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### CENTRE FOR ECONOMIC RESEARCH

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### On the Sherlocks, Jane Coleman and County Kildare in the Eighteen Forties

Desmond Norton, University College Dublin

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### DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS UNIVERSITY COLLEGE DUBLIN BELFIELD DUBLIN 4

ON THE SHERLOCKS, JANE COLEMAN AND COUNTY KILDARE IN THE EIGHTEEN FORTIES

Desmond Norton

In the late 1980s and early 1990s the author acquired about 30,000 letters written mainly in the 1840s. These pertained to estates throughout Ireland managed by the firm of James Robert Stewart and Joseph Kincaid, hereafter denoted SK. Until the letters - called the SK correspondence in what follows - became the author's property, they had not seen light of day since the 1840s. Addressed mainly to the firm's office in Dublin, they were written by landlords, tenants, the partners in SK, local agents, etc. After about 200 years in operation as a land agency, the firm in which members of the Stewart family were the principal partners - Messrs J. R. Stewart & Son(s) from the mid-1880s onwards - ceased operations in the mid-1980s.

Since 1994 the author has been researching the SK correspondence of the 1840s. It gives many new insights into economic and social conditions in Ireland during the decade of the great famine, and into the operation of Ireland's most important land agency during those years. It is intended ultimately to publish details on several of the estates managed by SK in a study more comprehensive than the present article, in book form. The proposed title is Landlords, tenants, famine: business of an Irish land agency in the 1840s, a draft of which has now been completed. A majority of the letters in that study are on themes some of which one might expect: rents, distraint (seizure of assets in lieu of rent); 'voluntary' surrender of land in return for 'compensation' upon quitting quietly; formal ejectment (a matter of last resort on estates managed by SK); landlordassisted emigration (on a scale much more extensive than most historians of Ireland in the 1840s appear to believe); petitions from tenants; complaints by tenants, both about other tenants and about local agents; landlord-financed and other relief of distress both before and during the great famine; major works of improvement (on almost all of the estates managed by SK which have been investigated in detail in the draft book); applications by SK, on behalf of landlords, for government loans to finance improvements; recommendations of agricultural advisers hired by Thus, most of the SK correspondence is about aspects SK, etc. of estate management. But the firm of SK was not only a manager of land.

The correspondence reveals only two estates in Kildare, each of them relatively small, managed by SK in the 1840s. These were the lands of the Sherlocks near Naas and of Jane Coleman in the Kilcullen district. The correspondence on these properties differs substantively from most of those discussed in detail in the draft of *Landlords*, *tenants*, *famine*: first, it is relatively small in quantity, and secondly, it contains relatively little on the core aspects of estate management indicated above. Much of that on the Sherlocks focuses on misfortunes among family members, while the correspondence on Jane Coleman highlights the benevolence of that proprietor.

### The Sherlocks

In the early 1840s William R. Sherlock owned at least 867 statute acres near Naas in Co Kildare. These included most of the townlands of Prospect, Sherlockstown and Sherlockstown Common<sup>1</sup>. Both the Grand Canal and the Great Southern and Western Railway cut through the latter townland. It seems that Sherlock also owned or leased land elsewhere in the district. He resided on the estate at 'the handsome modern mansion'<sup>2</sup> called Sherlockstown House, which still stands. Sherlock's forebears had been associated with Co Kildare for several centuries: in 1299 'the family of Sherlock had been long enough resident in Kildare to give their name to the townland which is still known as Sherlockstown'. Several of the Sherlocks were members for Naas in the old Irish parliament. William R. Sherlock was a blood relative of the Pakenhams (the Lords Longford) of Pakenham Hall (today named Tullvnally Castle) in Westmeath by virtue of the marriage of his grandfather to one of that family. His father, who married Matilda Singleton in 1807, sat in the Irish parliament in 1799. The firm of SK were agents for William R. Sherlock's Kildare estate from the 1830s or before: this is indicated by the Tithe Applotment Book (Barony of North Naas) of circa  $1830^3$ .

The SK correspondence contains some letters from Sherlock's tenants. However, these are of relatively little interest in comparison with other communications pertaining to the Sherlock family: the latter indicate an unusually close relationship between the Sherlock family and SK. It can reasonably be said in regard to the Sherlocks that in the 1840s the firm of SK was at least as much engaged in management of personal affairs as it was involved in management of their Kildare estate. SK's involvement in such personal affairs is the main focus in what immediately follows.

The correspondence provides no definite evidence that William R. Sherlock ever married. He had no recorded children<sup>4</sup>. He had two brothers, Richard Thomas, and Frank. The early 1840s were unfortunate for the three male Sherlocks: each of them died as young men between December 1840 and May 1843. Furthermore, William was confined to the Sheriff's Prison in Dublin, and was deemed a lunatic<sup>5</sup>, shortly before his death. The earliest letter pertaining to the Sherlocks in the SK correspondence is dated 20 February 1841. This was written from Bath in England by a person named Francis Walker, and it enclosed a 'receipt for half a year's Interest due me [Walker] by the Trustees of Sherlock Esq on the 10th Inst amt £150'. Thus, the Sherlock estate had to pay Walker interest of £300 annually: this reflected a claim against the estate of a principal which amounted to about £6,000. Several similar letters from Walker followed in the period up to October 1848. The loan was probably negotiated by SK: a letter of December 1842 indicates that another of SK's clients, the third Viscount Palmerston, also borrowed from Walker.

In May 1841 Sherlock was confined to the Sheriff's Prison, probably for debt. He was then both physically and mentally ill. Letters of January 1842 to SK, from Dr Walsh of Naas, indicate that a bill of exchange (akin to a post-dated cheque) for £50-10-0, which had been accepted (signed) by Sherlock, remained dishonoured. Similarly, on 25 March 1842 a person named Pierce Doyle wrote from Sherlockstown to Kincaid complaining that a bill of exchange which he held, and which had been accepted by Sherlock in payment for goods delivered, had been dishonoured. Doyle pleaded with Kincaid to arrange settlement. Referring to Sherlock on 1 June 1841, William Harty, physician to prisons in Dublin<sup>6</sup>, reported to Kincaid: 'I [today]... paid our friend a visit at the Sheriff's Prison, where he is <u>now</u> sober & under strict surveillance with two keepers in attendance .... I went to the Prison last night, found him grossly drunk & [I] kicked up such a row with the Governor & turnkeys for permitting such scenes in the Prison that matters were today speedily redressed & he is now in a comfortable apartment in the Infirmary corridor'.

William Sherlock was a violent prisoner. On 28 June 1841 Harty wrote to SK that 'the Bearer Michael Reilly was Mr Sherlock's attendant in the Sheriff's Prison, whose health has seriously suffered by Mr Sherlock's violence .... He was useful in assisting the two men I had placed over Mr S'. Referring to Reilly in a second letter dated 28 June, Harty informed Kincaid: 'As I promised him remuneration for his special attention to Mr S. at night (before the men were placed over him) with a view to keeping Mr S. as sober as possible, I will with your concurrence let him have 10/- more & think him at the same time entitled to compensation from Mr S. for the injuries he has sustained'.

SK paid Sherlock's legal and medical bills. On 28 July 1841 Richard Meade, a Dublin solicitor, wrote to Kincaid: 'Upon examining the probable expense of ... the ... inquiry agst Mr Sherlock I apprehend they will fall very little short of £100'. On 24 November 1841 the firm of Anderson and Adams at Grafton St in Dublin informed SK: 'We are supplying Mr Sherlock (at present in the Sheriff's Prison) with medicine, and we will consider you accountable for the same'. Whether SK received bills for the alcohol supplied to Sherlock while in prison is unknown.

On 2 February 1842 Stewart wrote to Kincaid: 'Dr M Collis<sup>7</sup> ... mentioned that Poor Wm Sherlock had been very ill indeed & scarcely takes any nourishment ... & seems anxious if we can so manage to have him moved [from prison] .... You may be able to get him out by paying the old detainers. There would be no trouble in taking charge of him now in his present weak state if the wife can be kept away but she will become restive when she loses the £10 a week. I really fear that the poor fellow will sink under it if we don't manage to get him moved before long'. The reference to 'the wife' should not be taken as definite evidence that William had once married. In all other cases in the SK correspondence, letters to or from SK refer to the spouses of the firm's clients in a respectful manner; those which refer Stewart's reference to 'the wife' to mistresses are subtle. seems to have been to a mistress.

William Sherlock was free from prison early in February 1842. SK assigned him to the care of a Mrs Ormsby in Kingstown, Co Dublin, who seems to have negotiated £12 per month in remuneration<sup>8</sup>. J. W. Swan, MD, resided close to Mrs Ormsby. He attended to some of Sherlock's medical needs, and acted in other capacities on behalf of SK. On 24 February 1842 he wrote to Stewart: 'Poor Sherlock is ... much worse than I had any idea of. He is but skin and bone .... He has a severe cough and his strength completely gone'.

On 18 March, Mrs Ormsby wrote to Kincaid: 'Will you be kind enough to send out a few bottles of Port wine today for Mr Sherlock. I have still four bottles of the Sherry which you sent before but he prefers Port and will not drink any but Kinnahans<sup>9</sup>. I did not know the last decanter I sent up was drunk when Mr Sherlock sent down for more and ... I tried to get the best in Kingstown for him. He instantly perceived it was not Kinnahans and said he could drink no other .... Mrs [Matilda] Sherlock [William's mother] dined with him the day before yesterday. He has not been out of bed for three days. The easy chair came safely but he has never sat in it'.

On 5 March 1842 Dr Swan wrote to Kincaid indicating that the Ormsbys would soon be leaving Kingstown, and he added that 'in the result of your wishing Mr Sherlock to continue in this neighbourhood I should have time to look out for a suitable place for him to reside in .... I fear that his right lung is already extensively diseased .... He has not evinced the slightest disposition to drink more than he should'. Swan did find new lodgings for Sherlock, and on 14 March he requested Kincaid to come to inspect the place.

The foregoing details indicate that following Sherlock's release from prison, SK tried to make his life as comfortable as possible. But he was dead before the end of May 1842<sup>10</sup>.

It does not seem that William Sherlock's mother, Matilda, resided at Sherlockstown House at any stage during the 1840s; rather, along with her daughter Kitty, she lived at 17 Warrington Place, along the banks of the Grand Canal, between Lower Mount St and Upper Mount St in Dublin. She had been at this address since 1836<sup>11</sup>. For the period during which Sherlock was in prison, Pierce Doyle acted as caretaker of Sherlockstown House. On 4 October 1841 he reported to Kincaid: 'Mrs [Matilda] Sherlock is about to take some things out of Sherlockstown House. Before they are taken I wish you to know'.

In 1842-48 the lands of the Sherlock estate were rented by various tenants. SK supervised some improvements. Thus, on 29 May 1843 B. Murta of Sallins sent SK a proposal for 'scouring and cleaning up all the ditches and drains ... in the bottoms of Sherlockstown ... to draw off the water from them ... and also to scour and sink ... the River Morral'. The proposed improvements appear to have been implemented<sup>12</sup>. In 1845 there were dangers that construction of the railway would damage the estate. Thus, on 3 February, John Mitchell wrote on behalf of his father James (an important tenant), informing SK that 'they contractors has commenced they railroad at Sherlockstown. The[y] had a great deal of men working last week .... They damage will be very great .... Mr Kincaid asked me ... did we get any notice and to let him know when we would. We have received no notice'. In March 1846 James Mitchell complained to SK that because it divided his farm, construction of the railway was causing problems of access to part of the land which he rented. It seems that his complaint was ineffective: today there is no evidence of a pass under the railway at Sherlockstown Common<sup>13</sup>.

SK offered to rent Sherlockstown House to the railway contractors for use as offices, workshops and stables. Ireland's great builder of railways, William Dargan, fortunately declined. On 22 February 1845 he wrote to Kincaid: 'I do not require Sherlockstown House, indeed it is too good for our business, and would no doubt be injured by our occupation'. It seems that SK advertised the letting of Sherlockstown House in May 1845<sup>14</sup>.

As already indicated, Richard Thomas Sherlock was William R. Sherlock's brother. Richard emigrated to Canada, probably in the early 1830s. He visited Ireland in the autumn of 1840. In this context, a letter to Kincaid dated 17 April 1841, from Thomas Daniell at Carrickmacross in Monaghan, reported: 'I received a letter from my son from Toronto in which he states that he remitted a sum of £20 by the hands of ... Richard T. Sherlock who was coming to Dublin in September last, who states he directed his agent ... Kincaid Esq're ... to send to me enclosed in a letter sent with him by my son .... If you have the money will you ... give it to Charles C Gibson Esq're [an attorney] 122 Lower Gardiner St Dublin who will forward it to me. The £20 sought by Daniell remained unpaid in June 1843<sup>15</sup>.

Richard was on close terms with Kincaid and his family. On 22 April 1841 Richard wrote to him from Seneca, Grand River (about 60 miles from Toronto), as follows:

We have great hopes of a war with the United S. on account of the affair of Mc Leod<sup>16</sup>. I am living entirely on the hope as I shall then have a chance of some employment. I wrote to the Governor since I came [back here] from Ireland stating that I was not particular but would be thankful for any thing [i. e. work] but have received no answer .... I suppose that William [Richard's brother, discussed above] is as usual and that he has almost run the length of his string by this time. I expect to see Frank [Richard's other brother, mentioned again below] some of these days if there should not be a war with America .... If you have any influence with our She Queen (as the Indians call her Majesty) ... persuade her to give the Yankeys a good beating.

Frank Sherlock, an army lieutenant, was in fact dead when these lines were written. A letter from the War Office, 13 March 1841, indicates that he died in Jamaica of yellow fever on Christmas Day, 1840<sup>17</sup>. Frank's death helped to improve Richard's finances. On 31 September 1841 he wrote to Kincaid from 'the Bank' in Toronto: 'I have this day drawn on you for £200 part of the four hundred which will be coming to me on Franks account'.

Richard Sherlock did not survive for long after the death of his two brothers, William and Frank. On 13 June 1843 his uncle, Col. Francis Sherlock, wrote from England to Kincaid:

I was truly sorry to hear of the melancholy death of my poor nephew Richard, and of the distressing state in which it must have left his widow and infant children, coming so totally unexpected on them. Poor Mrs [Matilda] Sherlock has had many severe trials of late years, and now the melancholy death of her only surviving son in a distant country and leaving a widow and infant children about soon to be added to ... must occasion her much anxiety. I suppose Mrs R Sherlock's family are residing in her neighbourhood, as I understand he [Richard] married a young lady of a family that had left England in order to settle in Upper Canada where he became acquainted with her.

The person who Richard Thomas Sherlock had married (in 1835) was

a daughter of Thomas Galer, late of Naughton Hall, near Ipswich in England<sup>18</sup>. This property being heavily mortgaged, Galer had sold it and settled at Seneca in Canada. On 6 November 1844 Galer wrote from Seneca to 'Mrs RT Sherlock' at 16 Haddington Road in Dublin. (Note that this address is very close to Warrington Place, where Matilda Sherlock, the mother of the late Richard, resided). Galer's letter enquired: 'As administrator for Mr [R. T.] Sherlocks property in Canada, I would wish you to send me word how I am to proceed with the Creditors here .... There are between three and four hundred Pounds Standing Debts here'. Mrs R. T. Sherlock passed this letter on to SK, which firm presumably advised on the matter.

The most substantive claims against the property of the late Richard T. Sherlock were those by Mr Daniell of Toronto, son of Thomas Daniell of Carrickmacross in Monaghan (mentioned earlier in the present section) who, as was stated in a letter of November 1846, had paid 'a considerable sum as security for the deceased Mr [R. T.] Sherlock'. It can be inferred that the gross assets in Canada of the late Richard Sherlock were inadequate to settle the claims of the younger Daniell in Toronto, who responded by making claims against the Sherlockstown estate<sup>19</sup>.

Richard Thomas Sherlock's eldest son, who was born in Canada in 1836, was named William. The passages immediately above suggest that his mother brought him to Haddington Rd in Dublin shortly after his father's death. Dublin Directories of 1845 and 1846 list 'Mrs Sherlock' at 16 Haddington  $Rd^{20}$ . Where she and her son William resided during the next few years is uncertain. However, this William inherited all or most of the Sherlockstown estate. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and became a Church of Ireland clergyman. In 1860 he married a daughter of the aforementioned Col. Francis Sherlock (brother of the father of William R. Sherlock) of Southwell, Nottinghamshire, in England. Thus, he married one of his cousins. Having earlier been Canon of Christ Church, in 1888 he became the vicar of Clane<sup>21</sup>. In 1893 he was listed as resident at Sherlockstown House. Α publication of 1876 lists him as owner of 1,202 acres of land in Kildare<sup>22</sup>.

The Dublin *Directory* for 1816 lists Col. Sherlock at Lower Mount St, Dublin, and at Sherlockstown. The SK correspondence does not indicate when he moved to England. However, he was in the 1840s in receipt of income from the Sherlockstown estate. Thus, on 6 October 1843 he wrote to Kincaid stating that he would be 'obliged by your looking over my account and transmitting the balance to Hopkinson's' (London bankers<sup>23</sup>). He died in January 1848. Most of the subsequent letters related to Sherlockstown in the SK correspondence are from his widow Emma Sherlock.

Following the death of Col. Sherlock, Emma Sherlock quickly turned her mind to matters of business. On 1 February 1848 she

#### wrote from Southwell to Stewart:

My Dear Husband ... has left us all very comfortably provided for .... I wish to call in the twelve hundred pounds from Lord Palmerston [which loan was presumably arranged by SK] & I shall be obliged to you to have the necessary notice conveyed to him .... I also wished to consult you & Mr Kincaid on the subject of the Grand Canal Debentures. I should like to dispose of them .... My poor Husband was always anxious that I should bring all his money matters to England .... There is one half year's annuity due on Sherlock's Town, besides the different Interests which have been accruing since the last settlement.

Payment of the annuity on Sherlockstown ceased with the death of Col. Sherlock<sup>24</sup>. This consideration, combined with the fact that Emma Sherlock sought to liquidate her assets in Ireland, came close to breaking the link between the Sherlocks of Southwell in England, and Sherlockstown in Co Kildare. In a letter to Kincaid dated 3 August 1848, Emma Sherlock stated that she and her children wanted 'to have all our affairs concentrated [in England] as we are not likely ever to visit Ireland'. But the link with Sherlockstown did not end in the late 1840s: as already indicated, in 1860, a daughter of Col. Francis Sherlock and Emma Sherlock, married Richard Thomas Sherlock's eldest son William, who inherited the estate in Co Kildare. That daughter came to Ireland and lived at Sherlockstown House.

William Sherlock, the vicar of Clane, had four daughters. When one of them, Grace, died in 1953, the estate was sold and passed out of Sherlock hands<sup>25</sup>.

In the SK correspondence, letters pertaining to the Sherlocks are different in general content from those on each of the other estates investigated in detail from the SK correspondence. They contain little about collection of rents, nothing about distraint or ejectment, nothing about the famine<sup>26</sup> or landlord-assisted emigration and very little about estate improvements. However, they do illustrate an observation made earlier above: that the firm of SK was not only a manager of land.

### The Benevolent Jane Coleman

The surviving SK files on Miss Jane Coleman and her Irish estate are even more thin thin than those on the Sherlocks. Some of the earliest letters which refer to her in the SK correspondence are about her contributions for famine relief in Co Kerry. Apparently, these pertained to localized failure of the potato, a few years before the great famine (which followed widespread failure of the potato throughout Ireland in the autumn of 1845). Thus, it was presumably following a poor potato harvest in the autumn of 1841 that Charles Gayer<sup>27</sup>, a Church of Ireland clergyman at Dingle, wrote to SK in March 1842 confirming a gift of £50 [probably the equivalent of about £5,000 at the beginning of the twenty first century] from Miss Coleman. Gayer again wrote to SK on 8 May 1842, referring to 'the receipt of your favor containing nineteen pounds ten shillings from Miss Jane Coleman .... If you can collect anything for our <u>Starving</u> people pray do .... We are selling out meal, but it is only a drop in th<u>e Sea</u>. The people are really dying from want of food'. Finally, on 3 August 1843 Gayer wrote to Kincaid 'to acknowledge the safe arrival of your note with the £20 from Miss Coleman .... The famine is nearly over'. Other examples of localized failures of the potato in the early 1840s could be cited from the SK correspondence. Note that it is very unlikely that Jane Coleman owned any land in Kerry or that she ever visited Dingle. In part, her contributions to Gayer probably reflected Gayer's missionary zeal combined with the fact that she was a subscriber to the Irish Trinitarian Bible Society, the objectives of which included 'salvation ... by circulating ... Holy Scriptures' 28.

Although Jane Coleman's lands were in the Kilcullen district of Kildare, in the 1840s she resided in England. Her relatively small number of tenants, most of whom probably operated on fairly large holdings, appear to have engaged mainly in cattle and grain production. The SK correspondence suggests that their rent payments were frequently in arrears. One of them, Richard Doyle of Grangebeg townland, wrote to SK on 2 January 1843: 'Was it not for the deplorable Change that has taken place in the price of Cattle Corn &c I would now be able to pay the May [1842] Rents'. Promising to 'pay all up' at the time of the next harvest in the autumn of 1843, he added that he 'must again beg that kind indulgence my family have at all times experienced at your hands'. Doyle was still in the red on 20 October 1843 when he informed SK that 'for the May half year I must beg your kind indulgence until the 1st of next May [1844] when I will pay it without fail'. Some of Miss Coleman's tenants were in difficulty in the autumn of 1844 when, on 12 October, one of them on Adamstown townland near Kilcullen wrote to SK: 'We have been noticed [to meet a representative of SK] for the rent .... Ιf ... yous would forbear a Month longer it would ... be a great acquition [acquisition] to the Tenantry for if the[y] be compelled to sell the Corn at this time they will sustain a Great loss as Markets in this Country at this time is remarkably bad and they people thinks the [y] can not remain so much longer'. In the same hand, this letter was signed in the names of William Dowling, William Bermingham, Patrick McDonald and Thomas Bermingham. Upon its receipt in Dublin, J. R. Stewart entered on it the manuscript instruction: 'These may be put off for a few weeks'.

John Burtchell of 'Liffey Bank', Kilcullen, was perhaps the most prosperous of Miss Coleman's tenants. He was also active in local affairs. On 20 June 1846 - at an early stage of the great famine - he wrote to SK in an educated hand:

As Secretary to the Kilcullan Local Relief Committee I beg to inform you that by order of his Grace the Duke of Leinster, Lieutenant of this Co. there was a relief committee formed and a Public Meeting held in this town on Monday the 15<sup>th</sup> Inst. For the purpose of adopting measures for the relief of the poor in this district - Wm. Carter D. L. [JP, Castlemartin] in the Chair - It was resolved that the Secretary should solicit Subscriptions from the Landlords and Gentry of the Neighbourhood to enable the Committee to purchase ... Meal to sell to the poor deserving labourer at first cost price, & to distribute gratuitously to those who are totally destitute and for whom there is no room at the Work House. In transmitting the above resolution may I take the liberty of requesting you will be so kind as to have it laid before Miss Coleman who has ... subscribed on former occasions.

Some weeks later - on 12 August 1846 - Burtchell again wrote to SK: 'Being informed that Miss Coleman is a Subscriber to the Kilcullen Fever Hospital and Dispensary, and as there is a probability of there being an election of a Medical Superintendent very shortly, perhaps Miss Coleman would grant me the privilege of voting at the election as her proxy'. It seems that Burtchell was acceptably up-to-date in his rent payments: on 28 October 1846 he sent SK 'the half year's rent due to Miss Coleman on the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 1846'.

Jane Coleman's contributions for relief of famine conditions in Kerry during 1842 have already been noted. A letter dated 14 June 1842 from Rev William Sherrard of Old Kilcullen Glebe, addressed to SK 'for the Misses Coleman' refers to simultaneous destitution, 'which prevails to an alarming extent' in his own Sherrard was then treasurer of the relief committee district. at Kilcullen, and he requested a response in regard to financial aid to be sent to the committee's secretary, a Mr Delany at Kilcullen. Letters from Sherrard to SK, December 1842 and December 1843, refer to Jane Coleman's subscriptions to the fever hospital at Kilcullen. Another letter to SK from the same writer, December 1846, refers to her 'liberal donation of Five pounds in addition to her annual subscription' to the hospital. A letter from Dr William Shaw, March 1846, refers to her annual subscription to the Dunlavin dispensary, and а further communication from Sherrard, December 1848, confirms receipt of a donation from Miss Coleman to the Kilcullan dispensary. Α letter of May 1846 indicates that she contributed towards rebuilding a school at Fenagh in Carlow.

Jane Coleman left management of her affairs in Ireland largely to SK's discretion. The SK correspondence indicates no threats of ejectment from her lands; but note that the sample of letters which refer to her property is relatively small. Similar observations apply to letters pertaining to other estates, not investigated in detail in the draft of *Landlords*, *tenants*, *famine*, for which SK were agents. One such estate was that of the Sherlocks, briefly discussed above.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I thank the Graduate School of Business at UCD for financial support in the larger project from which this article is drawn. Unless otherwise indicated, the documents mentioned are in my possession and may be inspected by researchers.

### REFERENCES

1. County of Kildare, Valuation ... Union of Naas (Dublin, 1853), p 157, lists the representatives of William Sherlock as immediate lessors of these lands.

2. This detail, and those which immediately follow, are drawn from Bernard Burke, *Dictionary of the peerage and baronetage of the British empire* (London, 1864), p 697; Thomas Bushe to SK, 6 December 1843; Isaac D'Olier to SK, 24 May 1841; J. F. M. Ffrench, 'Notes on the family of Sherlock', *Journal of the Co. Kildare archaeological society*, II, (1896-99), p 34; Samuel Lewis, *A topographical dictionary of Ireland*, *volume II* (London, 1837), p 553; Dan O'Leary, 'The Sherlocks of Kildare', typescript (n. d.).

3. I thank Caroline Navagh of the Kildare County Library at Newbridge for sending me copies of some pages in this book.

4. Dan O'Leary, 'The Sherlocks of Kildare', p 7.

5. Francis Walker to SK, 8 November 1841.

6. Pettigrew and Oulton, The Dublin almanac ... 1842, p 259.

7. Maurice Collis, listed as surgeon at Merrion Square in Pettigrew and Oulton, *The Dublin almanac ... 1842*, p 435.

8. C. M. Ormsby to J. W. Swan, 11 February 1842.

9. Kinahan, Sons, and Smyth, wine merchants in Dublin.

10. Thomas Bushe to SK, 31 May 1842.

11. Wilson's Dublin directory ... 1816, p 35, lists Col. Sherlock at 32 Lower Mount St, Dublin, and Sherlockstown. It also lists Mrs M. Sherlock at Stephen's Green. She was still listed at that address in the *Directory* for 1820. The *Directory* for 1826, p 38, and that for 1830, p 37, lists Mrs Sherlock at 46 Lower Mount St. The *Directory* for 1837, p 225, indicates that she had left Lower Mount St and had moved into a newly built house nearby, at 17 Warrington Place. Pettigrew and Oulton, *The Dublin almanac* ... 1849, p 835, lists Matilda Sherlock at 17 Warrington Place.

12. John Mitchell to SK, 2 July 1843.

13. I thank Heinz Eggert, manager of the farm at Sherlockstown House, for allowing me to inspect those lands.

14. Terry, Seymour & Webb, solrs., to SK, 3 May 1845.

15. C. Sherlock (William Sherlock's sister) to Kincaid, n. d. June 1843.

16. For details of the Mc Leod case see Richard Morris, *Encyclopaedia of American History* (New York, 1976), p 216.

17. J. Lawrie to Mrs Matilda Sherlock, 20 July 1841.

18. Dan O'Leary, 'The Sherlocks of Kildare', p 7. O'Leary states that R. T. Sherlock's wife was named Emma. I do not refer to her by this name, in order to avoid confusion with Emma, wife of Col. Francis Sherlock.

19. Thomas Galer to Mrs R. T. Sherlock, 6 November 1844; H. Keenan (American agent at Carrickmacross) to SK, 27 November 1846.

20. Pettigrew and Oulton, *The Dublin almanac ... 1845*, p 722, and that for 1846, p 735.

21. Canon Sherlock was author of 'Notes on the parish of Clane', *Journal of the Co. Kildare Archaeological Society*, I (1891-95), pp 25-33, and 'Further notes on the history and antiquities of the parish of Clane', in the same journal, IV (1903-05), pp 35-46.

22. Edward Walford, The county families of the United Kingdom (London, 1893), p 920; Return of owners of land ... in Ireland (Dublin, 1876), p 33.

23. I. Slater, National commercial directory of Ireland

(Manchester and London, 1846), section on bankers, p 1.

24. Emma Sherlock to Kincaid, 8 February 1848.

25. Dan O'Leary, 'Sherlockstown', typescript (n. d.). I thank Mr O'Leary for giving me a copy of this document and for a copy of his undated typescript 'The Sherlocks of Kildare'.

26. The Sherlockstown estate was in the barony of North Naas. The impact of the famine in that district may have been less severe than elsewhere in Kildare. See *Lest we forget Kildare and the great famine* (Kildare County Council, n. d., 1996?), p 11.

27. I thank Monsignor O Fiannachta of Dingle for information on Gayer. Following the death of his wife in 1846, he died in 1848, aged 42. See the report on the trial for libel on Gayer, *Persecution of protestants* (Dublin, 1845); D. P. Thompson, *Brief account of ... change in religious opinion* (London, 1846); Desmond Bowen, *Superism: myth or reality* (Cork, 1970); plaque to the Gayers in St James' church, Dingle.

28. Pettigrew and Oulton, The Dublin almanac ... 1843, p 289.