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Maynooth - towards a community profile
1750-1911

by

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Summary

The thesis is about communities in Maynooth from the mid-eighteenth-century to the early twentieth-century. It looks at the worker within the community and focuses on three areas of the town – Carton demesne, Maynooth town itself and the seminary of St. Patrick's College Maynooth. Employer-employee relationships, job descriptions, status, wage levels, length of service, gender ratios, recruitment and mobility are explored particularly in relation to the servants and workers of Carton demesne and those of St. Patrick's College. A profile of Maynooth town emerges through an examination of its population, housing, property ownership and economic and social activity. Change over time and the nature and level of interaction between three employment loci is explored. Certain groups or 'communities of interest' emerge, some of which operate on separate levels to others. They are the servants of Carton demesne and those of St. Patrick's College who are not of the locality and who are bound by rules and regulations. However these groups are indirectly linked to the wider community by co-workers from the locality who enter and leave these separate worlds on a daily basis, such as the labourers from the Duke of Leinster's cottages. The community of Maynooth town to some extent forms a central community that feeds into that of Carton demesne and St. Patrick's College and at the same time it is shaped by their influential presence. It also endeavours to operate independently of them sometimes to greater or lesser degree of success over the period.

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List of abbreviations

NUIM	National University of Ireland Maynooth
NLI	National Library of Ireland
NAI	National Archives of Ireland

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Maynooth – towards a community profile

Introduction

This study is about the community of Maynooth from the mid-eighteenth-century to the early twentieth-century. It is an appropriate subject for a local history study because it is about people and place over time. Specifically it is about “‘communities of interest’ or elements which both drew some people together and also set them apart from others”¹. The underlying focus of the study is that of the worker within the community. The project looks at employees and employment in three locations: Carton demesne, Maynooth town and the Royal College of St. Patrick’s Maynooth. The areas of concern include servants in the estate and in the college and other employers and employees in the town. Specifically the study will look at the areas of employer-employee relationships, job descriptions, status, wage levels, length of service, gender ratios, recruitment and mobility. The nature and level of interaction between three employment loci – college, town and estate - is a particular focus of interest.

Historiography

Maynooth town, Carton estate and St. Patrick’s College have all attracted much academic interest separately and together. *Maynooth - Má Nuad* by Mary Cullen (Maynooth, 1979 reprinted 1995) provides an overall introduction to the history of the locality for the academic and general reader. Similarly John Drennan’s *Cannonballs and croziers – a history of Maynooth* (1994) covers additional and more recent aspects of Maynooth’s history such as a chapter on the Royal Canal and one on Maynooth’s links with horseracing. The Maynooth volume in the *Irish Historic Towns Atlas* series by Arnold Horner (1995) gives a comprehensive, fully referenced account, based on facsimile and reconstruction maps with topographical listings, of the development of the town and environs, Carton and St. Patrick’s College and proved most useful in this study. Various articles have been published in the *Journal of the Kildare Archaeology Society* such as Terence Dooley’s ‘The decline of Carton House and Estate, 1870-1950’ in volume 18 (1994-95). Also published in this issue is ‘Kildare Bibliography’ by Michael Kavanagh that includes sources up to 1993. Mary Ann Lyons’ bibliography on Maynooth published in *Irish Historical Studies* volume 29 (1995) gives a detailed

¹ Raymond Gillespie, ‘An historian and locality’ in Raymond Gillespie and Myrtle Hill (eds.) *Doing Irish local history* (Belfast, 1998), p. 13.

listing of sources up to 1995. Terence Dooley's recent book *The decline of the big house in Ireland: a study of Irish landed families 1860-1960* (Dublin, 2001), includes references to servants of Carton Estate.

Thesis structure

The landscape and structure of the town of Maynooth is reflected in the plan of the thesis. Chapter I deals with the servant world at Carton which is situated on the east of the town. Chapter II deals with the people of the landlord-inspired town that could be classed as an urban annexe to the 'great house' of Carton controlled by the Fitzgeralds. The town is situated between Carton and St. Patrick's College. Chapter III deals with the employees including servants of the Royal College of St. Patrick's, a Roman Catholic seminary, built on land sold by the Fitzgerald family and which closes the town to the west. This structure lends itself to the connections between the three distinct yet interdependent elements in the landscape. The links between the various elements are made by people, all of whom are employees or otherwise intimately involved in the local economic life. The study will also focus on two employees of the Duke of Leinster whose fortunes were intertwined in the development of the town, namely Peter Bere, agent and John Stoyte, butler to the Duke of Leinster. Thematically chapters I and III focus on employees including servants. Chapter II focuses on the economic life of the town. In conclusion what emerges is not only a view of these three worlds but also an indication of the level of interaction between them.

Sources and methodology

A significant group of people associated with the big house is its indoor and outdoor servants. The servant world is a difficult one to access mainly because the voice of the servant is not generally recorded. Records are maintained by the employer and the information noted is for the benefit of the estate or the institution. We are therefore reliant on a number of other sources in order to build a picture of the servant world. Carton Estate is representative of the larger cross-channel estate world. Private correspondence between employers reveals attitudes towards servants individually and collectively as well as providing information on duties and responsibilities and who was employed. Fortunately for Carton the correspondence of Emily Duchess of Leinster had been published and indexed by Brian Fitzgerald in 1949. The task of extracting

information about their servants was easily done. Servant wage lists give information on the working condition of servants. The Leinster Papers (microfilm in NUIM, originals in PRONI) provide a list of servants in its household account book for 1880 for the years 1884 to 1893. Names of servants, their position, duration of employment and wages are recorded. A database was constructed using Microsoft Works that allowed personal profiles and employment histories to be drawn up. Also in the household account book, estate household expenditure lists the retailers and services that were used. It answers the question as to whom benefited from this commercial activity and also indicates levels of interaction between different groups in the community. Contemporary publications provide views and attitudes of the day. Comparable material on servants elsewhere from other estate manuscript sources help to provide a fuller picture of estate servants such as the Domville papers, Townly Hall papers and Fitzpatrick papers. Miss Collet's *Report on the money wages of indoor domestic servants* of 1899 offers a statistical context for the wider servant world. Chapter II relies on sources such *Pigot's Directory* and *Slater's Directory*. Newspaper accounts in the *Kildare Observer* and *Faulkner's Dublin Journal* were useful in providing a social aspect to the town's activities. A Valuation house book for 1850 gave some insight into the conditions in the town, rent levels and the levels of mobility. The Poor Inquiry (1835) offered some information on conditions in neighbouring areas and the cholera papers (1832, 1833) commented specifically on Maynooth. The final Chapter relies on sources similar to those of chapter one. The first account book (1795-1827) of the Royal College of St. Patrick gave a constructive insight into the early years of college business and employment. Wage books of St. Patrick's College for the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were very useful in providing quantitative data that allow for comparisons to be made. The Conwell letters provided contemporary comment on conditions within the new college. Other standard local history sources including census returns, the General Valuation or tenement valuation. Travellers' accounts were used in all chapters often in conjunction with other evidence. The production of charts, figures and maps in the project enables greater access to what is a complex and immense amount of information. The range of sources ensures that different perspectives are represented.

Chapter I

The servant world at Carton 1750-1920

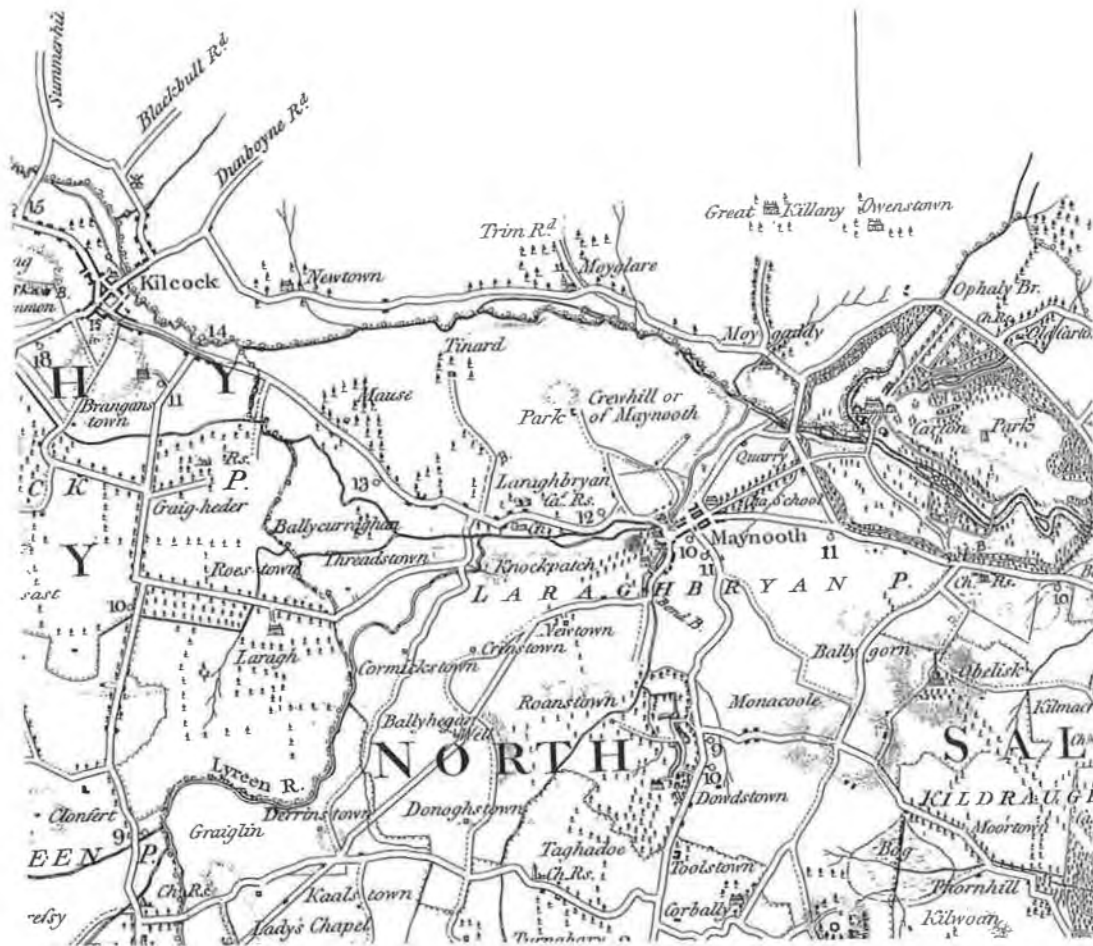
The park ranks amongst the finest in Ireland. It is a vast lawn, which waves over gentle hills, surrounded by plantations of great extent, and which break and divide in places, so as to give much variety.

Arthur Young 1776²

Introduction to Carton Estate

Carton House and demesne is situated at the east-end of the Main Street of Maynooth where there is a long tree-lined avenue that leads to the estate (Map 1). They represent fine examples of the eighteenth-century big house and landscape gardens. In terms of ownership Carton can be traced back to the Fitzgerald family when it was granted to Maurice Fitzgerald as part of the manor of Maynooth in 1176. The fourteenth Earl of Kildare leased Carton to Sir William Talbot Malahide, Co. Dublin. At some stage between 1603 and 1633 Sir William Talbot built Carton House which is the nucleus of the present building. In 1703 the house was auctioned and sold to Major General Richard Ingoldsby. The nineteenth Earl of Kildare bought back the lease from the Ingoldsby family in 1739 and set about remodelling and extending the estate making it the main family residence. Richard Castles (Cassels), one of the most fashionable architects in Ireland at the time designed the new house. The building project continued after the death of the nineteenth Earl died in 1744. The body of the two-storey house and the wings on either side were raised one storey and connected by open curved colonnades (Plate 1). James the twentieth Earl of Kildare showed much more interest in the demesne and the town of Maynooth both of which he greatly transformed. The Earl and his wife, Lady Emily Lennox favoured a more informal landscape of rolling parkland and a river, to the existing geometrical layout. The new design was achieved with the acquisition of a number of nearby townlands as shown in Rocque's map of 1757 at present on display in Rhetoric House. By 1760 the demesne consisted of 1,100 acres and was enclosed by five miles of high wall. The Earl's total estate comprised

² Arthur Young, *A tour in Ireland, 1776-1779* (London, 1780) reprinted 1970, p. 32.



Map.1 Part of Alexander Taylor's map of county Kildare 1782, showing Carton and Maynooth town (Dublin, reprinted 1983). The site of St. Patrick's College is highlighted.



Plate.1 Carton House, 1999.

68,000 acres in the counties of Kildare and Carlow. The Rye Water was widened and a lake created, and Carton Bridge was built in 1763 (Plate 2). The Earl, James Fitzgerald (1722-73) took an active interest in estate management. He spent a considerable amount of money consolidating farms and building slated stone houses for tenant farmers. In 1766 he was created the first Duke of Leinster.

The second Duke, William Robert succeeded in 1773 and was responsible for the next stages of development in the town of Maynooth. He ensured the foundation of Maynooth College and the Royal Canal. Frederick Augustus succeeded as the third Duke in 1804 and carried out further changes inside Carton House. The front of the house was changed to the northwest side that gave the main rooms a southern aspect. The third Duchess, Lady Charlotte Stanhope, designed the formal gardens on the south-east side and she was responsible for the Shell Cottage near Carton Bridge. Carton remained the property of the Fitzgeralds until it was sold to Lord Brockett in 1949 and from there sold to Powerscreen Limited 1976. It now belongs to Mr. Lee Mallaghan and is in the process of being developed as an exclusive golf course and hotel (2001).

Carton Servants: eighteenth-century

A significant group of people associated with the eighteenth-century 'big house' is of course its indoor and outdoor servants. This study will look at the definition of servant roles, recruitment procedures, employers' attitudes, gender balance, levels of turnover, and change over time. In the absence of a list of servants for the eighteenth-century we rely on the correspondence of Emily Duchess of Leinster from the 1750s to 1760s in which there are several references to named servants and servants in general.³ This allows the reconstruction of the servant world.

The popular myths about upstairs-downstairs models of service have been demolished by recent studies. This was thought to be a Victorian invention. The lines of demarcation were not very defined and while there was the male-female division in service, servants were expected to be highly flexible and to change their roles according to their employer's needs.⁴ This may have been the case in smaller households where

³Brian Fitzgerald (ed.) *Correspondence of Emily Duchess of Leinster (1731-1814)*, Vol.1 (Dublin, 1949) hereafter cited as *Correspondence*, vol.1.

⁴Bridget Hill, *Servants: English domestics in the eighteenth-century* (Oxford, 1996), p. 22-23.



Plate 2. The sheet of water at Carton Park by Thomas Roberts (1748-1778)
from *Irish Arts Review* 2001

there were fewer servants for example in a letter to Thomas Franks, John Robinson Price talks about his sister-in-law's need for a

steady servant fit to attend a single lady, to mind a pair of horses for her, and to make herself useful in my house where this lady resides at present, for annual wages of £12 and 'full clothes'.⁵

The evidence for the big house indicates that there was a hierarchy of higher and lower servants with specific responsibilities as was the case in Carton House in the later half of the eighteenth-century. Table 1:1 indicates those servants mentioned in the correspondence of Emily.

Year mentioned in correspondence	Servant name	Job description
1757	Mr. Murray	Gardener
1759	Peter Bere	Steward
1761	Mrs. Clarke	Housekeeper
1761	No name	Laundrymaid
1761	No name	upper housemaid
1761	Mr. Bolle	tutor (Swiss)
1761	Mrs. Bolle	wife and higher servant
1761	Mrs. Murray	servant (not specified)
1761	Stoyte (John)	Butler
1761	Philip	Footman
1762	Susan Winter	housekeeper's daughter
1762	No name	new housekeeper

Source: Correspondence, vol.1.

Table 1:1 Servants in Carton, 1757-62

Conditions of employment were clearly expressed if not always written down. In June 1757 Emily wrote to the Earl of Kildare detailing an interview with a man in England for the post of head nursery gardener. She does not name him but he may be a Mr. Murray, a gardener, who is mentioned two years later in the correspondence. The Duke had previously given the conditions of employment for the post of head gardener to a Mr. Conway who had verbally passed them on to the candidate in England. Emily's letter to Lord Kildare sets down clearly the interview and her impressions of the prospective gardener. The wages for the gardener was to be £30 a year with board

⁵ Fitzpatrick Papers (NAI, S6/17/101).

wages of seven shillings a week. Information was given about his previous employment:

He has never lived with any family, but has work'd at Williamson's; was bred up in the physic garden, and has of late undertaken pieces of work by contract, and understands lay-out ground in a garden, which may be useful to us hereafter.

The gardener had conditions of his own. His wife was to travel with him. Emily writes 'I'm afraid she won't be a second Mrs Nellam, for she is sickly, and has been used to wait upon a lady which don't sound notable enough for a gardener's wife'.⁶ He wished to be employed for six months on a trial basis and then promoted to head gardener and if the Duke did not find him satisfactory in the first six months, he was to be paid for the full six months before leaving. He also wished to be allowed beer at his house 'tho at board wages'. Emily indicated that she favoured this candidate but that the Duke was to have the final say in the hiring of the man. Significantly she states that 'Upon the whole I own I am for agreeing with him, as everybody allows 'tis such a difficulty to get them to go to Ireland; none but those who are undone and can't live here will'.⁷ By the eighteenth-century allowances over and above wages had become customary practice. Allowances might be in money and kind, tips, or prerequisites and tips.⁸ Later in 1759 Emily wrote to Earl of Kildare and mentioned the nursery garden and Mr. Murray, who cleared a proper pathway to it 'instead of a little path which I expected I found a great broad gravel road quite finished'. She says 'he is a strange fellow! He says he is sure you will approve of it... and he assures me it won't cost you four pounds'.⁹

In 1761 a new housekeeper was appointed prior to Emily and the Duke's departure for England. Mrs Clarke is described by Emily as a "sensible, notable and genteel sort of woman; not fine, but just the manner to create a little respect from the under-servants'. She was paid £25 the first year and £30 after approval. She was told the allowance for tea and sugar and that for strangers' servants when at Carton. For her part Mrs Clarke persuaded Emily to allow her to have a housekeeper's maid and she was anxious to know all the places in the house in case she should appear 'awkward and stupid'. Emily expressed anxiety that Mrs Clarke may not be able to assert her authority before their

⁶ *Correspondence*, vol.1, p. 42.

⁵ *Correspondence*, vol.1, p. 43.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸ Hill, *Servants*, p. 64.

⁹ *Correspondence*, vol.1, p. 71.

departure but supposed that Bere, the steward at Carton, would settle her on a proper footing with the servants.¹⁰ Other references to housekeepers occur in the letters but not by name. In 1762 Emily interviewed and hired a woman that Lady Kildare recommended. She described her as:

She has not the pecked nose right housekeeperish look, but seems not to want spirit. I was very particular with her as to all what we required of one in that station; she seems to think it reasonable and promised to execute our order to the best of her power.¹¹

The indication is that there was only one laundry maid at Carton in 1761. Mrs Murray wrote to Emily's maid asking that Emily allow extra help for the laundry maid at Carton for two days per week. On advice she agreed, stating that the laundry maid 'is an exceedingly good servant... the work is a great deal for one person, I shou'd think she might have some help allow'd her till the family returns. The final decision was left up to Lord Kildare. The servant hierarchy is apparent when she states that she would intend the new maid to by a 'sort of upper housemaid'.¹²

There was more than one footman at Carton in November of 1762. Emily was particularly taken with one called Philip whom she 'doated upon'(sic). She defends him to her husband a month later when they receive a letter from his previous employer, Mr. Cockburne. There was some questions about the manner in which he left this household, the returning of plate and being in possession of a guinea. Emily passed on Philip's explanation to Lord Kildare stating that the

guinea Mrs Cockburne gave him... was on account of wages, and that they still owe him half a guinea. He was with them but two months; he gave up all the plate in his care... he did go to the country to see his father-in-law, and there heard of our place; could not obtain a discharge from Mr Cockburne, so offer'd himself to us without.

Emily acted on behalf of the servants in many instances.

He is by much the best servant in that station we ever had, knows the town and everybody in it, was as handy at Carton as butler as ever Stoyte was, the same at breakfast, is sensible, intelligent, sober, observant, civil to everybody, always in the way, in short quite a treasure, and I beg if it is possible you will keep him.¹³

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 100-101.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 159.

¹² Ibid., p. 108.

¹³ Ibid., p. 156.

Mr Bolle was the boys' tutor during this period. He was of Swiss origin and accompanied the boys on their travels to England and William Fitzgerald on his grand tour (1766-1769). Mrs Bolle, his wife occupied an upper servant position in the house, possibly that of nursery maid and then housekeeper. When Lord Kildare planned to have a maid in each of their two houses (Carton and Carlton), and one to go backwards and forwards, Emily reported in August 1761 that he would not find it easy to make Mrs Bolle agree to it.¹⁴ In December of the same year Mrs Bolle felt that Stoyte the butler had taken against her.¹⁵ Later in 1762 Emily wrote to Lord Kildare noting Mrs Bolle's disappointment at having being moved to another position because she had not been happy enough to please [Lord Kildare],

particularly as the place you put her in was by your own desire and opinion of her, unsought by her; she was happy in being with Cecilia¹⁶ and happy in having given me satisfaction in that place.¹⁷

Finally in April 1763 Mrs Bolle went as housekeeper to Lady Holland (Emily's sister) in Piccadilly 'I'm going to take Mrs Bolle for housekeeper to my house in Piccadilly, which, as she lived so long with you and Bolle, is so great a favourite. I hope you'll not disapprove'.¹⁸

One of Emily's most devoted employees was Mrs. Lynch the housekeeper who was with the family in the 1770s and 1780s. She was treated more as a friend than a servant. Emily depended on her through difficult periods in her life and she was greatly liked by the Fitzgerald family. Emily was profoundly affected by her death. In 1794 Lady Louisa Conolly wrote to the Duchess of Leinster

I dined at Carton yesterday, and heard there, my dearest sister, with very great concern, of the death of poor Mrs Lynch, whose loss, I am sure, would deeply affect you and your dear girls...I feel very much for what it must cost you now, and fear that many past scenes, where her tenderness bore so great a part, are recalled afresh to your mind.¹⁹

Stoyte is described in the letters as the butler and who had a significant connection with the Royal College of St. Patrick. At Carton was responsible for the pantry and

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 108.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 156.

¹⁶ Lady Cecilia Margaret Lennox, youngest daughter of Charles Lennox, 2nd Duke of Richmond. She died unmarried in 1769 aged 20 years. At the time of this letter Cecilia was thirteen years of age.

¹⁷ *Correspondence*. vol. 1, p. 159-160.

¹⁸ Brian Fitzgerald, *Correspondence of Emily, Duchess of Leinster (1831-1814)* vol. 3 (Dublin, 1957), p. 364.

stillroom, where the plate, linen, tableware, condiments and groceries were kept. He was given a budget and worked closely with the housekeeper. Emily reported in 1762 that 'Stoyte calls for no money neither, so we go on living pure and cheap, agreeable to the economical scheme'.²⁰

Bere, an under-agent of the Duke at Carton during the 1760s, occupied a powerful position. He had responsibilities inside and outside the demesne. He ordered what was needed for the day-to-day running of the estate and he collected the rents, ordered the wine and burgundy and champagne for parties and he dined with the family. His powerful position is shown when the Earl of Kildare wrote to Emily at Carton in 1759

My love, my love, it is very great pleasure to write for things to be sent to one; but the paying is not so when it's convenience, and it will be to me now more than I expected, for Bere, has not brought near so much money from his circuit as he used to do.²¹

Both Bere and Stoyte were significant employees because they also represented important links to the town of Maynooth and the college. Their influence is dealt with in chapters II and III respectively.

These eighteenth-century letters allow us to glimpse the servant and master world as existed in the big house. Very clearly as Carton indicates there was a hierarchical structure among servants with roles and responsibilities clearly defined. In the case of Emily one of her roles was to take charge of the servants but at the same time she deferred to her husband for the final say in the hiring of servants. She intervened on behalf of her servants and her relationship with her servants was a maternalistic one rather than contractual. The correspondence gives significant insights into the personalities of certain servants and into the day-to-day problems with servants in general. Emily complains about the painters who go away and leave the work half done. She talks about getting the better of the maids and that they are doing part of the laundry.²² In December 1762 she begins her letter by saying she is 'plagued by the servants'.²³

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 425.

²⁰ *Correspondence*, vol.1, p. 140.

²¹ Ibid., p. 82.

²² Ibid., p. 157.

²³ Ibid.

The servant world at Carton in the eighteenth-century was a closed one. There is no evidence in the letters that people from the town. Murray the gardener was interviewed in England and other servants seem to have come recommended from other households or had employment in other similar type of households. Philips came from another estate. However the extra laundry maid is likely to have come from the locality as it was for 2 days a week. If records were kept of locally recruited employees at Carton these do not survive or at least have not come to light. Around 1760 the Duke had twenty-eight labourers' cabins with slated roofs built. They were situated on the north side of the main street and he held these under his direct control throughout the next century. This indicates that Carton provided substantial employment to local general labourers and their families, and there was likely to be extra employment opportunities for seasonal work on the estate.

In the absence of wage information for servants in Carton for this period, we get some idea from comparable material. The Domville papers show that in 1769 the gardener received 10 guineas per annum and in 1785 this increased to £20 per annum which is well below the wages offered to Mr. Murray of £30 per year in 1757. Wages ranged from 5 guineas per annum for housemaids and kitchenmaids, 6 guineas for dairymaid, postillion, laundrymaid and helper, 8 guineas for footman, 10 guineas for groom, and 12 guineas for coachman. The cook in this case was male and was paid 24 guineas per year in 1768 this also illustrates the point that wealthier households preferred male cooks.²⁴ The best recommendation for a female cook was that she had 'lived under a man cook', and if he was French it was an even better recommendation.²⁵ The employment of foreign servants proved expensive and was testimony to the wealth and status of the estate.²⁶

Late nineteenth-century servants

The body of material in the Leinster Papers relating to the servants of Carton House at Maynooth contains servant wage lists from the years 1884 to 1893 which records names, positions, wages and duration of employment of servants.²⁷ Information about the servants of the estate has been mentioned in Terence Dooley's article in which he

²⁴ Domville papers 1769-1789 (NLI, Ms. 11,844).

²⁵ Jean J. Hecht, *The domestic servant in eighteenth-century England* (London, 1980) p. 65.

²⁶ Hill, *Servants*, p. 25.

²⁷ Household account book of Carton, 1880 (Leinster Papers, D3078/2/13). Microfilm NUIM.

states that in the 1880s there were forty-four servants at Carton House.²⁸ He also includes some information relating to the remuneration of higher servants. Findings for 1885 show that the butler at Kilkenny Castle was paid almost £47 per year while the butler at Carton earned over twice as much and the under-butler earned £35 per year. The wages of the cook and housekeeper far outstripped that of the butler at Kilkenny.²⁹

The number of servants returned in the Collet report (that came from Belfast, Dublin Cork and Limerick) in Ireland was not very large. There were 2,067 household returned in all, employing 5,453 women and 326 men as resident domestic servants. Of this number only 359 women were returned for Ireland.³⁰ Ireland had 21.6% of servants over the age of 45 while England had only 9.1% in this category. Wages varied considerably but in general they were higher in the north of Ireland. One of the difficulties with the report is that the number of male servant wages returned is an underestimate because some of those making the returns assumed that it concerned female servants only.³¹ From the report we get some idea of the percentage of female servants employed in the different age groups from the report (Table 1:2)

Country or Province	% Under 15	% aged 15-19	% aged 20-24	% aged 25-45	% aged 45+
England and Wales	7.7	32.5	24.7	26.0	9.1
Scotland	6.2	30.9	25.0	28.1	9.8
Ireland	4.7	25.7	21.6	26.4	21.6
Ulster	6.5	24.7	20.6	26.9	21.3
Leinster	3.4	22.8	22.6	30.4	20.8
Munster	4.0	28.9	22.1	23.1	21.9
Connaught	6.7	28.7	18.2	21.5	24.9

Table 1:2 Percentage at each age period for female indoor servants, Collet Report 1899

Evidence from the servant lists indicates that there were significant levels of mobility during the decade. Between 1884 and 1893, 162 servants came and went at Carton

²⁸ Terence Dooley 'The decline of Carton House and Estate, 1870-1950' in *Journal of the Co. Kildare Archaeological Society* vol. xviii (part II) 1994-95, p. 212-224.

²⁹ Terence Dooley, *The decline of the big house in Ireland: a study of Irish landed families 1860-1960*, (Dublin, 2001), p. 158.

³⁰ Collet Report, p. 2.

House. For the most part the servant list was kept on a quarterly basis starting in January of each year, except during the year 1887 and the beginning of 1888 which indicated a major reshuffle in the household. Annual and quarterly wages were recorded in the papers. Servant positions in the early lists included house steward and butler, under butler, valet and groom of chambers, footman, stewards room boy, clerk of works along with the more usual big house staff such as cook, housemaid, laundrymaid, coachman, hall boy and coal boy and scullerymaid. The inclusion of an appendix shows the database entries for servants from 1884-1893 which notes, name, position, length of service and rate of pay. The data was entered from the Servant Wage Book according to year.³² One of the major findings in the document was not only did there appear to be a drop in servant numbers in 1887, but all indoor servants were let go in April 1887 and a separate set of nine servants for Carton were hired in June 1887.

³¹ Ibid, p. 2.

³² Leinster Papers D3078/13/2.

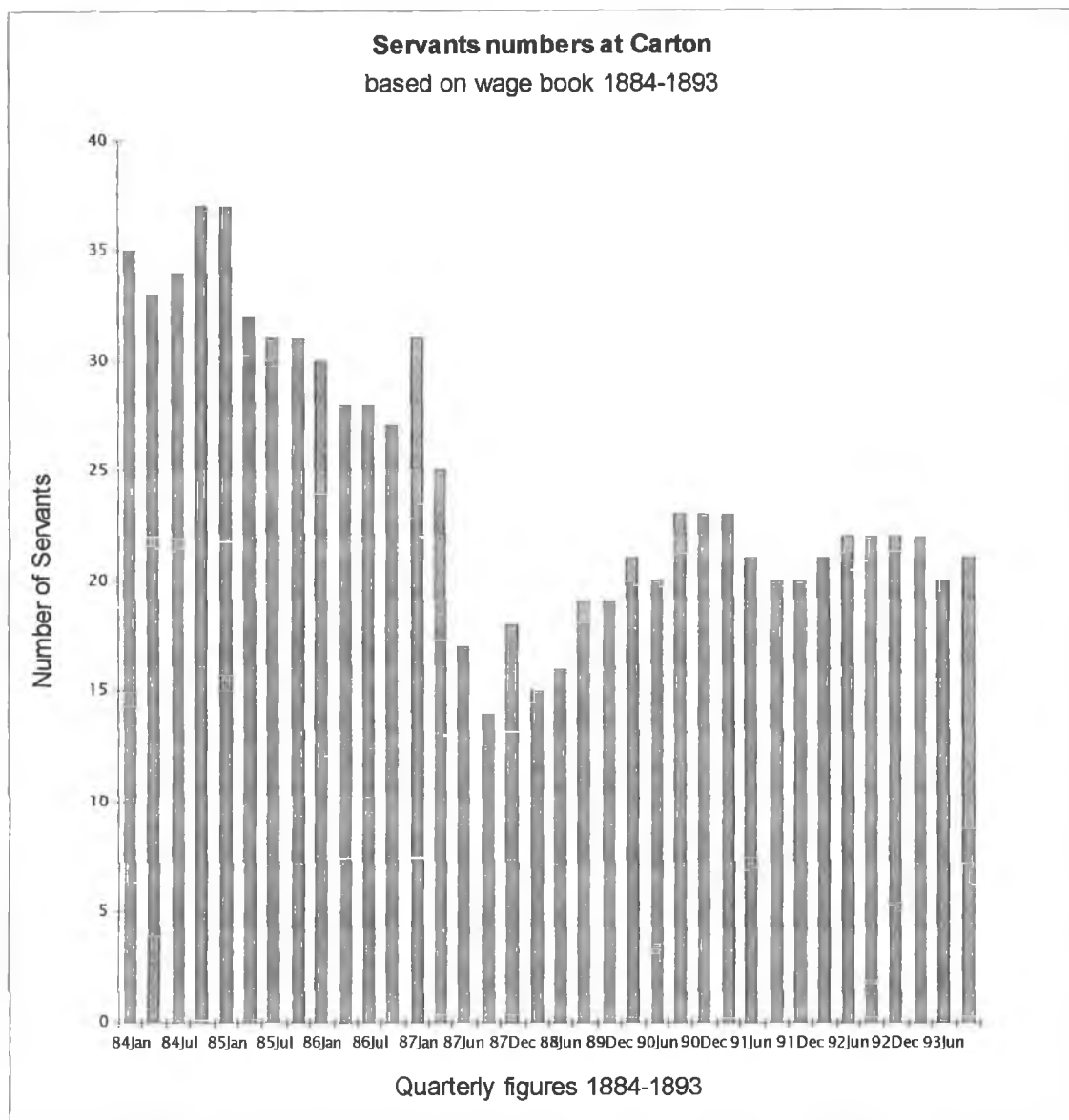


Fig. 1 Servant numbers at Carton 1884-1893

An examination of the data centres on some key positions in the household focussing on examples from both upper and lower servants, male and female servants, duration of employment, and remuneration. During the period 58 male servants and 105 female servants passed through Carton House.

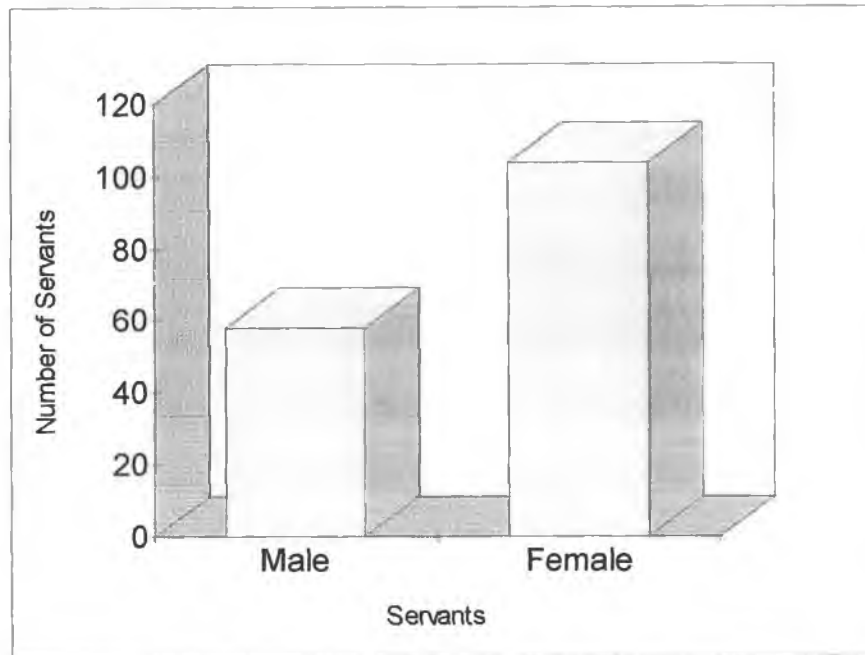


Fig. 2 Number of male and female servants at Carton 1884-1893

The potential wage cost for each group was £1,680 and £2,385 respectively. In some years not all servants were replaced and by the end of the period positions such as clerk of works, clock winder, coal boy, and steward's room boy to name a few were no longer noted on the servant list, indicating a change in the economy of the house.

An examination of housemaid statistics show that 34 came and went during the period. During the years 1884 to 1887 the position was called 'housemaid' with four levels of pay £12, £14, £16, £18 per housemaid per year. From 1888 onwards the levels were assigned titles from 1st to 4th housemaid. At the lowest pay level, the 4th housemaid or equivalent rose from £10 to £12. The rise in pay for 1st housemaid went from £18 to £24 during the period. The wages at Carton for housemaids were higher than the average range of £13.5 to £17.1 from an earlier period than the Collet Report (Table1:3).³³ One disadvantage is they we do not know the age profile of the Carton employees which appears to have a bearing on remuneration. Laundry maids had a similar pay and classification structure as housemaids. By 1893 the 1st laundry maid was being paid £24 per year.

³³ Miss Collet, *Report on the money wages of domestic servants* (London, 1899), p. 569.

Age of Housemaids	London	England and Wales	Scotland	Ireland
15 years and under	£ 7.8	£ 8.0	£ -	£ -
16 years	9.3	9.6	-	10.3
17 years	10.9	11.1	11.2	7.0
18 years	12.8	12.8	13.0	9.3
19 years	14.4	12.9	12.4	10.6
20 years	15.9	14.5	15.4	13.0
21 and under 25	17.5	16.2	17.1	13.5
25 and under 30	19.5	18.5	18.9	14.6
30 and under 35	20.6	20.2	19.7	15.9
35 and under 40	24.0	20.5	20.7	16.7
40 and upwards	25.8	20.4	20.7	17.1

Table 1:3 Housemaids – average wages at different age periods, London and British Isles. Collet Report 1899.

It was not possible to get an accurate figure for the number of months worked for each category of staff, because the servant list in the Leinster Papers was done for the most part on a quarterly basis. It is possible for the person to have started employment before they were entered on the quarterly list and also that they may have stayed beyond their last entry on the list, by up to three months. Also the quarterly listing begin in January for the years 1884 up to 1887 and from 1888 to 1893 it begins in March. The duration of employment for housemaids ranged from 6 months to 40 months. In reality these figures could easily have been from 3 months to 37 months for the reasons mentioned above. The average length of employment for a laundry maid was two years (based on being present for part of a year). The biggest turnover among female servant posts were the positions of housemaid, laundry maid and kitchen maid. Collet's assessment that the average length of service was 1.4 years would approximate to the findings at Carton for the middle and lower servants of the house.³⁴

The cook in a large house like Carton was an important employee with a certain status. Cooks had their own maid who prepared the kitchen for them in the morning.³⁵ The cooks at Carton were paid £60 per annum. There was an exception in 1887 when the position of cook and housekeeper were doubled up and the pay was reduced to £50 per annum but this was still well above the average wage of £30 in a house with more that

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 577.

³⁵ Dooley, *The decline of the big house in Ireland*, p. 157.

six servants. Seven cooks were employed in all during the period 1884-1893; that included a Madame Plantier in 1891 who stayed less than a year.

In 1887 the cook and butler at St. Patrick's College were paid £40 and £25 per annum respectively.³⁶ After a certain age, that of 30-35 in the case of cooks, 'length of service is not accompanied by an advance of wages', which is borne out here. Collet explains that the higher scale of wages among servants above this age limit 'is due to the survival of the efficient servants, and the disappearance of inefficient servants from the domestic labour market'.³⁷

Other factors must come into play. The task of keeping large houses such as Carton was very physically demanding. Rev. G. N. Wright's description of the interior of Carton house indicates the demands that would be made of its staff in its maintenance.

the furniture and decoration of every apartment are suitable to the splendour of this magnificent establishment...the great dining-room, 52ft in length by 24 in breadth... has been furnished in a style of much grandeur.³⁸

An example in the Townly Hall papers shows list of instructions from Lady Florence Balfour to her parlour maid that give some indication of the regime and rules of domestic service:

dining-room and school-room to be done out before breakfast and fires lighted in both. When breakfast is up go and help to make beds and empty baths, then go down stairs from drawing-room door and rub over vestibule and dust hall. The cook will answer the door until 11 o'clock. When we are at luncheon tidy and dust over school-room and study. After luncheon the dining room.³⁹

Social outlets were limited for servants. They mixed with other servants who came to the house of their employers. Time off for servants especially in Carton meant they probably did not get home regularly as most of them came from different counties if not from another country.

³⁶ Servant wage books 1887-95, (St. Patrick's College Archives, B3/18/1).

³⁷ Collet Report, p. 580.

³⁸ Rev. G.N. Wright *Scenes in Ireland with historical illustrations, legends and biographical notices* (London, 1834), p. 94.

³⁹ Townly Hall Papers (NLI, Ms. 10247).

The majority of adult male indoor servants were employed in large households where there were six or more servants.⁴⁰ This was the case for Carton. Indoor male servants in Carton were higher paid than their female counterparts. The steward at the top of the hierarchy was paid £100 per year, followed by the valet and groom of chambers at £60 per year. The gamekeeper was also listed with the servants and was paid £70 per year. There was two stewards employed during the period. Some positions were discontinued from 1886 for example the valet and groom of chambers and the steward's room boy positions no longer existed after 1886 and 1888. Clerk of works no longer existed after 1884.

The butler at Carton was paid £70 per year and there were two employed between 1884 and 1893, the under-butler position at £35 was discontinued in 1887. Even though there were fewer male servants in Carton there was a greater staff turnover in their positions. Coachmen had a two tiered payment system the lower one ranged from £28 to £30 and the second £40 to £47 per year. Four out of five lower-paid coachmen stayed for one year or less, and one remained for two years. This was the same pattern for the higher paid coachmen.

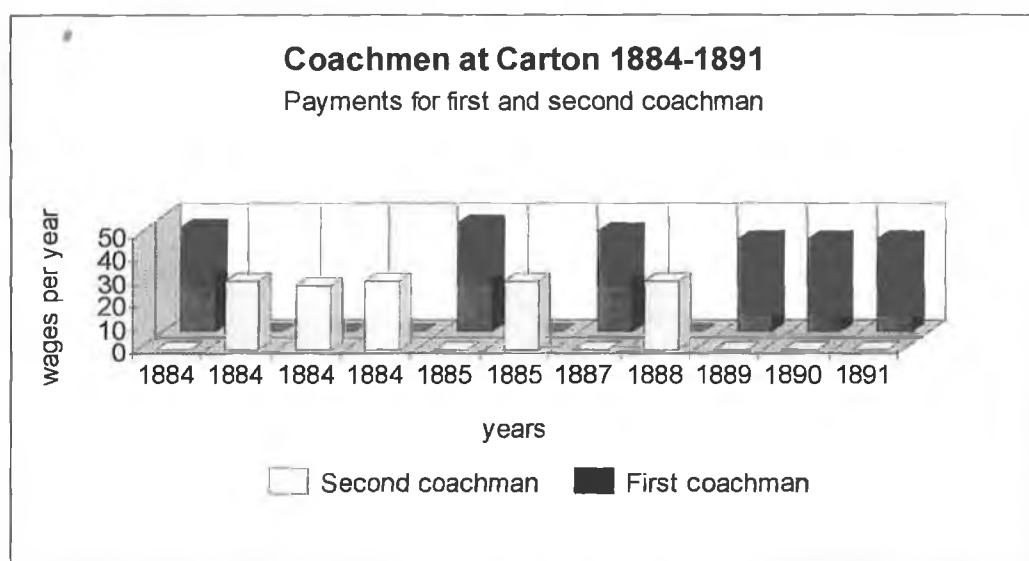


Fig. 3 Coachmen's annual wages at Carton 1884-1891

⁴⁰ Collet Report, p. 575.

The position of footman also experienced a high turnover. The wages ranged from £25-£35 annually. Hall boys were replaced 12 times during the period. The average time of service for males would be comparable to the female 1.4 years if not less. High turnover of servant staff was a common problem for employers, that in 1825 the Dublin Society for the Improvement and Encouragement of Servants was set up. The resolution was unanimously passed at their meeting:

that the difficulty of procuring well conducted servants, who will continue for a considerable time in one service, has rendered it expedient to form a society in this city, similar to others sometime in operation in London, Liverpool, and other places in England, in which they have been found very beneficial.⁴¹

This society acted as a procurement and placement agency serving masters and servants who paid a subscription fee. Written into their rules was a clause that all member servants who changed their places 'not through the society and who fail to give notice to the society with one month shall not be entitled to have their name enrolled again'.⁴²

Twentieth-century servants

The main source of information for the study of the servants at the beginning of the twentieth-century is the 1901 and 1911 census. For this source we are able to get more than the quantitative information of the nineteenth-century wage books. Table 1:4 shows the entries for the household itself for 1901.⁴³

⁴¹ *First Report of the Dublin Society for the improvement and encouragement of servants from its institution, May 5 1825 to Dec 31 1827* (Dublin, 1828). (Hereafter *First Report*).

⁴² *First Report*, p. 9.

⁴³ 1901 Carton DED 40/8 (NAI).

First Name	Surname	Relation to head	Religion	Education	Age	Sex	Rank, Profession, Occupation	Married	Where Born
Frederick	Fitzgerald	Head	Church of Ireland	R & W	44	M	Lord/Major/Ret'd Pay/J.P...	No	Co. Dublin
Mabel	Fitzgerald	Sister	Church of Ireland	R & W	45	F	Lady/ Daughter of Duke	No	Co. Dublin
Edward	Fitzgerald	Nephew	Church of Ireland	R & W	8	M	Lord /Brother of Duke / Scholar	No	England
Robert	Harrison	Servant	Church of Ireland	R & W	22	M	Footman	No	Co. Cavan
John	Colgan	Servant	Roman Catholic	R & W	26	M	Footman	No	Co. Kildare
Mary	Rich	Servant	Church of England	R & W	50	F	House-keeper	No	England
Minnie	Forbes	Servant	Presbyterian	R & W	32	F	House-maid	No	Scotland
Mabel	Dean	Servant	Church of Ireland	R & W	25	F	House-maid	No	India
Sarah	Scott	Servant	Church of England	R & W	23	F	Stillroom-maid	No	England
Lizzie	Browne	Servant	Presbyterian	R & W	24	F	Scullery-maid	No	Co. West meath
Mary	Crowe	Servant	Roman Catholic	R & W	28	F	Kitchen-maid	No	Co. Clare

1901 Census of Ireland Carton DED 40/8

Table 1:4 Persons in Carton House 1901

There were 67 persons returned for the demesne on the night of the 1901 including one visitor.⁴⁴ Within the house eight servants were present on the night, two males six females. All servants could read and write. The retention of two footmen agrees with the observation that in the nineteenth-century the proportion of male servants declined as new jobs for men opened up. By the end of the century, male servants were kept on as footmen and butlers by only very rich households'.⁴⁵ Although Carton was not rich at this stage but the presence of footmen would certainly indicate the family's desire to 'live up' to their status and station. England, Scotland and India are represented in the household that reflect a household holding on to aristocratic, international and empire values. This profile began to change especially in the demesne. In 1901 nine servants were from county Kildare and by 1911 this number rises to fifteen and there is a sizeable drop in the Scottish employees from sixteen to seven. The denominational balance changed substantially from 1901 to 1911 (Table 1:5). The number of Roman Catholics increased to some extent, the number of Church of Ireland decreased more

⁴⁴ 1901 Carton DED 40/8 (NAI).

⁴⁵ Briget Hill *Servants*, p. 31.

significantly, members of the Church of Scotland disappeared completely and the number of Presbyterians increased considerably.⁴⁶

Census	Church of Ireland	Church of England	Roman Catholic	Presbyterian	Wesleyan	Church of Scotland
1901	26	6	16	8	0	11
1911	17	6	21	21	1	0

Table 1:5 Religious denominations of demesne staff, Carton 1901 and 1911

Table 1:6 indicates that the demesne employed a relatively high number of staff in 1901; age, marital status and dependants are recorded.⁴⁷

Position	Age	Married	Number of dependants – wife, children, inlaws etc.
gate lodge keeper	78	Yes	3
under-steward	23	No	
coachman	36	Yes	3
groom	23	No	
groom	22	No	
butler	44	Yes	3
laundrymaid	25	No	
laundrymaid	25	No	
land steward	49	Yes	5
groom	16	No	
gamekeeper	46	Yes	1 (gamekeeper family)
gamekeeper	23	No	
gamekeeper	23	No	
shepherd	20	No	
lodge keeper	77	Yes	1
gardener	37	No	1 (sister)
gardener	28	No	
gardener	29	No	
gardener	24	No	
gardener	22	No	
gardener	19	No	
gas maker	54	Yes	2
gamekeeper	30	Yes	2
agricultural labourer	26	No	
gardener	52	Yes	
gate lodge keeper	67	Yes	2

Table 1:6 Demesne staff - occupation, marital status, age and dependants, Carton - 1901

⁴⁶ 1901 Carton Demesne 40 DED/ 8 (NAI).

⁴⁷ Ibid.

The Census enables us to get some information on mobility where details of children are recorded. In the case of Robert McKerrow land steward, we know that he was born in Scotland in 1852 where some of his children were also born. He came to Ireland sometime prior to 1889. His youngest child aged eleven was born in county Kildare.⁴⁸ Michael Moloney gamekeeper was born in county Clare c.1877, married in 1903 to a woman from county Kerry, and moved to Longford where the first two of his four children were born. His third child was born in county Kerry and their last child was born in county Kildare in 1909.⁴⁹ There were ten families living on the estate in 1901, six of these were still there in 1911. Of the 23 unmarried staff none were present in 1911.

Place of Birth				
	Kildare	Scotland	England	other counties
1901	9	16	7	15
1911	15	7	7	18

Table 1:7 Birth places of demesne staff, Carton 1901 and 1911

Conclusion

For this chapter the correspondence of Emily Duchess of Leinster (1731-1814), a selection of servant wage books (1884-1893) and manuscript census returns (1901 and 1911) provide access to the servant world at Carton. The sources reveal one of the major changes between employer and servant, during the period when the relationship between the two changed from a paternalistic one to a contractual one. Emily Duchess of Leinster showed genuine interest in her servants and formed lasting relationships with some of them. She was also the arbitrator for the household servants, and spoke on their behalf to the Duke. Diplomatically she allowed her husband to make final staffing decisions. The correspondence does not give us any idea how many staff was employed at Carton but one can say that it would have been at least equal if not more than the figures of 1883. A staff hierarchy existed at Carton, wages were above average and allowances were given to servants. Some servants did very well from employment

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ 1911 Carton Demesne 40 DED/8 (NAI).

there, the under-agent Peter Bere and the bulter John Stoyte, both of whom owned property in the town. (see chapters II and III).

The findings for nineteenth-century servants at Carton reveal that there was a high turnover of both male and female staff at middle and lower levels despite the fact that these very positions were the ones that showed wage increases over the years. This was very marked in the positions of housemaid, laundrymaid, coachman and footman. For those, presumably young people, the prospect of domestic service as a worthwhile secure position was no longer the attractive one it had been in earlier times. By the end of the nineteenth-century and in the case of Carton in particular, the prospect of living in a closed, regulated community within a walled estate may have been beginning to prove less attractive in the increasingly insecure world of the declining landed estate.

Higher servants' wage did not alter appreciatively over the period. The steward, housekeeper, butler and cook belonged to an older cohort and the status of these positions was their attraction. Added to this was the fact that most servants reached the height of their earning power at the age of 35 to 40, after that it became difficult to change posts when their bargaining power began to diminish. This may have been a reason why male servants left service more readily.⁵⁰ However even here we begin to see breakdown: The number of cooks who came and went at Carton was significant. The longest serving servants were one kitchenmaid who stayed for 6 years at £20 per year. A nurse and a butler stayed for 4 years.

The discontinuance of certain positions from 1886 is indicative of change within the estate itself. The demesne began to do without certain people. The drop in servant numbers around this period is significant. The estate at this time underwent a major change the consequence of which was the letting go of the entire servant staff of the house in April 1887. Gerald, fifth duke of Leinster took over amidst crippling debts in 1887. Encumbrances totalled over £290,000 and income was steadily declining. In that year he sold £128, 417 worth of his estate all of which, except £944, went to clear debts.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Mona Hearn, *Below stairs: domestic service remembered in Dublin and beyond 1880-1922* (Dublin, 1993), p. 49.

⁵¹ Dooley 'The decline of Carton House and Estate, 1870-1950', p. 212-224.

One of the major findings of the research for this period was that seventeen new servant names appeared for June 1887. However, these cover the two Fitzgerald houses of Carton (Maynooth) and Carlton House (London). In reality new servants employed for Carton in June 1887 numbered only nine. In 1888, £33,879 was realised from land sales that enabled the hiring of a handful of core servants.

By the early twentieth-century the number of servants at Carton were reduced. There were ten families living on the demesne. In all sixty-seven persons were returned in 1901. There were eight servants in the house. It is significant that two footmen were employed at a time. Male servants were kept on, only by very wealthy households, which indicated the family's desire to 'live up' to their status and station. The place of birth of servants reflected the aristocratic, international and empire values of the estate. Continuity and change are evident in the number of families that stayed on the estate and in the number of single people who left it by 1911 which had an effect on the denominational balances. The census returns allow some insight into mobility of the outdoor servant population through the places of birth of each family member. There was a change between 1901 and 1911 with the numbers of Scottish and English had reduced but the number from Irish counties had increased to balance this out in an otherwise dwindling estate population. The culmination of change for the estate and its servants saw the struggle for retention of imperial values one the one hand and the inevitable gradual loss and decline of those values.

Chapter II

Maynooth: a community profile 1831-1911

At a small distance from the park is a new town,
Manooth, which the duke has built; it is regularly
laid out, and consists of good houses

Arthur Young⁵² (Plate 3).

Maynooth town

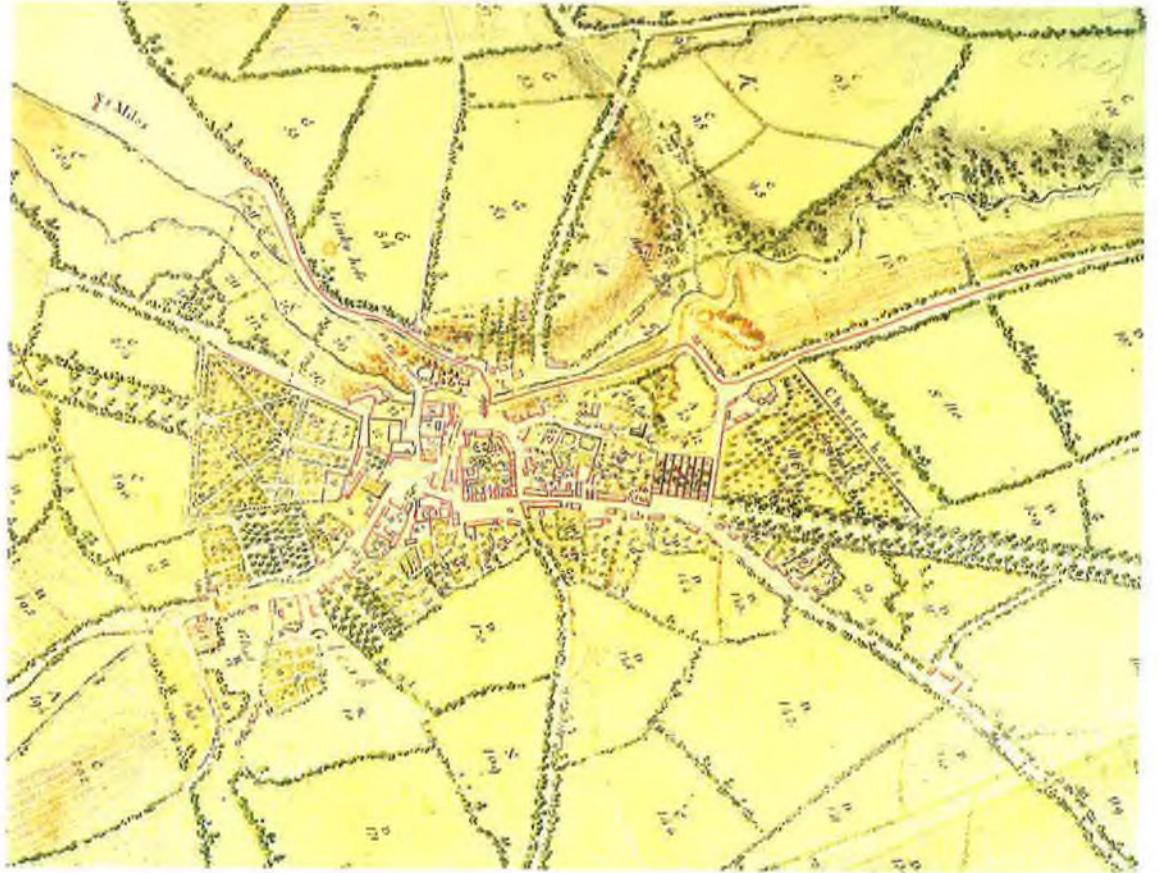
In 1750 Maynooth was still a market town and had only recently become a post town. Between 1750 and 1837 but mainly before 1830 Maynooth underwent a major transformation due to the work of the twentieth Earl of Kildare and First Duke of Leinster. The project was carried on by successive dukes.⁵³ The large-scale map by John Rocque of 1757 (Map 2.) shows that Carton Avenue and the Main Street were in place. The first row of two storey, slated houses situated at the east-end of the town on the north side of the Main Street had been built by 1757. The remainder of the town had an unplanned and straggled appearance. Many of the present roads were in place such as Straffan Road and the Celbridge Road. Moyglare Road had not yet been built. There were a few agriculture-based industries, two distilleries, a malt house, a mill and a bleach yard. The prominent property holders in 1757 were Peter Bere, Councillor McManus, Francis McManus, Richard Kelly, Lawrence Chamberlain, Richard Nelson, Molly Morgan, Christopher Tindall, John Meaghan, and Doctor Le Taublere indicating a mixture of Irish and English surnames.⁵⁴ By 1781 the Market Square and its market house were completed. Small cabins appeared on the Dublin Road. The Royal College of St. Patrick was opened at the west-end of the town in 1795 due to the efforts of the duke and a year later the Royal Canal reached Maynooth. In the 1790s Parson Street was built as a result of the need to house students attending the new college. A large house called Riverstown Lodge and its adjoining garden was built by John Stoyte senior. Stoyte House was built by John Stoyte junior. In October 1798 Eugene Conwell, a seminarian at the Royal College, who was staying in Riverstown House wrote to his uncle stating,

⁵² Young, *A tour in Ireland*, p. 32.

⁵³ Mary Cullen, *Maynooth-Má Nuad*, (Maynooth, 1995), p. 12



Plate. 3 Main Street Maynooth, Lawrence Collection c. 1900
from 'Maynooth' *Irish Historic Towns Atlas* (Dublin, 1995).



Map.2 Part of 'A survey of the town and lands of Maynooth, 1757', by John Rocque from 'Maynooth' *Irish Historic Towns Atlas*, (Dublin, 1995).

my room is in a house about 40 perches from the College. There are about 30 of us in the house which is very cold, being only finished this summer... we shall only remain here until the rooms in the new house connected with the college are prepared ... which we hope will be in early spring.⁵⁵

Both houses provided the framework for development of the west of the town as they were to form the nucleus of the college. Stoyte House visually enclosed that end of the street. By the end of the century the road west was re-routed to turn sharply left just before the Castle.

By 1830 the layout of the town was complete with additional houses along Parson Street, Pound Lane, Convent Lane and Dillon's Row. The Presentation Sisters had arrived and set up a convent in the Old Charter School by 1824 due to efforts of the Duke of Leinster. The new Catholic Church was built between 1835-1840 at Mill Street.

Maynooth in the middle of the eighteenth-century was beginning to develop under the direction of the 'improving' landlord the First Duke of Leinster who having transformed his estate turned his attention to development of the adjoining town of Maynooth. Planned development came about by the leasing of plots and buildings. Advertisements appeared in papers for letting of the new houses on the north side of Main Street, such as in 1756.

...as several new houses have been lately built in the town of Maynooth, the lands of Newtown adjoining to the said Town will be in fields for their accommodation and that of the Town. Proposals to be received by Mr Peter Bere at Carton or Mr Richard Nelson in Dublin. To be let also, some lots of ground for building in Leinster Street, thirty-feet in a lot, about which the said Richard Nelson may be written to, he having a power to setting same.⁵⁶

An advertisement of 1776 is significant because it stressed the need for tenants who were likely to remain and contribute to the development of the town.

⁵⁴ Part of 'A survey of the town and lands of Maynooth, 1757, by John Rocque, reproduced in *'Maynooth' Irish Historic Towns Atlas* (Dublin, 1995).

⁵⁵ Revd. Bro. Luke (ed.) *Letters from Maynooth: Calendar of letters of Rev. Eugene Conwell 1798-1805*, (Dundalk, 1942), p. 23-4.

⁵⁶ *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 24-27 January, 1756.

To be let for lives or years, part of the Estate of the Duke of Leinster...several fields in and near the towns of ...Maynooth, very convenient for those who reside therein: also several lots of buildings in the said towns. Every reasonable encouragement will be given to good solvent tenants, who will build and reside upon and improve said lands... Proposals to ...Peter Bere Esq at Leinster House Dublin...⁵⁷

One of the earliest and longest lasting establishments was the Leinster Arms situated on the south of Main Street, and was the same building as the present Leinster Arms. First established in 1777 by Richard Vousden, it went through various ownerships and titles. It was called Grehan's Hotel or the Maynooth Inn in 1797. Grehan's advertisement in the *Dublin Evening Post* stressed the safety and cleanliness of his carriages, his stock of well fed horses, with stabling for over 100, and sober postillions. We also get an insight into social aspects of the town for the time

Grehan has furnished a part thereof as an hotel, for the reception of families, visitors to the College, or the neighbouring nobility. A good larder, honest wines and pure spirits, with civil and attentive servants will afford the best proofs of attention to his business.⁵⁸

On the north side of the main street there was the Kildare Arms Inn which had been there since the 1750s and appears in the Rocque map of the 1757. It is last mentioned in the Registry of Deeds in 1764. Other outlets included a quarry and distilleries at Mill Street, a tanyard at Main Street, Forges and Smithies at Dublin Street north and brew houses at unknown locations.⁵⁹

The Duke of Leinster and Peter Bere together were the main driving forces in the new development. The duke directly controlled twenty-eight cabins situated at the back of houses along the north side of the main street, as well as certain key properties such as churches, schools and mill.⁶⁰ The practice of issuing renewable leases affected the landlord's ability to have direct control in the development of the town. As in many landlord planned towns and in Maynooth in particular the landlord facilitated the improvements, by issuing long building leases for years or lives that allowed developments to be carried out by other tenant groups. The practice was in use in

⁵⁷ *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 5-7 March, 1776.

⁵⁸ *Dublin Evening Post*, 7 October, 1797.

⁵⁹ Arnold Horner, 'Maynooth' *Irish historic towns atlas* (Dublin, 1995), p. 10.

⁶⁰ *Ibis*, p. 4.

Ireland but had diminished by the nineteenth-century.⁶¹ Essentially in Maynooth it enabled property-using rather than property-owning groups to take part in village improvement, 'His Grace gives encouragement to settling in it, consequently it increases, and he meditates several improvements.'⁶²

Peter Bere Agent

There is very little biographical information about Peter Bere who was, agent to the First Duke of Leinster, and who had a major influence on the development of the town from the beginning. Bere was its leading investor from the middle to the late eighteenth-century. Land agents usually were the younger sons of country gentlemen and came from middling ranks of society.⁶³ In Ireland they came from a higher social class than their English counterparts because in many cases they were a family relative.⁶⁴ The duties of the land agent were varied, from letting farms, keeping accounts, drawing up leases, evicting unmanageable and bankrupt tenants, encouraging improvements, to the supervision of domestic arrangements of the landowner. Agents were responsible for the collection of rents on a half-yearly basis. At least once a year he was expected to ride the boundary of the estate in the company of neighbouring tenants to see that all was in order and that 'no encroachments had been made by squatters'.⁶⁵ Some agents were paid very well and represented a major portion of salaries paid on an estate. In 1765 William Conner II, agent to the Duke of Devonshire was paid a basic salary of £560 as well as free accommodation but this was not the usual practice. Normally agents received 5% on the rents they collections as payment.⁶⁶

Peter Bere took advantage of many of the early renewable leases that became available in the town. He took leases on the north main street development along with a site on the Dublin Road. Between 1759 and 1768 he took leases on eleven lots on the south side of main street and at other sites at the east-end of the village. In 1784 when his leases were re-issued for 999-year terms, Bere held sixteen developed sites on the main street, sixteen cabins or houses on Dublin Road and eight slated cabins on the west side

⁶¹ Lindsay J. Proudfoot, *Urban patronage and social authority* (Washington, 1995), p. 54.

⁶² Young, *A tour in Ireland*, p. 32.

⁶³ G.E. Mingay, *The victorian countryside* (London, 1981), p. 442.

⁶⁴ Edward Hughes, 'The eighteenth-century estate agent' in H.A. Cronne (ed.) *Essays in British and Irish history* (London, 1949), p. 192.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

of Bere Street. Other than the Duke of Leinster, Bere was responsible for two-thirds of the new building in the town and for over half of the frontage built along the main street.⁶⁷ One of the lanes was named after him. He retained his position with the Leinster estate for at least sixteen years where he acted on the 'duke's behalf in the Kildare estate in the boroughs of Athy in 1767 and 1777, Harristown from 1769-76 and 1780- 83'.⁶⁸ Subsequent agents of the duke in the nineteenth-century also held property in the town but it was never to the scale of Bere. Bere still lived in Maynooth in 1786, probate of his will of 9 October 1786 states 'bequests to people in Dublin'.⁶⁹ Peter Bere's property was still intact as noted on a c.1821 map of Maynooth by Sherrard, Brassington and Greene. Peter Bere is representative of those agents who could influence the direction and volume of agricultural investment and whose fortunes were intertwined with those of the landlord-owned town.

Maynooth Town in the nineteenth-century

There have been various contradictory travellers' accounts of Maynooth in the nineteenth-century most of which focus on Carton and the Royal College of St. Patrick. In the early nineteenth-century the Duke's authority and influence at local level is noted,

[He] set an example of hospitality and benevolence and by every humane attention to the wants of the industrious people to whom he gave constant employment and charitable assistance.⁷⁰

On the other hand a traveller's account of the state of County Kildare in general, recognised extreme examples of good and bad farming and that 'the peasantry are badly clothed and live most wretchedly'.⁷¹ Mrs S.C. Hall described Maynooth as, one long and broad street; the dwellings, of a class between houses and cabins, having an air of exceeding discomfort'.⁷² Maynooth benefited from the presence of a temporary cholera hospital and a permanent dispensary that provided the poor with medical advice. The Duke of Leinster was its principal voluntary contributor. On 26 May 1832 an application signed by Thomas Swords and other members of the Board of Health, was sent to the Board of Guardians requesting an advance of £100. They stated that the

⁶⁶ Proudfoot, *Urban patronage*, p. 98-9.

⁶⁷ Horner, 'Maynooth', p. 4-5.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁶⁹ Thrift Abstracts 1899 NAI.

⁷⁰ Thomas James Rawson, *Statistical survey of County Kildare* (Dublin, 1807), p. 52.

⁷¹ Thomas Reid, *Travels in Ireland in the year 1822 exhibiting brief sketches of the moral, physical, and political state of the country* (London, 1832), p. 236.

⁷² Mr and Mrs S.C. Hall *Ireland its scenery character etc.*, vol.II (London, 1842), p. 277.

Duke of Leinster has been the only contributor to any fund established to meet present danger [cholera]. 'His Grace subscribed last Christmas £10 towards the white washing and cleaning the habitations of the poor in the town'. Eighty pounds was received on 21 July 1832.⁷³ In the Union of Kilcock, people were very favourable to the dispensary and all spoke highly of the surgeon's ability and attention. However the priest appointed a person to make a collection of a penny or two-pence for the very sick and distressed.⁷⁴ Fifteen years later Maynooth is described as

much better than any of the others in the Celbridge Union owing to the railway works and works at the building of the new additions to the Royal College of St. Patrick for the last four years.⁷⁵

Environment and health issues came to the fore in the late nineteenth-century. In 1891 an order was made by the Celbridge No. 1 District Council to have cleaning done in the back lanes of the town. Mr Weston the sub-sanitary officer reported that they were in a 'filthy condition...[and] the sewers required to be cleaned up'.⁷⁶ Problems of unsanitary conditions within the town continued to be reported at the beginning of the twentieth-century. An appeal was made to the Celbridge Union, for the appointment of a second midwife for the Maynooth dispensary district. Mr Dunne of the Celbridge Union reported to the chairman that the population was 1,100 in the district and that there were a large number of births and that people had to go four and a half miles from Leixlip to Maynooth for the midwife.⁷⁷

⁷³ Cholera Papers 2/440/9 (NAI).

⁷⁴ *First report from His Majesty's Commissioners for Inquiring into the condition of the poorer classes in Ireland*, Appendix (A), H.C. 1835 (369), xxxii, pt.1. p. 302.

⁷⁵ Valuation House Book 1850 (NAI).

⁷⁶ *Kildare Observer*, June 17 1891.

⁷⁷ *Kildare Observer*, June 17 1899 .

Population and housing

The population figures for Maynooth are those based on census returns and that are listed in the *Irish Historic Towns Atlas*.⁷⁸ The figures show a sharp rise in population in 1831 and 1841 to 2,053 and 2029 and a substantial decline by 1901 and 1911 to below 948 and 886 respectively (Fig.4). The figures for St. Patrick's College Maynooth show a gradual increase of seminarians attending the up to 1911, which had implications for the number of workers needed within the college to maintain its operation.

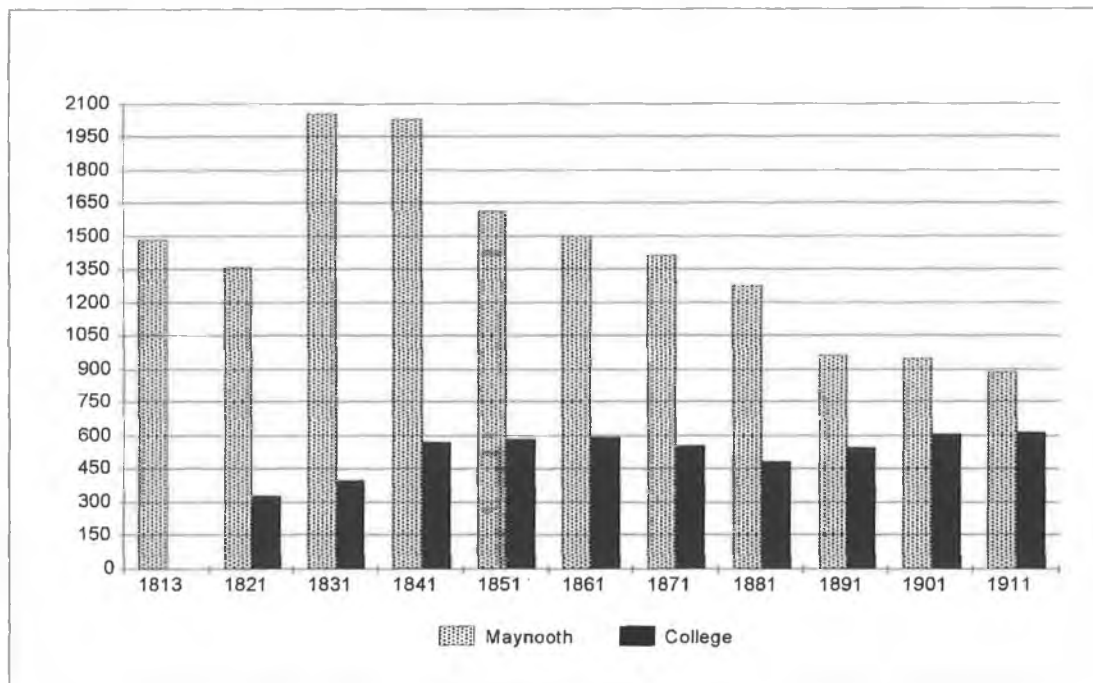


Fig. 4 Population of Maynooth town and College, 1813-1911

Available figures for St. Patrick's College presents a more steady increase in its population to just over 600 in 1911.

An analysis of the number of houses returned shows a correlation, population and number of houses peaked in 1851 (Fig.5). The number of houses dropped in accordance with the drop in population from 1851. Uninhabited houses remained relatively low throughout the period with a high of 10% or 25 out of 250 houses in 1891 (Fig.5).

⁷⁸ Horner, 'Maynooth', p. 8.

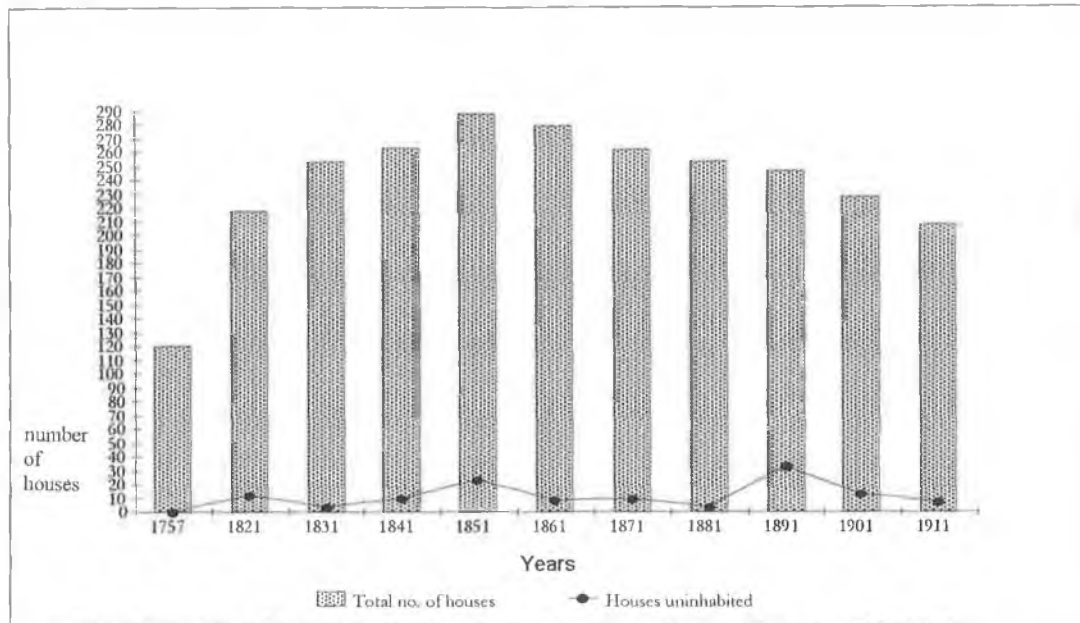


Fig. 5 Number of houses and uninhabited housed, Maynooth town 1757-1911

The increase in the number of college personnel explains the overall increase in the population but more significantly the college building works that were ongoing, brought in labourers and tradesmen to the area. The population of Maynooth was described in 1832 and 1833 as consisting chiefly of agricultural labourers and that ‘there are many tradesmen, however residing in the town of Maynooth – viz. tailors and shoemakers who are employed about the college’.⁷⁹ The job of laundress was one of the very few options for women ‘many of whom were inabled by College washing to live not without some degree of comfort’.⁸⁰ The expansion that had occurred in many towns and villages under landlord direction had lessened considerable by the 1840s and were replaced by ‘contraction and stagnation’.⁸¹ For Maynooth this did not occur until the end of the nineteenth-century and the beginning of the twentieth-century, due to the building works in the College. In this light the high population of the mid-nineteenth-century may have been more temporary than permanent and the contraction which undoubtedly occurred later, must have affected the feelings of the population with regard to future employment prospects.

The valuation book for Maynooth in 1850, written up by John Montgomery stated that rents were been charged at excessive rates for relatively poor housing because of the

⁷⁹ Cholera Papers 2/440/9 1833 (NAI).

⁸⁰ Ibid., 2/440/9 1832 (NAI).

building boom in the college. It revealed that the town 'has been crowded with tradesmen and labourers and their superintendents and

Several of the middle landlords have in consequence taken advantage of the demand for lodgings of various descriptions' and he further stated that the middle landlords 'are of the avaricious class'.⁸²

The valuation and a brief description of each house in the town was noted, as well as owners and rents paid by tenants. Comments were recorded such as 'interior very bad' and 'rack rent'. Mary Salt of 17 Parson Street who had a house and a small garden, paid 2/6 weekly which Montgomery considered 'high'. In some instances the true valuation was 50% lower than actual rents charged. He also remarked on individual middle landlords, such as John McClean who owned houses numbered 16-24 in Parson Street, who 'charges sharp rents'. Similarly in Pound Street numbers 5-12 were held under Miss Kelly whose 'rents are very high relatively. The Dukes cottages on the other hand are described as 'a great deal cheaper now even than the other small houses under middlemen'.⁸³ Given that more males must have come to work in the town during the building boom, a study of the male and female population indicates that there were more females to males in 1831 to 1851 (Fig. 6).

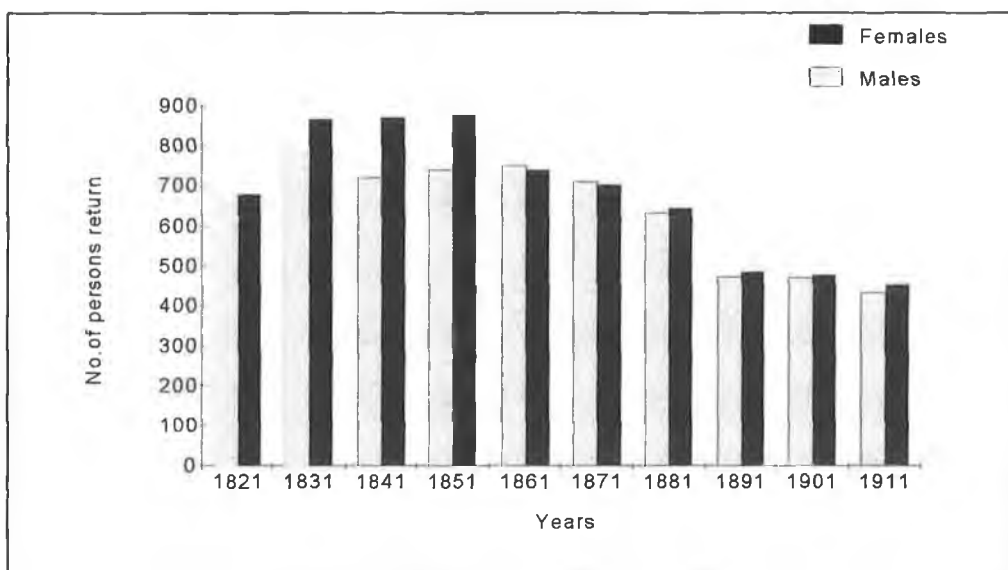


Fig. 6 Male and female population Maynooth town, 1821-1911

This may have been due to incoming labourers bringing their families which would explain the difficulty is obtaining lodging. Unfortunately available sources such as

⁸¹ Proudfoot, *Urban patronage*, p. 15.

⁸² Valuation Office House Book 1850 (NAI, 5.2857).

⁸³ Ibid.

valuation books do not mention numbers families or numbers of children in each house and women are only mentioned if they were the rent payer. The numbers of children attending the various schools in the town during the nineteenth-century would indicate that whole families moved here because of employment opportunities. It is also significant that in 1826 just a few years prior to the recorded rise in population, there were a variety of schools started up. There was 100 pupils attending the Poor School. There were three private Roman Catholic schools with 72 boys and 25 girls between them and the Roman Catholic Free School, supported by the Duke of Leinster had 65 boys and 50 girls. The Boys' Day School of 1835 had 90 pupils. At the Presentation Convent national school there were 150 girls in 1835, 208 girls in 1856 and 231 girls and 58 boys in 1883.

Employment and services

As has been stated previously stated labourers generally made up most of the population of Maynooth and were employed in Carton Demesne, St. Patrick's College and surrounding areas. A sizeable number of workers came from outside the locality because of the high servant numbers between the estate and the college.

Other employment was mainly service based. There was a slow increase in the number and variety of retail outlets but there is also evidence of significant contraction in some areas during the nineteenth-century (Table 2:1).⁸⁴ The three main trades that sustained any growth over the period were grocer, tailor, and linen/woollen drapers and haberdashers, which would have benefited by the college population. Evidence from Carton Estate household accounts for a later period of 1884 indicates that the Estate made most of their purchases - food and drink supplies, household ware, medicinal supplies, newspapers and stationery, in the city of Dublin. Fruit was supplied from Patrick Kirby, 13 Sackville Street; meat from John Sullivan, 59 Great Britain Street; fish from Greene & Co., 17 William Street and eggs from Michael Sheill, Little Green Market, among other suppliers.⁸⁵ Newspapers and magazines were bought from W.H. Smith and Sons (Easons), Middle Abbey Street. The retail outlets of the town appear not

⁸⁴ *City of Dublin and Hibernian Provincial Directory*, Pigot & Co., 1824 (NLI).

Slater's Directory, 1846 (NLI).

Ibid., 1856 (NLI).

Ibid., 1870 (NLI).

⁸⁵ *Thoms Directory*, 1884 (NLI).

to have significantly serviced the needs of the demesne. Similarly the outlets were not driven by the demands of an estate although there is evidence that there were smaller accounts held by the estate in the town such as with E. Fagan, grocer and spirit dealer.⁸⁶

Retail and services in Maynooth	<i>Pigots Directory</i> 1824	<i>Slater's Directory</i> 1846	<i>Slater's Directory</i> 1856	<i>Slater's Directory</i> 1870
Carpenter	1	2	3	1
Baker	2	1	1	0
Grocer (includes spirit dealers)	6	15	12	13
Chandler	1	0	0	0
Brewer	1	0	0	0
Mason	1	0	0	0
Publican	4	2	2	2
Butcher	1	2	2	1
Shoe/Boot Maker	1	4	4	9
Saddler/Leather	2	2	1	0
Tailor	1	6	4	6
Apothecary	0	1	1	0
Blacksmith	0	3	1	3
Ironmonger	0	1	1	0
Linen/Woollen Draper/Haberdasher	0	3	3	9
Painter/Glazier	0	2	1	2
Miller	0	1	0	0
Confectioner	0	0	1	0
Hotel	1	2 incl. Boarding hse	1	1
Surgeon	1	1	1	2
Coachbuilder	0	0	0	2
Milliner	0	0	0	1
Pawnbroker	0	0	0	1
Bricklayer	0	0	0	1

Table 2:1 Services and trades in Maynooth as noted in directories, 1824-1870

Two fairs were held in the town on an annual basis the dates of which varied over time from the late seventeenth century. By 1897 it had changed to a monthly which was held on every second Wednesday. Markets had discontinued by 1837 and in 1882 a weekly one commenced.

There were various public houses such as Carroll's in 1829 in Mill Street, Briody's Hotel in 1846 in south Main Street.⁸⁷ From 1824 different coaches stopped at the town

⁸⁶ Household accounts January 1884, (NUIM Microfilm, Leinster Papers D3078/2/13).

⁸⁷ Horner, 'Maynooth', p. 10.

such as the daily Galway Mail, the Ballinasloe Day Coach, the Longford Day Coach and the Tullamore Van came three days a week.⁸⁸

Some of the social activity that occurred in the town is indicated in an advertisement for the Kilcock Races which were to be held on the 14 August in 1826, where the stewards J.H. Nangle and T. Kearney, announce a forthcoming ball and supper at McDonnell's Hotel in Maynooth:

Dancing to commence at 10 and supper on the table at 10'clock precisely... Hot and cold dinners, snacks etc., will be ready during the race week, from 3 to 7 o'clock each day⁸⁹

In 1850 the Leinster Arms underwent major alterations with part of it converted into a private residence. In 1882 the hotel was described as

Commodious, having about 18 apartments, drawing, sitting and bedrooms, two W.Cs etc. and spacious ballroom... there are superior stables and other out buildings, eleven box stalls, corn and hay lofts, cattle and cart sheds, rick stands etc... the premises are extensive, measuring or containing two acres two perches, including walled in garden which supplied the hotel with all vegetables in season, fruits and flowers, superior water from river, which flows through garden.⁹⁰

The ballroom was frequently used in the 'picnic season' and for wedding and other parties. The drive from Dublin, through the Phoenix Park, Strawberry Beds, Salmon Leap, Carton and the College with dinner at 'this far famed hostelry' is one of the excursions strongly recommended. It further adds that the land courts, road and quarter sessions, half-yearly fairs and weekly markets 'all contribute largely to aid the general business of the place'.⁹¹ There were regular hunt meets at the town, one on the 22 November 1862 was noted in the diary of a young Gerald Fitzgerald of Carton, later fifth Duke of Leinster:

There is going to be a meet at Maynooth at twelve, we went to see it, they meet at Maynooth and then went to Laragh... We went by the New Church at Taghadoo. We met Lady Cloncurry there.⁹²

⁸⁷ Horner, 'Maynooth', p. 10.

⁸⁸ *Pigot's Directory* 1824 (NLI).

⁸⁹ *Dublin Evening Post* 8 August 1826.

⁹⁰ *Kildare Observer* 25 March 1882.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² *Diary Gerald fifth Duke of Leinster, September 1862 – October 1863* (NLI. Ms. 18,852).

Property

The General Valuation of tenements (Griffiths) of 1851 provides an important insight into the cost of buildings and land for the town. Seventy-one per cent of buildings were below £5.0.0 and sixty four per cent of the land was below £1.0.0 in value. Four vacant buildings in 1850 were of considerable value and ranged from £10.0.0 to £24.0.0 (Table.2:2; 2:3).

Value	£0-£5.0.0.	£5.0.1-£10	£10.0.1-£20	£20.0.1 -£50	£50.0.1+
Number of holders	207	45	35	17	1
Percentage	67%	15%	11%	5%	0.3%

Table 2:2 General valuation distribution amongst holders, land and buildings together, Maynooth Town 1851

Value	£0 - £5.0.0.	£5.0.1 - £10	£10.0.1 - £20	£20.0.1 - £50	£50.0.1+
Number of buildings	200	35	34	11	1
Percentage	71%	12%	12%	4%	0.3%

Table 2:3 General valuation categorised according to building value, Maynooth Town 1851

From the data in the General Valuation a spatial perspective is provided on the value of buildings according to areas within the town. For example Parson's Street had twenty-three buildings the majority of which were valued at £2.15.0 and below. The highest value was at £7.10.0. Similarly Coffey's Lane had a total of six buildings valued below £2.15.0. This is contrasted with the fifty-one buildings in Main Street whose value ranged from one building valued at £2.10.0 to one valued at £34. Twenty-eight buildings were valued from £4 to £10 and twenty houses were valued from £11 to £34.⁹³

A survey of Maynooth property owners reveals that fifty-one people owned the property of the town in 1851. The Duke of Leinster's total valuation was £583.10.0, far in excess of the remainder. Ten were women, four of whom are listed with their total property value are amongst the main property holders (Table 2:4). The remaining property holders represented an average valuation of £20 each. In the main the properties were held by a core group of people who were both occupiers and lessors of property. The presence of a prominent core group must have emphasised and consolidated that class and at the same time blocked other future investors.

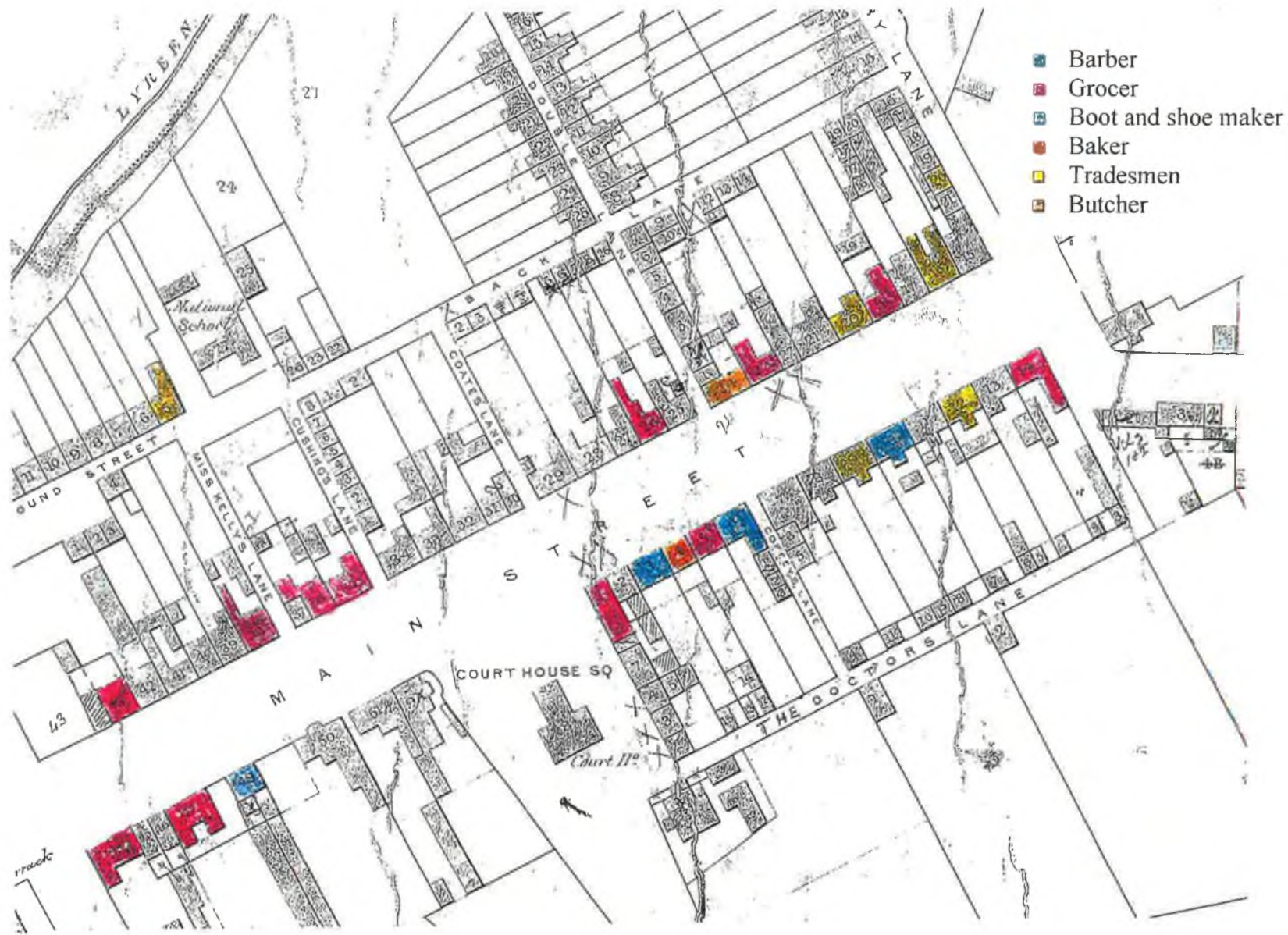
Name of Property Holder In town of Maynooth	Value of total property in Town of Maynooth
	£. s. d.
Duke of Leinster	£583.10.0
Miss Eliza Daniel	£129.0.0
John McClean	£95.0.0
Lawrence Brangan	£72.10.0
Pattison Hughes	£59.11.0
Miss Jane Chamberlain	£56.0.0
Thomas Swords	£55.10.0
Samuel Cushing	£42.15.0
Robert Finn	£40.10.0
Miss Martha Kelly	£36.10.0
Mrs Mary Dillon	£23.5.0

Table 2:4 Main property holders and total valuation of holdings Maynooth town, 1851

Thomas Chamberlain, William Coates, Mrs Mary Dillon, Thomas Swords and Miss Martha Kelly are listed under 'Nobility, Gentry and Clergy' in *Slater's Directory* for 1846. William Toner was the Steward to the Duke of Leinster and lived at Kellystown on the Carton Estate. He is buried at the graveyard attached to Taghadoe Round Tower, situated about three miles south west of Maynooth. Apart from this dwelling, he rented from the Duke and owned a business property on Main Street. Thomas Swords was chairman of the Board of Health and John McClean was a member in 1832.⁹⁴

It was not the remit of the General Valuation to distinguish commercial property from private property. One can get can overcome this drawback by using directories listing traders and services in the town, and by creating a nominal linkage with the valuation. Using *Slater's Directory* for 1846 and 1856 it was possible to create a picture of the businesses in Main Street, part of which is shown in Table 2:5. (See also Map 3).

⁹⁴ Cholera Papers 2/440/9 (NAI).



Map 3. Maynooth, main street holdings according to the general valuation (1851) showing business places and trades in the town based on directories for 1846 and 1856

Number and letters Of references to valuation office map	Name	Businesses and services added from directories
1	Matthew Fegan	Grocer
2	John Malone	
3	Lawrence Kennedy	boot and shoe maker
4	Matthew Downes	Baker
5	Michael Furlong	Grocer
6	Richard McClean	boot and shoe maker
7	Andrew Coffey	
8	Mrs Hannah McGinn	boot and shoe maker(husband or son)
9	Patrick Dunphy	Carpenter
10	James Greene	boot and shoe maker
11	Charles Moran	
12	James Briody	Blacksmith (other property)
13	James Keely	
14	Miss Rose Dunn	Grocer
15	Richard Dixon	
16	John McClean	painter and glazier
17	Anthony Reilly	
18	William Daly	Grocer
19	Mary Magee	
20	John McNamee	Saddler

Table 2:5 – List of Maynooth Main Street holdings according to the general valuation (1851) with businesses included from directories 1846 and 1856

Early twentieth-century Maynooth

Maynooth town experienced a period of stagnation somewhat later than other planned or improved towns. This was mainly due to the continued building works during the nineteenth-century within St. Patrick's Seminary that maintained the economy of the locality. By the early twentieth-century the buildings were completed and employment opportunities had levelled off. Carton Estate was in decline. Population numbers had dropped to levels below that of the early nineteenth-century to 948 in 1901 and 886 in 1911. There is conflicting evidence as to the general appearance of the town at the beginning of the century. Reports read to the Celbridge No.1 Rural District condemned the unsanitary conditions of the town:

Whole streets are devoid of the commonest form of sanitary accommodation and as a consequence filth had been accumulating for years. Most of it if not all, of the houses in upper and lower Parsons Street are without yards, and many are low lying, so that there is great danger to health.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ *Kildare Observer*, 26 October 1901.

A year later the same sentiments are expressed with the addition that 'all the existing system of sewerage finds its way into the river, and at certain points the pollution is very evident'.⁹⁶ On the other hand Maynooth was advertised as a holiday centre where a 'profitable and enjoyable day may be spent' because of its position which is 'in easy approach of the metropolis'.

people come by train, car or bicycle; while with cyclist in remote districts in Kildare and Meath it is a favourite resort. With its historic associations, the grandeur of Carton demesne, its immense and imposing College and the beauty of the country round, it is no wonder that it should be much resorted to.⁹⁷

Mobility levels within the community from the 1901 census indicate the economic and commercial attraction of Maynooth in the middle to late eighteenth-century. At the beginning of the century about 200 head of households were born outside the county. Higher proportions were born in neighbouring counties with fifty-one from county Meath, twenty-one from Dublin city and 16 from Dublin county. Other counties represented were Galway, Kings county and Cork to name some. Five electricians came from England.

The similarities between the occupation profiles the middle-nineteenth-century and that of the early twentieth-century are notable, pointing to an overall lack of growth within the town. Between 1901 and 1911 there was further contraction with a drop in the number of families from 224 to 188. Labourers still represented the highest proportion of workers, as there was demand for them from local farmers and from Carton estate (Plate 4). Other groups of workers in the town included general servant, laundress, dressmaker, shop assistant, carpenter, and tailor. There were however, a few expected new occupations such as electrical engineer, electrician, road contractor, and telegraphist.⁹⁸ Some of the leading retail outlets of the town employed people from other counties. While there was some employment opportunities for local people in the town's retail outlets the indications were that 'live in' employees did not come from the locality. James Barlow, publican Main Street, employed an assistant from county Dublin. Patrick Pitts, publican Main Street, employed a grocer's assistant from Kings county. Cornelius Buckley, general merchant employed three shop assistants from

⁹⁶ Ibid., 20 September 1902.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 7 July 1900.

⁹⁸ Census returns 1901 Maynooth Town (NAI, DED/40).



Plate 4. Young local workers preparing for thistle cutting at Carton estate, c.1910.
Photograph courtesy of Bridie O'Brien

From left to right: Christopher Waldron, Jimmy Burke, Jack Murphy, Jack Weafer, Stephen Fitzgerald, John Coyne, P. Lettis, Dick Leavey, P. Corrway, one unknown, Tape Carney (at back) was the ganger.

county Cork.⁹⁹ Patrick Dawson's shop expanded and became a general store by 1911. He owned three buildings on the Main Street. Four assistants, two apprentices, two domestic servants came from Queens county, Westmeath, Mayo and Cavan. His private dwelling also housed some of his employees such as a milliner, three assistants, a bookkeeper and typist, all of whom came from other counties. The manager Thomas McGloin came from county Donegal. Domhnall Ua Buachalla's shop employed five 'live in' employees who all came from Waterford. Twenty-six of the forty-eight of head of households (54%) on the Main Street came from county Kildare, Leinster Street had six out of eighteen (33%) from county Kildare. Three of the main businesses in the town Pitts (publican), Dawsons (general merchant), and Caulfields (grocer and spirit dealer) were owned by county Kildare born businessmen. Other businesses and services in the town included Joseph Kavanagh, miller and corn merchant; Valentine Carney, chemist; Joseph Caulfield, draper; James Coughlan, victualler and whose wife was the district nurse; James Keeley, barber; Luke Mahon, merchant tailor and Richard Bean, carpenter.¹⁰⁰ The descendants of some of these families live in the town at the present day.

Women's occupations in the town had not changed substantially from the late nineteenth-century. However there were some business women in Main Street such as Alice Redmond, hotel keeper and Anne Corrigan who owned a grocery and tea room. Other listed occupations of women who lived here were Mary McGowan, manageress of wine merchant branch depot; Lilian Maud Fitzgerald, Queen's medical nurse and Anne Mooney, Farmer.

An examination of the census returns for the town for 1901 and 1911 reveals that 32% and 28% of households were headed by women respectively and most were widows.¹⁰¹ In 1901, 26% of the population of the town were widows compared with 20% in 1911 (Table 2:6).¹⁰² The nearby town of Celbridge had 87 households listed for Main Street compared to 48 in Maynooth. A comparison of the female population of the two main streets for 1901 revealed that Celbridge had 29% of households headed by women

⁹⁹ Census returns, Maynooth Town 1901 (NAI, DED/40).

¹⁰⁰ Census returns, Maynooth Town 1911 (NAI, DED/40).

¹⁰¹ Census returns, Maynooth Town 1901 (NAI, DED/40).

¹⁰² Census returns, Maynooth Town 1911 (NAI, DED/40).

compared to 32% in Maynooth. Maynooth had a higher widow population of 19% (even though it had a lower female population than Celbridge) compared to 15% for Celbridge. Some widows were supported by their families or most likely employed many as laundresses either in the home or in the Laundry that had begun in Convent Lane in the Presentation Convent premises in 1887. Other widows kept lodging houses.

Location	Families 1901	Families 1911	Women head of household 1901	Women Head of household 1911	No. of Widows 1901	No. of Widows 1911
Courthouse Square	3	4	1	0	1	0
Dillon's Row	10	10	6	2	5	2
Doctor's Lane	10	6	6	1	5	0
Double Lane	22	22	7	3	5	2
Fegan's Lane	6	8	5	5	5	5
Leinster Street	24	18	4	3	3	3
Main Street	48	48	11	14	9	10
Parson Street	19	19	6	5	5	2
Parson St upper	26	12	9	2	7	2
School Lane	29	23	9	10	7	6
Back Lane	8	8	1	1	1	0
Convent Lane	19	10	7	7	5	5
Total	224	188	72 (32%)	53 (28%)	58 (26%)	37 (20%)

Table 2:6 Female head of households and widows for Maynooth town 1901 and 1911

	Widows 30+ Years of age	Widows 40+ Years of age	Widows 50+ Years of age	Widows 60+ Years of age	Widows 70+ Years of age	Widows 80+ Years of age
1901	3	9	14	16	12	4
1911	4	5	2	13	10	3

Table 2:7 Age profiles of widows 1901 and 1911 Maynooth town

Age profiles of widows for 1901 and 1911 for Maynooth Town are shown in Fig.2:7. The most significant observation is that there was a drop in the number of widows in the 40 age group in 1901 from nine to two in 1911, which would suggest that some widows in this age category left the area. The drop in the later age categories would not be unexpected.

Conclusion

The Duke of Leinster planned the further development of the existing town of Maynooth and facilitated its development through the advertisement of plots in the newspapers of the day. Preference was given to those that would settle in the town.

One of the main property developers was Peter Bere who was under-agent to the Duke of Leinster. By 1784 he was responsible for two thirds of the new buildings in the town and for over half the frontage on the Main Street. His property was still intact by the 1820s.

The population of the town peaked in the 1830s and 1840s to 2,059 and 2,029 respectively. By 1901 and 1911 there was a sharp decline to 948 and 886. The occupation profile of the population consisted chiefly of agricultural labourers, tradesmen, tailors and shoemakers. Women supplemented their income as laundresses, mainly doing washing for the college. Population examination show that there were more women than men from 1831 to 1850 which would indicate that tradesmen brought their families to live in the town while there were contracted to the college. The number of children attending newly established schools in the town is also indicative of incoming families and also explains the difficulty in getting lodgings and high rents. The valuation of 1851 shows a difference between actual value of a holding and rent charged as in excess of fifty per cent in many instances.

Social activity in the town included meals and dancing in venues such as the Leinster Arms Hotel which also provided accommodation for the many visitors who passed through. Maynooth was a stopping place for visitors en-route to other parts of Ireland. Excursions from Dublin were organised to visit the historical environs of Maynooth and there was local horse racing such as at Kilcock and there were regular hunt meets in the town.

In 1851 property ownership was in the hands of fifty-one people with the Duke of Leinster holding the majority stake at £583.10.0. There were a relatively high number of female property owners. The effect of this group was that on the one side there was a small consolidated business class making full use of the property market within the town, at a time when the town was doing well economically. On the other side it was self-limiting and blocked other future investors. As a result the scope for diversification was greatly reduced and employment opportunities were curtailed to mainly that of labouring or service provision.

In the middle of the nineteenth-century a relatively high proportion of women held the higher valued of property of the town. Other women from the set up of the college in the late eighteenth-century down to the twentieth earned their living or supplemented the family income through washing, sewing and domestic work. In 1901 32% of households in Maynooth were headed by women and 28% in 1911. There was a high number of widows 19% compared to Celbridge's 15% for the two main streets.

As the twentieth-century arrived the population dropped and there was little change in the occupation profile from the earlier century. Overall it was a time of contraction and stagnation. Labourers still represented the highest proportion of workers followed by that of general servant, laundress, dressmaker, shop assistant, carpenter and tailor. Employment opportunities were hindered further by the policy of local large shops to employ assistants and apprentices from other counties.

Chapter III

Maynooth College as local employer

The lecture halls are spacious, and the kitchen admirably constructed and arranged.¹⁰³

Introduction

For two hundred years before the foundation of Maynooth College in 1795 Irish Catholic priests had been educated in the Irish colleges in France, Spain, Portugal, Italy and the Netherlands due to the existence of the Penal Code system in Ireland. By the eighteenth-century the system began to be questioned amidst new Enlightenment ideas. At the same time Irish bishops and the English Government were growing concerned that Irish priests educated abroad might bring back French revolutionary ideas. The bishops asked for permission from the government to endow academies or seminaries for the education of candidates for the priesthood. It was granted on the understanding that the education be extended to include laity.¹⁰⁴ The Irish Parliament passed an Act allowing for the education of Roman Catholics. The college was founded by Royal assent on 5 June 1795 and was called the Royal College of St. Patrick. Three locations in the vicinity of Dublin had been considered as a site for the new college - Glasnevin House, Barry House in Donnybrook and Stillorgan House.¹⁰⁵ Finally Maynooth was chosen by the trustees through the 'active good will of Ireland's premier nobleman, the Duke of Leinster'.¹⁰⁶ He leased the trustees part of a holding at the west end of the village near the castle which comprised 58 plantation acres and which contained the recently built house of John Stoyte junior, steward to the Duke of Leinster.¹⁰⁷ A lease for lives renewable for ever from William Robert Duke of Leinster to the Trustees for the better Education of Persons Professing the Popish or Roman Catholic Religion described the transaction in relation to Stoyte House and lands near the castle:

¹⁰³ Francis B. Head, *A fortnight in Ireland* (London, 1852), p. 86.

¹⁰⁴ Mary Cullen, *Maynooth*, p. 59.

¹⁰⁵ Patrick Corish, *Maynooth College 1795-1995* (Dublin, 1995), p. 13.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁰⁷ Arnold Horner, 'Maynooth', p. 4.

...All that and those the messuage or new house in the town of Maynooth lately erected by and formerly in the possession of John Stoyte with all the outhouses and out offices thereunto belonging together with part of the land of Maynooth and which said premises were formely demised by the said William Robert Duke of Leinster to John Stoyte Junior of the City of Dublin Gent.

And also...land of Maynooth and which said last mentioned land were formerly demised to and lately in the possession of Peter Chamberlain in the Town of Maynooth...Distiller together with a malt house, stillhouse, and yard in the said town of Maynooth adjoining the rere of the old castle and lately in the possession of Mathias Chamberlain all which said premises contain in the whole 58a 1 r. 1p.¹⁰⁸

John Stoyte

John Stoyte like Peter Bere represented an important link between the landed estate and the planned development of the town, specifically the initial development of the Royal College of St. Patrick. John Stoyte senior has been variously described as butler, agent and steward to the Duke of Leinster. His position allowed him to build Riverstown Lodge sometime at the beginning of the 1780s. It was a large house set in its own grounds with one boundary wall that formed the western side of Parson Street. His son John built a large three storey, five bay detached house in rear garden of Riverstown House which came to be known as Stoyte House (Plate 5). The College Account book for 1795 records the payment made to John Stoyte for his interest in house and lands in Maynooth of £4012.10.0 with the costs of conveyance of £9.16.0.¹⁰⁹ It faced the main street of the town that had the effect of closing off and enhancing the view of the west-end of the town.¹¹⁰ Riverstown Lodge was leased over the years and remained in the Stoyte family into the nineteenth-century. It was leased in 1782 to Rev. William Craddock, Clerk Dean of St. Patrick's for a yearly rent was £127.7.0.¹¹¹ A plot of ground near Riverstown was leased to Rev. William Craddock in 1789 'for three lives renewable forever' by John Stoyte junior of the City of Dublin.¹¹² In 1844 John Stoyte a Major in her majesty's 24th Regiment on Foot quartered in the city of Dublin and Thomas Stoyte of Carlow in the county of Carlow renewed the Riverstown lease to

¹⁰⁸ Lease 9 September 1795 (St. Patrick's College Archives, Stoyte Estate Box 105/1/1).

¹⁰⁹ *College Account Book for the period 1795 to 1802*, (Russell Library, St. Patrick's College).

¹¹⁰ Arnold Horner, 'Maynooth', p. 4.

¹¹¹ Lease dated 5 March 1782 (St. Patrick's College Archives, Box 4/1/1).

¹¹² Lease ground near Riverstown Lodge dated 6 June 1789 (St. Patrick's College Archives, Box4/2)



Plate 5. Stoyte House, St. Patrick's College Maynooth, 2001

Arthur James Earl of Fingall who represented the trustees of the college.¹¹³ In 1854 John Stoyte was described as a lieutenant-colonel in her majesty's service.¹¹⁴ John Stoyte and Thomas Stoyte were brothers.¹¹⁵ Colonel John Stoyte of the city of Dublin died 13 December 1854 and Thomas Stoyte, of Athy Street, Carlow died 19 August 1867.¹¹⁶ Riverstown Lodge had passed on to him by this time, an extract from his will reads:

...Whereas I am seized under a fee farm grant from the Duke of Leinster of the lands of Riverstown Lodge at Maynooth Co. Kildare ... I give devise and bequeath the rents issues and profits of my said lands of Riverstown lodge or so much thereof as I am or may be entitled to my said dear wife Elizabeth Stoyte...and from after the death of my said wife to my sister-in-law Elizabeth Stoyte widow of my late brother Lieu Col. John Stoyte ... and immediately after the death of the survivor of them give and devise all my estate right title and interest whether in possession or in reversion of and in the said lands of Riverstown Lodge... to my cousin the Revd. John Stoyte Clerk Rector of Ballymartle in the county Cork and to his heirs and assigns forever.¹¹⁷

At the end of the nineteenth-century the Stoyte family were still connected with the property of Riverstown. Lieutenant Colonel Stoyte of Glendineen Ballinhassig is mentioned in a letter addressed to Dr Donnellan in 1897 with regard to rent on Riverstown.¹¹⁸ It is worth noting that Lieutenant Colonel John Stoyte left money to such improving organisations as the Ragged Boys School in Dublin and the Hibernian Bible Society among others.¹¹⁹ Thomas Stoyte left £25 to Revd. Adam Bettsworth Perry, Rector of the parish of Carlow to be 'used under the management of the Committee of the Carlow Young Mens' Christian Association for the relief of distressed protestants...of the parish of Carlow'. He also bequeathed to Right Rev. James Walsh Roman Catholic Bishop £25 for the relief of the poor and sick Roman Catholics of the parish.¹²⁰

¹¹³ Renewal of Lease, ground near Riverstown Lodge dated 20 June 1844 (St. Patrick's College Archives, Box 4/15).

¹¹⁴ Thrift papers (NAI, T2265).

¹¹⁵ Thrift papers (NAI, T2266).

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Letter 12 May 1897 (St. Patrick's College Archives, Stoyte Estate, Box 105/1/7).

¹¹⁹ Thrift papers (NAI, T2265).

¹²⁰ Thrift papers (NAI, T2266).

College the early years

The prospect of the new college at Maynooth must have raised the hopes increased business and employment for the town's people. The first account book for the college dates from 1795 to 1827 and simply recorded the charges and discharges of the institution under headings such as provisions, rents and lodgings, furniture and repairs, salaries and wages. For the later years the account book entries become more streamlined especially in regard to servant wages which began to be divided into those for tradesmen, labourers, servants. From the mid-nineteenth-century onwards, separate wage books were kept for the three categories of workers.

At a meeting of the trustees of the college held on 25 June 1795, in St. John's Lane Chapel House, the issue of college staff was considered. Dr Hussey was appointed President of the Seminary, at a salary of one hundred guineas per annum. A vice-president who was also to assume the duties of bursar was also appointed at a salary of £70 per annum. Seven professorships were created with a salary of £50 per annum and three were nominated at a salary of £70 each. A steward was also appointed at a salary of £20 per annum. Twelve servants were to be paid an overall wage limit of £120.¹²¹ Wages for gardeners and labourers in the year 1797-1798 indicated that a considerable degree of work was been undertaken for example John Guinan, gardener was paid £49.18.6½ for 'labourers and sundries' for the year up to March 1798.¹²² At the turn of the century the total servants' wages bill was £147.12.7 and the salaries bill was £1,097.0.0.

In general servants were not named in the account book. Responsibility of payment of servants fell to the steward who received monies from the college for the payment of 'sundry servants wages' and for 'sundry bills for washing and board wages'.¹²³ Entries in the account book show payments to craftsmen and artisans of the time such as James Meghan, Mason; James Wildon, Smith; Wilde and McCready, Ironmongers; Gerald Fitzgerald, Brazier; and John Keogh Carpenter.¹²⁴ None of these names appear in near contemporary directories for the town that would suggest that they came to work at the new college from other places.

¹²¹ P.J. Dalton, *The College accounts 1795-1805: the first decade* (Maynooth, 1995), p. 7.

¹²² Maynooth College account book 1795-1827 (Russell Library, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth).

¹²³ *Ibid.*

There is clear indication that local business and services benefited from the new college. Thomas Swords Esq. who was listed as one of the nobility and gentry of the town in 1824 did very well by presence of the new college.¹²⁵ The monetary value of his business dealings increased over the years. His entrepreneurial skills were evident in the range of activities that he undertook. Between September 1795 and the February 1796, he sold college, a horse, cart and harness for 14.0.1, he charged £7.10.4 for carriage and storage of freight of coal to Hazelhatch, near Celbridge. He provided potatoes and oats to the college for £57.3.5. He rented a house in Maynooth to the college for students over a few years at £36 per year. By 1800 he was selling sheep and cattle to the college which realised substantial sums, for forty-two sheep and two cows he received £100.13.11 and later for 'sundry cattle' he was paid £350.11.3. He is listed in *Slater's Directory* of 1846 as living at Crewhill, which is situated a half a mile north of the town. Labour was easily obtained at the time and local tradesmen did benefit. In 1803, Thomas Downes and John Keogh who were listed in *Pigot's Directory* of 1824 were paid £541.12.6 on account of building the 'Inclosure wall of the college of Maynooth'. In 1827 Edward Croughwell, a local butcher supplied beef and by 1886 he was employed by the college as a meat inspector at a salary of £7.10.0 per quarter.¹²⁶ Other suppliers of provisions included Joseph Chamberlain who provided beer for the college and James McClean who did glaziers work. This surname became a prominent one in the town. John McClean was the postmaster in 1824¹²⁷ and also had property on Parson Street. In the early days of college development, houses in Parson Street were rented to college students; eight months lodgings cost 3 guineas per month.¹²⁸

The account book records accounts kept with local suppliers. Cornelius Buckley, sundries; Peter Briody, groceries; E. Croughwell, butcher; Carr (hotel) wine and brandy; and Fagan's for the 'Breadroom "Freeman"' and 'Parlor "Freeman"'; Kavanagh's Mill, oatmeal, flour, seed oats; Keely's, lime for gas and Peter Reilly for potatoes. Dublin firms and businesses supplied a substantial amount of provisions to the college also such as Fay and Co., grocers; Philipson & Smith, fruit; James Macken, peas, barley,

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ *Pigot's Directory*, 1824.

¹²⁶ Wage book 1867-1887 (St. Patrick's College Archives, D3/17/1).

¹²⁷ *Pigot's Directory*, 1824.

rice; McDermott & Co, druggist, J. Matterson & Sons, hams; Jameson and Son, professors' whiskey.

College enabled women to provide for their families or to supplement their family income. There were the jobs of washing and sewing that continued through to the nineteenth-century. Mary Wall was paid an annual sum of £13.9.1½ for making vestments. Only some names are recorded, the steward was in charge of payment. Other sources of income for women were in the provision of beer, meet and groceries for the college. Margaret Dunne provided meat at £3.4.1½ and puddings £12.8.0. Mary Smyth charged for twelve turkeys at 3/6 each.

Working and living conditions within the college during its beginning were harsh. Eugene Conwell one of the early seminarians resided in Riverstown House while college building was ongoing. In his letters he described the house which accommodated thirty students as very cold with only one fire. Foods mentioned in the wage book would suggest a healthy diet was provided in College. There was an abundance of meat, potatoes, fowl, eggs, bread, fish, cheese, peas and rice and cabbage plants were bought. However the evidence indicates that students who came to Maynooth were prone to sickness due to the change in diet:

I arrived at Maynooth eight days past. The change of diet made me ill, and I have come to Dublin to consult my friend, Dr Hagan.¹²⁹

Breakfast and supper consisted of bread and milk, with 'flesh meat to dinner every day, except on fish days'. This account would suggest that students did not benefit from the varied menu suggested in the account book. Students had to pay for their bed, furnish their room and buy their cap and cloaks.

Rules of the House are very severe. We rise at six o'clock every morning: the business of the day begins with Prayer, Meditation, and Mass; then study to breakfast; then half an hour of recreation; study again till 2 o'clock; then the English Professor gives Class till 3 o'clock; then dinner, after which we have recreation for an hour. Then the business of the evening begins. At 9 o'clock we have prayers. Everyone is then to repair to bed.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Maynooth College account book 1795-1827.

¹²⁹ Revd. Bro. Luke, *Letters from Maynooth: calendar of letter of Rev. Eugene Conwell* (Dundalk, 1942), p. 22.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

By the middle of the nineteenth-century students fared a little better with the addition of cocoa, tea, puddings, pies to the menu.¹³¹ Francis B. Head observed that students ‘appeared to be in the enjoyment of perfect health’.¹³²

The Duke of Leinster’s link with the College is noted in Conwell’s letters. Postage was expensive relative to the value of money at the time. A post paid letter from Maynooth the Magherafelt cost 10d. At the times he was present at Carton the Duke allowed students’ letters to be ‘franked’. The facility of ‘franking’ was permitted to Peers or to Members of Parliament. The Duke who was described as ‘the most agreeable and affable gentleman’ often visited the college and every Wednesday the students visited his demesne ‘which is most spacious and beautiful and of endless variety’.¹³³

College life and employment nineteenth-century

Students followed a strict timetable.¹³⁴ Breakfast and supper times were very curtailed in what was a long day.

6am-6.30	Dressing
6.30-7.00	Prayer
7.00-8.30	Study
8.30-9.00	Mass
9.00-9.15	Breakfast
9.15-10.00	Recreation
10.00-10.30	Study
10.30-11.30	Class
11.30-12noon	Recreation
12-2.00pm	Study
2.00-3.00	Class
3.00-3.40	Dinner
3.40-5.00	Recreation
5.00-6.45	Study
6.45-7.00	Recreation
7.00-8.00	Study
8.00-8.12	Supper
8.12-9.00	Recreation
9.00-9.30	Night Prayer
10.00pm	Lights extinguished

Table 3:1 Student daily timetable, St. Patrick’s College Maynooth c. 1852

The custom of student walks on Wednesdays under the supervision of the Dean was still taking place at least until the middle of the nineteenth-century if not longer. Apart from

¹³¹ Head, *A fortnight in Ireland*, p. 81.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 90.

¹³³ Luke, *Letters from Maynooth*, p. 24.

¹³⁴ Head, *A fortnight in Ireland*, p. 95-96.

this excursion students were not allowed to go into the village when they were 'always under the inspection of his superior'.¹³⁵ This was the strict rule but it may have been over-emphasised by the vice-president for the benefit of the English visitor. A description in *Slater's Directory* for 1856 implies that this rule was a little more flexible, 'the students wear gowns and caps as well without and within the college'. Other evidence would also indicate that this was the case in some letters written to the college by local person(s) which range from a student observed drunk on the streets of Maynooth to matters about the supply of drink to students. A letter from 'a friend' to the college expressed concern that a local person was supplying liquor and papers to students.¹³⁶ A letter from the Duke of Leinster in on the 26 December 1853 to the college outlines the gamekeepers complaints about students on walks who were hunting hares.¹³⁷

The first wage book for the college covers the years 1867-1887. It contains the names and wages of tradesmen, labourers and servants for the college. It also lists Dublin and Maynooth suppliers to the college. Sixty-five tradesmen for the period were recorded. It is difficult to get an accurate figure as to the number of servants in the college at this time but in a listing of advancements to servants for 1867 record sixteen servants listed which would be only part of the overall figures. By the end of November 1887 there were fifty-three servants employed.¹³⁸ What is obvious from the wage book is that Maynooth benefited from the college. Tradesmen some of whom were employed by the college and others were under contract for specific jobs. The main trades included carpenters, slaters, plasterers, and masons. Patrick Clancy, carpenter was paid £1.8.0 weekly in 1867, whereas Richard Clancy was paid 10/- per week in 1866 and had risen to 1.10.0 in 1884.

Contract work was more lucrative. Thomas Cleary was under contract for changes to Dunboyne House and was paid a total of £26.16.3 in four lump sums from end of January to middle of August. Other occupations show that William Barnes a sweep on contract in 1881 was paid £22 per annum 'with bonus on certain condition'. The

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

¹³⁶ Letter. A friend to Dr. Renehan, 1849 (St. Patrick's College Archives, Box 8/34/117).

¹³⁷ Letter, Duke of Leinster to Dr Renehan. 1853 (St. Patrick's College Archives, Box 8/36).

¹³⁸ Servants wage book 1887-1895 (St. Patrick's College Archives, B3/18/1).

presence of a gas house ensured employment for ten men over the period.¹³⁹ The college employed the services of a coach maker Patrick Dunne, who was listed in *Slater's Directory* for Maynooth in 1870, but who later moved to the nearby town of Kilcock. He advertised in the *Kildare Observer* as:

Designer of the Leinster Railway Car, (Registered).
The Greatest improvement yet made on the outside car, built on iron frame,
and angular iron leg irons, the lightest and strongest car yet built and safest
to travel on.¹⁴⁰

Those mentioned in 1867 who received advances on their wages are generally referred to as servant.¹⁴¹ In 1872 they are given specific titles such as pantry boy, butchers assistant, kitchen boy, knife boy and corridor servant which continued and become more hierarchical by the end of the nineteenth-century.

Employment for local women was provided in washing for the college with extra washing and sewing to be done at times of retreat. Employment was constant from 1878 to 1887 there were on average ten women employed. In 1880 a quarterly payment for washing ranged from £1.6.7 to £9.19.0, some payments were supplement by needlework for the college which included repairing mattresses, pillows and bolsters. Other women were employed like Bess McDonnell at gardening work. Local women supplied the college with provisions for instance butter from Mrs Byrne and Mrs Dillon, eggs and fowl from Bridget Kenny, apples from Margaret Nugent and Miss Mary Murray. For a retreat in 1886 Bridget Kenny, Mary Greene and Bridget Geoghegan provided sixty ducks between them at 2/- each.

According to the servant wage book for 1887-1893 there was on average fifty-four servants employed each year that included three women. There was the cook, butler and president's man at the top of the list followed by head of senior refectory and head of junior refectory. Then came parlour servants, corridor servants, kitchen boys, 'delf' boys, knife boys of which each category had three levels of first, second and third, pantry boy, scullery boy, professors' fireman, hall porter, gate porter, boiler stoker, lamp lighter and library servant. There was also stablemen, and three nurses in the

¹³⁹ Wage book 1867-1887.

¹⁴⁰ *Kildare Observer*, 23 March 1882.

¹⁴¹ Wage book March 1867-1887.

Infirmary.¹⁴² Staff was replaced almost immediately. There was a high turnover of staff, in November 1887 there were fifty-three servants on the books and by 1893 thirty-two of this original list had left and in the meantime their replacements had left. The highest number had left in 1888 (Table 3:2). The three female employees stayed until 1893 at least. The ‘observations’ column notes some of the reasons for leaving, in two cases the person was going to America. James Ennis left the college in 1888 to work for Dr O’Donnell the Bishop of Raphoe. Others left to go home. Patrick Sullivan, a corridor servant died in the college 1889. Those that left in the main were not necessarily the lower paid categories.

Year in which servant left employment	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893
Number of servants from Nov. 1887 list who left college	2	14	8	4	2	1	1

Table 3:2 Number of servants who left the college from the November 1887 servant list.

The majority of servants were paid in the region of £2.10.0 to £3.0.0 per quarter that included some corridor servants, stablemen, spoon boys, pantry boy, kitchen boy and lamplighter to name some. The £3.15.0 category included parlour servants and junior refectory head. The head of the senior refectory, hall porter and library servant was paid £4.0.0. The president’s man was paid £4.10.0, and the gate porter was paid £5.0.0. The cook and butler were the highest paid at £10.0.0 and £6.5.0 per quarter. The wage book records wage increases that were granted by the Finance Committee. The butler’s wage was increased to £50 per annum in December 1888, the library servant wage increased to £5.0.0 per quarter and the hall porter’s wage increase by £2.0.0 per annum. The lower servants were paid extra money for extra duties for example George Geraghty received payment of £2.10.0 and £2.15.0 as second kitchen boy and as passage sweeper respectively. There is also evidence that servants could advance themselves and rise from knife boy to head of junior refectory, or from head of senior refectory to that of butler. Interestingly a rise through the servant ranks was no guarantee that people would remain in employment of the college. Of the few promotions made, all eventually left.

¹⁴² Servant wage book 1887-1895.

College life and employment twentieth-century

Tradesmen's wage book¹⁴³ and servants' wage book¹⁴⁴ for 1911 contain the names, occupation, number of days/months worked, rates per quarter, pay advancements, balances due, employees signature of receipt of pay (stamped) and observations. They are quarterly books. The Labourers' wage books contain similar information and were entered on a weekly basis.¹⁴⁵ Labour time and amount paid were entered according to the categories of 'Farm' or 'Establishment'.

The 1911 census for the college records that there was fourteen stables; twelve cow houses; eleven piggerys; a coach house; two barns; one turf house, one potato house, two workshops, three sheds, two stores and one laundry harness room; calf house; boiling house.¹⁴⁶ There were domestic buildings such as the kitchens, refectories, and dormitories care and maintenance of which needed a considerable number of servants, labourers and tradesmen (Plate 6). There were sixty-eight servants employed in the College.¹⁴⁷ Thirty-nine of these were listed on the servants' wage book for October 1911. Seventeen were not listed on the wage book which indicated that they had left the college between May and September 1911. Twenty-nine new names appeared on the wage book by October 1911, which included replacement staff and twelve extra staff. All except three servants 'lived-in'. This was an enclosed group that had limited contact with the town of Maynooth bound as they were by the requirements of their positions and the rules and regulations that governed the college.

All 'live-in' college servants were male, single and Roman Catholic. Two higher servants, the cook and the butler lived in Leinster Street and 38 Main Street respectively. The female servant Catherine Dunphy who cleaned the new college chapel, lived in Dillon's Row. The census returns show that the place of birth of 'live-in' servants was mainly from the counties of Meath, Kildare and City of Dublin. This is also true of the servants who had left the college. In keeping with the practices of servant recruitment for the 'big house' it was the policy to recruit non-local labour. Thirty-nine per cent of country houses had no local labour and a further thirty-five per

¹⁴³ Tradesmen's wage book. June 1903-December 1912, (St. Patrick's College Archives, B3/20/2).

¹⁴⁴ Servants's wage book. October 1911-1919 (St. Patrick's College Archives, B3/18/2).

¹⁴⁵ Labourers' wage book. January 1904 – May 1912 (St. Patrick's College Archives, B3/19/1).

¹⁴⁶ Census Returns 1911 College Land (NAI, DED, 40).



Maynooth College

Plate 6 St. Patrick's College Maynooth, by G.P. Coddan. 19th century.

cent had only one local person.¹⁴⁸ On a practical level this was desirable. Servants were available and fitted in with the daily routines of college life. There were rules and regulation for seminarians to adhere to which servants were expected to follow. Non-local servants helped to maintain a certain status and privacy. Servants would have been recruited through word of mouth through the network of parish priests and curates who had already trained in the seminary.

The majority of servants were under thirty years of age (Table 3:3).

	Aged 15-24	Aged 25-39	Aged 48-62
Number of servants	21	9	6

Table 3:3 Age distribution of live-in servants, St. Patrick's College Maynooth 1911

Leisure time was curtailed. Permission had to be sought from the Dean and a gate porter kept a record of people coming to and going from the college. Instructions to servants in 1883 were as follows:

1. Any servant absenting himself without permission from night or morning prayer, three times in the same quarter, will be dismissed, one month after date of absenting himself for the third time.
2. Any servant going out without permission, is thereby supposed to give a month's notice ...
3. Any servant having permission to go out after dinner, must write in the book at the gate porter's lodge, his own name and the name of the person giving permission.
4. Any servant who have given or received a month's notice and who goes out after dinner without permission, will be dismissed on the following day.

¹⁴⁹

There was a high turnover of staff particularly among the lower paid. Replacement staff filled the lower paid level of £2.10.0 per quarter. From May to September 1911, seventeen servants had left the college. The observations' column of the wage book notes a high occurrence of short-term employment with some servants remaining only a few weeks. Studies have shown that servants frequently changed their job and 'was a common place occurrence in Ireland'.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Mona Hearn, *Below stairs*, p. 79.

¹⁴⁹ Corish, *Maynooth College*, plate 53.

¹⁵⁰ Mona Hearn, *Below stairs*, p. 83.

Servants' quarters had the basic requirements, but food was good. Breakages were deducted from wages for instance a '4th delfman' earning 2.10.0 per quarter was deducted 2s3d for breaking a joint dish and 2s8d for breaking two vegetable dishes which was a considerable amount relative to his quarterly payment.

The average pay for a superior cook was £30-34 between 1910-20. A general servant was paid £9-£20 for the same period.¹⁵¹ There was little or no increase in wages, particularly for general servants such as corridor servants from 1887 to 1910 at least. Higher servant wages tended to be the ones that increased, although not substantially. The college cook, John Kavanagh earned £40 per year in 1887¹⁵² that had risen to £50 per year in 1888 and remained at that level until 1911. Lower servants' wages especially that of corridor servant remained the same during the period. Some positions were lower paid than in 1887, for instance president's man, which had changed title to president's servant, 'delfman' and gate-keeper (Table 3:4). Hearn's findings on servant wages indicate a broad range in pay rates of between £6 and £22 from 1880 to 1920.¹⁵³ Domestic servants in the college were well paid in 1887, ranking top of the national scale. By 1911, with virtually no increases in pay in that period they were paid at just below the national average which had to be a contributory factor in the town's lack of diversity in the early nineteenth-century.

Servant Occupation	Payment per quarter 1887	Payment per quarter 1911
Cook	£10.0.0	£12.10.0 +
Butler	£6.5.0	£7.0.0 +
corridor servant	£2.10.0; £2.15.0; £3.0.0	£2.10.0; £2.15.0; £3.0.0 =
president's man	£4.10.0	£4.5.0 -
1 st kitchen boy	£3.10.0	£3.10.0 =
1 st delf man	£3.5.0	£2.15.0 -
head of senior refectory	£4.0.0	£4.0.0 =
hall porter	£4.0.0	4.10.0 +
gate porter	£5.0.0	£4.15.0 -
Stableman	£2.10.0	£2.10.0 =

Table 3:4 Comparison of selected servants' wages in 1887 and 1911, St. Patrick's College Maynooth

There was no evidence of sickness amongst servants. They got paid only for the days they worked. Servants tended to be healthier than their contemporaries in other

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p. 48.

¹⁵² Servant wage book 1887.

¹⁵³ Hearn, *Below stairs*, p.48.

industries because they were better fed and better housed than other workers.¹⁵⁴ Rate of pay, occupation and age profiles of college servants are shown on Table 3:6.

Labourers and tradesmen

Outdoor work was carried out by twenty-eight labourers and eleven tradesmen. Twenty-seven labourers and all but one tradesman came from the vicinity of Maynooth. Employment was given to three female labourers who worked in the vegetable garden. Tradesmen's occupations included carpenter, painter, electrical engineer, mason, slater, gas-works manager and harness maker. The electrical engineer came for Warwickshire and lived in the college.

Almost all labourers employed by the college did agricultural work. Some worked in the garden. The Irish farm labourer might expect to be paid 10s 9d weekly which was much less than English rates and 'absurdly less than his relatives employed in foreign cities'. County Kildare ranked fourth highest for labourers' wages in 1911, paying 141 pence weekly¹⁵⁵. The majority of labourers in St. Patrick's College were paid 2/- per day for six to seven days work (Table 3:5). College labourers came from within a half-mile of the college. Most lived in second class housing and none lived on the Main Street.

Rate per day	Description of Work	No. of days work
5/-	Gardening	6
3/-	Assisting in flower garden	6
2/8	Incharge of Dairy Cows	6
2/6	Milking Cows	7
2/-	Variety of farm work	6 and 7 days: 11 labourers
1/10	Swine herd	6
1/8	Minding stall sheds	7
	Spreading manure	6
1/6	Minding stall sheds	7
	Cleaning yard	6
1/-	Vegetable Garden	6 (3 female employees)

Table 3:5 Daily pay rates for labourers, St Patrick's College Maynooth 1911

Most of the tradesmen employed by the college were aged between thirty and forty. Four tradesmen lived on the Main Street. The remainder lived at Back Lane, Dublin

¹⁵⁴ Hearn, *Below stairs*, p. 57.

¹⁵⁵ David Fitzpatrick, 'The disappearance of the Irish Agricultural Labourer, 1814-1912, in *Irish Economic and Social History*, vol. vii, (1980), p. 66-92.

Road, Parson Street and Moyglare. Apart from carpenters and masons, others described themselves as general labourer. For example in the tradesmen's wage book of 1911 John Finnerty is described as 'nightwatchman' but is listed in the census returns as a general labourer this may have been because some tradesmen were paid at labourer rate. The wage book also indicates two elderly tradesmen receiving a sick allowance from a 'Contingent Expenditure Account'. One, a retired gardener-domestic aged eighty-one received 8/- per week the other, a general labourer aged seventy-three who received 6/- per week.

Occupation	Rate of pay per day	No. of days worked
Mason	5/-	5
Slater	5/-	6
Harness mender	4/6	5½ plus 1½
Electrical engineer	4/-	7 (live-in)
Painter	4/-	5
Carpenter	3 /4	5
Painter	2/6	4
Nightwatchman	2/-	1 ¼ x 6 nights
Managing gas works	2/-	7

Table 3:6 Tradesmen's rate of pay according to occupation, St. Patrick's College Maynooth 1911

College offered secure employment for the thirty-nine local workers that it had on its books. These numbers may have increased when seasonal work came about especially in relation to the college farm. The security of this employment is evident in that there appeared to be very little staff turnover in these two categories. Rates of pay were on par with the national average and the advantage of living so near the college was an added benefit.

Rate per quarter	Occupation	Age
£12.10.0	cook	56
£7.0.0	butler	30
£6.5.0	bursar's clerk	22
£5.4.0	Steam boiler stoker	50
£5.0.0	Library servant	62
£4.15.0	gate porter	49
£4.10.0	hall porter	29
	professors' servant	48
£4.5.0	President's servant	19
£4.0.0	head senior refectory	23
	sub head senior refectory	24
£3.15.0	Professors' servant	19
£3.10.0	1 st kitchen boy	36
£3.3.9	head junior refectory	25
£3.0.0	2 nd kitchen boy	22
	infirmary servant	28
	corridor servant	30
	steam boiler stoker	50
£2.15.0	Corridor servant	18
	Corridor servant	30
	Corridor servant	21
	Corridor servant	20
	Corridor servant	21
	Corridor servant	28
	and bellman	
	1 st delfman	22
	3 rd kitchen boy	23
	5 th kitchen boy	17
£2.10.0	scullery boy	15
	professors' messenger	39
	corridor servant	21
		18
	1 st knife boy	21
	boot polisher	18
	professors' fireman	34
	stableman	50

Table 3:7 Wage rates and age profiles of servants, St. Patrick's College 1911

Conclusion

The bishops and the Duke of Leinster ensured the establishment of the Royal College of St. Patrick in 1795 in Maynooth. The name of Stoyte had been linked with the town from that time. While father and son were not a continued presence here their buildings of Riverstown and Stoyte formed the nucleus of the short-lived lay college and the present seminary respectively. The family retained their interest in Riverstown until at least 1867. In keeping their earlier major contribution to the development of Maynooth

they continued to contribute for the improvement of society as indicated in their bequests.

From the beginning the presence of the college in the town appeared to have a beneficial economic effect. It generated local business, people such as Thomas Swords did extremely well over the years. Local services were used and local tradesmen such as masons and carpenters were employed. Women could supplement the family income through washing, sewing and in supplying provisions such as eggs and fowl. As the nineteenth-century proceeded there was an increase in the number of servants employed in the college. They did not come from the locality, a practice that limited potential local employment somewhat. Local tradesmen and labourers were employed and by 1911, some tradesmen were able to afford houses on the Main Street. There was not the same level of turn over of servants in 1887 as in 1911. The profile for 1887 servants indicate people left for various reasons and even when they earned promotions and wage increases, wage considerations would not appear to have been the main reason for leaving. By national standards wages were very good at that point. However, by 1911 the situation had changed and servant wage rates in the college were at the lowest point in the scale. Labourers fared much better, their wages were comparable to the national rate. There was virtually no staff turn over in the categories of tradesmen and labourer which is not surprising in a declining local economy, where work was nearby and it was secure. Overall the reduced spending power of servants, the minimum wage of labourers must have affected the local economy and has to have been a contributory factor in the lack of diversity and stagnation of the town at the beginning of the twentieth-century.

Conclusion

This thesis examines some of the communities that existed in Maynooth from the middle eighteenth-century to the early twentieth-century. The study examines communities that are associated with three distinctive yet inter linked areas in the town – Carton Estate, Maynooth town and St. Patrick's College Maynooth. Other studies have been done on all three loci separately and together. The approach of this thesis is to look at these areas from the point of view or communities of people specifically the about workers and the working world of Maynooth and how it changed overtime. The study focussed on the servants of the nearby Carton estate both indoor and outdoor, the workers and business of Maynooth town and the workers including a sizeable servant group of St. Patrick's College Maynooth.

It has been shown that the employees of the estate belonged to two broad categories, one of which was quiet separate from the town community. They were the servants both indoor and outdoor. Local workers represent the other group who came from the labourers cottages built by the Duke of Leinster and kept under his direct control. There are no records for this latter group. The estate servants' profile and conditions altered considerably from the eighteenth-century to the twentieth-century. The employer-employee relationship changed from a paternalistic one to a contractual and pragmatic one as evidenced by one of the major findings of study when in April 1887 Gerald the Fifth Duke of Leinster, let all indoor servants go as soon when he took over the estate. In June 1887 he recruited only nine new servants. The servant crisis was a direct consequence of major indebtedness that necessitated the selling of £128,417 worth of the estate. From the servant records that exist in the Leinster papers findings show that. there was a high turnover of staff especially from the lower servant positions, even though their wages were within the national average. Some higher servants were paid better wages than those in other estates, but pay increases were not significant. Age in these categories was a barrier to finding new employment, so higher servants did not leave so readily.

By the early twentieth-century the number of house servants had not increased. Carton was trying to hang at least outwardly to the trappings of an aristocratic landed estate. Significantly, two footmen were retained at a time when male servants were kept by

only very wealthy families. The place of birth and religious denomination of Carton servants in 1901 both indoor and outdoor represented international and imperial values of the estate. This had changed by 1911. Single servants had not remained. Nationality and denominational values had altered. The numbers that had been born in Scotland England and employed on the estate in 1901 had dwindled. By 1911 replacement staff consisted of people who came from Irish counties. During the late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century the town had undergone a major transformation under the influence of the twentieth Earl of Kildare. He advertised ground plots for lease. Peter Bere his agent took advantage of available leases and he was one of the most noteworthy developers of Maynooth in the late eighteenth-century. By 1784 he was responsible for two-thirds of the new buildings in the town and for over one half of the frontage on the main street. All of which remained in his family until the early nineteenth-century. Bere's entrepreneurial activity is representative of the opportunities that Maynooth began to offer at the time. By the middle of the nineteenth-century property in the town was owned by a core number of people with the Duke of Leinster holding the majority valued at £583.10.0. This group of fifty-one people represented a consolidated business class that in effect blocked the way for new investment. A high proportion of property holders were female and they had the higher value property over all.

When most landlord planned towns began to stagnate by the 1840s, Maynooth's economy was sustained due to the ongoing building programme at St. Patrick's College. The population of Maynooth peaked in the 1830s and 1840s to 2,053 and 2,019 and there was a substantial drop by 1901 with 948 and 1911 with 886 of a population. The population profile indicated that there were more women than men in the 1831 to 1851 period which can be explained by the influx of labourers families and also by the number of children that attended the various schools in the area. Rents were very high around the 1850s and in many cases it was 50% in excess of actual valuation. Employment was mainly service driven owing to the demands of college work.

The drop in population, and the similarities between the occupations of the nineteenth-century and the twentieth-century is significant because they pointed to an overall lack of expansion and opportunity. Labourers still represented the highest proportion of

workers in the town. Local employment opportunity was further restricted by the practice of local shopkeepers that hired assistants and apprentices from other counties.

Women received consistent low status employment, through mainly washing and sewing due to the presence of the college. When compared to the population profile of the nearby town of Celbridge it was found that a high proportion of women headed households in Maynooth in 1901 and 1911, and a high number of these were widows. This can be explained in the sharp drop in population for the town where widows were more psychologically tied to the community or simply did not have the means to leave.

From its beginnings in 1795 to the late nineteenth-century the Royal College of St. Patrick had a beneficial effect on the town. The Duke of Leinster was influential in having the college established at Maynooth and John Stoyte senior and junior provided the buildings of Stoyte House and Riverstown Lodge that formed the nucleus of the present day St. Patrick's College and the short lived lay college respectively. Like Peter Bere they prospered in the employment of the Duke of Leinster as shown by their ability to have two substantial houses. The leasing of the houses to facilitate the establishment of the college may have been partly philanthropic in light of their wills which that bequeathed money to deserving institutions and to the poor regardless of their religious persuasion.

From the early days of the college local tradesmen such as masons, and carpenters were employed, usually contracted. There were twelve servants employed at a total cost of £120. Individuals from the town such as Thomas Swords did extremely well through his business dealings with the college. As the nineteenth-century proceeded more servants were employed in the college, none of whom came from the locality which limited potential local employment opportunities. Local employment was in the areas of labourers' work and tradesmen's work that did not account for sizeable numbers. Student and servant regimes were reported to be very strict, which might be a contributory factor in the high turnover in servants. A hierarchy of servants emerged and this was even more defined by the late nineteenth-century and continued into 1911 at least. Three major findings in this part of the study were that in 1887 servants were receiving good wages. However they still left, some to go to America as had been noted

and others to be employed elsewhere. The turnover of staff in 1911 was more severe with a very high proportion having left between the months of May and September. Wage levels remained the same between 1887 and 1911, in some cases they had dropped and at the same time they were just below the rate of the national average in 1911. This can be explained in the broad range of payments for general servants from 1880 to 1920. St. Patrick's College was paying top of the scale wages in 1887 but by 1911 they were paying at the lowest end of the scale.

This case study of three loci has highlighted the seemingly separate worlds within a community from the eighteenth-century through to the twentieth-century. Research has established the links and levels of interaction that existed between them, either through groups or through certain key individuals. On the one side the Duke of Leinster was an important influence in establishing a connection between estate, college and town. On the other side these connections were sustained and developed by the working population of Maynooth, including some key individuals and were motivated by economic and social considerations.

<u>Servant Name</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>1884</u>	<u>1885</u>
Bradley James	House Steward	1	1
Flynn Bernard	Valet & Groom of ct	1	1
Jordan Charles	Under Bulter	1	1
Grace William	Footman	1	0
Martin George	Footman	1	1
Darmer Richard	Stewards Room Bo	1	1
Kirwan Thomas	Hall Boy	1	0
Kavanagh John	Coal Boy	1	1
Mrs Baker	Housekeeper	1	1
McGann Esther	Still Room Maid	1	1
Anglesey Eliza	Housemaid	1	0
McIney Elizabeth	Housemaid	1	0
Goode Hanna	Housemaid	1	1
Hatton Margaret	Housemaid	1	1
Henry Martha	Housemaid	1	1
McGee Sarah	Housemaid	1	1
Gibson Bridget	Dairymaid	1	0
Matthews Margaret	Laundrymaid	1	0
Canavan Mary	Laundrymaid	1	1
Gladwin Mary	Laundrymaid	1	0
Carroll Ellen	Laundrymaid	1	0
Harris Mrs.	Cook	1	1
Galdren Elizabeth	Kitchenmaid	1	1
Oswald Anne	Kitchenmaid	1	1
Oswald Fanny	Kitchemaid	1	1
Duffy Thomas	Coachman	1	0
Patterson James	Coachman	1	0
Miles Thomas	Groom	1	1
Byrne Patrick	Post Boy	1	1
Molloy William	Gamekeeper	1	1
Kirby James	Clerk of works	1	0
Hoey Charles	Clock winder	1	1
Morris Michael	Chimney Cleaner	1	0
Russell Patrick	Parcel Man	1	1
Laxton Jane	Dairymaid	1	0
Powderly Mary	Laundrymaid	1	1
Curran Bridget	Laundrymaid	1	1
Dowling Mary	Laundrymaid	1	1
Hare Thomas	Coachman	1	0
Heffran J	Chimney Cleaner	1	1
Mew Alfred	Footman	1	1
Phillips William	Coachman	1	0
Doyle Bessie	Dairymaid	0	1
Harradine Geo	Coachman	0	1
Redmond John	Coachman	0	1
O'Donnell James	Gamekeeper	0	1
Murphy John	Coal Boy	0	1

Appendix
 Servants of Carton 1884-1893

<u>1886</u>	<u>1887</u>	<u>1888</u>	<u>1889</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1891</u>	<u>1892</u>	<u>1893</u>	mths worked	<u>ann.wage</u>	<u>quart.wage</u>	<u>m/f</u>
1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	42	100.0.0.	25.0.0.	m
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	36	60.0.	15.0.0.	m
1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	42	35.0.0.	8.15.0	m
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	32.0.0.	8.0.0.	m
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	32.0.0.	8.0.0.	m
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	18.0.0.	2.10.6	m
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	22.0.0.	5.10.0	m
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	40	12.0.0.	30.0.0	m
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	40	60.0.0.	15.0.0.	f
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	36	22.0.0.	5.10.0	f
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	16.0.0.	4.4.0	f
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	16.0.0.	4.4.0	f
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	31	16.0.0.	4.4.0.	f
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	31	14.0.0.	3.10.0	f
1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	40	12.0.0	3.0.0	f
1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	40	12.0.0.	3.0.0.	f
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	18.0.0.	4.10.0.	f
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	20.0.0.	2.1.0.	f
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	16.0.0.	4.0.0.	f
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	16.0.0.	4.0.0.	f
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	12.0.0.	3.0.0.	f
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	60.0.0.	15.0.0.	f
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	20.0.0.	5.0.0.	f
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	36	16.0.0.	4.0.0.	f
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	36	12.0.0.	3.0.0.	f
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	46.0.0.	11.10.0	m
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	30.0.0.	7.10.0.	m
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	28.0.0.	7.0.0.	m
1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	40	20.0.	5.0.0.	m
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	31	70.8.0.	17.10.0.	m
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	40.0.0.	10.0.0.	m
1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	40	12.0.0.	3.0.0.	m
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	12.0.0.	3.0.0.	m
1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	40	8.0.0.	2.0.0.	m
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	22.0.0.	3.17.8	f
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	20.0.0	2.3.2	f
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	16.0.0.	3.5.8.	f
1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	36	10.0.0.	1.18.9	f
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	28.0.0.	7.0.0.	m
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	12.0.0.	1.0.0.	m
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	32.0.0.	2.6.6.	m
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	30.0.0.	1.18.6	m
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	27	18.0.0.	4.10.0	f
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	47.0.0.	9.10.2	m
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	30.0.0.	7.1.1.	m
1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	39.0.0.	4.12.11	m
1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	10.0.0.	0.2.9.	m

<u>Servant Name</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>1884</u>	<u>1885</u>	<u>1886</u>	<u>1887</u>
Trent Henry	Stewards Room Bo	0	1	1	0
Agnes Faulkner	Housemaid	0	1	1	0
Hodder Jane	Kitchenmaid	0	1	1	1
Kiddie George	Groom	0	1	1	0
Pidd Lucy	Laundrymaid	0	1	1	1
Byrne Thomas	Chimney Cleaner	0	0	1	1
Mitchell Mrs.	Cook	0	0	1	0
Johnson Aired	Hall Boy	0	0	1	1
Shirley James	Footman	0	0	0	1
Burke Peter	Coachman	0	0	0	1
Matthews Mary Ann	Laundrymaid	0	0	0	1
McLeod Anabella	Housemaid	0	0	0	1
Trent William	Footman	0	0	0	1
Loughlin Ellen	Still Room Maid	0	0	0	1
Matthews Alice	Housemaid	0	0	0	1
Wilson Elizabeth	Housemaid	0	0	0	1
Doyle Mary	Housemaid	0	0	0	1
Duzle Ellen	Kitchenmaid	0	0	0	1
Tutty Samuel	Hall Boy	0	0	0	1
Pulman Walter	Butler	0	0	0	1
Armstrong David	1st Footman	0	0	0	1
Fernside George	2nd Footman	0	0	0	1
Churchill William	Hall Boy	0	0	0	1
Gorman Thomas	Stewards Room Bo	0	0	0	1
Alexander Elizabeth	Cook and Housekee	0	0	0	1
Wilson Mrs.	Nurse	0	0	0	1
Keenan Ellen	1st Laundrymaid	0	0	0	1
Scolow Jane	2nd Laundry Maid	0	0	0	1
McCarthy Jane	1st Housemaid	0	0	0	1
Thorpe Mary	2nd Housemaid	0	0	0	1
Wilson Elizabeth	3rd Housemaid	0	0	0	1
Abbey Mary Ann	Kitchenmaid	0	0	0	1
Metcalfe Maggie	Scullerymaid	0	0	0	1
Rorke Ann	Dairymaid	0	0	0	1
Crawford Eliza	2nd Housemaid	0	0	0	1
Curtis N	Coachman	0	0	0	1
Nolan William	Hall Boy	0	0	0	1
Headford Lizzie	4th Housemaid	0	0	0	1
Knight Sarah	Nursery Maid	0	0	0	1
Johnson Isabella	Dairymaid	0	0	0	0
Beany Georgenie	3rd Housemaid	0	0	0	0
Hinley Arthur	Butler	0	0	0	0
Shirely Arthur	1st Footman	0	0	0	0
McClelland William	2nd Footman	0	0	0	0
Acourt Charles	Stewards Room Bo	0	0	0	0
Sibley George	Hall Boy	0	0	0	0
Barker John	Coachman	0	0	0	0
Bird Mrs.	Housekeeper	0	0	0	0
Petty Mrs.	Cook	0	0	0	0

<u>1888</u>	<u>1889</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1891</u>	<u>1892</u>	<u>1893</u>	<u>onths wo</u>	<u>ann.wage</u>	<u>quart.wage</u>	<u>m/f</u>
0	0	0	0	0	0	14	20.0.	5.0.	m
0	0	0	0	0	0	14	18.0.	4.10.0.	f
0	0	0	0	0	0	21	16.0.	1.1.10	f
0	0	0	0	0	0	9	28.0.	2.6.8	m
0	0	0	0	0	0	19	24.0.	6.0.0.	f
0	0	0	0	0	0	16	12.0.	3.0.0.	m
0	0	0	0	0	0	17	60.0.	9.7.0	f
0	0	0	0	0	0	16	12.0.	0.6.8.	m
0	0	0	0	0	0	6	28.0.	7.0.0.	m
0	0	0	0	0	0	8	44.0.	11.0.0.	m
0	0	0	0	0	0	5	12.0.	3.0.0.	f
0	0	0	0	0	0	5	18.0.	4.10.0.	f
0	0	0	0	0	0	5	28.0.	6.5.0	m
0	0	0	0	0	0	12	16.0.	5.10.0	f
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10.0.	2.10.0	f
0	0	0	0	0	0	12	12.0.	2.10.0.	f
0	0	0	0	0	0	5	10.0.	3.0.0.	f
0	0	0	0	0	0	5	14.0.	4.0.0.	f
0	0	0	0	0	0	3	12.0.	3.0.0.	f
1	0	0	0	0	0	12	70.0.	16.0.10	m
1	0	0	0	0	0	12	32.0.	8.0.0.	m
1	0	0	0	0	0	11	28.0.	4.14.10	m
0	0	0	0	0	0	6	14.0.	2.9.2	m
0	0	0	0	0	0	6	14.0.	3.10.0.	m
1	0	0	0	0	0	13	50.0.	12.10.0.	f
1	0	0	0	0	0	14	35.0.	8.15.0	f
1	0	0	0	0	0	14	20.0.	5.0.0.	f
1	0	0	0	0	0	14	10.0.	2.10.0.	f
1	0	0	0	0	0	14	18.0.	4.10.0	f
0	0	0	0	0	0	3	14.0.	3.10.0	f
1	0	0	0	0	0	14	15.0.	4.0.0.	f
1	0	0	0	0	0	14	12.0.	1.18.8	f
1	0	0	0	0	0	12	15.0.	2.8.4	f
0	0	0	0	0	0	6	14.0.	3.0.0.	f
1	0	0	0	0	0	9	30.0	7.10.0.	m
0	0	0	0	0	0	6	14.0.	1.3.4.	m
1	0	0	0	0	0	12	12.0.	2.15.10	f
1	0	0	0	0	0	12	14.0.	0.19.3	f
1	0	0	0	0	0	3	16.0.	3.6.5	f
1	0	0	0	0	0	12	12.0.	3.0.0.	f
0	1	1	1	1	1	48	70.0.	17.10.0.	m
0	1	1	0	0	0	9	30.0.	7.10.0.	m
0	1	0	0	0	0	6	28.0.	7.0.0.	m
0	1	1	0	0	0	16	14.0.	3.10.0.	m
0	1	0	0	0	0	6	14.0.	3.10.0.	m
0	1	0	0	0	0	6	40.0.	10.0.0.	m
1	0	0	0	0	0	18	50.0	12.10.0.	f
1	1	0	0	0	0	24	50.0.	15.0.0.	f

<u>Servant Name</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>1884</u>	<u>1885</u>	<u>1886</u>	<u>1887</u>
Midgeley Mrs.	Nurse	0	0	0	0
Clarke Bridget	1st Laundrymaid	0	0	0	0
Doyle Catherine	2nd Laundrymaid	0	0	0	0
Dourache Catherine	3rd Laundrymaid	0	0	0	0
Wilson Elizabeth	2nd Housemaid	0	0	0	0
Shandley Kate	3rd Housemaid	0	0	0	0
Neill Maggie	4th Housemaid	0	0	0	0
Hudson Louisa	Nursery Maid	0	0	0	0
Johnson Isabella	Dairy Maid	0	0	0	0
McAney Mrs.	Kitchenmaid	0	0	0	0
Norton Lizzie	Scullerymaid	0	0	0	0
Creighton Bridget	1st Housemaid	0	0	0	0
Forrest Nora	Dairymaid	0	0	0	0
Kennedy Hugh	2nd Footman	0	0	0	0
Barker John	Coachman	0	0	0	0
Robertson Mrs.	Housekeeper	0	0	0	0
Johnstone Mary	2nd Housemaid	0	0	0	0
Chamberlain Maria	Stillroom maid	0	0	0	0
Lawson Mary	Kitchenmaid	0	0	0	0
Johnstone Herbert	Hall Boy	0	0	0	0
Ford Thomas	1st Footman	0	0	0	0
Gowan Kate	3rd Housemaid	0	0	0	0
Webb Jessie	Scullerymaid	0	0	0	0
Duggan Martin	Hall Boy	0	0	0	0
Plantier Madame	Cook	0	0	0	0
Howard Littia	2nd Housemaid	0	0	0	0
Higginson Martha	3rd Housemaid	0	0	0	0
Wallin Jane	Kitchenmaid	0	0	0	0
Powell Andrew	Hall Boy	0	0	0	0
Harris Eliza	2nd Housemaid	0	0	0	0
Dowling Lizzie	4th Housemaid	0	0	0	0
Keeffe Julia	3rd Laundrymaid	0	0	0	0
Kerr Susan	2nd Housemaid	0	0	0	0
Gamble Ellen	Kitchenmaid	0	0	0	0
Simmons Arthur	2nd Footman	0	0	0	0
Edwards Mrs	Cook	0	0	0	0
McGonigle Susan	4th Housemaid	0	0	0	0
Dempsey Theresa	Kitchenmaid	0	0	0	0
Leary Mary	1st Housemaid	0	0	0	0
Miller Bridget	1st Housemaid	0	0	0	0
Bryce Helen	1st Housemaid	0	0	0	0
Earl Arthur	1st Footman	0	0	0	0
Lee Walter	Hall Boy	0	0	0	0
Allen John	1st Footman	0	0	0	0
Hall William	Hall Boy	0	0	0	0
Herriot Mrs.	Housekeeper	0	0	0	0
Lane Lilly	1st Laundrymaid	0	0	0	0
Byrne Mary	2nd Laundrymaid	0	0	0	0
Heffermine Mary	3rd Laundrymaid	0	0	0	0

<u>1888</u>	<u>1889</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1891</u>	<u>1892</u>	<u>1893</u>	<u>onths wo</u>	<u>ann.wage</u>	<u>quart.wage</u>	<u>m/f</u>
0	1	1	1	1	1	48	35.0.0.	8.15.0	f
0	1	1	1	1	0	36	20.0.0.	5.0.0.	f
0	1	1	0	0	0	18	14.0.0.	3.10.0.	f
0	1	1	1	0	0	24	12.0.0.	3.0.0.	f
1	1	0	0	0	0	6	16.0.0.	4.0.0.	f
0	1	0	0	0	0	6	14.0.0.	3.10.0	f
0	1	1	0	0	0	12	12.0.0.	3.0.0.	f
0	1	1	1	1	1	45	18.0.0.	4.10.0	f
1	1	0	0	0	0	17	18.0.0.	4.10.0	f
1	1	1	1	1	1	63	20.0.0	5.0.0.	f
0	1	1	0	0	0	8	12.0.0.	3.0.0.	f
0	1	1	1	0	0	11	22.0.0.	5.2.9.	f
0	1	1	1	1	1	43	18.0.0.	2.7.0.	f
0	0	1	1	0	0	17	25.0.0.	3.1.10	m
0	0	1	1	0	0	23	40.0.0	10.0.0.	m
0	0	1	1	1	0	36	52.0.0.	7.8.7	m
0	0	1	0	0	0	3	18.0.0.	4.10.0	f
0	0	1	1	1	0	36	20.0.0.	5.0.0.	f
0	0	1	0	0	0	6	20.0.0.	5.0.0.	f
0	0	1	0	0	0	12	14.0.0.	1.13.0	m
0	0	1	1	0	0	24	30.0.0.	2.4.6.	m
0	0	1	0	0	0	9	14.0.0.	3.4.0	f
0	0	1	0	0	0	3	12.0.0.	3.0.0.	f
0	0	1	1	1	0	26	14.0.0.	0.9.8.	m
0	0	0	1	0	0	9	60.0.0.	14.16.8	f
0	0	1	0	0	0	3	18.0.0.	0.14.11	f
0	0	1	1	0	0	9	14.0.0.	2.6.0	f
0	0	1	1	0	0	12	20.0.0	3.6.0	f
0	0	1	1	0	0	20	14.0.0.	0.18.6	m
0	0	1	1	0	0	7	18.0.0.	3.8.3	f
0	0	1	1	1	1	36	12.0.0.	3.0.0.	f
0	0	1	1	0	0	12	12.0.0.	1.16.6	f
0	0	0	1	1	0	24	12.0.0	2.11.5	f
0	0	0	1	0	0	6	25.0.0.	5.3.6	f
0	0	0	1	1	0	18	30.0.0.	7.10.0	f
0	0	0	1	1	1	18	60.0.0.	10.13.2	f
0	0	0	1	1	0	12	12.0.0.	3.0.0.	f
0	0	0	1	1	1	18	25.0.0.	6.5.0	f
0	0	0	0	1	0	3	22.0.0.	4.17.11	f
0	0	0	0	1	0	12	12.0.0.	2.12.1	f
0	0	0	0	1	0	6	24.0.0.	1.7.7.	f
0	0	0	0	1	0	6	30.0.0.	4.14.5	m
0	0	0	0	1	1	12	14.0.0.	2.12.1	m
0	0	0	0	1	1	7	30.0.0.	1.1.5	m
0	0	0	0	1	1	5	14.0.0.	3.10.0.	m
0	0	0	0	1	1	5	52.0.0.	13.0.0.	f
0	0	0	0	1	1	12	24.0.0.	6.0.0.	f
0	0	0	0	1	0	3	14.0.0.	0.16.2	f
0	0	0	0	1	1	12	12.0.0.	0.17.2	f

<u>Servant Name</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>1884</u>	<u>1885</u>	<u>1886</u>	<u>1887</u>
Oliver Agnes	1st Housemaid	0	0	0	0
Haggard Margaret	4th Housemaid	0	0	0	0
Behan Mary	2nd Laundrymaid	0	0	0	0
CluckieMary	Stillroom maid	0	0	0	0
Harrison Maggi	Scullerymaid	0	0	0	0
Savage Mrs.	Housekeeper	0	0	0	0
White Joseph	2nd Footman	0	0	0	0
Herridge George	Hall Boy	0	0	0	0
Mitchell Mary	2nd Laundrymaid	0	0	0	0
Campbell Jessie	Stillroom maid	0	0	0	0
Forbes Minnie	1st Housemaid	0	0	0	0
Trendall Annie	Nursery Maid	0	0	0	0
Sinclair Jane	Dairymaid	0	0	0	0
Preechons Alice	Kitchenmaid	0	0	0	0
Florentine Rose	Scullerymaid	0	0	0	0
Parker Mrs.	Cook	0	0	0	0
Mooney Mary	Scullerymaid	0	0	0	0

<u>1888</u>	<u>1889</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1891</u>	<u>1892</u>	<u>1893</u>	<u>months wo</u>	<u>ann.wage</u>	<u>quart.wage</u>	<u>m/f</u>
0	0	0	0	1	1	6	24.0.0.	1.3.4	f
0	0	0	0	1	1	12	12.0.0.	0.13.2	f
0	0	0	0	0	1	3	14.0.0.	1.6.11	f
0	0	0	0	0	1	3	22.0.0.	2.11.10	f
0	0	0	0	0	1	3	12.0.0.	1.0.0.	f
0	0	0	0	0	1	12	52.0.0.	13.0.0.	f
0	0	0	0	0	1	6	27.0.0.	5.9.3	m
0	0	0	0	0	1	6	14.0.0.	1.5.7.	m
0	0	0	0	0	1	6	14.0.0.	1.11.9	f
0	0	0	0	0	1	3	22.0.0.	3.16.11	f
0	0	0	0	0	1	6	24.0.0.	3.17.0	f
0	0	0	0	0	1	6	16.0.0.	0.14.0	f
0	0	0	0	0	1	6	18.0.0.	4.10.0	f
0	0	0	0	0	1	6	24.0.0.	4.7.11	f
0	0	0	0	0	1	3	12.0.0.	0.5.8.	f
0	0	0	0	0	1	3	60.0.0.	11.16.4	f
0	0	0	0	0	1	3	12.0.0.	1.5.0	f

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