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The Journals of Sir John Benn-Walsh Relating to the Management of His Irish Estates, 1823-64*

By JAMES S. DONNELLY, Jr.

[Visit of 1855]

[Volume XXVI]

(145) Saturday, September 1st, [1855]. Gabbett came & we set out to visit Ballygromans & Grange at 12. Ballygromans may be taken as an example of the benefit which the emigration has effected for Ireland in spite (146) of the clamour of the priests & anti Malthusians. I come first to Henry Reid; he was in partnership with two brothers, both of whom have emigrated with their families; they were all struggling with beggary; he is now a thriving farmer; I have given him not only the three brothers' portion but a slice of Wiseman's & half of Pat Murphy's. He has 16 cows & intends soon to have 20. Pat Murphy I have ejected & divided his farm between Reid & priest Walsh. I have now but six tenants instead of eleven on the whole farm, besides having got rid of younger brothers & their families in every lot. The tenants are flourishing, the culture is improving, & the farm is doing well. I visited Grange, where Curtis has built a range of farm buildings. Young Hawkes is improving. The whole estate looks now in a flourishing condition & the number of dairy cows has greatly increased.

(147) Sunday, [September] 2nd. I was a little indisposed yesterday in my walk through the farms with bilious diarrhea. I took two of Digby's mild blue pills & remained late in bed, amusing myself with *The Newcomes*, a very clever novel of Thackeray.

Monday, [September] 3rd. We had a fine day and went over Fergus. This farm, like the others, is in an improving condition. All the tenants are adopting a system of dairy farming conjointly with arable. They keep their cows upon clover & turnips. I had many applications for cowhouses.

Tuesday, [September] 4th. Mr Gabbett & I left Cork by the railway at 10 o'clock. We changed trains at Mallow & reached Killarney at $\frac{1}{2}$ past one. We went all over the Railway Hotel, which is splendid in its furniture, apartments, &c. We went on in a carriage to Tralee. We stopped to see the workhouse, which is almost empty. We dined & slept at Benner's. Another beautiful day.

(148) Wednesday, [September] 5th. We started about ten & visited Derivrin, Ballyrehan, & Ballyhaurigan. Two of my best tenants are, I fear, dying. Young Connell of Derivrin seems far gone in a consumption & Maurice Quinlan of Ballyrehan has some internal complaint which threatens to carry him off. All these farms are in a satisfactory & improving condition. The Gallivans are getting on much better since the eviction of widow Molony. At Ballyhaurigan I have only evicted Daly &

* Continued from Vol LXX, No. 230.

put Maurice Lyne from Pouldeehy¹ into his farm. This has enabled me to divide Pouldeehy between the two Costellos instead of into three lots, & as they are young, active men, I hope they will do well. At one time I thought of evicting all four, but the relatives of Lyne & the two Costellos came forward & paid me a large portion of their arrears, & by getting rid of old Daly, I enlarged the area of their farms. This is the best (149) policy. Avoid wholesale evictions & gain your point by arrangements among your existing tenants. We reached Listowell to dinner. McElligott has married Miss Adams of the Listowell Arms & has taken possession of that inn, which has much better rooms than the old one.

Thursday, [September] 6th. We went, accompanied by our aides de camp John O'Connor and Trant to see my new purchase of Coolclarig opposite Tullamore. This is, I think, a very good investment. I gave 5,050£ for it. It is about 700 English acres & the rental was about £250 a year. I have now let it for £413, & by devoting the rent above 5 per cent to improvements, I shall in a few years make it a cheap farm at the advanced rent. I went all over it & viewed the new banks I have made last year & considered some projected improvements.

Friday, [September] 7th. We went over Ballyduhig & Forhane. (150) The lime quarry at Ballyduhig has answered very well. Old E. Walsh of Ballyduhig is dead & has left a heap of minors who puzzle me. Kenna & Naughten are making progress in their reclamation of the skirts of the bogs.

Saturday, [September] 8th. I went out to Ballyhaurigan with Mr Hewson, who proposes to me to finish the dwelling house he began some years since on my advancing him £200, for which he will pay 5 per cent. I saw the workhouse, which now contains only about 450 inmates, of whom 312 are orphan & deserted children. We went out to Kylebee in the afternoon. Macarthy has married. This farm is in a most satisfactory state—only four comfortable tenants & the land greatly improved & improving. We dined at Major Home's, who has married his late wife's governess. We had only the curate of Listowell.

(151) Sunday, [September] 9th. Went to church. Walked with Mr Gabbett in Ballinruddery grounds.

Monday, [September] 10th. I went over Killarida. The banks I have made for about two miles make this an agreeable, easy promenade. Much remains to be done.

Tuesday, [September] 11th. I went through Coolclarig to Tullamore & walked over that farm. We were met on our return by the news of the taking of Sebastopol & of our English repulse at the Redan.² God in his mercy grant that my dear nephew John is safe.

Wednesday, [September] 12th. I had a long visit from priest Hartnett & Mr Ambrose Madden on the disposition of the late Edmund Walsh's farm at Ballyduhig. The case is a good example of the embarrassments which are constantly arising in the management of Irish property from the quasi tenant right which the tenants are always trying to establish. (152) Edmund Walsh was a good, improving tenant of rather a superior class. He held a division of Ballyduhig first under Raymond,³ & when Supple succeeded in his lawsuit for the establishment of the prior lease of that

¹ In par. Kilshenane, bar. Clanmaurice.

² The Redan, one of the six main Russian redoubts protecting the fortress city of Sebastopol, was successfully defended against an English assault on 8 September 1855, but Sebastopol fell into Allied hands on the very next day.

³ ? James Raymond of Riversdale, Co. Kerry.

farm against Raymond, Walsh continued to hold the same division under him. He also obtained a large & valuable farm in Trieneragh⁴ upon the Locke⁵ estate. When I entered into possession of Ballyduhig, I found Walsh grown rather old, presuming much upon claims for past improvements under the middlemen, not very active with regard to new ones, and grumbling at the rent, though I reduced that he paid to Supple. When I redivided the farm after getting rid of Fealey⁶ and Neville, I enlarged his division, taking away some of his more distant fields but giving him all Fealy's division & making his a fine & compact lot. He had 99 English (153) acres of the best part of the farm, all good sowing land, at £76 a year. But he was always dissatisfied. He had got it into his head that on my succeeding he was to have the lion's share & he could not content himself. The very cheap farm he had on the Locke estate made him worse. He married late, had a young family, chiefly girls, & his wife became deranged. He fell into arrear latterly & became a very unsatisfactory tenant. He had a nephew, Ambrose Madden, a respectable, active man whom he placed great confidence in. A few months ago he died, leaving four girls & two boys, minors, the mad mother, & left a will appointing five executors & leaving his property to his children & to Ambrose Madden, share & share alike. The priest called on me two days ago, making a very pathetic & earnest appeal to me to continue the farm to the minors & adopt the will. I should (154) thus have six children represented by five executors to manage my farm. I said that this was impossible, that I must put an end to their tenancy, but that I would give the farm to Ambrose Madden, his nephew.

This is the first wet day we have had, indeed (anticipating a little), I may say the only one on this visit to my Irish property. And today was not a regular wet one, only showery & misty. We went to Derrimdaffe, a farm which I have always an interest in visiting because it was one of the first which I got into my own hands when I first visited the estates, & I can mark the improvement extending over 30 years. When I first saw it in 1822,⁷ it was a perfect illustration of the evils of middlemen's rule. It had been let by my great uncle (155) Walsh about the year 1790 at a rent of £180 on a lease for three lives, the usual tenure then. Two of them were flourishing in 1822 & may be alive now. They were two tough, strong maiden ladies about 40. Wall had never resided on the farm a bit more than I had myself. He had sublet it to about twenty occupying tenants at a rent of, I think, £250. Anything more wretched than they appeared to my eyes cannot be imagined. The idea of improving the farm was never in his head for a moment or in those of the tenants. I do not recollect how many partnerships & subdivisions there were, but altogether the holdings scarcely averaged £10 each. The farm contained 763 English or 452 Irish acres. A great portion was shallow bog & wet moor, what they call mountain land, not meaning by that hilly ground, but wild, heathery land (156) which has never been cultivated, and pasturable only for young dry stock. Stuck about in this wild, desolate tract were a number of poor cabins wherever the tenants could find ground dry enough for their potato gardens. There was some good land in the centre of the farm, some dry ground on the upper part, & a considerable extent of wet,

⁴ Trieneragh, par. Duagh, bar. Clanmaurice.

⁵ Locke.

⁶ Fealy.

⁷ In fact, 1821.

rushy fields sloping down to the river Smearlagh, on which cows yield a good deal of butter in summer, but which was useless in winter or for tillage.

I remember that I owe recovering the possession of this farm to old John Sheahan, the driver or bailiff of those days. Old Mr Gabbett, who had a leaning to the middleman system, was always very averse to bringing ejectments. Either in my first or second visit to Kerry, I was talking over the farms with Sheahan, whose Irish accent, want of teeth, & a peculiar (157) voice, or rather two voices, one a high, squeaking treble, the other a deep, guttural bass, rendered him almost unintelligible to me. We were discussing which of my farms was nearest to me, by which he meant which would soonest revert to me by the determination of the middleman's interest. 'Be dad, please your honor, I think it is Derrindaffe will be the nearest.' 'Derrindaffe, Sheahan, why there are two good lives against me that may live these 50 years'. 'Bring an ejectment, please your honor'. 'Well, if I do, there is a valuable interest in the lease & they will be sure to redeem, for the arrear is not heavy'. I have old John Sheahan before me at this moment, his bent figure, his hard, crab apple face, his small, twinkling, cunning eye, as he came closer to me, & striking his great, gnarled knotty fist upon the table he hissed out in a hoarse whisper, 'they canna redeem, they haven't the *manes*'. (158) He then went on to explain to me that Wall, an embarrassed, insolvent man, had mortgaged & incumbered the estate so deeply and to so many parties that though the profit rent of some £70 or £80 a year might be well worth the effort of any one party to retain, yet that no single individual was in a position to pay up the arrear & that they would never combine to do so. Acting on this information, I brought the ejectment, which Gabbett rather reluctantly did, & the event justified Sheahan's prediction. I recovered possession.

The tenants then [*assigned*] to me the same rents they had paid Wall, about £250, but Kane & MacMahon, the drainer & valuer I then employed, both assured me that this was much under the real value of the farm when it should be got into order. I began by dividing it into fields of about five acres (159) & dividing the farms afresh by large bounds ditches & dikes. I think the farms were 17 in number, for we did not venture to eject many of the occupying tenants. This was the first great commencement of improvement. The land was partially drained by these deep ditches (underdraining was then unknown), & they managed to till a great portion. The bogs, which were shallow, were gradually cut out & reclaimed. A great check was sustained some years after to the course of improvement when Supple, the sharp radical attorney at Tralee who had succeeded in ousting Raymond from Ballyduhig, thought he had found a flaw in our ejectment proceedings & brought a suit to recover possession for Wall. We had, I think, two trials, but we finally defeated him. The time was now come when I thought I might reasonably derive some benefit from my expenditure & improvements, & I raised (160) the rent to what it now is, a little above £400, about 12s. an acre. I must mention that I built good, comfortable cabins for almost all the farms at a cost of about £20 a cabin, to which I added barns for £15. There was a great outcry at the time, but this farm has held its own better than most during the famine years.

The next start the farm made was the introduction of thorough underdraining by Bruce, the Scotchman I brought over after my visit in 184 .⁸ Derrindaffe is, I think, peculiarly suited to benefit by thorough draining. There is a good fall, a good quality

⁸ Omission in MS, but 1844.

of land, and no deep bog. They soon found out the advantage which at first they did not comprehend. Another great means of improvement was the high road from Listowell towards Kanturk which was made through the farms & from which I made little farm roads (161) to each of the holdings. The next event in the history of the farm was the great famine, which enabled me to reduce the number of farms to eleven, giving an average of about 70 English acres & a rent of £36, a fair size for Irish farms & almost as large as in the present state of capital I could desire. During the famine I also greatly extended thorough draining, & many of the lots are nearly completed. Such is the history of Derrindaffe. It is now worth, I dare say, another £100 a year. It is rather a long story, but I am writing in a smooth passage from Kingstown to Holyhead when I am glad to have something to do. These recollections interest me & may not be without use, or will at least be curious hereafter. The thorough draining seems well done here, but I detected one of those clandestine sub-lettings & division[s] of a farm which it is the great difficulty (162) of a landlord to prevent. Old Matthew Dillane has married his son & given him half the farm.

Thursday, [September] 13th. We left Listowell early & visited Knockburrane & Lissihane in our way to Tralee. As I have told so long a story about Ballyduhig and Derrindaffe, I will not dwell on these. I found them going on well. We reached Tralee at 3 & went on in a car to Killarney, where we put up at the splendid new Railway Hotel & dined at the table d'hôte.

Friday, [September] 14th. Left Killarney at 9. Met Lord Listowell & his son Lord Ennismore⁹ at Mallow. The latter is going to join his regiment in the Crimea, having been wounded at the Alma.¹⁰ I was greatly relieved to hear from him that the Guards had not been engaged in the last attack of the Redan. (163) Mr Gabbett left me the station before the Limerick Junction. He is staying at a little place he has purchased. He is a most valuable agent & a very gentlemanlike little man. I arrived in Dublin at 5 & went to Morrison's.

Saturday, [September] 15th. Left Kingstown harbour at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8. A lovely day, like all we have had during the last fortnight. A smooth passage gives me ample time to bring up my journal, which I have done since page 151. I trust I shall get safe to London tonight by the express train, and if I do, I shall have taken just 16 days from London to visit my estates very completely & satisfactorily. I arrived at Holyhead at one, went on by the express train, & got to bed in Berkeley Square¹¹ exactly at midnight.

[Visit of 1857]

[Volume XXVIII]

(145) Sunday, [August] 23rd, [1857]. I wrote my letters. Posted in the afternoon to Tralee. Walked in the pretty grounds of the Denny family, which they keep as a sort of public promenade for the town.

Monday, [August], 24th. After the fine weather we have enjoyed the last fortnight, it was rather provoking to find this morning opened with a deluge of rain. And I also had the satisfaction to discover that my new servant Elias had brought neither

⁹ William Hare, Lord Ennismore (1833-1924), Captain, Scots Guards; succeeded his father as 3rd Earl of Listowel, 1856; created Baron Hare of Convamore in the peerage of the United Kingdom, 1869.

¹⁰ In the Battle of the Alma (20 Sept. 1854), British troops won an important victory over a large Russian force, but the victory was not pressed home.

¹¹ Sir John Benn-Walsh's town residence was at 28, Berkeley Square, West, in London.

my waterproof nor my strong shoes. Both these I found ready made here & started at about 11 for Derivrin, where I met John Trant. Since I was here young Connell is dead & Derivrin is now held by his mother. Her son the priest met (146) me & walked over the farm with me. Doolan the small farmer has done a great deal. The new division of the farm is completed between Horgan & Connor. Connor has built a good new house. We went on to Ballyrehan, where poor Maurice Quinlan died about 6 weeks ago. This farm is going on well. There is little to remark. Michael Sullivan has drained a large field adjoining Crotto. I just called en passant at Derriwhena & got to Listowell for a 7 o'clock dinner.

Tuesday, [August] 25th. A wet morning. Called on Major Holmes. Went out to Gortshanavoe & walked all over it; there has been great improvement since I was here last. The Douglas stream sunk & all the lower meadows secured from flood. And a deep bog trench cut, opening out the turf bogs & reclaiming a tract of cutout bog. The tenants here are prosperous & improving. From all I can find out from Trant and (147) O'Connor & from my own previous observations, I fear that my valued agent Matthew Gabbett has had a stroke of paralysis about February or March last. He seems to have been much out of health when last in the country in December but to have been a great deal worse early in the spring.

Wednesday, [August] 26th. A beautiful day, but very sultry. I went out to Killarida. A capital quarry of limestone has been discovered at Derrimlought by a man making a ditch. It is on the top of the rising ground above the house, & it promises to be quite inexhaustible. I began with this division, from whence I proceeded to Kiltan & walked the banks to Killarida. There has been a considerable work at Kiltan. A road made into the bog & a canal cut into it also, turf banks laid out & let to different parties. I have also taken the tract of marsh land which I recently embanked into my own hands. I got home by 5½. . . (148) I dined with Major Homes & his wife.

Thursday, [August] 27th. Rosa's¹² birthday. My pretty, dear girl is seventeen. I went to Tullamore & came home by Coolclarig. I had a serious talk with Larry Buckley about his having promised to subdivide his farm. Extensive banks have been made at Shronoun & Shronedrislig, both on the Gale & the tributary streams. I walked over all the banks and also Coolclarig & returned by seven, dead tired.

Friday, [August] 28th. I went over Derrimlought, Forhane, & Ballyduhig. Naughten has built on the latter a house much too good, one story high, at a cost of £280. These heavy expenditures cripple the tenant & are of no real service to the farm. . .

(149) Saturday, [August] 29th. I left Listowell, visited Lissihane & Knockburrane in my way to Tralee, & posted on to Killarney, where I arrived in time for the table d'hôte. I have been just six days, beautiful weather, in going through my Irish (Kerry) property and it cannot be done in less time. My days at Killarida & at Tullamore were very long & fatiguing.

Sunday, [August] 30th. I met Lord Mulgrave¹³ at the station. We travelled in the coupée to Mallow, & as we found we should have to wait three hours, we took a car

¹² Augusta Rosa Benn-Walsh (1840-1923), 2nd daughter of Sir John Benn-Walsh.

¹³ George Augustus Constantine Phipps, Lord Mulgrave (1818-90), Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia, 1858-63; Governor and Commander in Chief of Queensland, 1871-74; Governor of New Zealand, 1874-78; of Victoria, 1878-84; succeeded his father as 2nd Marquess of Normanby and 3rd Earl of Mulgrave, 1863.

& drove to Cork. He wanted to get aboard the *Titania*, which was waiting for him at Cove.

Monday, [August] 31st. . . . I went over Classis, which is now in my own hands by the death of Miss Austen, the last life in the lease. This was the last of my Irish farms where one of the old middleman long leases still (150) existed against me. The whole of my property in Cork & Kerry is now held by tenants at will deriving immediately under myself. Callaghan, a superior class of tenant, wants the old house inhabited formerly by Sweeney repaired. I went on to Ballygromans. The day oppressively hot. I walked all over the farm. Tenants all improving except Mrs Lane, who has taken another farm & neglects mine. Returned to dinner at the Imperial by seven.

Tuesday, September 1st. I went out to Fergus. Called at Inniscarra in my way, where Mr William Gabbett has lately succeeded Mr Beresford.¹⁴ He was from home. I have little to say on my progress through Fergus. The tenants are going on well & the farm improving. I agreed to allow Michael Sullivan a good new house for £50. Returned to dinner as yesterday. . . .

(151) Wednesday, [September] 2nd. I left Cork by the 10:20 a.m. Two days to visit my Cork estate & six to my Kerry are about the shortest time they can be gone over satisfactorily in. I got to Kingstown at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 & dined on board my *Amazon*. . .

Thursday, [September] 3rd. A wet morning which cleared up & we had a fine afternoon. . . . Landed about three & took a car to Gabbett's (Eversham), a pretty villa on high ground about three miles from Kingstown. I talked over all the matters connected (152) with the estate. My poor agent is perfectly clear in his intellect, his memory and faculties quite as sound & healthy as ever, but he has had evidently a severe paralytic attack. He seems to have but little use of his right hand, his whole right side is weak & failing, & I perceive a thickness of speech in some words. His wife is a pleasing, ladylike, young woman. They appear very religious. We dined at six & went to bed early.

Friday, [September] 4th. I wrote notices to quit to different tenants after breakfast & letters to Trant & Reid. Gabbett drove me down to Blackrock station in time to catch the 2 o'clock train to Dublin. I went to the bank & changed the Irish notes I had remaining for sovereigns. Walked a little about Dublin & returned to Kingstown. . . .

[Visit of 1858]

[Volume XXIX]

(186) Wednesday, [August] 25th, [1858]. We had a very good run. At 8 in the morning we were off Cork harbour. We had a long boat up the harbour against wind & tide & came to anchor at Monkstown by $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11. I went up to Cork by the railway & met Reid at the station. We took a car & went out to Grange. (187) I began this time with old Mahony's division. From thence we proceeded to John Hawkes's. This young man has lately taken another farm from an uncle. He wanted me to allow his two sisters, two handsome, well dressed, ladylike looking girls, to become the tenants of Grange. I thought this quite preposterous. I walked all over Grange with Hawkes & Magner. Curtis is out. I returned in time to catch the 6 o'clock boat &

¹⁴ Reverend William Montgomery Beresford (1817-68), 3rd son of Henry Barré Beresford of Learmount, Co. Londonderry.

brought Reid with me to sleep on board the yacht.

Thursday, [August] 26th. Left Monkstown at 9:30 with Reid. Took a car to Ballygromans. A day of business. I was all the afternoon engaged in settling the old accounts, verifying the returns made by poor Gabbett in the last rental he furnished, and opening the new accounts with the tenants in my own name. For I intend to be my own agent for this property with the assistance of Reid, who is a very intelligent, ready man. (188) My scheme is not to trust him with money or to allow him to collect the rents but to make use of him as a clerk and as a medium of communication with the tenants. I have opened an account with the Cork branch of the Bank of Ireland, and I have given positive injunctions to all the tenants to pay their rents either to the bank or to myself but to no other person. I have forbidden Reid to receive any, I have given to all the tenants new passbooks, & I have posted printed directions in the title pages enjoining them to pay only to the bank or to myself. I have been all day going over the old accounts & verifying the returns of arrears made in his last rental by poor Gabbett, which brings them down to the March gale, 1857. They seem all very fair and disposed to admit them. They turn out quite correct, with one or two trifling exceptions. I then make a heading to each account, stating the balance due according to Mr Gabbett's (189) last return, which the tenants & myself sign as admitted to be correct. We have thus a basis on which to proceed. They seem very fair and willing to come to a settlement. Even the Reverend Mr Walsh, P.P., appeared fair & reasonable & signed the acknowledgment. I got £75 from John Hawkes & £6 from Shea of Ballygromans. I could not settle with half the Ballygromans & Grange tenants, but having finished with Mr Walsh, I made a rapid march to Cork & just saved the train to Passage. I like this new plan of living on board the Amazon & doing my business very much.

Friday, [August] 27th. I started at 9:30. Met the Reverend Mr Gabbett of Inniscarra in the train. Deposited £80 at the bank. Got out to Ballygromans by $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11. I completed the settlement of Grange, Classis, & Ballygromans accounts by all the tenants. I also received payments from Magner of his September rent, £41, & from Murphy, widow Mahony's son in law & (190) successor (for she is lately dead), of £14 - part of her arrear - & he promises to pay the remainder - £21 - in a week. The tenants all seem animated by a good spirit and really come forward to pay without being pressed, for my present business is to settle their old accounts, not to press them for money, for the September gale/57 was all very punctually paid in April & the March/58 gale is not usually paid before November. But some of them have cleared up part of their old arrears, & others have paid the September gale before the usual time without being solicited. Henry Reid paid in £60 today. Hitherto, I have done quite as well or better without an agent than with one. I got home to the Amazon as before by 7 o'clock. Tomorrow is my great day at Fergus. I fear I shall not finish with them.

Saturday, [August] 28th. I left as usual at 9:30, got my letters & lodged some £50 at the bank, & arrived at (191) Fergus by 12. Very busy settling the accounts, but could not get through with all the tenants. Just saved the 6 o'clock railway.

Sunday, [August] 29th. I went to church. Went up to Cork to get my letters, but the post office was closed. Returned by the 4 o'clock. Weather seems inclined to change - it has been lovely since I left Knill.

Monday, [August] 30th. A wet or at least showery, squally day. I started as usual by the 9:30, got to Cork by 10. Here I met Dan Murphy of Ballygromans with the

arrear due on his farm, late widow Mahony's £21-18-10, which I forthwith lodged at the bank, together with the receipts of Saturday. Altogether £47. I went out to Fergus, met Reid, & finished the accounts of the tenants there. I picked up £29 from them. Altogether I have got £280 in this visit, though it is not the time for the collection of rent & my object was principally the settlement of accounts. I met Mr Maguire,¹⁵ M.P. for (192) Dungarvon,¹⁶ in the train this morning. I got to dinner at the yacht as usual by seven.

Tuesday, [August] 31st. J. Reid came at 10 & brought Callaghan, who wants to repair the ruined house at Classis if I will advance half. His estimate is £264. I promised him £100, which he said that he would consider. I went over the accounts with Reid, who promised to send me a fair copy of the rental to Listowel. I made him a present of 5£ for his extra trouble and agreed with him to act as bailiff or driver for £30 a year. He went away at one. I took an early dinner & left the yacht by the 4:30 p.m., which brought me to Cork in time for the 5:30 to Mallow & Killarney. Arrived at Killarney by nine.

Wednesday, September 1st. I left the Railway Hotel at 10 in a light, open carriage & got to Tralee by one. Took an open car to Derivrin, which I went over. The Connell who went to Australia is returned and proposes to be my tenant in his deceased brother's place. (193) Old Maurice Connell of Cloghercannon¹⁷ died a few months ago. He was one of the few old stagers who remembered my first visit to Ireland in 1822.¹⁸ He was always a good tenant while all the rest were Whiteboys. His second son will be the new tenant. I called at Pouldeehy & got to Listowel by ½ past 6. . . .

Thursday, [September] 2nd. Mr George Sandes,¹⁹ my new agent, called. It was a wet day, so we went over accounts, &c. Visited the union workhouse. It is now almost empty. Major Home called. I dined with Mr Sandes, who is newly married.

Friday, [September] 3rd. I satisfactorily arranged one of the most important of my Kerry affairs, the reletting of Tullamore demesne to a new tenant. Old Buckley, who had taken it in the height of the famine at £142, a lower rent than Julian paid, had broken my (194) rules by subdividing secretly with a younger son. I sent him a notice to quit. His eldest son, my tenant for the adjoining farm of Mount Hayes, came over to Warfield²⁰ in the spring. I offered him Tullamore for £200 if he gave up his present farm to his younger brother. This he refused. I advertized the farm & got 14 proposals ranging between £240 & £280. I balanced between a working farmer, well recommended, of the name of Dowling for £270 and a gentleman tenant, a Mr Cashell, for £260. I decided this morning for Dowling, who seems a well disposed young man & brings security for the rent. I then set Cloghercannon to young Connell at £105 in place of 94-10 & Derivrin to the Australian Connell at 100 instead of £50- -an advance of £188-10. Butter is so high now that Kerry farms are letting at high rents. I went out with Mr Sandes. We went over all Coolclarig & then visited the lime quarry at Ballyduhig.

¹⁵ John Francis Maguire (1815-72), founded *Cork Examiner*, 1841, long remained its chief editor and proprietor; four times Mayor of Cork, 1853, 1862-64; M.P. for Dungarvan, 1852-65; for Cork City, 1865-72; appointed Permanent Under Secretary of the Treasury, 1869.

¹⁶ Dungarvan.

¹⁷ ?Carriggannon, par. Kilfeighny, bar. Clanmaurice.

¹⁸ In fact, 1821.

¹⁹ George Sandes (1821-95), eldest son of John Sandes of Listowel; succeeded his uncle William Gough Sandes of Greenville, Listowel, 1873.

²⁰ Sir John Benn-Walsh's seat at Warfield Park, Bracknell, Berkshire.

(195) Saturday, [September] 4th. I went over Killarida, Kiltean, & Derimlought with Mr Sandes. On Kiltean there are some bad tenants, and two or three of the farms are small & the houses all in a cluster in a sort of village instead of being on their divisions. It is the remains of the old middleman system. My journal will record that I only succeeded in evicting Leake (the tenant under an agreement signed by my great uncle Walsh in 1794) a few years ago. I have done much to improve the farm, have made roads, opened a limestone quarry, & drained & fenced, but there is still much to do. I have a considerable sale of turf from this farm. I dined today with Major Home & met Mr George Sandes & Mr George Hewson.

Sunday, [September] 5th. Mr Sandes drove me in a little britschka to Ballybunnon,²¹ a small watering place at the mouth of the Shannon looking on the great Atlantic. It is a nice, healthy place with cold, black looking cliffs & commanding a fine view of the coast & opening of the Shannon from Kerry Head to Loup Head.²² Mrs Sandes is staying there. We took luncheon & had then a pleasant walk along the top of the cliffs. The carriage overtook us & brought us back to Listowel by $\frac{1}{2}$ past five. I had a good deal of conversation with Mr Sandes about raising the rents. He thinks the time favorable & that an advance may easily be obtained from most of them.

Monday, [September] 6th. A wet day. Mr Sandes & I made an attempt to go to Derrindaffe but were obliged to return, as it began to rain heavily. We were talking over the death of my tenant Cary,²³ who was found in the river some years ago, having left Listowel in a state of stupid intoxication late in the evening. Mr Sandes has a strong conviction that he was murdered. The explanation given at the time was that he had fallen off his horse, got up, & blundered into the river between the (197) darkness of the night & his own intoxication. But Mr Sandes thought this impossible or very improbable. The river was half a mile off & he must have made his way to it through the thick woods of Ballinruddery. It is a sort of Frank Kennedy²⁴ story. We went over the rental, & with the help of the returns of stock furnished in 1856 by Matthew Gabbett, we put a rent on all the farms. We intend to check this with one from John O'Connor & one from Trant, each separate.

Tuesday, [September] 7th. . . . The day was fine & we went all over Tullamore, beginning with Tullabeg. I walked along the new road, for which a court presentment has been obtained, at the back of Shronoun & Shronedrislig, & for which I subscribed (198) £160 this spring. It will certainly serve this farm & open out the country to Tarbert. I walked along the banks against the Gale which have been repaired this year. I saw Lawrence Buckley, who is to give up the 1st November. He made a great struggle to be allowed to stay till March. I went to a place in the lower part of Tullamore demesne where it is supposed that lime may be found. I am sinking a pit to try, but I am not very sanguine. We had a lovely day. I dined with Mr Sandes & met Major Home; Mr O'Donnell,²⁵ a brother of Sandes, an attorney in Listowel; a Mr

²¹ Ballybunnon.

²² Loop Head.

²³ Carey.

²⁴ Patrick Kennedy (1801-73), Irish miscellaneous writer; frequent contributor to *Dublin University Magazine*; best known for his *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts* (1866), an entertaining handbook of folklore.

²⁵ O'Donnell.

Brown,²⁶ a young gentleman who adjoins Tullamore & who came to me in town to try to take it; & Mr Sandes's wife's brother.

Wednesday, [September] 8th. A showery day. We went over Gortshanavoe, or Koilbee as it is generally called. This farm is wonderfully improved since it came into my hands about ten years since. Thorough draining, deepening the Douglas stream, but above all clearing (199) off in the famine years a number of bad, overcrowded tenants, have altogether effected wonders. I have no wish further to reduce the number of tenants on this farm. It is let to four: Maher, £44; Shanahan, £50; widow Connor, £90; McCarthy, 77£. In the new settings or valuations we have not altered Maher, have fixed £65 on Shanahan, £115 on widow Connor, & £100 on McCarthy, besides three labourers, £6, & the bog rents, perhaps £10. Total, £350. The old middleman's rent was £90. The tenants are all good, industrious, & improving. We finished Koilbee in time to drive to Ballyduhig & walk over it. Naughten & Kenah are here improving tenants, but Ambrose Madden has little capital & the Loughnanes are poor & their farms too small. After dinner we had in Mr O'Connor & went over the valuation of the advanced rents with him. He was, on the whole, rather higher than (200) we were. I cautioned him not to put an extreme value but one which the tenants could pay comfortably.

Thursday, [September] 9th. Derrimdaffe & Forhane were one day's work. There is not much to see upon these farms since I was over them last, except that the orphan Kirby has finished a good slated house & Paddy Molony is draining a large field very well. These two farms always interest me because they were the first I visited when I came to Kerry in 1822,²⁷ the first I got out of the middlemen's clutches & which I began to improve under the advice & direction of Kane & MacMahon. I know all the tenants & recollect their fathers, who have almost all passed away. Paddy Molony, Tim Kirby, and widow Guerin are all who now remain on Derrimdaffe. Poor Regan of Forhane is dead. John & Dennis Curtin, of the old tenants, still survive. We summoned John Trant to our councils tonight & went through the proposed rises (201) in the rents with him. He is a little higher than O'Connor in some cases & lower in others. Upon the whole, he rates the capability of the farms to support a greater number of head of cattle higher than the other.

Friday, [September] 10th. The morning was showery & I went through the accounts with Mr Sandes. It cleared up at 12 and we set out for Ballyrehan, & I finished my royal progress through my farms for the year 1858 by coming home through Lissihane & Knockburrane. The afternoon was fine. There was not much of novelty to see or to remark on these farms. Rahilly has brought into cultivation almost all the wet, rushy pasture southwest of his house. Maurice Gallivan of Ballyrehan has finished the cowhouse which was in progress last year. We walked across the bog from Lissihane to Ballyhaurigan. In the evening I went through the rentals carefully with Mr Sandes, comparing the first valuation we made with those of O'Connor & of (202) John Trant & fixing finally the advanced rent to be put upon each farm. The total amount was £5,104 against £4,271, Mr Gabbett's last return. Increase, £833. To this is to be added a few labourers' holdings, which will make it £850. I have not included the rents of the bogs or turf banks, which are yearly increasing & which amount to £100 a year, or the sums paid for taking cattle to graze

²⁶ Thomas Beale Browne (1810-88) of Ballygoughlin, Tarbert, and Salperton Park, Gloucestershire.

²⁷ In fact, 1821.

on Gurtin marsh, which will this year make £100 more.

I always used to feel that whenever I paid a visit to my Irish property (except during the awful potato famine), I gained information, gave an impulse to improvement, and generally derived some substantial advantage. I always contrasted them with my Welch [*sic*] ones, where I never seemed to make any impression. But though I always left my mark behind me, this visit, which may possibly be my last, has also been the most productive. I have every reason to be satisfied with the (203) selection of Mr George Sandes as agent. He is an active, energetic, intelligent man in the prime of life, seems a good man of business, is resident in Listowel, is thoroughly acquainted with the country, & is a good, practical agricultur[al]ist. He appears very zealous and is obliging & pleasant to deal with. I cannot of course place the same entire confidence in him that I did in poor Matthew Gabbett, but perhaps he will accomplish this work of raising the rents better than his predecessor.

Saturday, [September] 11th. I left Listowel at twelve in a two horse car & got to Tarbert in time to take the Kilrush steamer to Foynes, from whence is a railway to Limerick. I got there by 4. I might have been in Dublin by 10, but I thought it useless to tire myself, so I stopped at Cruise's²⁸ Hotel. In the evening I had a good sight of the comet just under the Great Bear. It is very distinct & is a most unmistakeable comet with a very respectable tail, but it is not above a quarter the size of that magnificent (204) one which I remember so well seeing with my beloved mother in our pretty summer tour as we were riding into Kidderminster²⁹ the night of the _____, ³⁰ 1811. Thus ends my _____³¹ visit to my Irish estates.

Sunday, [September] 12th. I left Cruise's Hotel by the 12:30 p.m., arrived at Dublin at 6, & got to Kingstown at 7, where I found Dyer & the Amazon. I dined at the club house. I travelled today with a young English officer and his newly married Irish wife, a pretty, naive creature whom he was taking to Chatham³² & who had never before been out of Ireland. Saw the comet again.

[Visit of 1859]

[Volume XXX]

(193) Sunday, [August] 14th, [1859]. A stormy, squally day. I spent the morning looking over my Irish rentals and getting up my work. Landed in the evening at a little village on the opposite side of the bay³³ & took a walk. So chilly in the evening that I lighted a fire in the main cabin.

Monday, [August] 15th. I went into Cork by the 9 o'clock boat. Hired a car & drove out to Ballygromans. Found that John Reid had not got my letter & I (194) was not expected. It was the feast of the Virgin & most of the people were at prayers. I walked round the farm. Saw Daniel Murphy's new buildings. He is a comfortable, promising tenant. He married widow Mahony's daughter & stepped into the farm. Reid joined me at his house. We returned by Shea's & Wiseman's to Callaghan's. Settled with Shea & Bradfield, the new tenant in Mrs Lane's place. Called at Classis on my way back. Got to Monkstown by eight.

²⁸ Cruise's.

²⁹ In Worcestershire.

³⁰ Omission in MS.

³¹ Omission in MS. It was the sixteenth visit.

³² In Co. Kent.

³³ Opposite Monkstown.

Tuesday, [August] 16th. I went out to Ballygromans by the 9 o'clock train. I arrived there between eleven & twelve. I went first to priest Walsh's. We settled our accounts after a good deal of political & general talk. I returned to Henry Reid's & made up the accounts of all the other tenants of Grange, Ballygromans, & Classis except Wiseman, who was from home, & Mr John Hawkes, Junior, of Grange, who did not come himself, but his father & brother appeared (195) for him, excusing him on the plea that he was out yachting with his uncle Mr Barter. I refused either to take rent or to enter into any business with them. The object of the family was to foist this lad in upon me as the tenant in place of his elder brother, who has left the farm and lives with this uncle.

I took Reid back with me to the Amazon where we had a late dinner. We went over the valuation of Grange. Hawkes's division is let for £165. The poor law valuation is £191. Reid thinks it would fetch about £220. The whole farm, he thinks, ought to bring about £730. It is now £497. I dare say that in former journals I have given the history of Grange, of the middlemen, & of the present tenants. Mr Gabbett, having evicted Mr Salkeld, the representative of the original lessee under Mr Ogle's lease of 1764, during the potato famine let the lands very much below their ordinary (196) value, as it was so difficult to get tenants at that time. The elder Hawkes was a broken down squireen quite unfit to assume any farm, but John Hawkes, Junior, was an amiable, gentlemanlike, well conducted young man, & Mr Gabbett lent to them because they were old Protestants. Since he has been tenant, he has been a very unsatisfactory one, always getting in arrear, even on this cheap taking. Last year he took another farm under an uncle (Mr Barter) & quitted Grange altogether. His father & mother, sisters, & family continued to reside there, & the great aim was to substitute either the sisters or the younger brother as nominal tenant, the father being in fact the master of the place. I find this to be quite ruinous, & I am determined to eject young Hawkes, who has in fact quitted the farm, & let it by advertisement. I got a great rise in Kerry last year & hope I shall accomplish one here in Cork.

(197) Wednesday, [August] 17th. Reid & I went out to Fergus, where we arrived about one. I went over the tenants' accounts. Mr John Hawkes, Junior, made his appearance & paid me a good portion of his rent. I told him my intention to change my tenant. He professed a wish, if that were the case, to surrender it at Michaelmas. We settled that he was to meet me at Callaghan's at Classis tomorrow. I got back to the yacht for an 8 o'clock dinner.

Thursday, [August] 18th. I went out to Classis with Reid. Settled with Mr Callaghan to allow him £100 free and £200 more at 5 per cent to repair the dwelling house & buildings. Mr John Hawkes came but we could come to no terms about the surrender. He wanted a discharge for all rent & arrears & to take all his crops. I settled with the remaining tenants of Fergus who met me at Classis. I returned with Reid to the Amazon.

(198) Friday, [August] 19th. I left Cork by the 10:20 a.m. The Amazon goes round to Kingstown. I sent a letter with full directions to Mr Fry³⁴ to draw up a notice to Hawkes. I was detained three hours in Mallow. Wrote letters to Arthur & Janey.³⁵ I arrived at Tralee by five o'clock. The railway is open from Killarney since June.

³⁴ William Fry, a Dublin solicitor.

³⁵ Lady Jane Benn-Walsh, his wife (d. 1877), youngest daughter of 6th Earl of Stamford and Warrington.

Saturday, [August] 20th. Benner's has become a detestable hotel. I trod the old beaten track which I have now so often passed. Went in a car to Derivrin, where I met Mr George Sandes & poor old John Trant. Sent William Gorham³⁶ on with the car to Listowel. Mr Sandes had his carriage. We went over Derivrin. There was little new to see. Dooling's³⁷ house is nearly finished. The great event on this farm is that Connell, the brother of the late tenant, to whom I let the farm last year on his return from Australia, has purchased the interest in a much larger one under Lord Listowel, Drummerin.³⁸ (199) He gave up Derivrin, the only instance I have ever known in all my experience of Irish landed property. We went on to Ballyrehan, Mr Sandes taking me in his carriage. All here much in statu quo. Widow Quinlan has two daughters who are the belles on my estate, fine, tall, handsome girls with beautiful figures. We went on to Knockburrane & Lissihane, which I went over, & returned through Ballyhaurigan. Got to Listowel by dinner time. The new hotel was not finished & MacElligot could not accommodate me. Mr Sandes gave me rooms in his house & was most anxious to accommodate me. His wife is a pretty, ladylike, little woman but rather shy & insipid.

Sunday, [August] 21st. After church I called upon Major & Mrs Home. He asked me to dine there Tuesday. The day was oppressively hot. I walked with Mr Sandes by the riverside opposite Ballinruddery.

(200) Monday, [August] 22nd. I went over Tullamore. Dowling is now in possession of the demesne, & I am building him a handsome range of offices. I have repaired his house & the whole will cost about £300, of which he gives £50. But I can well afford this outlay. After Mr Julian gave up the rest of the farm about 1824 he rented the demesne in his own hands at £145. When he, poor man, failed altogether in the potato famine, Larry Buckley took it at £140. I have now let it to Dowling at £270, reserving the coarse mountain to the west of the road which I have let in laborers' lots. I walked over Tullabeg, Shronedrislig, & Shronoun & then crossed over to Coolclarig, which I went through. An uncle & aunt of Mr George Sandes & his brother, an attorney, dined with us. Major Home also made up the party.

Tuesday, [August] 23rd. We went first over Coilbee, formerly called Gortshanavoe. This farm, being of (201) moderate extent, is among those which I have most completely improved. It paid £90 per annum under a middleman, & when the lease fell in, it was in a wretched condition. It is now let to four good tenants at a rent of £360. We passed through Listowel again & went over Pouldeehy & Ballyduhig. The tremendous flood last year did great damage to Pouldeehy. At Ballyduhig the fine limestone quarry is dipping so deep that it is doubtful if I can continue to work it. I dined with Major & Mrs Home. Met Mr Maclure the clergyman. After my long & hot walk, I took rather more of the major's sherry than was good for my stomach & the two together brought on a little diarrhea & stomach attack. A Mr Cheals,³⁹ a tall, handsome young Lincolnshire clergyman's son who is staying here, sang several English songs in a fine bass voice.

(202) Wednesday, [August] 24th. I felt unwell and the water closet being out of doors annoyed me still more. I remained at home till the afternoon & then drove

³⁶ A servant.

³⁷ Doolan.

³⁸ Drommurrin, par. Galey, bar. Iraghticonnor.

³⁹ William Bellingham Cheales (1836-83), 4th son of Reverend John Cheales, Vicar of Skendleby, Lincolnshire.

in Mr Sandes's open carriage to Derrimdaffe. I did not walk much over the farm, merely viewed it from the high road which traverses it, walked up a bye road to Cronin's & Kirby's farms, which they have gravelled, and saw Paddy Molony's field, which was in draining last year & which is now finished. I called at Molony's house. Saw most of the other tenants on the road.

Thursday, [August] 25th. Took 2 of Digby's mild pills, staid in bed late, & kept quiet all day. Better towards the evening.

Friday, [August] 26th. Mr Sandes had to attend a magistrates' meeting at Gunnsborough⁴⁰ relative to a piece of disputed land between Kiltean and the neighbouring townland of Ballyconry.⁴¹ (203) I took old John Trant with me on a car & went out to Killarida. Mr Sandes joined me there. I walked over Killarida, Kiltean, & Derimlought, but not so much as I have heretofore done, as I felt weak. However, by keeping to the inner part of the farms & taking the string of the bow, I saw them quite sufficiently & from a new point of view. Mr Sandes gave a dinner to his uncle & brother; Mr Cheals & Mr Hanson; Mr Smith, the inspector of police; & Mr George Hewson. In the evening Mrs Smith & Miss Sandes came in & we had some pretty music. Young Cheals has a fine voice & Mrs Smith sings prettily & is a good musician.

Saturday, [August] 27th. I have seen all my farms except Forhane & have made a pretty satisfactory visit. My little indisposition on Wednesday & Thursday made me omit Forhane & slur over Derrimdaffe, but it was not worthwhile to remain over Sunday (204) to see these when, in fact, no works have been done. So I started after breakfast & after post had come in, which brought a letter from my dear Janey. I am much satisfied with my visit & pleased with my new agent, who is a pleasant, active man in the prime of life, is a good, practical agricultur[al]ist & man of business, thoroughly understands the country, & seems very zealous. He spoke to me of an idea which was entertained of bringing Arthur forward in the Conservative interest. I arrived at Tarbert by one, took the steamer to Foynes, & reached Limerick by the railway about four. I wrote a long letter to my dearest Rosa, as it is her birthday.

Sunday, [August] 28th. I travelled to Dublin in company with Lord George Quin,⁴² a fine old gentleman of the old school. Dined at the club at Kingstown & went on board the yacht. . . .

[Visit of 1860]

[Volume XXXI]

(193) Friday, [August] 31st, [1860]. I left London by the 9:15 a.m. Holyhead express. I intended to have stopped at Holyhead & crossed tomorrow by the mid-day Mail, but I found that there were no packets except at 5 in the morning or 6 in the evening, so I crossed at once. A beautiful moonlight night & smooth sea. Got to Kingstown at 11. I staid there & took some tea at the club.

Saturday, September 1st. Too tired to start for Cork. I wrote letters till two. A wet afternoon. I went into Dublin & took up my quarters at the Bilton but came out again to Kingstown to dine at the club. I returned again to Dublin by the 9 o'clock train.

(194) Sunday, [September] 2nd. I left Dublin by the 9 o'clock. Travelled with two

⁴⁰ Gunsborough, par. Galey, bar. Iraghticonnor.

⁴¹ In par. Ballyconry, bar. Iraghticonnor.

⁴² Lord George Quin (1792-1888), of Quinsborough, Sixmilebridge, Co. Clare; 2nd son of 1st Marquess of Headfort.

foreigners, one an ecclesiastic of some kind with a flowing silk robe & a gurt⁴³ of purple & crimson travelling cap. They excited my curiosity. They were on some sort of special mission to the Irish Roman Catholic bishops, &c. They had been to the Archbishop of Cashell⁴⁴ & were going to another at Thurles. I reached Cork at 4. Took a long walk. Established myself in my old quarters at the Imperial Hotel.

Monday, [September] 3rd. Reid came in early. . . . I went out to Classis and Grange with Reid. Poor Callaghan of Classis has met with a serious accident. He was thrown from his horse upon his head & is still in a precarious state. His house is now repaired (195) and is a very respectable, comfortable residence. I went on to Grange, where Reid is now established with his family. The new range of cowstalls & barn is nearly complete. The house will require great repair. Altogether I think the repairs of Grange will cost £500. I settled with the tenants of Grange & Ballygromans, with the exception of Callaghan & priest Walsh, who is confined to his bed. I went over the demesne with Reid, who has done a good deal towards bringing the furze brakes into cultivation since he got possession at Lady Day. I broke to Magner & Curtis the unpleasant news that I intended to raise their rents. I called on Mr Lombard. Met a Major General Longfield.⁴⁵

Tuesday, [September] 4th. I went over to Grange, where I met the Fergus tenants & went through their accounts. I received a little money too from them. (196) I got £86 yesterday from the Grange & Ballygromans & £50 from the Fergus. These sums, with the lodgements at the bank, make up more than $\frac{1}{2}$ a year's rent. The only arrears now are old ones in Gabbett's time. I finished with the tenants about four & walked over Grange. Reid shewed me what he had been doing towards ridding the furze & cultivating the furze brakes. I got back again to dinner at seven.

Wednesday, [September] 5th. Beautiful weather at last. I set out about 10 & got to Inniscarra Bridge at eleven, where I met John Reid. He brought an unfavorable report of Callaghan. We got to Fergus about 12. I walked all over this large farm. It is improving, but it is divided into too small holdings. I walked first by the swampy ground I drained some years ago to the north (197) round by Michael Sullivan's, Dan Mahony's, the Byrnes, Crowleys, &c. I took four hours & more. I got back to Cork by $\frac{1}{2}$ past six & brought Reid in with me. I did some business with him tonight, preparing for the interviews with Magner & Curtis, whom I have appointed to meet me here tomorrow that we may settle the terms of an advance of their rents.

Thursday, [September] 6th. Curtis and Magner came in after breakfast, and after some parlying [*sic*] & bargaining, they finally agreed to advance their rents next March, Magner from £82 to £120 and Curtis from £160 to £225. I had before raised Mahony from £15 to £20. Total rise on these three tenants, £108. Callaghan holds a cheap division of Grange. I could do no business with him, poor man, so I must leave him for another year. I should think he must advance £25. (198) Then Reid's advance on Hawkes is £97. The total advance on Grange from Mr Matthew Gabbett's letting will be £230. After settling these advanced rents, I drove out to Ballygromans with Reid and went all over that farm. It is in a very satisfactory condition and all the divisions are improving. Shea has made a useful improvement in the upper part of his farm. He has cut a deep open drain which brings the water down from a sort of

⁴³ Girth or girt is meant.

⁴⁴ Cashel.

⁴⁵ Major-General John Longfield (1804-89) of Kilcoleman, Bandon, 2nd son of Lieutenant-Colonel John Longfield of Longueville, Mallow; brother-in-law of Reverend William Lombard.

morass or shallow pool in the upper part of his land. This will enable him to drain the sedgy moorland fields and also to irrigate the lower part of his farm.

Friday, [September] 7th. I took two Digby Walsh's pills & staid in bed till twelve. Reid came in. I made some arrangements with him regarding his repairs & took leave of him. A better account of Callaghan. It is hoped he will get over it. I took a walk by the river. An excellent French cook here.

(199) Saturday, [September] 8th. I left Cork by the 10:20 a.m. Met Mr Denman and his wife in the train. Also a gentlemanlike young Italian, a native of Rome. I wrote a long letter to Arthur while at the station at Mallow, where we had to wait three hours for the Dublin train to take us on to Killarney & Tralee. I met Colonel Haygarth & his wife. Travelled on from Killarney to Tralee in the coupée with Mr O'Connell,⁴⁶ M.P. for Tralee, a son of the great Dan. I arrived at Tralee at five & lodged at the club which I have been elected into through George Sandes. Much more comfortable than the inn.

Sunday, [September] 9th. I went with Mr Denny,⁴⁷ the brother & agent of Sir William Denny,⁴⁸ to church. A handsome church and a very good organ. Archdeacon Roon preached. My agent Mr George Sandes met me after church. He drove over from Listowel. We walked together to Oak Park, a place which his relative Mr Morris Sandes,⁴⁹ who returned from India a few years ago (200) with a large fortune, purchased from Mr Bateman.⁵⁰ He has built an exceedingly handsome mansion commanding a fine view of the bay of Tralee and the Dingle mountains. Mr Morris, and his brother Mr Stephen,⁵¹ Sandes walked up to shew me the interior. The house is not quite finished, but they hope soon to get into it. We walked with them to the old house where they live at present. I was introduced to Mrs Morris Sandes. Three brothers of this family, Morris, Faulkner,⁵² [Stephen] Sandes of Sallow Glen, all went to India & made considerable fortunes. Mr George Sandes & I walked afterwards round the private grounds of Sir Edward Denny.

Monday, [September] 10th. Two cousins of James [Kaye], daughters of Sir John and Lady Kaye,⁵³ are married lately in this county, one to Mr James Crosbie of Ballyheigh Castle,⁵⁴ the other to that Mr Faulkner Sandes.⁵⁵ They are all staying at a small house, or (201) rather cabin, which they have made tolerably comfortable, while Ballyheigh Castle is repairing. The two husbands came in shortly after. Mr James Crosbie is a very gentlemanlike, handsome young man; Mr Faulkner Sandes a sensible

⁴⁶ Daniel O'Connell (d. 1897), youngest son of 'The Liberator'; M.P., for Dundalk, 1846-47; for Tralee, 1853-63; later a Commissioner of Inland Revenue.

⁴⁷ William Denny (1811-71), 5th son of Sir Edward Denny, 3rd Bart.

⁴⁸ Meant is Sir Edward Denny, 4th Bart. (1796-1889), of Tralee Castle, Tralee; M.P. for Tralee, 1818-19.

⁴⁹ Maurice Fitzgerald Sandes (1807-79), 6th son of Thomas William Sandes of Sallow Glen; appointed Registrar of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, 1848; became Administrator General of Bengal, 1850.

⁵⁰ John Bateman (b. 1792) of Ardraville and Killeen, Tralee; M.P. for Tralee, 1837-38; unseated on petition.

⁵¹ Stephen Sandes (d. 1866), 4th son of Thomas William Sandes of Sallow Glen.

⁵² Falkiner Sandes, 8th son of Thomas William Sandes of Sallow Glen.

⁵³ Sir John Lister Lister-Kaye 2nd Bart. (1801-71), of Denby Grange, Wakefield, Yorkshire, and Coghurst Hall, Hastings, Sussex; married Matilda Arbuthnot, only daughter and heiress of George Arbuthnot, in 1824.

⁵⁴ Ballyheigh Castle.

⁵⁵ Rosa Lister-Kaye married James Crosbie in February 1860; Amelia Lister-Kaye married Falkiner Sandes in April 1860.

fair looking man about 35 or 40. He is reputed to be richer than either of his brothers. He is going out to India with his bride in November to wind up & settle their affairs in that country & will then return to settle, if he can, in Kerry. We went to see the castle which Mr James Crosbie has put into good repair and is furnishing. It is a handsome, castellated building & commands a fine view of the bay of Tralee and the chain of mountains toward Dingle & Brandon Head. The castle is just situated to the south of Kerry Head, and as it looks upon the great Atlantic, it is rather bleak; but it is a fine, bold view. The grandfather of Mr Crosbie represented the county many years, & they are of good Irish stock in these parts. The fortune was (202) much impaired by the grandfather, who built the castle, but it is still between £2,000 & £3,000 a year. I think my Kaye cousins have done well for themselves. Mrs Crosbie is rather plain but has a tall, good figure. Mrs Faulk[n]er Sandes is a middle sized, fair woman with a pleasant, lively manner.

We took leave of them about two o'clock & visited Derivrin in our way to Listowel. Here I have a new tenant in the place of Connell, who took a farm (Drummerin) under Lord Listowel. My new tenant Walsh has a character for industry. He was dispossessed by Lawrence Buckley, who bought the farm he held. He pays me £115 instead of £80, which was Connell's rent. There was little to see at Derivrin, except a new cow-stall built by John Connell, old Maurice Connell's son & successor. Mr George Sandes drove me all the way in his carriage. The inn at Listowel was not quite opened, so I (203) was again obliged to trespass on Mr & Mrs George Sandes's hospitality.

Tuesday, [September] 11th. Another fine day. I went over Killarida, Kiltan, & Derrimlought. I walked the Kiltan banks. Several fences & open drains have been made in Gurtin marsh. I got through these farms so quickly that we had time to visit the upper part of Tullamore, see Dowling's new offices, now finished, & walk over his & Tate Buckley's farms. Mr William Sandes, my agent's uncle, dined with us & Miss Sandes came in the evening.

Wednesday, [September] 12th. I went over the lower part of Tullamore & saw Dennis Sullivan's new house. I spoke to Foran of Shronoun about a murder or homicide which has lately been committed by one Fitzgerald, a farm servant of his, on a young man named Dore living with his mother in law, a widow, on Shronedrislig. It seems (204) that there was a quarrel & ill blood between Dore & Fitzgerald, & the latter followed him, who was in company with young Keefe of Inchimore, out of Listowel one dark night & killed him with a blow of a bludgeon on the head. It is a curious trait of the people that neither Keefe, who was with Dore, nor three other men, who were in Fitzgerald's company, would give any information till, the fact transpiring, they were summoned & strictly examined before a magistrate. Fitzgerald absconded & the police inspector Rooney⁵⁶ told me that Mrs Cary of Derrindaffe & other respectable people were supposed to conceal him in their houses. Everybody in Ireland is against the law & in favor of the criminal. Mr O'Donnell, stipendiary magistrate, who has married Miss Denny, the clergyman's daughter, dined with us. Also two brothers of Mr George Sandes, the attorney & one who is in the Kerry militia. I am nearly omitting to mention that from (205) Tullamore we crossed over the Gale on men's shoulders to Coolclarig, which I walked over, & saw some good fences & one new house. This farm & Killarida are those on which most is doing. I took Coilbee on my way back.

⁵⁶ Rooney.

Thursday, [September] 13th. I took rather a sudden resolve to return home, leaving three or four of the farms unvisited. They were those on which little or nothing had been done since last year. The fine weather, I saw, was leaving us & I know what rain is in Kerry. Then, although nothing could equal the kindness & attention of Mr & Mrs Sandes, yet I could not feel comfortable in their small house, more particularly as I had a little irritation in my bowels & their only commodité was out of doors. So I took leave of them after breakfast, posted to Tarbert, embarked on the steamer for Foynes, & got by rail to Limerick, where I established myself as usual at Cruise's. (206) I had less reason to regret my departure as the day turned out rainy & stormy, with every prospect of its continuance. I might easily have been detained till next week, shut up in their very confined house & unable to accomplish my object of going over the remaining townlands.

Friday, [September] 14th. It blew a hurricane all night & the day began with torrents of rain. I started by the 11:30, passed through Dublin without stopping, & took up my quarters at Kingstown. Dined at the yacht club. It has blown hard & rained all day. If it does not mend, I shall not cross tomorrow. I have been right to give up those remaining townlands, unless I had determined to remain several days, for it is quite impossible to visit farms in such weather.

[Visit of 1861]

[Volume XXXII]

(203) Friday, [August] 23rd, [1861]. I went into Cork by the 9 o'clock boat & train. Got an open car (the most unpleasant of vehicles) and arrived at Grange by 11. The day was fine. I settled the accounts of all the tenants of Grange, Classis, Ballygromans except Magner & priest Walsh. All the rents except a few trifling sums have been paid into the bank. I received £26-2. My mode of managing this estate through the bank and Reid answers entirely; as long as I can make an annual visit, it will continue to do so. Then, it must be admitted that I have great facilities here. Reid is a very clever, ready man, (204) a good accountant, and perfectly competent to act as a steward. The bank is ready to receive the tenants' money when they go to market & sell their produce. Still, my experience of this & my other estates convinces me that a gentleman of ordinary intelligence & business habits might manage a considerable estate, paying one or two bailiffs & accountants, far more economically than through gentleman agents & without taxing his time & attention more than would afford him a little healthy & agreeable occupation. I returned to dine, by the 7 o'clock train, on board the Amazon.

Saturday, [August] 24th. Another fine day. I called at the bank & went on to Grange. I paid a visit to my conceited little old parish priest Walsh & with difficulty got him to sign an agreement for that part of his farm which was annexed to his original one when Patrick Murphy was evicted. (205) He has a lease for the old taking where he resides, & this made me the more desirous that, like all the other tenants, he should sign an agreement for that portion which he holds as a tenant at will. He is a pragmatical creature, very suspicious, inclined to make every difficulty, & at last I was obliged to hint that if he would not comply with my rules, I should serve him with notice to quit. When I returned to Grange, all the Fergus tenants, fourteen in number, were there to meet me and I went through & settled all their accounts. I have received a full half year from all the tenants, & some have discharged a portion of their old arrears. I got back to the yacht by 8 o'clock.

Sunday, [August] 25th. I have found my tendon Achilles on the whole better since I came on board, & the salt water douch every morning, pouring on it out of a can, has certainly done it good. But I have had violent itching & rash in the legs & suspect some little (206) latent gout or something of that sort. As I had a quiet day, I took a dose of Digby's pills & staid in bed late. In the afternoon I sailed over to Queenstown in the gig, landed, & walked about. It is much improved since I was last there; a number of handsome houses built on the Smith Barry⁵⁷ estate. I met that Mr French,⁵⁸ the builder, who shewed me over it. I have now determined to send the yacht home & lay her up when I leave this for Kerry, which I shall do on Wednesday.

Monday, [August] 26th. A fine harvest day, the warmest we have had. I went out to Fergus, picking Reid up at Inniscarra Bridge. I walked about the farm but kept to the road on account of my leg. There is nothing new to see here, except that the road, which I made originally, has been repaired under presentment. (207) I got back to the yacht by 7. Paid Dyer in the evening. I shall come into Cork tomorrow to sleep that I may start early on Wednesday.

Tuesday, [August] 27th. I took leave of Dyer and my poor old Amazon for this year. The morning was fine & they were preparing to get under weigh on their return to Cowes⁵⁹ as soon as William Cates⁶⁰ should have left with my things. Had the weather been fine, I should have accomplished more, but I now find so much of the season passed that I do not like to keep her another ten days doing nothing while I am in Kerry. The month of September would then be far advanced & the short evenings coming. Besides, I long to see Janey & my little man.⁶¹

I went out straight to Grange and had a long conference with Callaghan of Classis. He holds 57 acres of the prime part of Grange at only 17s. per acre. Last year when I raised all the other tenants, I could not see him, as he was lying in a dangerous (208) state from a fall from his horse. He is a good tenant but a hard swearing, lying Irishman. I told him that I should expect £80 per annum or 28s. per acre, or if he did not choose to give it, I should advertize the farm. He made a piteous complaint. I gave him till Saturday. Brought Reid in with me. Slept at the Imperial.

Wednesday, [August] 28th. I left Cork by 8 & got to Tralee by 12. This is the great day of the stag hunt on Killarney for the Queen. I saw nothing of it. Found Mr George Sandes at the station. He drove me in his carriage to see Derivrin, Pouldeehy banks, & the limekiln at Ballyduhig. . . . (209) In my visits to Derivrin & Pouldeehy I remarked 1st that Walsh, the new tenant of Derivrin, had begun to improve a little. He has made two or three deep ditches & fences which will enable him to reclaim some large fields. Doolan is going on with great spirit. He has nearly built a range of cowstalls & offices adjoining his house & has reclaimed a large field of the part I gave to him at the new taking of Derivrin. John Connell, the son of poor old Maurice Connell, has built a range of outoffices & an addition to his house. It is now a very respectable farmsteading according to the country. He has also made

⁵⁷ Arthur Hugh Smith-Barry, Baron Barrymore (1843-1925), of Fota Island, Queenstown, Co. Cork and Marbury Hall, Northwich, Cheshire; M.P. for Co. Cork, 1867-74; for South Huntingdonshire, 1886-1900; created Lord Barrymore, 1902.

⁵⁸ ?Pascoe Savage French (1815-93), eldest son and heir of Thomas George French of Merino, Co. Cork.

⁵⁹ On the Isle of Wight.

⁶⁰ A servant.

⁶¹ Two of Sir John Benn-Walsh's grandchildren; Jane Grey Digby Benn-Walsh was born on 24 Aug. 1861.

some fences & open ditches in the coarse land towards Mr———⁶² which will enable him to reclaim them. At Pouldeehy the tenants have worked out the arrear by making a good bank against the Feale. Mr Sandes tells me that there is some depression in prices as compared with last year.

(210) Thursday, [August] 29th. . . . I went with Mr Sandes in his carriage first to Ballyrehan. The day was cloudy but we got off with scarce any rain. I began by widow Quinlan. The poor old woman seems to be breaking fast & in low spirits since the death of her husband. Not much new improvement on this farm, but poor Morris Quinlan⁶³ left her little to do. I went on to Knockburrane and Lissihane. Frank Connor has built a new house and improved the land a good deal. The others have not done a great deal, though Kelly & Scanlan have extended themselves a little into Lissihane bog. I went over Ballyduhig. Ambrose Madden, who has taken to Walsh's old farm, has repaired the (211) house & built good slated offices. But he has introduced a laborer into the offices against my rules. He is a struggling tenant & Mr Sandes recommends my getting rid of him. I stopped at Kenah's & took my usual cup of tea with him & his wife. Poor people, all their buoyancy and alacrity is gone. His eldest boy, a clever lad whom he called in a few years back to construe Horace & Virgil to me, thereby surely puzzling me, has become hopelessly deranged. I called at Naughten's, & we got to Listowel at $\frac{1}{2}$ past six. Dined with Mr and Mrs Sandes. She is a very good natured, rather pretty, but remarkably tiresome person. I forgot to say that I called this morning upon Major Home, who asked me to dinner on Saturday.

Friday, [August] 30th. I wrote to Emily.⁶⁴ A very fine day. I went all over Tullamore. (212) We began with Dowling, the new tenant of the demesne, who took it at £270 per annum. I walked down to the river & saw a new piece of bank. Dowling seems very reluctant to commence improvement. There is a large tract of his farm in great want of draining, but he alleges that he cannot procure men & wants me to do the whole, charging him interest. This does not suit me. At Tullabeg & the laborers' lots along the road much has been done. Ned Walsh has drained & broken up a large field. Both Brown & Madigan are building outoffices. Some good fences across the cutaway bog have been made by Moran & McMahon. Shanahan, the new tenant I have brought from Coilbee to take the whole of Inchimore at £130, has made some good fences. I walked along the banks (213) to the end of Tullamore, quite the corner of Inchimore, where Keefe's house stood. It is now levelled. We walked across Mr Foster's farm into the high road to Tarbert, where we met Mr Sandes's carriage, & got to Listowel by six. I walked a great deal today & did not feel my sinew much. I put on this morning one of those alum and soap plaisters, which I think had a good effect, but which I discontinued while on board the yacht to try the salt water douche. Dined alone at the hotel.

(214) Saturday, [August] 31st. . . . Mr Sandes & I drove by Bedford⁶⁵ to Coolclarig. He got a presentment for a new road from the lower part of Coolclarig across the Gale into Tullamore at Shronoun, and so into the new line thro' the bog to Tarbert. This is a most useful line both to Coolclarig & to all the east end of Tullamore. I

⁶² Omission in MS.

⁶³ Maurice Quinlan.

⁶⁴ Lady Katherine Emily Mary Somerset, daughter of 7th Duke of Beaufort, wife of Arthur Benn-Walsh, and daughter-in-law of Sir John Benn-Walsh.

⁶⁵ In par. Galey, bar. Iraghticonnor.

subscribed £130; the presentment was for £400, which I have taken to execute the work. It is getting on very fast & by March it will be finished. I went through Coolclarig but kept to the (215) road on account of my leg. The tenants in the upper part of this farm are doing a good deal, making fences and squaring the fields. The Magraths and Kennelly near the Gale are very supine. We went on to Coilbee. I walked over Maher's farm & went down by Connor's & Sheahan's to the lower road, where we rejoined the carriage. I have moved Shanahan to Inchimore, brought Sheahan from Inchimore here, and I have evicted the Keefes altogether. Both old Sheahan and Keefe divided their farms with their sons, so I evicted them. But I forgave Sheahan and gave him Shanahan's farm at Coilbee for £80, while I gave Shanahan the two divisions of Inchimore for £130. So I got two advances of rent, I made Inchimore one large farm, & I got rid of the Keefes who were always a turbulent, bad lot. Coilbee, alias Gortshanavoe, is a greatly (216) improved farm. I saw Connor & McCarthy but did not go to their houses or leave the carriage. I dined with Major Home at seven. A family party & some elderly Scotch ladies on a visit.

Sunday, September 1st. . . . Went to church with Mr Sandes. I remained quiet all day. Walked as far as the workhouse. About 50 more paupers than last year. Miss Fizzel, the energetic matron during the famine, has got a situation as matron to some asylum in London.

Monday, [September] 2nd. A damp, bad day, the only wet day I had during this visit to Ireland. I went with Mr Sandes (who very obligingly drives me everywhere (217) in his open caleche) to visit by old acquaintance of Derrimdaffe. As it rained every quarter of an hour, I saw but little, as I could not walk over the fields, but contented myself with calling at the different farmhouses & chatting with the tenants. I went to McCarthy, William Kirby, widow Carey, young Dillane, & my old friend Paddy Molony, now near 80. He has a little boy by his second marriage about five. The rain by this time assumed a lasting character. I sat with Paddy watching Mrs Molony and her servant preparing a firkin of butter by washing out the buttermilk. But the rain continued. We got again into the carriage & drove along the new road which has lately been completed by the county along the bottom of the farm by the banks of the Smearlagh. A valuable quarry of brownstone has been found here. I sat some time with widow Guerin, whom in my first visits to Kerry forty years ago (218) was the pretty widow Kane, the beauty of the estate. Two of her sons had come home within a few months, one from Australia, the other from the United States. A deluge of rain poured down while I was here, and I was forced to give up seeing Forhane, the only farm I have omitted this visit.

Tuesday, [September] 3rd. A fine day again. I went out to see Killarida, Kiltan, and Derrimlought. I began with Killarida, where I called on widow Ellen, & widow Tim Danaher. The latter has a fine farm of £200 a year, a steady, respectable son, & very comfortable house and buildings. I still think great improvement might be effected in the lower part of this farm inside the bank I have made along the Gale. Though protected from floods, the land continues wet and marshy. It might be rendered good grazing ground by open ditches and pipes (219) similar to those I have made on Gurtin marsh at Kiltan. I keep the grazing of Gurtin marsh in my own hands & make £100 a year. Killarida marsh is not so extensive but is richer land.

We walked from widow Tim Danaher's by a road through the bog, which brought us out into the high road a little to the west of Derrimlought. This road is the com-

munication into Ballyouneen, a small townland belonging to a Mr Studhart⁶⁶ & enclosed by Killarida, Kiltean, & the river. Mr Studhart wants that we should jointly put this road into repair. Mr Sandes thinks that if I gave him £10 and Mr S. £20, it would suffice. It would open up my bog, afford a better way into widow Danaher's, & enable her to bring lime direct from the new quarry open at Derrimlought.

Wolfe has completed a new house at Derrimlought. The walls all good limestone (220) from the quarry- -the roof, thatch. It is a very well finished house, the rooms light, the windows large, altogether very superior to the run of farmhouses. Derrimlought is a fine, compact farm with a great extent of improvable land & a limestone quarry lately found on it. Rent, £130 per annum.

I went to Kiltean along the road in the carriage. This farm is divided among far too many poor tenants- -Neville, Dillane, Tracy, Quilter, Carridan.⁶⁷ These tenants are, however, improving & doing work in banks and ditches. Several labourers have been located in the bog & along the road. I walked along my road, which poor Matthew Gabbett began, affording an ingress to Kiltean bog & Gurtin marsh. I did not go on to the marsh, as I save my weak leg all I can. We got through our work and returned to Listowel by $\frac{1}{2}$ past five. I dined with Mr Sandes & met Mr Robert Leslie,⁶⁸ Mr George (221) Hewson, Mr Sandes's brother the solicitor, and his uncle.

I have made a satisfactory visit to my Irish estates this year & everything seems going on well. By the bye, I heard from Reid that Mr Callaghan agrees to give the advanced rent of £80 for his division of Grange.

Wednesday, [September] 4th. I left Listowel at 9, met the Kelpie⁶⁹ steamer at Tarbert at 11, got to Limerick via Foynes Railway by one. Here I staid till 4, found a good account of Arthur from Emily and two Times newspapers. I took an early dinner at Cruize's & started by 4 o'clock train for Dublin. I had consulted with Sandes about my route to London & had finally settled that by far my easiest course would be to go at once down to Kingstown and sleep on board the mail packet which sailed at 7 the next morning, thus avoiding all the bore of early rising & being well over towards Holyhead before I got up in the morning. This I carried out & got on board the Ulster & procured an airy cabin all to myself before 11 o'clock.

Thursday, [September] 5th. I scarcely felt the vessel getting under weigh. Rose at 8, breakfasted in the state cabin, & when I came on deck, Holyhead was in sight. These new steamers are magnificent vessels, as large as a frigate, & make the passage in $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours. . . .

[Visit of 1864]

[Volume XXXV]

(199) Saturday, [August] 13th, [1864]. I found in the morning that Dyer had somehow missed the light at Roche's Point & taken that at the Old Head of Kinsale for it, so we had luffed up several miles to windward of our course. However, we had a wind & tide in our favor and got to our old anchorage at Monkstown, Cork Cove,

⁶⁶ Thomas Studdert (1779-1870) of Bunratty Castle, Bunratty, Co. Clare.

⁶⁷ Probably Carrigan.

⁶⁸ Robert Leslie (1825-1914) of Tarbert House, Tarbert.

⁶⁹ In Celtic mythology a kelpie is a water sprite believed to warn persons who are to be drowned or to assist in their drowning.

by 10. I went out to Grange, saw Reid, & walked with him to Magner's, who is doing something to put his house into tenantable repair.

(200) . . . Sunday, [August] 14th. I went to church. Met Kenah, who introduced me to some relations of his, resident here, with whom I dined. I had a pleasant party.

Monday, [August] 15th. I went up to Cork by the steamboat at $\frac{1}{2}$ past nine. As usual, I took an outside car and drove out to Grange by the old Macroom road. Got there by 12. I went through all the accounts of the Fergus tenants & some of the others. The only two defaulters, Mr Patrick Byrne & William Hall, paid up their rent due last Lady Day. I have got a full half year, except that Curtis's farm, (201) which was surrendered last autumn by his representatives and let again from last Lady Day to Reid's son, does not begin to pay, no rent being due from him before 29th September next. I got through my work in about three hours & had time to drive out to priest Walsh and settle his account. The little old pompous pedantic priest always rather amuses me. The weather continues to be extraordinarily fine. I got back easily to my floating home by seven o'clock.

Tuesday, [August] 16th. Another fine, hot day. Such a long drought has not been known for many years. Yet the heat has never been great on board the yacht. The thermometer seldom above 70, generally 65. I went to Cork by the 10 o'clock boat. . . .

(202) I got to Grange by 12 o'clock. I settled the accounts of the remaining tenants. Almost all have paid in full. I hope to get a few little outstanding arrears tomorrow at Fergus. I had a long talk with Mr French,⁷⁰ who has been employed by Reid to value for me the land to be taken by the Cork & Macroom Railway. This railway passes through the very best part of Grange and Ballygromans, severing the farms and doing great injury. Mr French values the damage at £1,200. The government valuator gives £953. It is a question whether we shall appeal. I got back to the yacht by six. Wrote to Janey. News of Grant's repulse at Petersburg.⁷¹

Wednesday, [August] 17th. I started by the 9 o'clock boat. Met George Kenah's relation, who is, I find, a solicitor of the name of Exham.⁷² I got a car as usual and picked up Mr Reid at the bridge at Inniscarra. We got out to Fergus by 12 & I went over the greatest part of the (203) lands. I picked up a few pounds from some of the tenants who had not quite made up their gale's rent. There is only one tenant on the whole Cork estate who has not paid a full half year's rent since March. The defaulter is Edward Lee & he, out of £50, is only about £6 behind, which he promises to pay before Christmas with his next gale. Throughout the three last bad years these tenants have paid their rent regularly, without arrear or abatement. I manage all the accounts myself with the assistance of Reid, to whom I pay £30 a year. Of all my estates this is the best and cheapest managed. The farms are gradually improving, and I have increased the rents very considerably. Met the Reverend Mr Gabbett of Inniscarra on my return. I brought Reid with me to the yacht, gave him dinner & bed, and settled some matters with him in the evening. The most important matter now in hand is the arrangement of the compensation to be paid by the Cork & Macroom Railway for the damage it does my estates.

(204) Thursday, [August] 18th. I left the Amazon by the 9 o'clock boat, with orders

⁷⁰ ?Pasco Savage French (b. 1840) of Cuskinny, Queenstown, land agent.

⁷¹ The Confederate city of Petersburg, 20 miles below Richmond, Virginia, came under siege by General U. S. Grant's Union troops beginning in mid-June 1864. An unsuccessful and costly effort to take the city was made on 30 July.

⁷² Thomas Exham of Monkstown, a solicitor in Cork City.

to proceed to Kingstown. I went by the Great Southern and Western to Mallow. Here I was delayed two hours & a half waiting for the Dublin down train to Killarney. I had some luncheon to kill the time at a splendid new hotel just built and opened. I arrived at Killarney at three, where I had to wait again an hour & a half. Mr Sandes met me at Tralee and drove me in his open carriage to Listowel. The country here is looking much greener & less parched than in Cork. Kerry is so moist, it is not easy to burn it up. Mr Sandes says butter is [at] an extraordinary price and altogether the prospects of landlords & tenants better than they have been for several years. I dined with him and Mrs Sandes.

Friday, [August] 19th. Our fine weather continues. Mr Sandes took me out in his open carriage. We drove to Tullamore. A change has taken place here. Dowling, who succeeded Larry Buckley at a rent of £270, turned (205) out a grumbling, indolent tenant, wanted an abatement of £70, & I got rid of him and let the farm to a son of widow Connor of Coilbee for £250. They are a very good family, and the young man has begun well and drained a large field. From thence I passed to Tim Buckley at Mount Hayes, who has also drained a large field. The Tullabeg tenants have gone on improving, particularly Ned Walsh, who has both drained a considerable extent of land & built a range of farm offices. Madigan & Dennis Sullivan have drained but are in arrear and in a rickety condition. At Shronoun I missed an old, well known face. Patrick Mulvihill, a fine, stalwart old Milesian, a man about my own age, died a year ago. Changes and improvements have been effected at Inchimore. I have got rid of Keefe & of Scanlan & let all Inchimore, the finest farm on the townland, to Shanahan from Coilbee, who has built an excellent house & farm buildings. A flood burst in upon this (206) part of the estate from Mr Foster's lands last year and did great damage. The boundary has now been well secured by a new bank and I hope all Tullamore is now secured against floods.

We now retraced our steps & crossed, by the new bridge over the Gale, from Shronoun to Coolclarig. Mr Sandes got a presentment for a road all through Coolclarig & Shronoun between Listowel & Tarbert. It was in progress when I was last in the country & is now complete, a great convenience and means of improvment to Coolclarig & to the higher part of Tullamore. I went over the lower part of Coolclarig. Keneley⁷³ has two daughters in California. We read a letter from one who has sent her father home £54 this year. She has written for another sister to join her, who goes out in a few days. We left the upper part of Coolclarig for another day & got back to Listowel by $\frac{1}{2}$ past six.

Saturday, [August] 20th. . . . (207) I went with Mr Sandes in the open carriage as usual. We drove by Bedford to Coolclarig and saw that part of the farm which we did not visit yesterday: Flahavan's, Connell's, widow Costello's, Curtin's, and Regan's. All these tenants have done work in draining, and Regan has built a good house & range of offices. But they are very poor & have not capital to stock their farms. Flahavan has only five cows instead of twelve. We drove from Coolclarig to Gortshanavoe, or Coilbee. Here work in the way of draining has been done by all the tenants, but Maher and Macarthy are complaining & their lands look impoverished. The three last bad years have left their mark. I dined with Mr and Mrs Sandes. Met Captain & Mrs Seagrave & Mr Brown. Captain Seagrave⁷⁴ is the stipendiary

⁷³ Probably Kenneally.

⁷⁴ Captain Thomas Segrave (1829-71), 4th son of Henry John Segrave of Cabragh House, Co. Dublin; retired from his captaincy after serving in Crimean War; became an Irish R.M., stationed first at Tralee, then at Mallow.

magistrate here. She is a very agreeable woman and sings Italian very well (208) and in good taste. She has evidently been well taught.

Sunday, [August] 21st. Went to church with Mr Sandes. A Mr McClure has the living. Mr Denny is dead. I called upon Major Home, who is just returned from Scotland. I always liked the major, a reasoning, thinking, rather slow Scotchman, fond of discussion, well informed, and a thorough political economist. . . . (209) I took a walk with Mr Sandes all through Ballinruddery, a very pleasant walk on a sunny day.

Monday, [August] 22nd. Another fine day. I went with (210) Mr Sandes to Killarida, Kiltean, & Derimlought. Very little improvement has been carried on here. It is a fine townland. The land is good and there is lime at Derimlought, inexhaustible turf bogs, sea sand brought by boats, every facility for improvement. We got home early and went over the workhouse. Mr John O'Connor, who was so much employed by Matthew Gabbett as a surveyor, has broken down as tenant for Kilmany,⁷⁵ is totally ruined, and is now Master of the workhouse. I dined with Mr and Mrs Sandes & met his two brothers.

Tuesday, [August] 23rd. Major Home called and asked me to dine with him tomorrow. Mr Sandes and I went over Derrimdaffe, Forhane, and the upper part of Ballyduhig. I have little to notice upon these farms. The tenants are generally good & solvent and have their full amount of stock on their farms. Kirby the orphan has built a handsome range of (211) cowstalls & has drained two fields. Old Kirby has given up his farm to his son. A little draining has been done by Pat Connor, ————⁷⁶ Kirby, orphan Kirby, & widow Guerin. The latter has given up her farm to her son and repents it, as she cannot get the £10 per annum he promised her. We crossed over to Forhane, fording the river. Widow Regan has built a new house, & both she and John Curtin have made a number of excellent fences. We walked across to Ballyduhig. Mr Sandes has located four labourers on the bog who have made very neat cabins & reclaimed several acres. Went through Naughten's & Loughnane's farms and got back to Listowel at half past six. I dined at the hotel, & old John Trant came and paid me a visit. Mr Sandes has got the tenants very much to improve the exterior of their farmhouses. The fronts are kept neat, enclosed with a grass plot in front & a low wall round it, and the whole fresh whitewashed. All the yards behind the houses.

(212) Wednesday, [August] 24th. . . . (213) I went with Mr Sandes to Ballyrehan. Mrs Quinlan has given up the farm to her son who has married. We called on Mr Brown,⁷⁷ a Gloucestershire gentleman who has bought Crotto & whom poor Sir William Codrington⁷⁸ asked me to give the Ballyrehan shooting to. We called at Tom Macarthy's and found his wife quite tipsy. Her youngest sister, a very handsome girl, wants to get her fortune and marry. Went through Knockburrane & Lissihane & visited Brown at Ballyduhig & the lime quarry. Brown has been transferred from Tullamore in the place of Ambrose Madden. I dined with Major Home. Only a family party, his son & daughters & a sister of his wife.

(214) Thursday, [August] 25th. It rained in the night but we have a lovely day

⁷⁵ Kilmeany, par. Knockanure, bar. Iraghticonnor.

⁷⁶ Omission in MS.

⁷⁷ Thomas Beale Browne.

⁷⁸ Sir William John Codrington (1804-84), appointed Commander in Chief of British forces in the Crimea, Nov. 1855; Governor of Gibraltar, 1859-65.

again. Mr George Hewson called and we had a long conversation about the fisheries. He told me that he [had] no claim to any several fishery along the Gale or on any of the rivers adjoining my estates. Last year he set up some such claim, but as he has abandoned it, there is no use in further discussion. These fisheries are becoming valuable.

I drove out to Derivrin with Mr Sandes & walked over the farm. Being a dry limestone, it has suffered from the drought. I tried to settle a dispute between Mrs Connell, widow of old Maurice Connell, with her son & daughter in law. It is nearly the same case as widow Guerin at Derrindaffe. Maurice Connell was my best tenant here. He was on the farm under Moriarty when I first came in 1822⁷⁹ & kept on paying his rent through good & bad times. Four or five years ago he begged me to allow him to give up the farm and stock to (215) his second son, he & his wife retaining an acre of land and the grass of a cow for their lives. I consented to this arrangement; the son got the farm from me & the stock from his father & shortly after married a handsome girl with a fortune of £160. Maurice Connell died soon after, and now the daughter in law is trying to bully the old widow out of her little jointure. Walsh of Derivrin has made some progress in reclaiming. He has drained one boggy field to the southwest & made several good fences dividing the fields. But he is a grumbling tenant. I & Mr Sandes went over Pouldeehy & Derriwhena on our return. The Costellos have sunk the boundary ditch between Mr Harenc's⁸⁰ farm & mine several feet, which enables them to drain the rich inchland of Pouldeehy. They have already drained two fields. Morris Lyons also has made some good fences on Derriwhena. (216) We got home rather late. I dined with Mr & Mrs Sandes. Met his uncle & wife. Captain & Mrs Segrave came in the evening and we had some good music.

I leave Listowel tomorrow and thus complete my visit to my Irish estates. Shall I ever see them again? God knows. Forty two years have passed since my first visit.⁸¹ I sometimes compare myself to a little king who has had a long reign. I have done much for these estates and never, I think, made any considerable mistake in their management. I am rather proud of the first steps I took when I was only three & twenty and a stranger in the country. Gabbett, though an honorable man, was very much inclined to the old middleman system which I at once broke through. I got rid of them as fast as I could and began to improve the farms. Things are going on pretty well now. The tenants are carrying on improvements for which I allow them. Their dwelling houses (217) and farm buildings are much improved. Mr Sandes is very attentive to make them keep them clean & whitewashed. The worst is that the three bad years have pressed heavily on several of them and they have not got the full dairy stock on their land.

Friday, [August] 26th. No letter from Dyer to tell me of his safe arrival at Kingstown. When I left Cork & Monkstown yesterday week, I told him to make the best of his way to Kingstown & write to me here as soon as he gets there. I ought to have heard before this. Yet the weather has been so fine & clear that there is no ground for alarm. I have a timid, anxious, apprehensive nature, always conjuring up possible misfortunes. Shall I find the Amazon tomorrow safely at anchor in Kingstown? I went with Mr Sandes to look at the butter market, which was crowded. £4 a firkin was obtained for the best quality, an enormous price. But owing to the drought

⁷⁹ In fact, 1821.

⁸⁰ Henry Benjamin Harenc of Lowndes Square, London.

⁸¹ In fact, forty-three years.

there is less butter to sell. I left Listowel at one, reached Tralee by $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3, (218) and arrived at Mallow by $\frac{1}{2}$ past six, where I had excellent accommodations in the new Railway Hotel. This is a far easier way of getting to Dublin than by Tarbert & Limerick. I find a train tomorrow at eleven.

Saturday, [August] 27th. I left Mallow at 11 and arrived at Kingstown by $\frac{1}{2}$ past five. Here I was met by Dyer; Amazon in harbour all safe. But my fidgets were not entirely without foundation. They left Cork on Monday morning in fine weather but encountered a heavy gale on Monday night, wind against them, blew hard on Tuesday, and they only got into Kingstown late Thursday evening. I dined at the club very well, as good a cook as the Travellers'⁸²

[concluded]

⁸² A London club.