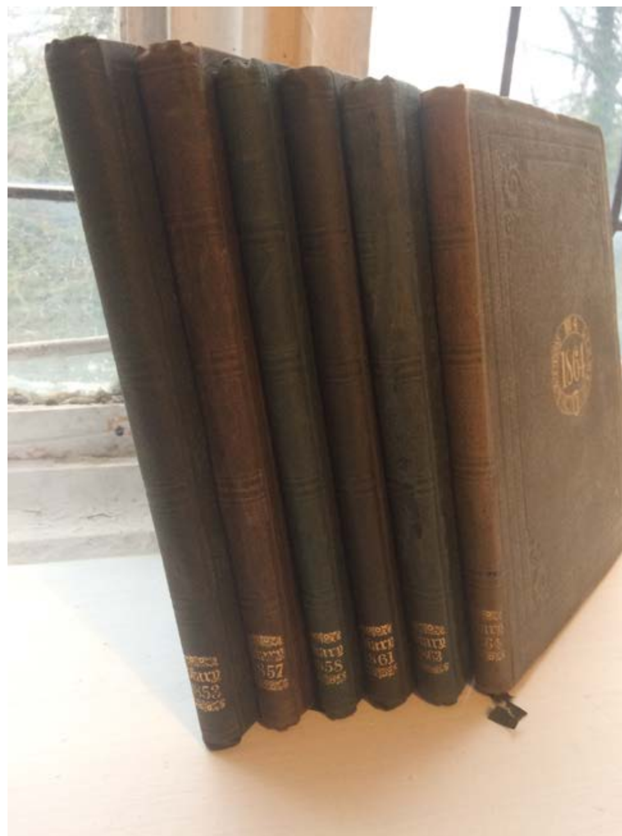

Figure 4.1 Thomas Conolly's diaries. Desmond Guinness, Private Collection.

pages of employee's wages and 1861 is completely blank (apart from children's scribbles). The transcription of the diaries progressed slowly taking nearly two years to complete due to the poor quality of Conolly's handwriting as the image below of a sample page indicates (Figure 4.2). Conolly's diaries were largely engagement daybooks, and at first this circumstance seemed regrettable; yet here also lay their strength. In page after page, they showed his activities hunt and race meetings, dinner engagements, and included slight notes on the horses he had bought, sold or bet on. His House of Commons commitments were very briefly mentioned,

with passing references to notable speeches, but with no apparent indication that he was actively involved in politicking or any constituency work; indeed, when he records his travels to Ballyshannon, Donegal (his own constituency), only his leisure activities were mentioned. There was little in his early diaries to fill out a picture of what kind of a person he was but, we could see exactly how he occupied himself, which revealed plenty about him as a person. Entries in these and other diaries also offered a possible indication that his fluency in French was high and he often lapsed into French, making comments about his social life. He also wrote in Greek when he contemplated his mortal soul, often after his nighttime sexual encounters, primarily by writing out biblical passages (Conolly Diary 1853).

Three additional diaries are lodged in the Irish Architectural Archive (IAA) in Merrion Square. Two concerned his trip to the United States in 1865 and the third his Grand tour of Italy in 1870-71. The American diaries have already been described in context of his mobility in Chapter 2. The third, a large bound folio manuscript, is much more readable and somewhat more revealing of his personality than his other diaries, though it remains largely a travel log. Nonetheless, it does record that

June [6th Month, 30 Days]

Figure 4.2 Thomas Conolly's Diary, sample page, June 1857

his social network, at some points in his life, had stretched across mainland Europe and the Atlantic as well. In order to facilitate the research on the 1870-71 diary I suggested to the IAA that I would photograph this diary for them so that a copy could be given to the Castletown Archive and this was carried out in November 2015.

In the final diary of 1870/71, he wrote more about his thoughts and emotional feelings for his wife and baby son. In this, he became a little more 'real'. The more mature man, compared to the playboy of the 1850s and 1860s, was revealed, offering some understanding of the lifestyle Conolly enjoyed, more fully discussed throughout the body of the thesis. Only in his House of Commons' speeches found in the British Parliamentary Papers was there a

glimpse of the three-dimensional person expressing specific political opinions on the record, as it were.

There were a number of questions raised with regard to the extant diaries. Were there more diaries that are now lost? Perhaps he was not disciplined enough to consistently keep a regular diary? However, if the diaries that remain are a reflection of his everyday life, he would certainly have needed a diary in the other years as an aide memoire for all his many engagements. Finally, these existing diaries seem to concern mainly London but did he keep diaries that related only to Castletown but which are now lost? The extant diaries cover barely 5 years and one had only a few pages used for wages leaving one to wonder if these were spare copies and to ask if there were fuller engagement diaies elsewhere? One cannot know if these diaries gave a full picture of his life because there are such large gaps but those that do remain indicate that he lived a fully leisured life style with apparently little in the way of constituency duties or day-to-day connection with the Castletown estate. Nonetheless, despite these gaps and omissions, they remain of considerable value to the specific needs of this research, having in their entries plenty of evidence about people and places, the foundational material for a spatial articulation of his social network.

Club Archives

The membership lists held by the respective clubs were found either in privately printed lists, compiled annually, or in manuscript form. During the research phase of the thesis, each of the club premises was visited and their archives consulted. There was not a consistent style of recording memberships of the various clubs. Some were in printed form, while others were in manuscript. The membership lists were archived in the individual club premises for the three main clubs, Kildare Street Club (KSC), Royal Dublin Society (RDS) and the Freemasons. The first archive examined over the period of a week in 2013 was that of the Freemasons whose archive is held in the Grand Masonic Hall in Molesworth Street, Dublin. Their membership lists are recorded in folio manuscript books and were divided into registered lodges mainly from Ireland but some from as far afield as Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario, Canada and Sydney, Australia. Some disbanded lodges had submitted their papers to the central archive, such as the 12th Lodge, known as the Meridian, meeting in the Grand Lodge at Molesworth Street. It was a bonus that this lodge's address book of the members was discovered. This was a bound book, alphabetized much like a ledger and used from the lodge's inception in the nineteenth century until the lodge disbanded in the early twentieth century. During the mid-nineteenth century, the Meridian began to record, in addition to titles, members' occupations and addresses, which was extremely helpful in placing individuals spatially. It was this first archive that provided

addresses that lead me to begin to appreciate how this located individuals spatially in the landscape and how pivotal this was to the cultural impact of such house in the geographical landscape. This manuscript of the Meridian Lodge also showed the evolution of membership where men whose professions had been previously considered of lower status increasingly being welcomed as members as the century ended. For example, professional working men, such as civil engineers, began to appear in the 1890s who prior to that date, for this particular lodge, had not been considered as acceptable members.

The KSC was the main club used in the study. This was, and remains, the premier Irish club and its members were among those in the highest echelons of society and titled individuals. Crucially, Conolly was an enthusiastic member and dined there at least once a week. The club itself was initiated in the eighteenth century and continues to operate into the present day. Unfortunately, in 1840 a fire at the club premises saw the loss of the club's early papers and another catastrophic fire in 1860, which claimed two lives, the new archive nearly and destroyed the entire building. Amalgamated with the University Club since 1976, the KSC premises are now located at 17 St Stephen's Green.

In 2012 on requesting access to the KSC archive, held in the club premises of the KSC and the University Club (KSUC) at 17 St Stephen's Green, I was told that the archives were in disarray and that while they were willing to grant me access it was too disorganised. Feeling that this was not an opportunity to miss I offered to organise their archive in return for access. Through the influence of a friend, Ian d'Alton, who was a member of the Library committee, I was given the responsibility of putting the archive in order, proving the very premise of this thesis, the network of influence. Although some cataloguing had been done in 1999 by Brian Donnelly of the National Archive and in 2008 by a private conservation company, it remained difficult to search efficiently. Books were not titled, stored chronologically or even in category. The difficulty was compounded with the fact that material from three different clubs were shelved randomly with each other: the KSC, the University Club, and the Leinster Club, a 2nd rank business club (1850- 1925). Between October 2012 and March 2013, I worked at the KSUC premises three days a week reorganizing the archive by labelling and cataloguing the material by club. Photographs below (Figure 4.3) show the archive following the completion of the work. The material in the archive contains nineteenth and twentieth century account books, subscription books, minute books, visitor's books, photograph albums, and billiard scorebooks. There was also a great number of loose papers belonging to the KSC that were sorted chronologically and placed in some 18 archive boxes. During the reordering of the archive I also created a searchable database that catalogued all the material in the archive. This

demonstrates the extent of the collection and, for the convenience of the club, to facilitate future researchers.

Figure 4.3 Kildare Street & University Club Archives- 17 Stephen's Green, Dublin

Through the reordering of the loose papers at the KSC, a photocopy of a printed club membership list was discovered. This was the work of an enterprising committee member, George Woods Maunsell, who in c1880 decided to put together a list of 'lost' members. We are fortunate that Maunsell went to a great deal of trouble to list members based on two extant sources: a single book that 'recorded the admissions of members from the year 1841' and the

bound volume of members 1876 to 1880 (Maunsell 1880:2). From these two sources Maunsell was able to find members who had joined as early as 1837. His list was printed for private circulation by him in 1880, although the original publication could not be located. In his introduction to the compilation he speaks of the club's history and reflects on 'how many of the kindly and genial faces have passed from us…leaving sunny memories with those who remembered them as friends' (Maunsell 1880:2). He is quite obviously compiling the list to recover the lost names of the club members for posterity. In his endeavour Maunsell was diligent, but he was not thorough and using the KSCs membership printed booklets that began in 1860 many additional names found. These names together with the names supplied by Maunsell were then added to the original full database which by this time I had begun to populate. Maunsell's list forms the backbone of the sample database presented in the thesis, combined with some additional names from various sources. It was unfortunate that the members' corresponding addresses would not be recorded until the early twentieth century. However, in sorting through the loose papers it became evident that some members had invested in the club and details from these shares or debentures when they were being sold or passed on, often at the death of the member, provided addresses and some biographical detail that helped to fill in some blanks.

The Royal Dublin Society (RDS) archives were consulted three times at their premises in Ballsbridge, over a number of weeks in 2013, first to read the annual minutes printed as Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society and later to photograph the membership lists between 1850 and 1880. These lists were part of the annual proceedings books, and addresses were included from the beginning. Disappointingly though they largely showed only the member's Dublin address and these town addresses were not necessarily an indicator of the family home. Nevertheless, the location of the town house was an indication of the 'select' nature of the address as well as offering an indication of the mobility of social networks. If an individual did not have an address, but was found in membership lists of both RDS and KSC clubs and held one or more positions of civic authority, further research was undertaken using Griffiths' Valuation and/or *Landowners of Ireland 1876* to establish an address. Through these other sources, it was clear that many RDS members were also landowners of large country properties and their town addresses were seasonal. The two main membership sources KSC and RDS are fairly evenly balanced in the presence or absence of a country address.

Hunt Club Sources

Given the importance of hunting to the life of the power elite, and indeed to Thomas Conolly's own life, material that contributed to the scope of the social network and further to

the database came from a range of such clubs, the most significant being hunt club histories. Within their respective histories, *The Kildare Hunt* (Mayo 1913) and the *Westmeath Hunt* (Dease 1898) the members' names were found scattered through the narrative and added to the database.[32] It was initially hoped that the premier hunt club in Ireland, The Ward Union Stag Hounds (WUH) would be the focus of interest rather than the Westmeath Hunt, who were not as prestigious, however, this did not happen. The papers of the club, that were previously housed in the RDS Archives, unfortunately were removed and their present location was not clearly established. Subsequently, once their location was more or less confirmed, the club's Master was reluctant to encourage me to approach the person who was caring for them and suggested that he would try to negotiate with this 'gate keeper'. Reluctantly, it was decided for the present to use the Westmeath Hunt history and the papers of the Ward Union have not been pursued any further. There was however, a number of contemporary books published on hunting that have provided members' names of the WUH. The first of these was a history of South County Dublin hunting (Norton 1991) that reproduced a list of members of the WUH for 1868-69 and the second (Bowen 1954) provided a list of the masters of hounds, and this information was included in the database.[33] A painting of the WUH in 1872 by William Osborne, (referred to in more detail in Chapter 7), was accompanied by a key that named all the members and these were also added to the database. If the original papers of the WUH club were to be made available it is highly likely that Conolly's name would appear as he moved in that most rarefied of social circles and refered in passing to the WUH in his diaries.

Cartographic Sources

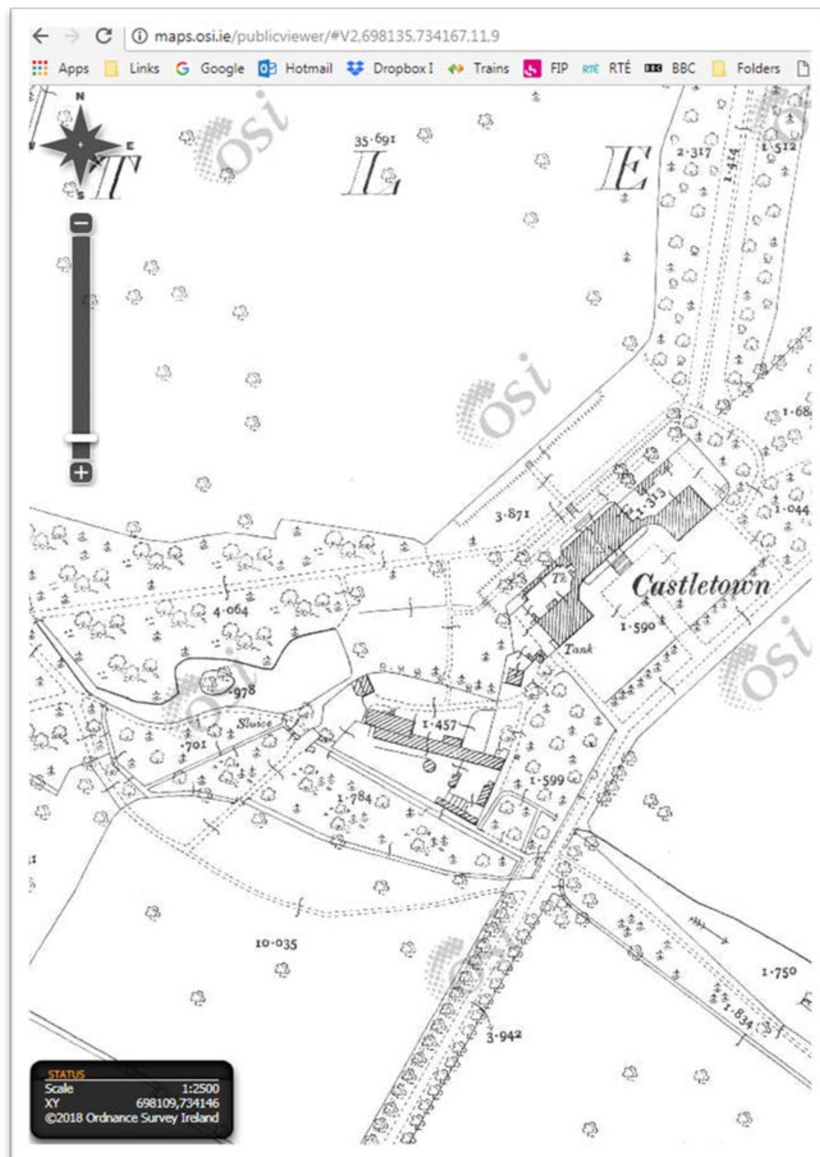

Figure 4.4 Screen Shot OSI MapViewer with co-ordinate information

Once the houses and demesnes themselves were identified, the next step in the mapping out of the spatial and geographic network was to search the historic first Ordnance Survey of Ireland, carried out between 1837 and 1840, to locate them for digital spatial purposes; specifically to add some location fields in to the database to allow for data importation. This was carried out using the addresses from the membership lists to establish the XY co-ordinates (contemporary Irish National Grid: ING) of each location. The historic OSI map layers are available online, www.osi.ie/publicviewer, and allowed for visual searches to be carried out. By pinpointing a selected location using the search option on the site, and centring the map on

that location, using the available red X, the mapping co-ordinates are displayed on the screen and the tool bar (Figure 4.4). Collecting the XY co-ordinates and placing them in the database has been a rolling task, undertaken throughout the years of the research.

This information was then transferred (specifically through cutting and pasting), as two separate X and Y co-ordinate fields, to the database so that the GIS could directly import the locations to create a series of point map layers that informed this study. The historic maps produced were a recreated digital representation of what, and here one must take a leap of faith to accept, was the true reality of the physical landscape at the time. The new maps produced for this thesis combined the data from various historical texts and were a key initial step in visualizing the spatial distribution of the network of club members, their houses and their leisure activities. These are discussed in more detail across the following chapters.

The creators of the first OS survey map set out with a scientific objective to render accurately aspects of reality and were as Harley critically described ‘vehicles for the accurate presentation of the reality of the data world’ (Harley 1989:84). These houses were found by visually scanning the OS map on line and in doing so the large demesnes and houses of the large and ‘middle size’ (Craig 1976) pop out graphically in comparison with anything else in the area. An example of this is shown below in the map (Figure 4.5) of the Newberry Hall and Demesne, Co Kildare.

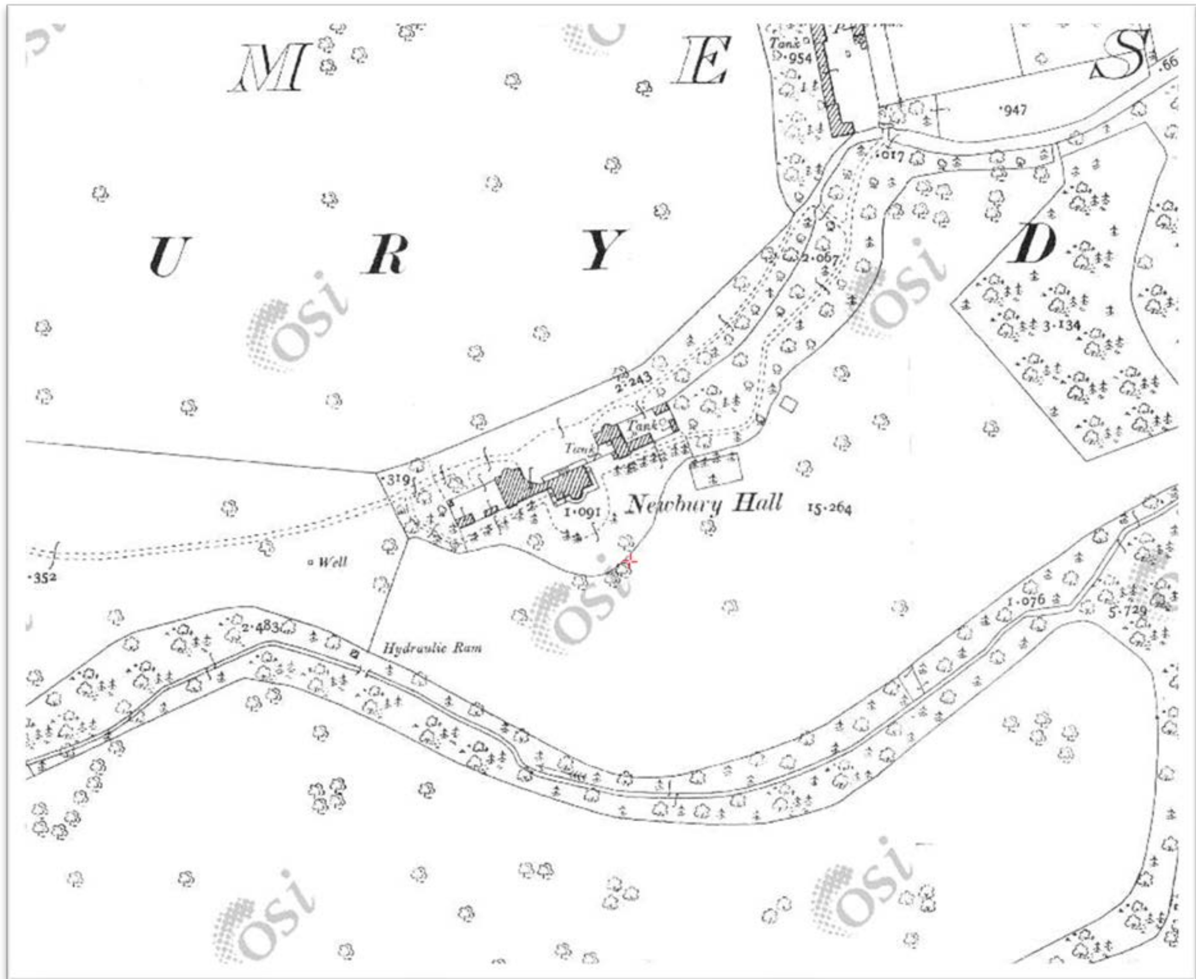

Figure 4.5. Newberry Hall and Demesne, Cadbury, Co Kildare: Source OSI Public MapViewer.

In searching for the houses of the KSC members in the historic OSI maps of 1840, it became impossible to ignore the other large houses and parklands that were visible while I searched for a specific estate. Although the owners were not known, it was decided to place these houses in a separate secondary database to show that the property owned by KSC members was only part of the large number of significant houses in Leinster. This contextualized the primary database and this smaller data set then provided the basis for a separate map (see Figure 5.8) showing these houses in combination to show the density and by proximity, connectivity of parklands in Leinster.

While the houses of the ‘middle size’ may not have had the acreage of the large demesnes, the layout was illustrated in an equally detailed manner, particularly around the house, with the cartographer showing the trees and the planting pattern of the walled gardens. That these patterns were a symbol of the supposed reality of the orderly manner the gardens

were planted is recognised, as the same pattern is repeated across the entire map. In data terms, such representations are perhaps not as we know data today, nor as maps based on a contemporary digital format, but the accumulated knowledge of the cartographers on the ground at that time. Historically, map use was directly a tool of the mapmaker, as an aid to thinking, an inventory, a repository of spatial facts and as arrays of facts (a database). These original OS maps can be read as expressions of political and economic power but not necessarily as an accurate portrayal of reality, 'the workshop of the map-maker can be seen as normalizing the phenomena of place and territory in creating a sketch of a made world that society desired' (Turnbull 1996:6). Harley (2010:274) reminds the viewer that it was the 'cartographer and/or their paymasters that set the agenda' and thus it must not be accepted uncritically. As users and readers of the OS maps we are all subject to varying levels of pre-existing social cultural understandings that communicate meaning to us and we bring to a map those cultural expectations and interpretations. An element of this thesis was interested in extending an analysis of historic official mappings, specifically to augment their surface illustrations and their representations of dispersed islands of power. From the historic maps, information has been gathered that has contributed to the digital maps used in later chapters to demonstrate the connectivities of power, with the houses and their locations acting as both representative nodes of power and the foundational points around which the network develop outwards, akin to the connecting points in the lines of a spider's web.

In addition to the national historic map base, a group of additional maps, hitherto unknown, were discovered in the Conolly Papers (NLI) which had been produced by two hunt Clubs: The Kildare Hunt and the Ward and Louth Hunt. These maps appear to have been produced exclusively for members and show the location of meets across all or parts of the counties of Meath, Louth, Dublin and Kildare. This significant set of maps visually demonstrated the spatial nature of the hunting field and more importantly they are an indication of the control that the hunt had on the landscape. This control was enacted in two areas; the employment of individuals and the physical improvement of the land to facilitate hunting. The information found in them was as follows: meet locations such as houses, demesnes, cross roads, bogs, moors and finally all the fox coverts under the management of the club. Of the latter some 100 were shown, which were then georeferenced within ArcGIS to produce a second point layer to map their locations relative to the demesnes of members who hosted meets. Again, the value of such a layer was its specific identification of meeting points for leisure activities that formed a significant aspect of the regular networking undertaken by Conolly and his associates.

Valuation Office Sources

In conjunction with the OS maps there were two additional interconnected sources that allow the researcher to spatially identify the owners of country houses, and indeed, their relational wealth and by extension, power. The Primary Valuation of Ireland Survey was supervised in the mid nineteenth century by Sir Richard Griffith. The survey, commonly known as Griffith's Valuation and essentially a first attempt at a detailed cadastral map, involved the detailed valuation of every taxable piece of built or agricultural property on the island of Ireland and was published county-by-county between the years 1848 and 1864. The Valuation Books were directly linked to the Ordnance survey of 1837-40 maps and every townland on the OSI maps was identified and collated in association with Valuation Books. The singular importance of the version of these maps held in the Valuation Office, Dublin, is that they could be used, with the coding system connected to each entry in the Valuation Books, to cross-reference locations (Figures 4.6 and 4.7). This was very useful in determining the connection between land and individuals.[34] Griffith's Valuation was also used to search for members whose estates or address were not indicated in membership lists, or to find the unknown owner of the house in the database. When the starting point of the search was solely the OSI XY co-ordinates, then it was time consuming but nevertheless rewarding if a particular parkland was substantial. This often resulted in finding an address for a club member that previously had none formally listed. This activity was facilitated through an online link with the National Archives accessed at http://www.askaboutireland.ie/griffith-valuation/index.xml.

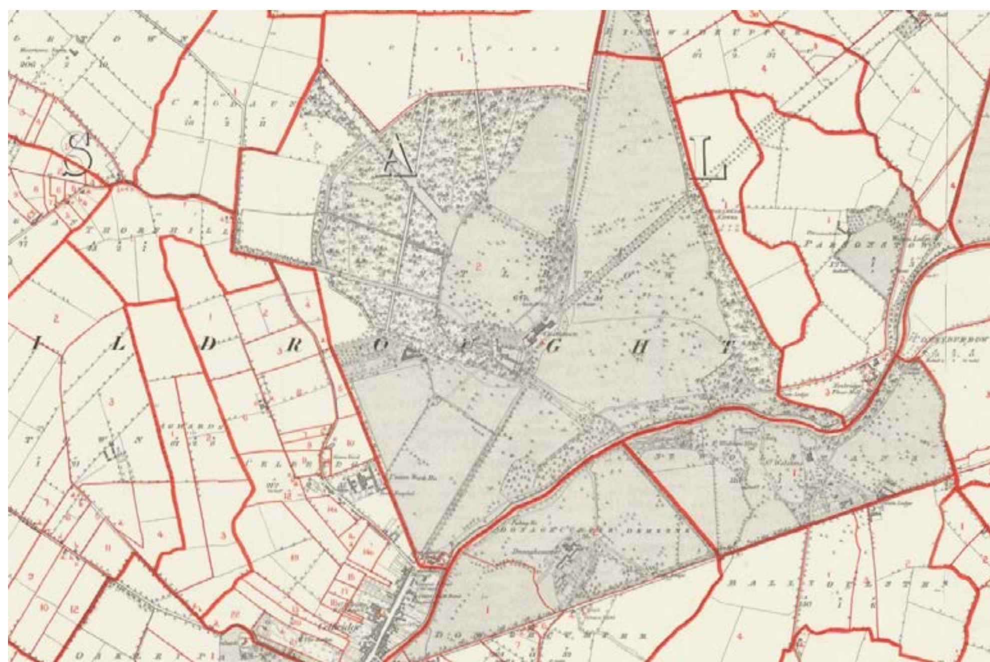

Figure 4.6 Map of Castletown from Griffith's Valuation Maps

PRIMARY VALUATION OF TENEMENTS. 7

PARISH OF KILDROUGHT.

nd Letters eference to Map.	Names.		Description of Tenement.	Content of Land.	Net Annual Value.		
	Townlands and Occupiers.	Immediate Lessors.			Land.	Buildings.	Total.
	AGHARDS. (*Ord. S.* 11.)			A. R. P.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1	Edward Dunne,	Thomas Conolly, Esq.	Land,	36 2 33	40 0 0	—	40 0 0
2	Thomas Byrne,	Edward Dunne,	Land,	14 1 30	16 15 0	—	16 15 0
3	Thomas Sheehan,	William Thompson,	Land,	16 1 23	20 0 0	—	20 0 0
— a	Michael Peters,	Thomas Sheehan,	House,	—	—	0 15 0	0 15 0
— b	Vacant,	Thomas Sheehan,	House,	—	—	1 10 0	1 10 0
			Total,	67 2 6	76 15 0	2 5 0	79 0 0
	CASTLETOWN. (*Ord. S.* 11.)						
1	Richard Heir,	Thomas Conolly, Esq.	Land,	79 1 8	82 0 0	—	82 0 0
2	Thomas Conolly, Esq.	In fee	House, offices, gate-lodges and land	567 2 34	561 0 0	180 0 0	741 0 0
	(TOWN OF CELBRIDGE.) *Church-street.*						
3 a	Church,	Thomas Conolly, Esq.	Church and yard	0 1 10	0 10 0	30 0 0	30 10 0
— b	Petit Sessions,	Thomas Conolly, Esq.	House,	—	—	3 5 0	3 5 0
— c	Peter Geraghty,	Thomas Conolly, Esq.	House,	—	—	2 10 0	2 10 0
— d	Industrial Schools	Thomas Conolly, Esq.	House, office, & gardens,	0 0 24	0 15 0	18 0 0	18 15 0
			Waste under houses, streets, and yards,	0 1 38	—	—	—
			Total,	647 3 34	644 5 0	233 15 0	878 0 0
			Exemptions:				
			Church and yard,	0 1 10	0 10 0	30 0 0	30 10 0
			Petit Sessions house	—	—	3 5 0	3 5 0
			Industrial school-house, office and gardens,	0 0 24	0 15 0	18 0 0	18 15 0
			Total of Exemptions.	0 1 34	1 5 0	51 5 0	52 10 0
			Total, exclusive of Exemptions,	647 2 0	643 0 0	182 10 0	825 10 0

Figure 4.7. Representative Griffith's Valuation Return for Castletown

Other Property-related Sources

The two other related sources referred to earlier were also very useful to the landowning aspect to the data collection and, somewhat less directly, as evidence for social networks. A larger survey begun in January 1873 entitled, *Return of Owners of Land in the United Kingdom*, was prepared by the Local Government Boards in England, Wales and Ireland and came about as a result of a question by the Earl of Derby in the House of Lords in 1872. This question, asked 'was there an accurate number of proprietors of land and houses in the United Kingdom and the quantity of land owned by each?' (*Landowners in Ireland 1876*. 1988: iii). On completion of the Irish returns, they were published in book form by the government in 1876.[35] The second publication was by John Bateman, mentioned previously, who compiled *The Great Landowners of the United Kingdom* in 1882 based on the original government survey of 1873. In this privately published book, the individuals he chose to document were classified in a number of categories very relevant to this study. They included: address, education, regiments, significant government positions, clubs and most significantly a breakdown of landholdings by county (both England and Ireland), along with the rateable valuation. The Irish landowners highlighted in Bateman's study were extracted and, combined with other large landholders

found in *Landowners of Ireland 1876,* were added to the database under the appropriate headings. In Figure 4.8 below, the entry of Thomas Conolly's son is shown taken from Bateman (1882:102). As he was a minor, no biographical details are given. More significantly the land details cannot be accurate because the survey that this publication is based on was carried out c1873 and this book was published in 1882, some 6 years after his father's death in 1876. I am not aware that anyone before now has taken the Irish landowners from Bateman's book and used them directly in this way as part of a study. Both Bateman's and *Landowners of Ireland 1876* were used to cross-reference the names of club members as the numbers grew and provided further details of land-holding if an address was given. Although Bateman did give some brief biographical information of the many landowners he listed, it was still necessary to go through other sources to more fully document the number of civic responsibilities beyond those he had listed. *Landowners* and Bateman both gave the amount of land held by an individual but accurately assigning the total amount of land to an individual became an awkward process within the database design. A brief explanation is that before inheriting, a son may have lived at another location or, at the time of the 1876 survey, he had acquired a title, which did not match his family name taken from an earlier membership list and this created confusion attempting to sort out who was who. An added complication was that quite often, there was a discrepancy between the names or addresses listed in the KSC or RDS memberships and these two publications. Bateman was also selective in the information he provided, for example, if the landowner was untitled or held under 2000 acres, biographical material was non-existent and consequently this information had to be found elsewhere. In summary it occasionally took time to work out the correct matches to land and named individuals.

102 *Great Landowners of Great Britain.*

CONNOLY, THOMAS, of Castletown, Celbridge, Co. Kildare, &c.

		acres.	*g. an. val.*
b. 1870, s. 1876.	Donegal . .	22,736 .	6,283
	Kildare . .	2,605 .	3,346
	Dublin . . .	1,512 .	2,982
		26,853 .	12,611

** CONSETT, WILLIAM WARCOP PETER, of Brawith Hall, Thirsk, &c. (res. Château du Champ de Bataille, Neubourgh, Eure, France).

Club. Junior Carlton. b. 1833, s. 1860, m. 1864.	York N. & W. R.	4,793 .	8,600

CLIFFORD-CONSTABLE, SIR FREDERICK AUGUSTUS TALBOT BART., of Burton Constable, Hull, &c.

Club. Carlton, Road.	York E. & N. R.	18,666 .	23,650
b. 1828, s. 1870, m. 186—.	Middlesex . .	15 .	608
	Durham . .	25 .	36
	Staffordshire .	8 .	87
		18,714 .	24,381

The Middlesex property is the DOWAGER LADY C.-CONSTABLE'S.

** STRICKLAND-CONSTABLE, HENRY, of Wassand Hall, Hull.

Coll. Trin. Cam. b. 1821, s. 1865, m. 1859.	York E. & W. R.	6,271 .	10,500

ROWLEY-CONWY, CONWY GRENVILLE HERCULES, of Boddrhyddan, Rhyl.

Club. Carl., Garrick, U. Ser. b. 1841, s. 1869, m. 1869.	Flint . . .	5,526 .	6,995

Served in 2nd Life Guards.

CONYERS, LORD, Oran H...

Club. Carlt...

Figure 4.8 Thomas Conolly Jr's entry in Bateman (1882)

Another secondary source by Mark Bence-Jones was published in 1978, which was laid out as a gazetteer and listed all of the outstanding historic houses throughout Ireland (Bence-Jones 1978). This publication, based on Bence-Jones' own selection decisions, has become the seminal work on historic Irish houses. A majority of the entries included pictures of the houses he had visited and often included a genealogy of owners. When the research for the thesis was still in the early stages and the database was first created, material from this book helped to populate the address field of KSC and RDS members. In addition, all the houses Bence-Jones surveyed in Leinster were matched with the list of 'unknown' houses found in the historic OSI maps and entered into the secondary data sources. This activity took several months as additional members were added to the database and therefore a period of cross referencing was required. Bence-Jones was not alone in his interest in great historic houses. Craig (1977) provided another book in a somewhat similar type of gazetteer although it was much more of an illustrated architectural analysis of house types. Not all of the houses listed in

Craig were replicated in Bence-Jones but both books contributed to the development of the database. NUI Galway have also created a large central repository database, which contains information on the big country houses and demesnes of Connaught, Munster and Ulster in the nineteenth century. This can be accessed at www.landedestates.ie but to date they have not compiled a database for Leinster and I have informed them of the database developed for this thesis in the hope that together it might build towards a full national resource.

There are a number of other sources available to establish information on either a member's house or the house's owner by looking up information from either the Land Registry, Dublin or the Registry of Deeds in Henrietta Street. However, this would have been a considerable amount of work and it was felt that this was not necessary for the thesis, given the level of detail already identified. For future research, it should be possible to identify the owners of all the houses in the database of landowners developed through this thesis.

Street Directories

Throughout the nineteenth century so called 'street directories' were published every 3 to 4 years by private companies, such as Slater and Thom. These publications, considered primary sources, were a gazetteer of individuals who were in positions of authority, broken down into various categories. They would have been created with considerable effort and reflected the Victorian interest in amassing facts and lists to better inform general knowledge, and perhaps more subtly, to classify society in different ways. Across 2013-15, I visited the NLI and Kildrought House, the home of June Stuart (who owns the largest private collection of directories in Ireland), for access to these books. In this way directories were examined for the representative years: 1850, 1853, 1858, 1868, 1872, 1874 and 1876, aligning with the years the thesis was concerned with. I photographed and transcribed the relevant entries to further inform the thesis database. Photography was the only way to avoid repeated visits to the repositories because the categories given in the directories were so lengthy that they often spread over numerous pages. The information covered a spectrum of appointments from the Viceroy of Ireland, government appointments, military, naval, church, professions private companies down to the minutiae of local stationmasters. The wide variety of categories provided were also further divided into counties headed by a potted history of the county, making it slightly easier for the researcher to find a particular individual if the county was known. These lists provide a glimpse into the hierarchy and proliferation of appointments, particularly those held by the upper echelons of society. By going through each name in the alphabetically arranged categorized lists of civic appointments and comparing them to the membership lists, a fuller picture was built up about the individual and added to the database,

especially where no appointment had been found in any other source. They proved to be an especially useful source that uncovered evidence for even more appointments and associations for well-documented individuals not previously identified in other sources.

Newspapers

The Irish Newspaper Archive has been helpful in providing a digitised group of papers; available through the Maynooth University library e-data sources and the County Kildare Library Local History web page for the *Kildare Observer.* The many sources online through MU e-data were invaluable but newspapers have been a fund of information that could not be located anywhere else. Although most newspapers are available on microfilm or hard copy in the NLI the digitized format linked to a searchable subject database format made research much easier. Similar to some newspapers and magazines today, the activities of the elite were always of great interest to the public especially in the Irish context, with a small population of elites who largely knew one another. Here the visible performance of society in public life was usefully documented, coinciding with an enhanced visibility of the social life of the power elites into the public arena. This is part of what Castells (1997) refers to as the legitimizing identity. Those who act with the symbolic power of the prevailing authority set the hegemony of society through their actions. One must always bear in mind however, that while the descriptions of such events were deliberately dramatic even at times, lurid and sensationalist, they were only the observer's or the reporter's view.

The Freeman's Journal and the *Leinster Express*, both of which began publishing in the 1830s, have been a valuable source for much of the activities of Conolly's public life, including the accounts of his sale of cattle and horses, his obituaries and the movements of his family after his death. *The Irish Times and Weekly Advertiser* (the original name for the *Irish Times* newspaper) was available in the NLI and was also of some use. The *Belfast Newsletter* also included articles from the *Irish Times* that were curiously not found in their own database.

A number of worthwhile results were identified this way, among them the wedding of Thomas Conolly and Sarah-Eliza Shaw and her financial difficulties in 1890. Conolly's wedding in 1868, a central episode described more fully in Chapter 7, was extensively reported in both the *Leinster Express* and *The Irish Times* with an astonishing amount of detail including a listing of every wedding guest and descriptions of the wedding cake.

The capacity of the newspaper databases, to search using keywords or specific dates or date ranges as search terms, provided good material. The research strategy in the use of

newspapers was to consider the themes of the thesis; first the sample search terms used included, ‘Conolly’ or ‘Thomas’ or ‘Castletown’ or ‘hunting’ and other connections with Castletown. Different searches identified material about the lead up to the death of Conolly’s father Edward Michael Conolly (1789-1849) as well as Conolly himself, the celebrations marking the return of Conolly from honeymoon, indications of a dairy herd and even provided hints of the presence of a thoroughbred stud at Castletown; second, accounts of events and other individuals in Conolly’s social network such as his wedding brought new areas hitherto forgotten to the fore. Finally, once it was established that there were land sales the key words such as Conolly, land and sales were used to obtain results of these circumstances. Until the newspapers were trawled for information, none of these facts were documented either by the family or by the local community. There appears to be scope for more work on newspapers in the future, with time spent thinking lateraly about keywords and search terms likely to result in more information. A case in point came to light in March of 2017 when I was surfing the site irishnewspaperarchive.com and, using as a key word Sarah Eliza’s name to look at the family following Conolly’s death. This activity identified revealing information that contributed to a better understanding of Conolly’s hitherto unknown financial position. This new area concerned a report about a court case in 1890 Mrs Conolly was involved in concerning the family’s financial circumstances (referred to in Chapter 2). Attempting to decipher the legal language lead to contact with a semi-retired solicitor who had access to Blackhall Place, the headquarters of the Law Society of Ireland. This allowed me access to transcripts of the court case provided by the librarians at Blackhall Place as a service to him. These networks are all the more rewarding due to their unexpected nature.

A final opportunity to do further research in a private archive became possible in late 2015. I was asked to assist in cataloguing the Hamilton family papers, of Hamwood House, Co Kildare, who were land agents of the dukes of Leinster for at least a century or more. A family member Alexander Hamilton also had strong social connections to Castletown and Conolly, particularly via his constituency in Donegal, and to other well-networked elites throughout the mid-nineteenth century. It was hoped that there might be evidence of his connection to Thomas Conolly in the Hamwood family papers and in their extensive collection of family photographs, yet to be catalogued. This did not prove to be the case because the main collection was mainly twentieth century and ultimately not relevant to the research, but photographs of the two Misses Conolly (Figure 2.6) were discovered among the papers, demonstrating that one should consider all possible sources.

Part Two: Data Methodology
Designing a database to capture social networks.

A starting point for the research was to gather evidence of Conolly's social networking, and as a result to uncover insights into his lifeworld. In the course of the research, particular attention was given to those individuals who were also members of the clubs that Conolly belonged to and/or held common associations with. It was clear that key individuals in his circle were members of several of the same clubs, held similar positions of authority and moved in the same cliques as Conolly. As a consequence, the collection of empirical data compiled in the nineteenth century from primary archival sources, and printed contemporaneously, was of immense practical value and the key starting point for the empirical work of the thesis. As the database built up, club networks combined with appointments and marriages, began to show a distinct spider's web of connectivity across Ireland and spreading to England as well. The database provides most of the empirical material presented in Chapters five to seven, which discuss more fully these networks and associations.

By compiling an electronic and spatially-referenced database based on the different primary sources, a visualisation of networks of association between the power elite of Ireland could be seen with greater clarity. Instead of being spread over a range of sources or other disparate forms of presentation, they were standardised into a single format, that additionally had potential to act as a working geo-database to open up use within a Geographical Information System (GIS). The analysis of the database is presented in subsequent chapter, but here, the preparation and development of the database, an increasingly common element of historical geographical work (Foley & Murphy 2015) is more fully described.

As a starting point in the data collation process, sourced data was inserted into an Excel spreadsheet to begin the process of mapping out the various hubs and nodes of power. As is common for database work, a number of key attribute fields were identified, including those that would provide a spatial tag for location. The following attribute fields were included in the initial version of the database and examples. A brief sample is shown in Table 4.1 below.

- Name: of the individual, date of birth (where available), i.e. Conolly Thomas (1823-76) and title where listed, i.e. Kildare 21st earl, William Fitzgerald (1775-1854).
- Address: where identifiable, usually the house/demesne name, but also town addresses, i.e. Castletown, Co Kildare, Carlton Square London.
- County (two-digit code), KE for Kildare MH for Meath etc.
- X & Y coordinates: two separate columns in Excel format, i.e. X456789 Y876548

- Land: the county and acreage owned by the individual plus value where available, i.e. Kildare and Meath 3,000, £1,000
- Clubs i.e. KSC (Kildare Street Club), RDS (Royal Dublin Society
- Associations: (comma-separated list), MP. JP, Magistrate Kildare
- Military connections: regiment and militia
- Education: public school and University, e.g. Harrow, Oxford
- Comment (relevant minutiae) marital connections, family connections, biographical information.

There were a number of issues to note in relation to the specific attribute fields. In relation to addresses, it is important to point out that in most cases the name of a house was used to identify its location from online historic maps (www.osi.ie), from which specific locational co-ordinates could be derived. From the database, the X and Y coordinates were then used, via simple geolocational tools in ArcGIS v10.2, to create maps of the homes of members. This used a very simple *Add XY Data* command to take the imported excel spreadsheet and convert it into a standard digital maps layer (shape file) within ArcGIS. The initial database was not restricted to Leinster but the core of the mapping sample has been limited to Leinster to produce clarity in the analysis. Keeping the sample to the one province was more manageable and certainly, the socio-economic climate in the Eastern counties was less fractious than elsewhere. Leinster also held by far the greater number of resident landlords, ensuring the stability of the region. It is also worth mentioning that in the east and south east of the country, the best land on the island afforded the best possibility of making a good income from agriculture, which was then the core income source for the power elites (Whelan 2004).

If club membership lists did not provide an address, it was necessary to pursue this information through Debrett's or Burke's (see detailed discussion below). If a country property could not be found for the member through other sources, that in and of itself reflected different types of upwardly mobile individuals who were becoming clubmen. Civic appointments such as Lord Lieutenant and High Sheriff were found in Burke's but the street directories were the main source for these details and covered a much longer time-period. This source proved very useful in showing the evolution of appointments in an individual's lifetime. This process of searching through Burkes and the street directories was carried out over eighteen months and involved inputting data from the lists and any existing addresses into the database. After the initial phase of data collection, any new information or data source that appeared unexpectedly throughout the period of research, which often provided new information about individuals, was added to the database.

Within the database, a separate attribute identified the list of club memberships of different individuals. This was a complex area to both map and document. Some individuals belonged to as many as seven clubs in both England and Ireland. The types of clubs are primarily two-fold; gentleman's clubs and sporting clubs. Of the gentlemen's clubs two in particular, the Carlton and Junior Carlton, were politically Conservative while the Stephen's Green Club was of a more radical bent with Daniel O'Connell as a leading member. The less overtly political KSC was, to say the least, establishment and Protestant. The hunt clubs tended not to ally themselves politically but, with a high percent of establishment and government members, the party politics were generally conservative. Most of the clubs listed belonged in the 'exclusive' category, ones that required members to be invited to join. Some were more open but nevertheless all required some measure of scrutiny before one was allowed to join. Being a member of the 'exclusive' gentleman's club was a guaranteed entrée into the wider social network and into the network of appointments that concerned the governance of the country. As a result, one can gauge the number and type of memberships within the database as a very immediate indicator of socially networked power for any one individual.

Another important database field in networking terms, were listed associations (appointments) and, as was the case with the clubs, some individuals held a variety of positions. The word associations was deliberately left ambiguous but had specific relevance to the idea of networking. This column indicated the positions individuals held, some of which could be considered 'jobs', others not. Gentlemen did not 'work' and although one might consider today that a particular position was a job, this was not considered quite true for these men. Most of the positions they held were not paying jobs, the actual working part of the position was carried out by the higher civil servants. It seems all of these appointments were financed by the appointee, although some small payments were made by the government but not until 1911 did MPs receive salaries. These civic appointments ranged from MPs, Lord Lieutenants, High Sheriffs to county magistrates and Poor Law guardians. Others were privy councillors, comptrollers of the royal household (Queen Victoria), Lords of the Treasury and Lord Chief Justice. It became apparent in the course of compiling the database that aristocrats held high profile positions across a range of institutions. It became obvious in addition that, even if one was not titled but closely connected to an aristocrat, then the position one held would reflect the lower but nevertheless highly honourable status.

The next two fields in the database identified military and educational connections, where information could be found. In many cases, a particular individual had achieved one rank at the end of their regular military careers but would then go on to a higher rank in the county

militias. None of the individuals entered the military as privates. If there was a military career, it began as a lieutenant or in the case of the navy, a midshipman. Education, where given, was usually at one of the high status English boarding schools such as Eton or Harrow and many went on to the three main universities Oxford, Cambridge or Trinity in Dublin. This 'high-status' interlinkage was also noted in Brayshay et. al. (2007). This has proved to be very revealing on the levels of education the club members held and a brief analysis will be given in Chapter 6. The last column was a comment space that allowed for additional information and was used to record some marriages and other information to clarify connections or land ownership

The main database, presented as a small sample (Table 4.1) in this chapter and in full in Appendix I, has been narrowed down to include only members of the KSC between 1837 and c1890. Given that the full version of the database involved nearly 4,000 named members across a range of clubs this proved rather unwieldly. The more neatly encapsulated and manageable listing of the KSC, based on membership lists between 1837 and 1880, reflected the bigger database with the smaller number of 682 members. For more effective querying and analysis, especially in 'social connectivity' terms, this subset of the data included a new field that was coded with three numbers, a process in part inspired by Brayshay et. al. (2007). Each entry was assigned a simple code that indicated his connections and associations; interlinks as Brayshay et. al. termed them. For example a code of 341 provided the following information: the first digit (3) represented the number of clubs (including the KSC) that the individual belonged to, the 2nd digit (4) showed the number of civic appointments he had and the 3rd digit (1) indicated if he was involved with the military (1 for yes 0 for no). These three connections were considered the pivotal networks of the power elite. By producing a code within the database based on connections and associations, it became possible to map out the extent or volume of connectivity. For example, one individual Richard Moore, the Earl of Drogheda stood out, with eight memberships and six positions of civic authority demonstrating fully the combination of social and civic power that a member of the power elite might aspire to. This database sample, while by being shaped initially by membership of the KSC, did not exclude other prestigious clubs because KSC members also tended to belong to the other main clubs as well.

CODE*	Name	Address	CO	X	Y	Land	Club	Club	Club	Club	Association	Association	Military	Education	Comments
311	Congreve Ambrose b1832 s1863 m1866	Mount Congreve Demesne Kilmeaden Waterford	WD	653338	610202	Kilkenny Waterford Cork 7,309 acres £5,450	Arthur's	Curraghmore hunt, covert	Kildare Street Club		Magistrate Waterford		2nd Life Guards	Eton	Impressive Estate
340	***Conolly Thomas (1823-76)***	***Castletown, Celbridge & Cliff, Donegal; 6 Carrick Lodge Killibegs Donegal***	***KE***	***697850 593130***	***734227 859922***	***Kildare 2,605 acres £3,346 Dublin 1,512 £2,982. Total: acres 26,853 £12,611***	***Carlton***	***Kildare Street Club-Debenture***	***Royal Dublin Society***		***MP Donegal, Magistrate, Grand Jury***	***Chairman Ballyshannon Poor Law Union Magistrate Kildare 1848***		***Harrow, Christ church Cambridge***	***Chairman of the Enniskillin, Bundoran & Sligo Railway Company 1865-75***
491	Conolly Thomas Rt Hon (1754-1803)	Castletown, Celbridge, Cliff, Donegal	KE	697850 593130	734227 859922	Donegal 22,736 acres £6,283	Friendly Brother's of St Patrick, Kildare knot	Kildare Hunt Master	Kildare Street Club	Royal Dublin Society	MP Londonderry, Ballyshannon, Malmesbury, Chichester, Escheator of Munster, Joint Governor/Governor Londonderry City and Colraine, Custos Rot Londonderry, Trustee of Linenboard for Ulster,	Governor of the Foundling Hospital and Workhouse 1788-1803, Governor and Guardian of the Lying in Hospital 1788-1803, Freeman & Burgess of Limavady, Director of Grand Canal Company	Colonel of the Loughinshillen Battalion of Volunteers 1782; Captain Commissioner of the Castletown Union Vounteers 1782 and Celbridge and Bellaghy Volunteers; Colonel of Co Londonderry Militia 1793; Kildare Militia (resigned 1792)	Westminster	Cliff late Georgian Wyatt windows in lower floor
430	Conyngham Marquis Francis Nathanial b1797 m1824 d1876	Slane Castle	MH	694984	774278	Meath 7,060 acres £(	Freemason 'Meridian Lodge'	Kildare Sreet Club	Royal Dublin Society	Royal St George's Yacht Club, Commadore	Deputy Lieutenant & Magistrate Donegal	Vice Admiral for Ireland Ulster,			
321	Cooper Edward Henry b1827 s1863 m1858	Markree Castle Colloony Sligo	SO			Sligo Limerick 35,238 acres £12,735	Carlton	Guards	Kildare Street Club		MP & Deputy Lieutenant Sligo		Lt-Colonel Grenadier Guards & 7th Hussars		
111	Cooper John Joshua	Dunboden Park, Mullingar, Westmeath	WH	643590	744537	Westmeath, Cork 3,536 acres £2,920	Kildare Street Club				Magistrate Westmeath		Colonel		

Table. 4.1 Sample Database (2011-2016)

In the course of my studies, I undertook a refresher GREP module on GIS to augment the module I completed as an undergraduate to enable me to develop the maps as an important visual and geo-spatial source. Having gathered the information together as a series of layers within a searchable geo-database, ArcGIS allowed me to produce multiple mapped outputs from that geo-database. Ideally, in any future iteration, more map layers could be displayed and queried together within a GIS environment, emphasising its flexibility. While not possible within the constraints of this thesis, working within a GIS allowed the viewer to see the full range of the material in the database as well as hyperlinked pictures, if available, of the members and their houses within a single geodatabase (see Murphy and Foley, 2015). The different map layers showed the spread of houses and parklands owned by KSC members, across the province of Leinster and the visual information of fox coverts and meets available from the hunt maps and were a demonstration of the spatial impact of the landed gentry's control of the wider landscape. However, for the purposes of this thesis, any maps produced using the database, and other sources given below, are strategically deployed across the empirical chapters. Developing them within a geo-spatial framework was a complex process, as described in the next section, but made possible a very flexible approach in terms of usability and analysis.

Through analysis of the database the power landscapes of the nineteenth century can be seen as a representation of the complex connectivity of Ireland's hierarchy in the mid-Victorian period. Specific components of different landscapes, such as leisure pursuits and political 'socialization' in places like London, were also identified from the diaries and other sources. Conolly's social network was built on human relationships, but also on a more conceptual (topological) stretching and bending of the different components together, which

linked to Conolly's own trajectory over time. The database demonstrated how power networking operated geographically. The database combines spatial data compiled through an archival approach, and uses traditional primary and secondary sources, to literally map representative parts of the network. Using this approach, maps were created out of the database to more effectively illustrate the specific geographies of the network in visual and graphic forms. The maps particularly demonstrated the topographical nature of networking that lay beneath the power structure.

Commentary on the Sources and the Compiling of the Database

Despite working in the various repositories and occasionally online, the information in the available primary and secondary sources was not always straight forward. Club or directory lists could prove confusing at times. Quite often, in both sources, only the individual's title, not his family name, was given; this caused uncertainty particularly as there was often a succession of family members holding the title during the nineteenth century. At times, having discovered that an individual held a position of high social standing such as County Lieutenant, his name or title alone would not necessarily show his connection to other specific individuals beyond the obvious club or society. This was because his title was different than his family name and therefore the other members of his family would have appeared under their family name or even other titles. For example, the duke of Leinster's heir was/is known as the earl of Kildare often shortened to Kildare and similarly the earls of Headfort were often called simply Bective, which was their secondary title, the earl of Bective. In Conolly's diary, the name Bective regularly appears in association with dining and hunting. Brothers too might have a different name or title if they were required to change it on inheriting property. The family at the core of this thesis changed their name from Pakenham to Conolly, as mentioned earlier, and again later in the twentieth century the Carew family, after inheriting Castletown, became Conolly Carew. Lord Conolly Carew's brother inherited his grandfather's title and is now the earl of Lauderdale.

This confusion over names in the various sources presented a difficulty that was necessary to resolve. The genealogical books produced by *Debrett's Baronetage of England and also of the existing baronets of Scotia and Ireland* (Courthope 1809) and Burke's (1904) *A genealogical and heraldic history of the Landed Gentry of Ireland* - both concerning landed and aristocratic families -were the key to sorting out the confusion. The genealogical books, like the directories, are located in the reading rooms of the NLI where early in the research, during 2012 and 2013, weeks were spent going through them to gather the basic data to allow me to perform effective cross-tabulation and fill out the attribute fields of my core database as fully as I could.

These genealogical books provided the vital link between family members. Once the family name of the titled individual was established, this led to siblings without titles who could be identified by their family name. Having the honorific *Hon.* before the Christian name would give a clue that there was an aristocratic connection, but in some cases, it took some time to establish which title it referred to. In this way too, connections through marriage could be established and were arguably as important in social connectivity as blood relationships. *Debrett's* and *Burke* also conveniently noted the country residence, influential positions, appointments and some clubs of people they listed. These books also offered links to other more distant family members, who could be investigated separately. This was important, because the title often jumped across the generations to a nephew or cousin. This was also quite difficult to comprehend, as there was no clue in the printed sources where the title may have jumped.

Another issue that arose was the practice of both the KSC and the RDS memberships that covered several decades was that they only listed members by their titles e.g. earl of Fingal but never give his full name. The genealogical books helped to determine the first and surname name of those who held the title at any particular period. An invaluable database on the internet is The Peerage (thepeerage.com) which is largely based on *Debrett's* and *Burke but* because of its structure, as a compilation of many editions of *Debrett's* and *Burke*, (only a limited series of years is available in the NLI) and being online one could comprehensively search a wider number of years and it was eventually used exclusively. This website is searchable by surname, titles and place which allows for easier cross-referencing of family members. This source was particularly useful during the difficult process of sorting out which family member owned the largest land bank. If the solution to a particular issue still seemed unobtainable, simply using Google occasionally provided a local history source previously unknown. Even Wikipedia was occasionally sourced for clues (especially for location) of where to begin and these clues were then followed up on thepeerage.com, which would open up the possibility of finding useful and verifiable information. These further clues were then corroborated on thepeerage.com. Newspapers unfortunately, added to the confusion of who individuals were, because their identification was either limited to titles or Mr somebody without including a Christian name. In either case, if there were many people with same surname, it became quite difficult to sort out who was who.

There were two criteria for spending time on establishing the full name of an individual. First if the member had a significant address and second if a house and demesne was clearly illustrated on the historic OSI map. If the latter then extra work was carried out to establish exactly who the owner was, using the various sources mentioned above. Searching in this

detailed way did slow down the research but, considering the results in expanding the network, it was well worth the time. In terms of gathering material for the database, this was an open-ended process. One began with a systematic approach expecting certain groups of documents to be found in one place in a neat and orderly fashion but invariably this was not the reality. To some extent if sources had been digitized and available online and if the research area was more contemporary, bringing together the supporting material to compile the database would have been much easier. However, given the historical nature of the research, this was not always the case and one had to be willing and open to new possibilities in many circumstances. Thinking lateraly in terms of connectivity was the single most important key to compiling the database. In terms of the case study for this thesis, to facilitate the in-depth searching for particularly newspapers and the British Parliamentary Papers, the improved access of online databases has been invaluable. This has produced material that would have previously meant spending months in repositories but was reduced to weeks and hours. It must be said nevertheless that there is no substitute for archival work at the beginning of the research to establish the parameters of the subject and following up internet searches with archival work is essential. However, as can be seen in the final version of the database, and something that must be acknowledged, there was some information that was impossible to find, leading in turn to regular gaps and blanks within the database, a not uncommon feature of historical work.

Conclusion

As this thesis was developing I set about systematically looking at all of the possible sources - described above - that would help me identify the social networks within which Thomas Conolly operated. The most useful sources; the diaries, the club membership lists, *Landowners of Ireland 1876* along with Bateman's version, and the Peerage.com were those that I returned to repeatedly. Tracking individuals based on their titles, whether as civic officials or members of prestigious clubs, proved a significant help in the process of establishing those who were the most influential and as a result, a more complete picture of the degree of power held among the elites began to emerge. Throughout the research process, while gathering empirical data both for the database and the accompanying text, I had to make judgements on the value of each source encountered. For the most part, I was confident that they were as solid and accurate as they could have been at the time of their creation in the nineteenth century. The reliability of these sources has not been disputed and they are regularly used by historians. Equally, they must be read with the understanding that they are of their time and part of the approach was an acceptance that they reflected how power in the nineteenth century was structured, and were both exclusive and excluding in relation to the fuller societies of nineteenth-century Ireland as Harley (2010) pointed out. Maps must always be read as a text

and treated as an interpretation; this applies just as much to the various sources used to compile the database, produced by powerful agencies to reproduce that power; and in and of themselves, objects of that power.

In gauging the value and quality of the database that was compiled over the length of the research, the bulk of the material was collected in the initial years and augmented in piecemeal ways all through. It remains, along with Conolly's diaries, the most valuable and pivotal source for the research, based as it is on detailed primary empirical work and material. From this database, it became possible to begin to put some order and depth to the connections that made up Conolly's social network of the mid nineteenth-century, described in the following three chapters. Although the man at the centre of the case study, Thomas Conolly, was represented in the database, his footprint on the network was sometimes nebulous and at other times quite clear. Whether implicit or explicit, nevertheless his position within the networks of power of his time can I feel, be clearly demonstrated. While I initially felt that Conolly's social network might have matched some of the other in his network, this was not the case when judged on the database alone. With the diaries however, the next most significant source, pointers were embedded in his social activity that proved beyond a doubt the connectivity he had within the power elite, which was exactly what was implied in the database. An outstanding example of this was his list of dinner engagements during the season in London in 1857, 1863 and 1864, which reads like a who's who of the elite of society. This is described in Chapter seven and allows us to go 'behind the lists' and beyond a representation of power to get a better understanding of how it worked. The genealogical references were the final significant data source, because without them it would have been impossible to untie the network of families and to describe how Conolly was linked by blood to the prominent social groups in Irish society. This will be discussed more fully in Chapter six where his connections to the Ponsonby and Headfort families will be discussed. Finally, the focus in Chapter six on hunting and marriage, also partially emerged from the database, but was made more lively by the diary entries, newspaper accounts and secondary descriptions.

In essence, the lists that fed the core database were the visible elements of the networks, the nodes and spokes if you like. What the diaries provide are more invisible but lived aspects of that network, the ways in which that network was lubricated. It is in the diaries that a better understanding of the processes emerged, alongside other important events in Conolly's life. These nodes translated into a geo-referenced compendium database of individuals have allowed for the mapping of the diary and Conolly's life that will be seen in later chapters. It is worth emphasizing that the many sources described were records contemporary with the period of the study, 1850-1880. If the question as to why the sources for Castletown are so slight it can only

be repeated that the private papers for the period were lost over time and the history of Castletown and the nineteenth century Conolly family have not yet been written. It is the hope of this thesis that this will be at least partially addressed.

Chapter 5
Places and Spaces of Power

'Of all the classes the rich are the most noticed and the least studied.'

John Kenneth Galbraith (1977)

Houses and Demesnes as Places and Spaces of Power

Introduction

In contemporary historical geography, different aspects of the dissemination of power have increasingly become the focus of analysis (Proudfoot, 1995 and Proudfoot and Roche 2005). Throughout our lives, we are influenced by a network of individuals and structures who represent landscapes of power in varying degrees: both in spoken and unspoken forms. To discover where power lies within society itself and how the highly ordered structure of our society is maintained can be approached in different ways; for geographers this is almost always approached through place/space. This chapter will start by mapping out the specific places and spaces of power within which Conolly operated, with emphasis in turn on his home, demesne and local connections as well as core institutions; political and civic, all of which formed a wider formal network within which he operated. As a representative of the power elite in this study, broadly speaking Conolly can be seen as operating in a typical way, with one or two exceptions, and his everyday practices and political actions fitted in with the established social connections and government appointments of the time. The different types of connections and government appointments are introduced in turn throughout this chapter. The further two empirical chapters, 6 and 7, that follow, will consider the transmission of power within the networks in which Conolly was embedded. In discussing the theoretical framing of the thesis, and by using Conolly's life as an example of how such ideas emerged in practice, a deeper comprehension of the thrust of how elite social networks operated in nineteenth century Ireland can be developed. As noted at the end of the previous chapter, by using Conolly's biographical details to illustrate the abstract descriptions of the connectivity of the hierarchy, this brings to life the nuances of the detached and objective information provided in the empirical database. The biographical approach introduces as well an element of lively connection to the reader of this study .

Houses and Demesnes as Power Hubs

To begin any study of a relational landscape of power of the Irish landed elite, both physical and metaphysical, 'one must start with the dwelling', a key space and place of power (Wylie 2007:20). Many of the Irish elite families in the early nineteenth century were from the original Old English Norman, New English of the Cromwellian era or Planter groups who had come to Ireland from the twelfth century on and who had been given or bought land and crucially built a dwelling. This dwelling would stand out in the landscape as a powerful statement of the presence of the landlord, both by its size and the implied cost and by the measure of dominance, it elicited over the geographical and cultural landscape. Property ownership was the 'key to status qualification' (Garth and Mills 1958:187) and in the past, by and large, most members of the ruling elite had country houses surrounded by considerable parklands that were in turn, bounded by agricultural acres. For the Irish elites in the nineteenth century, their core power base was their historic houses and demesnes which visibly represented the overt economic and social power of the landowning class. These houses represent key nodes within privileged networks and allowed a form of disengagement with the local that in turn reinforced the otherness of the power group from the general population (Proudfoot 2000). In addition to the historic houses and demesnes, there were specific locations of institutional power, hubs through which the elites operated, that linked the homes and demesnes within an active network. These material settings and spaces, where the life world of the landowner was created, were also where visible interactions between the power elites and their dependents occurred. In the nineteenth century, the demesnes and parklands particularly in the Eastern counties were omnipresent in the landscape and offered a considerable employment opportunity for all social classes and one of the many reasons they have always had a significant place in the everyday life of the Irish rural community.

Houses and Demesnes as stage sets

In the heyday of the Protestant Ascendancy, the houses of the power elite served as the focus of macro social networking on a vast scale. The house was the very visible hub of networked activity; from gatherings for something as significant as the heir's twenty-first celebration, to wedding parties, to the starting point of an outdoor pursuit such as the arranged hunt meets and associated point-to-point race meetings and shoots. As Elizabeth Bowen points out their creation was 'purely a social one,' to entertain and offer hospitality in the large rooms; if one includes social prestige this was certainty an accurate observation (Dooley 2001:44). At a local scale, the more micro-networked elements such as the house and demesne would have

been the location of other leisure activities, such as shooting and fishing, cricket, tennis and croquet where guests stayed for long or short periods.

While impressive on its own, Castletown House was not alone in its immediate landscape. Other significant houses surrounded it and this first map (Figure 5.1) demonstrates the local network of large and middle size houses within a 5-mile radius of Castletown. (This map was developed as mapped output from queries carried out on the thesis database.) While not all of the landowners would have been of equal social status, all would have been very aware of each other and would have been networked with each other as well. Among those of an equal social status, visiting by both men and women to each other's homes would have been a regular occurrence. Men would have known each other or been on nodding acquaintance with those in the hunting field or members of the same club. For women as well, meeting in private homes, at hunt meets, point to points and balls, as well as attendance at church, would have reinforced the family network on a micro level. Other houses in this map were owned by individuals that Conolly was acquainted with: the Kennedys at Enfield, a name that frequently recurs in his diary; Cloncurry at Lyons, a family member; and the closest house Clements at Kiladoon, at Kill, Bishopscourt owned by the Earl of Clonmell and only five miles away the Cavendishes at Leixlip Castle. The duke of Leinster, who lived nearby at Carton estate is a name that one would expect to see in the diaries however, Conolly only mentions him and Carton once in passing in his 1853 diary. Nevertheless, not only did their social lives overlap, but their lands were also interlinked; indeed, the great eighteenth century obelisk erected by Kathleen Conolly and known as Conolly's Folly was erected on lands owned by the Fitzgeralds. This implies a deep connection between the two families and a mutual agreement on creating statements of control of the landscape. The duke and his family had high levels of cultural capital and were members of both the KSC and the Kildare Hunt and for that reason alone, would have been known to Conolly. However, the close relationship between the two families in the eighteenth century does not appear to have survived as strongly in the nineteenth. Although Lord Otho Fitzgerald's name appears in the newspapers as attending functions at Castletown and hunt meets, with the exception of listing him as a dinner party guest no other mention of him appears in the diaries. The other possibility, which cannot be confirmed, was that the connection was so close that like the very slight mention of his mother and sisters in the diaries, the relationship was so intimate and close that it was not necessary to note the connection. In the 1920s landowners whose property adjoined Castletown would purchase land and property as it was being sold; for example, Lord Dease bought the townland of Kildrought a section of the demesne itself as well as parts of Celbridge town and Leixlip town when they came up for sale

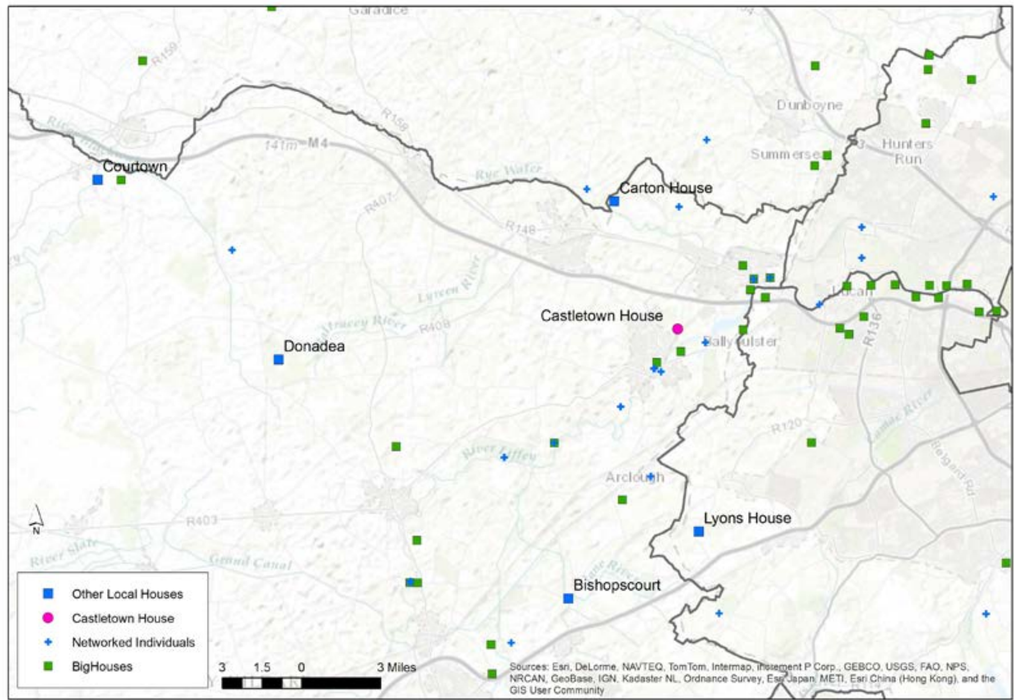

Figure 5.1 Houses and Demesnes near Castletown

The privileged nodes of castles, houses and demesnes, apart from being domestic homes, were also a statement of one's place on and in the network. These highly visible statements ranged from a wider political power and the dominance of the particular owner, to the social position of the owner long after any wider political power had declined. Part of the statement was the presence of the building as a backdrop, which was manipulated with as much skill as a theatre set. From the memoirs of visitors to Castletown, we know that Conolly was someone who knew how to use Castletown to entertain his house guests, 'his hospitality was unbounded…there was an excellent cook and plenty of champagne…' (St Helier 1909:59). As Bowen says of her own family home, 'in raising a family home, one is raising a theatre: one knows the existing players, guesses at their successors, but cannot tell what plays may be acted there' (Bowen 1942:32). With each reordering of a house by an owner, the viewer, regardless of their position in the hierarchy, was presented with the increased status of the owner. This would demonstrate to the viewer the legitimizing identity that Castells speaks of (1997) placing the landowner in an influential position. The person who held the purse strings and whose identity was linked to the remodeling, made the design decisions. These impressive structures were therefore used as stage sets for the performances of power by the landowner, describing and even scripting both his aspirational life world and his identity in the created real world. Houses or objects in the landscape were the visible markers and the central nodal point within individual networks and landscapes, yet they needed to be maintained and updated to do the

same for their reputational power. This refreshment demonstrated the disposable income and the display of material goods that are an outward demonstration of power both economically and ultimately social (Barnard 2005).

From the mid-eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century across the United Kingdom, country houses were transformed or rebuilt into whatever building style was then fashionable to reflect and maintain the status of the family. Irish landowners used their wider cultural experiences to enhance their own places in part by, recreating other European places they had read about or seen on their travels abroad (Barnard 2005). Their reordering, and the reflection on self, extended beyond the house to spreading lawns and, set in the surrounding park, whimsical follies, flowing streams, stables, outbuildings and impressive gate lodges were all to enhance the cachet of the landowner. The styles spoke of experiences abroad, literary connections and quite simply the esoteric alongside the eccentric. Some estates might have come close to what we could describe today as theme parks created for the pleasure of the owner, his family and friends. The old house at Castletown was abandoned and, in its place, a grand Palladian style house was constructed, while in Lucan the Norman Castle was torn down and replaced with a handsome Palladian creation. In the nineteenth century, elegant and simple Georgian houses such as Roxborough House in County Tyrone were utterly transformed into the Italianate styles popular in the Victorian era. Landowners set out to impress no matter how small the project.

In the world of the power elite, 'the building made the individual as much as the individual made the building' (Johnson 2004:12). The surroundings of the house and indeed the house itself required regular reinvention to maintain the high level of performance demanded by the individual himself as well as his social status. One lived up to the creation that was presented to the viewer through performance and the performance of everyday life varied according to the particular social network in which one was currently moving. The expression 'keeping up appearances' was apt, even if it led at times to bankruptcy. As the owners of houses changed through the centuries or decades so too did the dwelling to reflect social and political changes and most importantly the owner's financial standing. As a result, the meaning of the building changed in tune with the meaning of the owner in quite a relational way. Castletown had a commanding presence in the landscape, especially prominent in the eighteenth century, when it represented a culmination of the political and financial success of William Conolly, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons. As the first Palladian house in Ireland it added cultural status to what was already a significant political capital and it has been documented by Walsh (2007) that Conolly was the largest landowner in Ireland at the time and as a result the wealthiest. The Speaker's nephew and heir William Jr. (1705-1753) and his son

Squire Tom (1753-1803) would continue to figure prominently in the political and social hierarchy of the United Kingdom, although neither compared favourably to William whose political status was much greater. Evidence of the continued high status of 'the Speaker' is that he is always mentioned prominently in the historical narrative, an indication that no one else over the centuries has had the political or economic status to exceed this initial political prominence.

Without any significant political, social or financial acumen on the part of Squire Tom's nephew Edward Michael or great-nephew Thomas in the nineteenth century, all of the evidence suggests that Castletown's heyday was in the eighteenth century. This is not to say that that power disappeared completely and the house itself was in the nineteenth century still a powerful reminder of the status of the family. The impact of the house with its link to great political power may have waned but echoes of this power were retained through the continuation of the family line who were themselves living in the shadow of the lost power. For the bulk of the twentieth century, the nationalist slant on history has asked that we see Castletown and other spaces, built and controlled by the colonial authority, as sites of oppression. But, as Proudfoot asked, should these places not be read in terms of 'intimate spaces whose meanings were shared by different social groups which transcended such notions of difference, and which might offer a corrective to traditional perspectives on the exercise of social authority in Ireland?' (Proudfoot 2000:204). In the twenty-first century the tour guides describe Castletown as an Irish house for the reason that although based on an Italian design it was the built by Irish labour for an Irish family.

From archival sources, we know that Conolly was managing some sort of building project at Castletown, evident in a deed of covenant with William Cotter, civil engineer in 1850 (Castletown Archive). In the 1860s he was also involved in a process of maintenance and development, enhancing the park and creating an elaborate gateway to the kitchen garden. It is apparent too that the new kitchen in the West wing was undergoing works from late 1863 through to the following year. However, it is difficult to ascribe costs to any jobs as only the labourer's pay is given in the daily accounts namely, 'John Mangan attending tradesmen in the kitchen' and 'For 4 weeks running tradesmen are attended in the kitchen'. Similarly, for the material arriving from London, the accounts showed only the cost of collection from nearby Hazlehatch Railway station 'Cases of goods for Kitchen from London X 2', 'Two collections of cases of china and material for the kitchen wing from London' and '9 dozen 9 inch flooring tiles for the kitchen' which amounted to a cost of only shillings or pence. Some small finishing touches were still occurring in May of 1865, 'White china knobs for kitchen door lock' with

the final mention in December of that year that noted the ‘kitchen lift frame installed’. Figure 5.2 below gives only a hint of the new kitchen with the hot water containers attached to the wall in what is now a restaurant (Account Books 1862-67 Castletown Archive).

Figure 5.2 West wing kitchen (now a restaurant). Photo by the author 2017.

This was not however, the only project underway during Conolly’s building phase in the 1860s. Running parallel with the new kitchen was the enhancement of the Kitchen Garden with the erection of an arch at its entrance shown in Figure 5.3, that had begun in January 1864, ‘Cut stone arch for cart entrance to the garden and lime’ whose stone and the lime to make mortar indicating a cost of £1.13.1 & but ‘500 stock bricks for new gateway from garden’ were not priced in the account books.

Figure 5.3 Kitchen garden gateway. Photo by Author 2017.

However, it wasn't only in the kitchen garden where work was being done; in the following month, the avenue of lime trees was also being planted; 'Cart to Summerhill for 40 young lime trees for the avenue to the Barn' [Barnhall/Wonderful Barn] where they are still enjoyed today. Soon after in 1866 there was another project commissioning one of the prominent architects of the day Sir Thomas Newenham-Deane and his partner Benjamin Woodward to design and build a fine garden house, with an extensive greenhouse attached (Figure 5.4) (O'Regan 2012; also see Account Books 1862-67 Castletown Archive). Early in December it was noted 'Stone for 'new garden house' had been delivered and by July a stove to heat it arrived, 'Edmonston's- new stove for 'new garden house' (Account Book 1866).[36] In chosing the prestigious firm, Deane & Woodward, was 'one of the most remarkable and successful practices…creating some of the most significant buildings of their time' For the garden house project, a set piece of construction that demonstrated Conolly's high status, (O'Regan 2013:277). Among some of the prestigious buildings they built were the quadrangle of Queen's University Cork, the Museum of Natural History in Oxford and significantly for Conolly, the Kildare Street Club (O'Regan 2013:277). In employing this architectural firm, Conolly made a deliberate statement about his sophisticated taste and in doing so established a

connection not alone with the architects themselves but other commissioning owners of a similarly high cultural credit. With this garden building, a fairly typical example of high Victorian garden buildings, he sought to increase his own cultural credit as well as his imaginary life world. A life-world for Conolly or anyone really is an intertwining of person and place as a sort of co-produced life, where a grand theatre of objects are variously arranged in space and time relative to the viewer and indeed the creator of the space and place (Seamon 2000).

Figure 5.4 The Garden House built c1866. Photo Shuldham Shaw Collection.

These projects were representative of Conolly's ability to spend money on luxury goods demonstrating his conspicuous consumption, that in turn added to his cultural capital as a marker of power. Class and status can be linked in many ways but 'property as such is not always recognised as a status qualification but in the long run it is and with extraordinary regularity' (Garth & Mills 1958:187). This is a powerful comment on the way the landowners of the past are viewed that in turn lingers into the present for some. Within the highly regulated societies of the nineteenth century property owners controlled substantial aspects of their

tenants' and employees' lives and that impact on individual lives was considerable. In looking in more detail at the history of Castletown, we see that emerge in a range of different ways.

Castletown House in place, space and time

Castletown House represented on one level a physical space: an eighteenth century house in the landscape of County Kildare. On another level, it encompassed emotional subjective associations of space tied specifically to the visual impact of the house that in turn embodied its meaning as an identifiable site of wealth and power. In time and space, it had been of national significance, given its original owner William Conolly had been an influential and powerful eighteenth century Speaker of the Irish House of Commons. By the nineteenth century however, that substantial power had diminished but the lingering echoes of memory of that power remained to some extent vested in Thomas Conolly. While he had never reached the lofty heights of the Speaker's status, given that Conolly's role as MP for Ballyshannon was of minor importance nationally, he was never the less a visible agent within the parameters of Castletown. He was also highly visible in two other nodal settings, his second home Cliff in Donegal, and the other significant spatial node in his life-world, the British House of Commons. From a social networking perspective, it was the interactions and interplay between these three nodal points that was of foundational importance to the subsequent development of that network.

The power impact of Castletown House and its surrounding parkland in the context of the wider society in the nineteenth century was, at first glance, largely local, given the reduced power of Thomas Conolly and as a more specific piece of evidence, the employment of a modest 30 people. The household accounts clearly indicated there was an outdoor staff of around 20, but the number of indoor staff is not entirely clear. Generally, in large country, houses there would have been between 10 and 50 indoor staff but in the case of Castletown, it was more likely to have been closer to the lower figure. The house, until the 1890s, remained the home to one single family and its place as part of a spatial network of other houses and their owners in close proximity was through formal and informal relationships.

In a relational sense, space has always been mobile and continuously evolving (Massey 2005) and even if in the present Castletown the place seems little changed in its material form, the spatial character of the house has altered considerably. The power previously vested in the space is now only an anecdote and what imaginative power remains is primarily in connection to heritage tourism (Johnson 1996). The contemporary controlling bodies, The Castletown Foundation and the Office of Public Works, have sustained the place/space link to culture by

offering musical events, art exhibitions and talks as well as food and craft markets. On one level, it is now a space that has perhaps a greater national significance than previously, drawing visitors to the physical place of Castletown via that culture and heritage status. The cultural position expanded to another level in 2010 when it received World Heritage status drawing in cultural tourists from Europe and North America and further afield. Its older political power has been replaced, but its echoes have interestingly been re-commodified in part because of that socio-cultural past.

Castletown as Nodal Point

One way to look at the historic foundations of Castletown as a nodal point in the social network, that was described in Chapter 4, is through cartography. In the first edition 6" maps of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland in 1837-42 one is struck by the cartographer's detailed illustrations of manicured parkland and plantations highlighting the demesnes across Ireland, demonstrating the overwhelming attention given to these houses, as both material and cartographic objects in the landscape. While the first edition maps slightly pre-date Thomas Conolly's ownership of the house, they certainly tally with when he lived there, so they are on one level, a useful representation of the place he operated from. The next edition of OS maps were created in the 1890s therefore the 1837 1st edition is much closer to Conolly's life experiences.

The two cartographic illustrations of Castletown and Kiladoon (Figures 5.5 and 5.6) are separated by the town of Celbridge (Figure 5.7). This presents a two-dimensional picture of the power landscape that moves beyond straightforward technical mapping.

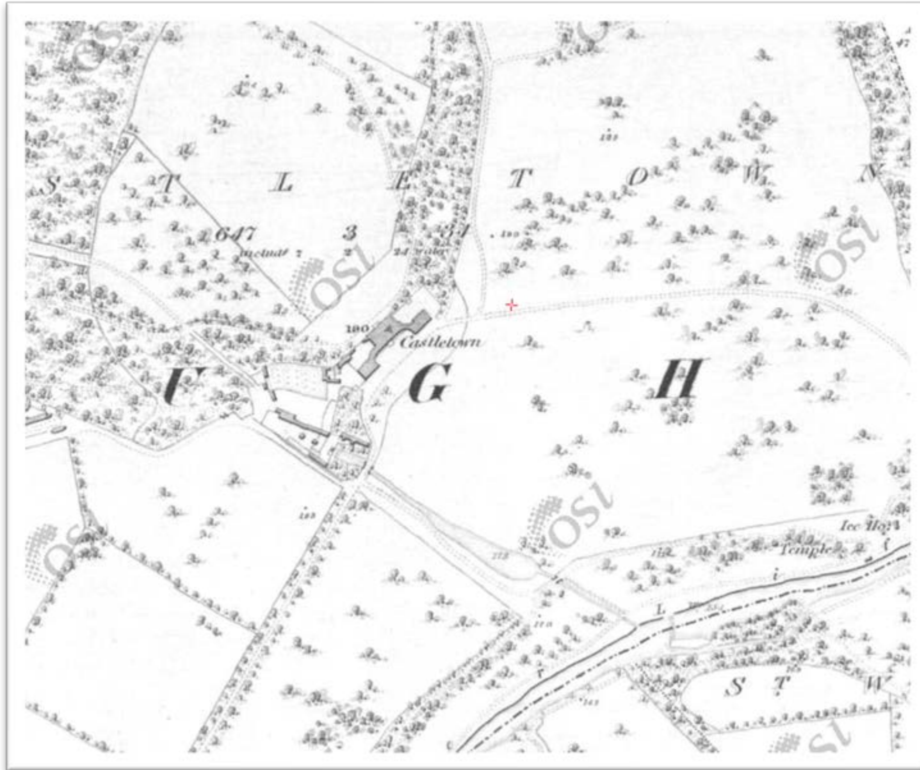

Figure 5.5 Castletown House, Celbridge, Co Kildare detail. Source: www.osi.ie.

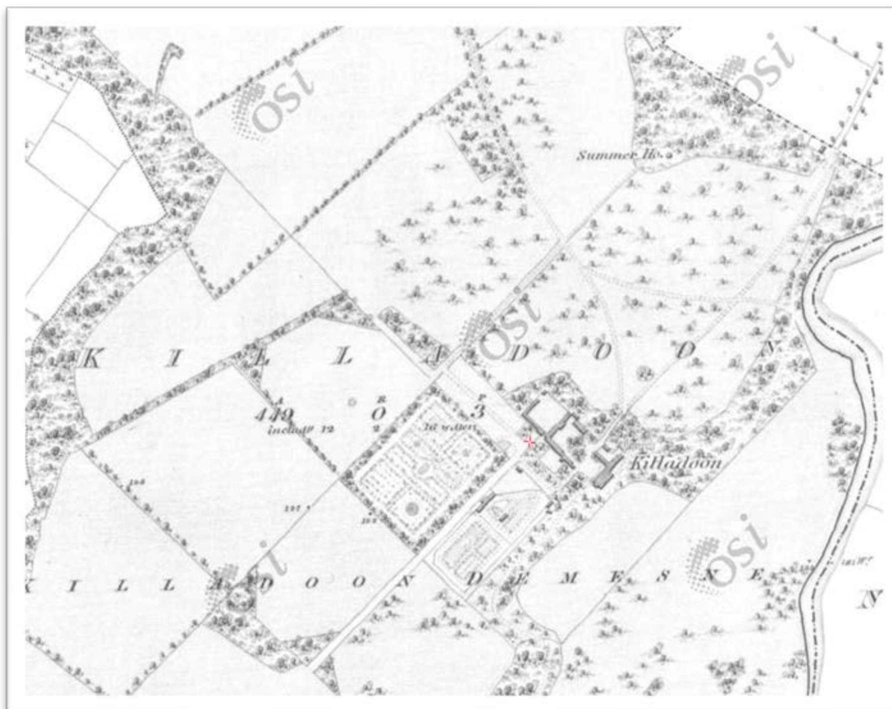

Figure 5.6 Kiladoon House, Celbridge, Co Kildare detail. Source: www.osi.ie.

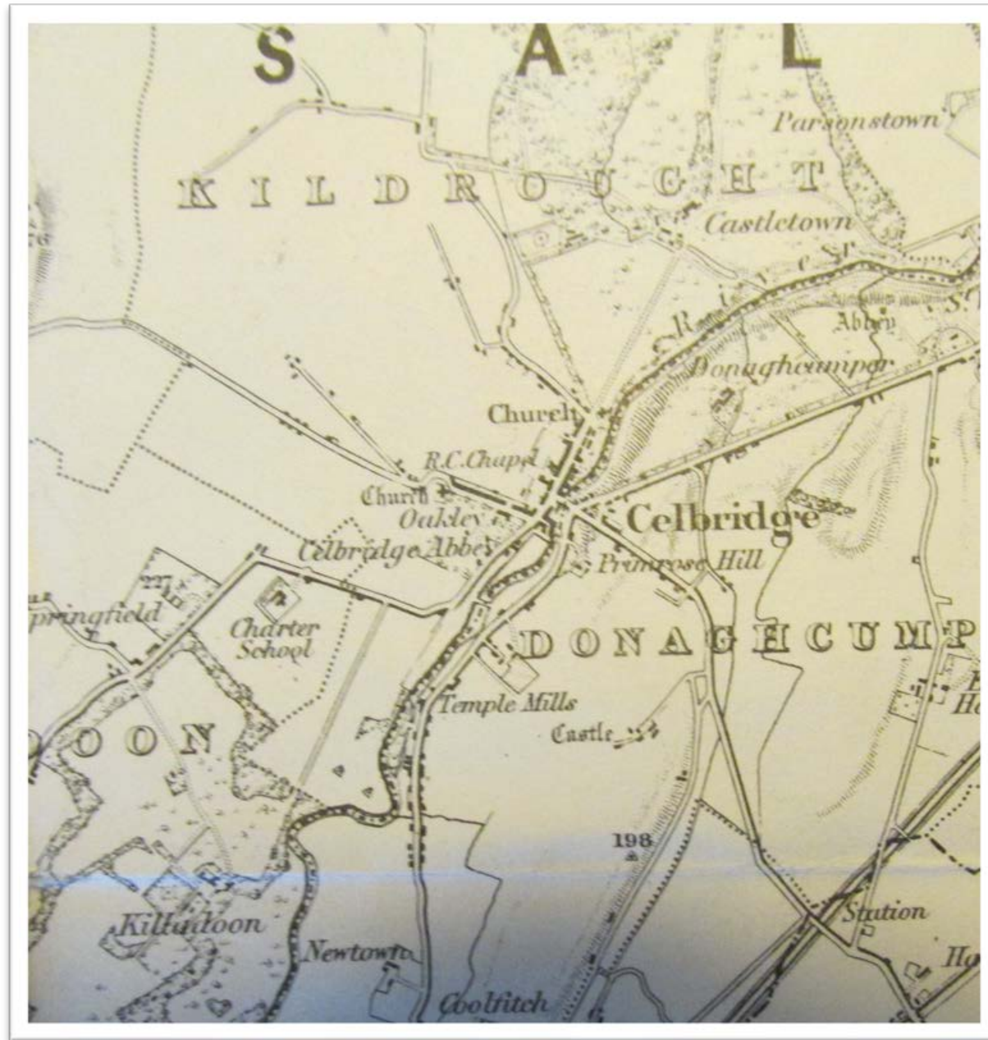

Figure 5.7 Map of Celbridge 1855 (Phoenix Maps)

The mapmakers and those who commissioned the maps, in this case the Ordnance Survey can be seen as providing a cultural nuance within this cartographic representation. ‘Social and representational orderings of space are 'maps of meaning' through which groups and individuals make sense of their social world (Turnbull 1996:7). We do not view the physical landscape without bringing to it imaginative meaning of the space. Landscapes are a combination of collective belief, ‘axioms and cultural value and are highly symbolic’ (Meinig 1979:46). In both of the two images, the meticulously engraved, paths, building, gardens and parklands reflect or in a sense recreate, in two-dimensional form, the accumulated levels of material and cultural capital available to the landowners: the Conollys and the Clements of Kiladoon respectively. In marking either end of the town, in a sense they enclose and contain it, with the function of the town, and its large and predominantly Catholic population, essentially caught within the powerful grasp of demesnes and it must be pointed out, largely in the ownership of the Conolly family.

The Conolly family home, Castletown House (Figure 5.8 shows a contemporary image) is the central nodal point of this thesis. It was introduced in Chapter 2 in relation to the history of the family and again in Chapter 4 in relation to its location and documentation. But it is helpful to actually view the house and how it looked in material terms in its impressive size and visibility as one emerges from the long approach avenue. By coming upon it suddenly at the end of a dark avenue, this helped to implant its powerful visual impression on guests, visitors and the local population who were encouraged to walk in the demesne. [37]

Figure 5.8 Castletown House, Celbridge. Photo by the author 2017

Starting with Castletown as the initial node in the case study, with its intimate familiar landscapes, highlighted in Figure 5.1, it was also part of a wider and relatively densely scattered patchwork of great houses and demesnes beyond its immediate neighbours. Zooming out across the whole province of Leinster other great houses represented a significant outer layer, as shown below in Figure 5.8. The distribution of significant houses in the counties surrounding Castletown illustrates the overarching control over each location collectively by their Ascendancy owners, effectively the power elites. It is also, helpful in cartographic terms, to see these locations as markers that delineated the geographical form of the social network that in

turn had considerable influence on the landscapes of the local area. These individual spaces and places combined spatially and became interlinked into a set of local power landscapes, which in turn spread out to become the national power landscape. In other words, the patchwork of power nodes coalesced into one power hegemony. The initial map (Figure 5.1) of the local networks, shown above, has already indicated the houses of significance that surrounded Castletown. Many of their owners were known to Conolly through both the Kildare Street Club and the Kildare and Westmeath Hunt Clubs. That the jigsaw of lands and demesnes illustrated in Figure 5.9 was also interlocked, both socially and spatially, indicated the connective nature of their physical location in the landscape. In seeing their literal geographic pattern, each clearly shaded in the maps, but separated by 'white spaces' in between, one can see a visual representation of a network that is simultaneously connected and disconnected. It is connected as a topology, but disconnected in purely topographical terms.

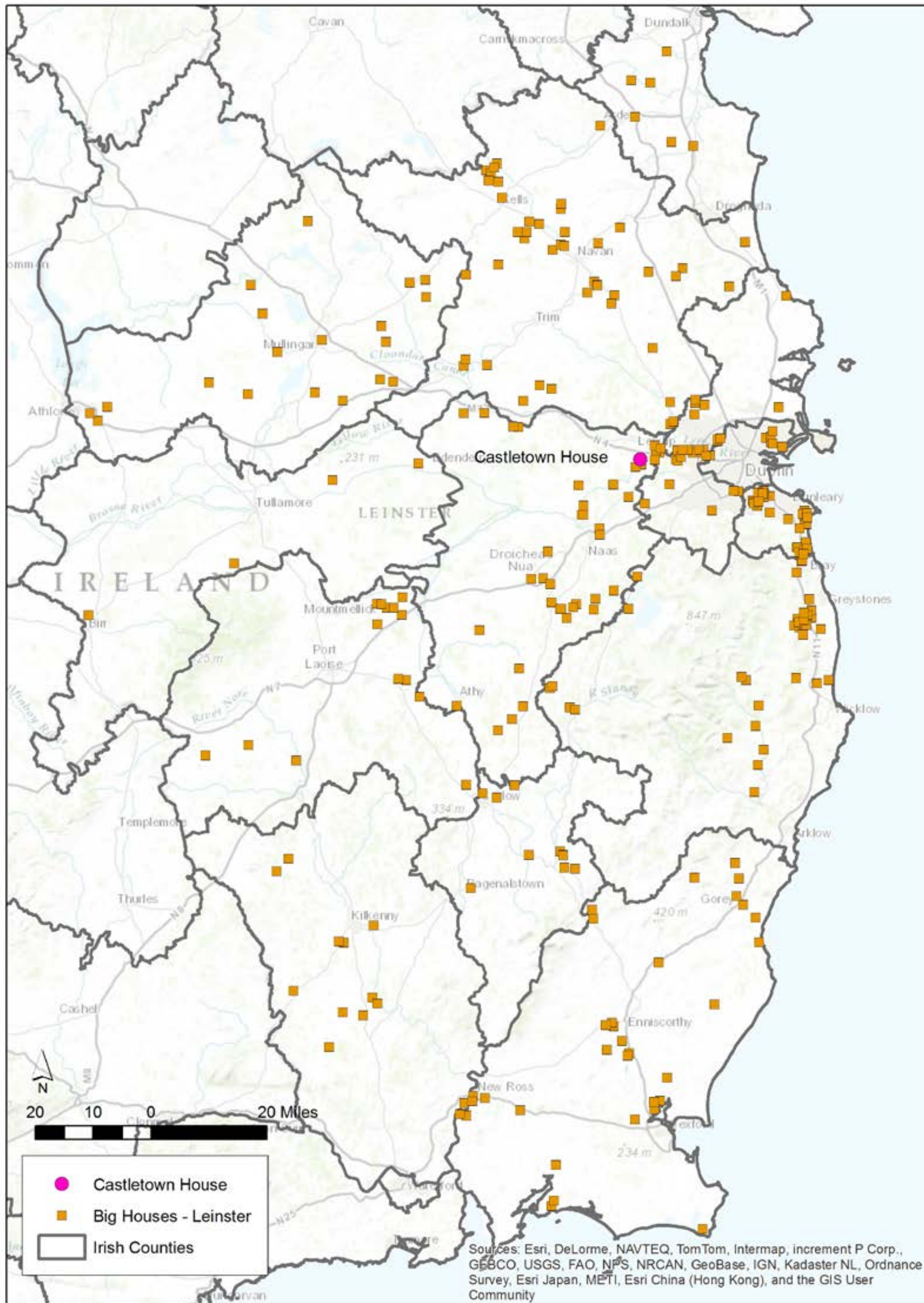

Figure 5.9 Distribution of parklands and demesnes in Leinster.

Cultural Landscapes of the Big House

Spatial cultural landscapes are part of the collective consciousness and can attain iconic status for the whole population of a country. The long European tradition of the pastoral which was 'entirely devoted to idealizing social relations in calm and beautiful landscapes, [where] land is transformed into landscape' (Robertson & Richards 2003:1) National icons are part of the symbolic representations of national cultural landscapes and can be objects or people or geographical places whose imaginative components contribute to what it is to be Irish or Greek or even very simply, where or what is home. Cultural landscapes are created by societies and they are bound up with the experience of people in the creation of a lifeworld or a nation state (Hobsbawm & Ranger 2009 and Darby 2000). Apart from altering land physically, society imaginatively projects its aspirations spatially on the forms the dominant society creates. Part of the imagined cultural landscapes are the physical built structures on the land. By extending this idea, these different nested hierarchies of houses and demesnes, which are also representations of a particular type of cultural landscapes, can be described as power hubs. These representational nodes or power hubs are where the evocation of the country's authority is manifest visibly. These, in terms of the thesis, are the great country houses of the elite and their clubs already discussed but are also other prominent built edifices such as court houses, parliament buildings and workhouses and even grand schemes such as prisons, harbours or canals.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth century the elite landowners and their houses represented an overarching power in the landscape both physically and spatially. Their homes could therefore be described as power hubs in a very real political sense. If we take Leinster House as an example of a significant iconic power hub, place, space and time are implicated in the meaning of this building, which is part of a significant cultural landscape in the history of Ireland (Whelan, 2003). Since it was built in the eighteenth century it has undergone a significant shift in the tye of power landscape it embodies. This magnificent Palladian mansion was built in 1745-48 by the premier duke of Ireland, James Fitzgerald, 1st Duke of Leinster (a neighbour of the Conollys in Carton House). When the family wealth and power declined, Leinster House was sold in 1814 it and became the premises of the Dublin Society. While the space was not as politically or socially powerful in the same way it had been when it represented the Fitzgerald family, it was useful for this tangible association to be subtly exploited when connected to the newly emerging power landscape of influence of the Dublin Society. The Dublin Society represented a growing influence among a variety of social and economic landowning groups, and with their growing contribution different versions of power came to the fore as agricultural societies, spread geographically across Ireland. The Dublin Society then

invested heavily in the cultural education of the country by building three important structures around it, the National Museum, the National Library and the Natural History Museum. When the society in turn sold the campus to the Irish government the perception of the power in that place and space shifted to a new and more egalitarian power landscape. This landscape had strong historic links to the former power hold on the country by the old elite. This lingering memory may even have formed part of a statement of wresting the iconic power base out of the hands of the old order into a new political ethos, which may even have given the new independent government greater status and cultural importance. Using the physical place of Leinster House as an example of an iconic building it can be seen that it has largely remained the same but temporally, spatially and culturally the landscape of power has evolved into a different reimagined representation of the cultural landscape.

The sense of power and the place of power, in what could be called a wider network of power hubs, embodies aspects of particular landscapes of power, ‘places were central to the formation, reproduction and contestation of individual and collective identities…among the colonizing and colonized people of the Empire (Proudfoot & Roche 2005:3). Beyond the immediate houses, Conolly and people like him have a wider position in society. Although the cultural landscapes created by the power elite during the time Ireland was governed by Britain have long been contested, nevertheless Ireland largely remained a culturally different country to England despite many similarities. By the mid-nineteenth century the Britishness of the power elites was a given and their allegiance to Great Britain was strong, but by this time a subtle but important change had developed; as their main residence and family connections were all in Ireland. In that sense, the power networks of eighteenth and nineteenth century Ireland were more explicitly rooted, if not always, in Irish soil.

Thomas Conolly and his family, given their high status, were part of a small minority with a proven genealogy showing were Irish back into the seventeenth century and with no suggestion they were anything else previous to that time. The ins and outs of colonial heritage and identity is not a question that is addressed explicitly to any great extent in the thesis but it has a strong implicit bearing on the affiliations of the population regardless of their status. It must be emphasized that the majority of elites listed in the main thesis database were, by the nineteenth century, what we would understand today as Irish that is born in Ireland. While most of their childhood was spent in Ireland, quite frequently boys went to England for their schooling to one of the prestigious public schools, often followed by an English university. This is clearly evident in any cursory exploration of the database and the education field in particular (see Appendix I). A military career could have followed for some but once this rite of passage was complete, they returned to Ireland. Their Irishness was highly influenced by their class and

their historic connections to England and thus their identity was 'neither fish nor fowl', considered English in Ireland and Irish in England. Many academics have considered this conundrum in great depth and it is not the intention of this thesis to ponder the identities individuals assigned themselves but what is of genuine significance, is how the power elite dealt with their 'otherness'. In the case of the power elite during the nineteenth century, to all intents and purposes, they appeared to the non-elite population of Ireland to be British because their everyday practices were based for the most part on the British model. This was shown in their manners, speech patterns and social practices, described in this study as performances, and which can be important characteristics of identity and as a consequence the power elite developed their own cultural landscape differently from the general population. This deliberate difference was another aspect of a performance and in many ways might suggest Castells (1997) *Project Identity* where individuals form groups that create new identities to define their positions within the dominant society and where they set themselves apart to define their elite status and power.

There was a conscious effort on the part of the Irish power elite throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to recreate a lifeworld in Ireland in perfect imitation of that in England, which had in turn taken the noblest forms of European architecture and parklands and recreated them in the English landscape. The British houses in particular based on the Italian interpretation of classical Greece (Guinness & Sadler 1976) were built and rebuilt according to the financial circumstances of the landowners. The building of houses in Ireland and the creation of parklands that followed the fashionable trends in England was 'evidence enough of this tendency' (Proudfoot 2000:206). Whether or not they succeeded varied from place to place and landowner to landowner. The wealthier and higher up the aristocratic ladder the more like that of the English elites the lifestyle became. The cartographic record and representation of the large demesnes in Leinster shows a high degree of compatibility with the English demesne system, such that it might as easily have been a map of Norfolk or Somerset. Both regions have a well-developed dispersed field system set about with highly ornamented parklands and demesnes. If the landowner was part of the Protestant Ascendancy tradition, the power elite and remained in full control of the demesne, it was very likely that some considerable effort would have gone into the creation of the social order like that of England. This is a particular judgement based on the country estates in Leinster with a higher percent of resident landlords and would not have been necessarily true of the whole of Ireland, especially the West (Smyth, 2008). The levels of similarity between the two countries will not be considered here but one must take the comments of Vincent Comerford (2003) into consideration, that in the mid Victorian and post-famine period Ireland was never so English and would not be again. That the period was also one of calm allowing for the consolidation of

the hegemony of the power elite is observed by Dooley (2001:51) that the 1850s to 1870s 'was a period characterized by relatively stable landlord tenant relationships' although by the mid-1870s power was beginning to shift to the Catholic bourgeoisie.

The Roles of Identity and Power

The formation of the landowner's identity was closely linked to his own hierarchal space and his authority over the local people who lived and worked within the sphere of the powerful influence of the demesne system. For Conolly, that hierarchical space and power can in part be mapped out in relational maps radiating out from Castletown and this has been done in this and the following chapters. Proudfoot (2000) argues for the notion that over time the meaning of place has changed with constant renegotiation and as a result, this hybrid cultural space became what Meinig describes as 'suffused with imaginative meaning, collective belief and are expressions of cultural values and social behaviour' (Meinig 1979:6). In a localized form of cultural space such as a demesne where the landownership was of long standing, as was the case with the Conollys and Castletown, the relationship of ruler and ruled has a greater intimacy. Here was a visible example of a relational geography, described by Massey as the spatial product of 'interactions from the immensity of the global to the intimately tiny' (Massey 2005:9). It was evident that Draconian measures were not needed by the ruling authorities to dominate and rule at the demesne level. The everyday practices of society were developed through common social actions where the elites set aspirational examples and reproduced in varying degrees by the rising bourgeoisie (Girouard 1978). Nevertheless, in this mid-Victorian period it would certainly have been part of the cultural policy to strategically and firmly control the subordinate class, through the local governance of the power elite. Here would have been the point of conflict where the dominant legitimizing group created a resistance identity among the devalued population (Castells 1997: 9). In Conolly's case however, it was with a relatively benevolent paternalistic approach that worked to an extent around a sense of deference between the social groups. On the ground, in the physical setting of the demesne, was where the important elements of deference were employed by all concerned and co-operation was a result of shared, though sometimes contested meanings, values and material resources. By molding the family estate into a reflection of the owner's intellectual accomplishments, bound up in part with European enlightenment, this would have acted as a launch pad for the individual's notion of himself presented to the world, both local and global. This created image was then accepted by society as a reflection of the landowner and by extension the family. This lifeworld repeated across the elite power group would then become the typecast image of the Protestant Ascendancy power elite in Ireland.

Malpas (1999) examined the relationship of place to identity and suggested that the complexity of our relationships with place were part of the humanizing of space that in turn created narratives that imbued places with meaning. People assigned a name to a place to give it greater meaning, and Malpas uses the Lake District as an example of the romantic narrative; here in Ireland this could just as easily be the Boyne Valley or the Wicklow mountains and valleys to represent romantic wild places with deep emotional meaning for the Irish population (Smyth 2006). Such narratives were individual and community based and included the natural landscape, the pattern of weather and sky and crucially 'the ordering of space and resources' (Malpas 1999:185). Space according to Descartes 'was the relation of the body to other bodies and provides a frame of reference for material objects' (Malpas 1999:28). This is particularly relevant in the manner in which the country houses were created and the functions they served to their owners as extensions to their identity and the power they exerted on local and micro geographies of power.

The basis of forming one's identity is associated with people's font of meaning and experience and, meaning in the spatial experiences of the geographical or topographical landscape. Identity is constructed in place through a process of individualization or even as part of a collective (Castells 1997 and Malpas 1999). For a given individual, including someone like Conolly, there might and indeed was a plurality of identities; Protestant Ascendancy, landlord/politician/local and fundamentally Irish, gentleman/rogue, and possibly even what has come to be seen as the stereotypical Anglo-Irish. Each identity created a tension between self-representation and social action; identities organized 'the meaning of self-definition while roles organize the functions' (Castells 1997:7). The constructed identities were based on the building material of the cultural ethos: institutions, power structures and history or other factor such as emotional connection and biology, 'identity formation is a narrative process' (Brace 2003:122). However, significantly, the construction of identity always took place in a context marked by power relationships. Place and space remained important aspect of the identity of an individual, where space had come to be seen not just as simple location but also developed within 'a larger spatial structure, place is not separate from spatiality' (Malpas 1999:27). In the Proustian imagination people are located 'against a local background that plays for them the part of foil and mirror' (Proust 1999:5). Place is more than a backdrop. Rather it is a complex and differentiated structure interconnected and interdependent and it is at once subjective, objective, spatial and temporal, incorporating self and others. Through a multiplicity of ways place can be experienced: the natural landscape with its cultural and social features and importantly experience, which, creates space that emotionally connects to place and spaces, which are reinforced by relationships. This makes place a highly subjective emotional catalyst. Back to Proust again: he says 'we wrap ourselves up in garments made of the places we find ourselves'

and thus we find our identity bound up with particular places (Malpas 1999:176). For Castells (1997: 8) along with place and the creation of the lifeworld of the individual project identity develops a niche group within the main population. For the most part the project identity group remains compliant but can and did develop under certain circumstances to a resistant identity group where place and space was viewed significantly differently to the mainstream groups.

While complex, the relational nature of both Conolly's identity and the spaces and places within which he operated were framed by wider structures and formations. Without letters to spell out Conolly's thoughts, it is left to the account books and his actions in and around the development of the Castletown demesne to demonstrate that he was creating a more personal lifeworld, putting his own mark on the house. The installation of a new kitchen, the building of the garden house the planting of lime trees and the redecoration of the Red Silk Room showed that he had the cultural sophistication and disposable income to carry out work that embellished his surroundings thereby increasing the cultural capital, which reflected back on him and his family. This appears to be very much the legitimating identity aspect of Castells hypothesis particularly with Conolly's involvement in refurbishing the outward appearance and status of the house and demesne.

With the modification of the natural landscape based on Romanticism, the cultural landscape was created. The surroundings of the house now recognised as the natural landscape, although in many cases radically modified, 'was both a stage set for, and the prime ingredient in human geographic activity' (Wylie 2007:23). The highly politicised spaces and negative responses that these historic country estates represented in terms of Ascendancy power has waned in recent years. Today the negative resistance to the historic country house has begun to be replaced with the recognition that they formed part of a jigsaw of historical circumstance and that they are part of the fabric of Irish history and should not be dismissed out of hand. More and more of the grand country houses are being restored and the tourist industry is beginning to revolve around their presence as a destination and Castletown house is a prime example of this change to the collective cultural landscape.

This thesis will as much as it can, demonstrate that the social relations and performances of life within the demesne system were complex and developed as a co-operative mixing of landowner and employees. This was sustained, for the most part, in the stable and prosperous demesnes of Leinster, until the breakdown of the socio-economic patterns in the last decades of the nineteenth-century. In seeing such settings as part of a mobile social network, with strong place/space elements, that network was always under reconstruction or reimagining

itself and was never finished but was eventually renegotiated into new networks both social and political (Massey 2005, Johnston 1996).

Deference as a practice

Deference, introduced briefly here, was one of the key social acts, and was pivotal to all of the networked landscapes of power discussed above. It is the social contact within the social space and the willingness of individuals, within the different layers of society, and those that were directly or indirectly influenced by their actions, to comply with the prevailing political or cultural dominance. This willingness can be read in part, as acts of deference. There was a willingness within many parts of wider society to settle into the British power machine and this was represented through deferential dialogue between the elite and non-elite actors in the hierarchy of power, heavily patterned on the English system. The period under study here, described as both post-Famine and mid-Victorian, would in Ireland become far more British in cultural values 'on a wider scale than ever before and with less reservation than ever after' (Comerford 1989:373). Many of those in the 'underclass' saw their relationships as partnerships though necessarily inferior at this time in the strict hierarchal nature of society individuals 'knew their place' (Newby 1975). Newby describes these partnerships as organic and that deference was critical in this form of social interaction. Proudfoot (2000) uses the word collaboration and this is in many ways more appropriate to the description of the relationship, but even this term had/has contested meanings. In Ireland, the increasingly fluid nature of these organic relationships was evidenced in the sporadic outbreak of unrest across the century, where that deference broke down or was actively resisted.

The elites in their turn recognized, whether by spontaneous benevolence or through their own learned ritualized behaviour, from their parental example, that their employees had to be acknowledged. These 'obligations' were part and parcel of the landlord system. This traditional benevolence was an illustration of 'just how important is the necessity of accounting for the actions of the elite in understanding the actions of the non-elite' (Newby1975:151). However, an important consideration was that the differentiation between the classes was maintained in order that the stability of traditional authority was safeguarded. Because social differentiation was important for social stratification particularly on the part of the elites and performance was essential in this interaction. In acting out their roles, the power elite could never be 'off stage' and it is evident from the life of Thomas Conolly that this applied to his public life in a variety of ways. There will be further discussion of the practical application of deference developed through the topic of performance in Chapter 7.

Elite Influence: Constructing Power

The main aristocratic landowners had a disproportionate influence over their area, and they drew in other smaller landowners, the gentry class, in support of their political point of view (Thompson 1963). This situation was accentuated if the large landowner had long historic connections in the area, often with blood ties, which would further enhance the acceptance of their traditional hierarchal authority. However, the dominant landowning class of an area may not have all been of one opinion. Many were in opposition with one another, and also with the subordinate gentry class, and these interest groups formed independent positions to the political parties under the aristocratic landowner's influence. These differences of personal opinion were based on political and possibly economic perspectives. The success of the Conservative Party in Donegal in the 1850s with a large Catholic population indicated 'successful proprietorial activity' in the area (Hoppen 1984:163). Conolly was one of the proprietors working hard to be elected and was ultimately successful. Influence began at the local level of the country estate and extended beyond into the social network outward and upward and in this way influence flowed to areas 'geographically distant from the land' (Thompson 1963:63). For Conolly and other MPs, influence beyond their constituencies was not confined to other parliamentarians. It also extended into the social sphere, the salons and clubs where one could press one's preferences in particular issues to other landowners.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, to become a peer one had to be a landowner with sufficient capital and significant land holding to one's credit. The great landed estate, coupled with the title, would be the most obvious asset of the aristocrat. Once all the prerequisites were in place patronage was the next most significant factor. Nonetheless, a strong financial base would continue to be required to support the title when newly acquired for many more decades. Titles newly minted did not fall out of the sky and, as Greaves so succinctly describes the steps up the social ladder 'were trade, a fortune, the acquisition of an estate, a baronetcy, membership of Parliament and finally a Peerage' (quoted in Thompson 1963:63). But, it must be pointed out, this path, until the end of the nineteenth century, was generally true only of families who had established themselves in the eighteenth century and may already have held a minor title 'thus obtaining a promotion' by moving up in the hierarchy of peerages (Thompson 1963:10). Not until 1873 was a title bestowed based solely on 'an industrial fortune' (Thompson 1963:63). Before this and for quite some period after in Britain and Ireland 'trade and manufacturing were held in contempt by those who called themselves gentlemen' (Chambers 2004:67). A good income, title and land, may have been the starting point but this was a fluid circumstance that could change from generation to generation and was highly dependent on the personality of the heir/eldest son and his willingness or financial ability to act

with responsibility with regard to his inheritance. Having a peer as close family member (Thomas Conolly was first cousin to Lord Longford), meant that one benefited from their 'celebrity' and could use their connections to enhance one's own status. Conolly had many more aristocratic connections and these are mentioned in greater detail below and throughout the thesis.

Aristocratic society in the mid nineteenth century was not a large cohort of individuals but was very exclusive, highly inward looking and strictly structured. One only associated socially on an intimate level with those within the same rank of society and largely only those with whom one was acquainted. Even new people who were of equal social standing but outside one's social circle were carefully considered before introductions were made or accepted. These connections crossed the various aspects of the network discussed throughout the thesis, and there is an obvious overlap that is fundamental to the influential connectivity of individuals in the network. Without the overlap of the social and political network, it simply does not work and this is the premise of the thesis, social networking to gain influence was essential.

The House of Lords aside, the influence of the landowning class and particularly peers in the House of Commons was disproportionate to their numbers. The result of owning large portions of the countryside meant that there was a considerable degree of control over elected representatives and the voting in parliament took the direction of the landowner's opinion whatever it may have been, whether he was the elected representative in the area or not. Eventually changes were brought about by the Great Reform Bill of 1832 and other electoral reform bills later in the century, which further removed any lingering powers because the landowners were now up against local leaders on a more level playing field. The male members of the Conolly family had been, as described previously, active parliamentarians and Edward Michael (1786-1849) was deeply set against the coming reforms making their way through parliament, seeing this as a loss of authority to the landowning class. His was the first signature on the letter that called for a county meeting against the introduction of Poor Laws to Ireland in April 1830. In the following year, having voted against the second reading of the reintroduced Reform Bill, 6 July, he denounced it as a general attack on property rights, which was of course its intention (Farrell 2009). Although this bill may have changed the method of direct influence, it was not until the 1880s with the rise of the middle classes and the Land War that the connection between land and title began to wane. Intangible power however was another matter. In Ireland it would not be until well into the twentieth century that intangible landed aristocratic power would disappear due to the rise of nationalist politics, culminating in the War of Independence (1919-21) and by Independence in 1922. Both periods saw a deliberate and often forced move by Nationalist forces to push the aristocratic and upper middle class out of

Ireland indeed anyone who had been thrown together under the all-encompassing pejorative 'the Anglo-Irish'. Those of the old power elite were fewer in number and lacked any significant support group and as a consequence their influence was diminished. Finally with the loss of lands and country houses, and significantly, their economic base their status as cultural and political elite evaporated.

Part Two: Conolly's Relational Geographies: Political, Family and Social Contacts

The rest of this chapter looks more closely at Conolly's own life as a representative of this relational geography and extracts key material from his diaries and the thesis database to pick out some key empirical evidence as to how exactly he can be mapped into and onto the social networks of the mid nineteenth century. In so doing, we move the spatial setting of that network beyond his house/demesne into more institutional settings that begin to show how his movements spread out along another set of connective geographies. While the next chapter focuses more on the social aspects, it has actually been quite difficult to detach the political from the social and the two overlapped in quite hybrid ways. Nevertheless, the next chapter has a stronger focus on institutions and roles and responsibilities, though there are many glimpses of, and how the relational geographies of family networks, together with the social and public aspects intermingle in Conolly's life.

While there is clearly a blurring across Conolly's different networks - public and private, political and social – across both Ireland and England, it is important to say that they all contributed to deep layers of connectivity. One way of working with the idea of a relational social geography, is to identify that it is founded on interpersonal relationships. This was equally true of Conolly's lifeworld. Conolly's complex network of family and friends was highly connected to other great aristocratic and gentry families through both his parents, his aunts and uncles, and his siblings, starting with his grandfather Admiral Sir Thomas Pakenham (1757-1836), who was the brother of the 2nd earl of Longford, Edward Michael Pakenham (1743–1792). There was a family connection to Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington made through the marriage in 1806 of the 2nd earl of Longford's daughter Catherine, known as Kitty, to Arthur Wellesley. The Pakenhams were also related to the earls of Headfort and Thomas's grandmother, was Henrietta Taylor daughter of the 1st earl of Headfort. His grandfather was Chambre Brabazone Ponsonby-Barker and through the Ponsonby line he was related through his mother's great grandmother to the earls of Meath. Among Conolly's various first cousins were Thomas Taylor (1822-1894) Earl Headfort and Clotworthy Rowley of Langford (1824-54) and Richard Somerset 4th Earl of Clancarty (1834-91). Richard was the grandson of

Conolly's great aunt Henrietta Margaret Staples who had married Richard La Poer Trench the 2nd Earl of Clancarty. Richard Trench, together with Conolly's grandfather Admiral Sir Thomas, acted as a trustee to Lady Louisa Conolly after Squire Tom's death.

Maintaining the close intermarriage that was typical of the power elite, in the next generation Conolly's sister Louisa Augusta Pakenham would marry her cousin Clotworthy Wellington William Rowley 3rd Baron Langford of Summerhill who was great nephew to the 2nd earl of Longford's wife Catherine Rowley another great aunt through marriage. His sister Mary Margaret Pakenham married Henry Buren of Oak Park and through her there was a connection to Thomas Kavanagh and another connection developed to the MacMorrough family of Borris Co Offaly through Buren's mother. In time, another connection came about when Henry and Mary Margaret's eldest daughter Katherine Anne married Thomas Bunbury, 2nd Baron Rathdonnell.

Scratching the surface of Irish aristocratic families reveals deep layers of interlocking relationships. Conolly's mother, through her grandmother Mary Ponsonby Barker, was related to the Rt. Honourable John Staples through a second marriage. In this way the circle was compete as originally the Pakenhams had inherited Castletown through Henrietta Conolly's marriage to the Rt. Honourable John Staples. Even a chart of these relationships would be hard pressed to easily explain the complicated intermarriages of the elites, but they act as markers of a complex relational and familial assemblage of connection.

Conolly also had a myriad of aristocratic and elite friends and the listings of his dinner engagements in London from his diaries shows that his group of elite friends was extensive, which will be discussed further in chapter 7 (see also Appendix V). Among his hunting friends were John Caldwell Bloomfield of Belleek Potteries and his diaries show many visits to Castle Caldwell in Fermanagh as well as to Viscount Gormanston's estate in Meath. He frequently mentions socializing with Sir Edward Kennedy, owner of Johnstown House and the master of hounds of the Westmeath hunt. Finally, in this brief sample list, he was also a friend of Napoleon III from the 1850s and throughout his years of exile in England. His association with the geographer John Palliser and the ship 'Emily' went beyond mere business and adventure: Palliser and Conolly shared a great uncle, Thomas Barton of Grove Co Tipperary (Lankford 1988:9). These layered networks of relations and friends created a social network that could achieve a lot in terms of influence in contrast to a single connection, for example, that of clubs alone. While Conolly's personal friendships extended to club colleagues, they also had their own independent spatial form and reach as well.

A clearer glimpse of personal networking that emphasises the idea of ‘spatial reach’ and lifestyle came in the last of his diaries from 1870-71 (IAA 98/79 1864-71) when he, his wife Sara Eliza together with their new baby son ‘Tom III’ and his Nanny Maggie set out on a grand tour of Italy. They were travelling during the closing months of the Franco Prussian War and it is surprising that Conolly chose to take his family to Europe at this particular time. In the early pages of the diary, Conolly commented on work being done on the fortifications in Brussels by those whom he identifies as ‘prisoners, the dregs of French army recruits’ carrying out the work. This diary was extremely revealing about who Thomas Conolly was as a person at that point in his life. The trip, rather like an echo of the Grand Tour of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, began in Geneva. Full of descriptions and impressions, this diary reads much like a travel log as he wrote about the progress of the journey over 22 weeks from Cologne, Frankfurt, Basle, Geneva to Turin and finally Rome. While in Rome, the longest time they spent in any one place, they took an apartment at No 82 V. Gorgognona[38]. This elegant apartment sits in the heart of the city in the high status area south of the Villa Medici and the Villa Borghese, with its surrounding parkland The return journey was through Florence, Bologna, Padua and Venice.

Throughout the trip, networking in the modern sense was an on-going activity and Conolly collected cards from several individuals: Mr and Mrs Henry Grenville, 15 St James’ Palace, Le Commandeur Vivus Oliver and Consul General Grerson. In March, on their way home, they were invited to stay at a villa near Florence of a distant family member Mrs Lambert[39] and this may have been when they visited the Pitti Palace in Florence itself. It has been established by researchers that there was an inspirational connection between the silk in this palace and the later redecoration of the ground floor reception room at Castletown in similar patterned silk, now known as the Red Silk Room (Jenkins 2016). This redecoration, with references to the grand tour, was part of a sophisticated performance of reference and material consumption demonstrating the cultural and material capital to visitors as the couple entertained at Castletown. It might even be seen as a relational act, whereby the results of their foreign travels were used to directly shape a presentation of self, back at home. This too can be viewed in conjunction with the other refurbishment and decoration Castletown: a new kitchen and the buildings in the kitchen garden.

Figure 5.10 The Red Silk Drawing Room. Photograph by the author 2017.

One lives up to the creation that is presented to the viewer through performance and the embellishment of the estate was a performance and formed the creation of a life world, which the owner used as ‘an idealized version of their lives primarily for the discerning viewer to appreciate but also to impress any who were able to view the creation’ (Worsley 2011: xiii). Some interaction between the classes occurred in association with the garden house and was also where the idealised life world version of the big house and its’ demesne would be noted and possibly reproduced by others. This idealised version of the house both inside and out and the gardens would ultimately determine the aspirations of those who wanted to rise in society and Conolly would have been very aware of this.

The Season: Dublin and London

The mapping out of Conolly’s social network can begin in relation to his combined social and political duties. The upper strata of society moved about the county and countries according to the social seasons. The parliamentary season began in October and ran until August thus concentrating those with political duties in London who were joined by the remainder of society between March and August. Conolly was frequently in London during the winter season because of his parliamentary responsibilities as the Member of Parliament for Ballyshannon. The elite of society naturally gravitated to London for what was known as ‘the season’, which roughly corresponded to Parliamentary activities but did not formally begin until March/Easter ending in August. Like other Irish MPs, Conolly availed himself of the

round of entertainment available among the society of Irish and English power elites, the majority of whom were also in London in connection with their parliamentary duties. The practice was for politicians and elite families to rent a house for the season if they did not own a London home. In 1830 Colonel Edward Conolly, Thomas's father, took a house in Grosvenor Square. In the 1860s, Conolly took a house at 9 Hanover Square and on another occasion 17 Grafton Street in this fashionable area of London.

Conolly's references to his involvement in his role as MP in his diaries are somewhat slim. He was first elected to his father's seat in May 1849 and made his 'maiden' speech in March of that year. The occasional references in his diary to the House of Commons only include remarks about being at the house to a late hour and infrequent brief comments about the debates he participated in. Conolly's visits to Donegal, as MP for Ballyshannon, while never recorded explicitly as constituency business, would possibly have been occurring throughout the year irrespective of the season. In early 1853 with Parliament closed, Conolly is back in Ireland but in a series of diary entries he recorded going over to Liverpool in February where he socialized with a friend and went the races at Birkenhead. A week later on return to Dublin he travelled down to Castletown in 'a car having missed the 7 am town train by sleeping soundly in Packet. Round farm & [back] to Dublin by Dog Cart having [been]…at home previously and down to Lifford by night mail' (Conolly Diaries 3rd March 1853). The following week after meeting the Bishop of Derry in Derry he hunted in Dunboyne and then returned to the UK. In that year parliament was not open until April of the for the first time since Christmas of 1852. He remained in London until May when he mentions attending the house for his last speech on Income Tax (24th May 1853). In the next extant diary, 1857, the House of Parliament sat during February and March and only after it closed did he return to Ireland having spent the previous months of his stay in London attending a myriad of social engagements.

These seasonal migrations were a necessity for those attending parliaments as MPs but were also required in networking terms for social enrichment, entertainment and political advancement and of course to meet potential marriage partners. Nevertheless, there were those who chose not to travel to London for the season and they congregated in Dublin in what Lady St Helier (1909) describes as the aristocratic 'Vice-regal entourage… for five or six weeks' of the season. Any events in Dublin Castle and the vice-Regal Lodge,[40] during the season followed closely the type of events at the Royal Court in London such as levees, drawing rooms, balls and presentations of young women to the viceroy as the Queen's representative. Within this relatively short period there was a great deal of dining, theatre going, and seasonal balls, some connected with a daughter's coming out, and her presentation at the vice-regal lodge. Those in London were caught in the same whirl of socializing only on a far more lavish and hierarchal

level – as the London season was considered substantially more important and protocol more strictly observed. In both countries, this conveniently allowed for children of the upper class to meet and for marriage alliances to be arranged. It was also the time in which presentations of debutantes were made at court further extending the fluid nature of connectivity among the elites, but also its concentration into specific times and spaces. The British Parliament functioned partially in parallel with the Irish social season, which began officially at the end of January and ended with the St Patrick's Day Ball in March. Nevertheless, parliamentarians would participate in the season of both countries when they could.

Under British rule, the Irish executive government, based at Dublin Castle, was led by the Lord Lieutenant, or Viceroy, the king's representative in Ireland. The Viceroy held lavish social events at Dublin Castle throughout the Irish season to which the elites were invited. However, strict rules as to who were to be invited were not only regulated by protocol dictated by the court of St. James in London but by rules that were governed by a hierarchy largely consisting of the aristocracy (Robins 2001). Dublin Castle operated almost like an elite club to which only a select few belonged. The social network of those invited was understated and owed as much to friend and family connections as to economic advantage. During the nineteenth century as Victoria's reign progressed access to Dublin Caste became more restricted but with the rise of the professions this allowed for senior public figures to be included and was seen as the 'ultimate accolade in public service' (Robins 2001:129). It was a tangible/visible material space in which power was held, or indeed, where it sat, given the reference to the Castle as the 'seat' of British power in Ireland. Burke points out another subtle division of the Ascendancy elite: those invited to the Vice Regal Lodge, the viceroy's residence 'constituted the real elite…the general run of Ascendancy society were entertained….at Dublin Castle' (Bence-Jones 1987:44). If Conolly were a member of this inner circle, being invited to the Vice Regal Lodge itself, there is no way of knowing at this time given the lack of specific references in his diary. However, wider newspaper reports of the period indicate that he was attending events at Dublin Castle, both as a single man with his mother and sisters and later with his wife Sarah Eliza. It does seem unlikely, given his connections, that he would not be part of that scene.

Entry into the upper echelons of society was not easily obtained. While rules of protocol were transparent, other constraints to entering higher society were clouded and one may never have understood why such a person received an invitation and not another when to outward appearance both were equal. The ultimate arbiter of access in the nineteenth century to Irish society and Dublin Castle was the Ulster King of Arms Sir J. Bernard Burke who regulated all business at court and was a major influence as to who had access (Robins 2001). Being on his

guest list, drawn from the top aristocrats and landed gentry together with their wives and daughters, recognized and confirmed one's social status. Outside these groups, despite deserving recognition, other social groups did not have access to the festivities in the castle; the Victorians had a horror of theatre people and jobbing artists, who were therefore excluded. Dublin society was staunchly Protestant in the early nineteenth century but as the century progressed this would change beyond recognition, particularly after the retirement of Burke in 1885. Unfortunately, in an ironic twist, any Catholics influential enough to be invited to soirées at the castle were dubbed 'Castle Catholics' implying they had betrayed their allegiances to their fellow Roman Catholics. The largely symbolic role of the Viceroy or Lord Lieutenant, who flew the empire flag in Ireland, was questioned from 1850, Conolly speaks against removing the position in HC debates, but the position was seen as the last vestige of the appearance of a separate Irish administration and remained until Independence. The last Lord Lieutenant, Lord Edmund Talbot (April 1921-December 1922), met with Michael Collins in 1922 who 'handed over the ratified treaty and in return was given the Dublin Castle keys', symbolically ending 700 years of British Rule (Robins 2001: 165).

The Daily Express, Dublin, recorded the events of the Vice-Regal Lodge and Castle levees, drawing rooms balls and dinners and reports of the 1851 season revealed the families in the highest cohort of society: Marquis & Lady Drogheda, Earl and Countess of Desart, Viscount & Lady Monck, Rt. Hon W.F. Tighe and his wife Lady Louisa, Bishops of Down & Connor and Limerick together with their wives, Sir Robert Pakenham, Rt. Hon Thomas Conolly and Mrs. & Misses Conolly[41] (*Daily Express* 1851). This attendance at Dublin Castle would continue to be recorded in other sample newspapers as well as brief mentions regarding his travel between Ireland and England in the Social Calendar of the *Weekly Irish Times* throughout the period under study.

These names repeatedly reoccur as members of elite clubs, societies and hunt clubs and, in a reflection of the change in the attitudes to economic endeavour, many are also increasingly seen as directors of high profile business ventures such as railways and major banks. Once the Dublin season was over the elite families moved their households across the Irish Sea to catch up with the London season running from Easter to August. In the 1864 season, Conolly shipped staff, luggage and horses across to London at a cost of £100 pounds His valet would arrive later at a further cost of £50 (Castletown Archives Accounts 1863-67: May 1864).

Putting the degree of responsibility around elected office into perspective Lady St Helier, whose husband was a member of parliament, observed; 'except on rare occasions its deliberations were not sufficiently important to do more than bring the country squires up to

attend the occasional division' (St Helier 1909:178). By the end of July, most of society had left London for their country homes and many to house parties in Scotland for the sporting opportunities, mainly shooting. During the winter the season generally operated around each individual's home county area where hunting began in October and ran on until February or March. The elected members of parliament would spend time travelling back and forth to London to avail of their own local hunt clubs. Christmas saw country society joining together for festivities with house parties and balls. In tracing Conolly moving about his social and power networks via the description of his calendar of events, we can see more fully how this network operated not just for him but for others he mixes with in his various networks.

The multitude of places that formed Conolly's world during the parliamentary and social seasons gave a glimpse of interconnected lives. This can be tracked through the database and is the core of the evidence for one representative period. Between the 15th May and the 10th of August 1857, Conolly recorded countless social commitments in London during the day and evening, both before and after dining, with approximately 64 dinner engagements (the diaries can be vague and hard to understand at times). In one week typically, during the day Conolly rode in Hyde Park, met with friends, lunched at his club, or went to the races. In the evening he dined with friends in their homes nearly every night, hosted dinners in the house he had taken for the season and visited the theatre more than once. Private dinner parties at home were usually organised and directed by the woman of the house and were central to Ascendancy culture in Ireland. For women the purpose of entertaining at home was to 'maintain tradition and class solidarity' (O'Riordan 2016:225). For high status women at this time their 'job was to uphold her husband's position' or, if she was a single woman, her father's or her brother's, if her mother was not in a position to carry out this task. This responsibility was to 'maintain the family's reputation' by doing their utmost to successfully manage the dinner parties that were a key part of the season (O'Riordan 2016:214-16).

Throughout the season from October to April 1853, Conolly hunted in Ireland at least 30 times. For example, while the house was in recess for a particularly long period, which began at Christmas in 1852, Conolly is back in Ireland hunting throughout January with the Kildare Hunt mentioning Donadea, Blessington and Rathcoole, only returning to London when parliament reconvened in April (Conolly Diaries January –April 1853). Dublin Castle regularly held balls given by the Viceroy or the Lord Lieutenant and whose invitations were seen as a confirmation of high status. 'The pomp and pageantry associated with the Royal Court in England was imitated in Ireland through the office of the Lord Lieutenant' (Chambers 2004: 44). Conolly mentions in his diaries attending balls both in Ireland and in London during the season. In Ireland in March 1853, he wrote of arriving for a ball at Dublin Castle by special

train from Moorfield, the country home of the earl of Drogheda near Monasterevin. He reported that 57 sat down to dinner at '7:30 one evening and lasted until 7:30 the next morning' (24 March 1853). There were also balls mentioned in the diaries in connection with the hunt meets, organized by the local master and held either in the master's home, usually a country house, or later in the nineteenth century, large country hotels. Balls, apart from Castle and Court, were organised by high status women and usually held in their homes during the season in both Dublin and London. This description of Conolly's life between Ireland and England serves to demonstrate how the Anglo-Irish society operated and will be looked at in more detail in the following chapters.

Institutional Power Hubs

Conolly's networking was not purely social or parliamentary, given his wider institutional roles. Institutions and institutional power were also key components in the operation of power. Certain power hubs in the landscape can be both tangible and intangible, a combination of material spaces/places and wider connective processes. The power hub of Castletown did not sit alone in its landscape; it was linked to all of the other houses and parkland that surrounded it, forming a close network of connected geographical power. Landowners' connectivity moved beyond the country house and the demesne, with its multiplicity of domestic and personal connectivity, into another important sphere, the tangible settings of civic/political power. This for any government was the central manifestation of authority and in Ireland in the nineteenth century, Dublin Castle and the Four Courts were the seats of power as noted earlier. However, the power implicit in governance was not solely focused on the rule of the Castle; it spread down into the fabric of everyday life. Dublin Castle in the mid-Victorian period, through the work of the Under-Secretary Larcom, 'saw new levels of efficiency and coherence' (Comerford 1989: 373). For the insiders this represented a source of reassurance and patronage to which they were intimately connected.

The appointment of a lord lieutenant in each county represented by proxy the Lord Lieutenant and the Crown. In this capacity they held the duty of awarding titles to Irish individuals and in one period in the late eighteenth century the government, worried about its support, handed out 18 titles in one year, 17 to the Irish Ascendancy (Chambers 2004:55). Historically the county Lord Lieutenant was responsible for organising the local militia in the era before the institution of the regular army (OED 1973). Later, when the militia was no longer necessary as the central fighting force, they became a type of reserve that was maintained well into the late nineteenth century. Other high status appointments, such as county and deputy

lieutenants and high sheriffs were important reminders of the British influence at a local level. Policing for example operated under the High Sheriff, directed by the magistrates and later Resident Magistrates[42] and it was at this point, where the connection between those in power and those subjected to the power operated most visibly. Resident magistrates and county solicitors conducted the assizes at purpose-built courthouses, the power hubs in larger towns, which were the first point at which subordinate individuals would come in contact with civil authority and those who dealt with the local legal issues and, where it must be said, the greatest amount of bad feeling occurred (Trench 1966). These positions of authority held by the power elite were where the interface between the landowners and the general population occurred. These then became the points of resistance and counter-resistance. Magistrates, usually large landowners, were deeply embedded in the local community and the power hubs of the court houses were where the cult of personality and the wielding of the authority, vested in the power elite, operated for good or bad. Magistrates were appointed laymen, unqualified in the law, who acted as the judge in crimes and misdemeanours of a less serious nature and would have passed the serious cases on to professional qualified judges in higher courts. Thomas Conolly held the position of magistrate in Donegal, and in Kildare although beyond that listing, very little is known of his work in that capacity, either from his diaries or from other sources. Nevertheless, the fact that he was a magistrate showed that like his power group he was acting as the delegated authority of the British legal system. Having this role may have been somewhat of a conflict of interest as he was also an MP and in this capacity should have been in the community working in the interests of the people. Any possible alienation of his constituents in his role of magistrate does not appear to have caused a difficulty with his popularity in the Ballyshannon area.

Grand Juries

Another manifestation of tangible authority was the highly influential Grand Juries (the equivalent of modern local government) where appointments in each county were often based on recommendations through the High Sheriff to the lord lieutenant, and which typically 'filled the list with his friends and supporters' (Crossman 1994:27). Like the access to other civic positions, 'proprietorship…gave a man wealth, social status and political influence…a necessary prerequisite for entry into local government' (Garnham 1999: 640). These elite gentlemen like the magistrates, were the public representatives of the civic authority and formed another point of connection with the sub-ordinate groups in everyday life. Throughout Crossman's study (1994) on local government in the nineteenth century, it is quite clear that these appointments before the eighteenth century and on into the nineteenth century were all from the elite local landed families and appointments frequently passed from father to son. Nevertheless, this was not an altogether automatic 'inheritance' the new appointee would have

been considered by the High Sheriff before submitting his suggestions to the lord lieutenant. Although the appointment was not on merit as such, the relative status of the possible candidates available for the position was simply weighed up and the appropriate one chosen. However, it was often the case that the son had already been appointed for example, as the deputy lieutenant during his father's lifetime and then would be in a position to step into the higher position on his death. It was not until the social changes of the late nineteenth century that the power of this elite group began to dissipate. Ultimately, these incestuous arrangements were superseded by the new local authorities, the County Councils, enacted through the various reforms by the early twentieth century.

Poor Law Guardianships

Another highly tangible public institution in mid nineteenth century was the Poor Law Commission Workhouse operating in each of the 139 unions scattered across the country. In each union a board of guardians was appointed consisting of a chairman, vice-chairman and deputy vice-chairman. Across Ireland reflecting the power of the landowning class like the Grand Jurys the majority of Poor Law Guardians usually held the positions of chairman, vice or deputy chair. Feingold reported that in 1877, 88% of the Poor Law Board of Guardians like those of the Grand Jury members fell into this group but in the following years their numbers fell to 51% (Crossman 1994:53). This was a reflection of the change in the power structure that would increase as the nineteenth century ended. Nevertheless, throughout the nineteenth century, the power elite had identifiable connections in the social and legal network that had significant implications in constructing the managerial roles for landowners in the community. This in turn saw them act an important extension of cultural social authority in the local area. As an MP for Donegal, a magistrate of the same county and in an additional role as Chairman of the Ballyshannon Poor Law Union, and a member of Celbridge Board of Guardians, Conolly himself acted, like many of his class, as a literal part of the local authority. But in his position at the top of the civic structure, this demonstrated and reinforced his power position in the local community. For Conolly his visits to London blurred these boundaries, but his specific political identity as an MP was an important starting point. It is tempting to suggest that the location for Conolly of all of these roles – primarily associated with Donegal rather than Kildare – identified that there was a spatial separation of his 'institutional' work away from his home and that separation of responsibility meant a certain level of detachment from those jobs and responsibilities, in as much as could be identified from the limited available sources.

Conclusion

In mapping out the landscapes of power through which the aristocratic and upper classes operated their lives, and by using Thomas Conolly as a case study, we can identify the foundational geographies of the landed gentry and through them the strands of the power networks they both operated and operated in. Different components - social, cultural and economic - were essential to the network's maintenance and survival. But they started from the solid foundation of the power nodes of landed gentry themselves, their houses and their enclosed walled demesnes. In relational terms these nodal power points and even polygons (depending on the size of the estates) were the starting points for the kinds of connectivities outlined more fully in subsequent chapters. The influential impact of these power nodes rippled out and across the immediate local area (see Figure 5.1) where the relationships were likely to be deepest and out in turn to other individuals and families in the wider province with similar houses and demesnes (see Figure 5.9). While there is not always a full account of Conolly's specific relationship with each house or demesne mentioned in the diaries, specific contacts and friends at both political and social levels were named. It is also not too much of a stretch to suggest that that connectivity of house/demesne was also deeply embedded in an ethos of 'one of us' through the individuals that Conolly met within various political and sporting milieus in both Ireland and England and these will be further explored in subsequent chapters.

In addition to the house and demesne, there was a second layering of power nodes and networked locations, those specifically associated with Conolly's institutional obligations as MP, Magistrate, Chair of the Poor Law Union and lion of the political circles of Dublin Castle and the Vice-Regal Lodge. While an explicit mapping out of these institutional spaces will be provided in the final chapter of the thesis, Thomas Conolly's regular presence in this 'second circle' of networked space (as documented in the diaries and through official sources) emphasises the spatial connections made necessary by these public roles. Given his wearing of several caps – as society bon viveur, as political representative, as philanthropist, as part of local government – such a connective presence shows that Conolly operated across the network as a sort of 'spatial agent' in this period. He brought to life the network by moving about the nodes and lines of the network actively connecting everything, creating a type of social traffic.

Drawing from the literature, the work of Cummins et. al. and Brayshay et. al (2007) shows that Conolly too can be easily traced on to what is a very clearly socio-relational world, operating across multiple scales, and a broad evidence for what Brayshay refers to as 'interlocks' are evident here in their networked form. The approach taken by Cummins and Brayshay to connect elites, shows evidence of how Conolly's network played out everywhere from his home, through to club settings and into the House of Commons. His position as a

‘spatial agent’ acting as an exemplar of his power elite group of the nineteenth century has been clearly identified. This chapter has utilized the idea of a mobile network to map out the cultural landscapes of power that connected specific domestic sites (houses and demesnes), through connecting lines to wider societal responsibilities, especially in relation to institutional elements and settings within which power was distributed. All of the power nodes and social connections joined together as a moving stage from which Conolly operated across his network, Chapters 6 and 7 will look more closely at evidence for a deeper set of networked connections as well as exploring the processes through which they operated.

Chapter 6
Networks of Power: Associations and Clubs

Networks of Association

The networking of the power elite was widespread and, beyond the domestic and governmental settings (discussed in Chapter 5), could also be found in their mutual associations; educational, military and the Protestant church as well as gentleman's clubs and many wider points of connection. The database has helped to identify concrete evidence to show how the elites were networked in these associational environments and that many of the power elite were members of the same clubs. It also showed they had similar if not the same schooling and often married into each other's families. Social networks also developed beyond these categories within additional spatial settings where the aristocratic and upper middle class elites met and mingled: official government social events, sporting events and travel to fashionable locations. This included health resorts, where the social network spread out as one would expect to overlap with private life (Foley 2017). These more social forms of association, though no less important in power network terms, are introduced in detail below.

Outside the official forms of tangible authority, a range of associations, clubs and sporting pastimes were a magnet to the elite and clubs of any many types were the base line from which the social network operated. Their overlapping, heterogeneous power geometries lead to greater influence and with a 'shared set of interconnections reinforced their symbolic and cultural capital to wider society' (Brayshay et al 2007: 162). Brayshay et al's work on colonial entrepreneurial networks identified the connections that their subjects had, beginning with their public school Harrow, and used a diagrammatic representation mapped out these connections. (See Chapter Three Literature Review) In the rest of the chapter, using Brayshay et al's model, Conolly's networks and 'interlinks' will be similarly identified. Although the reach for Conolly is larger than Brayshay et al's sample, it serves to show that linkages for both were elite and multi-layered. How those links operated spatially for Conolly will be discussed in detail below, following the broad threads of education clubs and the sport of hunting. For Conolly the typical structures associated with the developments of the network initially included clerical and military association and more significantly a range of clubs with complex assemblages of social and cultural power. Even the weaker parts of his network played supporting roles in Conolly's overlapping lifeworld. Conolly's networks have been mapped in diagrammatic form shown in the accompanying diagram of his circular associations (Figure 6.1). The locations closest to his two homes in Kildare and Donegal, his immediate source of

resilience and support, were where he had the thickest personal contacts. These become thinner as he moved outward along the network and up the geographical hierarchies. The mapping out of his networks also considers different scales of intensity identified in the diaries, across those networks that, even as they radiated outwards to seemingly weaker personal networks across his life, nonetheless identified that they remained important to his lifeworld. In London they seemed to be at their thinnest but as this chapter will show, this does not necessarily mean they were necessarily less active or less important.

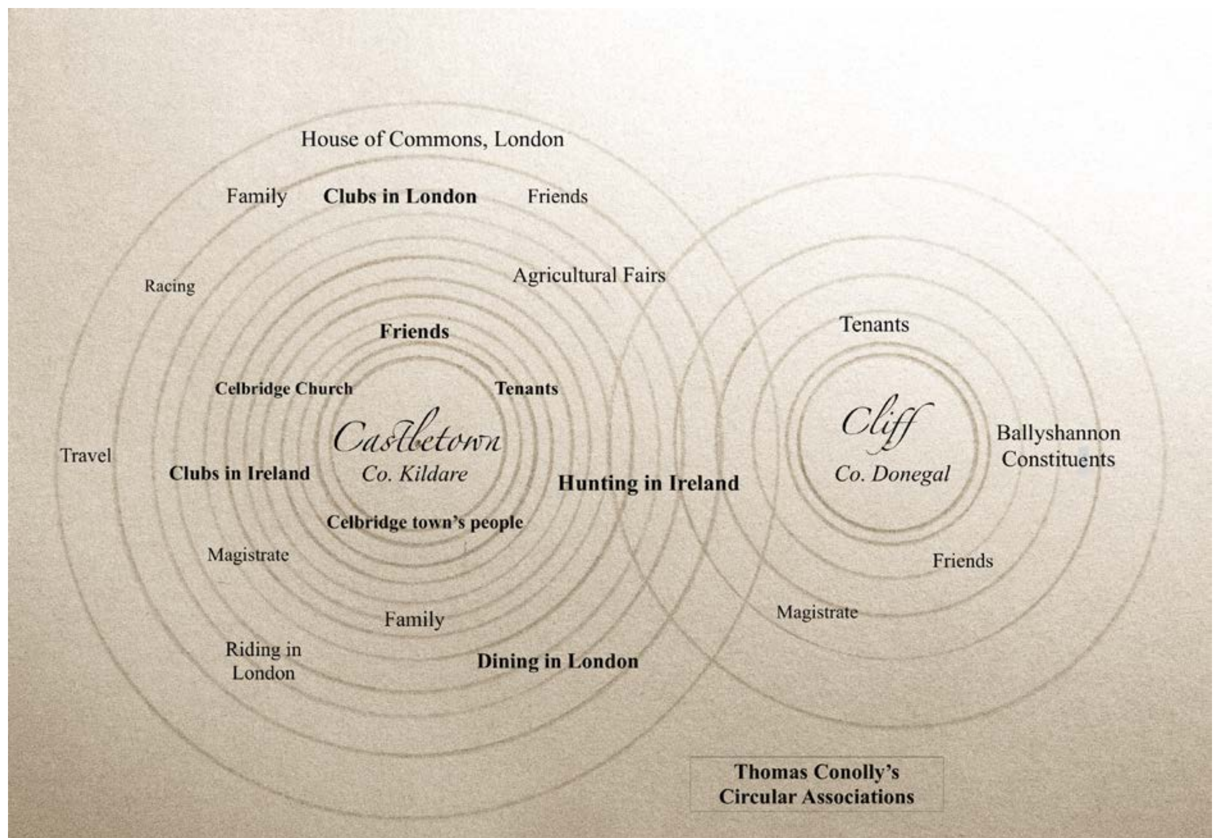

Figure 6.1 Circular Associations

Initial Associations: Education

In order to make the right connections within the network an individual had to establish and maintain specifically personal contact with others in the same social sphere. This was accomplished initially by parents entering their sons, in the best 'prep' school followed by the best public school. As one grew older the drive to develop the network for influential connection, to obtain a better position in the power structure, meant that after the completion

of their education, joining the best regiment or the right club was necessary next step to take advantage of the opportunities that connection to other influential people could provide.

Educational settings, as has been referred to in the introduction, were the sites of the initial associational connections individuals made. Placed by their parents, particularly the heir, into prestigious English public schools, this was a time when lifelong friendships or connections and associations were established. Conolly attended Harrow, one of the top schools, the other being Eton.[43] These educational associations were, in many respects, important foundational lubricants of the social network and facilitated the need for making the right connections in the network. One often hears of the phalanx of influence of "old Etonians' or old Harrovians' or 'old-boy networks' in the move up the social or corporate ladder by individuals in the 21st century but this influence was multiplied greatly in the past with a more powerful cohort of wealthy families. Conolly would have used the connections to the boys he met at school to give him a further entrée into English social life. The database and the list of other club members who attended Harrow and Oxford (a small sample is shown here in Table 6.1) would also have reinforced the connections in the clubs. His full Harrovarian/Oxford connections are shown in Appendix III.

Schools and Clubs of Kildare Street Club Members: c1800-1880

Names	**Education**	**Clubs in common**		
Abercorn Duke	Harrow & Oxford	KSC		
Barton Samuel H.	Harrow & Oxford	KSC		
Carew Robert Shapland	Oxford	KSC	RDS	
Conolly Thomas (1823-76)	Harrow & Oxford	Carlton	KSC & RDS	Kildare Hunt
Duckett Wm	Oxford	KSC	RDS	
Enniskillen Earl Wm	Harrow & Oxford	Carlton		
Fitzgerald Knight of Kerry	Harrow	KSC		
La Touche James	Harrow & Oxford	KSC		
La Touche John	Oxford	KSC	RDS	KH (Master)
Leinster Duke Gerald	Oxford	KSC	RDS	

Levinge Sir Wm	Oxford	KSC		KH
Londonderry Marq	Oxford	Carlton	Sackville (KSC)	

Table 6.1 KSC Members: Schools and clubs in common: Compiled from database by the author 2015

These early school connections would be reinforced at either of the Oxbridge universities - Conolly attended Oxford - and to a lesser extent Trinity in Dublin. By moving within the sphere of what was generally an insular and incestuous network, the general endeavour was to find those who could help to propel one up the social/political ladder. Looking at the KSC 682 members in the database, 220 had an education indicator and of this cohort, 63% attended university. For 'public' schooling, 36% went to Eton and 20% attended Harrow. The remainder went to a variety of other public schools. In the overall total, the university attendance was 20%.

One also used the clubs and the various peripheral non-elite zones of life to mingle and to use the connections to push a particular agenda, be it social, economic or political. This could also be a mutual benefit system, the giver receiving credit and the receiver gaining credit. Nevertheless, for many school was a key starting point. Bourdieu (1986) is convinced of the importance of education as the foundation for connections. Initially, coming from his grounding in twentieth century observation he felt it was important to delay entering into the labour market by attending school. However, he goes on to describe how, depending on the extent to which they can mobilize by proxy the capital of a group, a family, the alumni of an elite school, a select club, the aristocracy, etc.', how their connections can be translated into 'unequal profits' (Bourdieu 1986:27). By 'unequal profit' Bourdieu means that those with higher social and cultural capital have better connections that lead to higher social, economic and political capital than others who cannot mobilize their connections. On a more social note for Bourdieu an important connection is what 'the relationships established with fellow students can yield in the matrimonial market' (Bourdieu 1986:27).

The Church and the Military

After education, the two important public spheres of associational influence for the aristocratic network were the Church and the Military. The aristocratic and upper middle classes had close institutional links with the Church of England where over a third of the 11,342 British parishes were under the patronage of a gentry or aristocratic family. These benefices (known as 'livings') were given strictly as a benefit to family and friends and those who they deemed acceptable either socially or politically in a religious and political context and often as a reward for their children's tutors (Thompson 1963:72). The same was true of the Church of Ireland but with considerably fewer parishes in a smaller country, there were only 475 benefices. Typically, the aristocratic Protestant landowners bestowed the living on a favoured individual as in the case of Henry Joly, given the parish of Killala by Augustus 3rd Duke of Leinster, having previously been his tutor (Representative Church Body Library). The Conolly family controlled the benefice of the parishes of Celbridge, Newcastle Lyons and Straffan and the living was bestowed by Edward Michael Conolly on his uncle Rev. Robert Pakenham who was still the incumbent when his son Thomas inherited in 1849. Advancement in the church was significantly linked both socially and financially with the family members of the power elite, as it gave appropriate spiritual credibility and clergy were often at the forefront of formal social gatherings organised or attended by the elites (Thompson 1963). The reason for this was three fold; first because of their position as representatives of the established church, second they themselves may have been of the aristocratic or gentry class; and third, because their wives may also have been daughters of the aristocratic and upper middle classes. The clergy in alliance with the landowners were significant local leaders and shared responsibilities for the community, particularly for the Protestant community but also for the very poor of the locality of whatever religious persuasion. It must be remembered too that the tithes gathered for the benefit of the clergy were dependant on every landowner in the country co-operating in paying this tax. For the landowner who had given the benefice to a chosen individual, this would indicate a vested interest by the landowner in the welfare of the particular clergy receiving the collected tax in the parish (Thompson 1963: 5). The landlord and the clergyman were connected by a religious and social network that operated to provide a measure of control over the local population regardless of religious denomination.

For a great many elite young men, who were of a robust nature, the military became a highly popular option, with their family's financial support. This was an initial career of choice because it resulted in greater cultural credit through honour and ultimately greater influence. The considerable numbers of men who had early military careers is evidenced in the database. Members of the Protestant Ascendancy dominated the Irish regiments of the British army and their presence in the officer class replicated their managerial roles of the great estates. The certainty, as members of the aristocratic class, that the 'noble heroism' (Chambers 2004:137)

of battle was part of their inheritance, meant that they joined up as young men and often continued on in the county militia. The latter was a reserve force and typically, where men gravitated, once they had finished with their regular army career.[44] Elite families typically funded a younger son to purchase a commission in an elite regiment and social connections were extremely useful to obtaining commissions in the fashionable regiments. Both of Conolly's brothers were in the army. Arthur Wellesley Conolly (1828-54) was a Captain in the 30th Regiment of Foot and John Augustus Conolly was a Lieutenant Colonel in the Coldstream Guards. Both served in the Crimea, and John was awarded the newly instituted VC.[45] Their father Edward Michael's regiment was the Royal Artillery and he served in the West Indies toward the end of the Napoleonic Wars, later becoming involved in the Donegal Militia. Significantly, these elite regiments remained in the United Kingdom during peacetime, thus avoiding the less favoured Indian service. On becoming an officer, financial support, in the form of the private allowance provided to a son over 21, was a necessity if one was to live as an officer, maintaining the dining and uniform requirements. For further advancement up the ranks, it was necessary to purchase another higher commission. As a rule aristocratic and landed families largely directed the bulk of their fortunes and social connectivity to the eldest son and it was unlikely that younger sons would have the financial wherewithal to advance to the higher ranks in their military career given this situation. For naval commissions, social connections were also advantageous but one was required to show competence and experience to advance in the Navy. Many men after a period in military service subsequently directed their efforts to the law, civil service or into the church. Later in the nineteenth century, former military men with managerial skills might enter into business ventures now becoming more acceptable for the landowning class. This was the case particularly if they were not the eldest son, who would expect to inherit the estate and the family money, if any. By making their own way on their own merits, they might achieve a peerage. However, an important aspect of their advancement would have been in their aristocratic connection through their own family and if married, through their wife's family. These church and military associations would have overlapped correspondingly with the networks operating through the other strands of the network, such as gentlemen's clubs, and the hunting calendar.

Conolly was never a member of the army or navy and there is no evidence that he was involved in the county militia either. His lack of military career is quite surprising considering his family tradition: his grandfather had been an admiral and had even earned a knighthood in the service of his country, and as mentioned above his father had been in the regular army and retired as a captain and later became a colonel in the Donegal Militia. Nearly all of the male members of Conolly's extended Pakenham family had either been in the army or navy and, during the Napoleonic war in New Orleans, one had lost his life (Pakenham 2007). Conolly's

adventures, revealed in the diaries of the 1850s and 1860s and anecdotes by other elite authors, showed him to have been a physically active person and it is surprising he did not have a military career. A slight possibility could have been the financial cost of obtaining a commission and the attendant allowances required for uniforms and mess dinners. In his 1864 diary, he lamented that as the eldest son, he didn't have the freedom to do as he wished and much of his life 'had been wasted in in-action or what strongly resembled it going round a profitless and uninteresting routine' and he envied 'the honorable paths of enterprise open to all younger sons and fortunate heirs of their own brains' (Diary 5 December 1864). However, he was being somewhat disingenuous, because there were plenty of examples of the eldest son having a military career, such as his own father and his Pakenham cousins. He must also have had sufficient physical presence himself because on a visit to France in 1863, he participated in military manoeuvers with Napoleon III's Army and later dined with high-ranking Generals who appeared, as he reports in his diary, to readily accept his company (Conolly Diaries 19 July 1863). Further diary entries that indicated his physicality and comfort in the military milieu was the ease with which he ingratiated himself with the military on his American adventure to the Southern States. This particular experience suggests that he was comfortable in this male world and that his company was accepted by high profile members of the military such as General Robert E. Lee (Conolly Diaries 1864-65).

Marriage

The associations that marriages brought to the connectivity of the actors within the network were fundamental in the social network. In a discussion of institutions marriage is itself a social institution and in the context of the power elite served an important function. Marriages were, after birth connections, perhaps the most significant associations one could make that acted as both glue and lubricant in the creation and maintenance of social networks. Families created alliances that incorporated a number of main areas: first, based on land and both the retention and consolidation of the landholdings; second, through dynastic considerations, it was vital to have an heir, preferably a son, and third, money. A fourth might be the political or social capital that either the bride or groom could offer. Marrying for love was beginning to be popular for all classes in the nineteenth century but realistically the higher up the social ladder one was positioned the less likely this could happen without some degree of control. Strictly arranged marriages for advantageous political, financial and dynastic rationales were not as overt as they had been in the eighteenth century however, plots by parents and one assumes draconian measures to push reluctant children into unwanted marriages were not unusual for aristocratic and upper middle class families throughout the nineteenth century. Once married, a woman through her family contacts, could bring to the husband other grander social or financial

advantages. Marriages for political reasons advanced the groom to parliamentary positions or into appointments only lightly based on merit. Through the financial capacity of the bride's parents, the dowry became the platform from which to develop a larger land portfolio in order to provide a greater income.

The pressure of public morality and by implication private morality, which is outside the parameters of this thesis, formed a direct link to marriage and family during the Victorian era, with the example set by the Royal family (Hickman 2003). Connolly remained unmarried until he reached his mid-forties and then embarked on an unexpected choice (Walsh 2007:15). It has been said that when Conolly married Miss Sarah Eliza Shaw (1846-1921), daughter of the local miller, he married beneath him and indeed beneath his family. However as was shown in chapter two on the Conolly family this comment can be placed in context. The social considerations of this marriage in the high Victorian period are complex and may never be fully understood. It could have been a romantic love match and at forty-six he would have been less concerned about the pressure from his family of who to marry.

Conolly's marriage would have brought little in the way of increased networking except in the way that money provided a greater level of mobility and choices. Little is known about the Shaws' social connections except for the few clues in the guest list of the wedding. This included her grandfather, Rev. Dr Pooley Shuldham Henry the President of what would later become Queen's University Belfast, and it seems that her father's sister Sarah had married the 4th Viscount Mountmorres, Hervey de Montmorency who was Dean of Cloyne, later Dean of Archony and held the post of the Chaplain to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1853. The benefits of marriage however worked both ways and the position of Sarah's father and indeed her whole family would have been enhanced directly by her marriage into such a high status family as the Conollys and indirectly, with the Longfords (Thompson 1963:19).

Deeper Associations: Clubs as Networked Power Bases/Hubs

While the wider clerical and military networks were significant in themselves, it was clubs, of various types and status that were of paramount importance in the social networking of the power elite. In their specific roles as sites of assembly, clubs allowed men, who were geographically dispersed across Ireland on their estates to gather, socialize and conduct business. Hunt clubs, discussed more fully in Chapter Seven, were also important conduits, albeit more active and outdoors, through which the elites could meet regularly outside the urban centres. One might suggest, in contrast to school, church or barracks, these more generally operated as private and somewhat invisible spaces of networking. The clubs were the power

spaces of the elite world, the urban power hubs that could possibly be described as central super-nodes, and formed the foundation of a complex set of linkages. While socializing in their clubs, members shared their views on the establishment spaces in which they moved; they literaly networked their power in place. The 'integration of diverse elites in a private club helps produce social homogeneity' that includes value consensus and personal interaction for sharing the ideas of their class (Bourdieu 1986:89). A critical factor in the associational nature of clubs was their exclusivity.

Conolly was a member of a number of elite and non-elite clubs, among them the Carlton club in London, and the Kildare Street Club (KSC) and Royal Dublin Society (RDS) in Ireland. Kelly (2010) and McDowell (1994) both charted the rise of clubland and the development of the Dublin clubs and McDowell's diligent research resulted in an inventory of major clubs, which are given in Appendix IV, with their affiliated interests that had as their model, the London-based St James Street-Pall Mall clubs.

The club premises was the spatial hub around which or through which power circulated, and these sites had a significant impact on the conveyance of status linked to power in the space and place: the social and the built landscape. The physical premises of the club, the tangible place, was part of the exclusive nature of the intangible space. The architectural style of club buildings, which in the nineteenth-century was the older Georgian or Regency style, reflected the elite nature of the particular club. In London, Pall Mall was club-land and was located in the most select and fashionable part of the city (Kelly 2010). The Carlton Club, seen in the photo (Figure 6.3), is an example of a high status club premises with high architectural merit

Figure 6.2 Carlton Club, London. www.carltonclub.co.uk.

In Dublin's south side, the areas in the vicinity of Kildare Street were the most fashionable, an extremely high profile position both socially and geographically, reflected in the location of Leinster House, the magnificent home of the duke of Leinster. The original KSC was located in a building close to Leinster House. That spatialised cachet of association extended to Molesworth Street, Merrion Square, Fitzwilliam Street and Stephen's Green. With the elite development of Stephen's Green well established by the mid-nineteenth century, the University Club was established in the former residence of the earl of Milltown in 1849 and soon after the Stephen's Green Club would open only a few doors away. In 1860 the KSC built a prestigious building at the corner of Nassau Street and Kildare Street[46] (Figure 6.3).

Figure 6.3 Kildare Street Club (after 1860). Kildare Street and University Club Archive.

These building clusters were an outward representation of the power elites, a demonstration of wealth and power, their very geographical presence speaking clearly about the power of their memberships. These large ornate buildings also acted as spaces where absence and exclusion contrasted with presence and inclusion and sent out a stark message to those who could never aspire to membership, all serving to increase the members' cultural and

social status. The gap between the elites and non-elites was very tangible in these settings and gave those who had access an aura of mystique or what Bourdieu (2005) called ‘social magic’.

Both Bourdieu (1982) and De Certeau (1982) spoke of strategies to control everyday life and one of the methods was to establish social codes to set parameters to actions in everyday life. The stringent criteria of the elite clubs in selecting those individuals who followed the rules kept the membership within a group whose social actions and status was a known and predictable commodity. This cohesion of the social groups within the clubs helped to produce a socio-relational homogeneity previously mentioned. Within the extended society of the club where the members enjoyed each other’s company they formed a ‘value consensus’ and operated, as Anthony Giddens (1975) and Proudfoot (2005) have described, a cooperative process. The inner circle of clubs operated in an atmosphere of dense mutual trust and obligation and with a common identity based on culture. All acquaintance networks were dense ‘but that of the power elite was more dependent on trust and obligation than on any other aspect, except possibly prestige or honour’ (Kendall 2008:89). Clubs provided a platform where weak ties between individuals strengthened to form strong bonds that in turn increased social cohesion; a strengthening of the ‘glue’ of connectivity. Contacts within a club premises were a ‘blend of business and pleasure - lightly applied’, where knowledge and advice could be shared, extending the social and economic capital of members (Kendall 2008:90).

The fact that one member’s cultural capital[47] was enhanced by association with another’s cultural or social capital was not without significance to the individual clubs. Kendall in her study of clubs and the impact of social and cultural capital comments ‘people who are members of the ‘right club’ are able to enhance their social capital through the association with individuals who are influential and well connected…’ Kendall 2008:23. The most prestigious members built up an abundance of visible honour and cultural capital by assuming the roles of officers of the various clubs. The duke of Leinster was the Grand Master of the Freemasons for 61 years, nearly his entire adult life. The earl of Mayo became the president of the RDS. The 3rd Marquess of Drogheda was on the committee of the KSC as was Colonel Charles Colthurst Vesey, a member of the notable Colthurst family of Cork (KSC Membership Lists 1850-80). Memberships and high office among the elite ranged across several clubs. Some individuals belonged to up to eight clubs or societies, of various types, in both Ireland and England. The intensity of association was a clear message of networked power. The individual most highly networked through the clubs was Henry Moore, Earl of Drogheda (1825-92) who was a member of four Irish clubs: the Freemasons, the KSC, the RDS, the Royal Irish club, and three London clubs: Carlton, Traveller’s and Whites as well as being a member of the Kildare Hunt and was known as the ‘prince of sport’ (McDowell 1994:54). In addition, from 1850 he managed

Punchestown, the popular racecourse in Kildare, and was also affectionately known as 'the Prince of Punchestown' (Mayo and Boulton 1913:345), a valuable epithet given the 'adhesive' significance of horse racing and hunting as a social bond. More significantly, during the time period under study for this thesis, there was a strong governance component, given the majority of the county Lieutenants, Deputy Lieutenants, High Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace and magistrates in counties all across Ireland were members of these clubs. This deepened a sense of a visible and important spatial concentration of that power (Bourdieu 2005).

Elite Gentlemen's Clubs

Elite gentleman's clubs, as separate from other less exclusive clubs, were largely an urban phenomenon and mostly tended to be of a monopolistic group. Clubs were for dining, relaxing and meeting friends; one came into town to visit one's club. The choice of a club venue was essential to allow for activities to take place in comfort and, when necessary, for spending the night, and were often referred to as a 'home from home'. Kendall quotes a contemporary club member in her study explaining that 'you have joined not only a club, but a way of life' (Kendall 2008:87). One of the other attractions of club life for many, was the moratorium on women members. but one that that is no longer an option for clubs that have survived into the present day,

How members were chosen

The strict rules governing who could be admitted as members to clubs and societies, was generally through friendship or family members, and restricted unwanted individuals. What constituted membership in the elite gentlemen's clubs was a vastly subjective judgment on an individual. Acceptance by the club would depend on an individual's status, that of his family and his level of honour and even celebrity and his 'clubbable disposition', in other words would he fit in socially (Kendall 2008:29).[48] In the collection of data on memberships of clubs for this thesis, it was apparent that with the premier clubs these prerequisites were adhered to because all of the members listed were largely men of high status with credible civic authority. The parameters would change over time but a landlord with large landholdings, a house and demesne, (the right address) who was educated in the public school system, an MP, held an appointment with the civic authority such as a Lord Lieutenant, Deputy Lieutenant, High Sheriff, Justice of the Peace, resident magistrate or magistrate, possibly judge, was reasonably financially secure, with an all-round sporting interest and master of hounds, would have been guaranteed membership, provided his lifestyle was not viewed as immoral or treasonable. Even given all the attributes the invitation to join came only with a recommendation by one's peers,

‘members must be considered a gentleman by all’ those known to him (Kendall 2008:29). Again this is evidenced in the database by the high status addresses, land holdings and positions attained. Ideally thrown into the mix would be public-spirited involvement in the issues of the day and willingness to accept responsibility ‘diffusing into an effortless supremacy’, a gentleman (McDowell 1993:31). This profile fitted Conolly like a glove.

Essentially, it was those who were social leaders that would be welcomed by the club; successful men from the highest levels of their profession from public life. An example of this ethos was Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of Wellington, who as Prime Minister, war hero and member of parliament was both honorable and a celebrity. He was a member of the KSC and the Whig Club and belonged to a range of other London clubs. At the elite level of society, in addition to those mentioned above many would be in positions of authority: Grand Jury members, Poor Law guardians, usually the chairman or secretary, and, later in the century, presidents of the county agricultural fairs. The membership lists included younger sons of aristocrats, retired army officers and large farmers with comfortable houses in small parklands, all of whom were described as ‘gentry’. The membership lists of elite club members, by the end of the nineteenth century, increasingly came from the professional classes: solicitors could now be members where previously only barristers were allowed, general practitioners, where previously only medical professors and consultants were welcome and actual working engineers, also begin to appear c1890.

In Ireland, like London, the club scene began with the coffee houses of the eighteenth century and the Dublin coffee house life reproduced that of London in miniature. The first coffee-house in Dublin, at Lucas’s in Cork Street, became a home ‘for fine gentlemen idlers and gamblers from the earliest stage of its existence’ (Escott 1913: 329). Open to all with the money to spend, it nevertheless attracted the highly fashionable set and as a result, the handsome and well-dressed clientele attracted attention. Jonathan Swift referred to Col Ambrose Edgeworth, the ancestor of Maria Edgeworth, as ‘the prince of puppies’, and as a member of the that particular set, was eminently clubbable’ (Escott 1913:329).

From scattered references in his diaries, it was apparent that Thomas Conolly was a committed clubman noting regularly while in London that he ‘dined at the club’. A conservative like his father, he was a member of the Carlton, a club his father had co-founded. There are also references to Boodles, the prestigious London club[49] (Conolly Diaries 1853/57/63). At home in Ireland, he was known to also have been a frequent habitué of the KSC. Evidence of the centrality of his presence in the club scene was described by Escott (1923), who reported that ‘between 1846 and 1876 Tom Conolly visited the club [KSC] once or twice a week for the

express purpose of reinforcing guests under his huge rambling universally hospitable roof with some of its members who generally included Sir William Gregory' [50] (Escott 1913:332). This wide-ranging hospitality was one of Conolly's defining characteristics.

Membership of the 'right' gentleman's club would have been of paramount importance. This applied to any country worldwide, subscribing to the selective elite type of club. In Ireland the most significant clubs, some established in the eighteenth-century, were the KSC, Stephen's Green Club, the Freemasons, the Royal Dublin Society and the hunt clubs; particularly the Ward Union Stag Hounds followed closely by the Kildare Hunt and Westmeath Hunt Club. Some were politically aligned, like the KSC and the Stephen's Green Club, but mostly they were for male social discourse and all excluded women. This rule was relaxed for certain special occasions, for example when the Prince of Wales visited Dublin in 1885 and processed past the KSC, 'loyal and sometimes lovely ladies' were allowed to view the proceedings from the club rooms for 3 or 4 hours (McDowell 1994:76). Later in 1911, when King George and Queen Mary visited, women were allowed to view the procession from an especially erected stand and members were allowed to 'entertain them to luncheon' (McDowell 1994:76), signaling the eventual admission of women as members. When in town a gentleman might dine and occasionally sleep at his club even if he had rented a house in town for the season with his family, as did Conolly.

The elite gentlemen's clubs flourished, despite some coming and going as the economic, social and political climate changed. What did remain the same for many clubs was their essential raison d'être: dining, drinking, gambling and charity 'if it involved a ball or masquerade' as part of the event but underpinning all that, they acted as a setting for the cementing of the power elite's social networks. (Powell, 2010: 363). Outside of Dublin, there was also a flourishing culture of county-based clubs in Ireland, about 21 according to McDowell (1994:27) of which the Clare Club was the first in 1813; but these were not exclusive and therefore not elite to the same degree. However, these county-based clubs, like the city clubs, would still have had local representatives of the ruling elite: aristocrats, country gentlemen, doctors, judges and legal professionals and the clergy as members. In these county-based clubs members social and cultural, and economic status, were held in common and Catholic and Protestants were often members of the same clubs. It is not known if Donegal or Kildare were included in the 21 country clubs McDowell refers to or if Conolly was a member of either.

The elite political clubs toward the end of the eighteenth century, were often characterised by a wide mix of political types (Kelly and Powell 2010: 264-89). By maintaining a political network through the clubs this essentially allowed for the policy planning of the

government to take place on a casual basis long before it ever became official. A consensus of ideas would have evolved in the social milieu of the cub then more formally adopted in the legislative structures (Kendall 2008). Some gentleman's clubs were more politically active than others, The Ossory Club in Laois went so far as to petition the government on specific issues they thought needed addressing, namely the blatant aristocratic influence in politics (Kelly 2010:397). In the nineteenth century clubs were highly partisan, and the most popular Dublin club for the Irish Parliamentary Party was the Stephen's Green club, while the KSC was closely associated with the Irish Conservative Party and later the Irish Unionist Alliance. Members of the elite clubs had, by and large, been of the leisured classes for the greater part of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. They generally represented those of the highest level of their particular field: military personnel, judges, bishops, senior politicians and presidents of institutions, but clubs and societies by the mid-nineteenth century had begun to reflect the changing society. Building on a variety of political and agricultural circumstances, the aspirational middle classes were beginning to make inroads into the hierarchy of society and significantly the clubs and, for the most part, once established in their higher social circumstances they became indistinguishable from the aristocratic and upper middleclass. The negative financial impact of the agricultural slump in the 1870s on the landed classes, and the impact of the Encumbered Estates Courts that facilitated the increasing change of ownership, meant that the Protestant Ascendancy's domination of landownership struggled to maintain itself (Dooley 2001). By the late 1870's change began to occur at a more rapid rate and, as Mills pointed out, the collapse of one means of power and the power elite who controlled it was generally replaced by a different power elite with different agendas and the clubs reflected this change (Mills 1956:21).

Club Membership as a key aspect of Social Networking

From a power-based social networking perspective, it was the elite clubs that were key and continued in Conolly's lifeworld to attract the aristocratic and upper middle class power elites to meet those of 'their own kind' in closed relationships (Bourdieu 1986). These individuals were/are those with shared high status or cultural capital. Kendall's (2008) study on the elite American clubs identified that members shared similar cultural capital based on shared high status and as a result, they demonstrated the same cultural signals in their social behaviour and credentials. They supported and attended the opera, the ballet and concert performances, patronized or donated to art museums, had the 'right address' and drove or were driven in an impressive vehicle (Kendall 2008:51). These characteristics, can also be identified in the Irish clubs, and were demonstrated through attitudes, preferences and formal knowledge (education). Behaviour included good manners, heightened travel skills and experience that extended to a foreign language and their consumption habits: they had acquired the use and

ownership of certain similar material goods. They did not just drink wine but were 'wine connoisseurs' (Kendall 2008: 53). These attributes were also in conjunction with other high status practices, such as owning thoroughbred horses, hunting, going to or participating in point-to-point races, playing an elite sport such as polo, or owning one's own yacht. A title and importantly the history of their family became a kind of commodity along with the money to go with it. The positions one held, offered important credentials that the elite clubs were pleased to see reflected in their members: lieutenancies, privy councillors, chairmen of government committees or Grand Jury members. The more 'prestigious members' a club had the more the club as an entity gained status in society (Kendall 2008:53). This collection of likeminded attitudes and similar cultural capital represents an 'upper-class cohesiveness' that was protected and nurtured in the club with their mutually supportive closed relationships (Kendall 2008:3).

Through the information gathered on the various club memberships for the database (see sample database in Chapter Four and full database in Appendix I) it became apparent that Conolly was incredibly well connected. Conolly's list of dining engagements in his diaries indicated that he socialized with fellow KSC members outside the Kildare Street premises. He knew men both in the other Irish gentleman's clubs, the hunt clubs and in the clubs, he frequented in London. Seventy-seven men from the KSC were also listed as members of the Carlton club, around 11% of the database sample; showing the deep connective relationships between the twin nodes of Dublin and London. The high status cultural activity enjoyed by members in wider society, enhanced by the greater friendship of strong club ties, provided the opportunity for families to engage with one another in other networked forms; facilitating, for example, possible marriage alliances (Kendall 2008:116). This served to keep the families of the power elite intact through 'anchoring the class in the legitimacy of blood ties' (Mills 1956:88). Associations between individuals were closely linked to those sponsoring them and helped further the associations developed within the club setting by spreading outward to other social settings. The sponsorship lists in the KSC club archives did not begin to be compiled until later in the century and as a result, it is not possible to see if he was responsible for introducing new members. Though it seems highly likely he would have done so given his overall visibility within the system.

In seeing gentleman's clubs through the lens of a relational geography, those networks were part of an informal strategy that increased the influential nature of connections. Given the already high social and cultural capital, the network deepened the existing relationships members had before joining. The networking between club members led to jobs or appointments for themselves and others, while business connectivities would have also been a significant aspect of the club scene (Kendall 2008:116). It should be remembered that it was not until the

mid-nineteenth century and possibly later that a paying job was acceptable form of occupation to the aristocratic and upper middle class. Gentlemen[51] were appointed to various positions of authority and fulfilled these roles with purpose but these were not ‘jobs’ as such. At governmental level, the senior civil servants carried out the real work, although some would have been younger sons of the aristocratic or gentry classes who also belonged to the elite gentleman’s clubs. Realistically this question of working in a job had a great deal to do with how the occupation was regarded by the upper strata of society and if it was of high status or not, which ultimately governed the admissibility to the exclusive elite gentleman’s clubs. Many elites were involved in the agricultural improvement of their own land and ‘other benefits to the local community’ (Thompson 1963:17). However, on most country estates landowners played no active part, except to endorse the work being done. The real work would have been entirely the responsibility of the steward or land agent. Like senior civil servants, this land agent/steward category of job often fell to the ubiquitous aristocratic younger son and or former military men. These men fell into the category of ‘one of us’ and some could further extend their association with each other and their mutual network through an elite club. However, club rules could occasionally stand in the way of an individual. McDowell describes one Irish gentleman whose occupation was a land agent who, under a particular club’s rules was not acceptable. Instead, to bend the rules, he was listed as ‘an agent of several landed estates in Ireland’ and was duly accepted (McDowell 1993:4). Although the ‘business’ networking aspect of clubbing was not formally encouraged, as this would have introduced an unwanted commercial aspect to the club atmosphere, the whole purpose of a club was to network and business was a necessary part of life in all its many manifestations (Bourdieu 2008).

The Kildare Street Club

The Kildare Street Club (KSC), was considered Ireland’s premier club, one of a small number of exclusive elite clubs. An early eighteenth century elite club was founded by Denis Daly, an MP for Galway. The acceptance of a new member of an elite club was determined through the use of a ballot system with black and white balls in a bag. Only one black ball placed in the bag by members was needed to block the entry of a new member. William Burton Conyingham, a popular individual, was blackballed from Daly’s and here lie the origins of the KSC. Among the original members of Daly’s, who then formed the KSC because of the black-balling incident, were familiar elite families: Curran, Flood, Bushe, Plunket, Grattan, Langrise, Ponsonby and Lord Conyingham and his twin sons. Soon after Daly’s would fade from history. Descendants of these same men would appear as KSC club members throughout the nineteenth century. In time admission by balloting through this ball system was discontinued and

committees became responsible for the admission of members but not until the Sackville Street Club was formed after a similar incident at the KSC.

In mid-Victorian Ireland, elite clubs offered an affirming role where like-minded men gathered in social or political power groups. Although this is no different today, clubs then would have formed a bulwark of tacit resistance to the politicizing Roman Catholic population as the breakdown of the political landscape escalated. This was particularly true of the KSC where the members were largely Protestant: although the club's records do not at any time referrer to an individual's religious affiliation. Catholic members were numerous according to Bence-Jones (1987:293) but were outnumbered by Protestants. The club was certainly open to the 'right sort' of Catholics and the county Longford landowner and Westmeath hunt club member, Ambrose More-O'Farrell was one such member (Bence-Jones 1987:56). The historian and social commentator Terence de Vere White (1972:265) stated flatly that 'every landlord in Ireland belonged to the KSC' although for greater accuracy this statement should possibly read, Protestant or Ascendancy landlords. Nonetheless, his implication that many of the Protestant power elite clubbed together in this one place, helps clarify its position as a core associational nodal place within the wider network.

The KSC went from strength to strength across the mid-nineteenth century, moving its premises in 1860 to a new purpose built clubhouse, a Byzantine style building adorned by whimsical beasts, on the corner of Nassau Street and, appropriately, Kildare Street. [52] In the 1840's a serious fire had destroyed the first 80 years of the club's archives but from the 1860s, printed lists of members were drawn up (McDowell 1993). The 1860s lists show 700 members but by 1879 the membership fell to 630 due to the effects of the agricultural slump and the beginning of the land wars, the partial result of which was the drift of the landed class out of the top echelons of society. However, these events would appear to have had only a temporary impact on the club and by 1914, the numbers had increased to a healthy 688. McDowell (1993) carried out a study of the membership in the 1860s and his research was used to compare the changing membership in the following two decades of the nineteenth century, and beyond. This thesis, draws from McDowell's study to emphasise the specific make-up of the membership of the KSC during the nineteenth century, and trace through that all of the associational relationships already introduced in this and the previous chapter. His statistics for 1860 showed that 15 per cent of the club was titled and his comment 'the peers were *ipso facto* country magnates' (McDowell 1993:53) is borne out in the addresses and occupations of this group. Clanricard was Lord Lieutenant of Galway, a cabinet minister and President of the Royal Irish Architects, while Monck was Lord of the Treasury and later Governor General of Canada; and Talbot de Malahide was MP of Athlone, Lord in waiting to Queen Victoria as well as President

of the Royal Irish Academy. The earl of Drogheda was Deputy Lieutenant of Kildare, a Laois JP and as previously mentioned, managed Punchestown Racecourse. Six of the peers alone, representing the significant landowning class of the club, held over thirty thousand acres each. Of the remaining members, half owned land in the two to three thousand acre bracket. In common with other clubs, groups of family members would represent a phalanx of influence when they went about their everyday lives in their respective home and institutional locations. An example of this was the Featherstonehaugh family, with five living within a short distance of each other in Westmeath, six of whom were members of the KSC, and all were members of the Westmeath Hunt. Twenty-five of the twenty-nine MPs who were KSC members represented Irish constituencies and of the four who sat in English constituencies, three were Irish with substantial Irish landholdings. Those with a history of military connections were represented in considerable numbers, '272 out of 700 were either retired or serving military officers' (McDowell 1994:55 and 86).

Among other occupations in McDowell's 1860 research were the eighteen clergy, two of whom held significant ecclesiastical positions. Lord William Conyingham Plunkett was the Bishop of Meath and Hugh Usher Tighe was Dean of the Chapel Royal and later Dean of Derry. The legal contingent was represented in large numbers, 88 members were either barristers, or judges with only one solicitor. The medical profession of the time was only represented by three members but included John Banks: President of the Royal College of Physicians. Successful individuals both in commerce and in government circles also featured in some numbers. Civil servants included Sir Thomas Redington who later became governor of Hong Kong and Thomas Burke, an undersecretary at Dublin Castle, who was murdered in the Phoenix Park in May 1882. Other members were James Benjamin Ball and two directors of the Bank of Ireland, D'Olier and Hancock and the brewing magnate Benjamin Lee Guinness who had ventured into banking with the Messers La Touché who were also themselves, members. In the thesis database, there were eighteen listed members of the KSC who had attended Harrow, a core early-stage nodal point in the network.

The elite clubs were open to disparaging comment, though this was rarely seen in print. The writer George Moore[53] seems to have been deeply offended by the ethos at the KSC and it is important to represent this quite different disapproving take on the KSC to show that the clubs and their members were not without critics.

> The Kildare Street Club is one of the most important institutions in Dublin. It represents in the most complete acceptation of the word the rent party in Ireland; better still, it represents all that is respectable, that is to say, those who are gifted with an oyster-like capacity for understanding this one thing: that they should continue to get fat in the bed in which they were born. This club is a sort of oyster-bed into which all the eldest sons of the landed gentry fall as a matter of course. There they remain spending their days, drinking sherry and cursing Gladstone in a sort of dialect, a dead language which the larva-like stupidity of the club has preserved (Moore 1887:31).

The club had begun with a freewheeling dining and drinking convention but by the time Moore wrote his critique it had become more circumspect as far as excessive drinking went, as indeed were the hunt clubs. Such was the move toward sobriety and decorum that in as early as 1849 it was noted acerbically in the club minutes that four members drank fifteen bottles of wine in one sitting, something that had not previously been remarked upon (KSC Minutes: November 1849. (KSUC Archive). In 1900, the club was described by a member as 'the only place in Ireland where one can enjoy decent caviar' (Gifford 1982:58).

In the later nineteenth century the Club, with its overwhelmingly Protestant Ascendancy membership, was closely associated with Irish Unionism and what Escott (1913:331) refers to as the 'territorial bureaucratic elite', which presumably means the higher civil servants that included the Lord Lieutenant. The evidence gathered for the database shows that not all supported the prevailing establishment and some of its earliest members had included a number strongly opposed to the British connection. They included men such as Sir Jonah Barrington, MP, Arthur O'Connor, United Irishman and Lord Castlereagh (Robert Stewart). Nonetheless, by the early twentieth century, it has been estimated that only between two and six percent of KSC were supporters of Irish Home Rule (McDowell 1994).

After the partition of Ireland in 1921, and again after the Second World War, the KSC found itself, not surprisingly, in a decline that eventually prompted its amalgamation in 1976 with the Dublin University Club. Although the club would leave a building of important architectural merit it moved to one of equal significance, 17 St Stephen's Green. This address was the former townhouse of the 1st earl of Milltown, Joseph Lee whose country residence was Russborough Co Wicklow giving the building high cultural credit.

Thomas Conolly and The Kildare Street Club as exemplar: Analysis of the sample database

In beginning to understand in depth how Thomas Conolly's networks operated, it is important to look at the detailed evidence of his own associative geographies, of which the KSC was a central focal point. This thesis draws heavily from the database, and one way of using it was to query and extract a core sample of those who were members of the KSC, (See Chapter 4 and Appendix I). By selecting the KSC membership as a representative group, the club provided a source that was a finite number of individuals through which to examine the power and influence of the Protestant power elite, which by proxy, identifies the networks of people and places within which Conolly himself operated. Clearly shown in the database members of the KSC were landowners and the vast majority of them were owners of substantial property holdings, a significant prerequisite for membership. The associations and posts held by KSC members ranged from membership of other clubs, based in fixed premises, hunt clubs that opened up the geographical landscape of several counties, and civil appointments that covered the topographical aspect of networks. Information taken from the database contributed to the diagrammatic form shown previously (Figure 6.1 Circular Associations) of how these multiple interlinkages and layers operated spatially for Conolly. The intense colour radiates outwards in wider ripples to his weaker personal networks that are no less fundamental to his lifeworld.

The influential associations and posts the KSC members held in the political arena and other establishment institutions showed that the influence of the individual club members moved beyond the local into the national arena. The associations of club and civic appointments also extended into the network of landowners where members owned a substantial house with a parkland or demesne. Their shared experiences of common cultural privileges and their interlocking estates established the cultural dominance of the area.

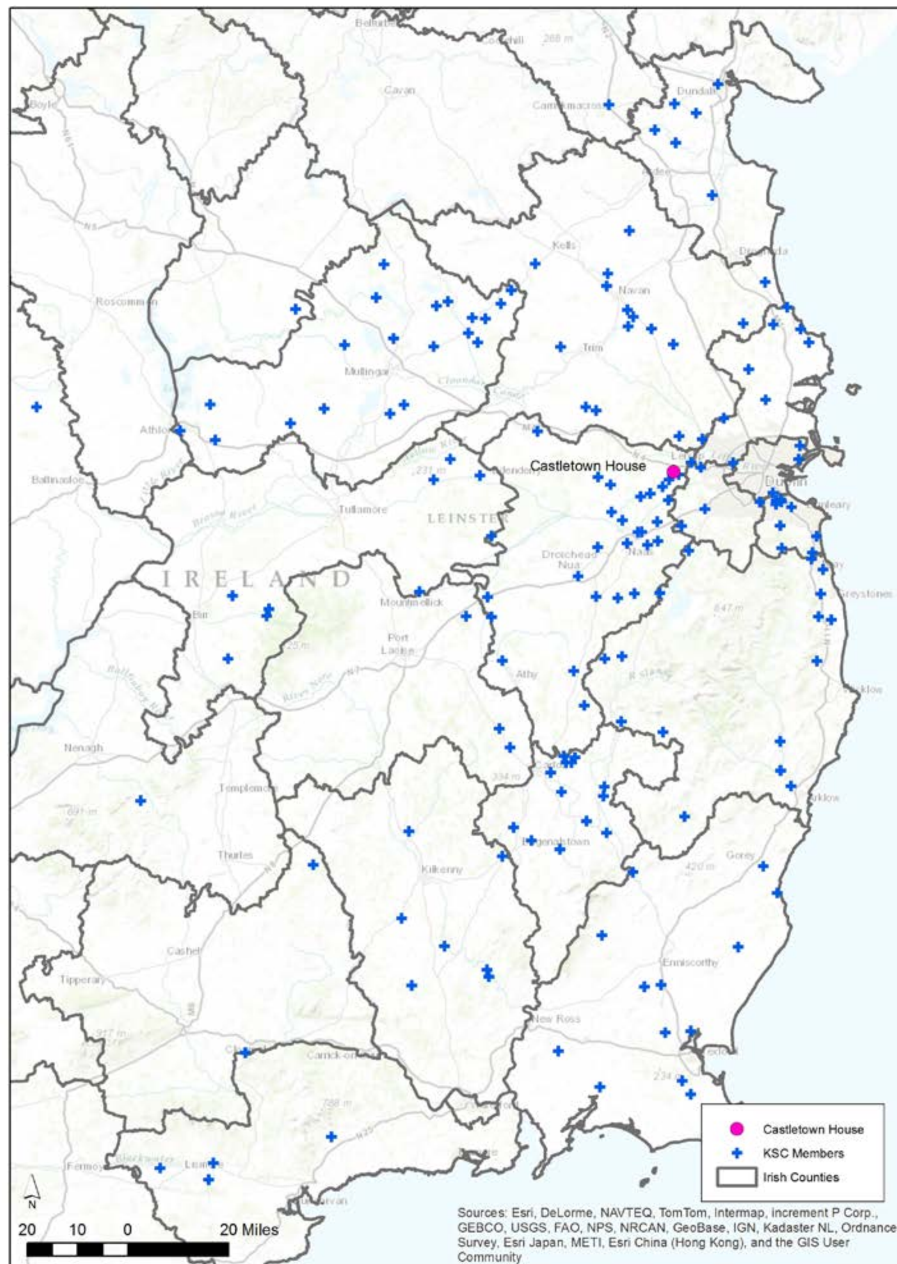

Figure 6.4 Kildare Street Club members in Leinster

An analysis of the database revealed that although the majority of KSC members lived in Leinster the were spread spatially across the country thus distributing their influence and networking nationwide.[54] The accompanying map below (Figure 6.4) shows those KSC members living in Leinster. All members that had a country address were included in the sample database but the actual size of the landholding was only part of the picture. Bateman (1882) uses as a marker 2000 acres and over, and the more land one had the better for social and

economic reasons, but holding even modest amounts of land was also similarly advantageous. The member's land holdings were listed in the database which showed the value of the estate but it was essentially the address that was significant because that placed the landowner and his family in the topographical landscape. This demonstrated the landowner's control over the local area and, depending on the individual, this meant he was one of the power elite, at the very least to his neighbours and at the most to his county, possibly holding a civic appointment such as County Lieutenant or High Sheriff, clearly demonstrated in the database. The parklands of the power elite varied in size depending on their location and the fertility of the soil. For example, the largest landowner in Ireland, at the time of the 1872 valuation of landowners was the Marquis of Sligo Peter Howe Browne of Westport, Co Mayo. He owned 114,881 acres in Mayo but because of the poor agricultural quality of the soil, his income was modest at £16,157 per annum. In comparison, Henry Bruen, Thomas Conolly's brother-in law, with only 23,000 acres, less than a quarter of Sligo's lands, had a higher income of £17,481 per annum because his lands were in more fertile locations, mainly Carlow (Bateman 1880). On occasion, membership lists showed only a town address either in Dublin or London; town houses were not necessarily the family home, often being leased or rented, usually only for the season. Nevertheless, located in the best and most fashionable areas, they were still spatial markers of high cultural and material status. The London addresses shown in Conolly's engagement diary (Appendix V) are testament to this geographical clustering of elite accommodation. This will be shown in a map in Chapter 7 (Figure 7.1). They are grouped around the prestigious area surrounding St James's Park and include Grosvenor Square, Carlton House Terrace, Park Lane, Berkley Square and Eaton Square.

The database shows that the majority of the KSC members were also members of other clubs: 58% of the 682 members were identified as belonging to two or more clubs, some as many as six or seven and to reiterate, the Earl of Drogheda belonged to eight clubs between Ireland and England. The prestigious London clubs that members of the KSC belonged to ranged from the Athenaeum, Carlton, Boodles, and Whites to Travellers and the United Services Club. The high profile clubs in Dublin mentioned above were a mixture of respectable middle class and high status elite. What is important is that in social networking terms, Conolly and his colleagues were socially networked deeply at home, but also were linked into very influential networks in London and, by extension, these connections opened up an even wider geography of international connectivity, both within the British Isles and beyond, as witness in Conolly's diarized documentation of people he met and visited in Europe and America.

The depth of the social network was not just personal and social but also governmental and institutional, Indicating the reach of influence of KSC members in the database, 85% were identified as holding appointments and roles from lord or deputy lieutenancy, High Sheriff, Justice of the Peace, and magistrate. Others, as well as the appointments mentioned, were Grand Jury members, Poor Law Guardians, privy councilors, or barristers and judges. Additionally, they held positions of lord of the treasury, comptroller of the royal household or were the Representative Peers of Ireland. They were also trustees of Maynooth College, directors of railway companies and banks. Most notably however, if an individual was a member of a religious order, apart from his parish appointments, he was never involved in a civic role. In addition to the civic appointments; 28% of KSC members held hereditary titles and this on its own contributed a high degree of status, but more significantly 68% of those with titles held land over 1000 acres. That these were not necessarily all in one location showed the piecemeal spatial spread of landowning. The pervasive presence in the landscape of the high status power elites of the KSC membership with their unified connectivity was one that had a significant impact on the control of everyday cultural practices in Ireland. In relational geography terms, it was the explicitly concentrated and connective nature of the club that produced such a hegemonic spatial web and, through both landholding and positions of authority, cemented that network across the country.

By considering this map (Figure 6.1) and the houses and parklands in Leinster, shown in the previous chapter (Figure 5.8), it can be seen that the ownership and therefore control of the landscape by the power elites, both members and nonmembers of the KSC, was considerable in Leinster alone.[55] As an example of landownership in county Kildare, the 1876 survey of landowners showed that 48% of the population owned 99% of the land. In a further breakdown of the 1,766 county Kildare landowners, 82 owned 1000 or more acres of the total of 412,490 acres valued in the county. These 82 landowners represent less than 4.5% of the total landowners in Kildare and owned 295,625 acres, more than half the total. It has been said that the great landowners in Ireland were networked through their clubs particularly the KSC (de Vere White 1972 and McDowell 1993). In the case of Kildare 40 of the 82 landowners are members of the KSC, including Thomas Conolly, whose own holdings in Kildare totaled 2,605 acres, showing that his topographical and geographic reach of connectivity was always reinforced by his specific membership and relative prominence within the KSC. The specific evidence in the diaries cross referenced in both the engagement records and the other entries showed that he was regularly connecting with members outside the club premises. In his diaries, he notes his social activities and it can be seen that many of his activities involve members of the KSC. In 1853 and 1857, it was recorded that he attended Sir Gerald Aylmer’s wedding, dined and attended parties and balls in London with the Hamilton brothers, Johnny and James,

Lord Crew, Henry T. Clements and the Earl of Bective, all of whom were KSC members. Other men also fall into this crossover of relationships, Sir Edward Kennedy a KH hunt master, his cousin William Ponsonby Baker and John Palliser fellow blockade running planner, friends and KSC members together. The KSC has been shown through the database to have been the premier club in Ireland as anecdotal comment and Mc Dowell's (1993) academic study reported and was once mainly the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy power elite who dominated the membership and the cultural landscape.

Other Clubs

During the nineteenth century literary and scientific societies such as the Dublin Society had become popular. Although membership in them was not as strictly controlled as with the elite gentlemen's social and sporting clubs, nonetheless these were largely taken up by the elites; certainly until the rising bourgeoisie began to have more leisure time and disposable income. Archaeological and antiquarian societies were also established and flourished from the mid-nineteenth century such as the Royal Antiquarian Society and The Kildare Archaeological Society. These societies were another important activity within the elite classes with the money and leisure time to travel to areas of interest. Many members of these societies were landowners where, conveniently, on their lands a site of antiquity may have been located that could be excavated and where the society would then come on its annual outing.

These types of clubs while elite, were not as exclusive, or at least as selective, of their membership. The Royal Dublin Society (RDS), the Freemasons and the University Club fell into this category, as did the high profile societies such as the Royal Antiquarian Society. The less elite clubs therefore had a more eclectic mix of individuals, socially and culturally. Nevertheless, the clubs only accepted as members individuals described earlier as 'one of ours': aristocratic and gentry landowners, respectable, comfortably off individuals; professionals in medicine, law and banking as well as the clergy all with a typical Victorian interest in improvement ranging from moral, scientific, scholarly and agricultural. These men, and women to some extent (within the antiquarian societies), were also interested in seeking out new methods of approaching old ideas. They were people who represented the nineteenth century 'esteeming reason, order and light' (Bowen 1942:31).

The Freemasons

Outside of the KSC, the other two main clubs that attracted the (male) elite of society were the Freemasons and the RDS. However, the power elite were represented in greater

numbers in the memberships of the KSC. The most elite Freemason's club in Ireland was the 12th Lodge, known as The Meridian (1844-1973), meeting in the Freemason's Hall, Molesworth Street and on occasion at the KSC (Bence-Jones 1992:54), suggesting strong links with the club. This lodge saw nearly half of its membership in the mid nineteenth century either holding a position of power in the government or a hereditary title. The social status of Freemasons suggested a very mixed group. Despite a sometimes humble core membership, tradesmen, working farmers, shop keepers, legal clerks, it also attracted those of the highest social and professional class and the 3rd duke of Leinster, Augustus was Grand Master from 1813 to 1874. Those who wished to become members whatever their social status, in similar fashion to the gentleman's clubs, needed to wait on an invitation from a friend. Elite members of the Freemasons also patronized other gentlemen's clubs and this spread the opportunities for new forms of networking. There were hundreds of lodges spread across Ireland and membership sizes ranged from a handful to dozens. Surprisingly from the beginning, it was a society open to all religions and in 1842 a large portion, if not the majority, of Irish Freemasons were Roman Catholic (Mirala (2010), Kelly and Powell (2010) and Bence-Jones (1994). After this time, there was increasing pressure on Catholics from the Roman Catholic clergy and hierarchy to withdraw from the society and the membership was largely reduced to non-Catholics. Squire Tom had been a Freemason but there is no evidence, despite extensive searches, that Edward Michael (1786-1849) or Thomas (1823-76) were involved in Freemasonry, nevertheless Thomas' sons, Thomas and Edward Michael, would become members.

The Royal Dublin Society

The Dublin Society (DS) began in the eighteenth century against a backdrop of poverty and a desire to remedy the lot of the poor. Thomas Prior, Jonathan Swift, Lord Molesworth and Samuel Madden wrote pamphlets setting out ways of improving the state of the nation and Prior, along with Arthur Dobbs, began the 'Dublin Society of improving Husbandry, Manufactures and other Useful Arts' in 1731 (de Vere White 1955:12). The founding members were drawn from the aristocratic and upper class. Among the first officers elected were Lionel Cranfield Sackville (Duke of Dorset), The Primate (of Dublin), Hugh Boulter and Dr Stephens and among founding committee was Dr Patrick Delaney, Dean of Down, husband of the diarist Mary Delaney. In addition, five bishops were also recorded as members. The influential and elite strata of society quickly became members: William Conolly Jnr., Luke Gardener and Thomas Sheridan among them (de Vere White 1955:19). By the mid-1800s, the Royal Dublin Society (RDS) had become an open club, but still required a recommendation to join. Memberships in such prestigious societies although nominally open, was socially stratified, all

the more so given the strong subject overlaps between agriculture and land ownership. Hierarchies existed in these club spaces, as in the gentlemen's clubs and those with titles were more likely to have held the core positions of chairman and head of committees. The RDS was also particular about the conduct of members if their activities were not considered acceptable even by association, and Count George Noble Plunkett[56] was expelled in 1916 because of his son Joseph Mary Plunkett's involvement in the Easter uprising (RDS Proceedings 1916).

The DS, founded on practical purposes that included husbandry, the Arts and Science and unlike the Royal Society, then functioning in Dublin, was more open to non-elites who were none the less highly respectable. The DS catered to those with an interest in scientific and agricultural improvement and had many members who were also Freemasons and importantly KSC members. The DS before the end of the eighteenth century started the Botanic Gardens, and from 1800 was involved in many other institutions still extant today: the Veterinary College, the National Gallery, the National College of Art and Design, the National Museum and National Library culminating in 1914 with the Radium Institute. The DS quickly grew in prestige and influence and the society received its royal charter in 1820 becoming the Royal Dublin Society (RDS). The RDS, more than any other club was/is the most visible and the one that reached out to the general public by facilitating demonstrations and agricultural centred events. Their Leinster House, premises, bought in 1814 from Fredrick Augustus 4th Duke of Leinster, demonstrated that the society had reached the pinnacle of position and influence. Soon after purchase the society extended Leinster House with two further buildings,[57] adding to their status. These prestigious developments initiated by the RDS, linked the aristocratic and middle class landowning group's cultural dominance with the drive toward agricultural improvement that established itself in Ireland during the Victorian period. This is an historic example of what Kendall (2008:158) describes as affirmation of a sense of superiority. With individual member's personal accomplishments, a collective identity of the club is built up that give other members reflected status.

By the mid-1800s, RDS had become an open club, but still required a recommendation to join. Memberships in such prestigious societies although nominally open, was socially stratified, all the more so given the strong subject overlaps between agriculture and land ownership. Hierarchies existed in these club spaces, as in the gentlemen's clubs and those with titles were more likely to have held the core positions of chairman and head of committees. In the nineteenth century, agricultural societies were becoming increasingly significant and the RDS, an association of a highly socially connected community was of central importance to the agricultural and economic viability of the great estates. The resulting change to the physical appearance of the landscape, some fashionable, others pragmatic, was generally down to the

pivotal role of the elites. Conolly was a member of the RDS, and entered cattle and horses at the yearly shows winning ribbons and money (*Irish Times* 1872) that he shared with his herdsmen who had presented the cattle in the show. The RDS aura of authority and cultural quality lingers in association with events from the horse show and the various exhibitions into the present day, and hints strongly at the importance of visibility at prestigious public events as part of deepening the cultural capital associated with the power elite. Conolly also joined his fellow club members in the county agricultural fairs under the patronage of the RDS. In that sense for Conolly, an active engagement as land and horse owner, with this more explicitly agricultural network was nonetheless one that clearly overlapped with his social and political duties. The residual effect of the high social status of the RDS of earlier years is still in evidence through the high degree of respect it receives from the public and press alike indicating its powerful influence.

Some clubs from the 1830s were political clubs specific to the parties vying for power. The clubs referred to above were implicitly political but many new clubs would develop that with a largely Catholic membership had a strong political agenda and this gives them a greater significance in the changes that eventually transformed the social and political face of Ireland. One club that leaned heavily toward support for Daniel O'Connell was the Stephen's Green Club, of which O'Connell was a member. Although the club 'stood for middleclass liberalism and home rule by parliamentary procedures' (Smith and Share 1991:41) some other club members were in the forefront of the defence of the Young Irelanders following the disturbances they initiated. Significantly as an indication of his interests in the political environment as well as his political status, Conolly's father, Edward Michael Conolly (1786-1849), was so politically engaged that he was a founder member of the Carlton Club, in 1832, the prestigious conservative political club in London, which is still functioning today (Farrell 2009). Conolly's links to the Carlton Club, could account for the ease with he moved among the upper strata of London society because of the elite membership and common political allegiance.

Other non-elite clubs, catering to niche interests of all variety and hue, from football to stamp collecting, were springing up toward the end of the nineteenth century for all classes of society. As was often the case, the power elites were usually invited to become patrons or honorary chairmen of a range of club types, supplying the financial support where necessary as well as prizes of either money or cups. Quite often, the venue might be the patron's parkland or fields in or near the towns and villages that were part of the estate (Hunt 2007:10). This in subtle ways and at times not so subtle placed the landowner and local community in a deferential connection even when the landowner was not present. The clubs described above

were for the most part composed of what sociologically can be described as open relationships: individuals who come together in a 'mutually orientated social action' (Kendall 2008:2). Patronage of sporting associations would have played an important role in one's perceived social superiority where one's leadership was recognised and endorsed by those in a lower social stratum. This was also a manifestation of the compliance by the wider population that, wholeheartedly or not, supported the cultural dominance of the period.

The early 1850s saw a further expansion of urban gentleman's clubs that catered to niche interests. Many were short lived because the elite and non-elite clubs, that began in the first half of the nineteenth century or earlier, generally satisfied the needs of existing and aspiring members. McDowell judged that club-land reached its apex by 1914 but he suggested that this was not the advent of WWI itself but the consequence of the rapid changes in society that signalled the end of the classic gentleman's club (McDowell 1994:37).

Hunt Clubs

The hunt club, until the latter end of the nineteenth century, was a highly elite group made up mainly of aristocratic and landed gentry. While quite obviously not urban, hunt clubs drew on the associations generated in the elite urban clubs and the membership lists of the hunt clubs revealed that the same individuals were members of the gentleman's clubs. Hunt clubs had strong landowning connections that began at the local level but ranged across the associational groups previously mentioned. Owning a country estate meant more than using it for agricultural purposes. The landowner used the land as part of a sporting element that laid down strict rules on how the landscape should be groomed to create the right environment for hunting and to encourage the breeding of foxes. This also meant controlling the local community requiring them to comply with the rules set by the landowners. This control was linked to both employment and rewards to the local farmers, who were not directly employed, and was deeply bound up in deference that, under the weight of the impact of the hunt club activity across the landscape, could break down.

Hunt clubs had their beginnings in the eighteenth century but by the mid-nineteenth century had evolved, from their earlier form into a subtly different type of club. With the changes to the structure of society later in the nineteenth century, this was eventually reflected in a wider demographic of members. Evidence for this can be seen in 1887, when the Westmeath Hunt (WMH) placed a new rule on their books: they would now accept 'farmers' as members who as good sportsmen would have been welcome even 'without their [subscription of] £2 guineas' (Dease 1898: *110*). This then led to increased involvement by the rising middle class, who now

owned many of the large landed estates, and as members of the hunt now had access to steeplechase racing events both highly elite and socially connective pursuits. This would then lead to greater involvement in the breeding of horses and horseracing in the Midlands than had previously been the case. As a result, although still aristocratic and upper-middleclass in nature, the hunt's social scene was wider than it had been a century earlier. In the earliest years of hunting some clubs began hunting on foot, known as harriers, and pursued other animals besides the fox, such as deer and hare, but from the end of the eighteenth century the fox had become more fashionable. Some clubs looking back to their origins use the name harriers today; an example is The South Dublin Harriers a small local club. In Ireland the premier clubs were the Ward Union Stag Hounds, the Kildare Hunt and the WMH among the many clubs operating across the country.

Hunt clubs on a national scale, demonstrate through their performance in the physical landscape more than any other activity, (apart perhaps from the less common military manoeuvres), a form of control of the environment. This control involved the preparation of the physical landscape and managing groups such as farmers and those employed on behalf of the club to maintain the fox coverts or 'earth-stoppers' who closed off fox dens prior to the meets. Managing the hunt locally was the master, a member of the aristocratic or gentry' class, who exerted the highest social influence locally. The members of both the clubs discussed in this overview; the Kildare Hunt and the WMH were also connected through the elite gentleman's club at the centre of the thesis, the KSC. Hunting was inextricably linked to the social network of the gentleman's clubs and as strongly to family connections. In Conolly's diaries, among those mentioned, and who he hunted with in Ireland, as well as being KSC members, were his brothers Robert and John and cousins Dick Taylor and the Pakenhams as well as his brother-in-law Henry Bruen. Other KSC members also hunting with him were William Burton of Burton Hall and William Kennedy of Johnstown House Enfield, the WMH Master. What Conolly's diaries also show with regard to hunting is that he was active around the counties of primarily Kildare but also Meath, Westmeath and Donegal which showed his expanded geographic and topographic network. In addition, and significantly, many of the members of the KSC also held high profile civic authority positions: Sir Montague Chapman, master of the WMH, was the High Sheriff for Westmeath, his son Sir Montague-Lowther was MP, High Sheriff and a magistrate for Westmeath and his grandson Sir Benjamin was the Lord Lieutenant for Galway: James Dease a member of WMH was the Deputy Lieutenant for Cavan and Grenville Nugent 1st Baron Clonyn also a member of WMH was MP for Longford and Westmeath. Matt Elis Corbally was a member of both WMH and Kildare Hunt, a member of the KSC, as well as MP, Vice and Deputy of Meath Poor Law Union. Conolly himself was a Master of Hounds of the Kildares in 1846 and his brother-in-law Henry Bruen MP, Deputy

Lieutenant, High Sheriff and Justice of the Peace for Carlow was also involved in all three clubs. Other individuals who were KSC Members and hunted with the Kildares were Sir George Aylmer, Deputy Lieutenant of Kildare, and John G. Adair who spread his influence widely by being a Deputy Lieutenant for Kildare and a magistrate for Kildare, Laois and Tipperary.

While Hunt clubs were not strictly non-political it would have been unusual to find individuals in the same club with strong politically opposed opinions, although this did occasionally occur. It is however important to remember that the hunt clubs were essentially Protestant in their ethos and represent in the most obvious public performance the central control of the countryside. The Ponsonbys, (earls of Bessborough), described as one of the foremost Whig families, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century 'used hunting as the cement for their support base' (Powell, 2011:407) and the Bishopscourt Hunt based in North Kildare was largely under their leadership. Bishopscourt house is located 6 miles from Castletown and the social connection between the two house was strong through family ties with the Ponsonbys. Powell's chapter on eighteenth century hunt clubs demonstrates the pervasive nature of the hunt in the country side whether of a high social status or of the lesser gentry. The hunt club was also a clique, more than any other at this time, in the changing patterns of dominance whose membership was predominantly Protestant Ascendancy. These clubs 'shored up the Protestant dominance' although toward the end of the nineteenth century non-Protestants of the rising middle classes were joining the social elites in the hunt clubs (Powell 2011:404). From 1850 onwards the membership of hunt clubs consisted of not only aristocratic and gentry families, both men and women, but also the officers of local military barracks. Before then clergy of both persuasions hunted however, the Roman Catholic hierarchy from the 1850s restricted their clergy from this sport. By the end of the nineteenth century, hunt club memberships had become less restrictive and farmers with substantial holdings were admitted. Hunt clubs with their interest in steeplechasing would eventually introduce point-to-point racing on tracks across the country. 'The Kildare Hunt is closely linked to Punchestown, which by the 1870 had become the most popular race meeting in Ireland if not the United Kingdom' and where Conolly was an active participant. Although racing opened up memberships of the hunts to farmers, it remained until the latter end of the nineteenth century a 'landlord society event' (Dooley 2001:59).

Hunt clubs were not exclusively limited to the active pursuit of an animal. Their interests extended to entertainment and socializing that in the beginning included a range of clubbable activities much of which involved dining and drinking. 'The eighteenth century hunt clubs were casual ad hoc even disorganised affairs' (Powell 2010:392) but the nineteenth century saw the consolidation of strict rules and regulations. This included membership fees

and collective dining and most of the previously spontaneous chases by powerful landowners were gathered into organised meets. The tightening of rules regulating conduct and the ordering of every aspect of life became stronger as the century progressed; the chaotic eighteenth century was being left behind. In the nineteenth century, most meets would begin at 9 am or later. Given the devotion to the social activity following the meet dinner that occurred on the evening before the meet, the later start would have been easier on the members. Some clubs, noting a tendency to excesses, introduced a controlling element that restricted alcoholic intake and the number of courses and some also banned gambling at the dinner table. Powell suggests that the regulation of the excesses of the clubs through the use of rulebooks, formalised meetings, and membership fees 'transformed the hunt into a more structured and equitable pastime consistent with the codes and hierarchies of Irish rural society' (Powell 2010: 394). The excesses that the clubs were prone such as 'drinking, toasting and singing', gave rise to ridicule by its own social class and comments occasionally made their way into the newspapers. An article in the *Northern Star* by the United Irish leader Wolfe Tone in the late eighteenth century argues that 'it is something more than ridiculous to see a set of country squires hot from the chase, flushed with wine and still more intoxicated with an idle and imaginary idea of their own consequence' (Powell, 2010:406). This activity could not have endeared them to the local farming community and would have highlighted the gap in their lifestyles.

The social scene surrounding the hunt was an important social component and the role of the hunt master was especially significant. The hunt master in the early years of hunting usually owned the club's pack of hounds and would paternalistically manage the governance of meetings and the seasonal entertainment. In the eighteenth century, Squire Tom Conolly (1752-1802) was one of Kildare Hunt masters and had his own pack at Castletown. By the nineteenth century, socializing extended to hunt balls, puppy shows, house parties, breakfasts, steeplechasing and point-to-point races and entertainments, some directed toward fundraising. These events were occasionally held at the hunt master's home but often at the largest hotel in the area where the hunt clubs dined and danced during the season, from September to April, but would also convene for social events during the remainder of the year. Conolly's pleasure in the hunt balls and the young women he meets are evident in his comments in the many exclamation points that accompany them. An example is shown here from a May evening.

19 [May] Thursday
Up very late 11.30
Ride with Mary! Leslies-
Miss Goodlake, Miss White Le
Dine at home most comfortably
Mr Mildneay's-

Miss Bailey !!!!!!!!!!

Miss Medina Stratheden & Ld Salisbury

Ly Campbell's ball very good [underlined with a squiggle]

O Leinster Square 4 o'clock

(Conolly Diaries 1853).

Dease reports that the Kildare Hunt annually visited the Castlepollard area (Tullynally Castle) and 'worshiped Diana by day and Bacchus by night' (Dease 1898:5). The associated social scene was the most important aspect of the hunt and unlike most of the other networking hubs, the hunting scene included women and young children with a mix of ages of friends and family. This was where the networking of the members' lives came together most visibly and would facilitate the meeting of younger members with a view to advantageous social and political connections if not potential marriages. It also involved the wider non elite groups as well as the public, who acted as an audience for the performance of the hunting landscape that in turn included the wider physical landscape as a backdrop, the geography acting as a very large stage set.

Hunting was, and still is, an expensive sport to indulge in and as a result, not only an indicator of the social position of the individuals competing but of their financial status. Vital to an active involvement in hunting was the freedom to indulge in the sport and this was not only down to finances; one required a highly leisured lifestyle because many clubs hunted up to six days a fortnight and some even more frequently. In the 1868 season the WMH club met 80 days, from October to April, but in other years if the weather were poor this dropped to as few as 48 (Dease 1898: 45). Indulging in hunting and its companion sport of point-to-point would also require a considerable financial outlay and necessitate a number of mounts, duplication of clothing, equipment and support staff.

Apart from the personal expense of individual members, the running of a hunt club involved a support team employed on a permanent or casual basis. The 'team' consisted of a huntsman who bred and cared for the pack of hounds, managed by whippers-in during the meet, and who ensured there were foxes to hunt, farmers and earth-stoppers who on the night before the meet blocked drains, shores, and rabbit holes of the farms under their control to prevent the fox from 'going to ground' and on the day of the hunt, beaters were stationed at strategic points in the field. The team also included grooms, saddle and harness makers and purveyors of straw, fodder and oats, blacksmiths, farriers and vets and those employed managing the care and breeding of horses. (Norton 1991 and Lewis 1975 and Baily's 1953 and Greaves c1950). One job that was highly valued was the cultivating and maintaining of fox coverts. Their strategic

importance can be seen in both of the hunting maps mentioned and were marked as green islands in a sea of agricultural fields. There were over 116 fox coverts shown in the Kildare Hunt area shown below in the map (Figure 6.5) and over eighty in the Meath, Ward and parts of Louth hunting area. Geographically, these components of hunt cultures represented the cultivation of a specific environment to encourage fox habitats and occasionally the actual breeding of fox. These artificial landscapes comprised small islands of 5-6 acres of gorse or small stands of trees 'with thick undergrowth of ferns and brambles' with artificial earths to encourage natural reproduction. This changed the historic landscape of the Eastern counties of Ireland to a similar arrangement to the fashionable hunting centre of England, Melton Mowbray (Lewis 1975:106). These changes were brought about under the direction of the landowner usually one who also hunted. The networks of coverts in some hunting areas were within a two-mile radius of each other giving a guaranteed gallop 'as the quarry ran from covert to covert' (Lewis 1975:109). Fenced off, either by a physical barrier such as a wall or a wooded area, they stood in the landscape as a reminder of the control of the landlord and his leisure pursuits. Figure 6.5, shows the location of Fox Coverts under the control of the Kildare Hunt. (the full list is in Appendix VI.). In total, they numbered nearly 100 and some remain as distinct areas in the landscape in the present day.

Those hunt clubs that survive into the present day had their origins in the subscription hunts of the nineteenth century. Yearly subscriptions reflected a change in the financial acumen of the power elites and the considerable financial output required in running a club. By the mid-nineteenth century, this meant that most hunt clubs were no longer controlled by a wealthy landowner and were, instead, financed through subscription. In addition, there was also 'field money' to be paid of around 1shilling per person but even then, this 'might not cover costs' (Dease 1898:37). The Westmeath Hunt club in 1854 was the first in Ireland to introduce such subscriptions and in the mid-century varied from £600 to £800 divided between 12 to 42 members (Dease 1898:27). This change from single management, where one individual managed the club to subscription, where everyone had a stake and collectively financed the club, reflects the changing fortunes of the landowning classes following the Famine 1845-47. Even later, the consequences of the agricultural slump in the 1870s and 1880s meant that those at the top of the elite community were not able to cater for all of the expenses involved in hunt meets. With the coming of the subscription clubs the master was chosen by members and was often the individual with the largest land bank coupled with the greatest interest and as with the single owner clubs remain as Master for a number of years or throughout his active hunting life. Sir John Kennedy was Master of the Kildare Hunt from 1814 until 1841 and these 27 years represent considerable staying power that involved organizational skills as well as a good income. When the Roman Catholic clergy were barred by their church from hunting in the

1870s, this not only cut the membership and subscription fees but broke the connection between the church hierarchy and the power elites unless of course this included family members, which it frequently did.

On top of all the expected outlay of the sport of hunting, unexpected costs also occurred where farmers or individuals had to be paid for damage or injury to their property or persons. In the nineteenth century, a great many clubs, were forced to defray such charges with extra money on top of the yearly subscriptions adding to overall costs. To cover these secondary costs, the hunt clubs held fund raising events (Dease 1898: 53). Not every farmer in the area was happy to cooperate with the hunt crossing the lands they owned or rented because of the damage that could be caused. Nonetheless those of the farming community who were not compliant with the ethos of hunting were 'spoken to firmly' and offered subsidies to help with any issues they had. 'Few hunts could operate without the support of all classes in the countryside' (Dooley 2001:58) and in a conciliatory and deferential action the clubs made payments to those who had suffered damage to their lands during a chase that included the replacement of fowl and the repair of fencing. It is in this one instance there is a glimpse of the presence of women, as their names appear on a list for money contributed toward payment of damages. The issues of extended co-operation by the agricultural community were not required at the same level, if at all, with another important leisure activity of the high Victorian period, a shooting party, which was usually limited to one highly managed parkland.

In addition, the number of horses required increased depending on the number of days spent hunting. At the very least, two horses would be required for a long day; therefore, ten horses would be needed if one were hunting 5 days in the fortnight. This was a modest number for some who could hunt, race or ride everyday if the clubs of which they were members had a meet. The Marquess of Waterford master of the Carraghmore hunt, had a stable of 80 horses: 13 hunters for himself, 21 for his 'hunt servants' plus those for Lady Waterford, who also hunted, young horses in training and finally the carriage horses (Lewis 1975:113). Travelling to meets was another expense incurred: for most meets by carriage and train, but sometimes directly by train conveniently arranged by the railway company to accommodate a hunt meet close to the line. In the mid nineteenth century, special trains from Broadstone on the Midland Great Western Line were laid on for hunt members, servants and horses for 10s from Dublin to the closest station to the meets organised.

Clothing specific to hunting which included tailor made jodhpurs and hunting coats and hats was another expense but if the meet included an overnight stay one would be required to dress for dinner, the house party to follow and additional clothing for any other type leisure

activity. Some individuals might have their own valet and grooms to care for his horses. Performance at the time of the meet would have been paramount. Dease (1898) repeatedly references dashing riders in his book on the Westmeath Hunt. Another very important factor that would be noticed by all classes of viewers was the cut of the costume by both men and women, coming a close second to how one conducted oneself in the field. The nuances of clothing were most visible as the meeting assembled; both men and women wore top hats and frock coats with the Master wearing a 'pink' coat, presumably for visibility. Although ready to wear clothing was becoming more available, most hunting clothing would have been tailor made.[58] This regular hunting performance by the elite assembling and riding through the field would have impacted repeatedly on psyche of the workers and tenants where the hunt was held on successive days during the season. The farming groups who were the viewers of these meets across the landscape would have observed a powerful demonstration of class practices and the effect of this may have had a variety of reactions depending on one's political allegiances and the economic dependence to the landowner. Either way this was a demonstration of power. In the nineteenth century with the landowners controlling many aspects, if not all, of rural life it was essential to perform the appropriate deference gestures as the hunt assembled or rode by regardless of one's personal view. This may also have been the only time many rural people came in direct contact with the power elite in full performance mode and in such a dramatic circumstance would be sure to create a strong reaction. The display of material wealth by the elite through the hunt in terms of horses and clothing demonstrated to those in the non-elite group the differences in life style reinforcing the perceived power of the performance (Barnard 1997 and 2005).

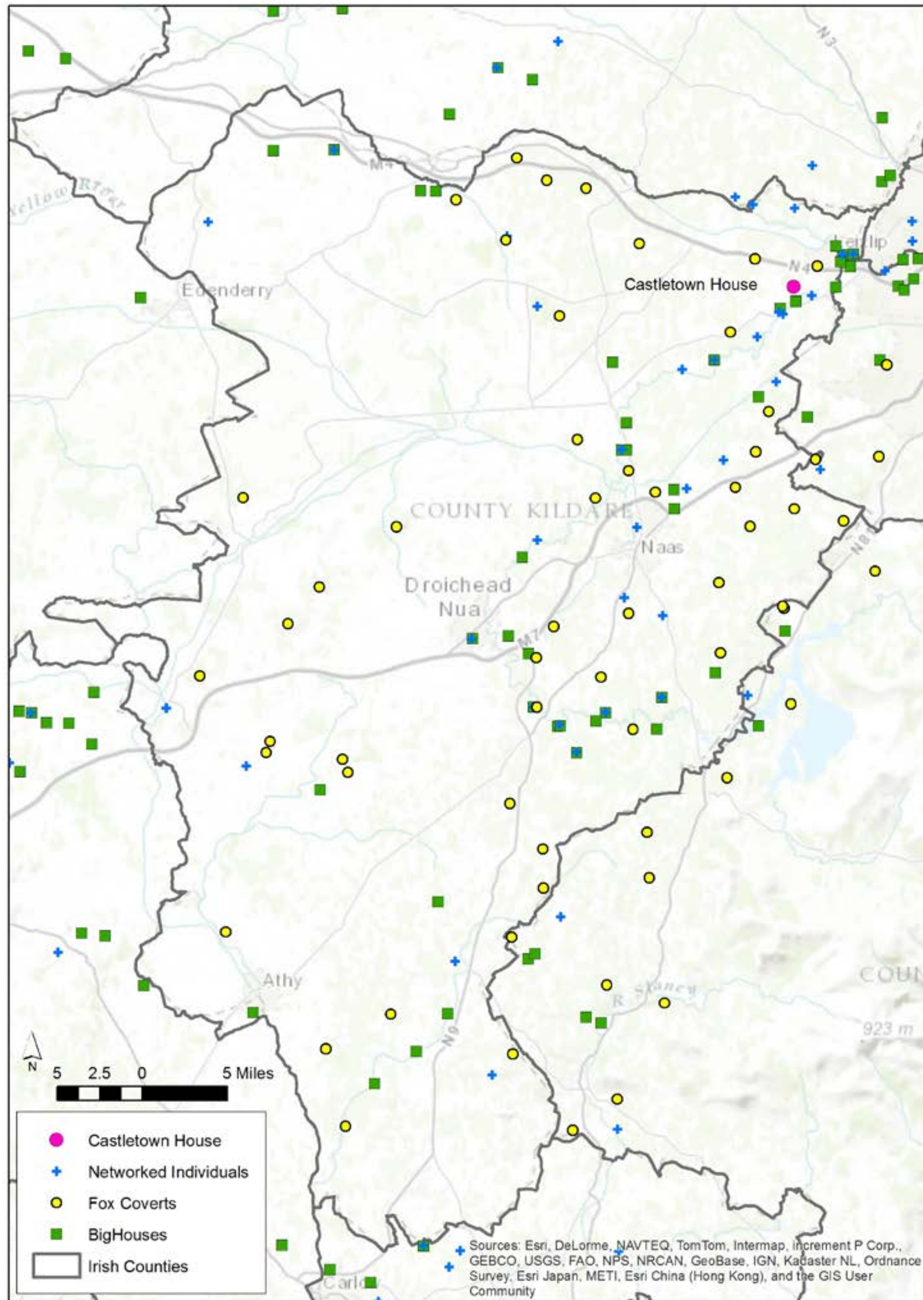

Figure 6.5 Kildare Hunt Map 1865

Most of the landed power elite subscribed to hunt clubs, although they might not hunt for a variety of reasons and these non-hunting members formed an interested and vital cohort. They supported the clubs' activity by generally keeping their lands in good condition and by providing suitable locations for coverts for fox breeding and importantly participated in the social side hosting the ball and dinner (Fitzpatrick 1878). The meets of the Kildare Hunt in the

map above (Figure 6.5) shows the homes and locations against the backdrop of the county. This demonstrates that despite being geographically separated on their demesnes the elites were not isolated, they were regularly meeting in the topographical landscape supporting each other and performing their elite positions.

The hosting of the hunt related house parties, with up to 20 house guests, took a great deal of skilled management to carry off successfully and the role of women and the private performance of power comes into play as discussed earlier. If a hunt meet were to take place over a number of days on the lands surrounding an estate, accommodation would have been provided in the main house for prominent members who were travelling a distance to attend. Other members were found accommodation in the surrounding area in other houses and inns. Powell (2010) reports that the Kilkenny club met for two weeks, which would have required considerable planning where accommodation was concerned. This would require extra indoor staff as well as outdoor workers required for the care and stabling of members' horses staying at the house or attending the meets. Once a meet was organised for a particular area the impact on the local community would have been unavoidable and here it was important for the land owner or the land agent to manage the small acts of deference to assure compliance. It would at times be difficult for hunts to go ahead if the community became involved in active protest as did occur from time to time.

Collectively these hunts were the largest single employer in the nineteenth century. Both Fitzpatrick (1878) and Lewis (1975) are in agreement that hunting was the largest source of agricultural income in rural areas during this time. Employees would have formed a large cohort with a vested interest in compliance, contributing to the preservation of the physical landscape, providing a habitat for the fox and a focus for the interests of the RDS (Lewis 1975 and Greaves c1950). Due to the extent of the geographical locations various hunts commissioned hunt maps for the members locating the meets, and fox coverts across the club's area (*Map of the Kildare hunting district* 1865 (NLI Conolly Papers16. H.14(11)) and *Map of the Meath, Ward and part of the Louth hunting district (ND)* (NLI Conolly Papers MS 45,746*)*. These maps show that those in privileged positions of power moved regularly through the landscape in the performance of their everyday life. The Meath, Ward and Louth map of three separate hunt clubs indicated more than 254 separate meet locations of which more than 59 were country houses[59]. The Kildare Hunt in their published members map indicated 33 meet locations for assembly in the 1865 season in their hunting area, nearly entirely in Co Kildare. The map above (Figure 6:5) shows the 33 different locations for meets. (the list is also shown in Appendix VII).

Hunt clubs, far from being discreet about their memberships and meets scheduled up to six days a week, regularly advertised in contemporary newspapers, left cards with other clubs and in hotels. Conolly's diary contains a loose postcard informing him of the dates of the Galway Blazers. The following advertisement appeared in the *Leinster Express*, perhaps in order to encourage new members, where the Kildare Hunt informs its members 'that there is every prospect of their having a busy time of it as the country is, literally speaking, full of the varmint' (*Leinster Express* October 1864), the varmint in question being the fox.

Advertising in newspapers was not new; in the eighteenth century hunt, clubs maintained a close association with the newspapers of the time (Powell 2010:402). In the nineteenth century the *Weekly Irish Times* and the *Freeman's Journal* regularly reported the hunting activities of the power elite across the country and the *Kildare Observer* provided information on forthcoming meets locally. Figure 6.6 shows a newspaper report of a Kildare Hunt meet at Castletown listing the attendees, some of the social elites in Ireland (*The Weekly Irish Times* 19 February 1875). The elites were facilitated at every turn because of their spending power a fact not lost on the fledgling railway companies.

KILDARE HOUNDS.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

The Kildare hounds met on Saturday at Castletown, the seat of Mr Thomas Conolly, M P. There was a large attendance, including Captain Mansfield, master; the Marchioness of Drogheda and the Ladies Fitzgerald, the Marquis of Kildare, the Earl of Clonmell, Lord M Fitzgerald, Lord Cloncurry, Hon E Lawless, Major-General Irwin; Mr Alexander Kirkpatrick, Mr Frederick Henry, Mr Fleetwood Rynd, Captain Richard Mansfield, Major and the Hon Mrs Barton, Mr Percy LaTouche, Lady Annette LaTouche, Hon Mary Lawless, Mr Samuel Mills, Mr W Mills, Alderman James Lambert, Mr James Whitelaw, Mr Thomas Whitelaw, Mr Hugh Henry, Mr Richard Moore, Captain R St Leger Moore, 12th Lancers; Colonel and Mrs Fellowes, Mr Mitchel Cullen, Mr M Cullen, jun; Mr Thomas Jobson, &c. Found fox at Castletown Wood, and ran him very fast through Cullin's gorse to Griffinrath, and was eventually lost close to Mr Barker's of Ardlass. No find at Lodge Park. Found at Straffan, the fox went away at once over the wall through Lodge Park, and into the open country, close to Taghadoe cover, and to ground in the earth at Cullin's gorse, which had been burrowed into by the rabbits. Turniny's cover as usual held a good fox, and there was a short gallop to the wall at Straffan, which terminated the day's sport. The scent throughout was not good.

Figure 6.6 Kildare Hounds meet at Castletown *Irish Times* 1872

Throughout Ireland, military barracks were additional settings from where the hunt clubs in the surrounding countryside drew temporary members. A high number of military officers, generally speaking sons of the elite, were members of hunt clubs but gentry families were represented in higher numbers. By mingling with the local elite, they could form important connections for their future career prospects. This ranged from duty assignments, post military job prospects and marriages. For the officer class the hunt clubs provided a seamlessly integrated entre into local elite society (Hunt 2007). Typically, the Westmeath Hunt was often joined by the officers of the military barracks at Mullingar and the Kildare Hunt by officers from the Curragh (Dease 1898). Other sports including fishing and shooting, racing, polo, tennis and cricket offered similar benefits. However, 'the key to entry into the landed gentry recreation was the social status of the individual officer' rather than any political or religious affiliations but this would have been true of any potential member (Hunt 2007:27).

The impact of the hunt was deeply embedded in rural seasonal customs for the farming community and would have provided a demonstration of the elite in full performance mode. These power performances with expensive clothing and horses were also coupled with a willingness on the part of both elites and farmers to co-operate in the smooth running of meets that occurred in an area on a rotating basis (Dease 1989).

The Kildare Hunt

Thomas Conolly was an enthusiastic member of the Kildare Hunt and his 1853 diary indicated that much of his time was taken up with this sport around Ireland and reported hunting 30 days during the season to which he brought his own horses.. This was often facilitated by the now defunct local railway companies across the country on trains especially hired for the event. In 1847, he had taken part in the point-to-point at the Garrison Sweepstakes for the Hunt Cup, which was mainly for officers and Kildare Hunt members and was won by Mr Kirkpatrick. Conolly's light-hearted attitude to coming third in a field of four was shown in his comment regarding the quality of Mr Fitzpatrick's horse Clinker 'we might as well have been mounted on donkeys' (Mayo and Boulton 1913:181). His high level of commitment to hunting involved a sizeable outlay both financially and materially for anyone and Conolly recorded that he owned 12 horses for his personal use (Conolly Diaries 1863). Considering that this activity was parallel to his responsibilities as an MP in London, this represents a considerable amount of travel back and forth during the season. Indeed, in the other diaries he seems to have spent most of his leisure time attending hunt meets mainly in Leinster and the attendant point-to-point race meetings.

This painting ‘The Corinthian Cup’ by Hayes (1823-77) (Figure 6.7) shows the point-to-point scene at Punchestown, a venue begun and supported by the Kildare hunt and its’ supporters in 1850. Point to point racing brought in those farmers who were not in a financial or material position to join the hunt proper but nevertheless enjoyed the sport.

Figure 6.7 ‘The Corinthian Cup’ 1854 by Michael Angelo Hayes (1823-77)

The fact that hunting was full of risk and adventure is evident from this entry of March 1851 in the *History of the Kildare Hunt*, which noted ‘Ran from Levittstown to the Barrow and back to Covert again, across the Barrow and killed at Archdeacon Trench's. Tom Conolly nearly drowned swimming the river’ (Mayo and Boulton 1913:195). As the reading of his diaries indicate, this adventure would have greatly appealed to Conolly and hunting was an important facet in his life, even while on holiday in Italy in 1871. In 1872 he reinvented the first floor east wing stables at Castletown creating a clubroom for the après hunt diversions for the Kildare Hunt. In the year of the refurbishment, a newspaper notice reported a meet at Castletown attended by a number of elite individuals among them Lord Lieutenant Earl Spencer and the Countess, Lord Cloncurry, Earl Clonmell, the Mansfields, Baron De Robeck, Sir Edward Kennedy (the hunt Master) and Mr. Colgan MP among a multitude of other members and of course Conolly himself as host (*The Irish Times and Daily Advertiser* January 1872). His network of connections through the hunt clubs extended into the KSC where 80 of its members belonged to either Kildare Hunt or the Westmeath Hunt Club. His brothers and cousins were also members of either of these two hunt clubs. This relational network to hunting also spread,

in the case of a few individuals, as far as the Carlton in London. In Conolly's diaries there are also notes of trips to race meetings at Aintree, located near Liverpool, while enroute to London.

As previously discussed, the hunt meets had a significant impact on the countryside where it was being held and in addition, required a high degree of co-operation with the tenants. 'Few hunts could operate without the support of all classes in the countryside' and tenants, their families and surrounding small landholders were heavily involved with the preparation for hunts and on the day of the meet (Dooley 2001:58). The elites also needed to present a unified presence and in order for geographically distant groups to present, the same set of principles there must be coordination and co-operation between them to consolidate their unified front. One example of the co-operation between elites can be found in the history of the Kildare Hunt (Mayo and Boulton 1913). Dr Reuchan, then the principal of Maynooth College, wrote to the hunt master Lord Clonmell on July 8, 1854.

> Dr Reuchan presents his compliments to the Earl of Clonmell and begs to inform him that the sewer about which he spoke to the College Porter a few days ago shall be secured with bars, so as not to be available for Reynard [fox] as a refuge, nor likely to spoil another day's sport (Mayo and Boulton 1913:217).

The Westmeath Hunt (WMH)

Typically, the Westmeath Hunt, established informally in 1800, had an aristocratic base with membership consisting of aristocrats and gentry families who were large and middling landowners. With long-term connections to the area and related by blood and marriage to the resident landowners, they had already been hunting with the Kildare, Kilkenny or Meath Hunts for generations. By 1854 the WMH was formally established, and listed 42 members, with the aristocratic landowners continuing to be at the forefront, becoming hunt Masters, sponsoring and housing packs and venues for the hunt meets. Their carousing extended après hunt to egg flip and hot punch served in stable buckets (Dease 1898:13). Maria Edgeworth, whose family were actively involved in hunting was scandalised by these activities and used this theme to moralise in her books particularly *Castle Rackrent* (1800).

Toward the end of the century Conolly's brothers and cousins were active members of the WMH and his cousin, Lord Longford, became Hunt Master. Conolly mentions that he had been hunting with members of the WMH club but he is not recorded as a member of the

Westmeath Hunt. It is quite likely that he would have ridden with them on occasion, paying field money to cover his inclusion in the meet.

The annual running costs of the WMH, with the payment divided among members, was £600, a considerable sum at the time. The hunt was not active during the Famine as the landowners were essentially 'keeping themselves and their poorer neighbours alive' (Dease 1898:12). That is not to say hunting did not take place, simply in a much more scaled down and ad hoc arrangement organised by a landowner and locally attended. Throughout the year, hunt balls occasionally took place in a member's house such as Ballinglough Castle, or at Levington, home of the master Sir Richard Levinge but, by the end of the century the annual events were more regularly held in a Mullingar hotel and Conolly recorded attending hunt balls with the WMH. Fund raising, necessary in the 1870s were somewhat more sedate affairs than in previous decades and a 'Phantasmagorical Representation' was offered of 'Chromatropes' showing the French War, together with other beautiful and interesting pictures, in other words a slide show, 'for 1 shilling or 2 shillings for the best seats' (Dease 1898: 72).

The Ward Union Hunt

The Ward Union hunt, considered the premier hunt club in Ireland, was established in 1854 using the same countryside as the Dublin, Kildare, Louth and Meath hunts. They took over the Ward country in North County Dublin, where two older clubs had hunted, The Dubber and the Hollywood, active in 1823. Lord Howth in 1840 brought staghounds over from England, which were supported through subscription by interested Dublin garrison officers. This group was known as the Garrison Hounds until 1842 when all three amalgamated to become the Ward Union Staghounds. This club had always been exclusively interested in hunting deer and a detailed description of the preparation for a hunt in the early twentieth century indicates that the native Irish Red Deer herd was, and is in the present day, maintained for hunting.[60] Elizabeth Fingall in her memoir said of hunting in the country surrounding her estate at Killeen Castle in Meath 'If you didn't hunt in Meath you might as well be dead' thus indicating that everyone was so taken up by hunting there was little else to do (Hinkson 1991:98).

In the main, this thesis has discussed the larger high profile fox hunting clubs but supplementary to these clubs were the smaller harrier clubs that were only drag hunts. The interest in hunting spread outwards to hunting enthusiasts who may or may not have belonged to the bigger clubs. Harrier clubs were much more localized than the big clubs and the pack was often owned by one individual. The South Dublin Harriers for instance limited their reach to just the region that their name implies. The members of these harrier clubs were gentry and

farmers but this did not mean that the local aristocratic landowners were above joining in on the excitement particularly if the bigger club was not meeting. Thus the linkages of social networks at different levels of elite status reinforced the social order and compliance by this gentry group. Indeed, the harrier clubs often proved a useful arena for schooling young horses before they took part in the meets of the bigger clubs (Norton 1991).

Conclusion

This chapter has focused primarily on the types of clubs and associations that acted as the next layers up beyond the base layers of the family networks in the networking of power in mid nineteenth century Ireland. In documenting their wider importance in the production and maintenance of the social network, Thomas Conolly has also been mapped out as sitting comfortably, prominently even, in a number of the key nodes and connector lines of these relational spaces. That strong position was cemented by his membership of several of the physically imposing elite gentlemen's clubs that represented high social and cultural capital for their members. The club memberships enhanced the individual's high social and cultural capital by the association with others of similar capital (Kendall 2008). The club members were 'composed of men whose positions enabled them to transcend the ordinary environments', and their status allowed them to make decisions that have far reaching consequences across society (Mills, 1957:1).

Conolly's club memberships and associations, such as the KSC, RDS and Carlton were clear examples of both his networked geography, and the specific material roles of such clubs as nodes and connectors. Yet the clubs enhanced and transcended their material locations and merged into the intangible cultural capital of the respective members increasing the common ground of both arenas. Without the deeply nuanced cultural capital, networking would not have worked so smoothly. The key phrase here was 'one of us', and the importance of that inclusive term was paramount - in terms of class, identity and inclusion - to the mechanism and behaviours that sustained the power of the network.

The specific examination of the membership lists of the main gentlemen's and social clubs in this study, in particular the KSC, but also the RDS, has revealed that both the elite and non-elite clubs were filled with men in positions of civic and state authority and social influence. By further mapping Conolly on to these clubs, we can place him directly onto those spaces and connections. In the database evidence shows that a large percent of members had similar social and family connections, they belonged to the same variety of clubs and held similar civic appointments. With such a small elite population in Ireland this is to be expected,

however, the most striking data identified was that the majority of all the clubs' members also had large houses and demesnes. This was the evidence that supported the main argument of this thesis, that while the homes of the elite may have been geographically dispersed, their social, leisure and associational activities were tightly networked both spatially and culturally as the map above has demonstrated. This confirmed that much of the wider relational geographies, under the management of these highly influential individuals and their families, became also a significant expression of the control of political and cultural hegemony.

The next chapter looks beyond these more formal networks of association, through a fuller analysis of Conolly's social and leisure pursuits, with a specific focus on 'performance' as a way to tease out more fully some of the core mechanisms by which the networks operated within informal and everyday settings. While discussed in this and earlier chapters as spaces of connection, the importance of equine associations and hunting in particular will be more fully explored as a performative component of the networks of the elite in the next chapter.

Chapter 7
The performance of the power elite within their hierarchies:
Thomas Conolly's Everyday Social Practices

Part One: Performing Power

Performance in place and space can tell us much about dominant identity and status and how power is enacted through practices of inclusion and exclusion, consumption, materiality and mobility. Performance is exactly the same as identity and we perform who we are in the space and place of our lives. Identity is bound up in the idea of the location and is not random in nature: rather it is formed and performed (Johnson 2002:12). How individuals come to see themselves is dependent on performances of others and of an environment where the performances occur. Identity is an assumed façade we construct around us and takes the form of a performance; one that reflects the idea of role-play. People present a public image; they display a public performance for a particular situation or a persona appropriate to a work environment, for example employees smile at customers for the benefit of the positive image they wish to project, for themselves or for their employer's image. In traditional societies, historically one was given a fixed identity where predefined social roles provided orientation within a clan system. One lived and died within a fixed kinship system and one did not undergo identity crisis or modification of that identity (Kellner 1992:141). As society changed so too did the relationships to one's clan and the concept of individual identity began to be accepted as part of each person.

According to Weber 'our identity in society is first governed by our family status and later upon our level of wealth and/or education' (Weber 1958:180). By the twenty first century we are now free to choose how we present ourselves to others, which may be entirely different to the identity we accepted as children. Individual identity was based on different criteria of social practice and was the outcome of deliberate and unconscious acts of perception, appreciation, cognition and recognition in which the individuals 'demonstrate their social, and political symbolic capital through emblems, flags, and badges' (Bourdieu 1982: 220). This is a direct reference to the uniforms of a variety of occupations and in acts such as parades, and ritual acts such as hunting, dining, and through gestures specific to the event. Once all of these collective practices are acknowledged by society the symbolic properties of the rituals, good and bad, 'can be used emblematically' in the interests of the performer (Bourdieu 1982: 220).

In Proudfoot's (2000) discussion of hybrid spaces, the how and by whom different types of identities were viewed and with what outcomes, could not be addressed in the abstract, rather it lies in the social context of the performance. The personal biography of family, education, taste, experience and status leads to a self-constructed identity and with it the performances to demonstrate their identity to the viewer. Identity politics 'must be situated

historically' and includes 'personal fantasies' which are processed and rearranged according to the meaning of space and place (1997:10).

The performance of the elites represents one form of the production of power, through which privileged positions were demonstrated by, in part, separating the elites from the masses. Pivotal in the examination of the power of the ruling authority is how that power is manifest in the landscape. Landscape in the broadest sense of *location*, was where performances of power were enacted and crucially, made visible or at least where identifiable spatial components were made visible. As has been discussed throughout this thesis and identified in the database, those in the highest strata of society attended the same schools and universities, belonged to the same clubs and institutions, spoke confidently with a similar accent and linguistic skills and had families that inter-married, creating a tight social network of likeminded individuals. These cultural similarities were one component in the visible display of the power of privilege.

The different social and cultural practices within the elite power networks were also visible in everyday repeated daily performances that on another level were the glue that secured power in place. The stage sets of their homes are obvious platforms for demonstrating power but then, coupled with the accessories of their lives: clothing, horses, carriages and deference by the non-elite group, the social, cultural and economic differences are highlighted. While some of these performances were short lived, even ephemeral, they were 'enacted in the tangible material spaces that left 'lingering components' of powerful impressions on the viewer (Foley 2010:11). These cultural and social elements are largely treated in the historical and geographical historiography, deservedly so, as complex individual issues. However, up until now their role in cementing routine social connectivity has not been examined in-depth or in-place. Starting with Conolly at the centre of the case study, his home, Castletown House, was part of a socially constructed demesne landscape, which in turn was thickly/intensively networked to other friends, and family who were also located on their own parklands. Imagine a spider's web of connectivity linking the elites and the power hubs across Ireland that also stretched across the Irish Sea to England and even beyond. These links are shown in a connectivity map in Chapter 6 (Fig 6.1) and finally in a diagram drawing all of Conolly's networks together in the Conclusion (Fig 8.1). These mobile links or networks were never closed, constantly reordering themselves across space and time

(Massey 2005). They moved out from the power hubs of country houses to institutional and club premises that were part of a ripple effect building up waves of connectivity. It is in the clubs where they strengthened/maintained their other connections of education and sport such as hunting and racing. In developing the idea that there are other linkages or processes beyond individual and collective association, other elements in the wider performance of power that operated to cement those associations have been suggested. Initially in the first part of the chapter, part A, some of these specific processes are introduced and in part B the remainder will detail some key 'performances', familial, social and leisure-based, that helped cement the place of Thomas Conolly within the power elite.

Social Magic

Social magic is generated through a combination of presenting the right form of speech and gesture within a circle of individuals who are also of the same social status. Power is transmitted too through the combination of confidently spoken directions and gestures using formal and sophisticated linguistic styles and the appropriate dress code from uniforms, robes of office or hunting apparel. An element of mystery is also involved when beautifully dressed individuals are briefly glimpsed and going about leisured activities is thrown into the mix, suggesting exclusivity and heightened cultural status.

In considering how performance was identifiable as a process in the social production of power, Bourdieu (1982) uses the intriguing phrase 'social magic', where all the conditions are right for that power to operate. Social magic is conveyed through speech, discourse, performance of officially prescribed rites, ceremonial etiquette, code of gestures and symbolic authority. These staged performances were part and parcel of Thomas Conolly's life: banquets or semi-public dinners and balls in hotels, processions to Dublin Castle for social events, the enclosed areas at race meetings, annual society outings, the agricultural shows where the owners gave and received prizes, military displays, hunt meets, coming of age celebrations and weddings. All of these different spectacles that involve performances were highly effective as ritualized platforms framing the power by making it visible, while the audiences to whom the performance were directed either openly or tangentially, internalized their effect to such an extent that they 'conform or comply with them' (Allen 1999:203). The visible manifestation of power is part of our spatial experience.

To Foucault one is born into power, one is never outside it, and there is no liminal space for those who operate outside the system (Foucault 1980:142). He offers three aspects on power that allow it to operate in benign situations, allowing the constraints to sit lightly in the

background. First, it coexists in the social body within the 'meshes of its network', a very helpful phrase in framing this thesis. Second and in terms of a relational geographical understanding, power is interwoven in the real social relationship of the everyday 'production, kinship, family and sexuality' producing an unconscious conditioning. Third, and by way of explanation, the first two aspects create 'the general conditions of domination that are organized through strategic forms' (Foucault 1980:142).

The power elite in the nineteenth century was a discrete force that, without the overwhelming media coverage of today, was largely unseen by the general public. But where seen, the display and performance of the power elite operated at very carefully chosen and staged moments; and also represented perhaps the only times when they connected 'casually' with the general public. The aristocratic and upper classes rarely walked in towns and cities unless it was in the grounds of their own homes in respectable areas and strolling for pleasure was confined to pleasure grounds and promenades in a deliberate move to separate the elite from the mass of the population. Even in the country, the elites were transported in appropriate vehicles on their estates or from place to place in the area. Late in the nineteenth century, in certain respectable parts of the city or the high streets of large towns, promenading became acceptable particularly for women when department stores began to become popular. The performances of power can be as powerful as wearing specific clothing at selected events such as uniforms or robes of office or can be as slight as wearing highly polished boots to walk in a muddy field and. Indeed, frequent changes of clothing relevant to the time of day and social setting was a feature of elite performance. Accessories for both men and women were also part of the performance: walking sticks, umbrellas jewellery, watch chains, and so on. In conjunction with the clothing and accessories is the 'display and gestures that belongs with clothes' (Westwood & Kelly 2014:310). The adjustment of a fur stole as it slips off the shoulder draws attention to its presence and its wearer as does the opening of a parasol or the wearing of gloves, when all these items were luxury material objects denoting elite status.

Performance as a way of life

The power elite believed that they were the role models for the collective identity of their culture and their time. They had a personal awareness of their status and performed the roles they had been given. Their unique and individual performances were shaped by the hierarchy they were a part of and by the settings in which they occurred, as a result they shaped the landscapes of the places where the performance occurred (Foley 2010:11). As actors on stage they saw themselves as inherently worthy of what they possessed and as they considered themselves as the natural elite 'their possessions and privilege were an extension of their elite

selves' (Mills 1956:14). Through theoretical discussions on role-play developed in the twentieth century, it has been suggested that these performances were for the most part individuals acting out their place in society to a greater or lesser extent depending on the relationships and circumstances (Arditi 1999:37). Collectively 'society' believed at that time that there was an elite stratum that controlled everything and that this elite group possessed a finer moral character (Mills 1956).

This (self-) belief of the elite as a privileged ruling stratum was perpetuated through benevolence or paternalism associated with compliance and deference of the particular prevailing hegemonic ideology. The well-known line 'the divine right of kings' is appropriate to remember here which gives a sense of how the power elite's own self-worth is above anyone not in the same class or higher. This attitude was perpetrated across the aristocratic and upper middle classes and was also largely accepted by the subordinate classes, at least superficially in their own reciprocal performances of compliance. For society in the nineteenth century the structure of class was 'obvious and explicit, there was a 'Great Chain of Being' from God down through the angels, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to the aristocratic level of dukes before reaching ordinary mortals' (Worsley 2011:4). Mills described individuals within the power elite, whose charisma allowed them to rise to celebrity status, as the 'spokesmen of God' and some acted as if it were true. Despite some reservation, Mills believed that it was largely accurate that in this period celebrities were significant creators of mass sensibility (Mills 1956:4). However, while many elites may have been perceived as having a high moral character, shaped by their upbringing in the higher stratum of society but, like individuals of any social class, they had no greater or lesser moral character anyone else. If the individual's performance is a 'recognition of the absolute legitimacy of the everyday social world' by society, this endows them with the symbolic capital which increases their status or qualification (Bourdieu 1991:238). Bourdieu describes symbolic capital as the result of the performance of authority. These people can then bring to situations 'the imposition of the legitimate vision of the social world' as a 'delegated agent of the state' (Bourdieu 1991;239).

Within their own social stratum, some members of the elite are 'selected, trained, certified and permitted intimate access to those who command the institutional hierarchies of modern society' (Mills 1956:15). As we have already noted, this selection process was, in the nineteenth century, tightly controlled in Europe and in Ireland through family, titles and old wealth, not necessarily in that order. It largely selected those within the upper class who had gone to the right schools, universities and belonged to the right club. Through this process, the elites together became 'elites of power'; those that had the most money, power and prestige and the lifestyles that reflected this positionality. Key to 'having it all' as Mills described it, were

their positions in the great institutions, coupled with the exercise of power and in acquiring and retaining wealth as well as taking advantage of the social, political and cultural capital obtained in various high status positions. Prestige - and this was an important element in the wider production of the social network - tended to be cumulative: 'the more you have the more of it you can get' (Mills 1956:10). The appointments to positions of authority throughout the nineteenth century were highly dependent on the established networks of influence already discussed previously. In the case of Conolly (and indeed Ireland more generally), these appointments around their home place and civic institutions, gave credit and validity to the individual through their pivotal placement within the power network. Broad civic authority was monopolized by the landed class partly because of the structure of the existing system but also in part to do with the limited level of education of the non-elite, or lack thereof. Education and the part it plays in access to power is true in the structure of the existing system in the present day. The Protestant Ascendancy hierarchy was so well embedded in the Irish national psyche that it was strong enough to continue to have an effect into the early twentieth century despite a much diminished power base. In other spheres beyond the civic, when the elites began to embark on prestigious careers in banking and when nascent corporations began spreading globally, echoes of those same building blocks were still operating (Brayshay et al 2007).

In Conolly's case, by belonging to the gentlemen's clubs and engaging in the socializing of the elite network those cultural norms were reinforced by being in regular contact across a range of spatial settings. In the imposition/re-imposition/enforcement of cultural norms 'all the strength of the collective' was important 'because it is performed by a delegated agent of the state that is the holder of the monopoly of legitimate power' (Bourdieu 1982:239). Each member of the power elite needed to be, at least in terms of the overarching cultural norms, an agent of the same performance. When one member failed to support the norms, he or she was outside the establishment, thereby becoming potentially powerless. Unless they could gather others to form another group, they were no longer seen as a legitimate authority and could not act as spokesperson for the delegated authority (Bourdieu 1982:239). It was not until the late nineteenth century that circumstances would arise that greater numbers of non-elite groups were able to gain power in the social, economic and political landscapes. Nevertheless, within these non-elite groups were groups of elites primarily from the majority and politically nationalist Roman Catholic population who were opposed to the existing power structure, but also included some of the old Protestant Ascendancy elites. The anti-establishment Protestant elites, some with land banks intact some not, who became influential in Nationalist politics, were given positions of power following independence, in the new government structure. An example of

this was Douglas Hyde (1860–1949) who had been a founding member of the Gaelic League and would become the first President of the Irish Free State in 1938.

Everyday Performance

Conscious and unconscious performances were part of everyday life and were nuanced according to place, consisting of a series of ‘rhythms and little ceremonies’ (Johnson 2002:12). By aestheticizing everyday life, and through cultivating the mundane by ‘effacing the boundary between the real and the image’, the landscapes of the country house reflected their owners’ cultural narratives in what some described as a form of hyper reality. This hyper reality was everywhere ‘a non-intentional parody that hovers over everything …. art ceases to be a separate reality…. the banal falls under the sign of art and becomes aesthetic’ (Featherstone 1992:267-71). Such understandings of imagined space needed to be performed through everyday practices, in other words, performance reinforced what was understood as normal and without the repeated performances, such spaces might lose their meaning (Thrift 1996). In the case of the Irish power elites, the value of the performance was to convey messages of civility and symbolic power, but importantly, reinforces in the nineteenth century context that the elite were fully in charge and in place to determine cultural hegemonies. Together with the heightened degrees of elegance in terms of manner and clothing, they contributed to that aesthetic impression of elitism and cultural capital. Yet there was a harder core to that impression and immense psychological and material work went into the production of the social self. One subtle but indispensable part of this was clothing. Clothing tells the world what we are and its power is to be found in the intimate way it bridges the gap between the image we want to convey and the outer world. Coupled with the stage sets of the power hubs clothing transformed how individuals presented themselves and how they were viewed by the world (Stuart 2012).

These collective performances of everyday gestures, manners and sophisticated actions on the ‘stage set’ of the demesne had a purpose and this was to reinforce the ordered society as a cultural norm. The power elite exuded self-importance in their performances on the stage set of their lives and the embodiment of the high status of the landowner’s identity was primarily the ethic of the ‘gentleman’. What defined a gentleman only become clearer in the Victorian age with the rise of capitalism where it was necessary to discern ‘quality’ from trade for entirely elitist reasons. Although military prowess had previously been the mark of a gentleman, by the nineteenth century this had evolved to be replaced by wealth. With that came a strict code of behaviour. One had to act like a gentleman: ‘gentility functioned as an agency of social discipline’ (Harrison, 1971:126).

The performance of a gentleman in society began with their upbringing in deep layers of cultural immersion that act as useful components in the development of power networks. These performances began in elite schools and continued on into highly regulated leisure and cultural social practices. This, in combination with others of their class, brought an enormous degree of coherence to the authority of the power elite even though they were sometimes geographically dispersed (Thompson 1980). If hierarchies were scattered and dispersed, then the power was disjointed but in a small country such as Ireland, it was relatively easy for the elite to form a coherent group.

Of paramount importance was the role of women in the creation of the stage set and to maintain the family networks and the performance surrounding such maintenance. Visiting, as a form of active mobility, was essential to this maintenance and 'big houses were planned for spacious living' and a 'centre of hospitality of country life and society' (Dooley 2001:44). The power elite were broadly united by co-ordination, sometimes in more deliberate ways such as at times of crisis, e.g. a threat to the ownership of land. In other circumstances it was a co-operative ethic that appreciated that several interests 'could be more easily realised when working together either formally or informally' (Mills 1958:19). Conolly's speeches in the House of Commons on the threat to the landlord classes during the major reforms of the mid nineteenth century go some way to illustrate how he was united with his peers at times of crisis. His more collegial and communal performances in everyday life are described in more detail below. In this way he moved between both seemingly closed (family and elite clubs) and open networks (racing and balls), but the relationship between public and private performance was still one that supported and maintained cultural norms and power.

Speaking with the right accent

Speech was an important element of performance; one's accent or dialect is an example of embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986). The aristocratic and upper middle class Irish or English individual spoke not only with vested authority, they spoke with an accent different from the general public, the accent of the historic ascendancy class. Within the elite groups, their families, their English public school education, and even the established Irish 'prep' schools generated and reinforced the use of highly stereotyped language and speech patterns. This would have underscored the delegated authority vested in the spokesmen of the English and Irish establishment such as Conolly. In the formal use of words, the linguistic differences, and grammatical structure not used by the non-elite groups and employees, placed Conolly and his family apart from the majority of the population and firmly within the power elite. But, it should be recalled here that not all employees were from a non-elite group. Many of the

individuals who worked closely with the power elite were themselves of the same elite social group but needed to work for a living.

We cannot know what Conolly's speech patterns were like however, considering his schooling and social network among the power elite, one can suppose he did not speak with an Irish 'brogue' unless, like Lord Walter Fitzgerald, the brother of the duke of Leinster, he chose to in order to 'pass' among his demesne workers. In the eighteenth century, the desire to regulate English and to eliminate local dialects became part of the process of establishing socially acceptable speech patterns. For the elites it was particularly important to speak a 'pure' form of English. Anyone who did not use a Southern English accent, 'risked ridicule' (Bragg 2003:229). Conolly would have spoken with the 'correct' accent that even today is associated with the elite classes. As a child and later as a schoolboy at Harrow he would have been exposed to the speech patterns of the hierarchy, further reinforced when he went to Oxford.

Bourdieu (1982) considered power through language and described the power of words as nothing other than the delegated power of the spokesperson. The spokesperson, 'through his use of words and his way of speaking', testified to the power vested in him (Bourdieu 1982:107). Bourdieu believed that the substance of his discourse was not the important part of the communication of the delegated power. Despite the many grand eloquent speeches in history that contradict him: Churchill's wartime speeches and De Valera's so called comely maidens speech in 1942[61] are two such examples where the content is so important. Bourdieu went on to suggest that language represented authority and both manifested and symbolised that language and that accent was a denomination of class. The manner and substance of the use of language depended on the social position of the speaker and access to the official orthodox legitimate speech. For each group their use of language had its own stylistic features: landowners, judges, elected politicians, teachers, or priests, and indicated that these people are entrusted with delegated authority. It has been suggested that 'an Irish brogue was rarely heard in Kildare Street [Club], sometimes in Sackville Street [Club] and more frequently in the University Club' (de Vere 1972:265), a subtle way of marking out a form of narrative hierarchy across the gentlemen's clubs.

The use of rhetoric by an elite speaker sets out to 'seduce, entrap or to highlight the linguistic inferiority of the receiver' (De Certeau et al 1980). This 'other' language of the elites would most frequently have been heard by the receiving groups in connection to their positions of authority as magistrates, High Sheriff's etc. and the performance of these roles has become inextricably linked to elite speech patterns. Language also indicated the social capital of the individual and the 'reflected social capital on behalf of the group who delegated the authority'

(Bourdieu 1982:109). This manipulation of language through enunciation and grammatical differences also reinforced the differences between elites and non-elites.

The in-depth consideration of shifting symbolism of language is outside the scope of this study, but it is worth mentioning that in the background, in countries besides Ireland across Europe, there was a rising tide of the use of ethnic languages for everyday use that would come to symbolize the fall of the traditional aristocratic hierarchies. The use of Irish in the late nineteenth century by the intelligentsia of the Irish middleclass was a beginning of the rise of a literary and romantic nationalism that was a more benign development of everyday life than that of other later confrontational Nationalist politics. The Gaelic League, begun in 1893, raised the status of Irish out of what Bourdieu called the, 'ignored, denied and repressed' group and into the mainstream of Irish identity, as did other indigenous languages across Europe (Bourdieu 1982:224). Hungarians began to use Hungarian as the everyday language rather than the French of the elite class. The Irish language operated as a marker of resistance because it would have been uncommon for the power elite to be familiar with the language.

Public Spectacle

The power elite, to ensure that the cultural norms were adhered to, used a range of symbolic strategies: military parades, impressive courthouses, tenant balls and the performance of everyday life in the public eye (Bourdieu 1982:239). Conolly himself was involved with public display, as the earlier references to his carriage and silver shod horse in Paris attest. Daniels and Cosgrove (1993:59) wrote of the spectacle in Venice in the nineteenth century that 'the entire Venetian calendar was punctuated by highly choreographed public display, incorporating both citizens and visitors through a series of overlapping allegiances'. These same events could equally apply to the spectacle in Dublin, 'the second city of the Empire', and indeed most other major European cities. This public theatre bound the entire community together creating 'the body politic in rehearsing the political and moral order of the city' as ritual and ceremony held the culture together (Daniels and Cosgrove 1993:59). The most important public spectacles in Ireland during the nineteenth century were the five visits by the British monarchs to Dublin.[62] The city was decked out in flags, the key to the city and the civic sword were presented and on Queen Victoria's last visit at the turn of the century, a mock medieval castle was erected in College Green. 'The dynamic relationship between history and geography is underscored when selective re-workings of past events are interwoven into public displays which act as spatialisations of memory' (Whelan 2014: 184-860). This memory was the recreated castle that acted as a residual symbol of the time in 1649 when Royalist and Irish forces combined against Cromwellian forces. That they lost did not seem to be relevant. Public

spectacle serves to underscore 'identity narratives', they affirm the viewer of their cultural heritage, often a shared heritage, and as a result the group identity is 'both sustained and legitimised' (Whelan 2014: 184).

Performances that determine specific identities and positions within society are often expressed within landscapes and were/are, as the historian W.E. Vaughan (1994) pointed out 'occasions of spectacle'. 'Spectacle and text, image, and word have always been dialectically related not the least in theatre itself…landscape is the discursive terrain across which the struggle between different…codes of meaning construction has been engaged' (Duncan and Ley 1993:59). This quote serves to support the idea that space is created by imaginative performance in place and that different places have different spatial meanings depending on specific performances. Johnson in her study of commemorative parades suggests that on the staged drama of the public spectacle, 'collective memory is maintained as much through geographical discourses as historical ones' (Johnson 2003:57).

Performance in the landscape was a balanced choice for the elites and especially the landowners and their families. He or she must remain aloof, otherwise the respect of the workers would be lost and their allegiance would waver. Yet they still needed to be warm enough to prompt a positive response. Significantly, a visible performance by the elites was reciprocated, generally speaking, by an observable acceptance by the viewer, at whatever social level, of the power being demonstrated. In regular contact with the estate, employees 'gestures of power' such as deference were all the more important when coupled with everyday performance. Both parties needed to defer to one another for the demesne system to function smoothly. It should be remembered too that it was in the house and on the estate that the everyday interaction between the classes occurred through employment on various levels. In this way the idealised version of the big house, social practice and manners would be materially disseminated both laterally and downward and ultimately establish the aspirations of those who wanted to rise in society. Hegemony is culturally linked to deference, and is an interplay of force and consent – and arguably it's easier to see how 'force' works but it is important to consider how consent works –but both are involved with the subtle interplay of deference that depends on both giver and receiver.

Important occasions that were relevant at the local level, such as the celebration of the heir's coming of age, were powerful staged celebrations that became part of the social fabric. Although bonfires and bell ringing may have marked the birth of the heir, the coming of age ceremonies when the heir reached his twenty-first birthday, were an altogether greater

celebration of ritual, demonstrating and 'legitimizing the power of the landed estate' (McKenna, 2012) and we see this explicitly in the case of Conolly below.

Performance in Space and Place

Performance was fundamentally about the creation of a life world that the landowner wished to establish within two areas: first in place, the physical landscape, and second in a wider space, the power landscape marked out in the mid-nineteenth century when the reordering of some of Ireland's great estates occurred (Dooley 2001). Setting out an estate according to the fashion of the time also gave the creator a considerable amount of cultural capital and depending on how he went about using and displaying that capital in the spaces created, it became translatable into symbolic power (O'Kane 2004). In the past, the elite were the power brokers. They did not simply exist as rich and visible entities in isolation, but as a group that actively constructed the political, social and cultural hegemony that controlled nineteenth century society. The social culture of power elites was transmitted via symbolic capital, which in turn secured the real aspects of power into symbolic power (Bourdieu 1982: 170). This symbolic power, contained within identifiable spaces and places, was thus used to convince those around them, from equals to sub-ordinates, of a clearly imposed legitimate authority. The extent of that legitimization depended significantly on the position individuals held in these spaces (Bourdieu 1982:243). As has been discussed earlier, real power often ends up being sustained through violence, which can be both recognised and misrecognised, but with symbolic power the effect of violence is conveyed 'without any expenditure of energy' (Bourdieu 1982: 111). Delegated power was conveyed in negotiated form, through the stereotyped language, manner and gestures between those who exercised power and those who submitted to it, yet always reflected an undercurrent of symbolic violence.

Thomas Conolly's Private Life: Paternalism, Benevolence and Deference in Practice

Fundamental to all of the networked landscapes of power was the role of deference between the actors in the performance. The close links of deference and patronage can be used to suggest a definition of deference offered in a paper by Fitzmaurice (2002) on the deferential language of those seeking support of an elite patron.

> Patronage is a system defined by its own regime of practices: the tyranny of patronage is the client's reliance upon the would-be patron's inclination to favour the client and to dispense preferment in consequence. It is not a system

> in which patrons can expect to share the same rights, expectations and obligations. (Fitzmaurice 2002: 248)

.

By considering Fitzmaurice's definition patronage is enacted through deferential actions. The descriptions that follow will show how the action of deference is performed by the actors in the network. Deference was the central raison d'etre of the performances enacted on the stage of place and created the emotional space where the transmission of deference occurred. Within the layers of society lay the willingness of individuals, and those that are directly or indirectly influenced by their actions, to comply with the prevailing hegemony. Foucault offered the opinion that there were two rationales to acceptance of the exercise of power: first, love of the master and second desire for fascism (Foucault 1980:138). To rephrase this as support for the then current leadership and desire for an ordered life, may better articulate his idea. This admiration or respect for the master was linked to the concept of deference ''The master pronounces law and speaks the truth' but he also 'censors and forbids'. Compliance with the law underwrites. 'a scheme of power which is homogenous for every level…family, state, education and production' (Foucault 1980:138). The master for Foucault was inherent in the sovereignty of the individual at the top of the state hierarchy, the monarch historically, and his immediate representatives. Power was exercised through 'a speech-act' consisting of the declaration of laws and 'the discourse of prohibition'. Laws historically, according to Foucault, were to ensure the rights of sovereignty then, in the eighteenth century, used against the monarchy; 'Law is the principal mode of the representatives of power, a mode of action it is at once complex and partial' (Foucault 1980:140). This acceptance of the master and his representatives and with it the social order translated into an acceptable and accepted dominant hegemony (Foucault 1980: 140).

In the context of this thesis, the master with the sovereignty was the landowner. In the case of Conolly and as evidenced in his diaries and his documented wider roles, he performed his role as the dominant authority figure with the accepted social rituals and rhetoric appropriate to his position. Those who exercised power historically in a given situation and in the case of this study, those who wielded power were the aristocrat and upper-middle class landowners and their representatives. However, the hierarchy of deference began in the elite strata of the royal court where the aristocratic classes were received with familiarity and who would in turn then entertain and socialize with those in their own community, although many may not have been not of the same high status, nevertheless they and their families would have been sufficiently elite to be considered 'one of us' (Thompson 1963:95).

This deferential discourse was represented in nineteenth-century Ireland through dialogue between the power elite, and non-elite actors who operated within a power hierarchy of their own. Elites in Ireland in the mid-Victorian period Irish society looked to the British social structure as an example to follow. In general, 'the Irish aristocracy lived on friendlier, less formal terms with their servants, retainers and tenants than was customary in Britain', largely due to the lack of a middleclass until the later nineteenth century (Chambers 2008: 70).

Initially in the early development of deference theory, the analyses of the social interactions that prompted such deferential behaviour were considered a reflection of the attitude of the individual. However, this proved to be far too simplistic. Deference was part of a ritualized behaviour that was applied when required or as Newby (1975) described emerged 'on stage'. Deference in short, could be and often was, performed. Performance was inextricably part of deference, in some cases highly visible and in others more discreet, as in the case of a particular vocabulary by addressing those in the more powerful position with their title or other ritualized for of address or costume such as a uniform particular to the status of the position held. Those in subordinate positions also demonstrated their roles through appropriate gestures and supported the prevailing opinions of the superordinate individual. However, private, personal opinion may be at odds with behaviours and individuals were typically calculating in their actions where their jobs or livelihoods were concerned and therefore describing deference as a performance is appropriate. For those who would traditionally have been in a position of authority or at times on the receiving end of authority themselves deference was also part of a convention, hence the need to move to a more flexible position on paternalism or condescension. Elites had a vested interest in cultivating agreed rituals of behaviour as this stabilized the hierarchy and preserved their positions (Newby 1975). Society was not divided into two distinct groups, the dominators and the dominated; instead, there are multiple forms of relations, such as that of Land Agents both an employee and employer and often both socially and culturally of the same group as the land owner. These men were integrated into the strategies of dominance (Foucault 1977). Without these strategies a negative resistance identity may have developed as Castells has suggested (Castells 1997) throwing the balance of society into turmoil.

By moving away from 'unstable coercive relationships' and into ones 'that rest on a stable system of legitimate authority', societies worked together to create cohesive systems (Weber (1864-1920) quoted in Newby 1975:146). The rise to dominance by an individual or group into a power group created deferential behaviour and in so doing stabilized and legitimated that power. Deference continued to be the key to this stability and ongoing maintenance 'of the power and privilege' of the elite (Newby 1975:146). Many elites, though

far from all, recognised that whether by their own benevolence or more likely through their own learned ritualized behaviour, their employees had to be acknowledged. These 'obligations', were part and parcel of the landlord system and included among others annual Christmas and Harvest dinners with dancing for the estate workers and tenants that underscored the paternalistic nature of the relationship. By inviting the local population and tenantry to celebrations such as the wedding and the coming of age of the heir, this type of inclusion, together with events in the seasonal calendar, reinforced the co-operation in an unequal partnership between landowner and their dependents.

In the case of the demesne system, there were different degrees of vested interest that in themselves were formed in networked ways. For example, the head tenant, economically and often socially linked to the landlord and the stable lads with their need for a regular income, represented two ends of a social landscape. Further afield were other elements of the network. That included everyone from cattle dealers, horse breeders and trainers and, moving into the domestic arena, a whole spectrum of different types of servants, dressmakers, tailors, candle makers and a multitude of other services and goods not available on the estate and possibly not locally. All of their multiplicity of interests too lay in maintaining the traditional authority, as creaking and antiquated as that may appear to us today. The head tenants at Castletown during this period were the Danforths and as Protestants they were prominent members of the Church of Ireland in Leixlip and Lucan. They were also in a very socially significant position as elected members of the Vestry, the committee that oversees the running of the parish as well as being church wardens. Their support for Conolly would have underscored both his position and theirs.

One highly deferential position for both parties was that of landowner and land steward/land agent who needed to 'defer to his employer, acknowledging his position' (Thompson 1963:95). Nevertheless, the steward with experience and responsibility managed the estate and was often deferred to by the landlord as a routine, particularly if the landlord was either semi or entirely absentee. This would also have been a carefully managed performance/relationship as is often the case that these men were from a similar social group.. This applied to Conolly even if he was more present than most; he was still required to trust his land agent, George Simmons, with his affairs during frequent absences. Two families acted as stewards to the Conolly family, the Hamiltons and the Simmonds; Alexander Hamilton of Hamwood Co Meath[63] and George Simmonds of Leixlip. Another local family, the Coopers of Collinstown, Leixlip, also acted as their solicitors. These particular men may have been employees but, in their positions as members of the Protestant Ascendancy, they would have been on a close to equal footing with Conolly. Henry and Robert Cooper were named as executors of his will and as such would have been privy to all his private and financial matters.

Until other emergent power groups surfaced at the end of the nineteenth century and education levels increased for all classes, the lives bound up in the demesne system were highly dependent on the social order of the big house in all its nuanced degrees of hierarchy. This interesting historic example of Foucault's, 'love of the master and a desire for fascism' discussed earlier was part of the way in which a social networking of power can begin to be understood in nineteenth century Ireland.

Through performance, the paternalism of the power elite is enacted through deference and was reinforced on both a macro and micro scale, but crucially in ways that quite specifically spatialised elements. Some individuals and groups such as land agents and the Royal Irish Constabulary were explicitly utilized to operate strategies of governance with little deference in their actions. Conolly in his speeches in the House of Commons was conscientious in his deferential remarks, careful to compliment the other parliamentary members, his political colleagues and rivals, as well as his tenants but at the same time he clearly displayed his own opinions as a landowner embedded in the power elite.

Proudfoot uses the word collaboration to describe the reciprocal deferential relationship between hierarchies and this is in many ways more appropriate to the description of the relationship. 'Irish society was bound together by vertical ties of clientalsim and patronage which transcended ethnic and political differences' (Proudfoot 2000:208). In the tight social networks in the Irish hierarchies, and indeed in the networks of the non-elite, this needed to be a co-operative/collaborative relationship. However, from a sociological viewpoint, deference percolated downwards to the non-elite classes as well. The degree of deference was dependent on the social connectivity between groups and the nature of the event requiring the deference. Two individuals of equal or near equal social status may have only lightly performed their deference to each other but the greater the difference in social status more apparent the performance became (Whelan 2014). Those of a lower social status used gestures such as bowing or curtseying to their employer or client of a higher social status or used other more discreet ritualized acknowledgement of authority such as nodding, smiling, stepping back to allow someone to proceed first, men tipping hats, opening doors, with other attentive displays of body language. Anticipation of an individual's needs would also fall into this category. The tradition continues in part today in some interactions with royalty and their highest representatives and between the upper management of powerful corporations and their executive employees. Thus, high-ranking individuals remain the visible symbolic actors of a legitimized authority within specific power landscapes. In the hierarchy of power, the upper servants below stairs in the big house echoed the status of their employers where deference was also given and received. While deference in a 'traditionally legitimized hierarchal organization'

was capable of extreme stability, and this was draconian to some degree, 'deference by the underclass could never be taken for granted' (Newby 1975:147). Too much authoritarian pressure might lead to a breakdown of the relationship, which was a threat to a stable authority. Machiavelli as far back as the sixteenth century was at pains to point out that harsh treatment of a subjugated people was not conducive to a peaceful society (Machiavelli 1513). Many of those in the underclass saw their relationships as partnerships though necessarily inferior[64]. Newby described these partnerships as organic and that deference was critical in this form of social interaction.

Yet in considering such relationships in terms of equality, it would be remiss if this thesis did not acknowledge the resistance that existed as an undercurrent in this period of Irish society. In Ireland, the increasingly fluid nature of the organic relationships referred to was evidenced in the sporadic outbreak of unrest. The consequent result was that the partnerships were either renegotiated, or the unrest suppressed, but with suppression deference by the subordinate group was no longer respectful and compliant becoming instead a form of self-protection by the underclass. In the scant existing material, there is no evidence that the tenantry of the Castletown or Donegal estates were in conflict with the Conolly family in the nineteenth century. In the few letters that remain concerning the Donegal tenants these show that Admiral Sir Thomas Pakenham, Thomas's grandfather, acting as Lady Louisa's agent, was troubled in 1803 about the substandard conditions of the tenants on the Ballyshannon estate (Conolly papers, Trinity College, MS 1457). While Conolly himself was uneasy for his own landlord class when he contributed to the debates on bills presented in the House of Commons, he also spoke for the Irish poor and their unsustainable condition, a deferential performance acknowledging their difficulties.

Changes in the economic position of the elite classes did have a disproportionate impact on the subordinate classes. When the capitalist economy, over which the individual has little control fails, patronage in terms of the demesne system could break down. Although some individuals were free to leave the employment of the landowner, others had too much to lose or were bound to the estate. If the expectations of those bound up in the system, at whatever level, were not met, and their rights eroded by degrees, deference was abandoned and personal attitudes, either of long standing or more recent, emerged and as a result the stability of the system was threatened. As the social and political changes occurred toward the end of the nineteenth century the old hierarchy was dissipated and with it their patronage. The land began to be sold to the tenants which threw the population onto their own resources and this created difficulties. Without recourse to other support, often provided in the past by their landlords' benevolence, ownership of the land alone could not satisfy their needs.

While Conolly's parliamentary record was at times contradictory, he nevertheless spoke frequently in support of the bills that looked to improve social conditions. A somewhat objective observation is provided by witnesses in the Land Commission parliamentary inquiry of 1880, two years after his death. The statements provide the viewpoint of his contemporaries in Donegal who were working in the farming community. With the earl of Bessborough in the chair (a member of the Kildare Hunt), supported by the vice chairman William Shaw MP, the witness, a county cess collector from Ballintra Co Donegal, Mr. John Ward contended that 'contentment prevails on the Conolly estate'. This he goes on to explain is due to the fact that 'The portion [rent] on the Conolly estate has not been raised for 51 years...' and as a result the people purchase lands at auction with confidence that the rent will not increase with a new owner (Land Commission Inquiry 1880 (LCI), entry 14947). The witness claims that of all the estates in his knowledge rent is set fairly. 'On Mr Conolly's property the rent is nearest the valuation'. He estimated that the rent is only '£2-3 above each £20 valuation…' And in answer to the earl's question 'this includes the value of the houses' (LCI 1880, entry 14952-53).

It appears that on the Conolly lands there was no hurry to evict tenants who were behind in their rent: 'if the tenants got into trouble and were not able to pay they were not put out for 2-3 years. Only then would the agent tell them they had gone too far and that they would have to sell to the highest bidder and pay their debts' (LCI 1880, entry 14956). Furthermore, in the witness's experience of all the Donegal estates known to him, 'only the Conolly and Brownhill estates did not raise the rents' (LCI 1880, entry 14973). Another witness in 1880 who would have been brutally honest in his remarks to the Commission, as he was on other occasions, was the Reverend John Dogherty a Roman Catholic parish priest who stated that '…if all [landlords] were like the good landlords in Donegal there would be no need of this Land Commission…the late Mr. Thomas Conolly was par excellence a good man' (LCI 1880, entry 14947). While Conolly demonstrated understanding and compassion for his tenants it did seem to be financial folly not to raise rents for 51 years when he was undergoing his own financial difficulties. With this evidence, it was highly likely that this compassionate policy on the part of Thomas Conolly and his father Edward Michael helped create the climate for the positive testimonies for the eldest son's coming of age in 1891 that praised the family's care of the tenants and workers (*Kildare Observer* 9 September 1891). The coming of age events and the testimonials will be discussed later in this chapter.

As performances, benevolence or paternalism associated with deference were extended to the sponsorship of local events such as agricultural shows and gymkhanas with the prizes being donated by the local landowner. School places were often provided for the estate children

in the locality and where the landlord was particularly munificent, 'pensions' could occasionally be granted to older employees, either in cash or in the form of simple housing or fuel. The account books for Castletown recorded three pensions being paid to unspecified individuals and payment to a widow's fund. During the 4 years the account books cover, three coffins were provided for individuals who were either current or former estate employees or a member of the estate employee's family. (Castletown Accounts 1863-67) In the eighteenth century, Lady Louisa had operated a school and established a hat-making factory in Celbridge to provide jobs for local women (Boylan, 1968). In these instances, the landowner acknowledged the contribution of those under their authority for genuine or pragmatic reasons and by doing so attempted to create a bond of identity between the workers and themselves. The bonds of deference however meant that face-to-face interaction was necessary to strengthen the partnership. One might postulate that without a resident landlord and with the management in the hands of the land agent or middleman on a high number of the estates in some parts of Ireland, this lack of face-to-face interaction may have contributed to the breakdown of the social system (Bourdieu 1982).

Traditional benevolence, described above, is an illustration of 'just how important is the necessity of accounting for the actions of the elite in understanding the actions of the non-elite' (Newby 1975:151). Deference between the elites and the subordinates, each in its appropriate manner, was important in the management of the tensions inherent in the maintenance of stability. However, an important consideration was that the differentiation between the classes was maintained in order that the stability of traditional authority be safeguarded. Deferential interaction was dependent on groups involved remaining within their 'place' while still identifying with each other. Performance was essential in this interaction particularly on the part of the elites because it was important to reinforce social stratification by demonstrating the differences between social groups. One could never be 'off stage' when interacting with the subordinate classes; it was essential to convey 'the correct mix of intimacy and distance' (Newby 1975:159). The nature of aristocratic society was that it established and reinforced distinctions and differences and this perpetuated the social distancing that was characteristic of the highly stratified society of the nineteenth century, particularly in a 'tightly networked colonial setting' like Ireland (Park 1950:158).

In face-to-face encounters, one needed to use all the accumulated symbolic and cultural power and the authority delegated by the state to live what you believed. This is what Bourdieu called the 'charismatic illusion' one had to believe that one was the embodiment of the legitimate authority in one's very person (Bourdieu 1982:249). Galbraith expressed the idea as:

> People of privilege will always risk their complete destruction rather than surrender any material part of their advantage. Intellectual myopia, often called stupidity, is no doubt a reason. But the privileged also feel that their privileges, however egregious they may seem to others, are a solemn, basic, God-given right. The sensitivity of the poor to injustice is a trivial thing compared with that of the rich (Galbraith 1977:13).

There is an excellent example of what Galbraith was speaking about in Conolly's own words. A proposed bill on aid relief tax, to be levied on the Poor Law Unions in Ireland and described as poor relief, was put forward in the House of Commons in March 1849. This bill, timed very much in the immediate post-Famine period, suggested that the landowners in the west of Ireland should give up their land so that others might farm it for themselves in answer to the destitution found there. During the debate, in his maiden speech in 1849, Conolly laid out his opinion in this response:

> …the proposition for changing land into hands more capable of performing the proper functions of landed proprietors…a necessity would arise to which he could not allude without great pain that the landowners would be obliged to give up their estates to the State. He would ask the Government, and the hon. Members sitting on both sides of the House, whether it was likely that any men would part with their estates, to which they were endeared by every tie of humanity, when the fatal necessity arrived, without clinging to every straw, and fighting to the last to keep their property? There would be a dire and desperate struggle… (Hansard, House of Commons Session papers [columns 279-280] March 1849).

This early proposal would not begin to come to fruition until the late nineteenth century.

Part Two: Key performances across Conolly's life

The biography of Thomas Conolly has been developed as a representative case study showing the outward displays of power – and its performance - by the dominant elites. There were points at which the specific details of his life and of his children acted as useful testimonial vignettes in this regard. For some of these events, the recently donated material to the Castletown archive has presented limited but rich primary sources. In the case of other sources, contemporary newspapers have helped to reveal long forgotten information. In the next part of this chapter a hitherto one dimensional figure can be glimpsed in greater depth, particularly in terms of his deferential interaction with his staff in gestures that spoke to a wider delicate balancing act of performance. There are some clear examples of Conolly's benevolence enacted in deference to his employees: when his bulls won £15 as best in show at the RDS in 1863, he gave his three drovers, who had cared for and prepared the animals, £5 each (the average agricultural labourer's weekly wages in England in 1863 was 11 shillings (British Labour Statistics: Historical Abstract 1886-1968 (Department of Employment and Productivity, 1971)

and probably less in Ireland). In another instance, he gave the five plough horse handlers a Christmas bonus of £1 that would continue each year throughout their employment (Account Book 1863 Castletown Archive).

The evidence for Conolly's face-to-face interaction with Castletown is limited but it can be seen that he personally signed each page of the household account books, when settling the weekly accounts of household expenses, employees' wages and pensions. In December 1863 9 shillings were paid for pensions and in August 1865 during the harvest 25 men divided a total of £3.3.4 between them (Account books 1863-1865 Castletown Archive). His direct connection to his employees can be seen in the 1858 diary where he had written out a list of their names and wages for the second half of the year. Here a significant contrast in wages is evident between the labourers and the indoor staff. Mr Perrin was the French Chef with George Morris and William Kelly in other responsible positions possibly household managers or butlers.

Servants wages 3rd Quarter Aug. 1. 1858		
John Murray		
Wm Kelly	£12.10.0	William Kelly
Rob[t] Ray	£10.0.0	Robert Ray
Geo. Morris	£15.0.0	George Morris
Rich[d] Ray	£6.0.0	Richard Ray
Andrew Archer	£3.15.0	Andrew Archer
Pat Gerity	£6.5.0	Pat Geragtity [sic]
T. Haynes	£3.15.0	Thomas Haynes
Young	£12.10.0	Henry Young
	69.15	
F. J. Perrin	3quarters	
	~~60~~	£75
1 month wages	~~15~~	2.2
	~~65.0.0~~	£77.2.0
		J.F. Perrin

Table 7.1 Servant's Wages, Castletown 1858: Conolly Diary 1858 Private Collection

Otherwise Conolly does not make any reference in the diaries about the deferential gestures he made concerning the money to the drovers and grooms. It appears that the housekeeper was filling out the details of the weekly accounts and this presents an issue referred to earlier about the household responsibilities. It was the custom of the time that the wife of the owner, the butler and housekeeper or steward, would have assumed the responsibility for the

running the house. In particular, the wife of the owner should have been directing the house staff and the owner or land agent the outdoor staff (Riordan 2016) but why Thomas Conolly's mother or sisters were not taking charge of the household at this time is a question that cannot be answered at this point in the research.

Marriage

One key and very visible performative act, and central to the maintenance of many a power network over time, was a marriage. If there was no pressure on Conolly from his family, he was possibly feeling pressure from his creditors and there is no evidence either way. Pragmatically his wife Sarah Eliza Shaw brought £10,000 to the marriage, representing considerable spending power at the time. It is regrettable that there is no mention of Sarah Eliza in his earlier extant diaries or the occasion of his marriage either, and it seems likely it was a relatively quick and pragmatic match. It is only in the last diary of 1870-71 that he refers to her and the affection he has for her and their baby son Thomas.

The carefully staged spectacle of the wedding between the Rt. Honourable Thomas Conolly, and Miss Sarah Eliza Shaw daughter of Joseph Shaw mill owner, Celbridge occurred on the 2nd of September1868. The event was documented in newspaper articles that described the wedding and associated celebrations in Bray, Celbridge and Donegal. Like many similar reports of the period they gave far more details of this type of event than one would find in today's newspapers. The equivalent for the present might be the popular culture magazines that value celebrity. The reports of the concurrent celebrations on the Castletown estate and testimonials from Donegal are evidence of how Conolly managed the micro-geographies of the event, but also how it brought together different parts of his network.

Although socializing mostly took place in the private sphere, as the nineteenth century progressed dining and dancing outside the home was becoming acceptable in upper-class hotels but it was still important for women not to become too visible. Men on the other hand were always highly visible. The marriage of Miss Sarah Eliza Shaw was the first time in her adult life that she is allowed to become visible. The newspaper accounts are the only remaining information we have of the wedding and the associated events, where we are observers of a highly visible spectacle meant to impress.

An Elite Autumn Wedding

The marriage of the Rt Hon Mr Conolly MP and Miss Shaw took place in the new church of Christ Church Bray and was led by the Bishop of Derry, William Alexander with other supporting clergy one of whom was a family member. Bray was at this time a very fashionable seaside town popular with the upper classes and the Protestant church where they were married was a new imposing structure that in itself would have made a statement about the status of Bray and the couple. The International Hotel, where the reception took place had only opened three years previously in 1862. At the time it was the largest hotel in Ireland, and that the reception occurred here would have also added to the prestige and status of the wedding.

The papers (*Irish Times, Kildare Observer, the Leinster Express & the Freeman's Journal,* 2 September 1868) told their readers about a display of significant spectacle: the splendid bridal carriage and later the reception at an imposing hotel in Bray. The bride, accompanied by her parents and her grandfather Dr P.S. Henry President of Belfast College [later Queens University] travelled from her parents' summer home at Marine Terrace Bray at eleven o'clock to the new church. An estimated crowd of 1,200 people lined the street in Bray waiting to view the bride as she passed in a carriage pulled by four white horses, accompanied by outriders in blue wearing wedding favours. The article in the *Leinster Express* described Sarah Eliza as 'very interesting and about twenty' and went on to refer to her dress and white Brussels lace veil with a simple crown of orange blossoms and ivy leaves. Queen Victoria established a precedent for brides on her wedding in 1840 with a white dress and orange blossoms securing her veil. Sixteen young ladies acted as bridesmaids 'all dressed in white satin with pink and blue ribbons' (*Irish Times* 2 September 1868). Although not mentioned by the papers, the arrival of the sixteen bridesmaids in their various carriages and the many wedding guests would have also added to the excitement. The wedding party and their 'troops of friends' assembled at the International Hotel, which was itself decorated with flags and evergreen. There was a five-foot six-inch wedding cake and a sumptuous dejeuner provided to 230 guests. The traditional toasts proposed by the best man Hon Mr Ponsonby[65], Joseph Shaw and Lord Longford, were also mentioned. The bride and bridegroom took their departure by 5:30 train for the Royal Fitzwilliam Hotel, Rathdrum, Vale of Avoca where they remained for a few days. Following their departure that evening there was a grand ball and supper at the International Hotel attended by 200 guests.

In analysing this article by the *Irish Times* and those of the other papers taking up the story, we can see two things of significance. First the reporters, or the editors, were anxious to be complimentary about the event and, second, both families' upper middle class and

aristocratic connections were spotlighted. The crowd assembled in the town and church, where the *Irish Times* informed its readers it was, 'crowed to excess by the rank and fashion of the neighbourhood'. The four newspaper reports were peppered with the descriptions of the material culture that implied the status of the location and the guest list that demonstrated the cream of the power elite. These descriptions included: clothing, carriages, hotels, a large and impressive wedding cake, and other food, and an up and coming photographer, William Lawrence, at the beginning of his long and eminent career. Although, apart from the obvious mention of the Bishop of Derry officiating, it is not apparent today that the guests whose names are given were of the highest social ranking, but their names would have been readily known within the readership of the *Irish Times* and other papers in the close-knit elite society of the time. *The Irish Times* in particular, and to only a slightly lesser extent the *Freeman's Journal,* were bastions of the Protestant elite and they represented and reflected their social and political ideals. The wedding guests reflect many Irish Ascendancy family members from the Conollys, Pakenhams and Shaws themselves to Rowleys, Bruens, Ponsonbys and Napiers. Other peripheral family members included the Taylors, earl's of Headfort, and Lord Clancarty. With so many guests, the lavish wedding reception, and the ball in the evening, it was evident that a considerable sum of money had been spent on these two separate events.

The wedding party in Bray was not the only reception on this day. Another took place on the Castletown estate for the tenants from both Kildare and Donegal, hosted by the land agent, George Simmonds. Later on the 28th of September, the bride and groom travelled to Ballyshannon in Donegal, giving Conolly's constituents an opportunity to congratulate him with a procession up the main street hung with banners (*Leinster Express* 10 October 1868). In November the celebrations were not yet over and on return from a honeymoon in Paris the town of Celbridge, like Ballyshannon, welcomed the couple back to Ireland with a procession and banners that included a band, speeches and later, dancing in the field adjacent to the main gate (*Kildare Observer* 25 November 1868). This was not the only time Celbridge towns people displayed their approval of a local family. In 1897 when Castletown's land agent William Dease, the son of Sir Gerald Dease of Celbridge Abbey, returned from honeymoon the town was en fete with 'arches of evergreens, bearing suitable mottos, were quickly assembled, a bonfire was started in the principal street, while the local fife and drum [band] paraded the town' (*Kildare Observer* 11 September 1897). Fittingly also in attendance were Sarah Eliza and her daughter Catherine and son Edward Michael who had given an ormolu table to the couple as a wedding gift. The wedding gifts were displayed in the house for everyone to view, and similar to the Conolly return celebrations, at the end of the evening there was dancing on the lawns at Celbridge Abbey.

These events were a public view of the power elite in full performance mode and their compliant viewers were now full participants and contributed themselves to the spectacle as a form of performed transmission of power. This wedding ceremony and the attendant displays were as Bourdieu pointed out, a type of investiture with symbolic rites transforming the persons concerned. Combined with its social magic components and the overall affective atmosphere of the event(s), 'the more spectacle involved the greater the difference between the viewer and the participant', which highlighted the differences even more (Bourdieu 1997:121). Not until many years after the death of Thomas Conolly at his son's coming of age would another grand celebration be held at Castletown on quite the same lavish scale.

Typically, the coming of age celebrations for the heir were held at the family home and attended by all levels of society. This would have included not only the members of family and elite friends but also a wider range of elite grandees as well as the tenantry, estate staff and local suppliers. The coming of age of Thomas, Conolly's son, in September 1891 was a lavish affair lasting over three days. In national or local newspapers when other families were given scant paragraphs in relation to events such as this, a significant coverage was given to the Conolly celebrations. The report on the festivities described the elite guests but the events were not entirely directed toward the power elite. There were also diversions for the local community and a children's party. The events involved speeches, the reading of testimonials and a musical evening that saw the house thrown open to everyone, with games in the park along with prizes (*Kildare Observer*, 9 September 1891). The testimonials were presented by the Castletown tenants, the Donegal tenants and the Church of Ireland communities in both Celbridge and Leixlip, who all spoke of the positive impact of the Conolly family. These were rare relational statements by tenants from across the geographically dispersed Conolly lands.

> The Celbridge Parish (Church of Ireland) testimonial stated 'We are deeply sensible of the many benefits which our parish has received from members of your family in time past …' (Castletown Archive Celbridge Parish Testimonial 1891) The Ballyshannon tenants wrote in their testimonial 'The memory of your Grandfather and Father- of their many virtues as Landlords and of the numerous acts of kindness and charity which marked their too short lives is fresh in the recollection both of those whom they benefited and those who admired the quiet and unostentatious manner which characterized their acts of generosity…It is an earnest hope that the happy relations which have hitherto prevailed between Landlord and Tenant on your estate may continue to exist and in the confident belief that you will emulate the many excellent qualities of your immediate ancestors who were among the few Landlords of Ireland who resided in their native land and circulated their capital among their

> own people….' (Castletown Archive Testimonial from the Tenantry on the Donegal Estate 1891)

In the early twentieth century the tenants and employees of 'the Castletown estate', in another act of endorsement of the family, gave an opal and diamond presentation bracelet as a wedding present to Conolly's daughter Catherine when she married Hon. Gerald Carew in 1904 (*Leinster Leader* 7th May 1904). This not inconsiderable gift, after the family had detached themselves from the everyday life of Castletown for many years, spoke of a commitment to the relationship the tenants apparently felt it was an important enough connection to want to see continued. In many ways this is another reference back to Foucault's 'love of the master', reflecting a desire for continuity and stability.

Social networking went on largely in the home in the nineteenth century private home and it was women who organised the various aspects of dinner parties, house parties, garden parties and picnics in and around the leisure activities of hunting, shooting and sporting activities at either the town or country house and essentially kept up the connections between family members. Only toward the mid and late nineteenth century was socializing beginning to move outward into semipublic arenas such as hotels that were highly respectable and highly controlled sites of performance. The showcasing of the house or houses, where the performance of the correct manners and rituals occurred and where thoughtful preparations and entertainment for guests were carried out, was the responsibility of women (Reynolds 1998, O'Riordan 2016 and Murphy 2016). In examining Conolly's dinner engagements, it becomes apparent, that there was a much larger proportion of women listed than men. Elite women in the nineteenth century had an intangible position when it came to the exercise of power. This is based on the significant activities of women as part of the maintenance of power in the background of her husband or father and brother's high profile in the foreground. Essentially women maintained the connections of the family network by managing the home and the country house and town house, which were the central hubs of the family's power stage and was nothing less than the norm for women of the aristocratic and upper middleclass elites. The dining and socializing aspects of the aristocratic lifestyles for the purpose of social networking and it was women who were fundamental to the successful management of the elite networks. They were required by their class to visibly promote the family's profile in both the leisure and political areas in the closed private sphere of the elite social network.

Central to the position of the power elite and their complex landscapes of power were performative events such as dinner parties and house parties, generally under the organizational skills of women. Women worked 'to a purpose' to reflect and uphold her family and her husband's status maintaining 'tradition and class solidarity' (O'Riordan 2016: 255). Invitations

to a select dinner party alone would be seen as a mark of esteem 'greater than any other social gathering' (O'Riordan 2016:213). Thus a dinner party was perhaps the most important of all social observances and, by extension, the performances that were an integral part. While breakfast and luncheon, according to Lady Londonderry, were informal events, 'dinner is a parade and you must not be late for it' (Dooley 2001:54). When combined with a house party and après hunt socializing, the reinforcement of the network was brought about through another level of performance. The degree of attention to detail by the hostess would have been noted by others and was a statement of the privileged positions of individual households and their owners and part of a performance even in the private spaces of the home. With a strict protocol regarding seating, dress and speaking to other guests one needed to have been trained into the ritual. For the rising bourgeoisie attempting an entrée into higher social circles, the established elite created performative hurdles for the aspiring parvenu, by putting such socially nuanced rituals in place. Across the Victorian period, even the simple act of eating at a dinner party became more complicated with the increased courses, amounts of cutlery and a myriad of different items in a dinner service to facilitate the various courses, all of which might prove a test for the uninitiated. [66] Although the etiquette book had been around from the beginning of the nineteenth century as a guide to the increasing numbers of inexperienced new arrivals, it came into its own during the Victorian era.

Thomas Conolly in London: Spatial Networking as Performance

In appraising Conolly's lifeworld, the creation of that life world was evidenced within a given group that acted together through symbolic capital. This was particularly true in terms of the maintenance of established cultural hegemonies and reflected the effort put into creating a life world 'in order to impose their own vision is the basis for social identity' (Bourdieu 1982:234). By looking particularly at his dining 'performances', we can very clearly see its role as a parallel performance of social networking. In a selective list, taken directly from his diaries 1853, 1857, 1863 and 1864, the

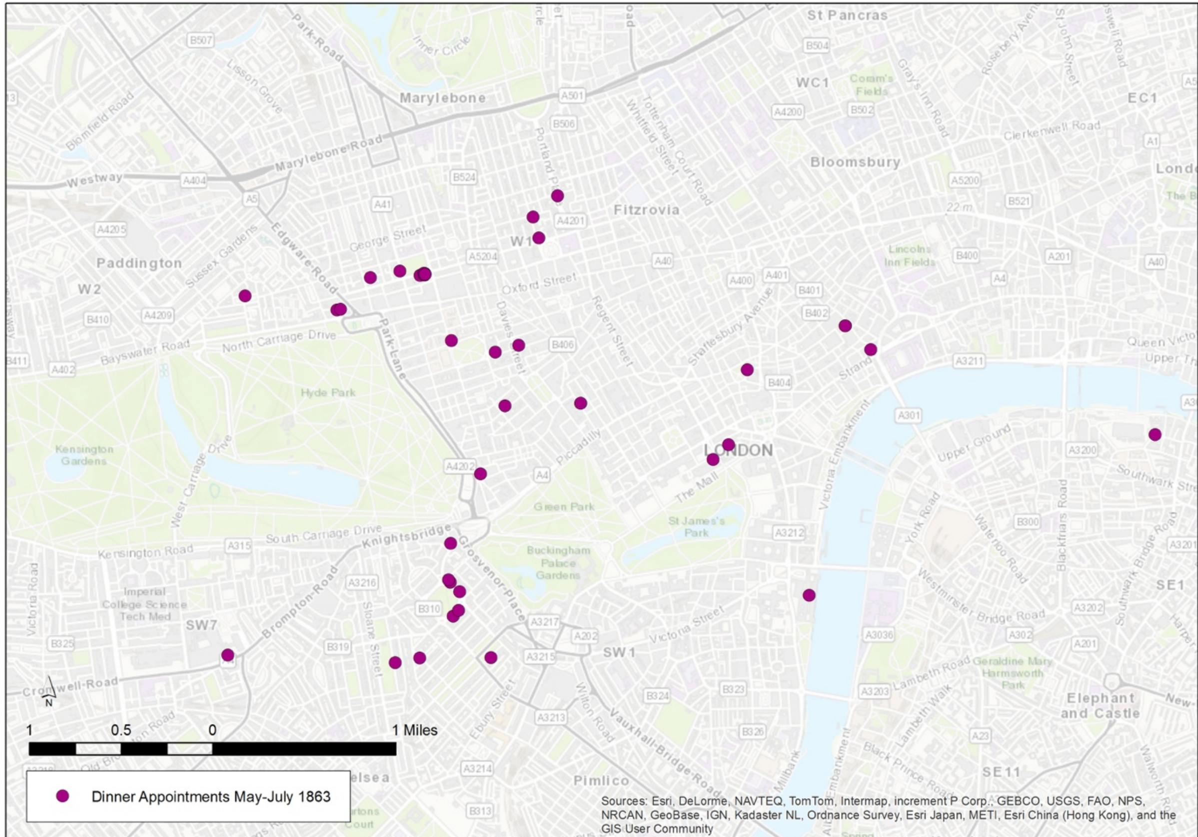

Figure 7.1 Conolly's Movements in London, from his diaries 1853, 1857, 1863 and 1864

Figure 7.2. Spaces of Prosperity in London by Charles Booth: London School of Economics & Political Science (Detail Sheet 7).

people Conolly regularly dined with throughout the season are identified. This was no ordinary society, but rather the cream of Irish and English aristocratic society alongside notable political colleagues of the time, some of whom Conolly dined with at their prestigious London addresses (See Appendix V for the full list). The sample list is given in Table 7.1 below and is supported by a map, Figure 7.1, which provides a visual representation of the addresses where Conolly's diaries placed him – literally and metaphorically – in the West End of London at that time. The background reference map (Figure 7.2) is Charles Booth's 'Poverty Map' of the city which identified as the most affluent gold and red coloured streets and these align closely with the locations where Conolly operated, shown in Figure 7.1.

***Sample Dinner Engagements from Thomas Conolly's* Diaries 1857, 1863 & 1864**

Arbuthnot Lord & Lady	Grafton St
Ashbrooke Lady	Portman Square
Balfor Sir	Hyde Park Square
Bateman Lady	Great Cumberland Place
Boston Lord	Belgrave Square
Camden Lord	Carlton House Terrace
Carew Lord	Belgrave Square
Cavendish Mr. R.	Chesham Place
Clements Lady Elizabeth	Grosvenor Square
Colchester Lady	Berkley Square
Coote Lord	Connaught St
Curzon Mr.	Scarsdale House Kensington.
Darnley Lord	Eaton Square
Dashwood Lady	Grosvenor Square
De Ros Lord & Lady	Curzon St
Derby Lord & Lady	St James Square
Doneraille Lady	Grosvenor Square
Downshire Lady	Belgrave Square.
Dunraven Lord	Belgrave Square
Enfield Lord	St James Square.
Fellows Mrs.	Belgrave Square
Fitzgerald Lady Otto	Carlton House Terrace
Furness Mrs. Henry	Eaton Square
Gladstone Lady	Belgrave Square
Gort Lord	Portman Square
Hogg Lord & Lady	Carlton Gardens
Kennington Lord	Grosvenor Square
Lester Sir B. Graham W.	Fitzwilliam Square
Martin Mr. Wyndham	Great Cumberland Place
Maxwell Lord H.	Eaton Place

Napier	Eaton Place
Ormond Lord & Lady	Harley St
Parkett Lord & Lady	Grosvenor Square
Powis Earl	Belgrave Square
Quinn Lord General	Belgrave Square
Rowley Mrs.	Berkley Square
Shrewsbury Lord	Belgrave Square
Sligo Lady	Mansfield Place
Tennyson Lady L.	Park Lane
Trimbleston Lord	Park Lane
Turner Lady Caroline.	Chester Place
Verschoyle Mr. & Mrs.	Eaton Square
Waterford Lord & Lady	Charles St
Waldegrave Lady	7 Carlton Gdns & Strawberry Hill

Table 7.1 Sample Dinner Engagements from Thomas Conolly's Diaries 1857, 1863 & 1864

This sample of engagements clearly shows Conolly was socializing in aristocratic and upper middle class elite circles. These individuals had high social and cultural capital, and some in addition, had significant political capital. Their town houses owned, leased or rented, were located in and around the most high-status parts of London which included Grosvenor Place, Belgrave Square, St James Square and Portman Square where Conolly also resided when in the city. These areas were where the aristocracy, wealthy upper middle class and the middleclass 'well-to-do' lived and this helps to place Conolly in a very affluent milieu within the colonial metropole. Among the names in his extended engagement list (Appendix V) were a number of his relatives, Staples, Rowleys, Taylors, Napiers and Bruens. As an indication of the possibilities of marriages resulting from social networking as Bourdieu has noted; in the list of engagements is Lord Carew whose grandson would marry Conolly's daughter Catherine in 1904. That these men knew one another would have been an advantage when their offspring later met. Conolly was a guest at Kedleston Hall the country house of Alfred Curzon 4th Baron Scarsdale (1831–1916). Curzon's son, the 5th Baron would later become the highly influential Viceroy of India (de Courcy 2000). He also dined with the most significant political hostess of the time Lady Waldegrave both where she held court at 7 Carlton Gardens and also at her country house, Strawberry Hill in Twickenham [67].

During the 1857 season, Conolly gave at least two dinner parties himself but does not record who acted as the hostess. Lists of invited guests were regularly written into the diaries and in one he indicated that nine were invited, which is unusual because it was essential that

the numbers were even. Here he may possibly have been leaving out the obvious members of the family but then at other times he includes himself as 'self' in the list so this is a puzzle. In none of his diaries does he mention that either his sisters or his mother or indeed other female guests may have acted as hostess.

Under these prerequisites, Conolly appeared to be at somewhat of a disadvantage, not having a wife to manage his social networks or act as his hostess. It may have been possible that his mother or one of his four sisters may have acted in this capacity on occasion however, given his mother died in 1861, realistically only one or two of his four sisters were in a position to fill this role. His eldest sister Louisa Augusta (born c1828) who married in 1846, tragically drowned in 1853. Mary Margaret (born 1830) was married in 1856 (Figures 7.3 & 7.4), and as the wife of

Figure 7.3 Mary Margaret Conolly Bruen. Rathdonnell Collection Oakpark.

Figure 7.4 Henry Bruen of Carlow Hunt courtesy of Turtle Bunbury

Henry Bruen of Oak Park, an MP for Wexford, she was involved in the management of her own family's networks and reputations. Mary Margaret does appear however in Conolly's list of engagements in London acting as a hostess of her own dinner parties. Conolly also mentioned his two younger sisters, referred to by their pet names in Conolly's diary as Franny and Harry:

Harry (Henrietta: birth and death dates unknown, married 1880) and Franny (Francis Catherine: born 1833 died 1874) who as unmarried women, could have acted as hostess but neither were mentioned even as dinner party guests. Harry may have taken over the care of the Rowley children following the deaths of both her sister Louisa Augusta and her brother-in-law Clotworthy Rowley Earl of Langford, within a year of one another. In his 1864 diary, Conolly mentioned sharing an early morning cup of coffee with Harry at Summerhill, Co Meath, the home of the earls of Langford before setting out on his American adventure. Figure 7:4 shows Henrietta and Francis, the only known photo of these young women.[68]

Fig 7.5 The Misses Conolly: The Hamilton Collection

In 1864, his diary shows that he held dinner parties of between 12 and 16 guests on a number of occasions, not necessarily made up entirely of couples. This is somewhat surprising because respectable women did not attend dinner parties without a family member and this may hint at a more bohemian lifestyle than one might have expected. Whatever about his own dinner parties, and Conolly rarely gave any detail following his dinners apart from the occasional brief note that they went well, his invitations to dine came from the most respectable elite strata of society, both Irish and English. Nevertheless, as respectable as his public/private life may have been his afterhours private life discussed below had a rather dissolute side, trawling for sexual

partners in London's streets at night. For these liaisons he usually uses a symbol of a dot within a circle but occasionally when he briefly mentions sexual encounters surprisingly, he always mentions their names.

Thomas Conolly's Everyday Lifeworld

How individuals moved through their lifeworld and performed how they wanted to be seen can be viewed from various perspectives. The position of the viewer of the performance might be participants, within the same social strata or be of a sub-ordinate group, 'class differences were an important distinction in the nineteenth century' and performances would have varied according to these circumstances (Mills 1958:5).

The elites retained the exclusive privilege of defining their superiority in style, manners and elegance but the major difference between the groups was the unseen. Manners are the physical expression through bearing and language pronunciations of acquired social capital because through their 'mode of acquisition they point to… membership of a more or less prestigious group' (Bourdieu 1986:28). The power elite through elegance, good manners and family connections would always be a cut above the rising bourgeoisie. For the elites they were entirely dependent on their tailor to know what was the most elegant cut but taste was an important part of the secret *je ne sais quoi* of one's appearance and gesture (Perrot 1994). Taste began to separate the discerning from the general population, who spent money without discrimination; 'luxury without refinement was only a façade' (Worsley 201: 180). The implication being only those with taste could achieve cultural capital.

With the high degree of class difference in the past, the observed performance, against the created backdrop of the authoritarian environment, would also contribute to the impression of power. The greater the performer's distinction, proportional to their symbolic capital, the more smoothly the acceptance of the imposition of the legitimate vision of the social world is achieved (Bourdieu 1982:238). The implicit little ceremonies of everyday life were all the more powerful because of their subtlety (Johnson 2002:12). The backdrop to the performances were the stage settings of the house, the club premises and the geographical and topographical landscapes. The performance of everyday life was played out against a mix of identities, agencies and actions. Language and gesture specific to the elites separated them from the language and gestures of the general population: language was a code. This code was part of the differences that delineated society and its division into hierarchies (Bourdieu 1982: 45). An expensive education taught one how to spend money by enriching the 'elements of taste'

(Worsley 2011:180) and to this end a university education in the nineteenth century was as de rigueur as the Grand tour in the eighteenth century had been.

Conolly would have seen himself as part of a social network of hierarchal elites linked through a high status history shared with his extended family and a common education with his family and peers, the common experiences of their leisure pursuits as well as their shared civic responsibilities. This idea of always being 'on' in terms of performance had an odd echo with his own ego and even his sometimes risqué private life. One must consider how Conolly's personal fantasies compelled him to become the man who not only socialized with the power elites of his own class but also with the demi-monde. He certainly enjoyed quite a number of high-risk sexual encounters with courtesans and with prostitutes and serving women on dark streets and passageways. His diaries explicitly attest to his brief liaisons with the demi mode indicating their occurrence with a symbol (⊗ or O) this is often accompanied by a name and on occasion a comment. The more unusual are the three shown below. The first is '⊗ a lass and start for Holyhead 5. Dublin 10.30 ⊗ another home 12.30' (Conolly Diaries 11 March 1853). The second is also from 1853 'Go to meet Mrs O at Wilton St. Bring her home & ⊗for the space of 2 hours and something akin to exhaustion ensued' (Conolly Diaries 30 April 1853). Another is juxtaposed beside the Dean and Bishop of Derry in a note about the official opening of the new Carlyle Bridge in Derry, which marks it out in stark contrast

> 'To the Bridge [Carlyle] at 8 to see it all by land and water
> 11 The official opening C.L.L. [Carlyle the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland]
> The Dean in high fester
> The Lunch at the Bishop's
> The Dinner My speech goes off well.
> Miss Rose Escott ⊗ in the lane near the back gate. Get a clip Miss McCormick ⊗
> (Conolly Diary 25 September 1863)

His attitude to these dealings in the earlier 1853 diary was to write out biblical passages, as referred to earlier, but in the later diaries only the events are recorded.

We see him admiring his own horses and glorifying in his invitation from Napoleon III to the military exercise in France, although he engineered it himself (Conolly Diaries 1863). His lavish entertaining, hinted at in the diaries, and detailed in the memoirs of the Ladies St Helier and Fingall (1909 & 1991), 'champagne, horses, cars', may well have been to fulfil his own sense of hyper reality and how he, as the owner of Castletown, should behave. There is one poignant glimpse into how he perceives his role as Thomas Conolly of Castletown House in 1864, as he sets out on his voyage to America, where he observed that 'the weight of so

called and often-times miscalled property- mere property [creates] shackles of subservience to countless others' and he goes on to say that he abdicates 'his personal liberty to let others organize' and is 'not open to personal [decisions] and follow a path with real constraints and you will be good enough to … walk in that like a respectable member of society and do the best for others very much obliged [to others] … (6th December 1864)

This fragment of his diary appears to indicate that the he is struggling with the responsibility of his role of eldest son and all the implications with regard to financial concerns, lifestyle choices, his tenants and revealingly obligation, another aspect of deference. He reflected on how he must do what is expected rather than be at liberty to do as he wishes, a further personal confirmation of feeling permanently 'on show'. Whatever the reality at the time, his reputation has come down to us as a benevolent landlord regardless of his self-interest. His contribution to the debates in the House of Commons come across, on face value, as caring landlord but with an undertone of an abiding interest in maintaining the status quo, perhaps one he rationalized through his emotional connection to Castletown and Cliff the Donegal property. Or, as Castells' writing suggests, was he saying what he thought should be said in the particular social context?

Through his diaries, we have a highly selective picture of Conolly's everyday performance where he wrote of dining, clubbing and theatre going, with a variety of individuals, including his brothers. Typically, the events at Castletown are rarely reported in his diaries but the newspapers on occasion fill in the details. In February 1857 the *Leinster Express* reported on a ball and supper given at Castletown that lists over 150 guests with 28 staying for the period of the event.[69] Later, during that same year, he recorded a busy week in London. Beginning Monday 18 May, he wrote that he 'whiles away the day without really doing anything' but in the evening, he attended a circus in Drury Lane and, not before stopping at a few clubs along the way, Jack, Henry, and himself, end up in a hotel in Leicester Square, followed by a trawl through Brompton for women of the night. Tuesday morning he rode in the park with Ramsden, and again in the evening he dined with Dick and Lord Milton[70] before going to the House of Commons (HC) for Division. Wednesday saw him at the HC again which provided the comment 'that brute of Crawford's Bill Judgements Extension (Ireland) which waylaid me until 6 o'clock'. Following the HC session, he walked in the park and dined again with Ramsden. On that evening, they were at the home of Lady Archland with fellow guests, the daughter of the Marquess of Donegall, Lady Harriet Chichester, possibly with her father and stepmother. On Thursday the 21st he rode in the park with Lord Stafford before attending a session in the HC but then afterwards dined at the Carlton with Spencer, probably either John Viscount Spencer of Althorp or his father Frederick the 4th Earl. Later that same evening he attended the opera with James Hamilton, a fellow member of the KSC and MP for Dublin, and went on to

supper with the Grahams ending the night in the Haymarket once again on the trawl for what he descried as 'fill de joie'. Friday 22nd May was also a busy day that began with writing 9 letters then he lunched at the Carlton once again [71]. Later he dined with Sir Adolphus Dalrymple (1784-1866), 2nd Baronet of High Mark and the day ended with a ball arranged by Lady Sykes, probably Caroline Bettsworth the wife of Sir Frederick Sykes, 5th Baronet. On Saturday, the day began with a cricket match at Lords with Jack followed by a ride in the park. That evening after dining with the Longfords, probably his cousin, the 4th Earl William Lygon, and his wife Lady Selina, they went to the opera. He followed this by venturing out into the night again looking for women, this time to South Great Portland Street.

Finally, on Sunday 24th May he breakfasted before attending church services, where he met with Lady Lyndhurst and the Longfords. After church, it was on to Tattersalls, the bloodstock auctioneers, followed by a ride in the park with his cousin the earl of Bective and later in the evening he dined with the Fergusons. And once again the day finished with a venture into Brompton with Jack 'in search of pleasure' (Diaries 18th to 24th May 1857). The diary entries for 1857 referred to here are typical of his activities described in the other diaries that remain with dining, theatre going, racing and hunting, much of it in London, some back in Ireland. However, of all the diaries it was the earlier 1853 diary that overall had the most information about his day-to-day life. 1857 was chosen because it had one full week of activities, unlike the sporadic nature of the others.

For Conolly and his class, performance seems a particularly apposite way to describe their daily routine. An important part of the spectacle for Conolly and others of his elite group would have been to dress in a particular way for both riding and hunting and was all part of performance (Vaughan 1994). The gaze of the other, the outsider, upon the aristocrat was not without expectation. In order to maintain the status of aristocrat one had to both act and dress elegantly and to attend the fashionable events, balls, salons, race meetings, hunt meetings, wearing a variety of suitable clothing in the most elegant of manner. Horses too were a statement accessory for the morning rides in London's Hyde Park and Conolly had brought his own horses from Ireland to be seen. In Ireland he hunted with the best horses money could buy.

The society portraits give some indication of the swagger that went with everyday performance at this time and the quintessential swagger portrait of Thomas Lister 4th Baron Ribblesdale (Figure 7.6) by John Singer Sargent (1856-1925) shows someone of considerable self-confidence. This portrait of Ribblesdale, Master of the Royal Buckhounds, came to epitomise the British aristocrat: 'a sportsman, soldier, courtier and landowner… Sargent

showed Ribblesdale's public face [but] not his private life' (National Gallery of Australia). The portrait by Osborne of Conolly in Chapter One is of the same ilk (Figure 1.1).

With the changes in society during the nineteenth century bringing the non-elite better spending power it was all the more important that the performance of the elite became heightened and with increasing mobility of all classes, to make it quite obvious where the differences lay as the elites travelled in public. During this time train and boat accommodation was divided into sections: first class, second-class etc. and the first class compartment did literally refer to class not just a reference to service as it is in the present day. In transit, away from the carefully created and controlled stage set and power hubs the upper classes had to rely heavily on the highly nuanced gesture and speech patterns and clothing to convey their high social and cultural credit. Throughout Conolly's diaries, he refers to train journeys as a regular form of transport in Ireland and lists the acquaintances he meets and shows how much he enjoyed chance meetings with young women in the use of many exclamation points. It must be assumed that Conolly travelled as a first class passenger at all times. The journey to Waterford to meet Palliser before the American adventure begins is a case in point, where he described not only the friends he met but the view from the windows as he travelled by train

> Rattle, rattle, rattle a glimmering of day & we are in Kilcock & OX Holy city & past Mike Aylmer Mike! & ould Ireland. The hounds K. H. meet at Courtown this very day & further on passing over the new bridge of Clane (?) I meet old Jobby bags Wakefield early on the road a usual (He must have started as early as I did) going to breakfast somewhere wishing for the meet. Good bye God bless aged fellow & away again-Sallins town to Kilkenny & Waterford meet the Bartons & Hugh of Straffan & Mr P (?) at Station & the others Ann & Emily of Grove on the train. Ann is going to marry Judge Goff a proper subject for gentle Banter for nice fun. They all wish me God speed & we part at Kildare.
>
> Mullingar a shockin' place. Kilcock is rather bad 'But the Divil never saw such a place as Kinnegad!!! ould ditty.
>
> Shankhill, Haymount & Butlers Ferry, Clifden B Hon. Bishops L., Tullow Steeple, … The Woods of old Kilfane, Thomastown quaint, Poverty in glorious Nore, W. Jubet & Flor Hall & Jerpoint of the saints magnificent venerable Jerpoint I remember the house/hours coming down, your certain wish in these sainted times Ballyhale & Killeau gorse & the fache walls… (Diary Saturday 26 November 1864).

Figure 7.6 John Singer Sargent (1856-1925) *Thomas Lister, Baron Ribblesdale* 1902. National Gallery of Australia (nga.gov.au/exhibition)

Throughout the nineteenth century, hitherto social norms were shifting alarmingly with the rise of egalitarianism and wealth, but for the aspirants to the higher social scene no imitation could replicate the aristocratic model or replace the deep layers of aristocratic learned manners, as Bourdieu (1986:17) writes, 'the best hidden and socially most determinant educational investment, [is] namely, the domestic transmission of cultural capital'. For this reason, during the social turn of the Victorian period there was an elaborate code of behaviour which was

enacted in order ‘to keep out the wrong sort of people’ (Girouard 1978:268). The aspirational members of the lower classes looked upwards to the existing social hierarchy and would, on becoming economically par with the upper middle class, attempt a perfect imitation by buying up the historic houses and demesnes lately coming on the market. This required one to ‘master the logic’ of the of the dominant class, not merely its manners, and to make it ‘appear like the natural disposition of the person’ (Arditi 1999:28) The rules of social elite groups were largely unwritten but ones that needed to be adhered to if one was to be accepted. As a result, the etiquette book became indispensable for those on the rise and who wished to successfully negotiate the entrée into higher society: what to wear, the ritual of morning calls and cards and the protocol of table seating was covered (Girouard 1978:268). Titles of etiquette books were *Modern Etiquette in Private and Public* published in 1871 and *Manners and rules of good Society* already in its 32nd printing in 1910 (St George 1993:47-48). Etiquette books embodied the symbolic systems that were part of the ‘infrastructure ordering practices in a society’ (Arditi 1999:26). In Arditi’s historiography on etiquette books he refers to an anthropologist George Mead, who postulated that performance was ‘more to do with role-playing’ than following a set of rules about the correct manners according to the type of society one moved in (Arditi 1999:37). Nevertheless, ‘learning about it [manners] at the knee of one’s mother is the mark of a true gentleman and the pretenders who have to read about such things in books never quite catch up’ (Worsley 2011: 220). Ensuring greater acceptance into higher society meant joining the elite clubs, sending sons to the prestigious schools and universities and additionally, something that cannot be overstated, the action of marrying well.

Performing Power in Place: Hunting

The geographical distribution of hunt clubs spread like a jigsaw puzzle across Ireland, and was at its most intense in Leinster, and of the highest status. Hunt Clubs had strong aristocratic, gentlemanly connections that began at the local level but significantly ranged across the educational, military, club and other associational groups that linked members together. A membership of a hunt club combined with the key elite gentleman’s clubs mentioned was de rigeur in terms of social networking and added an important informal and leisure based layer to the overall assemblage. The formal and sometimes informal performances were generally acted out, in geographical terms, within the built landscapes of the country house, clubs and societies, court houses and Dublin Castle itself, all of which were material physical power hubs in Ireland. But for Conolly and many of his ilk, there were other more recreational pursuits that shifted those geographies in wider circles. This applied particularly to the case of hunting, whereby a softer but still networked form of this power extended to geographically distant locations across of the country.

Performance in the rural environment would have been more informal than in the urban, demonstrated through clothing, manners and speech. Tweeds would be worn rather than fine wool and heavier boots and shoes than those worn in town (Baird 2003). One would be less demanding of country people than in the structured society of the urban area, apart from the landowner's own employees in his country home where the deference and service would be of an exacting high standard in common with his urban home. Finally, one might not use an entirely formal vocabulary in the country but this would depend on who one was conversing with (St George 1993).

While the previous chapter described the spaces of networking that membership of hunt clubs provided and documented those clubs, this section pulls out Conolly's personal accounts of hunting as a specifically performative act. A study of hunting as a component of the social network of Thomas Conolly is of considerable value in providing an empirical geographical example that matches hubs and lines of connection with a visible performance of power across multiple landscapes.

Thomas Conolly and Hunting

Through the references in his diaries, Conolly's spatial network is indicated in the reach of his hunting activities across Ireland. He not only hunted with the Kildare Hunt (his membership is recorded) but he also recorded meets in Westmeath and Donegal where he may have been a guest or a field member of the local club. Occasionally he gave brief depictions of his experience at the meet;

> We arrive to a meet Rockfield close to Kells & I do not find my hunter owing to the regular irregularity of message communication in our country the rag way to do it is to send a Boy to bring back an answer. Well up comes L'Raux and (oh my little stars) offers me a mount. …I find my horse dammed sticky- I hammer him & he goes as hard as nails. Clifton Lodge, find a fox who after running around the place & crossing the river twice makes his run for 40 minutes. I got away alone with the hounds & had some fun! (Conolly Diary 13 January 1853).

Socially Conolly was engaged with the entertainments central to the hunt season and was present at the numerous balls. As in the train journeys above he enthusiastically included in his diary the names of young ladies he met at the balls, with up to five or six exclamation points for each, based presumably on how he personally 'rated' them. Included in the 1853 diary are passing comment on the people he rode or stayed with at these and shooting events. 'Shot rather well and dined well and drank well...and danced 'til 4 o'clock at the Kells Ball…excellent. Miss Coddington, Miss Stephenson, Miss /Taylors … our girls, Miss Fox all pretty [72] (Conolly Diary 12 January 1853). He hunted Enfield on 26th of March and wrote '…

Willy loses his temper & two foxes in the open…' and that he needs to lose weight '…I cannot eat owing to the weight requiring all my care to reduce [to] 12 stone being an everyday care' (Conolly Diaries 26 March 1853). The earl of Mayo, Richard Burke, author of the *History of the Kildare Hunt* (1913), was quite taken by Thomas Conolly and mentioned his enthusiasm in the field a number of times, which indicated his ebullient personality. In this anecdote taken from the history it appeared that Conolly was not above making a joke at someone else's expense.

> Mr Conolly I imagine was rather noted for his jocularity, and I remember another story of him, which is perhaps worth recording. Railway development brought facilities for hunting men in Ireland as elsewhere, and quite early in the fifties, it was customary for hunting men to hunt in Kildare from Dublin, as it is today. On one morning, a party of Kildare foxhunters had taken their seats in a railway carriage in Dublin for Athy. They were joined by a very pious Quaker lady, who, in order to improve the occasion, distributed some tracts she had with her among them with a few helpful words to each. After a time Mr Conolly, who had carefully read his tract and seemed much impressed said in a sad, quiet voice: " You know poor Burton Bindon (the proprietor of the Red Bank, a well-known Dublin restaurant famous for oysters) is dead. I was so glad to hear that he made a good end." The Quaker lady leaned forward much interested. "He sank quietly back on his pillow," continued Conolly, "and his last words were (shouting) "Oysters!". (Mayo & Boulton 1913:246).

Figure 7.7 Michael Angelo Hayes (1823-77) The Kildare Hunt at Bishopscourt. Courtesy of Turtle Bunbury

The Kildare Hunt was a significant hunt club in Leinster and its' members were suitably high profile including Squire Tom, an eighteenth century hunt master, the la Touches, Lords Seaton and Milltown, Baron de Robeck, the Earl of Clonmell and the quintessential sportsman, the earl of Drogheda. The Kildare Hunt assembling in front of Bishopscourt, Co Kildare is shown here in the very imposing painting (Figure 7.7) that still hangs in Bishopscourt today. This painting by Michael Angelo Hayes (1823-77) purports to depict Thomas Conolly in the foreground wearing the top hat. The visible sight of the hunt members in their scarlet jackets racing across the country was manifest in tangible form in the landscape and operationally as a tight social control on other members of the rural community, to fully reinforce a form of cultural impact on everyday life in the countryside. The performance element was linked more to intangible yet highly controlled ceremonies of the hunt. The dress code was quite evident and completely at odds with the realities of the sport they were about to enjoy. Although ready to wear clothing was becoming more available, hunting clothing would continue to be tailor made. This clothing acted as a uniform, a badge of membership and a form of insignia to validate one's position. The fine distinction of clothing was most visible as the meeting assembled; both men and women wore top hats and frock coats. One could not for a moment have been in any doubt seeing these members in full flight across the landscape that this was an elitist sport, available only to a few. One is reminded of Oscar Wilde's observation about

‘the unspeakable in pursuit of the uneatable’ (Bristow 2008). However, what is not in doubt is Thomas Conolly’s visible performance and documented place at the heart of this more leisure-based section of a wider social network of power.

While the Kildare Hunt was, in terms of its hunting landscape, equal to any in the British Isles, it was the Ward Union Stag Hunt that, like the Meridian Lodge of the Freemasons, was the ‘posh’ hunt club, with a very clear power connection with the Vice regal court (Bowen 1954). Among the members, at the pinnacle of the social ladder, was John Poyntz, 5th Earl Spencer (1835-1910) twice Viceroy of Ireland and perhaps for this painting (figure 7.8) more significantly, Master of the premier hunt club in England The Pytchley Hunt.

William Osborne’s painting, ‘The Ward Union Hunt’, depicted The Ward gathered for a meet in 1873 and provided an impressive sight, no less than the Kildare Hunt shown above. Surrounding Lord Spencer, at centre in the dark coat, were the power brokers of Irish society, some of whom were titled. In Osborne’s, painting the distinctive hunt clothing is shown, many members wore ‘pink’ coats but not

Figure 7.8 William Osborne (1823-1901), ‘The Ward Union Hunt’ 1873

detail (Rooney 2006:58).

all and in some clubs only the hunt master and his deputy wore ‘pink’. For other clubs their clothing was also quite individual, The Bishopscourt Hunt wore blue with a buff waistcoat and originally the Kildares’ were the same but by the early nineteenth century, this had become scarlet with a buff waistcoat (Bowen 1954:85).

That the hunt groups depicted in both Osborne’s and Hayes’ paintings were highly elite groups was self-evident. In order to join a hunt club, or indeed any other elite club, one needed to be recommended and from the beginning of the sport in the eighteenth century this was an aristocratic pursuit not open to those outside the aristocracy and upper middleclass; an

exception however was the land steward, agent or estate manager because of their often aristocratic family connections. The hunt clubs were also open to women and in the painting above Mrs Morrogh, 'a formidable rider', is seated beside her husband Leonard, 'one of the most respected huntsman in Ireland' (Rooney 2006:58). Women had hunted from earliest times but curiously, early in the history of the sport, for reasons of proprietary, only aristocratic women's names could be mentioned in newspapers. However, from the 1860s onwards women were being referred to frequently regarding their superb actions on the hunting field (Hunt 2007:15). Fitzpatrick in *Irish Sports and Sportsmen* (1878) continued the practice long after it was no longer considered improper and only one woman; the marchioness of Waterford, the wife of the Curraghmore hunt Master was mentioned in his informative book. Nevertheless, the overall percent of women participating in hunt clubs may never be known because their fathers, husbands or male relations paid their subscription fees and as a result, their names are not recorded in the hunt club's membership lists.

Although nineteenth century women may have been fully involved in the hunt they were not generally involved in the post meet revelry, of drinking and general informal carousing, recalling the aforementioned excessive drinking frowned upon by Maria Edgeworth, where they appeared was in the more formal annual balls and dining. Despite the involvement of women, their numbers remained small until the visit to Ireland of Elizabeth, Empress of Austria. In the late 1870s, the empress rented Summerhill, Co Meath[73] for a season and rode on Mrs Morrogh's 'thoroughbred hunter Domino' with the Ward Union Hunt, and the Kildare Hunt. This royal endorsement meant that 'the number of women hunting increased' (Rooney 2006:59 & Bence-Jones 1987:3). They were at the forefront of the fearless riders mentioned in the annals of the Westmeath Hunt Club history and were highly praised for their abilities. Their part in the ritualized performance of the hunt field connected them to the dominant cultural authority and would have demonstrated their deep connections to the networks of power.

Conolly continued to enjoy hunting throughout his life. The only diary that does not contain references to hunting are those of 1865 that concern the American adventure. During the 3 months spent in Italy he hunted with a club based near Rome in his final diary of 1870/71 the location of the hunt meets in the Palatine Hills of Rome, where he described the horses, the fox, the chase and finally the villa where the meet concluded, with enthusiasm and admiration (December 12 1870). He may also have travelled back to Rome some time in 1872, when he was appointed the Master of the Rome Hounds and given a portrait of Pope Pius IX as a memento (Depner 2016)[74] but there is no corroborating evidence that he did so. In any case this appointment suggested that the reach of his social network was linked to shared leisure interests that acted as a sort of cultural 'currency' well beyond the British Isles. However, in February 1875 a telling auction was advertised in the Irish Times about a sale of his hunters that was to

take place because ‘he is unable to hunt anymore this season’ (*Irish Times* February 1875). At age 52, he gave up this great pleasure because of failing health and the following year his death occurred.

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter the details of Conolly's networks and some representative examples of his public and private performances have been revealed and discussed for the first time in any detail, possibly since the beginning of the twentieth century. In this chapter, the case study of Thomas Conolly has been an attempt to create a biography as a record of his life in context with the practices of the power elite in their interaction with the wider public. The discussion of Conolly’s life and everyday practices has been used to demonstrate that he was like many others of his time and generation and as a result this has been shown that society was not as black and white as historical dogma has imposed upon the power elite of the period.

In the area of public life, for the power elites’ performance was everything and this continued into private life among peer groups for the maintenance of respectability. The notion of performance focuses on collective practices, formal and informal, and highlights the ways in which individuals function within the collective of compliance with the hegemonic norm. If one considers what and where these stage sets of performance were located one can begin to understand that although the old order of society was becoming increasingly unsustainable it represented an overarching view of society as it was lived by the elite in everyday life. In the period before the great changes of the late nineteenth century, the elites were still seated firmly in their power hubs, but these same hubs would soon see a reordering of the social hierarchies. Mills (1956:21) offers a succinct summation, the collapse of the means of power is the end of the particular power elites who control them but other power elites soon take over, with different agendas. This new order would establish their own performances that would shape and control the developing cultural hegemony that would devalue the preceding power group.

Performance was an organic process and how Thomas Conolly performed in his private life away from the expectations of political and club ownership was, in many ways, in contrast with his performed place in the public power network arena. This apparent mismatch between public/private performances of power hints at how flexible the identity of individuals could be. One must also consider the tension of performing a role that crossed over between an influential public role where the actions of the performance were closely watched and the private performance where the actions could to some extent be relaxed but were still under scrutiny by others of the same social group and by one’s own employees. It is also suggestive of the way

in which the private performance of everyday life had begun to replace formal public autocratic authority of the power elite as the social changes of the late nineteenth century begin to manifest themselves and the power of the ascendancy class began to ebb away. Women's roles in public too would increase as the century progressed as would their contribution to the social and political life of the everyday performance and the reordering of the overarching hegemony.

The final chapter will consider the different themes discussed throughout the thesis with a particular focus on how the core empirical chapters have considered in turn, the domestic and institutional settings (as the nodes of the network), the social connectivities through clubs and associations (as the lines of the network) and the performative examples drawn from Conolly's life (as exemplars of some of the processes by which the network functioned). The chapter will also summarize the approach taken with regard to how the power elite controlled the shape and the geography of the social order in the mid nineteenth century; within which some of the elements that led to its eventual downfall might also be glimpsed.

Chapter 8
Conclusion

'Precisely because knowledge spaces are social constructions
we can construct alternative spaces or positions from which to know the world.'
(Turnbull 1996)

This thesis has set out to demonstrate how the power of the dominant authority in Ireland during the mid-nineteenth century was managed, sustained and delivered through a network of social connections, and how those processes were maximized through everyday spaces and performances in the power landscape. It has explored specific relational geographies of power in nineteenth century Ireland by using a case study of one individual, Thomas Conolly (1823-1876), and one house, Castletown, County Kildare, to specifically map out his social networks from that starting point. Conolly was the central node of this relational spatial network, yet he also exemplified, through his spatial mobilities and codified social rituals, the ways that elites connected with wider social and political arenas that in turn, sustained hegemonic social orders. This study has also looked at the specific relational geographies of Conolly's activities and its reflection of the lifestyles of other ascendancy landowners in Irish society, both acting as vehicles to understand how the hegemonic power of the ascendancy class worked through the institutional governance in place and how this was challenged in the second half of the nineteenth century. As a specific place-focus, Conolly's home at Castletown was emblematic of the way the demesne in nineteenth century Ireland came to publicly represent the overt economic and social power of the landowning class and contributed to the visibly politicised nature of these central nodal spaces. This post-Famine period is something of hiatus before the coming storm of the last 20 years of the nineteenth century and as a result this provides an opportunity to examine the everyday life of the elites.

In recent studies of nineteenth century Irish society, academic and public work has begun to re-examine previously rigid negative images of the ascendancy and to re-evaluate the activities of the landed class with a fuller understanding and recognition that that society was multidimensional, mobile and highly nuanced. These new cultural geographies of landscape also draw methodologically on images and texts within systems of cultural, political and economic power as different ways of way of seeing that life world (Wylie 2007). Landscape represents a discourse through which identifiable social groups historically framed themselves,

and within which a number of different layers and connective geographies provide useful building blocks in mapping out power.

In developing this mapping process outwards into wider landscapes of power, the choice of landscape as an abstract concept was both symbolic and material and was deemed useful to illuminate the different elements of social organization, and cultural values of key players and agents in the network. The full mapping of Conolly's networks Figure 8:1 illustrates how the different interlocking connections hang together. By combining the maps shown earlier into one whole, it brings together the complicated network of Thomas Conolly's life as an exemplar of his elite contemporaries showing clearly the social body as a mesh of networks (Foucault 1980:142). This demonstrates how the network as a topology is overlaid on a topography. The geography of the network explicitly highlights the significant 'relationships' in relational geography extending from home (familial) to estate (familial/financial) to institutions (public & political duties) to clubs (communal/social/political (small p) and leisure) and finally returning to the personal, remembering Conolly's diaries and his upbeat personality– marking Conolly as a mobile node himself, someone who moved up and down, over and across this rediscovered network.

Through a detailed study of the scant biographical material about Conolly, including his diaries and other primary and secondary sources, it has been possible to assemble a form of relational biography and map these out as representative social networks for the dominant class to which he belonged. In mapping these out within the landscapes of power through which the archetypal Conolly operated, we can identify the cultural geographies of the landed gentry and through them the hegemonic networks that operated at the time. We can also identify particularly those performative aspects - social, cultural and economic - that were essential to its maintenance and survival. This thesis has utilized the idea of a mobile network to map out the cultural landscapes of power in their specific roles as sites of assembly that connected specific sites (domestic and institutional, church and the military), through connecting lines of social interaction (clubs, formal events, marriage), but also firmly identified performance as the underlying process that drove the system, exemplified through active (hunting, racing) and more passive, but no less powerful, forms (deference, patronage, rituals and costume). This topological view of the network has presented a model for how the elite Protestant Ascendancy society worked, from dispersed nodal points to central nodes and lines of connectivity (and occasional non-connectivity). The connections through the clubs and other authority associations magnified the social and family connectivity and created a strong bastion of support among the power hierarchy. 'Integration of diverse elites in a private club helps produce social homogeneity' that includes interaction for sharing the ideas of their class (Bourdieu

Fig 8.1 Conolly's Composite Network

(1986) quoted in Kendall 2008:89). The map in Fig. 8:1 is an ambitious attempt to pull together all of the different locations for those interactions from the empirical chapters, if only to indicate the complexity and reach of that network. So too is the map in Fig. 8.2 that shows his mobility in January of 1853 where he is moving about visiting and hunting a great deal even in this short period of time.

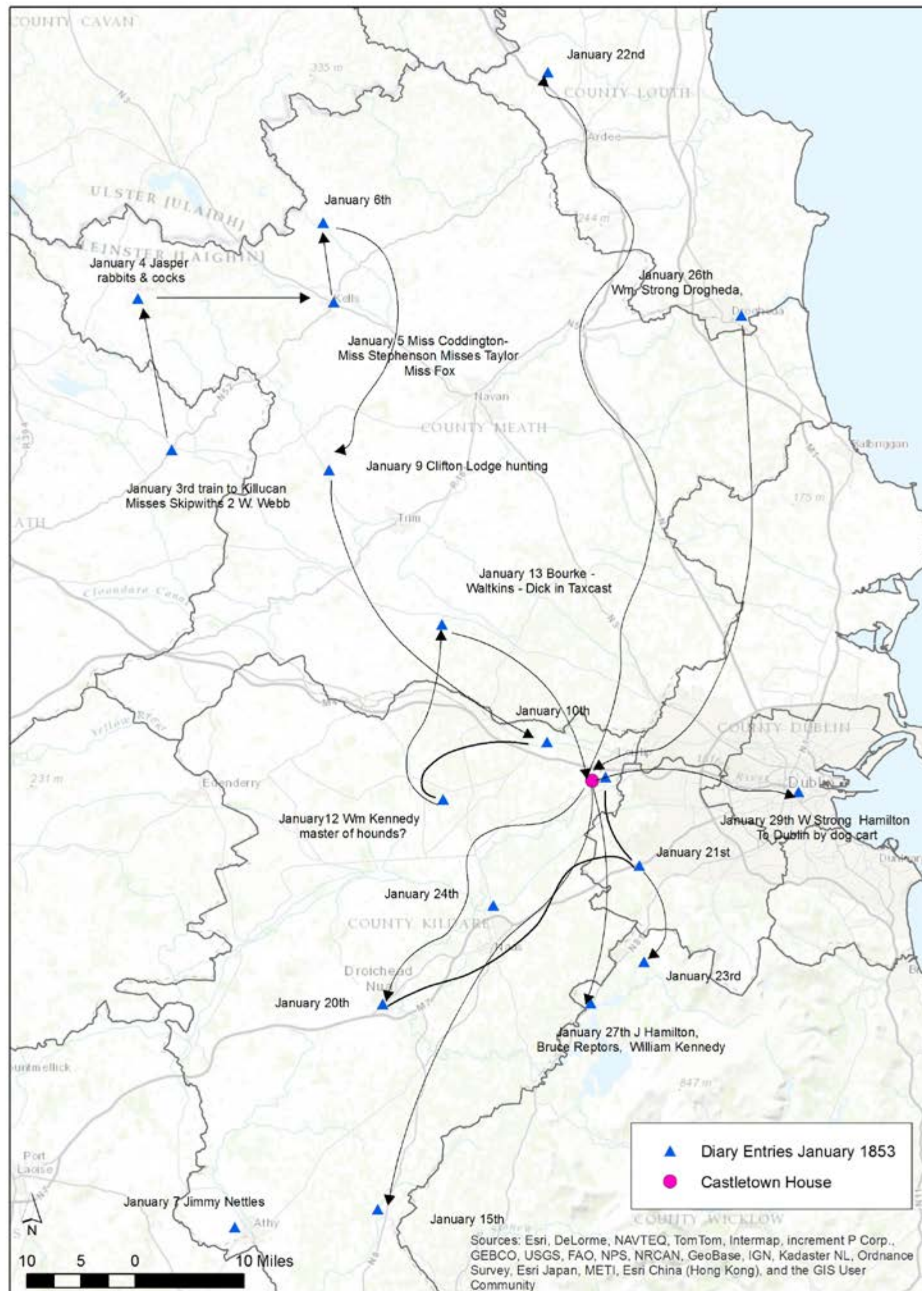

Figure 8.2 Conolly's Mobility in January 1853

Within the landscapes of urban and rural spaces, from the drawing room to the courthouse, connectivity within the ruling elite was central and demonstrated their powerful embedding within everyday life. Performance acted as one useful way of understanding the glues and lubricants that bound the network together, but also what drove mobility and the social movement across it. In employing the idea of performance, this also allowed the thesis to focus on collective practices, formal and informal, and highlight the ways in which powerful individuals functioned, using Thomas Conolly as an exemplar, within a collective hegemonic norm. Power was thus played out through the initial formation of a landowner's identity together with those of the people who lived and worked within the sphere of the powerful demesne system. Within each subsequent node of the network, through legal and governmental positions and combined with social practice, the high levels of cultural control were repeated across the country and the relationships between social, cultural and political hegemonies were codified and maintained.

Landscapes in the broadest sense of location were also shown to represent the material settings where performances of power were enacted and crucially, made visible. Performance was also nuanced according to place and consisted of a series of rhythmic (visits to London and to hunts) and ceremonial (institutional roles and dining) acts. This was ongoing across Conolly's life and was part of his everyday life no matter what the circumstances because of his strongly embedded high position in the social hierarchy.

Yet, the notion of performance also focused on collective practices, formal and informal, and highlighted the ways in which individuals like Conolly also functioned within a collective landscape of compliance and an accepted hegemonic norm. In mapping out Conolly's life, specifically where and when the performance occurred, one could begin to understand how the wider networks and systems of power worked. The staged performances took place against the established backdrop of the authoritarian environment that contributed to an active 'impression' of power. For the power elites especially, one was required to present a strong authority figure and live up to a life world that was presented to the viewer through performance. The implicit little ceremonies of everyday life by the elites were all the more powerful because of their subtlety. Significantly however, coupled with a visible performance there also existed an 'accepting' visible performance by the underclass of the power. This it

must be acknowledged was a highly contextualized and often reluctant acceptance, but nonetheless helped in the formation and delicate balance of that landscape.

Nevertheless, in the 1860s and 1870s the period before the great political and social changes, when the system was becoming increasingly unsustainable, the elites were seated firmly in their power hubs and still represented a view of society as it was lived by the elite in their everyday lives. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century these same hubs would soon see the beginnings of a reordering of the social hierarchies. A cultural struggle was being enacted in Ireland with significant additional political and social dimension with new elites emerging from the middle class. The symbolic landscapes of ascendancy power were becoming eroded by the developing political factors and those, who were at risk from the potential collapse of the old order, were endeavouring to maintain their relatively secure positions. The new elites at the top of the social hierarchy set different standards and others followed, modifying the old hegemony into social and economic realities that suited their own circumstances.

This thesis is also concerned with the more intangible components of power situated within that elite social network. These intangible networks operated within the built landscapes, those that contained highly visible and material power hubs. Power hubs were/are represented in the material built forms of the landscape, and are the visible manifestation of authority through which the intangible influence of the network operated. Within these meshes of network in the landscapes of power, the life world of the owner of a large house and demesne functioned as a starting point. It was not enough however for the landowner to simply be, he needed to employ strategies to make it work as he wanted, to cement and maintain that power. These strategies described as ‘actions which, dependent on a space of power (or one's own spatial ‘property’), are able to project theoretical spaces (totalizing systems and types of discourse) which can articulate the ensemble of physical places where force is distributed.’ (De Certeau et. al 2003:7) What this means is that the process of governance requires performance so that it becomes visible, rising out of the intangible. Within the space-power of the intangible is the practice, or at least the theory, through which control is achieved. Spatial relations are far more significant than temporal and through systemic organization; the mastery of the physical can be realized (De Certeau et al 2003).

This thesis has shown, as Massey postulates, that space is always under construction, it is never finished and through this continuous change, power moves and reorders itself but remains *power* (Massey 2005). The changes of ownership of the great estates and the economic fluctuations of the family circumstances give rise to the changes in the way that space operated in the power landscapes. In this concern for mobility, the fluid nature of the network and how

it was lubricated, were important themes. Mobility was an important aspect of the power elite and their economic situation allowed them to travel back and forth to England and indeed even further. Mobility was inherent in Conolly's life, as his diaries clearly demonstrated, and in tracking him in his diaries, one was also tracking him through the spaces and place of power in which he actively operated and moved. Civic responsibility in the institutions, such as an MP, meant that travel to London to take a seat in the House of Commons was taking power and influence to another geographical area entirely.

By analyzing Thomas Conolly's memberships of elite clubs and the associations of members and their appointments, together with their personal connections of family and friends, it becomes evident that there was a strong social network between those in the upper reaches of society's hierarchy percolating down to the power elite's managers who are also highly connected and could, at times, move up into a more influential positions. These are the components of social magic: connections with friends, family and marriages. Individuals rose in prestige and became more deeply networked to those in existing influential positions. Appointments to positions of influence particularly in the establishment institutions was part of the manifestation of power and were entirely dependent on social connection and most importantly on aristocratic connection recalling here the meshes of the social and cultural and political networks. Conolly's life clearly followed this path, though he was already well embedded with that elite society from birth. However, networks of power and influence are constantly at the mercy of a changing global social structure and in the nineteenth century during Conolly's lifetime this was accelerating. This change would bring a different social and economic power elite into the forefront and Conolly's networks would disappear to be replaced by new networks. Previously there was reference to Castells' postulation that 'the information technology revolution and the restructuring of capitalism have induced a new form of society, the network society (Castells 1997:1). Power is now no longer concentrated in institutions of the state it is diffused in global networks of wealth, power and images 'which circulate in a dematerialized geography' (Castells 1997: 359). Nevertheless, in considering the networking of connection past present or future through a spatial approach, influence remains as always at the heart of power 'power still rules society; it still shapes and dominates us' (Castells 1997: 359). If space is 'constituted through interaction' (Massey 2005:9) then it follows that power is constituted through interaction within the spaces of social interaction. Social networking was the most important milieu within which the accession of power operated in the nineteenth century within and across many different institutions all described to a greater or lesser degree in this thesis. These included religious affiliation, schools, colleges, the military, gentleman's clubs and, increasingly in the

nineteenth century, agricultural societies and leisure-based clubs around horses, especially hunting. Belonging to the right club in Ireland would open the doors to the right club in London and vice versa.

In methodological terms, the construction of a pivotal database of club ownership and institutional roles was central in mapping out Conolly's networks. The choice of a database approach meant that the network could be converted into a digital form, via GIS, which in turn allowed it to be both mapped and queried. One key query, discussed in depth in Chapter 6, was the identification of those who were members of the Kildare Street Club, the premier gentleman's club in Ireland. The map showed that the KSC members were spread spatially across Ireland, although most lived in Leinster. The additional value of choosing one sample group was that it was also possible, via the database, to highlight the associations and posts held by the KSC members. In this way, it became possible to demonstrate that this one club was a central connectivity hub for the networking of the power elite in the nineteenth century. It also allowed for the precise location of Thomas Conolly and his active membership of the KSC, as being at the heart of these deeper nodal connections. These connections extended to membership of other clubs, based in fixed premises, and also included hunt clubs that in turn opened up their networking into the geographical landscape of several counties and for some, including Conolly, other countries. Their additional civil appointments uncovered additional topological and topographical dimensions of the networks. Of the 684 individuals in the KSC sample from the database, 85% held significant civic authority and 68% held land over 2000 acres, indicating the reach of the KSC membership and their influence, ranged geographically across the whole of the island. Massey's relational term power geometries is one that is particularly relevant– and one that is fundamental to spatial structures of everyday life–that links together Thomas Conolly's diaries, movements, connections and practices that are shown in the concluding map above (Fig. 8:1).

The membership lists for the four main clubs discussed in the thesis revealed that the elite clubs were not only filled with men in positions of authority, but that a large percent of members had social and marital connections in common. With a small Irish hierarchy, it was inevitable that there would be a large number of interconnected family relationships. At this time, the great merchants were beginning to be accepted into 'polite' society and with moneymaking becoming much more acceptable there may have been opportunity to network in the business community as well. This emerging acceptance of 'trade' into the social hierarchy and mixing with the vestiges of old money created what Cummins (2016) refers to as layers of assets**:** asset as a term of social, cultural, political and economic relationships**.** The nature of the ways in which people were layered into and across the network is shown in a geo-spatial

approach with overlays in the GIS maps of the different assets of the social network. These new connections helped to grow the network, but also perhaps weaken the bonds that held it together when too many without the equivalent deep layers of culture became part of the network. The elite arguably had operated on a different plane, removed from the local every day and this was part of a deliberate socio-spatial separation. One might also argue that when the old elites come under sustained attack in the early 1920's they were physically vulnerable precisely because of the nature of that geographically diffused network!

It must be acknowledged that this study has limitations, especially in regard to a less than full documentation of Thomas Conolly's life. Regrettably due to this limitation the theme underplayed in this thesis was the visualization of a timeline using Conolly's diaries and other events such as political events, elections and the American adventure in 1865. If the documentation of Conolly's life had remained intact this would have been much easier to describe both in print and in imagery. What remains of his life are the networks in their abstract forms and this is what has been discussed in the thesis. With a trickle of papers coming to light in the future more work could be undertaken to illustrate his timeline. By taking a historical geography approach to explore relational aspects of a subject's life one is highly dependent on primary sources. Arguably one could have mapped more comprehensively the social/spatial networks of another individual with a better documented life through diaries or public recording of their activities. But in terms of creating a history of Castletown there was no other option. This is because there has not been an historical narrative written of the social, cultural, economic or political aspect of Castletown after 1821 or before 1956 until this thesis set out to do just that. This thesis has shown that even with a partial record one can begin to join up the connective nodes of the network to achieve a sense of the life world of Thomas Conolly despite the scarcity of primary sources.

Ultimately this thesis serves to demonstrate to other researchers that with a solid group of source material people can create a picture of lives or past events by mapping out across space and time the material that is available. Even if the individual items are slight the combination of disparate material can be brought together to produce a coherent whole that gives a fuller picture. For example, if material on the Kildare Street Club or the Westmeath Hunt were to be mapped more widely this might show in new and interesting ways, how collectively the activities of these groups influenced the cultural dominance of the nineteenth century. This work is beyond the scope of this thesis but the notion of mapping the nineteenth century social network has a great deal of potential in terms of GIS and geo-spatial analysis. The work of digital spatial humanities has already been applied, providing an example of this, in Rachel Murphy's (Foley & Murphy 2015) mapping of estate records.

Summary

The separate life-worlds in the geographical landscape, a personalized landscape of power, the created stage set, was one cog in a bigger network, but these were bound up to produce what together formed the prevalent hierarchy and the hegemony of the time. One might see the demesnes as floating rafts on a less than friendly sea. Although it must be pointed out that in the eastern counties, particularly in Co Dublin, the demesnes had little in the way of unfriendly seas between them and around the capital none at all, forming a jigsaw of privately owned land. By appreciating these geographical differences/circumstances and with so many members of the gentleman's clubs owning from 'small' or middle-size to large houses and demesnes this has supported a key spatial argument of the thesis that, while the homes of the elite may have been mainly geographically dispersed, their social and leisure activities were still tightly linked/connected/networked. We can therefore conclude that many of the strategies and discourses on the management of the authoritarian regimes imposed on the subordinate groups were worked out in and between these spaces, often through performances of power (Kendall 2008). The deep layers of cultural and family manners and practices - some unconsciously learned, others instilled in the schools and battlefields of Europe and elsewhere - created a largely heterogeneous group that oversaw the hegemony of the period. The resulting social capital of the individual is in direct relationship to their access to the social network and 'because it exerts a multiplier effect on the capital he possesses in his own right' (Bourdieu 1986:21). Conolly as an exemplar of the landowner at the time moved through these power spaces with confidence and is regarded with respect and affection by all levels of society. Through performance of the accepted laws and practices, the lubricant of deference operated and tacit acknowledgement of the economic and political control a relatively high level of compliance resulted in a stable society, at least until the rise of the bourgeoisie. At the end of Chapter 3 mention is made of a 'social dance' in that the deference, towards the end of the nineteenth century became more of a two-way street. This weakened the ability of the elite to continue to exclude, to the extent that had been done in the past. Increasingly from the end of the nineteenth century the bourgeoisie were assuming the role of the power elite.

The political and agricultural upheavals that were consolidated from the 1870s onward revealed the impact of a wider political economy, and these were without question significant in the beginning of the end of the old networks. At the heart of power, additional pivotal everyday changes also began to occur in the private spaces of the gentleman's clubs and the

drawing rooms of their great houses. A new cast had begun to appear on the stage sets of the old power landscapes. The middle classes, given access to greater educational improvement and aspirational intellectual ideas, began to emerge in increasing numbers and were instigating greater control of their own destiny. What fundamentally affected the change in society was their desire to be more effective politically and economically but, in these early stages they also wanted to be part of the old establishment that included clubs, sporting interests and, on a more mundane level, clothing and manners. By the end of the nineteenth century social and political changes saw the unravelling of the old power networks that, ironically, was a version that contained strong echoes of what it would replace. In the present day one may apply similar observations to the power networks however, to a greater degree, the possibility of access is much more open. Access nonetheless still requires playing by the rules, many the same as the old rules: connections to an influential network, a high educational standard often at the right university and an appropriate level of performance backed up by cultural capital. Above all wealth remains the key either to the first three or at the very least access to the hierarchy of the power networks.

If we look at the social networks and associated performances of Thomas Conolly as a whole, they act as not-so-subtle markers of exclusion and inclusion. Other performers with high cultural and social capital, who are able to create social magic are especially evident in terms of Conolly's membership of clubs and hunts and can be traced in the 'exclusive circles', the power networks within which he operated. His life as has been shown was one of networked privilege from the very beginning. His family, the Pakenhams, and Conollys are networked by blood and marriage to many of the other great families in Ireland. His schooling at Harrow one of the high profile English public schools followed by Oxford then connected him to other young men, extending his social network in the United Kingdom. His position as MP following his father's death catapulted him into difficult political responsibilities at 25 that he handled, if not with a liberal hand, with aplomb. Travel in Europe and his friendship with Napoleon III shows that it was not simply familial networks that he could stand out in but that he could operate as an individual in the meshes of the networks wherever he found himself. In marriage he succeeded in securing a life partner who would bring to the estate a considerable dowry and for the couple four children in quick succession. His socializing in London, shown in his engagement diaries, demonstrate what an expanded social life was available to someone with personality and social magic in the glittering connectivity of the power network.

Throughout this thesis, by using Thomas Conolly as a marker, exclusion of the mass of the population and the elite practices and performances of how this was achieved have been described at length. This biographical approach has been the core of the project The social

network that facilitated the power network and the money that provided the glue/lubricant that allowed Conolly and others of his sort to maintain their hold on power, but critically the uncertain finances and complex family histories before and after him were evidence for a loosening of the glue that bound the old system together. Similarly, while his diaries still show a strongly fluid, social network operating, both thick and thin the shadows/threats can be glimpsed in his life (via parliamentary debates, the gradual dilution of the clubs, the need to 'marry down' for money, the reckless American escapade and his own risqué behaviour). This is the value of creating biography, and in this thesis by looking at Thomas Conolly and tracing his life-world he acts as a prism through which we can view the power elite during the mid-Victorian period.

The lust for power, dominating others, inflames the heart
more than any other passion.

Tacitus

Bibliography

Archival sources
Castletown Archives

Letter from Lady Louisa to Lady Sarah 1782. Castletown Archive
Pass Book 1842
Loose sheet: Payments made on account to La Touché and Co. Bank of Ireland years rent and arrears of Col. Conolly's Estates in the county of Donegal due Novr (sic) 1840 and part at May 1841, dated 24 January 1842.
Account Book 1863-1867
Deed of Covenant 1851Thomas Conolly and Cotter
Last will and testament of Thomas Conolly 1872

Note: the foregoing documents have not been formally catalogued and therefore have no reference numbers.

Irish Architectural Archive:
Castletown papers: 97/84 Box 78, 1694-1840: leases, letters and legal documents.
Diaries of Thomas Conolly (1823-76):
Diary 1864-65 IAA 98/79
Log Book 1864-65 IAA A00073
Diary 1870-71 IAA A00073

National Archives:
Manuscript: Last Will and testament of Edward Michael Pakenham Conolly (1789-1849) NAI T17411.
Letter Edward Michael Pakenham NAI CSORP/1822 479
Manuscript: Last Will and testament of Thomas Conolly (1738-1803) NAI T17412.
Will Book 1877 entry 381 Will of Thomas Conolly (1823-76)
Primary Valuation of Ireland (1847 –1864)

National Library of Ireland.
Reports on private collections:
Report on Conolly Papers, Castletown, Co Kildare, re lands in Cos Donegal, Dublin, Fermanagh, Kildare, Westmeath, Roscommon & Meath, from 1604. No. 314
Conolly Papers
Two account books relating to Castletown: 1828, 1830-39, 1860-69. NLI Conolly Papers MS 14,342.
One account book 1830-39. NLI Conolly Papers MS 14,343
Maps of the Kildare hunting district 1865, Dublin 1865 & 1872 , NLI Conolly Papers16.H.14(11).
Map of the Meath, Ward and part of the Louth hunting district (Dublin, ND), NLI Conolly Papers MS 45,746.
Mayo Papers NLI MS 11,181/1-2. & MS 43,816/1-5.

Newspapers on Microfilm
Daily Express 1851-1860
Weekly Irish Times
Newspapers on line
Kildare Observer
Belfast Newsletter
Contemporary Newspaper

Shapiro, J. (2016)‘What ish my nation?’: an expert answers Macmorris. *Irish Times* 23 April 2016.

Registry of Deeds

Memorials: Conolly and Scottish Provident Institution
1875 Book 14 Memorial 107
1875 Book 14 Memorial 108
1875 Book 18 Memorial 274

Trinity Library

Conolly Papers

Letter Edward Michael Pakenham Conolly: MSS 1457
Letter of attorney to Sir Thomas Pakenham from Richard Trench (Lord Dunloe): MSS 1440
Building a Gas works at Castletown: MSS 1720
Bill for carpets Lady [Louisa Ann] Pakenham: MSS1698b
Papers relating to Edward Michael Conolly: MSS 3974-84

Secondary Sources

Aalen, F.H.A., Whelan, K. & Stout, M. eds. (1997) *Atlas of the Rural Irish Landscape*. Cork: Cork University Press.

Addison, H. R. (1862) *Recollections of an Irish police magistrate and other reminiscences of the south of Ireland*. Ward and Locke.

Agnew J. (1999) New Geopolitics of Power. In Massey, D., Allen, J & Sarre, P. eds., (1999) *Human Geography Today*. Cambridge: Polity Press. 173-193.

Allen, J. (1999) Spatial Assemblies of Power: From Dominance to Empowerment. In Massey, D., Allen, J & Sarre, P. eds., (1999) *Human Geography Today*. Cambridge: Polity Press. 194-218.

Anderson, B. (1983) *Imagined Communities*: *Reflections on the origins and spread of Nationalism*. London:Verso (2006).

Anderson, B. (2008) For Space (2005): Doreen Massey. In: Hubbard, P., Valentine, G. & Kitchin, R. eds. *Key Texts in Human Geography*. London: Sage. 227-235.

Anderson, J. (2010) *Understanding Cultural geography places and traces*. London: Routledge.

Archer, S. (1987) *Royal St George Yacht Club.* Dublin

Arensberg, C. M. & Kimball, S. T. (c1935) *Family and community in Ireland.* Ennis: Clasp Press (2001, 3rd edition).

Baird, R. (2003) *Mistress of the House Great Ladies and Grand Houses 1670-1830*. London: Weonfield & Nicholson.

Barnard, T. (1997) Integration or Separation? Hospitality and Display in Protestant Ireland, 1660–1800 In: Brockliss, L. & Eastwood, D. eds. (1997) *A Union of Multiple Identities: The British Isles c.1750–c.1800*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 127-147.

Barnard, T. (2003) *A New Anatomy of Ireland: The Irish Protestants, 1649-1770*. London: Yale University Press.

Barnard, T. (2004) *Making the Grand Figure Lives and Possessions in Ireland 1641-1770*. London: Yale University Press.

Barnard, T. (2005) *Guide to Sources for the History of Material Culture in Ireland.* Dublin: Four Courts.

Bateman, J. (1883) *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland A list of all owners of Three Thousand Acres and upwards*. Kessinger Legacy Reprints (2009).

Bauman Z. (2000) *Liquid Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Beckett, J.C. (1976) *The Anglo-Irish Tradition*. London: Faber & Faber Limited.

Bence-Jones, M. (1987) *Twilight of the Ascendancy*. London: Constable.

Bence-Jones, M., (1996) *Life in the Irish Country House*. London: Constable.

Bence-Jones, M. (1978) *Burke's Guide to Country Houses: Ireland. Volume 1 of Burke's and Savills Guide to Country Houses*. London: Burke's Peerage.

Berry, H.F. (1915) *A history of the Royal Dublin Society*. London: Longmans, Green and Co.

Borsay, P. & Proudfoot, L. J., (2002) *Provincial Towns in Early Modern England and Ireland: Change, Convergence and Divergence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1982) *Language and Symbolic Power*. Translated by Raymond G. & Adamson M. Thompson J.B. ed (1991 4th ed 1997), Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1986) The Forms of Capital In: Richardson, J.G. ed. *The Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York: Greenwood Press, 241-58.

Bowen, E. (1942) *Bowen's Court*. London: Vintage Random House (1999).

Bowen, M. (1954) *Hunting in Ireland*. Tralee: The Kerryman Ltd.

Boyce, D.G. (1990) *Nineteenth Century Ireland, the search for stability*. Dublin: Gill & McMillian.

Boylan P. (1988) *All cultivated People: a history of the United Arts club.* London: Gerrards Cross.

Brace, C. (2003) Landscape and Identity In: Robertson, I. & Richards, P. eds. *Cultural Landscapes*. London: Arnold, 121-138.

Bragg, M. (2003) *The Adventure of English: The biography of a language*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Bridge, G., (2004) Pierre Bourdieu In Hubbard, P., Valentine, G. & Kitchin, R. (2005) *Key Texts in Human Geography*. London: Sage.

Bristow, J (2008) *Oscar Wilde and Modern Culture*: *the making of a legend*. Ohio University Press.

Brody, H. (1973) *Inishkillane, Change and Decline in the West of Ireland*. London: Faber and Faber.

Brown, D. (1948) *God and the Enchantment of place: reclaiming human experience*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burke, Sir B. (1904) *A genealogical and heraldic history of the Landed Gentry of Ireland*. London: Harrison & Sons.

Butlin, R. A. (1993) *Historical Geography through the gates of time and space*. London: Edward Arnold.

Buttimer, A. (1993) *Geography and the human spirit*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Caffery, P. (2003) *Kildare Street Club & University Club.* (Catalogue of the painting collection). Dublin: Kildare Street and University Club.

Callard, F. (2004) Doreen Massey In: Hubbard, P., Kitchin, R. & Valentine, G. eds. (2004) *Key Texts in Human Geography*. London: Sage. 219-225.

Campbell, F. (2009) *The Irish Establishment 1879-1914*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Castells, M. (1997) *The Power of Identity*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Chambers, A. (2008) *At Arm's Length Aristocrats in the Republic of Ireland.* Dublin: New Island.

Clark, P. (2001) *British clubs and Societies 1580-1800:The origins of an Associational World*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Clarke, H., Prunty, J. & Henessy, M. eds. (2004) *Surveying Ireland's Past*. Dublin: Geography Publications.

Clarke, S. (1979) *Social Origins of the Land War*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Cloke, P., Crang, P. & Goodwin, M. eds. (1999) *Introducing Human Geographies*. London: Arnold.

Cloke, P., Crang, P. & Goodwin, M., eds. (2004) *Envisioning Human Geographies*. London: Arnold.

Comerford, R.V. (1989) Ireland 1850-1870: post-famine and mid-Victorian In: Vaughan, W.E., ed. *New History of Ireland: Ireland under the Union 1801-1870*, Volume V. New York: Oxford University Press.

Conolly-Carew, S, (2012) *The Children of Castletown*. Dublin: The History Press.

Corrigan, P. (1997) *The Sociology of Consumption*. London: Sage.

Cosgrove A., ed. (1985) *Marriage in Ireland*. Dublin: College Press.

Cosgrove, D.E. (1984) *Social formation and symbolic landscape*. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.

Cosgrove, D.E. & Daniels, S. (1988) *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the symbolic representations, design and use of past environments*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cosgrove, D.E. (2002) *Apollo's eye a cartographic genealogy of the earth in western imagination*. Sheffield: Geographical Association.

Costello, C. (2005) *A Class Apart, The Gentry families of County Kildare.* Dublin: Nonsuch.

Cotty, R. (1966) *Irish agricultural production: its volume and structure*. Cork: Cork University Press.

Courthope, W., ed. (1809) *Debrett's Baronetage of England and also of the existing baronets of Scotia and Ireland.* London: J.G. & F Rivington.

Craigie, E. (1984) *An Sporting Life*. Dublin: the Lilliput Press

Craig, M. (1977) *Classic Irish Houses of the Middle Size*. Dublin: Ashfield Press.

Crossman, V. (1994) *Local Government in Nineteenth Century Ireland*. Belfast: The Institute of Irish Studies.

Crossman, V. (1996) *Politics, law and order in nineteenth-century Ireland*. Dublin: Gill and McMillian.

Casey, C. (2010) *The eighteenth-century Dublin town house: form function and finance*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Cullen, L. (1981) *The emergence of modern Ireland 1600-1900*. New York: Homes & Meier.

Curtin, C. & Wilson, T.M. (1982) *Ireland from below: social change and local communities*. Galway: Galway University Press.

Dalsimer, A.M., ed. (1993) *Visualizing Ireland, National Identity*. London: Faber and Faber.

Daniels, S. (1993) *Fields of vision: Landscape imagery and national identity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Darby, W.J. (2000) *Landscape and Identity: Geographies of nation and class in England*. Oxford: Berg.

De Certeau, M. (1984) *The practice of everyday life:* Berkley: University of California Press.

de Courcy, A. (2000) *The Viceroy's Daughters: The lives of the Curzon Sisters*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

de Vere White, T. (1955) *The story of the Royal Dublin Society*. Tralee: The Kerryman Limited.

de Vere White, T. (1972) *The Anglo-Irish*. London: Victor Gollancz Ltd.

Dease, E.F. (1898) *A complete history of the Westmeath Hunt from its foundation*. Dublin: Browne and Nolan Limited.

Delaney, M., (2012) *William Steuart Trench and his management of the Digby estate, King's County, 1857-71*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Dodge, M. Kitchin, R. & Perkins, C. (2011) *The Map-reader*. London: Wiley-Blackwell.

Donnelly, J.S. (1975) *The land and the people of nineteenth-century Cork*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Donnelly, J.S. (1989) Landlords and Tenants In Vaughan, W.E., ed. *New History of Ireland: Ireland under the Union 1801-1870*, Volume V. New York: Oxford University Press.

Dooley, T. (2001) *The decline of the big house in Ireland 1860-1960.*
Dublin: Wolfhound Press.

Dooley, T. (2007) *The Big House and Landed Estates of Ireland, a research guide*. Dublin: Four Courts.

Dooley, T. & Ridgway, C. eds. (2011) *The Irish Country House in the nineteenth century.* Dublin: Four Courts.

Driver, F. (1993) *Power and Pauperism The workhouse system 1834-1884*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Duffy, P. J. (2005) Colonial spaces and sites of resistance: landed estates in 19th century Ireland. In: Proudfoot L.J. & Roche, M.M., eds. *Displacing Empire*. Aldershot: Ashgate

Duffy, P. J. (2007) *Exploring the History and Heritage of Irish landscapes*. Dublin: Four Courts.

Duffy, P.J. (1999) Trends in twentieth century settlement In: Barry, T. B., ed. *A history of settlement in Ireland*. London: Routledge.

Duffy, S. ed. (1997) *Atlas of Irish History*. Dublin: Gill and McMillan.

Daniels, S. & Cosgrove, D. (1993) Spectacle and Text: Landscape Metaphors in Cultural Geography In Duncan, J. & Ley, D. eds. (1993) *Place/Culture/Representation.* London: Routledge. 57-177.

Escott, T.H.S. (1914) *Club Makers and Club Members*. London: T.F. Irwin.

Evans, E.E. (1981) *The personality of Ireland*. Dublin: The Lilliput Press (1992).

Featherstone M. (1992) Postmodernism and aestheticization of everyday life. In Lash, S.& Friedman, J. eds. *Modernity and Identity.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Fitzgerald, B. (1948) *Emily Duchess of Leinster 1731-1814:*
A study of her life and times. London: Staples Press.

Fitzgerald, B. (1950) *Lady Louisa Conolly 1743-1821:*
an Anglo Irish biography. London: Staples Press.

Foley, R. (2010) *Healing Waters Therapeutic Landscapes in Historic and Contemporary Ireland*. Surrey: Ashgate.

Foucault, M. (1970) *The Order of Things: an archaeology of*

the human sciences. London: Routledge.

Foucault, M. (1980) *Power & Knowledge Selected Interviews and other writings 1972-1977*. New York: Vintage Books.
Foucault, M. (2002) Archaeology of Knowledge. London: Routledge.

Friel, P., (2000) *Frederick Trench (1746-1836) and Heywood, Queen's county*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press.

Freeman, T.W. (1950) *Ireland: its physical, historical, social and economic geography*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.

Galbraith, J.K. (1977) *The Age of Uncertainty*. Boston: Houghton Miffin Company.

Genet J., ed. (1991) *The big house in Ireland: reality and representation*. Dingle: Brandon Book Publishers.

Gerth H.H., & Wright Mills, C., eds. (1958) *From Max Weber*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Gifford, D. (1982) *Joyce annotated: notes for Dubliners and A portrait of the artist*. University of California Press.

Gillespie, R. & Brady, C., (1986) *Natives and Newcomers*. Dublin Irish Academic Press.

Girouard, M. (1978) *Life in the English Country House*. London: Yale University Press.

Girouard, M. (1987) *A Country House Companion*. London: Century

Golding S. (1997) *Eight Technologies of Otherness*. London: Routledge

Gordon, C., ed., (1980) *Power/Knowledge selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977 Michel Foucault*. New York: Vintage (Random House).

Graham Brian J. & Proudfoot L. J. (1993) *An Historical Geography of Ireland*. London: Academic Press.

Graham, B. and Nash, C. eds. (2000) *Modern Historical Geographies*. Essex: Prentice Hall.

Graham, B., Ashworth G & Ashworth, J, & Tunbridge J. E., (2000) *A geography of heritage: Power, culture & economy*. London: Oxford University Press.

Greaves, R. (ND c1950) *A Short History of the Ward Union Hounds*. Dublin: Reid-Hamilton (Ireland) Ltd.

Gregory, I., (2007) *Historical GIS: technologies, methodologies and scholarship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Grey, P., & Purdue, O. eds. (2012) *The Irish Lord Lieutenancy c. 1541-1922*. Dublin: University College Dublin Press.

Groth, P. & Bressi, T.W. eds. (1997) *Understanding Ordinary landscapes*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Guinness, D. & Sadler J.T. eds. (1976) *Palladio A western progress*. New York The Viking Press.

Guinness, P. (2008) *Arthur's Round. The Life and Times of Brewing Legend Arthur Guinness*. London: Peter Owen Publishers.

Harley, J.B. (1988) Maps, knowledge and power, in
Cosgrove, D.E. & Daniels, S. eds., (1988) *The iconography of landscape.*
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 277-312.

Harley, J.B. & Laxton, P. (2001) *The new nature of maps: essays in the history of cartography*. London: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Harris, R. (1991). *Regional Economic Policy in Northern Ireland 1945-1988*. London: Avebury.

Harrison, J.F.C. (1998) *The early Victorians 1832-1851*.
London, Fontana/Collins.

Harvey, D, (2001) *Spaces of Capital: towards a critical geography*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Herlihy, J. (2016) *The Royal Irish Constabulary: a short history and genealogical guide with a select list of medal awards and casualties*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Hickman, K. (2003) *Courtesans.* London: Harper Collins.

Hinkson, P. (1991) *Seventy Years Young, Memories of Elizabeth Countess of Fingall.* Dublin: The Lilliput Press.

Hobsbawm, e. & Ranger, T. eds. (2009) *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hooper, G. & Litvack, L. eds. (2000) *Ireland in the Nineteenth Century, regional identity*. Dublin: Four Courts.

Hoppen, K.T. (1984) *Elections, Politics and Society in Ireland 1832-85*.
Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hourihane, J. ed. (2003) *Engaging Spaces*. Dublin: The Lilliput Press.

Howell, P. (2009) *Geographies of Regulation: Policing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century Britain and the Empire*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Hubbard, P., Valentine, G. & Kitchin, R. (2005) *Key Texts in Human Geography*. London: Sage.

Hunt, T. (2007) *Sport and Society in Victorian Ireland: the case of Westmeath*. Cork: Cork University Press.

Ingold T. (2000) *The perception of the Environment*. London: Routledge.

Jackson-Stops, G., (1989) *The fashioning of the British country house*.
Washington D.C.: National gallery of Art.

James, D. & O'Maitiu, S. eds., (1996) *The Wicklow World of Elizabeth Smith 1840-50*. Dublin: Woodfield Press.

Jones-Hughes, T. (2010) *Landholding, Society and Settlement in Nineteenth Century Ireland*. Dublin: Geography Publications.

Johnson, M. (2002) *Beyond the castle gate: Medieval to Renaissance*. London: Wiley & Blackwell.

Johnson, N, (2003) *Ireland, The Great War and the Geography of Remembrance. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.*

Kellner, D. (1992) Constructing Post-modern Identities in S. Lash & J. Friedman (eds.) *Modernity and Identity*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Kelly, J. & Powell, M., eds. (2010) *Clubs and societies in eighteenth century Ireland*. Dublin: Four Courts.

Kendall, D. E. (2002) *The power of good deeds: privileged women and the social reproduction of the upper class*. Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield.

Kendall, D.E. (2008) *Members only: elite clubs and the process of exclusion*. Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield.

Kennedy, B.P., Gillespie, R. eds. (1994) *Ireland, art into history*. Dublin: Town House.

Kevin McKenna, (2013) Elites, ritual and the legitimation of power on an Irish landed estate 1855-90. In: O'Neill, C., ed. *Irish elites in the nineteenth Century*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 68-82.

Kreilkamp, V., (2002) *Eire/Ireland*. Boston: University of Boston Press.

Land Owners in Ireland Return of Owners of Land of one acre upwards in the several counties, counties of cities and counties of towns in Ireland. Government of Great Britain, (1876). Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing (reprint 1988). (Short title: Land Owners in Ireland 1876.)

Lankford, Nelson D., ed. (1988) An *Irishman in Dixie: Thomas Connolly's diary of the fall of the Confederacy*. Virginia: University of South Carolina.

Lee, H. (2005) *Body Parts: Essays in Life Writing*. London: Chatto & Windlas.

Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The production of space*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Lejeune, A., (1976) *The gentlemen's clubs of London*. London: MacDonald and Jane's.

Lewis, C. A. (1975) *Hunting in Ireland: an historical and geographical analysis*. London: J.A. Allen.

Lewis, S. (1837) *Topographical dictionary of Ireland*. London: Lewis & Co.

Lilley, K. (2004) J. Brian Harley. In: Hubbard, P., Kitchin, R. & Valentine, G. eds. (2004) *Key Thinkers on Space and Place*. London: Sage Publications. 174-188

Livingston, D. (1999) *Geography and enlightenment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

MacFarlane, A. (1978) *The Origins of English Individualism, the family, property and social transition*. Blackwell Press, Oxford.

Machiavelli, N. (1531) *The Prince.* Translated by Detmold, C.E.. Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions Ltd. (1997)

Malcomson, A.P.W. (2006) *The Pursuit of the Heiress Aristocratic marriage in Ireland*. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation.

Malcomson, A.P.W. (2007) The fall of the house of Conolly. In: Blackstock, A. & Magennis, E., eds. *Politics and political culture in Britain and Ireland 1780-1850*. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation. 107-156.

Malpas, J.E. (1999) *Place and Experience: a philosophical Topography*.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mandler, P. (1997) *Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*. New York: Yale University Press.

Mann, M. (1993) *The Sources of Social Power Vol 2 The rise of classes and nation states 1760-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Massey, D. (2005) *For Space*. London: Sage.
Massey, D., Allen, J & Sarre, P. eds., (1999) *Human Geography Today*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Maxwell, C. ed., (1925) *A Tour in Ireland Made in the years 1776,1777 and 1778 by Arthur Young*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mayo Earl, (Richard Burke) & Boulton, W.B. eds. (1913)
A History of the Kildare Hunt. London: St Catherine's Press.

McCarthy M., ed. (2005) *Ireland's Heritages: critical perspectives on memory and identity*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

McCarthy, T., (2010) *The Shaws of Terenure, A nineteenth century Dublin merchant family*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

McDowell, R.B. (1993) *Land and Learning: Two Irish clubs*.
Dublin: The Lilliput Press.

Meenah, J & Clarke, D., eds. (1981) *RDS The Royal Dublin Society 1731-1981*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan.

Meinig, D. (1979) *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes. Geographical Essays*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Mills, C. Wright (1956) *Power Elites*. New York: Oxford University Press (1971, 7th ed.).

Mirala, P. (2010) Masonic sociability and it limitations: the case of Ireland In Kelly, J. & Powell, M., eds. (2010) *Clubs and societies in eighteenth century Ireland*. Dublin: Four Courts. 315-331.

Montgomery-Massingberd, H. (1976) *Burke's Irish Family Records*.

London: Burkes Peerage Ltd.

Mooney, J., (2012) *The changing fortunes of the Headfort estates, 1870-1928*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Moore, G. (1887) *Parnell and his Island*. London: Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey & Co.

Moran, G., (2006) *Sir Robert Gore Booth and his landed estate in County Sligo, 1814-1876*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Morrissey, J., Nally, D., Strohmayer, U. & Whelan, Y. eds. (2014) *Key Concepts in Historical Geography*. London: Sage.

Muir, R. (2000 [1981]) *The new reading the landscape: Fieldwork in landscape history*. Exeter: Exeter University.

Murphy, R. (2016) A Lady of Leisure. In: Lane, L. & Murphy, W. eds. *Leisure and the Irish in the Nineteenth Century (2016)*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. 226-244.

Nolan, William, (1988) 'New farms and fields: migration policies of state land agencies' In Smith, W. J. & Whelan, K. eds. *Common ground*. Cork, Cork University Press, 296-319.

Norton, D. (2006) *Landlords, Tenants, Famine: The business of an Irish Land Agency in the 1840s*. Dublin: University College Dublin Press.

Norton, J.E. (1991) *History of the South Dublin Harriers and some neighbouring harrier packs*. Dublin.

Norton, W. (2000) *Cultural Geography: Themes, concepts analyses*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

O'Brien, G. & O'Kane, F. eds., (2008) *Georgian Dublin*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

O'Donnell, M. (X)The Estate System of Landholding in Co Donegal In *An Historical, Environmental and Cultural Atlas of County Donegal*. Cork: Cork University Press.

Ó Gráda, C. (1994) *Ireland: a new economic history 1780-1939*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Ó Gráda, C. (2004) *Irish agriculture after the Land War.* Centre for Economic Research, Department of Economics, University College, Dublin, Working Paper 04/06.

O'Neill, C. ed. (2013) *Irish Elites in the Nineteenth Century*. Dublin: Four Courts.

O'Toole, J. (1993) *The Carlow Gentry*. Carlow.

O'Dea J. (1923) *History of the Ancient Order of Hibernians and Ladies auxiliary Vol 1*. Philadelphia: Published by the board of the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

O'Kane, F. (2004) *Landscape Design in Eighteenth Century Ireland: Mixing foreign trees with the native*. Cork: Cork University Press.

O'Riordan, M. (2016) Leisure with a purpose: Women and the entertaining practices of the Irish Landed Elite c1860-1914. In: Lane, L. & Murphy, W. eds. *Leisure and the Irish in the Nineteenth Century (2016)*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 209-225.

O'Tuathaigh, G. (2001) Contemplating alternative relationships of power, In Bohan, H. & Kennedy, G. eds. *Redefining Roles and Relationships*. Dublin: Veritas.

Pakenham, E. (2007) *Soldier, Sailor, An Intimate Portrait of an Irish Family*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

Pakenham, T. (2000) *The year of Liberty*. London: Abacus (2004).

Pakenham, V. (1998) *The big house in Ireland*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson (2002).

Park, R.E. (1950), *Race and Culture*. Illinois: The Free Press.

Parkinson, R.E. (1957) *History of the Grand Lodge of Ireland Vol II*. Dublin: Dublin Lodge of Research.

Perrot, P. (1994) *Fashioning the Bourgeoisie A history of clothing in the nineteenth century*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Petto, C. (2015) *Mapping & charting in early modern England & France Power and Patronage.* Lexington books.

Pickles, J. (1985) *The phenomenology science and geography: Spatiality and the human sciences*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Powell, M. Hunting Clubs and societies. In Kelly, J. & Powell, M., ed. (2010) *Clubs and societies in eighteenth century Ireland*. Dublin: Four Courts. 392-408

Proudfoot, L. J. (1995) *Urban patronage & social authority: The management of the Duke of Devonshire's towns in Ireland 1764-1891*. Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press.

Proudfoot, L. J. & Roche, M.M. eds. (2005) *(Dis)placing Empire: Renegotiating colonial geographies*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Purdue, O. (2009) *The Big House in Northern Ireland 1878-1900*. Dublin: UCD Press.

Radcliffe, S. (1999) Popular and state discourses of power. In: Massey, D., Allen, J & Sarre, P. eds. (1999) *Human Geography Today*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 219-242.

Reilly, C., (2007) *Edenderry, County Offaly, and the Downshire estate, 1790-1800*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Ridley, J. (1999) *The Freemasons*. London: Constable.

Robertson, I. & Richards, P., eds. (2003) *Studying Cultural Landscapes*. London: Arnold.

Rooney, B. ed. (2006) *A Time and a Place: Two Centuries of Irish Social Life*. Dublin: National Gallery of Ireland.

Ruskin , J. (1871) *Lectures on Landscape*. Dodo Press (ND) 9781406563702TEXT.pdf. (accessed 08/03/2012).

Said, E. (1993) *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Knopf.

Schama, S., (1995*) Landscape and Memory*. London, Fontana Press.

Shanks, M. and Person, M. eds. (2001) *Theatre/archaeology*. London: Routledge.

Simms, A & Andrews J.H. Eds. (1994) *Irish county towns*. Dublin: Mercier Press.

Sligo, Marquess (1981) *Westport House and the Brownes*. Ashbourne: Moorland Publishing.

Smith, C.F. & Share, B. (1991) *Wigs on the Green*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan.

Smyth, W. J. (2006) *Map-Making, Landscape and Memory a geography of colonial and early modern Ireland c1530-1750*. Cork: Cork University Press in association with Field Day.

Seamon D. (2000) A Way of Seeing People and Place. In: Wapner S., Demick J., Yamamoto T., Minami H. (eds) *Theoretical Perspectives in Environment-Behavior Research*. Springer, Boston, MA. 157-178.

Spry, I.M. (2003) John Palliser In: *the Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11. University of Toronto/Université Laval. www.biographi.ca. (accessed 17 January 2015).

St George, A., (1993) *The Decent of Manners Etiquette, Rules and the Victorians*. London: Chatto & Windus.

St Helier, Lady (Mary Jeune) (1909) *Memories of Forty Years*. London: Edward Arnold.

Steer, F.W. & Venables J.E.A. eds., (1972) *The Goodwood Archives Vol II*. Chichester: The West Sussex County Council County Hall.

Stout, M. (2005) Historical Geography In Geary, L.M. & Kelleher, M. eds., *Nineteenth Century Ireland, a guide to recent research*. Dublin: University College Dublin Press.

Strohmayer, U. (2014) Historical Geographical Traditions in Morrissey, J., Nally, D., Strohmayer, U. & Whelan, Y. eds. (2014) *Key Concepts in Historical Geography*. London: Sage.

Stuart, A.M. (2012) *Diana Vreeland, empress of fashion*. New York: Harper Collins.

Thom's Irish almanac and official directory of the United Kingdom, Great Britain and Ireland for the year 1874. Dublin: Alexander Thom.

Thompson, F.M.L. (1963, 3rd ed. 1980) *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth century*. London: Routledge.

Thrift N., (2004) Summoning Life. In: Cloke P., Crang P. &

Goodwin M. eds. (2004) *Envisioning Human Geographies*. London: Arnold.

Thrift, N. (1996) *Spatial formations*. London: Sage.

Tillyard, S. (1995) *Aristocrats: Caroline Emily, Louisa and Sarah Lennox 1740-1832*. London: Vintage.

Trench, W.S. (1966) *The Realities of Irish Life*. London: McGibbon & Kee Ltd.

Veblen, T. (1899) *The Theory of the leisure Class*. New York: Dover Publications (1994).

Vickery, A. (1998) *The Gentleman's Daughter, Women's Lives in Georgian England*. London: Yale University Press.

Walsh, P. (2007) *Castletown, Co. Kildare*. Dublin: Office of Public Works.

Walsh P. (2010) *The Making of the Irish Protestant Ascendancy, The life of William Conolly 1662-1729*. Suffolk: Boydell Press.

Westwood, V. & Kelly, I. (2014) *Vivienne Westwood*. London: Picador.

Wilson, D. (2008) *Women Marriage and Property in Wealthy Landed Families in Ireland 1750-1850*. Manchester: Manchester University Press

Whelan, Y. (2003) *Reinventing Modern Dublin: Streetscape, Iconography and the Politics of Identity*. Dublin: UCD Press

Whelan, Y. (2014) Performance, Spectacle and Power in Morrissey, J., Nally, D., Strohmayer, U. & Whelan, Y. eds. (2014) *Key Concepts in Historical Geography*. London: Sage.

Wood, A. (1960) *Nineteenth Century Britain 1815-1914*.
London: Longman.

Worsley, L. (2011) *If Walls Could Talk*. London: Faber and Faber.

Wylie, J. (2007) *Landscape*. London, Routledge.

Young, W. R. (1932) *Fighters of Derry: their deeds and descendants, being a chronicle of events in Ireland during the revolutionary period, 1688-1691*. London: Evre and Spottiswoode.

Journals

Arditi, J. (1999) Etiquette Books, Discourse and the Deployment of an Order of Things. *Theory, culture & society* 1999 vol 16(4): 25-48. London: Sage.

Boylan, L. (1968) The Conolly Family. Dublin: *Irish Georgian Society Bulletin* Vol XI, no. 4 October December 1968.

Boyle, M. & Kobayashi, A. (2010) Metropolitan anxieties: a critical appraisal of Sartre's theory of colonialism in *Transaction of the Royal Geographical Society* (2011).

Brayshay, M., Cleary, M. & Selwood, J. (2007) Social networks and the transnational reach of the corporate class in the early-twentieth century. *Journal of Historical Geography* 33 (2007) 144-167.

Brassley, P. (1998) On the unrecognized significance of the ephemeral landscape. *Landscape Research* 23(2), 119-132.

Burt, R. (2003) Freemasonry and Business Networking
during the Victorian Period In: *The Economic History Review*,
New Series, Vol. 56, No. 4 (Nov., 2003). Blackwell Publishing, 657-688. Blackwell Publishing on behalf of the Economic History Society. Available at: www.jstor.org/stable/3698722. (accessed: 13 September 2011)

Cole, H. (1991) Power Modernity and Historical Geography. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol.81, No. 4 (1991). Taylor and Francis, 671-683. Available at: http://www.jastor.org/stable2563429 (accessed 3 September 2014).

Crossman, V. (2008) Building the Nation: Local Administration in Rural Ireland 1850–1920. *Journal of Modern European History* 2:2 (2008), 188-207.

Crampsie, A. (2014) Creating Citizens from Colonial Subjects: Reforming Local Government in Early Twentieth Century Ireland. *Historical Geography* 42 (2014) 208-228.

Cummins, S., Curtis S., Diez-Roux A.V., & Macintyre, S., (2007) Understanding and representing 'place' in health research. A relational approach. *Social Science & Medicine.* Available at: 65 (2007) 1825-1838. (accessed 4 August 2015).

Curtis, L. P. (1980) Encumbered Wealth: Landed Indebtedness in Post-Famine Ireland. *The American Historical Review* 85:2 332-367.

Daniels, Stephen (2010) Putting maps in place. *Journal of Historical Geography* 36 (2010) 473-480.

De Certeau, M., Jameson, F. & Lovitt, C., (1980) On the Oppositional Practices of Everyday Life. *Social Text*, No. 3 (Autumn, 1980), 3-43. Duke University Press. Available at: www.jstor.org/stable/466341. (accessed 16 January 2012).

Driver, F. and Gilbert, D. (1998) Heart of empire: landscape, space and performance in imperial London. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 16, 11-28.

Edwards, K.J. & Jones, P. (1976) The Methodology of Historical Geography. *The journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol 7 No 1, (1976) 187-189. The MIT Press. Available at: www.jstor.org/stable202404. (accessed 9 September 2014).

Fitzmaurice, S. (2002) Servant or patron? Jacob Tonson and the language of deference and respect. *Language Sciences* 24 (2002). Falstaff Arizona: Pergamon, University of Arizona. 247–260. Available at www.elesevier.com/locate/langsci. (accessed 8 March 2017)

Foley, R. & Murphy, R. (2015) Visualizing a Spatial Archive: GIS, Digital Humanities, and Relational Space. *Breac: A Digital Journal of Irish Studies*, 2015 (Oct) University of Notre Dame. Available at http://eprints.maynoothuniversity.ie/7067/ (accessed 16 September 2016)

Garnham, N.. (1999). Local Elite Creation in Early Hanoverian Ireland: The Case of the County Grand Jury. *The Historical Journal*, *42*(3), 623–642. Available at: www.jstor.org/stable/3020915 (accessed 15 Jan 2014)

Gibbon, P. (1973) Arensberg and Kimball Revisited, *Economy and Society*, no.2:1973. 478-98.

Griffin, C.J. & Evans, A.B. (2008) Embodied Practices in Historical Geography: On Historical Geographies of Embodied Practice and Performance. *Historical Geography* Volume 36 (2008): 5-16. ©2008, Historical Geography Specialty Group, Association of American Geographers.

Graham, S. & Healey, P., (1999) Relational concepts of space and place: Issues for planning theory and practice. *European Planning Studies*, 7:5, Available at: 623-646, DOI: 10.1080/09654319908720542. (accessed 04 November 2014).

Greaves, H. R. G.. (1929). Personal Origins and Interrelations of the Houses of Parliament (Since 1832). *Economica*, (26), 173–184. Available at: http://doi.org/10.2307/2548201 (accessed 20 April 2015)

Griffin, D.J. (1998) Castletown, Co Kildare: the contribution of James, first duke of Leinster. O'Reilly, S., ed. *The journal of the Irish Georgian Society Vol. I 1998*. Irish Georgian Society.

Harley J. B. (1989) Historical Geography and the Cartographic Illusion. *Journal of Historical Geography* 15, 1 (1989) 80-91.)

Harley, J.E. (2010) Deconstructing the Map. In Dodge, M. ed. *Classics in Cartography: Reflections on Influential Articles from Cartographica*.
Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, (2010). Available at: ProQuest elibrary. (accessed 20 February 2015).

Holdsworth, D.W. (2003) Historical geography: new ways of imaging and seeing the past. *Progress in Human Geography* 27,4 (2003), 486–493. Available at: phg.sagepub.com/10.1191/0309132503ph440pr. (accessed 28 July 2015)

Johnson, N.C. (1996) Where Geography and History Meet: Heritage Tourism and the Big House in Ireland. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* Vol. 86, No. 3 (Sep., 1996), 551-566. Taylor & Francis, Ltd.: the Association of American Geographers. Available at: www.jstor.org/stable/2564184. (accessed: 29 September 2010).

Jones, R. (2009) *Heritage and Culture*. Curtin University of Technology, Perth, WA, Australia & Elsevier Ltd. (2009).

Keller, A.M. (1979) The Long Gallery of Castletown. House. *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian society Vol. XXII 1979.*

Kelly, J. (2014) Writing local history: 20 years of Maynooth Studies in Local History. *Studia Hibernica*, No. 40 (2014), 165-180. Liverpool University Press. Available at: http://online.liverpooluniversitypress.co.uk/doi/pdf/10.3828/studia.40.165 (accessed: January 2016)

Kelly, M. (2012) When things were 'closing-in' and 'rolling up': the imaginative geography of Elizabeth Bowne's Anglo-Irish war novel The Last September. *Journal of Historical Geography* 38 (2102) 282-293. Available at: www.elsevier.com (Accessed May 2016)

Low M. (2005) 'Power' and Politics in Human Geography. *Geografiska Annaler Series B, Human Geography*, Vol. 87, No. 1 (2005), 81-88. Wiley: Swedish Society for Anthropology and Geography. Available at: www.jstor.org/stable/3554447 (accessed: 02 November 2015)

Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The Production of Space*. Translated by Nicholson- Smith, D. Review by: Westfall, C. W. The *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 66, No. 2 (1994), 346-348. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2124281 Accessed: 05-011-2016 11:58 UTC

Magee, J. (2008) Coursing and the Upper Classes in Victorian Ireland. *Sport in History* 28:3 (2008), 491-511.

Massey D, (1991) 'A Global Sense of Place' in *Marxism Today.* Barry amiel & Norman Melburn Trus*t.* June 1991, pp. 24-29. Available at: http://banmarchive.org.uk/collections/mt/index_frame.htm (accessed October 2016).

Massey, D. (2001) Talking of Space-Time. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (2001), 257-261.
Wiley: Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers). Available at: www.jstor.org/stable/365067. (accessed 02 November 2015).

McGeachan, Cheryl (2016) Historical geography II: Traces remain. *Progress in Human Geography* (2016). London: Sage. 1-4. sagepub.co.uk/journals (accessed August 2016).

Naylor, S. (2006) Historical geography: natures, landscapes, environments. *Progress in Human Geography* 30, 6 (2006). London: Sage. 792–802

Newby, H. (1975) The deferential dialectic. *Comparative studies in Society and History*, xvii, no. 2 (April, 1975), 139-64.

Ó Gráda, C. (1984) Irish agricultural output before and after the Famine. *Journal of European Economic History*, 13, 149-165.

O'Regan, M. (2012) Nineteenth-Century Renaissance Castletown's Garden House and Walled Garden. *Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society*, Vol. XX (Part III) (2012-13).

O'Tuathaigh G. (2002) Ireland under the Union: Historiographical Reflections. *Australian Journal of Irish Studies*, Vol 2, 1-21.

Proudfoot, L. (2000) Hybrid Space? Sale and other in narratives of landownership in nineteenth-century Ireland. *Journal of Historical Geography*, 26,2 (2000), 203-221.

Rajchman, J. (1984) The Story of Foucault's History. *Social Text*, No. 8 (Winter, 1983-1984), pp. 3-24. Duke University Press. Available at: www.jstor.org/stable/466320. (accessed: 16 January 2012).

Rodgers, J. (2004) Doreen Massey Space, relations, communications. *Information, Communication & Society* 7:2, 273-291. Available at: www.dx.doi.org/10.1080/1369118042000232693. (accessed 15 March 2015)

Rose M., (2007) The problem of power and the politics of landscape: Stopping the Greater Cairo Ring Road. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers New Series* Vol.32 4 (Oct., 2007), 460-475.

Slater, E. (1993) Contested Terrain: differing interpretations of County Wicklow. *Irish Journal of Sociology* Volume 3, (1993) 23-55.

Thomas, N. (2004) Exploring the boundaries of biography: the family and friendship networks of Lady Curzon, Vicereine of India 1898–1905. *Journal of Historical Geography* 30 (2004) 496–519. Available at www.elsevier.com/locate/jhg doi:10.1016/S0305-7488(03)00047-1. (accessed 25 August 2016)

Turnbull, D. (1996) Cartography and Science in Early Modern Europe: Mapping the Construction of Knowledge Spaces. *Imago Mundi*, Vol. 48, pp. 5-24 London, Imago Mundi, Ltd. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/1151257 (accessed 2011-2015).

Yeung, H.W. (2005) Rethinking Relational Economic Geography. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Mar., 2005). London: Wiley, 37-51. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/3804528 (accessed: 02 November 2015)

Online sources

Cruikshank G. (1840) The British Beehive. Available at: http://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/the-middle-classes-etiquette-and-upward-mobility#sthash.vHugt1AW.dpuf (accessed 5 June 2015)

Charles Brookes' Map of London. London School of Economics & Political Science (Detail Sheet 7) (2016). Available at: https://booth.lse.ac.uk/learn-more/what-were-the-poverty-maps. (accessed 4 May 2017)

Cook, C. & Stephens, J., (2014) A History of British elections since 1689. London: Routledge. Available at: https://books.google.ie/books?id=AeTpAwAAQBAJ&dq=British+elections+1860s&source=gbs_navlinks_s. (accessed 8 august 2017).

Farrell, S. (2009) Edward Michael Pakenham Conolly In: Fisher, D.R., ed. *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1820-1832*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Available at: http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/conolly-edward-1786-1849 (accessed 23 March 2013).

Ordnance Survey of Ireland. Available at: http://maps.osi.ie/publicviewer (accessed 2012-2016).

McNally, P. (2008) 'Conolly, William (1662–1729)', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Royal Irish Academy, Cambridge University Press 2004; online edition, Jan 2008. Available at: http://dib.cambridge.org.jproxy.nuim.ie/viewFullScreen.do?filename=/app/dib/production/content/html/9780521633314_1970.htm (accessed 29 April 2015).

Stephens H. M., (2008) 'Conolly, Thomas (1738–1803)', rev. A. T. Q. Stewart, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008. Available at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6096, (accessed 30 April 2017)

The Peerage: A genealogical survey of the peerage of Britain. Available at: thepeerage.com (accessed 2010-2017)

Irish Newspapers Archive Available at: http://archive.irishnewsarchive.com/Olive/APA/INA.Edu/Default.aspx#panel=home (accessed 2012-1017)

Parliamentary Papers (UK)

House of Common's Debates: Thomas Conolly 1849-1875
Irish Church Bill. Commons Sitting of 26th of April 1869. Columns: 1613-14. Hansard third Series, Volume 195. Available at: http://parlipapers.proquest.com.jproxy.nuim.ie/parlipapers/docview/t71.d76.cds3v0195p0-0018?accountid=12309 (accessed 2014-15)

Irish Land Bill-Question. Commons Sitting of 10th March, 1870. Columns: 1621-1732. Hansard Third Series, Volume 199.
House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online (2005) ProQuest Information and learning company. Available at: http://parlipapers.proquest.com.jproxy.nuim.ie/parlipapers/docview/t71.d76.cds3v0199p0-0023?accountid=12309 (accessed 2014-15)

Command Papers 1881-Royal Com. of Inquiry into Working of Landlord and Tenant (Ireland Acts, Report, Digest and Minutes of Evidence, Appenices, Index. Available at: http://parlipapers.proquest.com.jproxy.nuim.ie/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.1881-057061/usgLogRstClick!!?accountid=12309 (accessed November 2016)

Magazine

Mitford, N. (1954) The English Aristocracy in *Encounter* (1954). Stephen Spender

Unpublished or in-house publications

Crowley, D. (2000) Joseph Conolly. New Zealand. Unpublished family history.

Depner, D. (2016) Castletown 1893/4 inventory: Transcription annotated with sale results from 1966 sale.

Jenkins, P. (2016) The Red Silk Room at Castletown. Unpublished MA Thesis University College Dublin.
Meldon J. (2013) Castletown Foundation History, post 1966. Unpublished lecture.

Walsh, P. (c2008) Castletown, Co Kildare: An Italian palazzo in the Irish countryside. Unpublished paper.

Mount Street Club, Journal (1939) Dublin

O'Boyle A. (2010) The Assembly, Display and Dispersal of the Irish Collections 1750-1950. Unpublished thesis Trinity College University of Dublin 2010

Rules of the Clubs Kildare & Sackville St 1855-1867

Rules and Regulations of the Hibernian United Services Club 1922 (1922). Dublin: G.F. Healy.

Rules of the Dublin Constitutional Club (1878). Dublin: Port.

Rules and Regulations of the Stephen's Green Club (1934)

Photographs (unpublished)

The Shuldham Shaw Collection, courtesy of Christopher Shuldham Shaw. Private Collection.
Rathdonnell Papers, Lisnavagh House, courtesy of Turtle Bunbury. Private Collection.
Album of the Kildare Hunt 1862, courtesy of Turtle Bunbury. Private Collection.
Album of the Carlow Island Hunt, courtesy of Turtle Bunbury. Private Collection.

Appendix I

Enclosed is a CD containing the entire database of Kildare Street Members.

Appendix II
Epilogue: Castletown House after 1966

The story of Castletown – designed by Galilei for William Conolly - is well known and the story of the family is documented in Chapter 2. What is less well known in the twentieth century history of the house. In the early twentieth century the Conolly family returned to live at Castletown. However, in 1965 William Conolly Carew made the decision to put the house up for sale, 'a story that was to be repeated almost thirty years later' (Meldon 2013).

Edward Michael Conolly, Thomas Conolly's youngest son, following the death of his mother Sarah Eliza in 1921 returned to live on the estate c1926. Later in 1938 Lord William Conolly Carew and his wife Lady Sylvia Maitland came to live at Castletown and all were active members of the community. Edward, who died in 1956 age 83, was cared for at the end of his life by the Conolly Carews. Involved with the community of old Ascendancy families, the hunting, horse and racing set with similar family histories, the Conolly Carews were well known and well liked. Their daughter Diana is perhaps the best known of their children for her involvement in the Irish Olympic Equestrian team in 1968. The family's involvement with hunting and show jumping is also well known and the family continues to be involved in such pursuits today.

As the years past it became apparent that the cost of the upkeep of Castletown was becoming a financial burden and difficult decisions would have to be made. Desmond Guinness, as a neighbour and friend, at nearby Leixlip Castle was well aware of their financial difficulties and was informed that the house would soon be put on the market. Desmond and his first wife Mariga had re-established the Irish Georgian Society In 1958 in the face of so much destruction of Ireland's build heritage and he, among others, were most concerned about the fate of this great house .

The sale of both the house and the demesne consisting of 580/600 acres occurred in 1965 but the sale of the contents would not occur until some months later in early 1966. The purchaser of the estate was ostensibly Julian de Lisle, accompanied to the auction by Major Willson, then Master of the Kildare Hunt. At this sale, of the house and estate, Desmond Guinness was the under-bidder. Subsequently rumours circulated that De Lisle, 'wanted to live in the house' but this changed and new rumours indicated that 'his intention was to turn it into a hotel with complete modernisation of the interior' (Meldon 2013).

In the period following the sale De Lisle, the apparent purchaser, disappeared from the record and it appeared that the sale had fallen through. However, before the sale of contents in early 1966 'a planning application to Kildare County Council was published in the *Irish Times* on 8th February 1966' this sought permission to erect cottages, stables and ancillary buildings at Castletown and 'the applicant was the same James Willson who had accompanied De Lise to the auction' (Meldon 2013). Reports began to circulate that the estate was to become and equestrian centre and a year later a notice appeared in the *Irish Times* that 'detailed specifications now being prepared for equestrian centre and polo ground…' (Meldon 2013).

At the time of the sale of contents, in April of 1966, Lord Carew had, prior to the sale, indicated that some items, such as the bookcases specifically associated with the house, would not be included in the sale. Fortunately for the future, prior to the auction of the house and lands, Desmond Guinness had bought a number of important items, including the magnificent Murano chandeliers in the Long Gallery, and other significant items of furniture and paintings. The contents, many scattered into private collections following the auction, were examples of the family's material goods from the eighteenth century. An example of this are Robert Healy's paintings of the Kildare Hunt done in 1768, which have not come up for sale since that time.

Following the sale of house and contents, the Conolly-Carew family, having apparently successfully completed the sale of the house to Major Willson moved elsewhere. Despite the rumours circulating about the use of the house Willson did nothing to secure Castletown and during the following year while it was left unattended some vandalism occurred. Fortunately this vandalism was relatively minor and only included a portion of the lead being taken off the roof and a few broken windows but people became very concerned that eventually serious damage would take place. Desmond Guinness, the Irish Georgian Society and other likeminded individuals, began to consider how the house could be saved. This concern resulted in the formation of a private trust by early 1967 of Castletown House Co. Ltd, largely based on a loan from Desmond Guinness's trust fund due to be paid out in the coming years. As a result, the house and 120 acres of land, that included the main Celbridge avenue, were purchased from Major Willson 'at a cost of £92,500' (O'Byrne 2008:66). In addition, the lands immediately surrounding the great 1740 Famine obelisk project known as Conolly's Folly were also part of the purchase. Having rescued Castletown, it would remain under Desmond's Stewardship until 1982.

Only a few months later, in the summer of 1967 once the house was in Desmond's ownership, the furniture, paintings and furnishings purchased by him were returned to the house and Castletown was opened to the public. This opening was largely due to work by volunteers who carried out some conservation and acted as curators and caretakers. The house was officially opened by Erskine Childers, then Minister for Trade and Commerce in June 1968. The house had never been entirely closed to the public 'the Conolly-Carews had opened the house on occasions in the 1960's, charging an admission of 2/6 in aid of parish funds' (Meldon 2013). By 1970 Castletown, the first eighteenth century house in Leinster to be open to the public on a regular basis had become 'one of Ireland's foremost visitor attractions' (O'Byrne 2008:66).

In the following years the house would become the headquarters of the Irish Georgian Society, with Desmond as president, and the Castletown Trust was set up for the purposes of running the house. The society would remain here for many years, only finally moving out in 1983. 'During the tenure of the IGS, restoration work was carried out, with teams of willing volunteers.' (Meldon 2013). The IGS directed the staging of musical, theatrical, festival and balls in order to reawaken the house and to raise money. The house in stages was also re-furnished with appropriate furniture and paintings through donations or long term loans, a situation that remains in place today. In the late 1970s the Castletown Foundation took over ownership and administration of the house replacing the earlier Castletown Trust. The Foundation, established as an educational trust, with an emphasis on the fine arts, continued the programme of restoration. The Foundation as an educational charity carried out 'a role that was very dear to the heart of its future chairman Professor Kevin B Nowlan', that saw a series of educational events take place throughout the 1980s (Meldon 2013). This included master art classes, a course in interior decoration and seminars on formal conservation practices. These were overseen by Professor Nowlan, David Mlinaric, decorator and advisor to the English National Trust, the Knight of Glin, Richard Wood, John O'Connell, John Costelloe and John Cornforth.

Although it appeared on the surface that everything was going well, there were growing uncertainties about the land around the house, mainly the 13-acre field in front of the house which was still owned by Major Willson but also the lands that he owned to the south west of the house. These fears were brought to the fore when planning permission was obtained, despite protests at the time, for what is now the Castletown housing estate whose access is the main gate of Castletown's avenue. This and the subsequent estate of Crodaun Forest Park encroach on the parkland and the vista as it was envisioned in the early eighteenth century and is important to the enrichment of the setting of the house.

> 'The legacy of those planning permissions for housing development is still much in evidence today with the constant challenge of on the one hand, doing what is necessary to secure the future of the House and its parkland, and on the other, ensuring that the needs of the residents of the nearby estate are acknowledged' (Meldon 2013).

In the 1980s Major Willson sold on the lands at the back of the house posing an even greater threat to the historic landscape. Although the new owner of these lands is very sympathetic to the integrity of the house nevertheless the Castletown Foundation 'with great reluctance … made an arrangement … in return for support for limited commercial development [and] c.120 acres were transferred to the Foundation… immediately to the rear of the house beyond the ha-ha[75]' (Meldon 2013).

The situation with the land now averted the first serious crisis for the Foundation came in 1982 when Desmond Guinness, the then chair of the Foundation, found that for personal reasons he needed to raise a significant sum of money. This necessitated him having to sell the much of the original contents of Castletown house that he had purchased in 1966 and 1967. In June 1983 he resigned as chairman, and committee member because, as he would become a beneficiary of the Foundation this created a conflict of interest. As outgoing first chair Desmond appointed Professor Kevin B. Nowlan as his successor who continued as chairman of the Foundation until his death in February 2013. In the lead up to the sale Christies valued the contents, that included items bought by Desmond before the original sale in 1965, such as the iconic cabinet, reputedly Lady Louisa's bureau. The sale presented the Foundation with a major challenge – it was vital to the story and maintenance of the house that the contents remain in situ- but Desmond Guinness gave them first refusal with an extended time frame for funds to be raised that eased the situation somewhat.

The Foundation launched a public appeal to raise a sum of £750,000 for the contents, and hopefully an endowment to allow the Foundation to carry on its activities. However, raising money at this time in Ireland with poor the economic climate was a daunting task for the Foundation, made up largely of academics. Fortunately, there were a number of significant donations in the early days, among them the Kress Foundation, matched by a sum from Lord Moyne. By 1984, assisted by a lottery, the fund had achieved nearly £200,00 but far short of what was required. Nevertheless 'as time went on many items were secured with help from individuals and chapters of the IGS abroad and Bord Failte' (Meldon 2013). Among the many paintings and furniture acquired were the Chippendale sofas and chairs, the Murano chandeliers in the Long Gallery and the Chatterton Smith copy by Reynolds of Lady Louisa. For the Foundation to retain the original furniture and material goods provides an important link to the lifestyle of the eighteenth, and to some extent the nineteenth century, of Castletown and the Conollys.

Despite the enthusiasm and dedication by the Foundation by the early 1990s the Foundation began to experience the reality of keeping an eighteenth century house in good order. The cost of maintenance was outstripping the Foundation's ability to pay for the expensive repairs needed. The roof in particular was the major concern and its estimated cost was in the region of £3 million and, although 'a grant was given by the EEC, matched by the National Lottery for the restoration of the colonnades', much more was required (Meldon 2013). As a private trust the Foundation was not able to directly apply to the EEC for funding, this was only open to state agencies. As a state agency the Office of Public Works were best placed to apply for a grant and the Castletown Foundation opened negotiations with this body to secure the future of the house. The official handover took place on 20th January 1994 when Professor Nowlan presented the symbolic key to the then Minister for Arts and culture, Michael D. Higgins now President of Ireland. Uniquely to heritage sites in Ireland under the ownership

and management of the OPW, the Foundation continues to play a significant role in the conservation of the house and the control and display of the contents.

Under the auspices of the OPW the fabric of the building has been secured for the coming centuries. There has been a new roof installed, the colonnades have been restored and the wings have been remade into spaces suitable for the use of the visiting public. The interior spaces have undergone significant conservation and the contents have now been placed in a regime of conservation ensuring they will also be maintained into the foreseeable future.

The only difficulty that remains are the lands that surround the house, which are outside the immediate control of the State and the Foundation and includes the remaining parkland and the lands beyond. The setting for the house in the Liffey Valley landscape has been encroached upon by the ever expanding conurbation of the Dublin suburbs consuming the small towns in the area. The woods within the demesne, the lands at the back of the house as well as the lands on the opposite side of the Liffey continue to be at risk of being developed and ongoing resistance is in place by the Foundation, the OPW and other interested parties. It would 'be a travesty for Castletown, especially in the light of the conservation/restoration work in the landscape', which has been completed if the surrounding 'borrowed' landscape, that is so significant for the setting of the house, should be lost (Meldon 2013).

Castletown, as noted previously, continues to be a popular destination for visitors interested in heritage buildings, parks and a variety of staged events from musical to markets. 'The Castletown Foundation, working closely with the OPW, continue its educational activities and use its expertise and experience to work towards the ongoing conservation and sustainable use of Castletown, the house and its landscape' (Meldon 2013). The engagement of the public with this significant landscape of power speaks well of the openness of society today and perhaps holds echoes of the hospitality of Thomas Conolly II. Going forward it is hoped that this thesis will contribute a greater insight into the story of the house in the nineteenth century.

I am grateful to Jeanne Meldon Walsh who has allowed me to quote from her unpublished lecture 'The Story of a Trust and its Collection' (2013).

Appendix III
Schools and Clubs of Kildare Street Club Members: c1800-1880

Names	School	Clubs in common		
Alexander Sir Robert Jackson b1816	Harrow		RDS	
Bagwell Richard b1840	Harrow	Carlton		
Barton Samuel Henry b 1817	Harrow	Carlton		
Bayly Edward Symes b c1804 d1884	Harrow		RDS	
Beresford George de la Poer William Henry 2nd Bt. B1831 s1844 d1873	Harrow	Carlton		
Blacker William Jacob b c1823 d1869	Harrow			
Brooke Sir Victor Alexander b1843 s1854 m1864	Harrow	Carlton		
Bushe Gervaise-Parker b1806 m1857	Harrow			
Carysfort Earl 5th William Proby K.P. b1836 s1872 m1860	Cambridge			Kildare Hunt
Colthurst Sir Charles Conway b1824 s1829 m1846 d1878	Harrow			
Colthurst Sir George St John b 1850 s1878 m1881 d1925	Harrow			
Conolly Thomas b1823 m1868 d1876	**Harrow & Cambridge**	**Carlton**	**RDS**	**Kildare Hunt, Westmeath Hunt**
Cope Francis Robert b1853	Harrow & Cambridge			
Dawson, Robert Peel b c1817 d1877	Harrow			
Dillon Sir John Fox Bt b1843 s1875 m1879	Cambridge			
Dunsandle & Clanconal 2nd B Daly, Denis St. George b1810 s1847 m1864 d1893	Harrow	Carlton		
Ely John (Tottenham) Loftus 2rd Marquis b1770 s1806 m1810 d1845	Harrow		RDS	
Fitzgerald Charles Lionel b1833 s1854 m1859 & 1873 d1902	Harrow	Carlton		
Fitzgerald Sir Maurice Bt 20th Knight of Kerry b1844 s1880 m1882 d1916	Harrow			
Gosford Earl Archibald (Baron Worthington in UK) b1841 s1864 m1876	Harrow			
Hort Sir Josiah William 2nd Bt of Castle Strange, Middlesex b1791 s1807 m1823 d1876	Cambridge			

Inchiquin 4th B Edward Donogh O'Brien b1839 s1872 m1862 & 1874	Cambridge	Carlton		
Keane Sir Richard Henry 4th Bt. b1845 m1872 s1881 d1892	Harrow			
Knox Charles Howe Cuff b. 1840	Harrow			
Labouchere Henry	Harrow			
La Touche James Digges	Harrow			
Leader William Nicholas b1853 s1861 & 1880 m1881	Harrow & Cambridge		RDS	
Leslie Charles Powell bc1820 d1871	Harrow		RDS	
Leslie John bc1828 Baronet 1876	Harrow			
Madden John b1819 s1842 m1847 m1870	Harrow & Cambridge	Carlton		
Massy John Thomas William 6th Baron Massy b1835 m1863 s1874 d1915	Harrow	Carlton		
Massy, Hugh Hamon Ingoldsby, 5th Baron Massy b1827 m1855 d1874	Harrow			
Maunsell Richard Mark Synnot b1843 d1907	Harrow			
McNeill Henry Hugh b1829 s1855 m1859	Cambridge	Carlton		
Molyneux Sir Capel Bt Earl of Belmont b1841 s1848 d1879	Harrow		RDS	Westmeath Hunt
Montgomery Robert James b1828 s1876 m1864	Cambridge	Carlton		Westmeath Hunt
Oranmore & Browne Lord, Browne, Geoffrey Dominicli Augustus Frederick b1819 s1860 m1873 d1900	Harrow	Carlton	RDS	
Ormand Marquis 3rd James Edward William Theobald Butler b1844 s1854 m1876	Harrow	Carlton		
Palliser Wray c1789 d1862	Harrow			
Pepper Thomas St George bc1836 d1884	Harrow			
Plunket 5th Baron William Lee	Harrow			
Ponsonby Frederick George Brabazone 6th Earl of Bessborough b1815 s1880 d1895	Harrow & Cambridge	Carlton	RDS	
Power Sir Richard Crampton 3rd Bt. Kilfane b1843 s1873 m1869 d1892	Cambridge		RDS	

Purfroy Edward Bagwell b1819 s1846 m1854 & 1861	Harrow			
Roche Sir David Vanderleur Bt. b1833 s1865 m1867 & 1872	Harrow			
Shawe-Taylor Walter Taylor Newton b1832 s1863 m1864	Harrow			
Staples Robert b1823 s1863 m1846 [Lord Dunmore]	Cambridge	Carlton		
Stewart Alexander John Robert b1827 s1850 m1851	Cambridge	Carlton	RDS	
Talbot de Malahide Lord James 4th B. b1805 s1850 m1842	Cambridge		RDS	
Talbot William	Cambridge			
Tottenham Charles b1807 m1833 d1886	Cambridge			
Valentia Viscount Annesley George Arthur 1793 m1837 d1841	Harrow		RDS	Kildare Hunt
Vanderleur Crofton Moore b1809 m1832 d1881	Harrow	Carlton	RDS	
Villiers-Stuart Henry John Richard b1837 s1879 ,1870	Harrow			
Wills-Sandford Thomas George b1817	Harrow	Carlton		
Wills-Sandford Thomas George b1817 d1887	Harrow	Carlton		
Wingfield Hon Edward b1772 m1797 d1859	Harrow			

Table 1: KSC Members: Schools and clubs in common:
Compiled from database by the author 2015

Appendix IV
Irish Clubs 1680-1900

- 1680- Hibernian Catch Club- musical club founded by the Vicars Choral of St Patrick's and Christ Church
- Early eighteenth century- Swan Club- extreme Tory Mid
- Eighteenth century- Hell Fire- dining and drinking
- Eighteenth Century-Adelphi (Belfast)- literary and theatrical
- 1742- Royal Welt Club- businessmen, corporation members and attorneys
- c1745-60- Royal Protestant Society (Mallow, Cork)
- 1750- Dublin Beefsteak Club- founded by Thomas Sheridan and hosted by celebrated actor Mrs Wolfington
- 1768- Constitution Club- Political dining club- President John Ponsonby Speaker of the Irish parliament
- 1770s- Granby Row club- critical of the administration of the then government
- C1780s- Free Citizens of Dublin- fervent Whig club anti administration
- 1779-1795- Knights of St Patrick (Monks of the Screw)- Whig club-dining, wit, wine and opposition politics
- 1780-c1822- Daly's- gambling club
- 1782- Kildare Street Club
- 1782- Knights of Tara
- 1782- Friendly Brothers Grand Knot
- 1787-93- The Bar Club- barristers and law students- club for 'legal jocosity' drinking and betting
- 1789- Irish Whig club (revived 1798)
- 1792- Whig Club,
- 1792-1820 College Green club
- 1794- Sackville Street Club
- 1790-1900- Law Club- social and professional club for Chancery solicitors
- 1813- Guards
- 1815- United Service Club
- 1816- Junior United Service Club
- 1820- Union Club- creating social harmony of men of different outlook and occupations.
- 1830- Law Society: this overshadowed the Law Club and became the profession's regulator
- 1844-6- The Irish Reform club
- 1845- Leinster Club: professional and business club of the 2nd rank
- 1850- University Club
- 1867-90- Dublin Clerical Club: (Church of Ireland) renamed the Athenaeum in 1875 when lay members were admitted.
- 1872- The Dublin Constitutional Club

- c1879-c83- United Liberal Club
- 1881- Catholic Commercial Club: Catholic professional and business men. President Catholic Archbishop of Dublin
- 1883- The City and Country Conservative Club
- c1889-99- National Club: President John Redmond
- 1892- Alexandra: a select ladies club, allowing gentlemen guests
- 1900- The Royal Automobile Club

Source: McDowell, R.B. (1993) Land and Learning: Two Irish clubs. Dublin: The Lilliput Press.

Appendix V: Dinner Engagements
Thomas Conolly's Diaries 1857, 1863 & 1864

Alexander Mr T	Eaton Place
Arbuthnot Lord & Lady	Grafton St
Ashbrooke Lady	Portman Square
Balfor Sir	Hyde Park Square
Bateman Lady	Great Cumberland Place
Boston Lord	Belgrave Square
Brooks Mr	Cadogan Place
Butler Mr & Miss	Grosvenor Place.
Camden Lord	Carlton House Terrace
Carew Lord	Belgrave Square
Cavendish Mr R.	Chesham Place
Clements. Th.	Eaton Square
Cochraine Lady	Belgrave Square
Colchester Lady	Berkley Square
Coote Lord	Connaught St
Cuffe Mr	Norfolk St
Curzon Mr G	Scarsdale House Ken.
Darnley Lord	Eaton Square
Dashwood Lady	Grosvenor Square
Dayler General Nesbitt	Carlton House Terrace
De Ros Lord & Lady	Curzon St
Derby Lord & Lady	St James Square
Doneraille Lady	Grosvenor Square
Downshire Lady	Belgrave Square.
Dunraven Lord	Belgrave Square
Enfield Lord	St James Square.
Fellows Mrs	Belgrave Square
Fitzgerald Lady Otto	Carlton House Terrace
Furness Mrs Henry	Eaton Square
Gladstone Lady	Belgrave Square
Gort Lord	Portman Square
Grennans Lord Jh.	Dover St
Herbert Mrs Worthington	Dover St
Hogg Lord & Lady	Carlton Gardens
Hotham Lord	Grosvenor Place
Howard Lady	Crasden Cottage Wimbledon
Kaye Sir F.	Belleek
Kennington Lord	Grosvenor Square

Lester Sir B. Graham W.	Fitzwilliam
Martin Mr Wyndham	Great Cumberland Place
Maxwell Lord H.	Eaton Place
Napier	Eaton Place
Ormond Lord & Lady	Harley St
Overstone Lady	Carlton Gardens
Parkett Lord & Lady	Grosvenor Square
Powis Earl	Belgrave Square
Quinn Lord General	Belgrave Square
Rowley Mrs	Berkley Square
Shrewsbury Lord	Belgrave Square
Sligo Lady	Mansfield Place
Tennyson Lady L.	Park Lane
Tremby Lord	Park Lane
Trimbleston Lord	Park Lane
Turner Lady Car.	Chester Place
Verschoyle Mr & Mrs	Eaton Square
Waldegrave Lady	7 Carlton Gardens & Strawberry Hill
Waterford Lord & Lady	Charles St
White Mrs Henry	Belgrave Square
Winchester	Eaton Square.

Appendix VI
Kildare Hunt Fox Coverts 1865

Name	Map X Coordinates	Map Y Coordinates
Alymer's FC	683758	739993
Ardrass	694280	731605
Arthurstown	695637	720661
Ballintaggart	684273	699926
Ballitin Lodge	688693	723680
Ballycaghan	685997	739574
Ballyhook	687984	694494
Ballyhubbock	691291	693515
Ballynure	682510	697109
Baltinglass Hill	688690	687988
Baltyboys	698149	710662
Barn Hill	673033	706313
Barnehall	672705	707039
Bellavilla	685751	725395
Bert	666206	697135
Bishops's Court	695864	724889
Cappagh	682024	741220
Castle Baggot	703192	729948
Castlekeely	686818	722091
Castlemartin	683726	710194
Castletown FC at Barn Hall	699142	735459
Coolmine	702852	724758
Copelands	690279	700636
Corballis Hill	686190	686190
Corkagh Demesne	705891	729863
Cryhelp	690112	703202
Cullen's	695599	735776
Devises	675701	692618
Dollardstown	672010	690591
Donadea	684618	732336
Downshire	697647	716074
Downshire FC	697578	716170
Duneany Wood	668595	708009
Dunferth House	678640	738810
Dunmurray House	671248	716797
Dunstown	687320	711949
Eadstown	693924	717434
Elverstown	694095	713457

Gaganstown	689203	709050
Genagh Hill	679771	710970
Gouchers	700915	721077
Grange	683728	739984
Halvertstown	682272	704703
Hatfield	684202	702153
Herbertstown	684598	714788
Highstown	682676	690470
Hildaergan Wood	668367	707363
Hill of Allen	675579	720286
Hillsborough	683635	712999
Hollywood	694600	706396
Hortland House	681509	736577
Hybla House	664539	711660
Johnstown House	699263	724526
Kerduffstown	690216	722497
Kilbride	702782	718274
Kilinthomas Wood	666848	721795
Kill Hill	694758	722850
Killashee House	688832	715598
Kilteel	698114	721707
Kingswood	705763	729130
Laragh	689059	736509
Levidstown	673204	686195
Lord Longford's FC (Knocknagalliagh)	669503	714704
Lyons	696555	727169
Martinstown	679074	706599
Moone	678890	692230
Moorehill	688545	708038
Moorfield	678893	712849
Mote of Ardskull	672619	696935
Mount Cashel	691673	709338
Mr Walshe's	680248	689464
Mullacash	688640	713754
Newberry	686582	709881
Nine Tree Hill	679405	698587
Osbertstown	687529	721280
Punchestown FC	691371	715181
Rathbride	669503	714704
Rathcoffee	689033	732512
Ryndville	678062	743760

Salisbury House	667852	696381
Saundersgrove	687915	692171
Sillagh Wood	690795	713149
Silliott Hill	671370	711340
Silliott Hill	685525	712267
Spratstown	681635	697413
Stonebrook	691158	710534
Straffan	692255	729303
Tagadoe	693414	734195
Tallaght Hill	705828	725193
Three Castles	701235	716464
Tinoran	685012	690471
Turnings	691922	728599
Tynte Park	688400	698964
Walshes	674471	688819
Whitestown	690024	696875
Yellow Earths	685452	689572

Kildare Hunt Fox Coverts 1865: From *Kildare Hunt Map* 1865

Appendix VII Kildare Hunt Meets 1865

Locations	OSI Co-ordinates		Comment
18 Mile Stone	687843	714458	Myerstown Crossroads in OSI
Ballymore Eustace	695616	710610	
Ballysax House	679660	708080	
Bishop's Court	694827	725041	
Bolton Hill	678411	689940	Cross roads near Bolton Castle
Bray House	671222	692806	S/E Athy
Brewershill House	689617	700949	
Dunlavin	686564	701676	
Faviorcorr	685835	704871	Gormanstown
Gilltown House & Demesne	686061	707629	
Gowan Grange Demesne	690728	715496	
Halverstown	683095	705279	
Hollywood	693976	705583	
Hortland House	681565	736791	
Kilbride House	702756	717786	
Kilcock	688579	739649	
Lyons	697148	728764	
Maynooth	693765	737586	
Millicent Bridge	686953	726037	cross roads
Moore Abbey	662681	709797	Monasternevin
Moorfield	679573	714103	Cross Roads Nth of Curragh
Naas	689272	719439	
Narramore	677948	700591	
Newcastle	699283	728356	House & Demesne
Newtown Cross Roads	682541	738912	
Old Kilcullen	682881	707113	
Palmerstown House	691648	722584	Naas
Parsonstown Castletown Hunt meet	699004	734589	

Rathangan House	667430	719006	
Rathsallagh Gate	684908	699060	Rathsallagh House & Demesne
Ryndville House	678211	743616	
Spratstown Bridge	682364	698065	
Suncroft	673033	706313	Boghergoy House
33			

Source: *Kildare Hunt Map 1865*

Notes

Chapter 1: Introduction

[1] This bound book is titled by Conolly 'Log Book' and formatted as a diary.

Chapter 2: The power elite and the position of the Conolly family

[2] This figure would be approximately £12,897,000 in 2005. National Archives.co.uk/currency converter (accessed 19/07/2016)

[3] The term *rotten borough* came into use in the 18th century; it meant a parliamentary borough with a tiny electorate, because it had declined in population and importance since its early days. The word "rotten" had the connotation of corruption as well as long-term decline. The borough was still able to elect an MP despite having very few voters, and the choice of MP was typically in the hands of one person or family The small electoral population of voters were susceptible to control in a variety of ways, and could not vote as they pleased, due to the lack of a secret ballot and their dependency on the "owner" of the borough. (Oxford Living Dictionaries.com)

[4] There are no documents concerning the response of the Conolly family to the Famine in any known sources. In addition, any of the local institutions, churches and workhouses, in the Leixlip, Celbridge area, are also missing their relevant documentation.

[5]Among them St John Gogarty, Lady Gregory, Somerville, Martin and W.B. Yeats.

[6] Others included Lords Dunraven and Kerry, Sir Thomas Grattan Esmonde, Sir John Purser Griffith, Sir William Hutcheson Poe, Sir Nugent Everard, Sir John Keane, Sir Henry Greer, Andrew Jameson and General Sir Bryan Mahon. (Chambers 2004:132-4).

[7] Jointure: A sole estate settled on a wife, following the death of her husband, during her lifetime OED (1973). This in effect prevented Castletown being touched by William Conolly's heir William Jr. until after the death of Katherine in 1752. In many instances, the heir benefited immediately allowing the widow to remain in residence only at his/her discretion.

[8] Admiral Hon. Sir Thomas Pakenham was born in 1757-1836. He married Louisa Ann Staples daughter of Rt. Hon John Staples and Harriet Conolly, on 24 June 1783. He died on 2 February 1836. He held the office of Member of Parliament (M.P.) for Longford between 1783 and 1790. He held the office of Member of Parliament (M.P.) for Kells and Longford between. He gained the rank of Admiral of the Red. He held the office of Master-General of the Ordnance [Ireland]. He was invested as a Knight Grand Cross, Order of the Bath (G.C.B.).

[9] Admiral Hon. Sir Thomas Pakenham was described in a letter to the Irish Times editor at the time of his grandson's death in 1876 as a 'cherry, warm hearted rough old gentleman, [who] endeared himself to the common people by entering into familiar conversation with them in their cottages and by the wayside…he would hand an old woman over a stile…just as heartily as a young countess to spring into her saddle…' *The Irish Times* Tuesday August 22 1876.

[10] I am indebted to Nicola Kelly the Archivist of Castletown Archive for pointing this letter out to me.

[11] It appears that this house was in the ownership of Sir Thomas Pakenham's two granddaughters Harriet and Frances Conolly around the time of Thomas Conolly's death. (Landowners in Ireland 1876 (1988:83)

[12] His responsibilities extended to 3 parishes, Celbridge, Straffan and Newcastle Lyons. The modest rectory was located in Straffan, 5 miles from Celbridge.

[13] A substantial house, Cliff was demolished in 1958/59. It was situated close to where the Ballyshannon Hydroelectric scheme on the river Erne is presently located. An article in *History Ireland* suggests that there may have been money paid to supporters of the union 'An Act of Power and Corruption. …. It is clear, however, that the £18,000 from the civil list and the £14,800 from autumn 1801 should also be added, making a final total of £63,650. Even this figure might not represent the complete amount, as money may have been channeled from other sources to help finance the covert Union campaign, and for which the details have never surfaced… the slush fund only assisted the government's campaign, and the key elements remained patronage… *History Ireland* Issue 2 (Summer 2000), The Act of Union, Volume 8 (www.history Ireland.com (accessed 4 March 2017). Squire Tom's vote for or against is not known at this time. It can only be speculated where the money to build Cliff came from.

[14] Thom's Directory (1874) also listed Carrig Lodge, Killybegs, Co Donegal as a residence.

[15] 'In the 17th century the foundations for *habeas corpus* were: no freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, or be disseized of his Freehold, or Liberties, or free Customs, or be outlawed, or exiled, or any other wise destroyed; nor will We not pass upon him, nor condemn him, but by lawful judgment of his Peers, or by the Law of the land.' In other words, judgments passed by a court of law were necessary for imprisonment of individuals. However, the privilege of *habeas corpus* has been suspended or restricted several times during the history of the United Kingdom, most recently during the 18th and 19th centuries. Although internment without trial has been authorised by statute since that time, for example during the two World Wars and the 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland.
(Constitution Society available at http://www.constitution.org/eng/habcorpa.htm. accessed 23 April 2015)

[16] The date of her birth is not known.

[17] *The Giaour, a fragment of a Turkish tale by Byron.* Conolly Diary November 26 1853: MS in the possession of Desmond Guinness: Private collection.
[18] The prize was apparently a copy of de Vinci's Mona Lisa by Luini (Conolly-Carew 2012: 66).
[19]Lankford (1988:35) offers a tantalizing clue to the possible source of the association: Eugenie Marie du Deje de Montijo de Guzman, Comtesse de Teba, Napoleon III's wife, had an Irish grandmother, whose name is not given, who 'was a neighbour of the Conolly's'. It has not been possible to confirm any part of this claim. Her maternal grandfather was William Kirkpatrick a Scottish wine merchant.

[20] 'Palliser had been the leader of the British North American Exploring Expedition, who between 1857 and 1861 surveyed the boundary between British North America and the United States, from Lake Superior to the coast of the Pacific Ocean. He had also been to the Southern United States in 1862 just as the blockade by the Yankee Navy was put in place. This mysterious journey is thought by some to have been at the behest of certain Caribbean islands and the Confederate states in America but there is no evidence he was a spy' (Spry 2003).

[21] This amount represented a spending value of £457,000 in 2005. National Archives Currency Converter. www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/ (Accessed 08/08/2016).

[22] Thomas born 1870, died in 1900 in South Africa at the surrender of the Boer war, Catherine born 1871, died in 1947, married Lord Gerald Carew 5th Baron Carew in 1904, William born 1872 died in 1895, Edward Michael born 1874 died in 1956.

[23] This letter, apparently published in a newspaper, was found by the librarian of Blackhall Place and a copy sent to me, via an acquaintance. The other material that accompanied it recorded their original source, but this particular page did not. I have tried to contact the librarian myself to provide a specific citation and have searched the Irish Newspapers Archive website but both have failed to produce results.

[24] This amount represented a spending power of £1,207,752 in 2005. National Archives Currency Converter. www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/ (Accessed 08/08/2016)

[25] His will does not give any financial figures, laying out only the line of inheritance of his sons and daughter and instructions that, the 'heirlooms' aside, his real and personal property is to be sold to cover his debts. It does mention that while Sarah Eliza's jewellery is to go to her the 'family diamonds' must stay in the family. No further mention of these diamonds has ever been seen (Last Will and Testament of Thomas Conolly 4 November 1872, Castletown Archive).

[26] Such are the amount of memorials connected to Thomas Conolly in the RD that there is a great deal of scope in the for further work on Conolly's land transactions.

[27]This amount represented a spending power of approx. £4,606,492.00 in 2005. http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/ (Accessed 08/08/2017)

[28] This photo is dated 1903. The limited handwritten caption on the back lists some individuals; from the left: Henry Earl de Robeck, Mrs More O'Farrell, The Countess of Dudley, Dermot Earl of Mayo, Earl of Dudley-Viceroy of Ireland, Lord Ulster, Mrs Dalgaty of Ryevale House, Leixlip, Geraldine Countess of Mayo and Sir H. Bellingham. All but 'Ulster' is confirmed. Found by the author in Castletown house during a 'clean out' c2005.

[29] The cause of William Conolly's death was either Rheumatic fever or some form of cancer possibly leukaemia. The details on his death certificate: ulcerative endometriosis, anaemia, Purpura and asthma do not determine the underlying cause of his symptoms. General Register Office, England: Registration District Kensington, Sub-district of Brompton, County of London, Death Certificate: William Conolly, 17 June 1895, Volume 01A page 112. (acquired 14 June 2017, application number 8349152-1)
[30] The cause of Sarah Eliza's death was renal cancer. General Register Office England, District Brentford, Sub-district Chiswick, County of Middlesex. Death Certificate: Sarah Eliza Shaw, 9 October 1921, Volume 03A page 207. (acquired 18 September 2017, application number 581347-1).

Chapter 4: Data Sources and Methods

[32] Eddie Murphy of Knocklyon Books loaned me his first edition copy.
[33] These two books did not contain a bibliography or list of sources.
[34] An important complimentary source for the Valuation books is the weekly publication, initially titled the *Dublin Gazette* and later *Iris Oifigiúil.*, which is used by the government to disseminate information. This includes land purchases, ongoing in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by the Land Commission and later by the Irish Land Commission. These books, which have not been digitized, can be used as a retrospective look at land acquisition and redistribution by the state. Copies are held at Trinity Library and the NLI.
[35] I am not familiar with the published returns of England and Wales, if any.

Chapter 5 Places and spaces of Power

[36] Only a small portion of this garden remains intact today following the sale of the demesne in 1967, and the construction of a housing estate in the general area.

[37] This open parkland approach was the practice for demesnes in general, certainly in the eighteenth century when the local population acted as a type of ornament in the landscape. However, they were discouraged from walking in the park that surrounded the house. This open attitude came to an end as a consequence of the French Revolution. (Cosgrove 1984).

[38] The apartment cost 650 Lira (£26) a month. A list of contents for this apartment is included in the Conolly Papers in the IAA Archive.

[39] Mrs Lambert's sister had married one of Lady Sarah Napier's sons. Lady Sarah was Lady Louisa Conolly's sister.

[40]Now the American Ambassador's residence in the Phoenix Park

[41]Thomas Conolly's mother and sisters.

[42] A Resident Magistrate (RM) was a full-time legally qualified judge who sat in the magistrates' courts trying less serious criminal cases without a jury and conducting committal proceedings in more serious cases. They also had limited jurisdiction in civil matters. The office was created in Ireland in the 19th century when it was considered that in some areas lay justices could not be relied on. Source: Collins Dictionary of Law ed. W.J. Stewart, 2006 (accessed 23 November 2016)

Chapter 6 Networks of Power: Associations and Clubs

[43] 'Other public schools are Bedford, Charterhouse, Cheltenham, Marlborough, Rugby, Repton, Stonyhurst, Winchester, and Westminster' (Greaves 1929:174) Only Eton, Harrow and Rugby appear with regularity in the main database.

[44] Between 1854 and 1889 17.5% of the officer class in the British army were 'members of the Ascendancy' (Chambers 2004:112)

[45] John Augustus Conolly was a son of Edward Michael Conolly MP, by his wife Catherine Jane Ponsonby. He was born in 1829 at Castletown House, Celbridge, and was educated in England at King Edward's School, Birmingham, and eventually achieved the rank of lieutenant colonel. He married Charlotte Burnaby and had several children. John Augustus died in December 1878. (thepeerage.com)

[46] Sold in the 1970s, the interior was gutted and now houses the Alliance Française.

[47] Cultural credit can be inherited through the status of their family or accrued by the individual throughout their life. Either way honour or status must be maintained to have lasting value. 'Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital refers to the collection of symbolic elements such as skills, tastes, posture, clothing, mannerisms, material belongings, credentials, etc. that one acquires through being part of a particular social class. Sharing similar forms of cultural capital with others—the same taste in movies, for example, or a degree from an Ivy League School—creates a sense of collective identity and group position ("people like us"). However, Bourdieu also points out that cultural capital is a major source of

social inequality. Certain forms of cultural capital are valued over others, and can help or hinder one's social mobility just as much as income or wealth.
According to Bourdieu, cultural capital comes in three forms—embodied, objectified, and institutionalized. One's accent or dialect was an example of embodied cultural capital, while a luxury car or record collection were examples of cultural capital in its objectified state. In its institutionalized form, cultural capital refers to credentials and qualifications such as degrees or titles that symbolize cultural competence and authority.' http://routledgesoc.com/category/profile-tags/cultural-capital (Accessed 4 November 2016)

[48] In 'England and America members did not believe women were clubbable'. They obviously could not be considered gentlemen and this was the key criteria. However many men were not considered 'gentlemen enough' either (Kendall 2008:30).

[49] Originally know as Almacks, famous for dining and dancing, well known to readers of Jane Austin.

[50] This reference to 'roof' is one of abstract overarching hospitality not specific to any location. This man is Sir William Gregory Governor General of Ceylon, MP for Galway and Dublin.

[51] 'In law a gentleman is 'a man who has no occupation' (Thompson 1963:17).

[52] This location would continue to be in use until 1976, when the KSC amalgamated with the University Club and moved to number 17 Stephen's Green. The club had previously merged, in 1923, with its former rival, the Sackville Street Club.

[53] *George* Augustu*s Moore* (1852 – 1933) was a novelist, short-story writer, poet, art critic, memoirist and dramatist. *He* came from a Roman Catholic landed family of Moore Hall in Carra, County Mayo.

[54]The History Department of NUI Galway have created a significant database *the Landed Estates of Ireland* that covers Ulster, Munster and Connaught. (available at www.landedestates.ie)

[55] For a map of all the parklands in Ireland between 1830 and 1900 see Aalen, Whelan and Stout (1997:202)

[56] Count George. N. Plunkett (1851-1948) a wealthy barrister, company director and poet. Sin Fein MP and anti-treaty Ceann Comhairle in 1918 Dáil. A papal count, he was a descendant of the Earls of Fingall.

[57] Buildings where the National Library and the National Museum are presently housed.

[58] In the nineteenth century women were still required to ride side-saddle although contrary to first appearance, this was apparently a safer option as there were two or three pommels for the legs to grip, securing a better hold when jumping and scrambling (Greaves c1950).

[59] There may have been more meets at country houses but only those designated house or castle in the map legend were included in this total.

[60] Only fit young deer were hunted, which were not killed. At the end of the hunt, if they had not died by accident or exhaustion, they were returned to the herd (Greaves c1950).

Chapter 7: The performance of the power elite within their hierarchies: Thomas Conolly's Everyday Social Practices

[61] On St. Patrick's Day (17 March 1943) Eamon de Valera, then Taoiseach of Ireland, gave a radio address on Raidió Éireann titled "On Language & the Irish Nation". It is often called "The Ireland that we dreamed of", a phrase which is used within it, or the "comely maidens"' speech, a misquotation.

[62] Whelan (2014: 185) gives a list of five visits by two British monarchs during the nineteenth century; George IV in 1821, Victoria in 1849, 1853, 1861 and 1900.

[63] Alexander Hamilton appears to have managed the Donegal estates while George Simmons was in charge of the Castletown estates.
[64] In the highly structured social order during the nineteenth century those in the underclass 'knew their place' and would defer, in the parlance of the time, to 'their betters' (employers). While upper servants valued themselves as professional servants nevertheless they depended on their employers.
[65] Very likely to be his cousin William Ponsonby although it has not been defiantly confirmed.
[66] A dinner service might include, apart from the dinner and side plates, additional smaller plates of varying sizes and shapes for specific uses: butter tubs, junket dishes, bouillon bowls, sauce terrines, waste bowls, sweetmeat dishes, soup tureens, serving platters, dessert dishes and servers as well as separate tea and coffee sets with sugar bowls and milk jugs. The main set would also have complementary decorative items that were not directly used for eating such as fruit baskets, jardinières, potpourri vases and figurines of cabbages, ducks or rabbits and candlesticks that would decorate the table (Becker 1996:209).

[67] Strawberry Hill is a significant Gothic Revival villa in Twickenham rebuilt and decorated by Horace Walpole (1717–1797) from 1749 onward. (Fothergill, B. (1983) *The Strawberry Hill Set: Horace Walpole and His Circle*. London: Faber and Faber).

[68] The correct address of the elder of a group of sisters is Miss without an initial and the younger sisters by their initial. In this example, Miss Conolly is Henrietta and Miss F. Conolly is Frances.

[69] The weekend as we understand the concept did not become part of the culture of society until the 1880s when a 5 day week was introduced and Saturday and Sunday became work free days. Shops however remained open a half day on Saturday. The OED gives the first use of the word in 1879. Country House parties usually occurred between August and September following the London season and involved shooting grouse pheasant etc. but were not limited to these months. The weekend did not have any relevance for the elites because they didn't work and could have a house party at any time.

[70] It is not known who Ramsden or Dick were but Lord Milton is possibly William FitzWilliam, Viscount Milton. It is quite possible that Ramsden is his groom as he almost always rides with him however he records dining with him, not something one would expect he would do with a groom.

[71] Here he wrote in the words 'Princess Royal' but this reference cannot be to Queen Victoria's eldest child Victoria (1840-1901) the Princess Royal; even Princesses could not dine in a gentleman's club, and indeed would not. It probably refers to a theatre named the Princess Royal but confusingly there does not appear to be a theatre of this name at this time in London. Nevertheless, he uses these words several more times throughout the diaries,

[72] Miss Coddington was a member of the Coddington family of Oldbridge, Co Meath, the site of the Battle of the Boyne, and the Misses Taylors are the daughters of the Earl of Headfort.

[73] The Summerhill demesne was owned by the Rowley family, earls of Langford, Thomas Conolly's brother-in-law. The house is now a ruin.

[74] The Auction catalogue of 1966 contains notes about the provenance of the painting Pope Pius IX by D'Arti that Conolly was given in 1872 when he was appointed Master of the Rome Hunt. As there is no corroborating evidence of a visit to Italy in 1872 this may have been an honorary title.
"1893/4 inventory of Castletown, annotated with sale results from 1966: Library (State Bedroom) painting portrait, 3/4 length - Pope Pius IX seated in carved chair in white robes, and two fingers of right hand upturned, white skull cap on head D'Atri, Roma 1863 lot 325. 1966 Castletown auction, "presented to Mr. Tom Conolly, MP, Master of the Rome Hounds, c.1872" (Depner 2016)
Thanks to Chris Moore the curator of Castletown for pointing this out to me.

[75] A 'ha ha' is a half walled ditch in a parkland that separates fields. Intended to allow viewers, usually from the vantage point of the house, to have an apparently unbroken flow of land, despite the fields being divided.