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Deer Forests, Game Shooting and Landed Estates in the South West of Ireland, 1840 – 1970.

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

To The

National University of Ireland

By

John Mathias (Sean) Ryan

June 2001

Department of History

University College, Cork

Supervisor: Mr Kenneth W Nicholls

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Abbreviations Used

BVMP	Bourn-Vincent Memorial Park
ESB	Electricity Supply Board
GAA	Gaelic Athletic Association
INJ	*Irish Naturalists Journal*
IRA	Irish Republican Army
JCHAS	*Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*
JKAHS	*Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society*
JKSEIAS	*Journal of the Kilkenny and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society*
JRSAI	*Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*
KNP	Killarney National Park
MHA	Muckross House Archives
NAI	National Archives of Ireland
NL	National Library
OPW	Office of Public Works
OS	Ordnance Survey
PRIA	*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*
PRO	Public Record Office, London
PRONI	Public Record Office Northern Ireland, Belfast
RIC	Royal Irish Constabulary
UCC	University College, Cork
UCD	University College, Dublin
TCD	Trinity College, Dublin

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INTRODUCTION

The views expressed by Richard J Evans, Professor of History at Birbeck College, University of London, succinctly encapsulate the thinking and approach to this thesis. Evans has challenged the view, long held, of history which mattered being about a handful of powerful men and great national and international movements, arguing instead that this was a 'rather snobbish and elitist attitude'[1].

Irish historiography in the 20th century has given scant attention to the sporting lives of Irish aristocracy and landed gentry, the great landlords who controlled much of the country and owned nearly 90 per cent of it. If that aspect of their lives was considered at all, it was predominantly in the judgmental context of a nationalist and republican ethos that lumped them dismissively as the 'rifle, rod and gun brigade', a hard-drinking, fox-hunting group whose rack-renting practices to support that lifestyle had earned the odium of their tenants, and scorn of the peasantry. Analyses of the effects of that sporting lifestyle, and how the peasantry reacted to it, have been very few, and generally anecdotal. One serious historical research on a specific period of fox hunting has been in the context of the nationalist and land agitation movements during the second half of the 19th century[2]. What effects their hunting and shooting had on the populations of deer, ground game and gamebirds, and the resulting legacies from prolonged exploitation of both native wild and imported quarry species, in the aftermath of the gentry's dissolution, are questions largely untouched from an analytical historical perspective. Equally omitted from Irish historiography is the pertinent question of the state's reactions to acquiring landed estates that held deer and game, and its subsequent management of game and deer species, and habitat conservation.

Were all of the Irish ascendancy really like the stereotyped image that much of nationalist historiography has portrayed ? Did Irish nationalists and republicans eschew the field sports of gentlemen, or willingly participate in them and cooperate with the landed classes? Were the inhabitants of the 'Big House' devoid of human feeling, irresponsible in their business, and profligate in their lifestyles? Was their attitude anthropomorphic or atavistic towards the animals and birds they killed?, and did the landed gentry manage their game and deer purely for sporting pleasure, or for hard commercial exploitation? Did action on the hunting and shooting field enforce a rigid class structure, or break it down and cross-infect aristocrat and peasant?

When their great landholdings were split up and returned to the people under successive Land Acts and the aegis of the Land Commission, how did the state manage those estates it acquired? What legacies of landscapes and wildlife did the state inherit, and in what circumstances did Ireland's first national park originate? In particular, how did the individual personalities of aristocrat, great landlord, wealthy estate owner, Irish nationalist and Irish republican influence the sporting and hunting ethos of landed estates in the south west of Ireland during the 19th and 20th centuries?

To address these and other related issues, this study is concentrated on the historical aspect of the elitist field sports of deer stalking and game shooting, as practised by four Irish landed ascendancy families in

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[1] Richard J Evans *In Defence of History* (London, 1997, p 162).

[2] L P Curtis Jr 'Stopping the Hunt, 1881-1882: An Aspect of the Irish Land War' in C H E Philpin (ed) *Nationalism and Popular Protest in Ireland* (New York, 1987).

the south west of Ireland. Four great estates were selected for study. Two of these were, by Irish standards, very large: the Kenmare estate of over 136,000 acres in the ownership of the Roman Catholic Earls of Kenmare, and the Herbert estate of over 44,000 acres in the ownership of the Protestant Herbert family. The other two were, in relative terms, small: the Grehan estate of c.7,500 acres in the ownership of the Roman Catholic Grehan family, and the Godfrey estate of c.5,000 acres, in the ownership of the Protestant Barons Godfrey. This mixture of contrasting estate size, owners' religions, nobleman, minor aristocrat and untitled gentry should, it is argued, yield a diversity of the field sports and lifestyles of their owners, and go some way to assess the contributions, good or bad, they have bequeathed to modern Ireland. Equally, it should help in assessing what importance, if any, applies to hunting. In this context, hunting is here used in its broadest meaning, and includes deer stalking and game shooting, as well as hunting with dogs and hounds on foot and horseback. Where a specific type of hunting is involved, it is so described; for example, fox hunting, stag hunting, hare hunting. Similarly, the term game is sometimes used in sporting literature to encompass all species of quarry killed, and can include deer, ground game (hares and rabbits), waterfowl, and various species of game birds. Where it refers to specific species, these are so described; for example grouse, pheasants, woodcock, wild duck, etc.

Since two of these estates - the Kenmare and Herbert - each created a deer forest, unique in mid-19th century Ireland, they form the core study estates; the two smaller estates serve as comparative studies. And, equally unique, as these two larger estates held the only remnant population of native Irish red deer, the survival of that herd itself forms a concomitant core area of analysis. The numerary descriptions applied to these animals in popular literature are critically reassessed against prime source historical evidence, as are the so-called deer forest 'clearances'. The core study period, 1840 to 1970, is selected as the seminal period, spanning 130 years, from the creation of the deer forests to when a fundamental change in policy and administration was introduced by the state. Comparison is made with similar estates elsewhere, in Britain and especially in Scotland. Their influence on the Irish methods and style of hunting is historically examined.

Sources

The estate papers of the Kenmare family were extensively edited by MacLysaght in 1942, which research made only passing references to deer in the estate, and stopped short of analysis beyond 1795[3]. Nineteenth century material in the Kenmare papers was subsequently researched by Donnelly, who judged them to be the 'most valuable...in both quality and quantity' of the estate papers he had consulted[4]. The estate rental and account books initiated by S M Hussey, agent for the Kenmare estate 1874-85, were further described by Donnelly as 'models of clarity, completeness, and precision'[5], but this was far too late to record the deer forest's creation, which had occurred certainly by 1850. Kenmare estate correspondence for the critical period of the late 1840s to the early 1850s apparently has not survived[6]. On the death of Mrs Grosvenor in 1985, who was the last member of the Kenmare family to reside in Killarney, the vast bulk of

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[3] Edward MacLysaght (ed) *The Kenmare Manuscripts* (Dublin, 1942) p xiii.

[4] James S Donnelly Jr *The Land and the People of Nineteenth-Century Cork* (London &Boston, 1975) p 387; and James S Donnelly Jr 'The Kenmare Estates During The Nineteenth Century' Parts I-III *JKAHS* (1988, 1989,1990) deals exclusively with 19th century Kenmare papers.

[5] Donnelly...Kenmare Estates...Pt I p 36.

[6] Donnelly ... Kenmare Estates - Pt 1 p 25.

the Kenmare papers, with the exception of those in Muckross House, Killarney, was removed by Mrs Grosvenor's nephew, Edward Dawnay, to England[7]. All requests to access these were left unanswered. Fortunately, during the course of this research they became available in mid-1997, after the papers had been deposited in the Public Record Office Northern Ireland in January 1997[8]. Prime source material relating to deer and game, but considerably varying in detail, survive in the Kenmare papers until the late 1930s.

Herbert family papers, which had been located by Miss Herbert of Cahirnane, Killarney, were detailed by MacLysaght in 1944[9]. A copy listing and very brief summary of similar papers, relating to the Herbert families of Muckross and Cahirnane, is in the archives of Muckross House[10]. The Herbert, or Muckross deer forest does not feature in either of these sources. Herberts of Muckross family papers are feared lost; vesting documents of the Herbert estate are with the Land Commission Office, Dublin. In 1899 the Muckross estate was bought by Lord Ardilaun, who sold it to an American millionaire, Mr William Bowers Bourn II, in 1910. His son-in-law, Arthur Rose Vincent, administered the estate, and had the estate settled on him in 1916. In 1932 the Muckross estate was presented to the Irish Free State as a gift to the nation, and was administered by the Office of Public Works. Prime source material relating to the deer forest and game survive in the Ardilaun papers and Vincent papers in Muckross House archives. OPW files relating to the Muckross deer forest, up to approximately 1964, are in the National Archives, Dublin, and in the OPW offices, Dublin.

The estate papers of the Grehan family of Clonmeen, Banteer, Co. Cork, are in the Boole Library archives, National University of Ireland, Cork, (UCC), and contain prime source material; game books, game accounts, and references to the sporting and shooting activities of the Stephen Grehan, from approximately the 1870s to the 1930s. The Godfrey papers are in the possession of Mrs Valerie Bary at Callinafercy House, Killorglin, County Kerry, and contain the personal diaries of Sir John Fermor Godfrey. These provide information on Godfrey's hunting and shooting exploits, and, uniquely in the researches for this thesis, details of poachers and those who informed on them.

The large landed estate management style included detailed game books and accounts of game killed, and the costs of gamekeeping. Accounting records of the Kenmare estates, during the second half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries, contain financial details of deer and game management. Original and copy documents of accounting and notation statements of game and deer in the Muckross estate survive only from 1899 onwards, in the archives of Muckross House, with gaps for some years. Regrettably, only a few of the Muckross detailed day-by-day game books of a much later date, for six years in the 1940s when the estate was being administered by the Office of Public Works, now survive.

The original source material in Muckross House archives was initially catalogued on the numerical Dewey Decimal System, with various documents not catalogued. A new computerised cataloguing system, replacing the previous referencing, was initiated while research was in progress, and had not progressed to the

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[7] Personal communications from Valentine Dawnay, brother of Edward Dawnay, 21 December 1995, and from Elizabeth McCarthy, secretary to Mrs Grosvenor, 9 June 1996.

[8] Personal communication from Stephen Scarth, PRONI, 9 March 1998.

[9] Edward MacLysaght (ed) 'The Herbert Papers' *Analecta Hibernica* No 15 (Dublin, 1944) pp 95-107

[10] MHA, Family Papers. Herbert Family of Muckross and Cahirnane, a Descriptive List.

vast majority of documentation relating to deer forests and game by the time research was completed. Consequently it was decided not to use either of the partial references, but instead to reference the Muckross House archival material with full descriptions of each document. Field interviews with surviving people connected with the subject and later period, are detailed in text.

Accepting Evans's argument that the history of ordinary people also matters, and indeed many of those here described were ordinary folk - gamekeepers, beaters, fence makers, labourers, poachers - nevertheless it transpired that those who held supremacy over the four estates for the great majority of the period covered were elitist, and on occasion, snobbish. And, despite Trevelyan's well-known definition of social history being 'history of a people with the politics left out'[11], it was found impossible to omit politics, which in Ireland permeates so deeply into everyone's life.

[11] G M Trevelyan *English Social History* (London, Penguin edn, 1970) p 9.

1

Wild Red Deer in Ireland: pre-History to1840.

When and how the ancestors of to-day's Irish wild red deer first arrived in Ireland are still unanswered questions. Were they here before man's earliest presence on the island, or did man himself deliberately introduce them, as has been frequently discussed ?[1]. While these questions are matters more for archaeologists and palaeontologists rather than historians, a brief review of the archaeological evidence is helpful before appreciating the historical treatment which follows.

The time span from the earliest accurate record of red deer in Ireland to the present day covers 26,500 years. Four stages of climate have been posited for this long period. The Late Midlandian Cold Stage, during which major ice masses formed, lasted from about 26,000 to about 13,000 years before present (BP). This was followed by the Woodgrange Interstadial Stage, with ice retreating and a warm, temperate period of about 2,000 years beginning and lasting until about 11,000 years BP. This in turn was followed by the Nahanagan Stadial Stage, a cold period of approximately 1,000 years, which lasted until about 10,000 years ago, when the Littletonian Warm Stage, in which we presently live, commenced[2].

The earliest accurately dated red deer remains in Ireland, so far, are those from Shandon Cave, Co. Waterford, dated to 26,020 +/- 320 years BP[3]. This may have predated the Midlandian cold, though from other mammal remains similarly dated to the period 29,000 to 20,000 years BP, it is possible that red deer may have shared an environment with a typically sub-arctic fauna - Norwegian lemming, Arctic lemming, Arctic fox, Brown bear, Reindeer, and Mammoth. That red deer may have been present in such a sub-arctic environment would have some implication for their possible survival through the peri-glacial environment of the Nahanagan Stadial, 15,000 years later.

The next accurately dated remains, from Keshcorran Caves, Co. Sligo, were dated to 11,790 +/- 121 years BP[4]. This was within the Woodgrange Interstadial warm period. Red deer are considered to have died out during the previous prolonged cold, and then naturally recolonised back into the country as the climate warmed and grasses began to flourish. The dating of the remains in the Keshcorran Caves places red deer in Ireland close to the beginning of the last cold spell, the Nahanagan Stadial.

Red deer may have again died out during that cold of 1,000 years, and then recolonised the country with the return of a warmer climate and more palatable vegetation. The recolonisation could

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1 Among the many references to red deer being indigenous to Ireland before man's arrival are : RJG Savage 'Irish Pleistocene Mammals' *INJ* Vol 15 No 5 (1966) pp 117-30 ; DWYalden 'When did the mammal fauna of the British Isles arrive?' *Mammal Review* Vol 12 No 1 (1982) pp 1-57 ; and discussed by him in 'How Could Mammals Become Irish ? ' in D P Sleeman, R J Devoy, P C Woodman (eds) *Proceedings of the Postglacial Colonization Conference* UCC (1986) pp 49-51.

2 Frank Mitchell *The Irish Landscape* (London, 1977) pp 35-79.

3 Peter C Woodman and Nigel Monaghan 'From Mice to Mammoths: dating Ireland's earliest faunas' *Archaeology Ireland* Vol 7, No 3 (1993) pp 31-3.

4 Ibid.

have been by land bridges which may have then existed between Ireland and Britain, when coastal seas were shallower[5]. However, it is possible, though there is as yet no archaeological proof, that some red deer may have survived during that Nahanagan Stadial of 1,000 years. If they had, the most likely area would have been in the river valleys of south Munster, where ice-free refuges are thought to have existed during that period[6]. Then, with the return to temperate conditions of the Littletonian, their spread throughout the country as warmth increased and grasslands developed, is one possible hypothesis. In Britain, archaeological evidence has been advanced to argue that red deer survived there through both warm and cool phases of climate, though probably not during periods of extreme cold, and a few British sites 'provide clear evidence of red deer in a totally or virtually treeless environment, along with mammals adapted to cold climate and open habitat'[7]

There is as yet no proof that this occurred in Ireland. Some future archaeological find of red deer remains in the south Munster area, if accurately dated to within the Nahanagan Stadial (11,000 to 10,000 years BP), may help to clarify when, and how, the ancestors of today's Irish wild red deer might have colonised Ireland.

Man's earliest presence in Ireland is dated to about 9,000 years BP, at Mount Sandal, Co. Down**[8]**. It has been recently confirmed that no red deer remains were found in this archaeological site, or in a later site dated to about 8,000 years before present**[9]**. Some later-dated archaeological sites during the Mesolithic period (from the end of the ice age to the introduction of farming in Ireland**[10]**) did contain red deer remains, but these instances are scarce. The results of analyses of animal remains in this period have revealed that red deer were present in only two out of seven Irish sites, dated to about 5,470 to 5,250 years BP**[11]**. And in further research on animal remains in Neolithic sites (from the introduction of farming to the use of metal), red deer were present in eight out of 14 sites, approximately 4,700 years ago**[12]**.

By about 4,000 years ago red deer were widespread, but their remains in archaeological sites are infrequent. They have been accurately dated as being present at Stonestown, Co. Meath, in 4,190 +/- 65 years BP; at Newall Cave, Co. Clare, in 2,270 +/- 60 years BP; at Sydenham, Co. Down, in 2,020 +/- 65 years BP; and in Ventry Beach, Co. Kerry, in 3,985 +/- 60 years BP**13**. This last, so far, is the earliest accurately dated record of red deer in Co. Kerry. An exceptional stag's skull and antlers, bearing 19 points, was found in a bog in Kerry in the 19th century, but has not been accurately dated[14]. Red deer remains found in the archaeological investigations of the copper mines of Ross Island, Killarney, have been dated to ****

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[5] R J Devoy 'Possible Land Bridges Between Ireland and Britain' in D P Sleeman, R J Devoy and P C Woodman (eds)*Postglacial Colonisation Conference* UCC (1986) pp 15-26.

[6] Mitchell...*Landscape*...op. cit.

[7] A M Lister 'Evolutionary and Ecological Origins of British Deer' in F T Last (ed) *Deer, their Biology, Behaviour and Impact* Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Section B, Vol 82, Part 4, (1984) pp 214-8.

[8] Peter C Woodman 'The Mesolithic in Ireland : Hunter-Gatherers in an Insular Environment' BAR British Series 58, (1978) pp 135-7.

[9] Peter C Woodman 'The Mesolithic Period' in Michael Ryan (ed) *The Illustrated Archaeology of Ireland* (Dublin, 1991) p 40.

[10] Definitions of archaeological periods are taken from Laurence Flanagan *A Dictionary of Irish Archaeology* (Dublin, 1992).

[11] Louise H Van Wijngaarden-Bakker 'The Animal Remains from the Beaker Settlement at Newgrange, Co. Meath' *PRIA* Vol 74 C No 11 (1974, First Report), and *PRIA* Vol 86 CNo 2 (1986, Final Report).

[12] Ibid.

[13] Woodman & Monaghan...'Earliest faunas...' op. cit.

[14] J G Millais *The Mammals of Great Britain and Ireland* Vol III (London, 1906) p 96.

The use of red deer bones and antlers as part of burial ritual in pre-historic Ireland appears to have been minimal. Analyses of burial sites, dated from about 6,500 to 4,000 years BP, found evidence of such use in only seven out of 35 sites, while for the later period from about 4,000 to 2,500 years BP, analyses found red deer remains in only two out of over 1,000 sites. This pattern of rare instances of use in burial sites continued, and for the period from about 2,250 to 800 years BP, evidence of red deer was found in just one out of the nine sites analysed[15].

Separate analyses of animal remains in later archaeological sites, not necessarily related to burial ritual, confirmed the infrequent presence of red deer. Out of eight Iron Age sites, dated to about 2,100 years BP, red deer remains were recorded in only four sites[16]. Human remains found in a bog in Co.Galway, and dated to between 2,270 and 2,200 years BP, bore a deerskin cape[17].

Before leaving the pre-historic period, it may be noted that in addition to red deer (*Cervus elaphus*) three further species of deer feature in the Irish archaeological records. Reindeer (*Rangifer tarandus*) were present, as was the Giant Irish deer (*Megaloceros giganteus*), well known from artists' impressions of it in popular treatment of Ireland's pre-history, and whose skeletons and antlers were a *cause celebre* in the 19th century, decorating the halls of many stately homes and big houses of the ascendancy. Particularly fine sets of complete male and female skeletons of this species are on public display, for example, in the National Museum and also in Trinity College, Dublin. Specimens of *Megaloceros* are still being uncovered today in roadway excavations. Like the reindeer, *Megaloceros* is regarded to have died out before man's arrival. The third species was the European-type elk (*Alces alces*), whose Irish specimens are rare, but two instances of its occurrences in Ireland within the last 13,000 years have been identified, one from Co. Leitrim and one from Co. Tipperary[18]. And curiously, one of the skeletons of red deer found in Bohoe, Co. Fermanagh, was described as having an extra rib, based on 14 as against 13 dorsal vertebrae, on the basis of which it was suggested that it was a separate variety - *Cervus elaphus, var. fossilis hibernicus,*[19]. Although labelled as Pleistocene in Trinity College Geology Museum where its skeleton, complete, is exhibited, it remains undated accurately, and its separate status is not now accepted.

Early Irish art featured red deer by about the second century, AD[20], and by about AD 400 the relics of red deer were found in all of the five archaeological sites analysed[21]. With the arrival of christianity in Ireland by the fifth century, the historical written record commenced. The earliest written reference to red deer in Ireland is generally stated to be an account by the ecclesiastic Augustine, written about AD 650. Whether red deer had been introduced to Ireland by man seems to have been a question which Augustine was addressing, when he asked 'who indeed would have brought wolves, red deer, wild

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15 Finbar McCormick 'Faunal Remains from Prehistoric Irish Burials' *Journal of Irish Archaeology* Vol III (1985-6) pp 37-47.

16 Van Wijngaarden-Bakker...'Animal Remains...'. op. cit.

17 *Archaeology Ireland* (1994) p 21.

18 Nigel T Monaghan 'The Elk *Alces alces (L)* in Irish Quaternary Deposits' *INJ* Vol 23 No 3 (1989) pp 97-101.

19 Rev. Samuel Haughton 'Observations on the Fossil Red Deer of Ireland, founded on the skeletons found at Bohoe, in the County of Fermanagh, in 1863' *Journal of the Geology Society of Dublin* Vol X (1864) pp 125-7. - I am indebted to Patrick Wyse Jackson, Curator of Trinity College Geology Museum, for this reference.

20 Francoise Henry *Irish Art in the Early Christian Period to 800 AD* (London, 1965) pp 11, 155, pl. 7

21 Van Wijngaarden-Bakker...'Animal Remains..'.op. cit.

boar, and foxes, badgers, hares and sesquivolos (squirrels ?) to Ireland?'[22]. Which implied that these wild animals were then, as now, considered to be indigenous. It was a valid question, as the concept of early man bringing, for example, wolves and badgers with him as he colonised was apparently as absurd to a seventh century monk as it is to us, today.

From the fifth to 12th centuries, references to red deer occur in Early Irish nature poetry, in Irish Bardic literature and Irish Bardic poetry, and in Early Irish law tracts. The essence of Early Irish nature poetry was a vivid imagery, with fresh and succinct descriptions of, and delight in, the simple things of nature. It was love of nature for its own sake[23]. One example must suffice :

Scel lem duib	I bring you news ;
dordaid dam,	a stag is roaring,
snigid gaim,	winter is snowing,
ro-faith sam.	summer is gone.

This first stanza in a ninth century Irish poem neatly captured the rutting behaviour of a red stag just as winter began to close in, and was obviously a personal observation. Today, the red deer rut during October in the Kerry mountains is sometimes accompanied by the first snows of winter[24].

Irish Bardic literature and Bardic poetry featured the hunt of red deer, and this was especially so in the Fenian cycle, dated from about the eight century onwards. These mythical hunts were centred much in the areas of the south west of the country; West Cork, Kerry and Sliabh Luachra, though many instances are also cited as occurring throughout the rest of the land. While these accounts have been described and assessed by various scholars[25], the many references to the slaying of huge numbers of red deer in these legendary tales seem to have gone unquestioned. O Cadhlaigh, for instance, quoted Seilg Sleibhe Truim in which the poet stated:

Ro mharbham fiche cead fiadh
Sa sliabh agus deich gcead torc[26]
I myself killed twenty hundred deer
in the mountain and ten hundred wild boars.

Similarly, in Seilg Sleibhe na mBan , he quotes the poet stating :

Do mharbhamar se mhile fiadh
Is an ngleann do bhi san tsliabh [27]
We killed six thousand deer

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[22] *Liber de Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae,* quoted in James Edmond Harting *Essays on Sport and Natural History* (London, 1883) p 297.

[23] For selections of Early Irish nature poetry see Kuno Meyer *Selections from Ancient Irish Poetry* (London, 1913); Gerard Murphy *Early Irish Lyrics* (Oxford, 1962); James Carney *Medieval Irish Lyrics* (Dublin ,1967); and Kenneth G Jackson *A Celtic Miscellany* (Penguin, 1973).

[24] Sean Ryan *The Wild Red Deer of Killarney* (Dingle, 1998) p 73

[25] See Tadhg O Donnachadha *Filiocht na Fiannaidheachta* (Baile Atha Cliath ,1933); An Seabhach *Laoithe na Feinne* (Baile Atha Cliath, 1941). Cormac O Cadhlaigh, in *An Fhiannuidheacht* (Baile Atha Cliath, 1947), deals with and assesses the subject in greater detail.

[26] O Cadhlaigh...*Fiannuidheacht*...p 68.

[27] Ibid. p 69.

In the glen that was in the mountain.

O Cadhlaigh appears to have accepted these huge numbers as possible, and in support of them he referred to the accounts of large amounts of game - 300 red deer, five wolves and some roe deer - reportedly killed in Scotland, in honour of visiting royalty and a papal representative, in 1563[28]. However, these large quantities of deer supposedly killed in Scottish *tainchels,* as the deer drives were called in Scotch Galic, had already been questioned and dismissed as gross exaggerations by William Scrope in 1838[29], long before O Cadhlaigh wrote. Scrope was speaking from personal experience of deer drives, elaborately planned and controlled, in the Scottish Highlands of his day. In one instance in which he himself participated, out of the large herd of animals deliberately gathered in the Scottish hills and driven by experienced stalkers and helpers towards concealed shooters lying in ambush, only 11 deer - seven stags, three hinds and a calf - were killed[30].

While red deer were obviously hunted during these centuries in Ireland, factual accounts of the chase are lacking. Evidence of a stag wounded in a hunt was provided in the archaeological site at Lagore, Co. Meath, dated to between the seventh and tenth centuries[31]. The stag's left shoulder-blade had been perforated, presumably by a thrown spear; the wound had healed, and his remains found on the site showed that he had lived to run another day, and had finally died, or been killed, as a 12-13 years old animal, whose bones were riddled with arthrosis.

Research by Fergus Kelly of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies has documented the references in Early Irish law texts to deer hunting and trapping. A legendary judgement, reputed to be the first legal judgement delivered in Ireland, ruled that if a hunted deer was brought down by dogs, its belly went to the owner of the land, and the rest was divided amongst the hunters and dog owners. Early Irish laws also referred to methods of hunting and trapping deer - in pits, on spikes, driving them to ambush or to an artificial barrier, or hunting with hounds and killing with spears[32] (much the same methods were described by Fynes Moryson at the start of the 17th century, discussed later). While no records were found of conservation measures governing deer in Early Irish law texts, evidence exists that a deer could be privately owned in seventh to eight century Ireland. This animal was specially marked, and the penalty applicable for killing it within the owner's infield was one half the penalty-fine of a heifer; but if killed in the outfield, the penalty was one quarter, and one eight if killed on the open mountain[33].

The depiction of the hunt of red deer in the carved stonework of some Irish High Crosses has been interpreted as a portrayal of the hunting methods in use at that time. A red stag caught in a foot-trap is depicted on a Cross-shaft, originally from Banagher, Co. Offaly, and now in the National Museum,

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[28] Summarised by Millais...*Mammals* ...pp114-5, and by W J Watson 'Deer and Boar in Gaelic Literature' in John Ross (ed) *The Book of the Red Deer* (London,1925) pp 75 - 100.

[29] William Scrope *The Art of Deer-Stalking* (London, 1838) p 234.

[30] Ibid. pp 214-9.

[31] Louise H Van Wijngaarden-Bakker 'An Old Stag from Lagore' in Donnchadh O Corrain (ed) *Irish Antiquity* (Cork, 1981) pp 78-81.

[32] Fergus Kelly *A Guide to Early Irish Law* (Dublin, 1988) pp 106-8, and in more detail, Fergus Kelly *Early Irish Farming* (Dublin,1997) pp 272-81.

[33] Kelly... *Early Irish Farming*... p 274.

Dublin, and there is good evidence that these foot-traps were in use in Ireland, as the findings of several of such traps attest[34]. Kelly states that only one reference to a leg-trap was found in the written sources. This text, referring to a deer caught in a leg-trap in which its leg was broken, but was only slightly bleeding, laid down that the animal should not be eaten[35]. It has been suggested that the Banagher image of the stag caught in a foot-trap is comparable to an allegedly fifth century terracotta from Tunis[36], which would predate the Irish Cross by two to three centuries. These crosses, regarded as sermons in stone illustrating biblical themes, also depicted animals that were foreign to Ireland, as, for example, the Banagher Cross-shaft which depicts a crouching lion[37]. Several High Crosses have well-known panels showing a man surrounded by lions - Daniel in the Lions Den[38]. And since it is the consensus of published scientific literature that snakes never naturally colonised Ireland, a panel in the large stone slab at Gallen Priory, Co. Offaly, which shows a red stag in combat with a snake[39], raises a question as to the validity of such carvings being a representation of the hunting of Irish wild mammals. This image may, perhaps, have been inspired by European bestiaries, where the stag was said to have had a great antipathy to serpents and trampled them whenever possible[40], and thus was intended to symbolise Christ or christianity (the stag) triumphing over evil (the serpent). It remains open to debate whether some at least of these depictions were used in the Irish High Cross carvings more to illustrate biblical teaching, rather than to depict the contemporary hunting methods of the time.

Was there extensive hunting of red deer in Ireland during this early historical period, and if so, what use was made of the trophies of the chase? In the absence of authentic written reports, the historian must refer to the archaeological record for evidence. The results of these are simply stated; minimal importance of red deer in the people's diet and some importance of their skins, bones and antlers in the manufacture of the people's personal objects. These results are based on man's use of domesticated and wild mammals in Ireland, from the fifth to the mid-12th centuries, as researched by McCormick[41].

Analyses from archaeological findings at Knowth, Co. Louth, phases one and two, showed that wild game was found to play only a very minor role in the people's diet. For phase one, only two out of 1,276 bone fragments were from red deer, representing just one out of a minimum number of 65 individual animals. For phase two, only three out of 2,511 bone fragments were from red deer, representing just one out of a minimum number of 90 individual animals.

And results from analyses of the Wood Quay Viking settlement site in Dublin, established in the ninth century, have confirmed the same pattern. Only three out of 1,927 bone fragments were from red deer, representing just one out of a minimum number of 102 individual animals. McCormick found

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34 R A S Macalister *The Archaeology of Ireland* (London, 2nd edn., 1949) pp 322-4

35 Kelly...*Early Irish Farming*...p 280

36 Peter Harbison *The High Crosses of Ireland: an Iconographical and Photographic Survey* Vols 1-3 (Bonn, 1992) p 26 (vol 1), and fig 66 (Vol 2).

37 Ibid. p 25 (Vol 1).

38 See Peter Harbison *Irish High Crosses with the figure sculptures explained* (Drogheda,1994), which lists 14 crosses or fragments of crosses which feature Daniel in the Lions Den, and five featuring stags or deer.

39 Henry...*Irish Art in the Early Christian Period*... p 123, ill. pl 64.

40 H S Crawford *Irish Carved Ornament* (Cork, 1980) p 63.

41 Finbarr McCormick 'Man and Domesticated Mammals in Early Christian Ireland' MA Thesis (UCC, 1982)

that Knowth was a rural, non-commercial economy, based on mixed farming, while the diet of the inhabitants of Wood Quay, an urban settlement, was composed mainly of cattle, with wild animals of minimal importance. He suggests that in Wood Quay the manufactured items from red deer antlers - combs, pins, gaming pieces, tool handles, together with deer hides - were trade items, brought into the town by the inhabitants of the Wicklow hills. McCormick further suggests that antlers may have been imported separately to Wood Quay, as raw material to manufacture these items. These findings are supported by Butler[42], who found that cattle represented over 85 per cent of the domestic animal meat, and who suggests that because antler quantity far outweighed post-cranial remains, red deer were primarily exploited for their antlers as a raw material.

The pre-historic great 'kills' of deer, as described by some 19th century studies - deer driven by hunters so that they were mired in lakes edges and bogs - were assumptions. The 'immense number' found at Dunshaughlin crannog and High-Street, Dublin, as mentioned by Wilde[43], were sawn-off antler tips. The statement by Hoare[44] that venison must have been 'the ordinary meat of the vigorous and skilful [Irish] hunters' was an unattested assumption. These conjectures, in general, have not been vigorously tested, but when one was, the resulting evidence did not support the thesis. When the piles of Giant Irish Deer bones and antlers that were found at Ballybetagh bog, Co. Dublin, were critically analysed by Barnosky, the results indicated that death was more likely to have been due simply to old age and natural winter mortality, rather than to miring[45].

These results do not support the legendary great deer hunts, as described in Bardic literature. No evidence has been produced of large numbers of red deer roaming in herds throughout pre-historic, early or medieval Ireland. From the only hard evidence we have to date, the opposite appears to have been the case - that red deer were not plentiful. That the inhabitants were not interested in hunting, or were poor hunters, is also a possible explanation of the dearth of red deer relics in the archaeological record, but the evidence of some hunting having been practised challenges that hypothesis. One explanation may be that red deer simply were scarce. The great mythological hunting stories of Bardic fame may have been a reflection of *an rud is annamh is iontach* - what's scarce is wonderful. *******

What their numbers were is simply guesswork, but some idea of the population of red deer which ancient Ireland's habitats might have supported is provided by studies elsewhere. Van Wijngaarden-Bakker, quoting European studies, considered that a red deer density of about one per 40 hectares was appropriate for the New Grange Beaker settlement, dated to about 4,500 years ago, 'assuming it [about 30,000 hectares] consisted on the whole of suitable biotope for red deer'[46]. Applying this ratio to the whole 32,595 square miles (8,442,100 hectares) of the country, the red deer population about 5,000 years ago may have numbered 210,000, equivalent to 2.5 animals - say between two and three - per square kilometre (six to seven animals per square mile).

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42 Vincent Butler 'Animal Bone Studies in Archaeology' *Archaeology Ireland* Vol 3 No 3 (1989) pp 104-7.

43 Wilde 'On the Unmanufactured Animal Remains belonging to the Academy'*PRIA* Vol VII part IX (1860) p 203.

44 Herbert F Hoare 'Woods and Fastnesses, and their Denizens, in Ancient Leinster' *JKSEIAS* Vol I (1856-7) p 231.

45 A D Barnosky 'Taphonomy and Herd Structure of the Extinct Irish Elk, *Megaloceros giganteus*' *Science* Vol 228 (1985) pp 340-4.

46 Van Wijngaarden-Bakker...'Animal Remains...Final Report'... p 89.

The 12th century ushered in radical changes to Ireland's deer population, and to the hunting of them, with the coming of the Anglo-Normans. The introduction to England of continental hunting practices, and the harsh laws governing the chase of the stag, or hart, had followed the Norman conquest there. Now, over a century later, the Anglo-Normans brought with them to Ireland their great love of hunting, and their practice of establishing forests, where deer and other 'beasts of the forests' were strictly preserved for their own exclusive hunting pleasure. A deer forest was an area of unenclosed land, with or without trees, reserved initially for royal use only, subject to laws established by the Norman kings in England[47]. The continental forest laws, such as those introduced by William the Conqueror to England, were far harsher than the existing Saxon laws. Roman jurists had described wild animals as *ferae naturae*, so that anyone could hunt them, subject to the law of trespass, but post Norman conquest only the king and his authorised personnel could hunt them in the royal forests. The legal penalties for 'venison trespass' (hunting the king's deer) during William's reign included amputation, blinding, and castration[48]. However, such drastic punishments had ameliorated by the 12th century, when the Anglo-Normans came to Ireland. But the introduced hunting style and terminology, with its usage of words and phrases from Old French, would continue on and were still in practice in 19th century Ireland.

The Welch ecclesiastic Giraldus Cambrensis, who visited Ireland 14 years after the Anglo-Norman invasion of 1169, recorded his findings, and his prejudices. Much quoted today, he confirmed for the Anglo-Norman hunters the existence of red deer already here, or at least confirmed that he had heard about them - it's doubtful if he ever saw one. He wrote 'she [Ireland] has stags that are not able to escape because of their too great fatness. The smaller they are physically, the more nobly they carry themselves with the splendour of their heads and antlers'[49]. Robert LLoyd Praeger, a much respected naturalist, has described Giraldus Cambrensis as 'credulous'[50], an assessment well justified by Giraldus's descriptions of the behavioural characteristics of other wild animals and birds, notably badgers, cranes and ospreys. These are so notoriously inaccurate that his accounts of Irish wildlife cannot be taken seriously.

The Anglo-Normans introduced from England a deer new to Ireland - fallow deer (*Dama dama*). This species of deer has, so far, never featured in the Irish archaeological record, though fallow deer remains are recorded as abundant in the British archaeological record, dating back to c.250,000 years BP. In Britain this species is thought to have subsequently died out during succeeding cold periods, and does not appear to have recolonised that country with the arrival of a warmer climate about 10,000 years ago. A commonly held view that they were then reintroduced by the Romans to Britain has been questioned on the grounds of insufficient evidence, and their sudden abundance from the time of the Norman conquest of Britain suggests that it was the Normans who may have brought them[51].

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47 N D G James *A History of British Forestry* (Oxford, 1981) pp 3-5.

48 Charles Chenevix Trench *The Poacher and the Squire: A History of Poaching and Game Preservation in England* (London,1967) pp 23-5

49 Giraldus Cambrensis *The Topography of Ireland* J J O'Meara (transl.) (Dundalk, 1951) p 28

50 R LLoyd Praeger *Some Irish Naturalists* (Dundalk, 1949) p 86.

51 Lister...'Evolutionary and Ecological Origins'... pp 220-3

There is no doubt about the Anglo-Normans introducing them to Ireland. Several importations are documented for the 13th century. King Henry sent a gift of 30 fallow deer to the Archbishop of Dublin in 1213[52]. This was followed in 1242, when 60 fallow deer - 20 bucks and 40 does - were sent from Chester to Ireland to stock the king's park there[53]. Then, two years later in 1244, a further introduction of 80 fallow deer occurred when 20 bucks and 60 does were sent from Chester to Dalkey, Ireland, to stock the king's park at 'Glencry' (Glencree, Co. Wicklow)[54]. This particular introduction, frequently quoted, has achieved importance in Irish natural history because of subsequent erroneous interpretations by writers who assumed or concluded that it was red deer that were sent to Glencree. However, the terminology used in the original record of the event leaves no doubt that it was fallow deer that were imported.

The terms used for deer were and are diagnostic of the species described; *cervus* was applied to red deer, *dama* was applied to fallow deer. That introduction of 80 deer in 1244 was discussed by LeFanu in 1893, who accurately quoted his source as Sweetman's 'Calendar' Vol 1 item 2671[55]. This original source, cited by LeFanu, described the 80 deer introduced in 1244 as *dama.*. Nonetheless, those natural history writers in the 20th century who concluded that red deer were the species of this particular introduction apparently overlooked, or ignored, LeFanu's reference[56].

As fallow deer were originally confined within the enclosed parks of the ruling classes, it is likely that it was the wild and free-ranging red deer which featured in Irish placenames and in the everyday speech of the ordinary people, though a 16th century survey implied that both red deer and fallow deer were by then running wild in the lands of Mallow Castle, County Cork[57]. From word structure it is estimated that some Irish placenames are at least 1,500 years old, and those which incorporate deer (*fiadh*) have been taken to refer to red deer, though the version *fiegh* was in common use for deer in general by the 17th century, as confirmed in the manuscript of Don Philip O'Sullivan Beare[58]. In his treatise, O'Sullivan Beare gave the Irish names for a stag as *carrfhiagh*, *carrfhie;* for deer in general he gave the words *fearba*; *fiegh;* and for wolf the word *macdiri*. O'Sullivan Bere also wrote 'you will find crowded herds of fat stags'[59]. Today, the word *fiadh* or *fia* still survives in several of the placenames of isolated areas in the mountains of the south west, as also does the word *mactire* (wolf). O Ciobhain's monumental *Toponomia Hiberniae* [60] is the most detailed for local placenames in Kerry, and to a more limited extent Joyce's *Irish Placenames* [61] also contains some references. Appendix 1 lists

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[52] *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland 1171-1251* H S Sweetman (ed) PRO (London,1875) p 77.

[53] Ibid. pp 384-5.

[54] Ibid. p 398.

[55] T P LeFanu 'The Royal forests of Glencree' *JRSAI* (Dublin, 1893) pp 268-80.

[56] The most noteworthy instance of this was by R F Scharff - 'The Irish Red deer' *The Irish Naturalist* (1918) pp 133-9, though Scharff was by no means alone in this assumption.

[57] Henry F Berry 'The Manor and Castle of Mallow in the days of the Tudors' *JCHAS* Vol 11 No 14 (1893) p 23.

[58] *Philippi O Sulleuani Bearii Hiberni Vindiciae Hibernicae contra Giraldum Cambrensem et alios. vel Zoilomastigis liber primus 2,3,4 et 5, et contra Stanihurstum.* Commonly called *The Zoilomastix of Philip O'Sullivan Bere,* it was edited by Thomas J O'Donnell - *Selections from the Zoilomastix of Philip O'Sullivan Beare,* Irish Manuscripts Commission (Dublin, 1960) pp iii - xiv, and dated to 1625-6, and from which the citations here are taken.

[59] Uppsala mss H.248, f.15. I owe this reference and translation to Mr Kenneth Nicholls.

[60] Breandan O Ciobhain *Toponomia Hiberniae* Vols I-IV (Baile Atha Cliath, 1978-85).

[61] P W Joyce *The Origin and History of Irish Placenames* (Dublin, 1875).

samples of such placenames in Kerry and south west Cork - areas which became relevant to the Killarney deer forests.

The locations and altitudes of these placenames confirm the occurrence of red deer in the mountains and oakwoods of the greater Killarney area. One in particular, *Cladia* (the rock or stony place of the deer), situated at approximately 1,000 feet altitude in the Cloonlough mountain complex about 20 miles west of the Killarney Valley, implies that red deer were seen on high mountain habitat over 1,000 years ago[62]. But much earlier than this, the legendary legal judgement previously referred to, which considered the division or share out of venison following a deer hunt in the *mountains* (my emphasis), is thought to refer to actual practice in seventh or eight century Ireland[63]. The placename *Koillnenoss* (Coill na nOs - the wood of the deer calves), now obsolete, can with certainty be dated to the early 17th century, as it is mentioned in the grant of patent by James I to Sir Valentine Brown, dated 28 June 1620[64]. Koillnenuss, on the evidence of Petty's 1683 map, was situated in the present Coolies townland near Killarney.

By the 15th century deer hides, including those of red deer, were being exported to England, and throughout the16th century the widespread exploitation and export to England of Irish wildlife and forest products continued[65]. As well as commercial utilisation, evidence that red deer were also hunted for pleasure is indicated by the depiction in a mural at Holy Cross Abbey, Co Tipperary, of the hunt of the red stag, ascribed to the 15th century, and by an illustration in a c.1565 map, portraying the chase of a stag and wolves in the Caha mountains of south west Cork[66].

The 16th century saw the first of the Browne family established in Kerry. Originally English and Protestant, the forerunners were Sir Valentine Browne, who was appointed Auditor-General of Ireland by Queen Mary in 1553, and his son, also Sir Valentine Browne, who was appointed Surveyor-General of Ireland by Queen Elisabeth in 1559. His eldest son, Nicholas Browne, married Sheila, daughter of the Gaelic chief O'Sullivan Beare, who brought up her family in her own Roman Catholic faith, to which church the Brownes have remained staunchly loyal ever since. During the following centuries, succeeding generations of Brownes added to the original Plantation grant of 6,560 acres by marrying into the landed Catholic families of Munster and Leinster - the O'Sullivans Mor, Fitzgerald of Desmond, MacCarthys, O'Briens, Butlers, Plunketts - eventually acquiring one of the largest estates in Ireland, principally in Counties Kerry, Cork, and Limerick. They became the leading Catholic aristocratic family in Munster, having survived the effects of the Penal Laws. Their estates, lost during the Cromwellian confiscations, were reinstated by the Restoration through the male family head having been an infant at the time, and later, as supporters of the Jacobite cause, they again escaped from the Williamite confiscations, the Browne children again being pardoned as minors at that time. The title Viscount Kenmare was conferred on Sir Valentine Browne in May 1689 by James II. The title itself was

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62 Breandan O Ciobhain - personal communication.

63 Kelly...*Early Irish Farming*...p 275

64 *The Kenmare Manuscripts* E McLysaght (ed) (Dublin,1942) p 366. Hereafter cited as *Kenmare MSS*

65 A K Longfield *Anglo-Irish Trade in the Sixteenth Century* (London,1929) pp 58-76.

66 Colin A Lewis *Hunting in Ireland* (London,1975) pp 32-3, 38-9.

derived from the family's castle - Kenmare Castle - near Hospital, in their Co. Limerick estate, and was separate and distinct from the present-day town of Kenmare in Co. Kerry[67]. When this settlement was founded by Sir William Petty in 1670, it was known as Nedeen, and according to Arthur Young it was changed to Kenmare by one of Petty's descendants, Lord Shelbourne, as a tribute to his friendship with Lord Kenmare[68]; however, an earlier Irish name had been Cenn Mara. In the 19th century the Brownes were instrumental in establishing a deer forest in their Killarney estate, called the Kenmare deer forest, as its proprietor was then the Earl of Kenmare, but which did not, of course, involve the quite separate town and district of Kenmare, approximately 20 miles to the south. This coincidence of the two names Kenmare subsequently gave rise to confusion for travellers and tourists in the Killarney area, and as the ambiguity still occurs, references to the town and district of present-day Kenmare are hereafter referred to as Kenmare/Nedeen.

Also in the 16th century, and similarly English and Protestant, the Herbert family became established in Ireland. Sir William Herbert was granted 13,276 acres between Castleisland and Tralee, Co. Kerry, from the Munster Plantations, in 1589. Unlike the Brownes, the Herberts remained loyal Protestants throughout their Irish occupancy, and Sir William had hoped to make Kerry into 'a little England' and had prayers translated into Irish so as to convert the natives to Protestantism[69]. In the 18th century the Herberts came to Muckross, Killarney, acquiring it in 1770 through the marriage of Agnes Herbert to Florence MacCarthy, the great-great-grandson of Florence MacCarthy (Mor). This marriage had an only child, Charles, who left Muckross to his uncle, Thomas Herbert, he himself having died childless. Prior to this, the Herberts had rented the Muckross property from the MacCarthys[70]. The Herberts also established a deer forest in Killarney in the 19th century, called the Muckross deer forest.

Because of this background of initial acquisitions through plunder by a foreign power, the Brownes and the Herberts were never fully accepted in Kerry by the native Irish peasantry, whose lasting antagonism was reflected in the local attitude to deer and game poaching from the planted estates. As Aogan O Raithile, the 17th century Kerry poet, put it in his poem *Bhalintin Brun* at the time:

> D'aistrigh fiadh an fial-chruith do chleachtadh si ar dtuis,
> O neaduigh an fiach iasachta i ndaingean-choill Ruis..
> The red deer has altered her accustomed noble shape...
> Since the foreign raven [Browne] has nested in the
> woods of Ross [Ross Castle, Killarney][71].

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[67] William F T Butler *Confiscations in Irish History* (London, 1917) pp 138-9,168, 230; *Kenmare MSS* pp vii-xiv . See also Charles Smith *The Ancient and Present State of the County of Kerry* (Dublin, 1756) pp 32, 38-49 for an account of the original settlement and subsequent history of the Browne family - hereafter cited as Smith's *History of Kerry* - and *The Complete Peerage,* H A Doubleday and Lord Howard De Walden (eds) Vol VII (London, 1929) pp 113-7 - hereafter cited as *Complete Peerage.*

[68] Arthur Young *Arthur Young's Tour in Ireland (1776-1779)* Arthur Wollaston Hutton (ed) (London, 1892) Vol 1 p 347. See also T J Barrington *Discovering Kerry Its History, Heritage & Topography* (Dublin, 1986 edn) p 295.

[69] *Dictionary of National Biography* Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sydney Lee (eds) (Oxford, 1921-2) Vol IX pp 674-6.

[70] Herbert details from MHA, John McCarthy 'The Herberts of Muckross and Cahirnane' unpublished typescript, pp 1-4. See also Smith's *History of Kerry* pp 32-7, and Mrs Morgan John O'Connell *The Last Colonel of the Irish Brigade* (London,1892) pp 226-32, and *Burke's Irish Family Records* (American edn., London, 1976) pp 575-9.

[71] *Filidheacht na nGaedheal* Padraig O Canainn (eag) (Baile Atha Cliath, 1940) p 168.

With the Brownes' residency, some Gaelic placenames gave way to imported ones, and localities in the fertile lowlands of their estate around Killarney acquired English titles; Park, Demesne, Bellview, Prospect, Lawn, Deerpark - names which still survive. These were typical placenames that the New English had introduced to planted Ireland[72]. The uplands escaped these changes, but one outlying district within the Kenmare estate which bore the Irish placename *Cnoc a' Chairr-Fhiaigh* (Hill of the Stag- anglicised to Knocacarrea) was altered to Stagmount[73].

By the end of the 16th century, red deer were described as 'loosely scattered in Ireland' by Fynes Moryson[74]. In his more detailed *Itinerary* [75], Moryson stated that fallow deer were 'reasonably plenty', enclosed in parks and 'running loose in the woods...', which woods, he stated, also 'yields a few stags or red deer...'. He stressed that the 'ordinary persons dare not, and great lords of the mere Irish will not, hunt them. For the mere Irish delight not in the sport, nor care to eat such meats'. A proclamation in 1662 ordered that game in Ireland was preserved for the benefit of the Lord Lieutenant, and all persons were forbidden 'to take any pheasants, grouse, hares...or any prohibited game whatever...'[76]. So it was left to the English commanders and gentlemen of the army to legally enjoy the sport. Nevertheless, Moryson gave the following description of the methods used by the Irish in hunting deer, confirming that the Irish killed 'both fallow and red deer by shot with the harquebus...', and drove them into nets with loud shouts. He further described the Irish method of setting traps for deer by bending down and fastening to the ground young trees half cut, which sprang up and caught the deer as they browsed. Moryson's description in the same context that the Irish 'had an art to catch stags by singing a certain tune upon all sides about them, by which music they fall down and lay as sleeping' may question the reliability or seriousness of his observations on hunting methods, unless he was mixing the current accounts which he had heard with fable and mythology current in his time. The methods described by Moryson did not differ greatly from those already described in the much earlier seventh and eight century Early Irish law texts.

As the 17th century opened, red deer and wolves were stated to be 'much decayed' in Ireland[77], though in 1662 Colonel Edward Cooke reported great herds of both red and fallow deer, as well as an abundance of grouse, pheasants, partridges and 'too many foxes and wolves' in the 'great woods' of County Wicklow[78]. As the century advanced, the general message repeated in the historical references was that red deer were scarce, and the woodlands were being destroyed. In 1652, the Irish

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[72] Patrick O'Flanagan 'Placenames and Change in the Irish Landscape' in William Nolan (ed) *The Shaping of Ireland* (Cork,1986) p 118.

[73] John O'Donovan *Ordnance Survey Name Books - Parish of Kilcummin, Barony of Magunnahy, County of Kerry* B928 p 232.

[74] Fynes Moryson *A History of Ireland from the Year 1599 to 1603* (Dublin, 1735) Vol II pp 367-8.

[75] C Litton Falkiner *Illustrations of Irish History and Topography, Mainly of the Seventeenth Century* (London,1904) pp 323-4, in Falkiner's reproduction of little-known parts of Moryson's *The Description of Ireland.* See also Graham Kew 'The Irish Sections of Fynes Moryson's Unpublished *Itinerary* ' *Analecta Hibernica* No 37, (Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1998) for a detailed analysis of Moryson's *Itinerary.*

[76] Edward MacLysaght *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century* (1939, Dublin reprint 1979) pp 131-3.

[77] *Advertisements for Ireland, being a Description of the State of Ireland in the Reign of James I* RSAI (Dublin, 1923) p 34.

[78] Ailesbury Mss. Colonel Edward Cooke to Lord Bruce, 12 November 1662, in *The Manuscripts of The Duke of Somerset, The Marquis of Ailesbury, and The Rev. Sir T.H.G. Puleston, Bart.,* Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fifteenth Report, Appendix, Part VII, HMSO (London, 1898) pp 167-9. I owe this reference to Mr Kenneth Nicholls.

woods were already diminished[79], though woodland still remained in Counties Cork and Kerry[80]. The removal of woodland deprived red deer of concealment, thus leaving them more open to exploitation. In Kerry, whose remoteness and wildness had been described in 1638[81], woodland was not so easily extracted, and the difficulty of removing timber from its isolated valleys, coupled with the lack of roads, meant that native woodland survived there, on mountain sides and in glens between them[82]. Also, human density in Kerry was low, estimated in 1659 at about five adults, or 13 persons including children, per square mile[83].

Much of Kerry, especially the mountains, was still a true wilderness, as stressed by William Petty in his Down Survey. Kerry was considered to be at the very edge of civilisation, typically inaccessible, an utter wilderness of rock, mountain, bogland and woodland. In this difficult and remote wilderness the wild red deer survived. It was the last county in Ireland to be completed in Petty's survey[84]. But Petty had an eye for beauty and a good bargain. He died possessing about 270,000 acres of south Kerry, and to him was credited the origin of Killarney town, by the commencement of his ironworks on the east shore of Killarney's Lower Lake[85].

A mid-17th century account of the hunting of the red stag in Ireland was described by Dinley[86], though it is not clear whether it referred to wild or park red deer, enclosed especially for this purpose. Dinley mentioned fox hunting in the same context, which may suggest that the stag was hunted by scenting hounds and followed by horsemen, implying that the hunt was of emparked red deer. Packs of hunting hounds - that hunted by scent, as distinct from hunting by sight as the large Irish deerhound or rough-coated greyhound did - were well established in Ireland by the start of the 16th century, and followed on horseback[87].

By 1684 red deer and the introduced fallow deer, together with woodland, were described as being now almost destroyed in County Wexford[88]. Red deer were still wild in the remote parts of Connemara, where a 'kind of black eagle' was reported as attacking them and forcing them to run over precipices[89]. This description of wildlife behaviour was exceptional, and whether O'Flaherty observed it himself, or took it from an unmentioned source, is not clear. That the red deer were still hunted in Connemara, as O'Flaherty stated[90] was confirmed by Dunton whose letters, quoted by MacLysaght[91],

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79 Gerard Boate *Ireland's Naturall History* (London, 1652) pp 119-23

80 Ibid.

81 Camden's *Britannia* 1637 (transl. Dr Holland) p 134.

82 Kenneth Nicholls 'Woodland Cover in pre-Modern Ireland' in Patrick J Duffy, David Edwards and Elizabeth FitzPatrick (eds) *Gaelic Ireland: c.1250 - c.1650* (Dublin, 2001) pp 200, 204-5.

83 W J Smith 'Society and Settlement in Seventeenth Century Ireland: the evidence of the "1659 Census"' in W J Smith and K Wheelan (eds) *Common Ground* (Cork, 1988) p 57.

84 The Marquis of Lansdowne *Glanerought and the Petty-FitzMaurices* (Oxford, 1937) pp 4-6.

85 *Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland* (Dublin, 1845) p 458.

86 Thomas Dinley 'Extracts from the Journal of Thomas Dinley, Esquire, giving some accounts of his visit to Ireland in the Reign of Charles II *JKSEIAC* Vol I (1856-7) p 177.

87 Colin A Lewis *Hunting in Ireland* (London, 1975) pp 21- 43 and passim.

88 H F Hoare 'A Choreographic Account of the Southern Part of the County of Wexford, written anno 1684, by Robert Keigh in that Countie' *JKSEIAS* Vol II (1859) p 467.

89 Roderic O'Flaherty *West or hIar-Connaught, written AD 1684* J Hardiman (ed) (Dublin, 1846) pp 12, 121-2.

90 Ibid.

91 Edward MacLysaght *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century* (Dublin, 1979) pp 334-49.

gave a graphic account of a red deer hunt with hounds, followed by men on horseback and on foot, in the Connemara mountains. But the 'some hundreds' of red deer he claimed to have seen on a hillside the day before the hunt must be regarded with the scepticism deserved by his statement in the same context that 'thousands of otters' could be seen about the numerous loughs in these mountains. Nevertheless, Dunton's account of the subsequent hunt, when three (out of six) deer were killed, has an authentic ring.

The contemporary accounts of the scarcity of red deer, coupled with the destruction of woodland, contradict Sir James Ware's description of Ireland in the mid-17th century as '...an island flowing in milk and honey...outstanding for hunting red deer'[92]. His reference to red deer must be as questionable as the milk and honey. While deer and venison were exchanged as gifts between the landed gentry in the 17th century, the accounts of these benefactions clearly stated they were emparked fallow deer[93].

What is certain is that from the end of the 17th century to the first quarter of the 19th century, deer were slaughtered in Ireland, with most of this occurring in the first third of the 18th century. From 1697 to 1819, a total of 10,369 deer skins were exported from Ireland, and to quote Professor Fairley, who stressed that the data may only be a minimum, 'it seems very likely that all exported hides listed under "deer" were *Cervus elaphus* [red deer]'. Fairley considered that the data was consistent with a 'fairly sustained slaughter... until the animals became too thin on the ground to sustain it'[94]. When the additional amount of over 3,400 deer hides that had been exported in the 16th century[95] are added, a total of at least 14,000 deer were killed in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. This must have decimated a population of native wild deer which may never have been abundant. Historical references from the 18th century onwards confirm that red deer numbers never recovered.

Wolves were not only the natural predators of red deer, but were regarded as 'the principal predator of livestock' in ninth century Ireland, where wolf-hunting was considered a public duty[96]. They became extinct in Ireland during the 18th century. Historical references to the hunting down and killing of the 'last wolf in Ireland', as critically reviewed by Fairley, indicate that the last wolf in Kerry was killed about 1720[97]. There is no record of deer numbers rebounding back and increasing after the wolves' demise, as might be expected to have happened had a viable population survived human exploitation and slaughter. Their numbers may well have been already too critically low by then.

Though predation by man continued by hunting for sport, food and commercial use, the existence of Irish deer parks in the 18th century may have eased some pressure on the remaining wild red deer as a source of venison. The deer park, an artificially created enclosure which could vary from several hundred acres to a small paddock and adjoined or was close to the mansions of the aristocracy on

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[92] Sir James Ware *De Hibernia et Antiquitatibus Eius* (1658). Caption of an engraving of an idealised, romantic landscape with several red stags grazing in the middle distance and background.

[93] *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Ireland, 1663-65* (London, 1907) pp 533, 637, 638-9, 649. These also refer to the menace of wolves.

[94] James S Fairley 'Exports of Wild Mammal Skins from Ireland in the Eighteenth Century' *INJ* Vol 21 No 2 (1983) pp 75-9.

[95] Longfield...*Anglo-Irish Trade*...op. cit.

[96] Kelly...*Early Irish Farming*...p 186

[97] James S Fairley *An Irish Beast Book* (Belfast, 1984) pp 288-311.

good land, became a fashion in England about the beginning of the 18th century (whereas previously, the deer park was frequently of much greater extent and placed away from the manor in poor, wild land)[98]. The deer park provided a ready supply of venison on the hoof, and also an easy source of hunting for royals and aristocracy, with the added advantage of an assured kill. This practice had royal approval. In 1591 Queen Elizabeth killed with a cross-bow 'three or four' fallow deer out of 30 that were specially placed in a paddock for her at Cowdry, in Sussex (the Countess of Kildare, who accompanied the Queen, killed one), and that evening for entertainment the queen watched greyhounds pull down 16 fallow bucks in the enclosure. Buck hunting in deer parks has been described as the most fashionable sport of the Elizabethan period[99]. By 1867 there were 334 deer parks in England, of which only about 31 kept red deer, the others holding fallow deer. The fashionable, elite English deer park was copied by the Irish aristocratic and land-owning gentry. One study has recorded a total of 118 Irish townlands bearing the name Deer Park, dating back to the 17th century[100].

Sir Valentine Browne, the third Viscount Kenmare, or Lord Kenmare as he was then commonly called, had moved from the family home at Ross Castle, Killarney, where a residential wing had been added in 1688, to a new house nearer Killarney town, in about 1726[101]. Near to this mansion, in keeping with the English tradition, he created his own deer park. It comprised an enclosure of 420 acres and 29 perches, to the northeast of his demesne in Killarney[102]. Entries in the Kenmare estate account books record a payment to John Barry for 'surveying Ballycasheen and part of Deer Park' in 1724; a payment of 15s each to 'Francis Sullevane and Derby Cronine [sic]...for land taken within the Deer park wall, being part of Ballydribeen' in c.1727; and a payment to John Murphy's account for '1,122 ground perches of Deer Park wall at 15s 2d a perch, as per agreement of 7 Oct., 1722'[103].

The stocking of Lord Kenmare's deer park was assisted by a gift to the Viscount, in 1725, of deer from Dromana, Co. Waterford. These were deer that were shipped out because the owner of that estate, Lord Grandison, was ploughing up his own deer park at Dromana[104]. The unspecified species of deer then introduced to Killarney was probably the deer common to deer parks, fallow deer[105]. Further deer were obtained by Lord Kenmare from Lixnaw, Co Kerry. This introduction was referred to in a Kenmare estate account book, 1724-7, detailing £2 8s 6d paid to 'James Rierdane [sic]' as expenses for 'carriage of his Lordship's deer from Lixnaw'[106], and it is more than likely that they also ended up in

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98 Evelyn Philip Shirley *Some Account of English Deer Parks* (London, 1867) p 50.

99 Ibid. pp 38, 40.

100 Ibid. p ix; see also Fergal Mulloy 'A Note on the Occurrence of Deer in Ireland' *Deer* Vol 2 No 2 (1970 pp 502-4.

101 *Kenmare Mss,* p x; Mark Bence-Jones *A Guide to Irish Country Houses* (London, revised edn., 1988) pp 162-3.

102 PRONI, Kenmare Papers. D/4151/S/1/A/174 Map of the Estate of the Right Hon'ble the Earl of Kenmare situate in the Barony of Magonihy and County of Kerry, Hand drawn by John Mangan, May 1856 - hereafter cited as 'Mangan's 1856 Map'. The Kenmare Papers in PRONI are exclusively catalogued under D/4151/, and are hereafter cited as 'PRONI D/4151/'.

103 *Kenmare Mss* pp 268, 274, 417.

104 Peter Somerville-Large *The Grand Irish Tour* (London, 1982) p 27.

105 This was confirmed in correspondence by Mr James Villiers-Stuart, who states that he 'would be fairly certain that they [deer transferred to Killarney in 1725] were fallow, considering the type of land at Dromana. There was a large herd of fallow deer in the *Forest* in my youth, probably about 75-100...In the absence of direct evidence, it would be safe to conclude that the deer referred to were fallow' - Villiers-Stuart to author, 30 October 1994.

105 *Kenmare Mss* p 270.

106 *Kenmare Mss* p 270.

Lord Kenmare's deer park. The Earl of Kerry's castle at Lixnaw, in North Kerry, must have been the source of these animals. If Lord Kenmare rigidly followed the English practice, these animals may also have been fallow deer, as the separate species of red and fallow deer were not usually kept within the same deer park at that time, it being the recommended practice in England from the early 17th century '...not by any means in one parke [to] mix the red deere and the fallow deere together...'[107]. However, as will be seen later, in the 19th century Lord Kenmare's descendants did keep both red and fallow deer together in their Killarney deer park.

Thirty years later, Lord Kenmare's son Sir Thomas Browne, the fourth Viscount Kenmare, had in mind that the deer kept in the lowlands of his deer park would be transferred to the Kerry hills. In connection with his mountains and woods in the 'Glins', he wrote in 1755 that he had '...some notion one time or other of enclosing some of them [the Glins] into a deer "peer" [park] with lime and sand wall and removing my deer thither'. The Glins were 'in and about the upper lakes [of Killarney]', and described by Kenmare himself to '...contain many thousand acres...mostly stupendous craggy mountains, little pasture on them but only on the bottoms and middle of some - that poor and only summer feeding; but on their sides are very large and beautiful woods as thriving as in the Kingdom. Wherever they are waste woods grow naturally and plenty of stags in them and other game'[108]. The Glins included 'Allanes' (today called Ullaunes), as an account of 1724-7 in the name of 'Derby Carthy, of Allanes, part of Glinns', confirmed[109]. The stags were the wild red deer stags, the male fallow deer always being referred to as a buck. When Smith wrote in 1756 he confirmed that Lord Kenmare had 'Not far from the house...a large and pleasant park, well wooded and stocked with deer, which he hath also in plenty in the forests of the adjacent mountains'[110]. A deer park wall built of lime and sand was typical of the English tradition, dating back to the early 17th century[111]. However, Lord Kenmare abandoned that idea, and his stock of imported deer remained penned within his deer park, adjacent to his Killarney demesne, for the next two centuries.

Though much reduced throughout the country, wild red deer were still sufficiently numerous in the Killarney hills and woods to enable both the Brownes and the Herberts to engage in the sport of stag hunting during the 18th century. It was a pastime and entertainment in which the local Gaelic chieftains themselves indulged and cooperated with the descendants of English settlers. It was practised by O'Sullivan More and his clan in the 1750s, who watched the hunt of the stag in the mountains near Bealach Beama[112], a wild mountain pass located about 10 miles west of the Killarney Lakes. And it was evidently also a practice of McCarthy Mor, whose hounds in about 1750 were said to have torn one Ned Hussey to pieces while, as a penance given to him for rape, he was on one of his annual tours of Killarney's lake[113].

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107 Quoted in Shirley...*English Deer Parks*...p 236.
108 *Kenmare Mss* pp 220-1.
109 Ibid. p 268.
110 Smith...*History of Kerry*...p 147.
111 Shirley...*English Deer Parks*...pp 233-4.
112 Friar O'Sullivan 'Ancient History of the Kingdom of Kerry' *JCHAS* Vol VI (1990) pp 100-1.
113 *Kenmare Mss* p 425.

The practice of stag hunting in Killarney was already well established by the mid 1700s. In 1725 a detailed cash account confirmed that Lord Kenmare and O'Sullivan More both combined in a joint hunt. The entry documented 'An express to O Sullevane More [sic] to meet his Lordship with a boat at Ross to go staghunting (24 Aug., 1725).. ...3d'[114]. His accounting records testify that Lord Kenmare's pack of hounds for stag hunting were well looked after. In the 1720s meal, graves and milk were purchased to feed them, and also to feed his spaniels, which were kept for wildfowling. A sum of 5s 5d was paid to Thomas Roche, huntsman, in 1724, for 'searching for Leader, a hound that went astray'[115].

A description of the style of stag hunting as practised in Killarney in the mid-18th century was given by a visitor, Richard Barton, in 1751. His account reveals that the chase was a sporting spectacle for visitors as well as for the personal enjoyment of the ascendancy. He noted that 'The fatigued creature [the stag] is often hunted to the soil [water], whither Instinct directs it for refreshment, and is either taken in the Water, by those who attend in boats to cast a rope upon the horns, or is killed in an Island'[116]. The proprietor of Killarney's lakes was Lord Kenmare. For this sport the stag was driven from the surrounding mountains, were they were described by Dr Smith, five years later in 1756, to be in 'great herds'[117] - an isolated reference that has been quoted many times as an indication of red deer abundance in Smith's time. Smith further stated that red deer were also to be found in the mountains near Ballyheigue, as well as in the Dingle Peninsula, and he described fallow deer running wild in the mountains east of Valentia Island, all in Co Kerry. However, Smith's description of the Killarney stag hunt simply repeated that 'the stag often flies to the soil for refreshment, where he is sometimes taken by persons who attend in boats to cast a rope over the horns; or the poor animal is pursued to some island where he is killed...'[118]. That account, so similar to Richard Barton's in 1751, was a thinly disguised copy, unacknowledged. Though he added that '...or being refreshed by swimming [the stag] is hunted again to the mountains', there is little in Smith's description to attest that he himself actually witnessed a stag hunt in Killarney. But there is no doubting that an account of a Killarney stag hunt by a visiting English judge, four years after Smith, was an eye-witness description of the event.********

Lord Chief Baron Edward Willes visited Killarney during his tour of the Munster circuit in 1760, and was entertained by Lord Kenmare, who, he wrote, '...has some staggs on the mountains which upon particular occasions he has hunted there. He did me the honour to order a stag hunt that day...The huntsman and all concern'd in the chase are on foot, and there are men placed on the passes of the hills to keep the stag within view of the boats upon the lake, and often the stag takes the water and is kill'd in the lake. But this stag got soon thro' a pass not guarded, and took into the farther mountains and was reprieved at my request and the dogs taken off'[119]. It is one of the earlier records of compassion for the hunted stag. Willes further described in detail a pair of eagles he witnessed on an island in Lough Leane,

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[114] Ibid. p 276.

[115] Ibid. pp 274, 277, 280. Graves were the residues left over after rendering fat.

[116] Richard Barton *Some Remarks, towards a Full Description of Upper and Lower Lough Lene, near Killarney, in the County of Kerry* (Dublin, 1751) p10.

[117] Smith ...*History of Kerry* ... pp 107, 132, 134, 211.

[118] Ibid. p 134.

[119] *The Letters of Lord Chief Baron Edward Willes to the Earl of Warwick 1757-62* James Kelly (ed) (Aberystwyth, 1990) p 65.

and his detailed account of the larger islands, especially Innisfallen, all attest to his personal observation, and his interest in natural history. He was shown the deer park by Lord Kenmare himself. This, he said, Lord Kenmare 'has divided...for 4 years last into equal parts in order to improve it, and has carried off the stones and blow'd up the rocks, and has laid down with clover and rye grass one part of it, which makes very beautiful lawns, and intends this year turning his deer into the improv'd part, and then he intends to take in hand the other moity'[120]. It was independent evidence that Lord Kenmare's idea in 1755 of creating a deer park in the Glins had been abandoned, and a year later he had undertaken to develop and improve his deer park near to his demesne, instead.

In the same year as Judge Willes's visit, William Ockenden, in one of a series of letters written in 1760, described his visit to Killarney, and also the stag hunt. He repeated that this entertainment was occasionally given by Lord Kenmare, when the stag, driven by hounds into the lake and there caught by boatmen, was brought in triumph to the shore, his antlers decked with arbutus boughs. This repetitive narration became typical of many subsequent accounts by visitors to Killarney who copied word-for-word earlier published accounts, resulting in a plagiarism so blatant that it remains questionable whether many of them had ever actually witnessed either a hunt or a deer themselves. Ockenden may have had personal observation, as he reported that the red deer used to descend at dawn from the mountains of Glena (spelled 'Glenaa') - 'to feed on the plains and meadows of Muckross'[121]. In that same year, Derrick had reported that the red deer were numerous among the Kerry mountains, and were, he said, 'amazingly fat'[122], and while it is tempting to attribute this to the early morning grazing by the animals in Muckross, it remains unclear whether his statement was based on accurate information, or simply a repeat of what he had heard.

A later account of the Killarney stag hunt in 1788 told how another local Gaelic leader, O Donoghue of the Glens, arranged the sport as a compliment to a Mrs. Pennyfeather. In this case the stag was 'taken up by Mr. Galway's boat and tied there... brought over... to this Isle [Innisfallen] ... he had been hunted once before, the tip of one ear being cut off - & now the tip of each is gone'[123]. Mr. Galway was Lord Kenmare's agent. Thus marking the hunted animal may well imply that captive stags were used to ensure certain quarry being available to entertain a visiting gentleman - something hardly necessary had there been 'great herds'.

The style of hunting thus described showed the influence of hunting terminology introduced by English settlers. This itself carried much of Norman influence[124] with the continued use of Old French words, one example in Killarney being 'soil' for water. Hunting methods by the native Irish about this time differed substantially from that practice by the Killarney gentry. It was described in detail for

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120 Ibid. pp 63, 66-7.

121 William Ockenden *Letters Describing the Lakes of Killarney and Muckross Gardens* (written 1760, Cork, n.d. - mss notation dated 1781) pp 4-10.

122 *Derrick's Letters* quoted in O'Flaherty...*Iar Connaught*...p 122n.

123 Gerard J Lyne 'Rev. Daniel A. Beaufort's Tour Of Kerry, 1788' *JKAHS* No 18 (1985) pp 191-2, n 42.

124 Trench...*Poacher and the Squire* ...p 62. Trench asserted that in the Middle Ages, English hunting was greatly influenced by Edward, Duke of York's *The Master of Game* which was based on the earlier *La Livre de la Chasse par Gaston de Foix* [Gaston Phoebus], and *La Chasse du Cerf* written c 1250.

County Donegal, where red deer still ran wild in the remote mountains[125]. Here, deer were driven into a palisade which gradually tapered to a narrow mouth ending over a deep trench concealed beneath a heather covering, with upright sharp stakes placed in the bottom. This was hunting for food, not for personal enjoyment. But though scarce, hunting the wild red deer just for sport was still practised by local gentry and aristocracy in the Knockmealdown mountains, County Waterford, in about 1735, as a court case over disputed hunting rights confirmed[126]. In County Antrim, the extensive hunting of both red and fallow deer in the late 17th and early 18th centuries was graphically described by Arthur Stringer who, looking back over 30 years as a huntsman, could boast that he had been 'at the death of a hundred brace of stags'[127]. Springer's hunting was for sport on horseback, following scenting packs of hounds, and may have referred to both emparked and wild deer.

Despite such hunting descriptions, the status of wild red deer numbers countrywide was already considered precarious by 1726, when Molyneux bemoaned that they were 'much more rare' now in Ireland, and added '...unless there be some care taken to preserve it...', he feared that in time the Irish wild red deer would be lost[128]. Molyneux, considered to have been a good zoologist[129], was additionally a conservationist over two hundred years ahead of his time as far as the wild red deer were concerned, but his plea did not stop the chase for sport and venison. In contrast to Molyneux's observation, Pococke reported 26 years later that the mountains west of Newport, County Mayo, were '*full* [my emphasis] of red deer...being never fat, however the hunting of them affords good diversion...but they frequently escape the dogs'[130]. A remnant population of red deer were to survive in the mountains of County Mayo for a further century, but whether their numbers were as plentiful in 1752 as Pococke implied is as questionable as whether he himself ever witnessed them - the use of an overstated adjective was not uncommon by 18th century travellers to emphasise their experiences.

These confirmations of indigenous red deer still running wild in the northwest, west and southwest of Ireland by the mid-18th century were describing residual populations driven to the last remaining wild habitats in the mountains. This is supported by reports from other parts of the country. In the 1770s red deer were claimed by Rutty to be still in Co. Dublin, but Harting, a century later in 1883, questioned whether in Rutty's day they really were in a wild state in Co Dublin at the time, or only in parks[131]. It was a valid query concerning the more populated county of Dublin, for by 1774 it was confirmed that only a few red deer now remained in the much more remote Knockmealdown mountains of County Waterford[132].

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125 R Welch 'The Last Wild Red Deer, Co. Donegal' *The Irish Naturalist* Vol XIV No 5 (1905) p 120.

126 Richard J Ussher 'Notes on the Red Deer' *Zoologist* Vol VI No 63 (London, 1852) pp 81-2.

127 Arthur Stringer *The Experienced Huntsman First written 1712* James Fairley (ed) (Belfast, 1977) pp 41-50, 52-71.

128 Thomas Molyneux *Natural History of Ireland in Three Parts* (Dublin, 1726) pp 143-4.

129 Praeger...*Irish Naturalists...* p 132.

130 Pococke *Pococke's Tour in Ireland in 1752* (Dublin, 1891) pp 85-6.

131 J Rutty *An Essay Towards a Natural History of the County of Dublin* (Dublin, 1772) quoted in James Edmond Harting *Essays on Sport and Natural History* (London, 1883) pp 319-20.

132 Charles Smith *The Ancient and Present State of the County of Waterford* (Dublin, 1774) pp 343-4.

The destruction of red deer habitat in Killarney and west Cork had already started in the 18th century, as the Kenmare estates underwent a revival. After deteriorating during forfeiture following the Jacobite wars when the Browne family were reduced to penury, the Kenmare estates, already deeply in debt, had to be rebuilt into a viable enterprise. The third Viscount, Valentine Browne, succeeded the inheritance in 1720, and a survey showed his estates to have comprised 136,814 statute acres in 1721 (107,650 in Co. Kerry, 4,632 in Co. Limerick, and 24,532 in Bantry, Co. Cork), though the actual total was larger, as unsurveyed lands were omitted. An initial act of Valentine's was the sale of a large area of woods from his estate at Bantry in 1727[133]. Thirty years earlier, in 1699, the woods in 'Barlome', Bantry, had already been commercially exploited - 108 tons of bark stripped, 17,880 staves made, 318 horse loads of rafters cut, 48 tons of timber sold, and other sundry extractions of timber[134].

Valentine's son Thomas succeeded him in 1736, and it was this fourth Viscount, a prudent manager during his 59 years of office until his death in 1795, who was to return the estates to a sound financial basis. In Killarney, the exploitation of the Kenmare estate's woodlands during 1724-7 under the third Viscount had meant that rafters from Glena woods, three and three-quarter tons of timber (axle-trees) from Gortdromakiery, a ton of timber from Scrahanfadda were taken out, and a John Glissane was paid £1 3s 6d for '44 men cutting wood in Ennisfallen [Innisfallen Island]'. Lowland habitat adjacent to the Kenmare residence in Killarney was also exploited by the extraction of turf from the bogs at Bunrower and Reen[135]. The fourth Viscount set to work to convert his great landholdings back into a viable situation by emulating his predecessor and cutting down more woodland. In London, the new bustle of activities in Lord Kenmare's estate - and other estates in Kerry - was viewed approvingly. 'We have Accounts from Killarney' reported a London newspaper, 'of the very great Encouragement given by the Right Hon the Lord Kenmare...to [his]Tenants, by premiums, for draining of Bogs, improving the Mountains, inclosing of Land with Quicket Hedges and Ditches, planting of Trees, building of Houses, and mending of Roads...'[136]. By 1776 the Derrycunnihy oakwoods, part of Lord Kenmare's estate adjacent to the Glins, and habitat for red deer and game, were being cut down[137]. This was deplored at the time by the visitor Arthur Young, not because it threatened the red deer - Young did not mention having seen them in Killarney - but on account of the importance he attached to woodland. However, Young went on to record that the Killarney woods of Glena and Tomies still existed[138], substantially at any rate. Glena was part of the Kenmare property, while the Herberts of Muckross owned Tomies. Both of these woodlands harboured red deer, as subsequently referenced. Lord Kenmare put some of his deer and game habitat to other uses, and leased parts of Glena and Arbutus Island on Lough Leane to Viscount Kingsborough in 1779[139].

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133 *Kenmare Mss* ppx-xii, p 455.

134 Ibid. pp 390-1.

135 Ibid. pp 266-78.

136 *General Evening Post (London)* 24 December 1748.

137 Dunn *A Description of Killarney* (Dublin, 1776) pp 8-11, 27.

138 Arthur Young *Arthur Young's Tout in Ireland 1776-1779* Vol I A W Hutton (ed) (London, 1892) pp 352, 355, 360-1.

139 PRONI , D/4151/B/82/1. Lease...between the Rght. Hon. Lord Viscount Kenmare and the Rght. Hon. Lord Viscount Kingsborough...24 September 1779. The lease is much damaged, with parts missing.

Contemporary with this growing commercial exploitation, the stag hunts in Killarney continued to be organised for important and family visitors. One was recounted by Dorothea Herbert, when she accompanied her father and family to Muckross to visit their kinfolk in 1786. A hunt was organised for them by the Herberts of Muckross 'under Toamies and Glena mountains'[140]. The account of the stag hunt two years later, in 1788 (already referred to as the hunt organised by O'Donoghue of the Glens), reported that there were 'great numbers' [of red deer].....at Mucrus...who eat up the corn...unless watched very close...'[141]. Several similar accounts of the Killarney stag hunt were published towards the end of the 18th century. A French visitor in 1790, who was appalled by the poverty of the ordinary people in Kerry, mentioned that Lord Kenmare kept 'a few does' in his deer park[142], confirmation that they were fallow deer, most likely descendants from those obtained 65 years earlier from Lord Grandison. And a further French visitor a few years later described the stag hunt which he claimed to have seen in Killarney[143]. Just as the century was about to close, one of the most fanciful and colourful accounts of the stag hunt was published, announcing that big tears started from the stag's eyes when his escape from the hounds was no longer possible[144]. Romanticism was now part of how the stag hunt was described.

Tourism was developing in Killarney, and before the century was out a tourist guidebook narrated that the Derrycunnihy oakwoods had been cut down, and the Herberts had begun commercial tree planting on Torc mountain in their Muckross estate. And for those who might never see it, but may have wished to write about it in their travelogues, the guidebook repeated more or less verbatim accounts of the hunt, and of the stag's antlers being decked with arbutus boughs when he was caught[145]. It was not stag hunting, however, but politics that now concerned the Brownes. On his death in 1795, the fourth Viscount Kenmare was succeeded by his son Valentine Browne, who, born in 1754, was created Baron of Castlerosse and Viscount Kenmare in 1798. On 2 January 1801, the Roman Catholic and Unionist Lord Kenmare was elevated to a higher rank of aristocracy when, in return for his support of the Union, he was created Viscount Castlerosse and Earl of Kenmare[146].

By the start of the 19th century, inroads into the woods of Derrycunnihy and Torc, south of the Killarney Valley, and of Glena and Tomies, north of the Valley, seriously threatened the continued existence of wild red deer, as removal of concealment facilitated exploitation. This was commented on by one of the most competent and experienced of visitors to Killarney at the time. Isaac Weld collected most of his information first hand in 1800, returning repeatedly to Killarney afterwards, where he said that he 'occasionally remained for several months together'[147]. His narrative carries the authenticity of

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[140] Dorothea Herbert *Retrospections of Dorothea Herbert 1770-1806* (Dublin reprint, 1988) pp 148-50.

[141] Beaufort '...Tour in Kerry 1788...' pp 191-3.

[142] Charles Etienne Coquebert de Montbret: 'A new View of Eighteenth Century Life in Kerry' Sile Ni Chinneide (ed) *JKAHS* No 6 (1973) pp 83-91.

[143] Delatocnaye *A Frenchman's Walk Through Ireland 1796-97* J Stevenson (transl) (Belfast, 1984) pp 98 - 107.

[144] G Holmes *Sketches of Some of the Southern Counties of Ireland, Collected During a Tour in the Autumn 1797, in a Series of Letters* (London, 1801) pp 148-51.

[145] *The Post Chaise Companion : or Traveller's Directory Through Ireland* (c.1795) pp 259- 83.

[146] *Complete Peerage* pp 114-5. See also James S Donnelly Jr 'The Kenmare Estates During The Nineteenth Century' Part I *JKAHS* 1988 p 19. This, and Parts II and III of the same study in *JKAHS* 1989 and 1990 respectively, are hereafter cited as Donnelly...Kenmare Estates...and relevant Part.

[147] Isaac Weld *Illustrations of the Scenery of Killarney and the Surrounding Country* (London, 1812) p iii.

personal observation. Red deer, he said, were still running wild on the mountains of Glena, but he expressed his fear for their future as the Glena woods were being cut away. His account of the stag hunt, which he undoubtedly witnessed, confirmed that the stag, when caught, had marks on his ears which showed he had been hunted twice before. It would have been exceptional coincidences for the same wild and free-ranging animal to be hunted and caught three times, and it once more raises the question whether it was a captive animal that was used as quarry, though from Weld's account the stag appeared to have been a wild one, selected the day before by an experienced person who waited throughout the night on the mountain, to pinpoint his location to the huntsmen[148]. Weld told how a company of soldiers was placed along the mountain top 'who, keeping up a running fire, effectuely deterred him [the stag] from once ascending'. The stag was hunted into the lake and caught alive, spared death and released the following day from 'out of the stable at Colonel Herbert's... into Mucruss Demesne'. Weld's most significant comment, apart from his concern for the survival of the wild red deer, was that the stag hunt was considered a costly exercise. The expense, he said, and the uncertainty of its success, prevented 'the frequency of its recurrence'[149].

The presence of wild red deer south of the Killarney Valley was indicated by Radcliffe about 1815, when he described the 'defile gorge running between Torc and Mangerton [mountains]'[150]. This mountain valley carried the travel route between the towns of Killarney and Kenmare/Nedeen, and passed through the estates of both the Herberts and the Kenmares. Known as the Glanerought Road[151], it was considered a rough passage, negotiated in part by saddle horse[152]. This highway became obsolete when a new road - the one in use today - between Killarney and Kenmare/Nedeen was completed in 1823[153]. The abandoned Glanerought Road gradually became known later as the Old Kenmare Road.

The traditional stag hunt continued being repetitively described, though there were by now some variations. In 1820 the hunt occurred in the area of the Long Range, a narrow stretch of water connecting Killarney's Upper and Muckross, or Middle, Lakes. This time, the hounds killed the stag[154]. Two years later the cost of staging a hunt was again mentioned, the author remarking that the stag hunt was available to the person who was prepared to foot the expense[155]. Visitors to Killarney who wished to acquire the status of having a hunt organised in their honour would have to pay for it.

Sir Walter Scott was not impressed when he visited Killarney in 1825. His disappointment may have been reinforced by the fact that a stag hunt was not staged for him, though it was usually provided, presumably free of charge, for distinguished visitors[156], which Scott evidently regarded himself to be.

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148 This special duty was the task of a man called a 'Harbourer', a term in general use in Britain. See Charles Palk Collyns *Notes on the Chase of the Wild Red Deer in the Counties of Devon and Somerset* (London, 1862) pp 72-98, for a detailed description of the duties and names given to different types of huntsmen and hounds in English stag hunting.

149 Weld...*Killarney*... pp 151-5.

150 'Radcliffe's Farming Tour Through Kerry, Forty Years Ago' *The Kerry Magazine* No 32 Vol III (1856) pp 133-5.

151 *Post Chaise*... map between pp 260-1.

152 Lansdowne...*Glanerought*... p 120.

153 Ibid. p 122.

154 G K N Smith *Killarney and the Surrounding Scenery: being a Complete Itinerary of the Lakes* (Dublin, 1822) pp 179-80.

155 G N Wright *A Guide to the Lakes of Killarney* (London, 1822) pp 34-5.

156 J Windle *Historical and Descriptive Notes of the City of Cork and its Vicinity; Gougaun Barra, Glengarriff, and Killarney* (Cork, 1839) p 327.

The reason was subsequently stated to have been due to the death of the huntsman on the day of Scott's arrival[157]. The hunt was also an occasion for socialising and merrymaking by the gentry; indeed it was described by Daniel O'Connell (the Liberator) as 'a rascally stag hunt'[158]. To judge by an account of a hunt in 1827, tempers of the gentry were quick to flare up. On this occasion, after the stag was caught and then released, the followers rowed to Innisfallen Island where 'they dined, sung and danced to a late hour', but while returning from the revelries this outing ended with a duel between Henry Morrogh of Cork and Francis Bland of Killarney[159]. But the natives were expected to know their place. In 1829, when the hunt was under the charge of John O'Connell, brother of Daniel O'Connell (two of whose brothers were now living in Killarney; one at Lakeview and the other, the hunter John, at Grenagh), it was declared that no boat following the hunt on the lake was to go ahead of the Earl of Kenmare's boat[160]. Stags, however, did not differentiate between peasant and aristocrat. In the 1840s, as the Earl of Bantry walked in his grounds at Glengarriff, County Cork, he was attacked by a red deer stag and never recovered from his wounds[161]. It was an extremely rare event in the Irish historical record.

Fallow deer were hunted in Killarney concurrently with, and apparently more regularly than the wild red stags. They were taken from the gentlemens' parks and 'shaken before the hounds'. In the 1820s the Laune Beagles, a Killarney-based pack kept by O'Connell of Grenagh, hunted red deer, hares, and fallow deer[162]. The fallow deer were being hunted in County Kilkenny[163], as well as by several packs of hounds elsewhere in Ireland[164]. These hunts, followed on horseback, used the same scenting hounds to hunt fox.

Red and fallow were still the only two deer species in Ireland, but by now wild red deer must have been low in numbers and close to extinction throughout most of the country, and possibly likewise in Killarney. Their status in County Mayo was already described by Maxwell in 1832 as being 'sadly diminished' and likely to soon became extinct[165]. Maxwell's extensive account gave details of red deer calves being caught in the wild and brought to deer parks, where efforts to domesticate and breed them in captivity were not successful. But in stark contrast to the sentiments and concern he had expressed for their survival, Maxwell wrote that he and his friends gloried in stalking and killing two of the very few animals that remained. Although Maxwell was correct in stressing the scarcity of native red deer in Erris in his times, the authenticity of his stalking episode must be doubted. He was an obscure country curate who gained access to social status through marriage, and he gathered the information on Erris while

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157 *Parliamentary Gazetteer*... p 457; Mr and Mrs S C Hall *Killarney and the South of Ireland* (1865, Facsimile edn, Cork, 1976) p 77n; D J O'Donoghue *Sir Walter Scott's Tour in Ireland in 1825* (Dublin, 1905) pp 77-8.

158 Daniel O'Connell *The Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell* Maurice R O'Connell (ed) Vols i-viii (Irish Manuscripts Commission 1972-80), Letter 1133 O'Connell to wife, 26 September 1824. Hereafter cited as O'Connell *Correspondence.* Other references by O'Connell to the Killarney stag hunt are in letter 492 (9 September 1814), letter 747 (9 September 1818), and letter 2743 (9 September 1840). The coincidence of the same date in each year is remarkable.

159 *Times* 11 July 1827.

160 T Crofton Croker *Killarney Legends* (London, 1831) pp 173-80.

161 ABR (Archdeacon Rowan) *Lake Lore, or an Antiquarian Guide to Some of the Ruins and Recollections of Killarney* (Dublin, 1853) pp 166-7.

162 *Chute's Chronicle* 11 March 1824.

163 A O Suileabhain *Cin Lae Amhlaoibh* T de Bhaldraithe (eag) (Baile Atha Cliath, 1982) pp 24, 28.

164 Lewis...*Hunting in Ireland*...op. cit.

165 W H Maxwell *Wild Sports of the West* (1832, Dublin reprint, n.d.) pp 102-5, 225-35.

staying at the shooting lodge of the Marquis of Sligo at Ballycroy. It must be noted that his book, *Wild Sports of the West,* a much-quoted work, though based on local information, was still a fictional autobiography[166].

Red deer numbers were so low by the late 1830s that their future survival was in serious doubt. In Connemara, they were said to be still extant in 'these untamed regions' in 1823-4[167], but when the Irish naturalist John Thompson went on tour to ascertain the status of Irish wildlife in 1835, he reported that only 25 red deer could be said to exist in the province of Connaught - 13 in Connemara and 12 in Erris[168]. Maxwell had reported that the last red deer in County Mayo was seen in the valley of Dorragha, in 'the year of the big snow', about 1834[169]. And by 1840, Thompson reported that only a 'small number' of red deer still remained in the Galtee mountains, County Tipperary[170]. In Kerry, their numbers were unreported, but during the 1840s their future and importance were transformed in Killarney, when two deer forests were established.

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166 Colin McKelvie 'Notes Towards a Bibliography of William Hamilton Maxwell (1792-1850)' *Irish Booklore* Wesley McCann (ed) Vol 3 No 1 (Belfast, 1976) pp 33-42.

167 *Letters from the Irish Highlands of Connemara* by the Blake Family of Renvyle House, 1823/1824 (Clifden, reprint, 1995) Letter xx, p 76.

168 William Thompson *The Natural History of Ireland* Vol IV (London, 1856) pp 30-2.

169 Maxwell...*Wild Sports*... p 104.

170 Thompson op. cit.

2

The Killarney Deer Forests: 1840 - 1850.

The origins of modern Irish deer forests, of the 19th and 20th centuries, are Scottish. The archetype medieval deer forest, exclusively reserved for the hunting pleasure of royalty, was dissimilar to a new style of deer stalking which began to emerge in Scotland in the 18th century. Traditionally, the deer forest of Scotland - typically open mountain and high moorland where wild red deer roamed free - had provided venison and game for the Laird's table, though the Heather Lairds, as they came to be known, did not themselves shoot, but employed a *Sealgair* (hunter) to fill their larders[1]. Cameron of Lochiel confirmed that even by the beginning of the 19th century it was still 'not always... "good form" ' for an owner of a deer forest, holding a high social position, to go out stalking himself[2]. Different practices were to characterise this new and modern fashion of hunting red deer. The Scottish deer forest was now to be let to a paying tenant for a shooting and stalking season. Money values, and the commercialisation of a hitherto exclusively owner's sport, had arrived.

Scottish-style deer stalking involved stealthily approaching the quarry on the open hillside, until the hunter was within accurate musket or rifle shot range. This often meant crawling the last few hundred metres or so through wet bogs, pools and streams. It was undertaken by the lessee himself, with the assistance of the traditional gamekeeper/hunter who had evolved into a specialised *stalker*, and of helpers called *ghillies*. From his traditional duties of supplying venison for his Laird, the stalker had expert and practical knowledge of deer and their home grounds on the hills. Now, accompanied by ghillies who carried equipment, food and beverage, he guided the paying tenant, called the *gentleman,* on the mountain, selected the deer to be shot, and at times had to kill the animal himself when a lessee only succeeded in wounding a stag. The dead prey was then brought down in triumph, on the back of a specially trained *garron* (also the usual Irish name for a work-horse) to a hunting lodge purposely constructed for the new pursuit. The stag's head was later mounted by a taxidermist and displayed as a *trophy* item in the gentleman's home. This became the sport, or 'art', of deer stalking in the Scottish Highlands.

One of the earliest records of such individual stalking, described as the forerunner of the modern style, was in 1732 by Lord George Murray, younger brother of the Duke of Atholl, who 'enjoyed taking violent exercise'. Even though the 'Clearances' of the Scottish glens for sheep walks, approximately 1780-1820, had left more land empty for deer to colonise, it was estimated that by 1811 the red deer population in Scotland had reached its nadir, and only about six forests were left in which deer were actively preserved. Sheep farming had become unprofitable, and in 1812 the Duke of Gordon advertised the letting of the sporting rights of his forest at Glenfeshie. Regarded as a very strange action at the time, it was an important development which ushered in red

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[1] Michael Wigan *The Scottish Highland Estate* (Shrewsbury, 1991) p 21.

[2] Cameron of Lochiel 'Deer-Stalking' in Alfred E T Watson (ed) *Red Deer* (Fur and Feather Series, London, 1896) pp 81-2.

deer stalking being viewed as a commercial enterprise. The idea caught on, and by 1833 deer stalking in the Scottish Highlands had become 'all the rage'[3].

The sporting potential of the Scottish Highlands was recognised and exploited, so that by 1839 a total of 28 deer forests had been formed[4]. The sport was romanticised and popularised by the influential writings of authors like Scrope, who described it: 'As for the sport itself, that no one could have a proper conception of till he is chief in command, and be able to stalk deer himself'. Scrope added that it was the 'desire to evince this skill... which carries the ardent deer-stalker through bog, through burn, up hill, and down precipice; creeping, wading, running, or lying; heedless alike of mire, waters, and fatigue...'[5]. It was further romanticised by the hugely popular paintings and engravings of the Landseers, which depicted the red deer stag as a quarry of outstanding beauty.

The Industrial Revolution had created a new rich in Britain, and wealthy, ambitious shooting enthusiasts, hopeful of bagging a prize trophy, flocked to the Highlands. It was an event of high significance, therefore, when the sport of red deer stalking in Scotland received royal approval. Queen Victoria and Prince Albert went north to Scotland in 1842; they 'visited Drummond Castle... and the Prince shot two stags'[6]. Queen Victoria's own account stated that 'Albert returned, dreadfully sunburnt, and a good deal tired; he had shot a stag'[7]. Albert came from a strong tradition of hunting and shooting red deer and game. The country residence at Reinhardsbrunn of Duke Ernest I - Albert's father and Queen Victoria's uncle - contained a collection of antlers and antler furniture; this house was said to have given much pleasure to Queen Victoria[8]. The Prince's shooting exploits in Scotland put the seal of royal esteem on the sport and physical exertions of Scottish-style deer stalking, and proved to be an impetus for the proliferation of deer forests and hunting lodges in the Highlands. In Victorian Britain, where the copying of royalty and aspirations to be accepted by the aristocracy were established methods of displaying one's new found wealth, a new industry was born in the Highlands.

Scottish influence was already a feature of the Killarney estates of both the Brownes and the Herberts by the start of the 19th century. In 1801 Andrew Donnan, 'a native of Scotland', planted 16 acres of 'Turk' (Torc) mountain in the Herbert estate with 97,000 trees - Scotch fir, oak, ash and sycamore, and '22 pecks of acorns'. He continued planting each year, at least until 1812 when his own record of his nurseryman's work was furnished to Radcliffe[9]. This included an additional 620,000 trees planted in various parts of the Muckross estate, including Torc, and also the replacing of 'the wood of Tomis [Tomies], 1,500 acres, by 49,000 three year old oak'. In the neighbouring Kenmare estate Mr Wright, Lord Kenmare's nurseryman, planted 1,204,500 seedlings, and trees 'from 2 to 3 feet high' - oak, ash, beech, holly, larch, Scotch fir, Norway spruce, English elm, birch, sycamore, alder, arbutus and various ornamental shrubs. Much of these were seedlings gathered 'from the old woods', and

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3 Duff Hart-Davis 'Deer-Stalking and the Highlands' *Deer* Vol 9 No 1 (1993) pp 14 - 16.

4 Willie Orr *Deer Forests, Landlords and Crofters* (Edinburgh, 1982) p 168

5 William Scrope *The Art of Deer Stalking* (London, 1838) pp 139, 273.

6 Orr ... *Deer Forests...* p 29.

7 Queen Victoria *Leaves From the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands* (London, 1868 edn) p 34.

8 Godfrey and Margaret Scheele *The Prince Consort* (London, 1977) p 42.

9 The Rev Thomas Radcliffe *Report of the Agriculture and Livestock of the County of Kerry prepared under the directions of the Farming Society of Ireland* (Dublin, 1814) pp 100 - 103. An unattested item in the *Killarney Echo* of 19 August 1916 on trees reported to have been planted in 1804 by the Herberts, by Lord Lansdowne and by Lord Headley in the Killarney and Kenmare/Nedeen districts appears to have been based on Radcliffe's *Report*.

raised in the nursery which Wright began on 1 August 1811. He compared tree growth and culture in Ireland with his own experience in Scotland; some of the seeds, for example wych-elm, were brought from Scotland[10].

In other estates in Killarney, connections with Scotland had also been established. The agricultural implements used by Mr Cronin of The Park, Killarney, were 'of the Scottish kind'[11]. By 1814 Lord Hedley, whose residence at Aghadoe was close to the north shore of Lough Leane, had established a nursery of six acres 'on the borders of the lake ... closely planted with seedlings from Scotland'[12].

By far the most influential Scottish effect on the lifestyle of the Herberts, and on the management practices of their Muckross estate, came about through marriage. Henry Arthur Herbert (1815-1866) - hereafter H A Herbert I to differentiate from his son and grandson of similar name[13] - the eldest son and heir of Charles Herbert, proprietor of the Muckross estate, was just eight years old when his father, aged 36, died in 1823 from an apoplectic fit, several of which he had suffered from the excitement and stress of his great passion, hunting. Henry's mother Louisa, who was expecting her sixth child, was devastated by her husband's death, and returned to her original home in Dorchester, England, taking her family with her. Henry Arthur thus had an essentially British upbringing, and did not return to reside in Muckross, his family home, until attaining majority in 1836[14].

Henry attended Eaton, where his younger brother Charles was killed at cricket practice. After Louisa's death in 1828, Henry, now the only male, became head of the family at age 13. On graduating from Trinity College, Cambridge, he went on the traditional grand European tour in 1834, during which he was introduced to Mary Balfour, daughter of a wealthy family from Whittinghame, Scotland. They were married in 1837. Mary's father, James Balfour, gave his daughter a dowry of £40,000, Henry guaranteeing a similar amount to Mary and her children. Before the wedding contract was signed, Sir Anthony Maitland, a cousin of the Balfours, visited and inspected Muckross, and his report on the estate was said not to have been favourable. Henry's future father-in-law offered advice and personnel to improve the Muckross estate. About this time Lord Kenmare had a detailed survey and map prepared, dated 1837, of the boundary between his and the adjoining Herbert holdings on the north-facing slopes and summit of Mangerton mountain[15]. This may have been as a result of Maitland's survey of the Herbert estate, but the fact that the borders were settled by arbitration implies that the exact boundary was ill-defined prior to this, and that the mountain was considered of some importance. That the boundary marches on mountains were uncertain was neither uncommon or confined to Killarney. In the 1820s most of the Highland estates in Scotland were unmarked on the ground, and ignorance of the exact boundary was common[16].

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[10] Ibid. pp 75 - 81.

[11] Ibid. p 71.

[12] Ibid. p103.

[13] Technically he was the second Henry Arthur Herbert, his grandfather being the first. However, in subsequent Land Commission files he was referred to as Henry Arthur Herbert I, and this is here followed.

[14] Details of Henry Arthur Herbert and Mary Balfour, unless otherwise referenced, are taken from Nell Spillane 'The Life and Times of Mary Herbert', unpublished typescript, 30 pp, c 1987, in MHA. Det aiSources for that research were the private Journals of Jane Herbert, Henry's sister, at Bantry House Co Cork, and prime source material from the Balfour family at Whittinghame, Scotland. Despite repeated searches during this study, Jane Herbert's Journals could not be again found at Bantry House, while some of the Balfour family papers had since been burned - Nell Spillane, personal communication , 4 March 1997.

15 PRONI, D/4151/S/1/A/103. MAP of the Boundary of the Estates of the Earl Kenmare and Henry A Herebert Esq between the Devil's Punchbowl and the Bottom of Mangerton Mtn in the Barony of Magonihy and County Kerry. As settled by Arbitrators in November 1836 and surveyed and marked upon the ground by H Stokes C.E. The map is signed in mss: Henry Stokes April 3rd 1837.

[16] Duff Hart-Davis *Monarchs of the Glen: A History of Deer Stalking in Scotland* (1975, Penrith reprint, 1995) pp 52-3.

After their marriage, Henry and Mary Herbert first lived at Torc Cottage, Killarney. In 1838 work on their new home, Muckross House, was commenced - by a Scottish builder, with Scottish tradesmen, working to a Scottish architect's plans, all imported to Killarney. Also brought over to Muckross were Scottish personnel: foresters, gamekeepers, gardeners, grooms and house servants. One of these must have been John Ross, who was his Scottish steward of the Muckross estate in the 1840s, and who later became the source of information on the red deer in Muckross.

Scottish influences in the Kenmare family, additional to those of foresters and tree importations, were further attested by the 'Freedom of the City of Edinburgh [being given] to Rt. Hon. Thomas, Viscount Kenmare, of the Kingdom of Ireland' on 3 October 1749[17]. Almost 100 years later, the Earl of Kenmare paid subscription to the *Edinburgh Review*[18]. The Brownes were very well aware of British aristocratic life and its sporting practices. They regarded themselves as part of British aristocracy, and had ample opportunity to learn how their counterparts in Britain amused themselves. The Earl and Countess of Kenmare travelled extensively, lived in London, and in 1830, for example, they were accorded a huge public welcome on their returned to Killarney after an absence of two years[19].

Game shooting, especially of woodcock and pheasants, was a pastime for both the Kenmares and the Herberts. The second Earl, Sir Valentine Brown (1788-1853), who had succeeded his father in 1812, kept a pheasantry[20], where pheasant eggs were hatched and pheasant chicks reared before being released to his woodlands for subsequent game shooting. The Earl paid for public notices of game preservation in his mountains every year from 1838 to 1851[21], and in the late 1830s and early 1840s Henry Arthur Herbert I also publicly advertised that his lands and mountains were strictly preserved for game[22]. In the 1840s the second Earl was recorded as throwing open his 'splendid coverts' to English sportsmen for woodcock shooting in Killarney[23]. For this entertainment the Earl kept a substantial body of gamekeepers and woodrangers (in the Kenmare papers the distinction between gamekeeper, woodranger and caretaker is often blurred, the terms apparently being interchangeable, depending on who made the book entry). In 1837-8, a total of 13 persons were employed[24]. Also paid were gamekeepers' bills for meal, powder and shot, and the expenses of a game prosecution[25]. Gamekeeping was an important function, to judge by comparative salaries. For example, Clement Sinnet,

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17 *Kenmare Mss* p 425.

18 PRONI , D/4151/K/86. Account Book - payment £2 3s 6d to King & Co for the *Edinburgh Review* 6 October 1838.

19 *Times* 17 August 1830.

20 PRONI D/4151/K/86 Account Book - Deal boards purchased for pheasantry, £0 8s 8d, 31 March 1838.

21 PRONI , D/4151/K/86. Account Book - Entries on 17 October 1838; 2 October 1839; 10 October 1840; 1 September 1841; 9 September 1842; August 1843 (date not specified); 4 September 1844; 8 September 1845; 25 August 1846; 26 August 1847; 1 September 1848; 20 August 1849; 24 August 1850; 27 August 1851; advertised mostly in *Kerry Examiner, Kerry Evening Echo, Tralee Chronicle.*

22 *Tralee Mercury* 11, 18 August 1838; *Kerry Examiner* 9 August 1842; *Tralee Chronicle* 17, 24 October 1844

23 *Tralee Chronicle* 28 October 1843.

24 PRONI, D/4151/K/87. Abstract of Accounts 1837-39. The gamekeepers were: Geo. McLaren, probably head keeper, at £70 p.a., Ml. Boylan at £70 p.a., Luke Shayler, underkeeper, at £30 p.a., P. Crowley, gamekeeper in Gortacarhin, at £5 p.a., D. Cronin, gamekeeper in Knockbee, at £5 p.a., (?) Lucy, gamekeeper in Bantry, at £5 p.a. The woodrangers were: D. Moynihan, in Derrycunnihy, at £10 p.a., Donald Small, in Glena, at £30 p.a., T. Finnegan and (?) Sullivan, both in Ballaghcummane, and both at £2 p.a., T. Sullivan, in Kilbrean, at £2 p.a., D Scannell, in Lissivigeen, at £2 p.a., and James Breen, described as gamekeeper in Kiltees, at £4, period unstated (placenames as written in the Kenmare ledgers). Payments varied in dates, and from three to six months periods; all have been grossed up to yearly sums for comparative purposes.

25 Ibid. 5 December 1837; 6 March, 3 April and 1 May 1838.

described as Steward and Agriculturist, was paid £120 p.a.[26], the highest paid person in the Kenmare's account books at the time, compared to the head keeper at £70 p.a. The lowest paid people involved in game preservation were men who minded game in outlying districts of the Kenmare estate.

With such a convening of shooting acquaintances and the interchange of experiences with their guests, the Kenmare family's approach to field game and method of game management was heavily influenced by British practice. In keeping a pheasantry, the Earl was copying exactly his English peers. The breeding of pheasants in England for sporting purposes had commenced in early Tudor times[27], and the intensive rearing of more pheasants to provide even more birds for *battue* shooting (game driven towards stationary shooters) commenced at Blenheim in 1787[28]. The pheasant, an exotic species generally regarded as having been introduced to Ireland in the second half of the 16th century[29], became the most important game bird due to it being easily hand-reared[30]. With this background of aristocratically favoured shooting, the Earl could not have been other than aware of the development of the sport of deer stalking in Scotland, and must have been fully aware of the influx of Scottish workers and gamekeepers into the adjoining Muckross estate.

In this atmosphere of already well established game bird shooting and game protection, the Killarney deer forests came into being. When this happened has not been accurately established, in contrast to conjecture in popular literature. The basis of most of this conjecture has been the writings of Sir Ralph Payne-Gallwey in 1882. But prior to Payne-Gallwey, and writing in 1874, "Q" (unidentified) of Trinity College, Dublin, quoted from a letter he had then recently received from Mr Ross who, he stated, 'has charge of the deer over Mr Herbert's estate at Killarney'. As quoted by "Q", Ross was reported as saying

> The old original stock of red deer are here in plenty...Previous to the year 1842 the poor beasts had been rather persecuted - hunted down, in fact, as they were destructive to the young trees. The late Mr Herbert, about the time I mention, altered all that...Under strict surveillance as it remains now, I venture to say that there is not a better stocked forest for its size in the three kingdoms[31].

The 'late Mr Herbert' referred to by Ross was Henry Arthur Herbert I, who had died in 1866[32], and was succeeded by his son, Henry Arthur Herbert II.

On the basis of this source in the *Field,* the year 1842 was taken by Payne-Gallwey as being the date of establishment for both of the Killarney deer forests[33], and although Ross's account to 'Q' was the original assertion, Payne-Gallwey's book has subsequently become the much-quoted reference source. Payne-Gallwey (1848-1916), born six years after the suggested date of establishment, obviously had no personal knowledge of the event. His accounts were based on correspondence and hearsay, and it remains far from certain that the

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26 Ibid. 30 October 1838.

27 Keith Thomas *Man and the Natural World :Changing Attitudes in England 1500 - 1800* (Penguin edn, 1984) p 276

28 Trench...*Poacher and Squire...* p 136.

29 P G Kennedy, Robert F Rutledge, C F Scroope, assisted by G R Humphreys *The Birds of Ireland* (London, 1954) p 125; W B Tegetmeier *Pheasants their Natural History and Practical Management* (London 4th edn, 1904) p 33. Smith stated pheasants were numerous in Kerry in 1756 - *History of Kerry* p 371.

30 Stephen Tapper *Game Heritage : An Ecological Review from Shooting and Gamekeeping Records* (Game Conservancy, Hampshire, 1992) p 42.

31 *Field* 2 May 1874. 'Q' of Trinity College remains unidentified.

32 *Tralee Chronicle* 2 March 1866.

33 Sir Ralph Payne-Gallwey *The Fowler in Ireland* (London, 1882) p 320.

Killarney deer forests were created in 1842. What happened *about* then (my emphasis), as Ross put it, was that the attitude to red deer changed, and instead of being hunted down - persecuted, as Ross said - because of the damage they caused to commercial tree plantations, they were now being preserved. Why this happened is equally, if not more important than when it occurred, as the change could have been a gradual process, evolving over time.

Why the change from persecution to preservation, and why establish deer forests in Killarney? One reason, especially for the Herberts, would have been the lucrative prospect of deer stalking. Henry Arthur Herbert I was keen to maximise the produce and income from his estate. He had been given advice on estate management from Mary's father James, who regarded his own estate in Whittinghame as 'an economic unit that was to function...efficiently and profitably', and whose wife and children, including Mary, had 'actively participated' in that style of administration. Henry Arthur himself had acquired an interest in science and the arts at Trinity College, Cambridge, which he now applied to the development of Muckross[34]. The evolving economic value of, and demand for, deer stalking would not have been lost on the Herberts. In Scotland at this time, deer stalking had so developed that the demand for shooting leases had outstripped the supply of forests and moors then available, and by the 1840s many sportsmen from England and the south of Scotland were reported as returning south again, unable to find a tenancy, or even accommodation[35].

Despite, therefore, the destructive effect that the native red deer had on the commercial woodlands of Muckross, the monetary value of deer stalking, new to Ireland, could well have been a key incentive that changed attitudes. Red deer now meant money as well as sport. Additionally, the actual red deer numbers in Killarney may have been perceived at this time to be below what was considered a viable herd for the purpose of deer stalking, and some action deemed necessary to preserve them and avail of the new income from stalking. A local Kerry historian, Archdeacon Rowan, wrote in 1853 that the reason why Herbert and Kenmare moved to preserve the native red deer in Killarney was because their numbers were so low that their speedy extinction was feared[36]. That reason is open to question, and conflicts with the landlords' persecution of red deer until the early 1840s. This is further discussed in Chapter 3.

There was also the compulsion to be in fashion with the growing sport of deer stalking, and hunting was especially important for the ascendancy, to whom it was a symbol of class status. Gilbert White, famous for his *Natural History of Selbourne,* summed up this view when he wrote 'Unless he was a hunter, as they affected to call themselves, no young person was allowed to be possessed of manhood or gallantry'[37]. Additionally, hunting was taken for granted as being militaristic as well as aristocratic. Field sports in particular were an assertion of social superiority, hunting being equated with military exercise, and a simulation of and a training ground for warfare[38]. These attributes were part and parcel of life for both the Brownes and the Herberts. Henry Arthur Herbert I had been sworn in as High Sheriff for County Kerry in 1837[39], and his aspirations to military honours

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34 Spillane...*Mary Herbert...* op. cit.

35 Wigan ...*Highland Estate* ... p 21.

36 ABR... *Lake Lore...* 158. ABR was Archdeacon Rowan of Tralee, County Kerry.

37 Gilbert White *The Natural History and Antiquities of Selbourne in the Counnty of Southampton* (London, 1874 edn) letter vii, p 23.

38 Thomas... *Man and the Natural World...* p 183.

39 *Kerry Evening Post* 21 January 1837.

were realised when he was appointed Colonel of the Kerry Militia in 1854[40], a post normally held by the Brownes, by virtue of their pre-eminent position and title. The Earl of Kenmare himself was Lord Lieutenant of County Kerry, Colonel of the Kerry Militia, and a Privy Councillor for Ireland[41]. Hunting, shooting and the new 'sport of princes' - deer stalking - were *de rigueur,* therefore, for the two largest and most wealthy overlords of Killarney.

There was yet another incentive for possessing one's own deer forest, and perhaps a prime motivating factor for their establishment in Killarney. It was not only anticipated, but indeed taken as a confirmed fact in 1842, that Queen Victoria and her husband Prince Albert would come to Ireland and visit Killarney. Euphoria, ecstasy and glee had already broken out in Kerry when, in November 1841, the birth of Queen Victoria's son and heir was announced. The pro-repeal *Kerry Examiner* declared it 'glorious news'[42]. A public notice in January 1842 was addressed to the High Sheriff of County Kerry, requesting him to convene a meeting to consider the presentation of an 'Address of Congratulation to Her Majesty, Prince Albert and the Duchess of Kent, on the birth of an heir apparent to the Crown'[43]. The request was signed at its head by Kenmare, Lieutenant, followed by 131 other signatories - the ascendancy, public representatives, clergy, barristers, solicitors, business proprietors and anyone who was important in Kerry - royalists all. These included Daniel O'Connell the Liberator, his relatives Maurice O'Connell of Derrynane Abbey, Morgan John O'Connell and John O'Connell, both of Grena, and James O'Connell of Lakeview. The O'Connells of Grena and Lakeview, both in Killarney, were prominent in society.

Just two months later, in March 1842, the Kerry newspapers reported an intended visit to Ireland by the queen[44]. However, the Queen and Prince Albert went north to Scotland instead, and their excursions there in September 1842 were reported in detail in the Kerry press, which chronicled Prince Albert's 'deer and roe-hunting', and his deer stalking activities in the forest of Breadalbane[45]. This could not have gone unnoticed by the Kenmares or the Herberts, especially when a month later a proposed visit to Ireland by the Queen and Prince Consort was announced, including a stop in Killarney[46]. A fortnight later, this was followed by the news that the queen would 'take up residence with the Earl of Kenmare' during her visit, and that the Earl's mansion would undergo alterations to accommodate the royal guests[47]. Never slow to spot commercial possibilities, the Kerry press had already carried an advertisement for 'The Albert Shooting Hat', following hard on the heels of the accounts of Prince Albert's deer stalking in Scotland[48].

But the royal couple did not come in 1843 to the Lakes of Killarney as so confidently reported throughout that spring and summer[49], going instead to France. The following year, Queen Victoria and Albert

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40 *Kerry Examiner* 24 January 1854

41 Ibid. 8 November 1853

42 Ibid. 12 November 1841. A visit by Queen Victoria to Ireland and to the Lakes of Killarney had already been reported as early as 1838 -*Tralee Mercury* 28 March, 18 April 1838

43 *Kerry Examiner* 18 January 1842

44 Ibid. 11 March 1842

45 Ibid. 6, 13, 20 September 1842.

46 Ibid. 14 October 1842.

47 Ibid. 28 October 1842.

48 Ibid. 25 October 1842.

49 Ibid. 20, 31 January; 7 February; 28 March; 7, 28 April; 19 May 1843.

again went to Scotland, with the Kerry newspapers reporting Albert's taste for field sports, and the 'shooting which Scotland's mountains afford'. The local press continued to report details of the Prince's sporting exploits in the Highlands, including a deer drive in which only one hind was shot, and his otter hunt, for which an otter was specially brought in a box to ensure a chase - an action heavily criticised by *Punch*, and copied by the local newspaper[50]. These accounts included a statement that 'her Majesty has resolved to rent a residence in the Highlands, that the Prince may enjoy his favourite sport of deer-stalking every autumn'[51]. This lent added impetus to reports of a royal visit to Ireland in 1845, when, as the *Morning Chronicle* envisaged, the 'first stone of a royal residence would be laid...amid the romantic scenery of Killarney...'[52]. Given such local coverage of the royal interest in deer stalking, and the confident acceptance of a forthcoming visit by Queen Victoria and her Prince Consort to Killarney, a deer forest there, in which Prince Albert could indulge his passion for stalking, made sense, and it made equal sense to preserve the red deer for this very purpose. Both families did establish deer forests on their estates in the 1840s, but when precisely remains unattested. There is no certainty that they came into existence in 1842. The only certainty is that the red deer were viewed as destructive until the early 1840s.

There is evidence in contemporary literature to support Ross's assertion of the red deer being hunted down because of damage to agricultural crops. An anonymous 'H' wrote of his experiences in hunting them from out of the Muckross demesne, on the occasion of his visit there some years before the Great Famine, and which must have occurred in the early 1840s[53]. 'At the time I write', said 'H', '...a splendid pack of deer hounds tenanted the kennels at Mucruss'[54]. 'H' continued '...Doyle, their huntsman....exercised the pack by hunting from the cornfields and young plantations of the demesne, the Red Deer, that in numbers descended from the hills by night, and made more havoc than was either pleasant or profitable'. 'H' met Ross, the Herbert gamekeeper, who used the Scottish expression 'muckle beasties' when referring to the red deer. This would indicate that Ross was already installed by the Herberts by 1842, either in anticipation of a deer forest, or simply as a Scottish gamekeeper with deer experience.

The account by 'H' was exceptional in recording the numbers of deer, and where they ran to when hunted. He said the hounds chased out one stag and three hinds from the cornfields. The stag was driven into the lake, and gained the far shore, dashing into the woods of Torc. Shortly afterwards at least two stags and four hinds were also hunted out, and 'Mr.Ross, from a safe distance, "tickled" him [a stag] with a charge of no.4 [shot]' as he passed. This was to discourage the deer from returning to the lowlands. These six deer also swam the lake - obviously Muckross Lake - onto the Torc shoreline. For the first time, the 'hoards of deer' that previous travellers had described as descending to the lowlands, were actually numbered, to about 10 animals. It is noteworthy that the red deer which 'H' described as 'descending from the hills' swam across Muckross Lake to

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[50] Ibid. 3, 10, 17 September; 4, 18 October 1844.

[51] Ibid. 4 October 1844.

[52] Ibid. 28 March 1845, quoting *Morning Chronicle.* Later, Lismore Castle, County Waterford, was claimed as the ideal location for an Irish royal residence, arguing that the nearby Galtee mountains were 'stocked with red deer' for Albert's enjoyment - *Cork Examiner* 29 August 1849.

[53] H 'A Summer's Morning in Muckruss Demesne; Chasing Red Deer' *The Kerry Magazine* No 32 Vol 111 (1856) pp 128 - 130. 'H' could not be identified.

[54] The Muckross kennels at this time were on the west side of the roadway, across from Cloghereen village, near the entrance to Muckross Abbey and House - OS Sheet 66, 1841.

Torc, indicating that they were from the red deer population on the Torc/Mangerton mountains, part of the Herbert estate. The author 'H', contrary to views popular in his time, was not swept up in the rush to emulate Scottish-style deer stalking, and advocated instead the sport of hunting them with hounds.

What the total numbers of red deer were prior to their protection by the two Killarney landlords is unknown. When Payne-Galwey wrote in 1882, eight years after "Q" of Trinity College, he too stated that Mr. Ross of Killarney had written to himself, outlining the position of the Killarney red deer. Describing Ross as for many years the head forester on the Muckross Estate, Payne-Gallwey claimed that Ross told him 'they are now very numerous, being strictly preserved by both Mr. Herbert and Lord Kenmare'[55]. This carried an implication that they had not been numerous, or at least not very numerous, before the introduction of strict preservation.

Henry Arthur Herbert I, in 1837, had a 'Sportsman's Lodge' (known then, and now, as 'Tower Lodge') constructed in Gortderraree townland south of his Muckross demesne, and near the northfacing footslopes of Torc mountain. In the Ordnance Survey Name Books it was described as 'built for the Accommodation of gentlemen who visit the upper lake of Killarney at the expense of £200'[56]. Its location was considerably closer to the Upper Lake, and would have avoided several miles of travel from Killarney town to that lake. No mention was made in the OS Name Books of deer stalking, or that it was utilised for such an activity, by 1841. It may well have been used by gentlemen who followed the stag hunt. By 1844 a hunting lodge was reported to have been established at Looscaunach Lake by 'the owner of the soil' - Henry Arthur Herbert I - and which featured in an account of a stag hunt[57], though this account was itself suspect in detail, and the supposed Looscaunach hunting lodge may have been simply Tower Lodge, its location confused in reporting the day's sport. In an account of the stag hunt on the following year, 1845, Herbert, who had again organised the event, was praised for the 'extreme care' he had taken in 'preserving this noble game...'[58]. These passing references confirm Ross's statement concerning the preservation measures taken by Herbert, but in themselves do not imply the existence of a specially created deer forest, referring only to the stag hunt, and not to deer stalking.

Reports in local newspapers concerning the red deer in Killarney throughout the 1840s dealt exclusively with the stag hunt, without mention of stalking deer by either the Brownes or the Herberts. This was in striking contrast to reports of deer stalking by Prince Albert in Scotland, copied from the Scottish press and carried in detail by the same local press in Kerry. These copied reports extended to accounts of Scottish red deer statistics, quite separate from the Prince's shooting. The *Kerry Examiner* recorded the weights of two stags killed in Ardgour, Scotland, as 408 and 353 lbs, but 'when cleaned, including skin, head and horns, they weighed 335 and 293 lbs', adding that the fat on their haunches measured about three inches[59]. Had deer stalking been concurrently practised in Killarney in any extensive way, it is unlikely, in view of this interest in the sport, that it would have gone without some local comment, especially as a royal visit was anticipated. Local knowledge of Killarney red deer weights did exist at this time. This was evident in 1846, when Herbert presented two red deer from Killarney to Lord Cosmo Russell, as a present to the Garrison Hounds. The two deer had been taken during

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[55] Payne-Gallwey...*Fowler in Ireland...* pp 320-321.
[56] O'Donovan...*OS Name Books...*p 239
[57] *Tralee Chronicle* 28 September 1844
[58] Ibid. 12 July 1845
[59] *Kerry Examiner* 23 September 1845, quoting the *Inverness Courier*

a stag hunt, and were delivered by a Muckross forester. The report described them as 'splendid animals...now limited to Killarney and the Scottish Highlands', stating that their weight, when fully grown, varied from '19 to 22 stones'[60]. This implied the deer sent by Herbert were stags, since Killarney hinds weighed on average about 12 stones. Such local knowledge further suggested that at least some stags were being culled, as weighing a live stag would have been no easy task. There was no mention of stalking in that detailed account of stags sent to Lord Russell.

It was accounts of the stag hunt, not deer stalking, that featured annually in the local press during the first half of the 1840s. The reports were mostly repetitions, hackneyed in detail. Henry Arthur Herbert I now organised them. The second Earl was passed middle age by then, whereas Herbert was still in his mid-twenties, young and athletic, and provided his Muckross deer hounds for the chase. The hunts, two or three in a year, were social events of note for aristocracy and gentry, followed by a gala ball to end the season[61], and from 1842 onwards were held in conjunction with the Killarney horse races[62]. Though locally celebrated, the spectacle was not without criticism, and the British novelist Thackeray was unimpressed. After seven hours rowing on the lake, when the hunt ended he felt 'as much relieved as if I had been dining for the same length of time with her Majesty the Queen'[63]. Thackeray observed the huntsman John O'Connell go by, flying a green flag from his barge the *Erin.* Herbert was not to be outdone, and the following year, 1843, had Chinese pennants flying from his yacht - the naval spoils of China, sent by Captain Sir Thomas Herbert, Henry Arthur's cousin[64]. Criticism in 1845 carried a mocking ridicule of the pastime, implying the hunt was nothing less than artificial, and a deliberate charade[65]. Herbert, however, was not bothered, and was no idle spectator. His action in jumping into the water with his cousin, a Herbert of Cahirnane, to rescue a hind from the hounds revealed much about his character[66]. It was no mean feat, and one of potential danger, as during a previous stag hunt a boat was overturned and two men drowned[67]. Hinds were rarely hunted, and stags were rarely killed, usually being caught in the lake by throwing a net over their heads, and later released. Occasionally, the hounds did kill a stag on the mountain, when a stag defeated all efforts to get him into the lake[68]. A visiting engineering contractor, William MacKenzie, witnessed both a stag hunt, and then a hare hunt the following day, by John O'Connell and his harriers[69]. O'Connell's hounds, the Laune Beagles, also hunted foxes in the Gap of Dunloe, where their music was 'worth listening to', according to a lady visitor[70].

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60 *Kerry Examiner* 9 October 1846. The Garrison Hounds, which had originated in 1828-9 as the Drubber and Hollywood hounds, amalgamated with the Ward hounds during the Crimean War, and became the Ward Union hounds, which still hunt carted deer to day - *Baily's Hunting Directory* 1987-88 (London ,1987) pp196-7.

61 *Kerry Examiner* 29 September 1840

62 Ibid. 10 May, 24 June 1842

63 W M Thackeray *The Irish Sketch Book 1842* (Dublin, 1990 edn) pp 114-26

64 *Kerry Examine*r 15 August 1843. The Chinese flags were spoils of the Opium War, in which Captain Herbert served - *Burke's Irish Family Records* p 576.

65 *The Dublin University Magazine*, quoted in *Kerry Examiner* 10 December 1844.

66 *Tralee Chronicle* 16 September 1843

67 *London Times* 7 August 1822

68 *Tralee Chronicle* 23 September 1843

69 MHA. 'Extracts from the diary of William Mackenzie, Civil Engineer' - as provided in typescript by Dr D Brooke, University of Claverton Down, Bath, to Muckross House Archives on 6 July 1995.

70 Catherine M O'Connell *Excursions in Ireland during 1844 and 1850* (London, 1852) p 90.

Hare hunting about the Gap of Dunloe was a feature of John O'Connell's Laune Beagles, described in Farrelly's 1837 Map of the Lakes of Killarney as 'a famous pack of Buck Hounds for hunting the Stag on the Lakes [and] Mountains'[71]. His more famous brother, Daniel O'Connell, declined an invitation to participate in the hunt there in 1845, as the day was too cold and wet[72]. Daniel O'Connell the Liberator was himself a passionate hunter of hares, and kept a pack of nine and a half couples of beagles, hunting them on the mountains at Derrynane and Cahirciveen, and killing, according to his own letters, up to five or six hares in a day's outing[73]. His hunting usually lasted from a month to six weeks, and in December 1840 he claimed to his son John that he had killed 77 hares, with only one blank day, up until then[74], an indication of the abundance of hares in the mountains of the South West in the mid-1800s. The Liberator, like his brother John, hunted with Kerry beagles, famous 'black and tan' hounds, so called from their predominant colour[75].

Lowland habitat for the red deer in Killarney differed radically from their mountain environment. The woodlands and pastures at lake level on the east and north shores of Loughs Leane and Muckross were fertile lowlands, occupied by the demesnes of the Herberts and the Kenmares, and residences and holdings of minor gentry - Lawlor of Castlelough, O'Donoghue of Flesk Cottage, Leahy of South Hill, Colthurst of Deane's Fort, Herberts of Torc Cottage and of Cahirnane (relatives of the Muckross Herberts), Coltsman of Flesk Castle, Courtayne of Ballycasheen, Cronin of The Park, the Brownes of Woodlawn and of Prospect Hall (relatives of the Earl of Kenmare), O'Mahony of The Point (now Mahony's Point), Gallwey of The Paddock, Lord Headley of Aghadoe, O'Connell of Lakeview, O'Connell of Grena, and Mahoney of Dunloe Castle. To this occupancy of the lowlands was added the population of Killarney town, which had grown to 7,910[76]. The gentry's lands, and the great landlords' demesnes, were extensively farmed. Mount Prospect was being let in 1842[77], and the c.39 acres of Reen were let to a Cotter and to a Mr Mahony in 1823 - all part of the Kenmare estate lakeside demesne[78], while the lands of Bunrower, part of the Herberts of Cahirnane estate, had been ploughed and tilled before being let for shooting woodcock and pheasant to Lord Kenmare in the 1860s[79]. The Muckross demesne itself included cornfields and tree plantations, and was one of the focus points for the improved farming methods introduced by Henry Arthur Herbert I when he took up permanent residence after his marriage.

While this intensive cultivation did not encourage deer to occupy lakeside pastures and woods, subsequent evidence indicates it did not entirely exclude them. A significant deterrent to red deer was the

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71 MHA, copy Farrelly's Map: A Panoramical View of the Lakes of Killarney, County Kerry, Ireland....by Cors. K. Farrelly, in the year 1837.

72 *Kerry Examiner* 7 October 1845. Daniel O'Connell had been released from prison the previous year, and by 1845 was not in great health. He died in 1847.

73 O'Connell...*Correspondence*... letter 2108, 5 September 1834. Details of number of hares killed are in letters 796, 853, 2114,2747, 2750, 2772, 2980, 3042, and 3098, covering the period 1819 to 1844.

74 Ibid. Letter 2772, 4 December 1840.

75 A pack of the 'black and tans' has flourished in County Tipperary since 1794, where they still hunt with the well-known Scarteen Hunt. They formed the hunting packs for the Killarney families of the Herberts, the O'Connells of Grena and the O'Connells of Lakeview. They are considered to be descended from local hounds interbred with continental hounds imported from France and possibly Spain in the 18th century. See Anna Redlich *The Dogs of Ireland* (Dundalk, 1949) pp 107-114, and Lewis...*Hunting in Ireland*.... p 47

76 Farrelly...1837 Map...op.cit; Samuel Lewis *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* Vol II (London, 1837) pp 126-31. It should be noted that the publication of Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary* resulted in a meeting of c.50 subscribers deciding to take legal action because of the 'many statistical errors' in it - *Tralee Mercury* 19 December 1838, quoting the *Limerick Chronicle.*

77 *Kerry Examiner* 9 December 1842

78 MHA, Kenmare Papers. Survey Map Dec. 1823.

79 MHA, Kenmare Papers. Copy ms of evidence submitted to the Land Sub Commission 1 October 1900.

extensive woodland development and timber extraction being carried out by the Kenmares. For the seven years, 1831-4 and 1842-4, at least £6,227 was received by the Earl for timber extracted and sold, while he spent at least a further £7,299 on developing his woods. Species cut and sold composed both native and introduced trees - oak and larch from Park; ash from Innisfallen Island; oak and birch from Glena; sycamore from Derrycunnihy; larch and elm from Demesne; larch from Woodlawn; ash and oak from Reas[80]. Such development appears to have had no impact on the Kenmare's game rearing and covert management.

Gamekeepers employed by the Kenmares and the Herberts at this time, pre-Famine, were not described as stalkers. They essentially had the duties of breeding, rearing and protecting game birds, accompanying the estate owners and guests at the shoot, and looking after the dogs. The keeper in charge of the pheasantry in the Kenmare estate, from 1837 to at least 1851, was Barrett (Christian name not recorded). Powder, shot and percussion caps were purchased for him, and his gun was regularly repaired, generally twice a year. He was provided with a game licence, which allowed him to deal in game sales[81]. Additionally, Barrett's bills for labour were paid by the estate, implying he had authority to hire casual labourers and obtain a lump sum to pay them off, an example being Barrett's account for two week's work by 'a labourer cutting hay for the deer'[82]. These deer were the emparked animals in Lord Kenmare's deer park, as the wild red deer were not artificially fed. Feeding hay to the emparked deer in February and March was a regular feature, as was 'pulling ivy, etc., for the deer', in the early 1840s[83]. In season, some shot game were exported, as on 18 January 1840 when 'a box of woodcock [were sent] to Bristol for Her Ladyship', and again on 2 January 1841 when 'game [sent] to Bristol to Lady Wilmot'[84]. Expenditure on game-related items in 1840 and 1842 was considerable. The sum of £54 1s was paid to carpenters 'for building the new lodge at Reen', and £22 6s 8d paid 'for the new kennel at Reen' (1840), as well as £6 19s 6d paid to masons 'for building stable etc at Derrycunnihy' (1842)[85].

Besides his kennel, his sporting dogs and his pheasantry, the Earl kept eagles. In November 1837, food for the eagles cost 4s 8d[86]. The purpose of keeping such large birds of prey is not recorded. There is no documentation of falconry in the Kenmare financial papers, nor does a tradition or folk memory of such a pastime survive. It may well have been that the eagles kept were the native golden eagles, still extant in Killarney at that time. Isaac Weld reported seeing several eagles - he said he counted 12 - while on his excursion to climb Carrantuohil, in the first decade of the century[87]. The German tourist Kohl, on his visit to Killarney in 1844, wrote about them in detail. He confirmed that eagles were present, and that 'The people regularly take the young of these poor birds from the nest, and sell them to this or that Marquis for four or five pounds...and a great many young eagles are every year exported from hence to England'[88]. If this was the intention of the Kenmares,

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80 PRONI, Box D/4151/N/3/1-6. Forester's Accounts ledger 1830-44. The records lack entries for the six years 1836-41. The species extracted are listed in a loosely inserted analysis for the period May to August 1843. All figures rounded to nearest whole number.

81 PRONI, D/4151/K/86. Account Book 1837-51, passim.

82 Ibid. pp 11, 12.

83 Ibid. p 35.

84 Ibid. pp 11, 16. The carriage costs were 6s 4d and 8s 8d respectively.

85 Ibid. pp 12, 15, 23. Work on Derrycunnihy cottage continued from July to November 1842, a 'Sunny' being built there in July. Part of Derrycunnihy cottage had been taken down, and a shed built for 'watchmen', in 1838 - pp 6, 7.

86 Ibid. p 3

87 Weld...*Illustrations of the Scenery of Killarney...* p 194.

88 J G Kohl *Travels in Ireland* (London ,1844) pp 136-7.

it was not recorded. The golden eagle was stated to have survived, though precariously, in the wilds of the Kerry mountains until the last decade of the 19th century[89].

The elimination of 'vermin' with traps and poison was a yearly duty. Poison was imported by the Kenmares in each of the years 1841 to 1844, and traps in 1842, though a clear distinction was made between 'traps' and 'rabbit traps', the latter being used to kill rabbits for food[90]. The practice of stocking poison was likewise a feature of the Muckross estate gamekeeping, where it had an unexpected and serious consequence. In 1844, a man at Cloghereen, a village in the Herbert estate, obtained arsenic from Herbert's gamekeeper to kill rats. It was inadvertently used by the man's wife as baking soda, causing illness to six people in the home, all of whom required medical assistance from Killarney[91]. Laying poison had financial consequences for the Kenmare estate, which had to pay £16 16s in compensation to 'Mr Edwd. Harnett for 2 couples of his fox dogs poisoned in the mountains'[92]. This incident in 1843, if it happened in the mountains of the Kenmare estate adjacent to Killarney, as distinct from the estate's rough shooting areas on outlying high moorland (also occasionally termed 'mountains'), would imply that a deer forest was not then in operation, as deer disturbance by fox hunters and hounds within the forest preserves would not have been acceptable or tolerated.

In October 1844, venison and other unspecified game were exported by the Kenmare estate[93]. This evidence that deer were killed as a food item did not necessarily imply deer stalking in progress by then, as the venison could have come from the fallow deer in the Kenmare deer park. It is significant that in the detailed Kenmare financial records of the 1840s which related to game, there is no mention of deer stalking, or reference to a deer forest. On the adjoining Herbert estate, while tourists were cautioned that the red deer were not to be disturbed on Torc mountain, there likewise was no mention of stalking or a deer forest at Muckross[94].

Red deer numbers could not have been many in the lowlands, and those enticed from the hills by grain and root crops were driven out. Only the mountains were left as refuge habitat to whatever viable population that still survived, and it was in the mountains that the deer forests would be created. Confirmation came in the early 1850s that deer forests had been established in Killarney by the end of the previous decade, and there is evidence that Scottish-style deer stalking was being practised in the Muckross deer forest by the mid-1850s. This is next discussed, but what also must be examined is a still surviving local tradition that people were evicted from their mountain areas by the Herberts and the Kenmares, so as to make way for deer forests - the Killarney deer forests 'clearances'.

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89 Richard J Ussher and Robert Warren *The Birds of Ireland* (London, 1900) pp 125-9.

90 PRONI, D/4151/K/86. Account Book 1837-51 pp 17, 23, 25, 26, 28. Rabbit traps, purchased for Barret on 20 August 1842 cost £7 - p 23.

91 *Kerry Examiner* 10 May 1844.

92 PRONI, D/4151/K/86. Account Book 13 February 1843 p 26.

93 Ibid. 15 October 1843 p 33. The carriage costs were £3 17s 1d; destination not recorded.

94 Mr & Mrs S C Hall *A Week at Killarney* (London, 1843) p 134.

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The Killarney Deer Forest Clearances - Fact or Fiction ?

One of the earliest authentic contemporary sources of the deer forests' establishment comes from the historian Archdeacon Rowan (ABR), who lived in Tralee, twenty miles from Killarney. In 1853 he wrote:

> Not many years since the Killarney deer herds were so reduced in number that there was every reason to fear their speedy extinction, and nothing less than the strenuous and jealous care with which Lord Kenmare and Mr. Herbert co-operated to prevent their being hunted or disturbed could have recruited them to their present numbers, being several hundred.[1]

From Rowan's description, the low numbers of red deer was a fundamental cause for the deer forests being created, but this reason falls short of explaining why it was that low numbers were then considered a serious matter. Rowan's reason must be judged against John Ross's statement that their destructive effects on commercial woodlands was the reason for their persecution by the landlords, the same landlords who now switched to preserving them. Rowan was aware of Scottish activity concerning red deer, but if he knew how commercially important deer forests in Scotland had become, and how much the practice of deer stalking was encouraged by royal example, he made no mention of it in his narrative as eventually published. That account, however, was not his original version.

Rowan's original account of the Killarney deer forests was based on his personal experiences as a guest of Henry Arthur Herbert I at Muckross, in the autumn of 1851. In his first version, Rowan described how Herbert had taken him up the path by Torc Waterfall and onto the Old Kenmare Road, and shown him the red stags rutting on the Mangerton hillsides. The location, he recorded, was but a quarter hour's walk from the door of Muckross House, and easily accessed. But when shown the galley proofs by Rowan for his approval, Herbert deliberately suppressed those parts describing the locations, and how easily accessible they were by way of the Torc Waterfall pathway to the Old Kenmare Road. In Rowan's revised version in his book *Lake Lore,* eventually published in 1853, these and other details - considered too sensitive by Herbert - were omitted[2].

Rowan's published account provided non-specific details of the forests as he knew them in his day. He described the preserved areas as '...Lord Kenmare's and Mr. Herbert's united deer ground, by Glenna and Tomies mountains...' and further referred to Herbert's deer refuges as '...far up the slopes of Mangerton, and the more distant ranges of mountains'[3]. These vague descriptions nevertheless neatly fit the more precise details of both deer forests as subsequently documented. In effect, both forests marched side by side (illustrated in the accompanying map), sharing the same herds of red deer. These herds were, according to Rowan, jealously guarded by their Killarney owners, and while the red deer of Killarney's mountains were, he said, of 'little reality' to the majority of visitors, being rarely seen, it was made known to *gentlemen* (Rowan's emphasis) not to 'make

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[1] ABR ...*Lake Lore* ...p 158.

[2] Ciaran Mac an Aili 'A Suppressed Chapter on Killarney' *Irish Booklore* (Belfast, 1971) pp 83-9.

[3] ABR...*Lake Lore* ... p167.

useless and injurious attempts at intrusion on the privacy of these lords of the forest'[4]. The Archdeacon astutely observed that the Killarney deer grounds were 'bordered on all sides by inhabited land' - which he contrasted with the Scottish forests - and thus required 'the utmost possible care', so that deer were not driven out from their protected range into peopled areas, where, he said, everyman's hand would be against them[5]. In this he was probably voicing Herbert's concerns. He accurately assessed the forests' relative sizes, stating that '...Lord Kenmare's deer ground is, I should judge, scarcely as extensive as his co-operator's...'[6]. Later descriptions of both deer forests would confirm his judgement. Rowan implied that Herbert himself took '...pride in being the chief of the few proprietors of red deer in Ireland...'; so much so, in fact, that Herbert looked on them with 'indulgence' and, in striking contrast to the accounts of their persecution in the early 1840s, now allowed the deer to work their destruction unrestrained among his extensive plantations of young trees[7]. (Based on the original version, this was probably a reference to the young larch woods on the sides of the Old Kenmare Road or, as Rowan described it, 'the old bridle road from Killarney to Kenmare, leading directly through the defile separating Torc and Mangerton mountains'[8]). Rowan obtained Herbert's permission to see some red deer in October, and in his published version he described being guided by a man he termed a 'stalker' (probably Herbert himself, on the basis of his suppressed version), to what he described as the Tomies/Glena woodland area (again, on the basis of the suppressed version, most likely the Torc slopes facing Mangerton), where he was shown 20 to 25 wild red deer, and witnessed their rutting activity. Rowan applied the Scottish term 'muckle hart' to a large dominant stag he had observed[9].

Archdeacon Rowan was a reliable witness and an astute observer. The details of his separate encounters with red deer in the wilds in Killarney - at Derrycunnihy Cascade, at the Eagle's Nest, and especially his description of deer rutting activity in woodland and hillside - are evidence of personal observations which anyone acquainted with similar experiences today will readily endorse. His narrative may be taken as proof that both deer forests had been established as sanctuaries at least by 1850. His is the earliest record found of the term 'stalker' being used in the Killarney red deer context, the implication being that deer stalking was by then practised. That it was in practise in the 1850s is independently confirmed by the custom of writing on a trophy stag's skull the weight of the animal, the date when it was shot, and by whom. The date 1855 is written on one of the trophy heads still extant and displayed in Muckross House - this one was shot by Henry Arthur Herbert[10].

The forests were established between 1840 and 1850, and the question of whether or not the landlords carried out clearances of people dwelling in the mountain districts frequented by red deer must focus on that decade. Assertions that clearances did occur to enable deer forests become established have been made many times. John Gurdon's account is typical of many:

> Until the time of the Great Famine, the old green road was the main highway between Killarney and Kenmare, with the homesteads and hamlets living their lives along the route. But the Herberts of that day, and their neighbours the Kenmares,

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[4] Ibid. pp 151, 159-60.
[5] Ibid. p 158.
[6] Ibid. p 168.
[7] Ibid. pp 167-8.
[8] Mac an Aili...'Suppressed Chapter'...pp 86-7.
[9] ABR...*Lake Lore*...pp 159 - 66. This was in 1851; Rowan's revised account was published in 1853.
[10] Personal survey of stags' heads now on display in Muckross House, Killarney. See Appendix 11, described in detail later.

> thought that a deer forest would improve their property so they enclosed the road at both ends and expelled the inhabitants and pulled down their houses[11].

More specifically, in his biological study of the Killarney red deer, it was claimed by John Riney that the creation of the Killarney deer forests '...entailed the displacement of at least 100 from the Ferta, Crinnagh, Cloughfune, Cores, Poulagower, and Ullauns townlands. The return of the evicted crofters was prevented by the demolition of the bridges and their homes, such as they were'[12]. More recently, a popular history of Killarney has declared that the Herberts and the Kenmares established 'a game park' in the 1830s, and this 'meant clearing the valley between Torc and Mangerton of settlers'[13]. None of these assertions were supported with historical source material.

Legends of the clearances still survive locally in Killarney. One relates that the Herberts deliberately planted larch trees in the townland of Ferta - part of the Muckross deer forest - so that goats kept by families who lived on the hillside nearby would browse the fresh green shoots in spring, and thus provide the landlord with an excuse to evict them[14]. A few larch trees still survive to-day in isolation in the Friar's Glen area, close to where the ruins of homesteads remain on the Ferta hill slopes. An alternative folk memory claims that the landlord of the day, Herbert, arranged to have a continuous note played on a fiddle all day long in the same area so as to get the people to leave '... for the old landlords preferred the deer to people'[15]. Yet another version of this popular legend has the continuous note being played on an accordion[16]. George Ross, who claimed direct descendence from the original John Ross (steward for Henry Arthur Herbert I) has stated it was a family tradition that his ancestor had been brought over from Scotland to evict people and make way for a deer forest[17]. These legends and written accounts concerning the deer forest clearances are concentrated on the valley between Mangerton and Torc mountains, which contained the Old Kenmare Road, formerly the Glanerought Road.

Descriptions of the townlands and actual extent of the deer forests in published material and unpublished family papers agree in general, with some variations in precise detail. Principal among the sources for the deer forest of the Herberts was the auctioneer's prospectus for the sale of Muckross estate in 1899[18]. As listed, the Muckross deer forests were described as:

> 1. The Home or Principal Forest comprising the townlands of Torc, Cloughfune, Cores, Crinnagh, Ferta, Gortderraree, Gortracussane, Dromyrourk, Cloghereen Upper, and Killegy Upper, and containing about 5,000 acres.
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> 2. The Upper Lake Forest comprising the townlands of Looscaunach, Gallavally, Cahernabane, Cahernaduv, Foardal, Doogary, and Derrynablunnaga, and containing about 1,700 acres.

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11 John Gurdon *A Fortnight in Killarney (and County Kerry)* (London, 1956) p 39.

12 OPW files. John Riney 'The Red Deer of County Kerry '. Unpublished Confidential Report to the Office of Public Works (1974) p 21.

13 Donal Horgan *Echo After Echo: Killarney and its History* (Cork, 1988) p 14.

14 Paudie Cremin, retired OPW gamewarden in Killarney National Park, personal communications.

15 Peter Somerville-Large *The Grand Irish Tour* (London, 1982) p 26.

16 MHA. Typescript by Dr M F Hilliard 'The Old Kenmare Road'. Unpublished typescript recollection, based on local legend.

17 George Ross, personal communication in Galway, 14 February 1986.

18 MHA. James H North & Co., Auctioneers, Dublin. *Lakes of Killarney. Particulars and Conditions of sale of the Mansion House, Demesne, and other Lands, known as the "Muckross Estate", situate at Killarney, County Kerry, Ireland. To be sold at Public Auction, (if not previously disposed of by Private Contract), in one lot,...on 21st Day of November 1899.* Hereafter cited as *Muckross Sale Prospectus.*

3. The Tomies Forest comprising Tomies Wood and Cullinagh, and containing about 850 acres[19].

While this gave the Muckross deer forests an area of 7,550 acres, the entire acreage of the townlands listed adds up to 11,681 acres[20]. The comparison below shows that the difference related to the Upper Lake and Tomies Forests:

	Acreages of townlands	Acreages for deer forests
Home / Principal Forest	5,188 acres	c.5,000 acres
Upper Lake Forest	4,100 acres	c.1,700 acres
Tomies Forest	2,393 acres	c. 850 acres
Totals:	11,681 acres	7,550 acres

The Muckross Estate vendors either did not regard all of the townlands in the Upper Lake and Tomies districts as deer forest, or played them down to enhance the sale value of pasture lands in these areas. This last is possible, as immediately after the Muckross sale, and throughout the first decade of the 20th century when Lord Ardilaun had ownership, the townland of Gortadirra in the Tomies district was included as part of the Muckross deer forests[21]. It continued to be part of the Muckross deer stalking grounds during the Vincent occupation of Muckross from 1910 to 1932, then specified as comprising 9,475 acres[22]. Subsequently, in 1960 the Muckross deer forests were listed by the OPW as comprising 6,500 acres in the general area of Muckross, plus 3,400 acres in the Tomies district, or 9,900 acres in total[23] (the OPW totals were without reference to specific townlands). For the purpose of population census analysis in the context of whether or not evictions occurred from these townlands, and based on the Ardilaun, Vincent and OPW papers, the highest figure of 11,681 acres, embracing each full townland, is taken to have been, in effect and in reality, deer forest.

In the auctioneer's prospectus for the sale of the Kenmare estate in 1930, the Kenmare deer forests were described as comprising the townlands of Derrycunnihy, Incheens, Poulagower, Ullauns and Glena - 'extending to about 7,500 acres'[24]. A year previously, in 1929, in a deer stalking article by Rupert Baring (the future Lord Revelstoke), the townland of Gortroe was additionally included as part of the Kenmare deer forest[25]. More recently, in 1960, the Kenmare deer forests were stated simply to be the general areas of: Derrycunnihy, 4,800

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[19] Ibid. p 5

[20] Ibid. p 2.

[21] MHA, Ardilaun Papers. Records of deer trespass and compensation paid to tenants; Particulars as to Deer Trespass, Compensation Paid to Tenants and Copy Sent to Lord Ardilaun by Mr Turner on 20 November 1906; Notes for Solicitor in Respect of Tenants Processes to Recover Compensation for Deer Trespass, Muckross Estate, October 1906; Estate manager's and gamekeeper's reports on inspection of deer trespass, 1902-6.

[22] MHA, Vincent Papers. List of Lands Taken From The Schedule of Areas of the Estate Stated Therein to Comprise Deer Forests. The list, undated, refers to a brief submitted for advice and counsel to Ernest J Phelps, K .C., by Whitney Moore and Keller, Solicitors for Vincent and the Muckross Estate, 23 December 1931.

[23] G Kenneth Whitehead *The Deer Stalking Grounds of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1960) pp 453 -5.

[24] PRONI , D/4151/U/5. Daniel Smith, Oakley & Garrard, Auctioneers, 4&5 Charles Street, St James Square, London SW1, 1930 *Illustrated Particulars and Plan of the World-Famous Killarney Estate embracing the Killarney Lakes Mountains & Forests...Residence, Deer Park and Demesne...For Sale...* p 8. Hereafter cited as *Kenmare Sale Prospectus.*

[25] *Morning Post* 14 October 1929, The Honourable Rupert Baring 'Record Stag from Killarney'.

acres, and Glena, 2,063 acres[26], giving a total of 6,863 acres, but again without details of the townlands. Based on the earlier documentation of 1929 and 1930, the general forest area called Derrycunnihy is taken therefore to have encompassed the townlands of Derrycunnihy, Ullauns, Poulagower, Incheens and Gortroe[27]. These townlands add up to a total of 7,426 acres, which coincides accurately enough with the sale prospectus of 1930. The higher figure of 7,426 acres, embracing each full townland, is likewise taken as being, in effect and in reality, deer forest for the purpose of census population analysis. The difference between this total and that as given in 1960 arose in the Derrycunnihy forest area, not Glena, which exactly matched the acreage of that townland. The accompanying Map includes all 19,107 acres of the townlands that constituted both deer forests.

An analysis of the population shifts that occurred in these deer forest townlands between 1841 and 1851 is set out in Appendix 2. The decreases in population were so hugely influenced by the Great Famine of 1845-9 from death by starvation, fever and emigration, that had evictions occurred the effects could well be hidden within the generality of total figures. Nevertheless, the census figures for those specific townlands warrant closer examination.

The Muckross Deer Forests: Population Shifts 1841 - 51.

Ten townlands constituted the Home or Principal forest. Seven of these recorded population losses; two people less in Cloghereen Upper, 14 people less in Cloughfune, five people less in Crinnagh, eight people less in Cores, ten people less in Ferta, eight people less in Torc, and 31 people less in Dromyrourk. One townland, Gortderraree, recorded an increase, from no one in 1841 to five people in 1851. Killegy Upper recorded no overall change, the loss of two females being cancelled out by an increase of two males. No inhabitants were recorded in Gortracussane in either 1841or 1851.

The total population of all 10 townlands of the Muckross Home forest thus fell from 250 to 177 people, a net reduction of 73 souls. While 177 people were recorded as still living within six of these townlands in 1851, that figure requires qualification, as one townland, Dromyrourk, accounted for 144 of these 177 people. Most of Dromyrourk was densely populated lowland that straddled the main Killarney - Kenmare road immediately east of the Muckross demesne, and could not be regarded as open moorland deer forest - it was more an extension of the demesne lands of the Muckross estate. (Much later, in 1931 when Arthur Rose Vincent occupied the Muckross estate, in a specially prepared schedule of the Muckross deer forest lands, Dromyrourk was not included as a deer forest townland[28]). Omitting Dromyrourk from the situation as censused in 1851 still left 33 people living in five townlands of the Home forest - in Torc, Cores, Gortderraree, Cloghereen Upper and Killegy Upper. Cores and Gortderraree now had a single home each, classed as a caretaker in Griffith's *Valuations* 1852-3, which in the deer forest context may be taken to imply caretakers or watchers of the forest. The two houses in Torc were Torc Cottage and the Gate Lodge, both occupied by Sir Thos. Herbert, Bt. The remaining two

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[26] Whitehead... *Stalking grounds*... pp 450 - 2.

[27] It should be noted that within the Killarney area of the Kenmare estate there were two townlands called Gortroe. One, north of Lough Leane and in the fertile lowlands, comprised 383 acres; the other, in the mountains and lying next to Incheens and Poulagower, comprised 1,354 acres, and is the townland taken to have been part of the deer forest. Acreages based on Griffith's *Valuations,* and rounded to nearest whole number.

[28] MHA, Vincent Papers. 'Senator A R Vincent's Muckross Estate - Schedule of Lands Taken From the Schedule of Areas of the Estate, Stated therein to Comprise Deer Forest' Whitney, Moore & Keller, Solicitors, brief to Counsel Ernest J Phelps K C 23 December 1931.

townlands of the Home forest - Cloghereen Upper and Killegy Upper - each still recorded one house occupied by a family in 1851.

A total wipe-out of population was recorded in three of the Home Forest townlands - Ferta, Crinnagh and Cloughfune - which combined showed an aggregate loss of 29 people, and where six houses were recorded for these three townlands combined in 1841, none were recorded in 1851. These three townlands, together with Cores, border the Old Kenmare Road and constitute the principal areas where, according to legend, clearances are believed to have occurred. Cores itself, in the heart of the Home Forest, suffered a loss of eight people, but its one house remained, now with five people, as a caretaker's cottage in 1851. These four townlands - Cores, Cloughfune, Crinnagh and Ferta - were described in the Ordnance Survey of 1841 as being 'let to tenants by bulk for the grazing of cattle yearly'[29].

Seven townlands constituted the Upper Lake Forest, and in 1841 habitation was recorded in only two of these, Foardal and Doogary. By 1851 a family was recorded as still living in each of these, but, significantly, two further townlands of this forest, Looscaunach and Gallavally, were now also inhabited, by an additional 18 people in three houses. The Upper Lake Forest had a net increase in population of 16 souls only, due to a reduction in Foardal of what appeared to be one family - only one house was occupied there in 1851 as against two occupied in 1841.

Three townlands constituted the Tomies Forest, Gortadirra included. In one of these, Tomies Wood, no inhabitants were recorded in either 1841 or 1851. The townland of Cullinagh, in which no one was living in 1841, had 11 people by 1851. Gortadirra included Purple mountain and Tomies mountain, the highest and steepest land, and by far the largest townland in the district. No one was recorded as living there in 1841, but by 1851 it had acquired a total of 18 people, living in three houses. These, shown in Griffith's *Valuations* as tenants of H A Herbert, had taken between them the entire 1,527 acres of Gortadirra. Thus, the Tomies forests had a net increase in population, from no one in 1841 to 29 people by 1851.

The Kenmare Deer Forests: Population Shifts 1841 - 51.

Five townlands constituted the Derrycunnihy deer forest, three of which had population losses; 20 people less in Ullauns, four people less in Poulagower, and two people less in Incheens. The remaining two townlands recorded increases in population; six people more in Derrycunnihy townland itself, and 17 people more in Gortroe. Thus this forest had a net loss of just three souls from a total population of 64 in 1841, and all of its five townlands still had a combined total of 61 people living in them by 1851. Four of these five townlands now had caretakers, Poulagower being the exception, and while the single house in both Ullauns and Incheens was probably a caretaker's house in each case, in Gortroe the caretaker's house was only one of three houses in 1851, and only one of two houses in Derrycunnihy townland, though in this last instance the other dwelling may have been a constable's barracks as recorded in Griffith's *Valuations*. The forest of Glena, separated from the Derrycunnihy area by the Killarney Valley, recorded nine inhabitants still living there in 1851, and showed a net loss of five people since 1841.

Of the 26 townlands listed, it may be taken therefore that 25 of them, excluding Dromyrourk but including Gortadirra, made up both of the Killarney deer forests, 19 in the Muckross and six in the Kenmare

[29]John O'Donovan *Ordnance Survey Name Books: Parish of Killarney, Barony of Magunnahy & County of Kerry* (B 931).

estates. Of the 19 Muckross townlands, nine were lived in and ten were uninhabited in 1841. By 1851, post Famine, six of the original nine occupied townlands were still inhabited, while the other three had lost all populations. Of the ten uninhabited townlands in 1841, five had become occupied by 1851. This left five Muckross forest townlands that were never recorded as settled in either census. Of the six townlands comprising the Kenmare deer forests, all were populated in both 1841 and 1851. The overall net result for both the Muckross and Kenmare deer forests (excluding Dromyrourk's population of 175 people in 1841 and 144 people in 1851) was that the total of 169 people who had lived in the 25 townlands in 1841 was now reduced to 164 people by 1851. That net reduction of 5 souls conceals the human tragedies that actually occurred - the Muckross forest townlands had lost 51 but gained 54; the Kenmare forest townlands had lost 31 but gained 23 (a net overall loss of 5 people). The existence of six caretakers' houses or cottages - two in the Muckross and four in the Kenmare forests - only explains the survival of about 30 people, or about 18 per cent of the 164 inhabitants who still lived in the deer forests by 1851. This is calculated by taking the 10 people as returned in the 1851 census for the two townlands shown in Griffith's *Valuations* as caretakers' houses in the Muckross forests - Cores and Gortderraree (five in each house), and estimating, on a *pro rata* basis, that 20 people would have occupied the four caretakers' houses similarly itemised by Griffith for the Kenmare forests (an estimate necessary because, in the census returns, caretakers' and other tenants' houses were not differentiated).

These censuses do not support those quoted accounts of clearances. Gurdon's assertion ignored that the Glanerought or Old Kenmare Road had already been replaced by a main thoroughfare 20 years before the Great Famine[30]. The fact that both deer forests combined, excluding Dromyrourk, carried 169 inhabitants in 1841 dismisses the claim that clearances had occurred 'in the 1830s'[31]. The estimate of at least 100 people being ejected from six townlands, four in the Muckross Home Forest and two in the Kenmare Derrycunnihy Forest[32], must be compared to the recorded loss of 66 people in these specific townlands in the decade that included the Great Famine losses. Undoubtedly, a loss of 66 souls represented a massive population reduction of 84 per cent for the six townlands in question - Ferta, Crinnagh, Cloughfune, Cores, Poulagower and Ullauns - but such a massive loss was by no means confined to these areas at that time. In adjacent mountain townlands similar to the deer forests, comparable population reductions likewise occurred. For example, there was a 77 per cent loss in Gearhameen (next to Gallavally), an 81 per cent loss in Eirk (next to Foardal), while in the townland of Ballydowney, in the fertile lowlands close to Killarney town, a loss of 88 per cent in population was recorded. And the loss of all inhabitants was by no means unique to the three deer forest townlands of Cloughfune, Crinnagh and Ferta. The census shows that at least 25 townlands in County Kerry lost their total populations between 1841 and 1851. Nor do these censuses support narratives now common in tourist and hillwalking guide books, that old cottage ruins in these areas are the remains of those pulled down when the inhabitants were evicted. Excluding Dromyrourk, 24 houses in both deer forests were still occupied in 1851, of which caretakers accounted for six, with a further one probably the constable's barracks. This strongly suggests that it was subsequent to the establishment of the deer forests that today's ruined habitations were either tumbled down or

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[30] Gurdon...*Kerry*...op. cit.

[31] Horgan...*Killarney*...op. cit.

[32] Riney ... Red Deer of County Kerry...op. cit.

fell into disrepair (some cabins were levelled in at least one of the Kenmare estate townlands, Gortagullane, next to Muckross deer forests, in the 1860s).

If, as is claimed, evictions did occur, the most obvious question is why was it that Henry Arthur Herbert I and Lord Kenmare did not clear out all of their deer forest townlands, and pull down all of the dwellings on them? The characters of both landlords, and contemporary accounts of evictions during 1840-50, are central to that question.

The generosity of the Browne family was legendary. In 1727 Lady Kenmare ordered the purchase of wheat for food, and frieze for clothing, for the poor of Killarney[33]. Many years later, when Charles Etienne Coquebert de Montbret, French consul to Ireland, visited Kerry in October 1790, he reported that 'the model landlord of the Killarney district is Lord Kenmare...'[34]. The Brownes continued down the years to be lavish in their charitable donations, and the second Earl, during whose time the Kenmare deer forests were established, was no exception. He was portrayed as a remarkably generous man, even allowing for a favourable and adoring local press dependent to some extent on his munificence. In 1838, on hearing that a Protestant curate had been pursued to Killarney and imprisoned there for defaulting on a debt, the Earl, a Roman Catholic, in an ecumenical gesture uncharacteristic of his times paid the sum due and secured the clergyman's freedom[35]. The following year he donated £500 to the Killarney Relief Fund, for the poor of the Killarney district[36]. For Christmas 1843 the Kenmares arranged to have 30 sheep and 4 bullocks slaughtered for Killarney's poor, as well as distributing 200 cloaks and 200 pairs of blankets to the needy, and employing 300 of the 'humbler class' in the grounds of their demesne[37].

Exceptionally large contributions were made by the Kenmares throughout the 1840s. The second Earl donated £600 in 1842 and £200 in 1844 towards building Killarney's Catholic cathedral[38]. Other local institutions that benefited from his generosity were the Presentation Brothers, to whom he gave £300[39], and the Sisters of Mercy, to whom he donated £50 as well as a subscription of £3 monthly to them for Killarney's poor[40]. The Presentation Convent in Killarney was receiving a donation of £100 per annum from him in 1846, and, in addition, clothing for 30 girls[41].

During the Great Famine the Kenmares provided significant and regular assistance. In August 1845 the ominous signs of potato blight were recorded in Kerry, and by October that blight was reported as spreading, resulting in a public meeting in Killarney on the seriousness of the situation[42]. Lord Kenmare responded immediately by donating £100 to Killarney Fever Hospital, and also raised his annual subscription from £40 to £60 to that institution[43]. As the Famine continued over the succeeding years, both Lord and Lady Kenmare were

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33 *Kenmare Mss...* p 266.
34 Sile Ni Chinneide 'A New View of Eighteenth- Century Life in Kerry' *JKAHS* No 6 (1993) p 90.
35 *Tralee Mercury* 29 September 1838.
36 Ibid. 11 May 1839.
37 *Tralee Chronicle* 23 December 1843.
38 *Kerry Examiner* 19 April 1842, 2 February 1844,
39 Ibid. 12 January 1844.
40 Ibid. 31 December 1844.
41 *Slater's National Commercial Directory of Ireland* (London, 1846) p 247.
42 *Kerry Examiner* 26 August; 7, 31 October 1845.
43 Ibid. 31 October 1845.

repeatedly praised in the local newspapers for their generosity. Examples were £500 donated to the Magunihy Relief Fund[44] (to which the government's free grant of £300 may be compared), and a subscription of £80 to the Kilcummin and Nohoval Relief Fund[45] (Magunihy was an entire barony; Kilcummin and Nohoval were parishes in the district). An example of the Earl's thoughtfulness was his decision to withdraw his subscription of £50 to Killarney Races, proposing that the money should go instead to the Famine Relief Fund[46]. During 1847, as the Famine intensified, the Brownes continued to provide substantial and essential assistance, receiving unreserved praise[47]. When the burial grounds of the Killarney district could no longer hold corpses so great were deaths from starvation, Lord Kenmare gave ground away free for *any* (newspaper reporter's emphasis) additional graveyards required[48]. His generosity was not limited to Famine relief. He pragmatically advised the Killarney Union that he was willing by every means in his power to provide employment[49], and he subscribed £600 towards the rescue of depositors on the collapse of the Killarney Savings Bank[50]. A contemporary manuscript analysis in the Kenmare financial records shows in detail that during the Great Famine, from February 1847 to September 1851, Lord Kenmare had paid a total sum of £807 7s 3d for the transportation of corn - Indian meal[51].

Despite the Famine horror, and the expenses which it occasioned, there was no apparent slackening in the protection, or in the breeding and nurturing of game by the Kenmare estate administration. In every year of the six years 1846-51, a game certificate was procured for Barrett, his gun was repaired, and medicine and food purchased for the sporting dogs[52]. Throughout Black '47, commercial salmon fishing which the Kenmares operated on Lough Leane was continued. Between March and May 1847 a total of 307 salmon (2,519 lbs) were sold, benefiting the estate to an amount of £99 14s 3d; while from May to September a further 540 salmon (3,871 lbs) were sold for £121 17s 5d - the fishermen receiving £24 18s 7d and £30 9s 0d, respectively, as their share (25 per cent) of the catch[53]. Farm produce was also sold during the Famine; a sum of £123 5s 1d was received for 'milk and butter sold by the Dairy maid'[54]. Work on the estate woodlands continued to go forward; foresters were paid for stripping bark, and significant sums of money - £80 on 8 August 1846, and £50 on 21 March 1847 - were received for bark sold[55]. The deer park was not neglected, being under the charge of Thomas McGrath, who was paid a half year's salary of £10 on 24 June 1846[56]. D Falvey was employed from weeks ending 30 May to 18 July 1846, 'making ditch on Mangerton'[57], a noteworthy development in the light of subsequent rough shooting by the Kenmares on the north facing footslopes of Mangerton. Game preservation

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44 Ibid. 28 April 1846.
45 Ibid. 15 December 1846.
46 Ibid. 30 June 1846.
47 Ibid. 15, 26 January; 27 April 1847.
48 Ibid. 16 April 1847.
49 Ibid. 11 January 1848.
50 Ibid. 16 June 1848.
51 PRONI , D/4151/M/33. General Cash Book 1846-7, loosely inserted contemporary working sheet in which the payments were analysed.
52 PRONI, D/4151/K/86. Account Book 1837-51 pp 39 - 47.
53 Ibid. Loosely inserted contemporary mss account titled 'Salmon Sold from 1st March 1847'.
54 Ibid. p 40.
55 PRONI , D/4151/M/33. General Cash Book 1846-7. This ledger is not page numbered.
56 Ibid.
57 Ibid.

notices were published every year, and two men were paid in 1847 for 'minding River Dinagh'[58]. The Earl could afford to indulge his hunting and shooting pastimes by keeping up the game preservation in his Killarney estate, and despite the trauma of famine on his doorstep, which he undoubtedly did much to try and alleviate, the management of his vast estates continued much as before.

Yet, given the undoubted charity and employment ventures of Lord Kenmare, evidence to the Devon Commission in 1844 confirmed that the Earl had evicted many people from his Bantry estate in 1841[59]. Further evidence maintained both Lord Kenmare and Mr Herbert of Muckross had held over ejectments for 'some two to three years', to deal as leniently as possible with tenants[60]. Evidence was also advanced of ejectments from the Kenmare estates in County Limerick[61], but significantly no evidence or mention of evictions from the Killarney estates, and in particular no mention of ejectments from deer forest townlands, was reported to the Commission. Fr Eugene O'Sullivan, parish priest of Killorglin, near Killarney, described the mountain farms, called 'Glens', and the ejectment of squatters from the Killorglin area, but deer forests were not even mentioned[62]. The absence of any reference to evictions in relation to deer forests, or to their areas, in the Devon Commission enquiry suggests that either the forests had not been established by then, or if they had, that no evictions of any significance were involved in the afforestation. The *Kerry Examiner* weighed the evidence and concluded that Lord Kenmare would never lend himself or his agents to concur with any 'acts of harshness'[63]. In its summing up, the newspaper passed no comment about Henry Arthur Herbert I. The second Earl was, nevertheless, subsequently reported as overseeing a few evictions from his Killarney lowland estate during the ravages of the Great Famine, when he was bitterly criticised[64], and in turn defended[65]. Some of the great landowners in the South West who carried out evictions during the Famine were Lord Ventry, Lord Cork and Lord Kingston[66].

In his death notice and obituary in 1866, Henry Arthur Herbert I was described as 'a singularly handsome man'[67]. Young and vigorous during the decade 1840-50, he set about organising his Muckross estate with zeal, and not without controversy. Already in 1837 he was embroiled in a squabble over the 'eviction' of Fr. Falvey from his house at Glenflesk, on Herbert lands close to Killarney, while his election as High Sheriff of the County was alleged to have taken place while he was still a minor[68]. (The Glenflesk affair was irrelevant to the deer forests). Another local newspaper, commenting on his death, described Herbert as 'an uncompromising oligarch, and an unmitigated adherent of protestant ascendancy' during this period of his youth[69]. Local folklore has described his altercation with the Kerry poet Seamus Cron O Suileabhain, who called Herbert *smugaire an*

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[58] Ibid.

[59] Parliamentary Papers. *Evidence taken before Her Majesty's Commissioners of Enquiry into the state of Law and Practice in respect of the Occupation of Land in Ireland* (Dublin, 1845) Part II pp 923-6 - Hereafter cited as the *Devon Commission.*

[60] Ibid. pp 871-2.

[61] Ibid. p 875.

[62] Ibid. pp 879-84.

[63] *Kerry Examiner* 9 May 1845.

[64] *Cork Examiner* 12 February 1849. The writer dismissed Lord Kenmare's solution of sending his tenants 'to look for a home across the ocean' as heartless aristocratic philanthropy.

[65] *Kerry Examiner* 16 February 1849. The writer praised the Earl's benevolence, and cast doubt on the reported evictions.

[66] *Cork Examiner* 27 November 1848 (66 persons evicted from Skibbereen); 14 April 1848 (256 individuals evicted by Lord Ventry, and 191 persons evicted by Lord Cork); 29 August 1849 (c.150 individuals evicted by Lord Kingston).

[67] *Kerry Evening Post* 28 February 1866.

[68] Ibid. 21 January 1837.

[69] *Tralee Chronicle and Killarney Echo* 2 March 1866.

ghlugaire (its best left untranslated). Herbert was said to have threatened to shoot Seamus Cron on sight, or hang him from the nearest tree[70]. During the election of 1841 for representation of the County, Herbert and his followers were attacked and stoned by Liberal supporters; one man was killed, another wounded. Herbert escaped safely to Tralee, but the episode greatly upset his wife Mary and her Scottish parents[71].

Although he had established a free school for the protestant villagers of Cloghereen, and a new protestant church at Killeagy was being built at his expense[72], nevertheless Herbert could also show ecumenism, contributing £5 to Glenflesk Catholic church, and £15 to Killarney Catholic Cathedral - 'though a Protestant Gentleman...and a Conservative' [73]. Criticism of his landlordism in the early 1840s was in sharp contrast to that applied to Lord Kenmare. In 1841 it was alleged that Herbert had his tenantry leases drawn up in such a way so as to evade the law[74], and three years later a correspondent to the *Kerry Examiner*, in a long and detailed letter of 'facts for Lord Devon', referred to Herbert and 'the severity of his former landlordism', and to his 'clearance system'[75]. These references related to leases and tenantry of agricultural lowlands, not to deer forests or mountain areas. During the Commission of Enquiry by Lord Devon in Killarney, very detailed evidence of Herbert's estate management policies, and his methods of dealing with his tenantry, was provided by his agent, John Leahy of South Hill, Killarney, a barrister[76]. Leahy swore that Herbert ensured his game rights were reserved and covered by covenant in his leases, but breach of such covenant would not be a subject for ejectment[77]. Similar to the Kenmare estate, there was no mention of deer forests or evictions from them in evidence on the Muckross estate management, Leahy swearing that he was 'not in favour of giving the landlords summary powers of putting out tenants'[78].

Henry Arthur Herbert I passionately continued to sponsor the traditional stag hunt, but could not escape the effects of famine on his doorstep. In early June 1846, between one and a half and two acres of Herbert's woodland plantations, principally larch and Scotch fir on lower Mangerton, were burned. The act was claimed as malicious[79], and while it is possible that it was revenge for past ejectments or unfair treatment of his tenants, it is also possible that it may have been an attempt by a starving people to drive out and kill a deer so as to survive. At the time, the provision of venison to alleviate starvation did feature during the Famine. A critical article deplored the spectacle of deer running freely in Phoenix Park, Dublin, and not being available to the people for purchase[80]. However, although this view was supported by the local *Kerry Examiner* which carried the story, there was no mention of deer providing sustenance to the stricken poor in Killarney, either then or during the remaining years of starvation. In contrast, it is noteworthy that the wealthy banking family La Touche of

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70 Roinn Bhealoideas Eireann, UCD. Ms 27 pp 303 - 8; Ms 715 pp 417 - 25.
71 Spillane ... *Mary Herbert...*op. cit., quoting p 82 of Jane Herbert's Journals.
72 *Kerry Evening Post* 13 September 1837.
73 *Kerry Examiner* 5 January 1844.
74 Ibid. 1 January 1841.
75 Ibid. 5 November 1844.
76 *Devon Commission* pp 884-93.
77 Ibid. pp 885-6.
78 Ibid. p 889.
79 Ibid. 13 June 1846.
80 *Kerry Examiner* 11 September 1846, quoting the *Evening Packet.* These were fallow deer.

Delgany, Co Wicklow, who also held lands in Leitrim and Tipperary, were exemplary in providing meat from their deer park to feed the local starving poor[81].

As the Famine intensified, Henry Arthur Herbert I and his wife Mary set about to help their tenants, Henry subscribing £100 to the Magunihy Relief Fund[82]. Mary raised considerable sums of money from her friends in London, who were spurred to action by her eye-witness accounts of starving children. Her own children were removed to Britain for the famine duration, and when Mary returned to Muckross she brought back a large boiler to prepare broth because, although meat from animals killed on the estate and normally distributed to estate employees was now rationed and given to the poor, the famine-stricken people were 'so long without food they could not eat the meat and became ill'. Mary herself became afflicted by typhus fever and was nursed in Britain; she did not return to Killarney until 1849[83]. Her husband Henry lived on at Muckross, but regularly visited his family in Britain. The following year, in Black '47 as famine raged, Herbert put his love of the chase secondary to his concern for the dying, and in March he parted with his beloved pack of deer hounds, giving instead the £10 weekly expense of his kennels to provide food for the poor, and he further assisted people on his estate to redeem clothes they had pawned to buy food[84].

This act by Herbert of disbanding his pack of hounds is to be judged in the context of the times, and weighing the comments of contemporary writers. Writing in 1853, Archdeacon Rown remarked that the Muckross kennels had been broken up in 1847 because 'Mr Herbert... did not feel at liberty to spend on the brute even the coarse meal which his fellow-men would "fain be filled with" '[85], thus giving Herbert full credit for the deed. Catherine M O'Connell, writing in 1852 about her two visits to Ireland in 1844 and 1850, was informed that two packs of hounds were kept in the neighbourhood of Killarney; one, the Laune Beagles, the other kept 'by a young gentleman, who obligingly keeps his pack together during the summer months for stag-hunting, and boards them among his tenantry during the rest of the year'[86]. This obviously referred to her 1844 visit, before the Muckross hounds were dispersed; the young gentleman was of course Henry Arthur Herbert I, who provided hounds for stag hunting, and the Laune Beagles belonged to John O'Connell of Grena[87]. As the Muckross hounds were boarded out in winter, famine would have put an unsustainable pressure on Herbert's tenants to maintain them, and abandonment of the pack would then have become inevitable. Nevertheless, Herbert could have taken back his hounds and kept them at his Muckross kennels. The evidence is that he did disband his hunting pack, and, on balance, it was a magnificent and a noble act by Herbert. As already related, Lord Kenmare's sporting dogs were maintained by him throughout the famine period, and as for O'Connell's Laune Beagles, there is no evidence that they were let go.

Henry's own zest for life was unquelled by the famine. Even in Black 1847 he offered himself for the County representation and was elected as a Conservative[88]. Before leaving to join his family in London that

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81 Mark Bence-Jones *Twilight of the Ascendancy* (London, reprint 1998) p 24.
82 *Kerry Examiner* 28 April 1846.
83 Spillane ...*Mary Herbert*...op. cit.
84 *Tralee Chronicle* 27 March 1847.
85 ABR...*Lake Lore*... pp 152-3n.
86 O'Connell...*Excursions*... p 90.
87 Ibid. pp 90-3.
88 *Kerry Examiner* 27 July 1847; *Kerry Evening Post* 28 February 1866.

August, he was dancing jigs with his tenants and friends at Cloghereen village[89]. Herbert was mindful of his tenants' plight, and in this and the following year he reduced his rents, promised to pay the Temporary Relief rate for all his tenantry of the lower class, allowed the full poor rate off his rent, and employed an agricultural adviser to inform tenants on the growing of green crops, awarding prizes for the best performers[90]. This zeal for development and progress told against himself two years later, when Herbert was refused a loan under the Land Improvement Act because of the excellence of the improvements on his farms; in fact he was highly praised as a landlord[91]. Throughout 1848 Herbert became actively engaged in the affairs of the Killarney Savings Bank collapse. He raised the case in Parliament, subscribed £200 to the fund and, as trustee for the depositors, the remaining assets were entrusted to his care[92].

The characters of both landlords emerge as humane when confronted with a crisis - their tenants' survival during the Great Famine, their tenants' financial straits during the Savings Bank collapse - but firm in the administration of their estates. They could, and did, eject tenants, but not on frivolous grounds. Contemporary accounts do not attest that they did so. During the brashness of his young manhood, if Herbert had attempted a clearance for his deer forests, and pulled down bridges to prevent the people's return, then his Scottish steward John Ross either did a very poor job, or else he was no match for the men and women of the Kerry mountains. Because, excluding Dromyrourk and the caretakers who occupied the two townlands of Cores and Gortderraree, a total of 84 people still occupied nine (almost half) of Herbert's mountain deer forest townlands in 1851.

If, as legends state, bridges were pulled down to prevent people's return to the mountain valleys, then contemporary local newspapers were remarkably silent on such happenings. If bridges were deliberately destroyed, it would imply that the landlords thought their tenants, or illegal squatters, were prepared to defy ejections and endeavour to return to their mountain cabins. That would have been altogether contrary to what actually did happen when evictions were forced on Irish peasants and cottiers in the 19th century, events so well documented that further elaboration is hardly necessary, except to repeat that the evicted families were left destitute on the roadside, without any means of facing up to the landlords' bailiffs, backed up by police and a military presence. Destroying their own bridges would have been counter productive for both Herbert and Lord Kenmare. Pulling down one of the bridges, for example, over the Torc river would have created problems of access for the proprietor of Muckross and his guests. One bridge carried the nearest access route from Muckross House, and was the most feasible way to take horse transport and ponies up a rocky defile and through a narrow gap, to gain the Torc/Mangerton valley and the principal deer stalking area of the Muckross Home forests. A bridge's existence after the deer forests had been created is implied in Rowan's original but suppressed account of his ascent to the Old Kenmare Road with Herbert from Muckross House in 1851. On that occasion Rowan and Herbert met a young lad on the old roadway, whom Herbert pardoned for 'trespass' and sent him on his way to Killarney, an implication that at least one bridge existed at that time.

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89 *Kerry Examiner* 17 August 1847.
90 Ibid. 24 September 1847, 28 February 1848.
91 Ibid. 27 September 1850.
92 Ibid. 13 June; 12, 15, 26 September; 13, 17 October 1848.

It may have been that the deer forest bridges were subjected to the same fate as that inflicted on roadways, railway lines and main thoroughfare bridges by the devastating floods of 1853. Torrential rains fell throughout Monday 31 October and Tuesday 1 November, and when reports began to arrive from outlying areas, it was apparent that a major catastrophe had occurred. Apart from the great flood damage to Cork city, the torrents carried away bridges at Macroom and Fermoy in County Cork, and one of the principal bridges on the Killarney railway line, some miles from Killarney, was swept away. The damage was estimated at £20,000, the *Tralee Chronicle* reporting that 'In this County [Kerry] the destruction of bridges is exceedingly great...'[93]. In the mountains and valleys of Killarney, where Ireland's highest rainfall has been recorded, the effects must have been at least equally severe. Such severity was described in the devastating floods of September 1867 - this time by swollen streams coming off the deer forests. Almost 20 hours of rainfall resulted in two farmers' houses and all contents being swept away in the vicinity of the Gap of Dunloe, and the Torc river (which drained the Muckross deer forest townlands of Ferta, Cores, Crinnagh and Torc) wreaked havoc on at least two of its bridges. Part of the bridge at Torc Lodge was torn away, and '...the Stone Bridge, situated lower down the river, and which spans Torc demesne with Mr Herbert's Muckross demesne...[was] entirely swept away'. Likewise, the timber bridge in the vicinity of Dinas Cottage was swept away, but the Old Weir Bridge escaped[94]. That these were news items considered worthy of detailed recording poses the question why the deliberate destruction of the deer forest bridges, had it happened, escaped comment.

The absence of a census between 1841 and 1851 means the depopulation which occurred in the intervening years was so hugely influenced by the Great Famine that any reduction in the numbers of inhabitants in deer forest townlands cannot be attributed to evictions from 1845-6 onwards. This still leaves the question: were these habitation numbers reduced prior to the Great Famine? Narratives by tourists visiting Killarney provide some indication of the numbers in the surrounding mountains in that period. The German traveller Kohl wrote in detail on what he had seen and heard in Killarney in 1843-4[95] - his description of golden eagles has already been described. Kohl made no mention of deer forests or clearances. On his journey by mail-car from Killarney to Kenmare/Nedeen he spoke to the sergeant in command of the police station 'at the highest point of the mountain, just where the road again begins to descend' (to-day's Molls Gap), who told him that 'their district comprised the desolate mountains far and wide, but that there were only 220 inhabitants in it'[96]. This obviously was not an estimate, and as Kohl's visit was pre-famine, it implied that the inhabitants of the mountains had not been reduced by then. (Excluding Dromyrourk, the number of people in all deer forest townlands in 1841 was 169, but the total quoted to Kohl cannot be directly related to the 1841 census as the police figures would have included other mountain areas in that district). When Mrs West visited Killarney in 1846 the Famine had entered its second year. She travelled through the Gap of Dunloe where she found 'children...with roots of white heather,

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93 *Freeman's Journal* 3, 5, 7, 8, 9 November 1853; *Tralee Chronicle* 4, 11 November 1953.

94 *Tralee Chronicle* 17 September 1867.

95 J G Kohl *Travels in Ireland* (London, 1844) pp 128-47. Kohl was in error in stating the town of Kenmare was the property of the Earl of Kenmare, and in further error in stating that the Earl of Kenmare was one of the titles of the Marquis of Lansdowne - see p 147. The Marquis of Lansdowne was the major landlord in the Kenmare/Nedeen area, but had no connection with the Earl of Kenmare in Killarney. Kohl was confused by the use of the name Kenmare; the error still occurs.

96 Ibid. pp 143-4.

water lilies, and the antlers of the red deer for sale'[97]. It is probable that these were antlers naturally cast - stags shed and regrow their antlers annually. Her account implied that the people who collected them were still living nearby in red deer habitat - Tomies, Glena, Cullinagh - all part of the Muckross and Kenmare deer forests.

Clearances from the deer forests do not feature in the Irish language of the area, oral or written, though had it happened it would be expected to have left some echo. Irish as a mother tongue still survived in the valleys and remote areas of this part of Kerry at the time; indeed in some valleys adjacent to the outer districts of the deer forests it survived into the first half of the 20th century. The most detailed account of Killarney written in Irish was by Padraig O Duinnin, a native speaker and a meticulous lexicographer whose dictionary is still a standard reference work. He lived in the Rathmore district near Killarney, and his account, at the beginning of the 20th century, does not mention clearances or deer forests, though the red deer are briefly referred to[98]. Killarney and districts were known to native Irish speakers living outside the area, and Tadhg O Buachalla, though he lived in Gougaune Barra in west Cork, has left a description of the horrific effects of the Famine at the foot of Mangerton and in the Kenmare/Nedeen district, but he made no reference to landlords evicting for deer forests[99]. A request on Radio na Gaeltachta, the national radio service for native Irish speakers, for any references, traditions or recollections on this specific subject produced not one reply[100]. In contrast, a clearance of tenantry in County Donegal not much later than the deer forests' establishment was well documented at the time, its cause investigated by the police, and survives to-day in the oral Irish of the district. These were the Derryveagh evictions, when 244 people were ejected, and 28 houses demolished, in April 1861[101]. Vaughan's detailed study of this case concluded that the Irish, compared to the English and Welch of the time, were less likely to be cruel to animals, or to break the game laws[102]. Had there been a similar clearance in Killarney for deer forests, then, excluding Dromyrourk and based on 1841 census figures, a total of 169 people would have been ejected and 24 houses demolished, an event which, while it represented 75 people less than Derryveagh, would still have been significant enough not to have gone without some comment. The Derryveagh evictions were of more than passing interest to the local Kerry press. Kerry newspapers reported in detail the ejections themselves, described as vengeance for the murder of Mr Adair's employee; the revocation by the Lord Lieutenant of a licence to carry arms by Dougald Rankin (Adair's steward); and the finding, five years later, of the body of Mr M'Kelvie, shepherd to Mr Adair, dead on the mountainside, his skull smashed in[103]. None of these reports made any reference to clearances or evictions in the newspaper's own locality - Killarney and its deer forests[104]. Any evictions, when they occurred, were a subject of comment, and evictions in Kerry especially so, for the local press. For the five years 1838-42, official evictions were 18,128, of which Kerry accounted for 362, this report observing that the numbers 'moved on' were 10 times greater than those ejectments

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97 Mrs Frederic West *A Summer Visit to Ireland in 1846* (London, 1847) p 101.

98 An tAthair Padraig Ua Duinnin *Cill Airne* (Baile Atha Cliath, 1902) pp vi, 89.

99 *Seanchas an Tailliura* Aindrias O Muimhneachain (eag) (Corcaigh, 1978) pp 28-9.

100 Personal interview on Radio na Gaeltachta 21 May 1998.

101 W E Vaughan *Sin, Sheep and Scotsmen: John George Adair and the Derryveagh Evictions, 1861* (Ulster Society for Irish Historical Studies, 1983) p 11 and passim.

102 Ibid. p 29.

103 *Tralee Chronicle* 8, 11 October 1861; 9 October 1866.

104 The full title, the *Tralee Chronicle and Killarney Echo,* was carried on the masthead, but shortened to the *Tralee Chronicle* on page headings.

entered for trial[105]. Specific evictions in Kerry, such as 287 people ejected from Waterville by James Butler[106], and several families expelled from Cappaclough[107] were all reported. Had evictions occurred in the Killarney district, an area which received weekly news reportage and was far more famous than Waterville, or indeed Derryveagh, it was exceptional that it was not documented in the newspapers or literature of the period.

When Queen Victoria visited Cork in 1849[108], the Nationalist John Mitchell, obviously aware of the hunting interests of Prince Albert and the situation evolving in Scotland, bitterly remarked in relation to the effects of the Irish Famine that

> it is understood that Her Majesty will visit the West. The human inhabitants are expected by that time to have been sufficiently thinned, and the deer and other game to have proportionately multiplied. The Prince Albert will then take a hunting lodge in Connemara[109].

The clearances that were occurring from the Scottish Highlands at the time, 1845-50, were reported in the British press[110]. Later, as deer forests proliferated in the Highlands, replacing sheep walks when the prices for wool collapsed in the 1870s-80s, the social impact there was widespread and controversial, resulting in conflict between crofters, deer forest owners, their stalkers and gamekeepers[111]. This involved many thousands of people being replaced by deer forests, though the numbers involved were challenged and counter-challenged in the British press[112]. However, the details and the numbers of persons involved, well known and well researched, are not relevant to the afforestation in Killarney and cannot be compared to the Irish situation.

In 1870, when the British historian James Anthony Froude was a guest in an estate at Derreen, in the Kenmare/Nedeen district, he found there a Scottish gamekeeper - Jack Harper from Aberdeen - who showed him where to fish. He described the glen they entered: '...before the famine the glen had been densely inhabited, and had suffered terribly in consequence. Ruined cottages in all directions showed where human creatures once [lived]...'[113]. It would have been an appropriate description of a glen in the Killarney deer forests. Continuing his description, and commenting on the effects of the Irish Famine, Froude wrote:

> An English political economist had once suggested that they should be all got rid of and the glen turned into a deer forest. But the much-abused Irish proprietors are less inhuman than the Scotch, and here at least there is no disposition to outrage the affection with which the people cling to their homes[114].

It was a revealing comment by Froude who, had he heard of any clearances for deer forests in the neighbouring Killarney district, might well have been expected to allude to them. That he differentiated Irish landlords from their Scottish counterparts in this specific matter suggests that, on the contrary, clearances for deer forests was not a subject of discussion in the locality.

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105 *Kerry Examiner* 11 July 1843.
106 Ibid. 14 February 1843.
107 Ibid. 10 March 1843.
108 Ibid. 10 August 1949.
109 John Mitchell *Jail Journal* (Dublin reprint, nd.) p 203.
110 *Times* 20, 26 May; 2, 16, 17 June 1845; 6 July 1846; 10 November 1847; *Illustrated London News* 2 November 1850.
111 Orr ...*Deer Forests*... pp 119-46; Wigan...*Highland Estates*... p 22.
112 *Times* 4 October 1855; 7, 11 August 1856. The controversies are dealt with in detail by Orr.
113 J A Froude 'A Fortnight in Kerry' *Frazers Magazine* (April, 1870) p 525.
114 Ibid. p 526.

The English political economist has not been identified. What life was like for the Irish he would 'get rid of', and for those who lived in the Killarney district, may be judged from contemporary details. Typical examples for the first half of Black '47 were: Patrick Cronin from Kilcummin who died on the roadside from starvation[115]; four brothers were found dead in one house[116]; 14 deaths from starvation - the reporter witnessed one dropping dead in Market Lane in Killarney[117]; 13 funerals passed through Killarney town in one day[118]; burials of 11 corpses in one day at Aghadoe graveyard; a man died from cold and hunger in a dyke by Killarney Racecourse[119]; deaths from starvation continued throughout April and May[120].

One report graphically illustrated what it was like in the mountain areas of Killarney. On the roadway near Cloghereen a woman named Looney and her youngest child collapsed and died from starvation and fever while returning from the Relief Committee stores with a day's food; the father was in jail for sheep stealing as 'hunger [had] forced him to it'; his two other children already lay dead in 'their wretched hut at Mangerton', still unburied - one of them for four days, the other for two days. Fear of fever had kept the neighbours away[121]. Where on Mangerton mountain this occurred is unknown, and its north-facing slopes, south from Cloghereen, are extensive, embracing the townlands of Gortdromakeerey, Gortagullane, Coolies, Ferta and Cores, all of which reach to its summit plateau. The first three of these townlands formed part of the rough shooting moorland belonging to the Kenmare estate, while Ferta and Cores were part of the Muckross Home forest. It was one vivid example of mountain townland depopulation by the Great Famine. There was no need to evict people in such dire straits - they were going, anyway.

The people left, accepting the government-financed and landlord-financed assistance to emigrate. This effort to clear out the Irish peasant by offering free passage to the British colonies had commenced before the advent of famine[122], but as the famine progressed, Lord Kenmare and Herbert both advised early in 1849 that they were willing to advance money to the Killarney Board of Guardians, to comply with the Provisions for Emigration Acts[123]. Lady Kenmare assisted between 40 and 50 young women from Killarney and its vicinity to emigrate to America in May of that year[124]. Further attestation is provided in the Kenmare ledgers. On 30 March 1847 the sum of £5 was paid, passage to America for 'D Brien leaving Ballybane', and a similar sum paid on 5 April 1847 for 'Tim Brosnan going to America'[125]. It is not known how many or if any of the people who still survived in the deer forest valleys availed of this opportunity to escape from privation, but while some landlords regarded with satisfaction the voluntary clearances of those who left without prompting[126], the contemporary press did not reflect this happening in the Kenmare or Herbert deer forests.

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115 *Kerry Examiner* 1 January 1847.
116 Ibid. 19 January 1847.
117 Ibid. 5 February 1847.
118 Ibid. 19 February 1847.
119 Ibid. 13, 16 April 1847.
120 Ibid. 30 April, 14 May 1847.
121 Ibid. 25 May 1847.
122 Examples are: government advertisements of free passage to New Zealand - *Limerick Reporter* 28 October 1842.
123 *Kerry Examiner* 26 January 1849.
124 Ibid. 4 May 1849.
125 PRONI , D/4151/M/33. Cash Book 1846-7.
126 For historical assessments of these aspects of the Great Famine, see : Kevin B. Nowlan 'The Political Background' pp 177- 8 ; Thomas P.O'Neill ' The Organisation and Administration of Relief' pp 240, 252-3 ; and Oliver MacDonagh 'Irish Emigration to the United States of

There were other ways of going. Utter desperation was illustrated when three young men from Castleisland, north of Killarney, walked onto a farm and deliberately stole a cow in broad daylight, to ensure they would be caught and sentenced to transportation, itself a terrifying prospect, rather than face the alternative - 'to die by inches'[127]. This may be contrasted with the sport enjoyed in the same area the following August when Captain Dowman and Lieutenant Peel, stationed in Tralee, bagged 16 brace of grouse - 'unusually numerous' - on the Denny estate[128]. Given a famished peasantry in such plight, the wonder is that any of the cottiers, and quite possibly squatters, did succeed in clinging on to existence in the deer forest hills and high valleys of the Killarney mountains. For they were a people living at the razor-sharp edge of survival, at the very limit of habitable altitude.

Some idea of what that habitation was like has been described by Michael Doheny who, after the failed Young Ireland rebellion of 1848, had made his escape with his fellow rebel James Stephens[129] and found sanctuary in the remote and wild mountains of south west Ireland - west Cork and south Kerry. In the mountains above Glengarriff, County Cork, he was sheltered in a mountain cabin which, he wrote, was:

> ten feet square, with no window and no chimney. The floor, except where the bed was propped in a corner, was composed of a sloping mountain rock, somewhat polished by human feet and the constant tread of sheep, which were always shut up with the inmates at night ...They were about twelve in number, and occupied the whole space of the cabin between the bed and the fire-place[130].

That was in 1848, at the height of the Great Famine, and Doheny found the people of the high hills to be of great strength of character and resourcefulness, and as an Irish speaker, he was accepted and given sustenance by the very poorest of them. Doheny's experience was that some places in the remote valleys escaped the potato blight. He described being given breakfast in the mountains west of Gougaune Barra, consisting of 'excellent new potatoes, which had escaped the blight, butter, new milk, and a slice of the flesh of fried badger'[131] (badgers were hunted, apparently for food, as early as the ninth century in Ireland[132]).

Folklore of the Killarney deer forest clearances suggests that the method used was provocation to leave. Had the landlords or their agents wished to evict, they did not need provocation as an excuse, especially for tenants-at-will, or squatters, who had no rights at all. Records of actual ejectments which did occur in the Kenmare and Herbert estates about the time of the establishment of the deer forests and shortly afterwards refer to lowland agricultural districts but not to deer forest townlands. This was well illustrated in several instances of families who were either the victims of eviction, or forced emigration as it was sometimes called, or else who availed of assisted emigration. The medical doctor John Forbes, while touring the Killarney area in 1852, witnessed instances where both Herbert and Kenmare were in the process of removing cottegers from their

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America and the British Colonies during the Famine ' pp 319- 88, in R Dudley Edwards and T Desmond Williams (eds) *The Great Famine* (Dublin, 1994). See also James S Donnelly Jr ' Mass Evictions and the Great Famine: the clearances revisited ' pp 155-73 in Cathal Poirteir (ed)*The Great Irish Famine* (Cork, 1995).

127 *Kerry Examiner* 20 April 1849. The phrase is taken from Edward Garner's *To Die by Inches: the Famine in North East Cork* (Fermoy, 2nd edn, 1988).

128 *Cork Examiner* 29 August 1849.

129 E R R Green 'The Beginnings of Fenianism' in T W Moody (ed) *The Fenian Movement* (Cork, 1968) p 15.

130 Michael Doheny *The Felon's Track* (1849, Dublin edn, 1951) p 235.

131 Ibid. p 260.

132 Kelly...*Early Irish Farming*...p 282.

smallholdings so as to covert them into larger farms[133]. Though Forbes was Scottish, he made no reference to the Killarney deer forests, or to evictions from them.

In 1853, the emigration of over 200 people on the ship *Jeanie Johnson* from Tralee included families from the Kenmare estate. The *Tralee Chronicle* reported that:

> Sixty five of those, including heads of families and their dependants, were from that portion of the Earl of Kenmare's property situated at the foot of Mangerton, and held by a middleman, whose interest was evicted for non-payment of rent...the passage money of the entire was paid by the noble Earl ... No less than the sum of £200 was thus expended by Mr Thomas Gallwey, his Lordship's excellent agent...[134].

The 'foot of Mangerton', in the Kenmare estate, referred to the townlands of Gortdromakiery, Cools and Gortagullane[135] - Cools is now called Coolies. Gortagullane was, and is, wedged between it and Ferta, the townland that marked the eastern extremity of the Muckross deer forests. None of these three townlands were ever mentioned as being part of the Kenmare deer forests; Gortagullane and Cools, or Coolies, did form part of the rough shooting areas for the Kenmares and their guests. The reason for eviction was specific; non-payment of rent.

However, the evictions may have had some connection with the Kenmare's development of the moorlands in Gortagullane and Coolies for game shooting, as ten years later that development was the subject of considerable debate in the local press. In September 1863 four families, comprising eighteen individuals, left Gortagullane at the expense of Lord Castlerosse, who were described as 'the first batch of fourteen or fifteen families who are to be sent out in succession until that part of the country presents no obstacle of affording a cover in the midst of an intended thick plantation to the fowl and the game'[136]. The report, copied from the *Cork Examiner*, was challenged by the local *Tralee Chronicle,* contending that forced emigration was not resorted to, and excusing the exodus as the people in the Gortagullane area were a 'very impoverished population', living in wretched hovels and who annoyed tourists going to Mangerton by begging and, as squatters, had eagerly grasped the opportunity to emigrate[137]. Further evidence, unearthed by the local representative of the *Cork Examiner,* rejected this reason as 'a tissue of falsehoods', and, listing the individuals involved, the *Cork Examiner* concluded:

> It is much to be regretted that Lord Castlerosse... would prefer to decimate the population in order to afford shelter to the fowl and the game, for the host of English visitors, who periodically sojourn at his Lordship's Mansion... [and] during, or since the memorable famine of '47, not one of these parties availed themselves of the workhouse, which speaks volumes for these people[138].

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133 John Forbes, M D *Memorandums made in Ireland in the Autumn of 1852* (London, 1853) pp 149, 153 - 4.

134 *Tralee Chronicle* 22 April 1853. The *Kerry Evening Post* 20 April 1853 also reported the same item, but put the number of people from the Kenmare estate as 'Sixty". I am indebted to Bill Quirke for this reference.

135 PRONI , D/4151/S/1/A/174. Map of the Estate of the Right Honable the Earl of Kenmare Situate in the Barony of Magonihy and County of Kerry. Drawn in May 1856 by John Mangan , Srvr. This map, despite its poor condition, is of exceptional value in showing the individual townlands of the Earl of Kenmare's holdings in Kerry, as well as illustrating the enormous extent of that holding - over 90,000 acres. Hereafter cited as Mangan's 1856 Map.

136 *Tralee Chronicle* 22 September 1863.

137 Ibid. 25 September 1863.

138 Ibid. 2 October 1863. Those listed were: Andy Driscoll, his wife and family of four; Sheehan, his wife and family of three; Patrick Fleming and his family of three; the widow Shea and her family of three; Cornelius Donoghue, his wife and family of one; the widow Kissane and her family of six; and Eugene Tangney, who was married to Mary Kissane, one of the daughters of the widow Kissane, and 'who had to go at his own expense, on his wife being evicted, because he got married after Lord Castlerosse got into possession of

The *Tralee Chronicle* refuted some of the allegations but conceded that 'if the lands occupied by these people are to be turned into game preserves, we regret it. We regret also that an effort was not made to settle them at home'[139]. The local editor had stopped short of admitting evictions. The Kenmare account books confirmed an actual eviction in the previous year, when a sum of £36 was paid to H Moynihan 'on his being ejected from Gortnahanelee [sic]'[140]. (This townland must have been Gortanahaneboy, in the Parish of Kilcummin, in which Moynihans were living in 1853[141]).

In this contemporary evidence and criticism of Castlerosse no mention was made of evictions having occurred in the nearby deer forests, something that the local representative of the *Cork Examiner* would be expected to have known and used. The deer forests adjoined the townland in contention, and citing deer forest clearances, had they occurred, would have been especially pertinent in supporting his argument that the purpose of the Gortagullane 'evictions', or 'clearances', was game shooting for the sporting pleasure of Lord Kenmare. The *Cork Examiner's* reporter's intimate knowledge of the locality, and his citing the evictions in Cools in 1850, meant he could not have been other than aware of evictions from the deer forests, had such occurred. His fears for the people of Gortagullane did not materialise. The exodus in 1863, traumatic as it was, did not clear that townland. Ten years later, in 1873, there were 24 tenants living in Gortagullane and paying rent to the Earl of Kenmare[142].

It remains to assess if evictions may possibly have occurred from the deer forests themselves in the Famine's aftermath, or during the succeeding decades, when deer stalking was in progress. The Great Famine still raged in Killarney in 1849. Dr. Murphy reported to the Board of Guardians that corpse was being buried on corpse at Aghadoe graveyard, and that not an inch of ground was left to bury any other corpse there[143]. In a 1850 report, poor people were seen to drop dead on the roadside, on their way to Killarney Workhouse[144]. By 1852, people were still uneasy at the slightest failure in the potato crop, and were in despair, their hopes extinguished. They were reported as emigrating from Ireland in thousands[145]. In 1853, when a large party of well-to-do ladies and gentlemen arrived by special train from the Dublin Exhibition to see the 'far-famed Lakes of Killarney' they were aghast at the sight of the 'pinched faces and wasted frames' of the people they witnessed about the town itself[146]. In these conditions, emigration was no longer an option for many of Killarney's poor and dispossessed, it was their only way out. Those that had managed somehow to survive famine in the mountain townlands of the deer forests were perhaps the people who faced the most uncertain future, living as they were on high marginal ground, where the limits of cultivation had already been reached by the 1820s, and

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Gortagullane, in November 1861, when it reverted to him on the death of the former agent, Mr Gallwey'. Details of the size of holdings were also listed, the correspondent adding that scarcely had the people departed 'when the crow-bar was at work, raising to the ground the houses...'. In relation to a man Shea, husband of one of the widow Shea's daughters, it was stated that his (Shea's) 'mother-in-law was previously evicted from Cools, at the foot of Mangerton, in the year 1850' - Ibid.

139 Ibid.

140 PRONI , D/4151/K/97. Half Yearly Account Book, May - November 1862, 28 June 1862.

141 Personal communication 17 June 1999 from John MacCarthy, Library, Muckross House, whose own townland is Gortanahaneboy. See also *Griffith's Valuations ...Union of Killarney...Parish of Kilcummin...*p 54.

142 PRONI, D/4151/H/1. Rental and Account Book 1873 p 12.

143 *Kerry Examiner* 25 May 1849.

144 Ibid. 23 August 1850.

145 Ibid. 17 August 1852.

146 Ibid. 24 May 1853.

was now overcropped soil, degraded by mineral depletion[147]. Whether they numbered amongst those that emigrated with their landlords' assistance is not ascertained, but the Valuation Lists post-famine show that some had already left the deer forests, while others still remained.

By 1861/2, at least ten years after the creation of the deer forests, the Herbert forests still had eight townlands occupied by tenants (Dromyrourk again excluded). In the Muckross deer forests, Cloghereen Upper was occupied by the tenants Patrick Tangney and John Lynch, and these two family names continued in occupation there until at least 1919. Killeggy Upper likewise retained one tenant, and tenant occupation again lasted there until 1919. Looscaunach in 1861/2 was occupied by Michael McCarthy; in 1880 it was occupied by Cornelius Sullivan and John Casey; in 1905 and in 1919 it was occupied by Daniel McCarthy. Gallavally was occupied by Captain Thomas Strange in 1861/2 (before that it had been occupied by Robert Chambers); in 1880 it was occupied by Denis Tangney; in 1905 it was occupied by John Casey; and in 1919 the occupant was Norah Casey. Foardal was occupied by Daniel Regan in 1861/2; it was occupied by Timothy McCarthy in 1880 and in 1905; and it was occupied by Patrick McCarthy in 1919. Doogary was occupied by John Sullivan in 1861/2; part of Doogary - the salmon fishing of the Upper Lake - was taken by Eugene Tangney in 1880, after which it appears to have remained unlet for some time. Cullinagh was occupied by Daniel Breen in 1861/2, but by 1880 it remained unlet. Gortadirra was occupied by John de Courcey, Eugene Ferris and Denis Cremin (spelled 'Crimmin') in 1861/2; by 1880 Eugene Ferris and Denis Cremin were still in occupation; in 1905 it was occupied by Patrick Courtney, Richard Ferris and Patrick Cremin; and in 1919 Daniel Courtney, Richard Ferris and Timothy Cremin were the occupiers. Cores and Gortderraree, both townlands central to the Muckross Home deer forest, were empty by 1861/2 and remained empty thereafter. There is some significance in this, as in 1851 these two townlands each had a caretaker in residence, and would have been expected to have retained watchers if Herbert had concerns about deer poaching. In the Kenmare deer forests, four townlands remained inhabited by 1861/2. Ullauns was occupied by Walter Murphy and Daniel Mahony until 1861/2; by 1880 it was unoccupied and remained unlet thereafter. Poulagower was occupied by Timothy Mahony and Maurice Glissane until 1861/2; by 1880 it too had become unoccupied and remained empty thereafter. Incheens was occupied by Jeremiah Crowley and Denis Horgan in 1861/2; by 1880 the occupier was John Mahony; in 1905 the occupiers were Michael Mahony and Michael Donoghue; in 1919 the occupiers were Michael Mahony and Daniel Donoghue. Gortroe was occupied by James Donoghue in 1861/2, and by 1880 it was empty and remained unoccupied thereafter[148]. The Valuation field books thus reveal a pattern of some tenants leaving during the years of well-attested general emigration, and others remaining within the Killarney deer forests for well over half a century after their creation. They provide no support of ejections from the deer forests in post-famine years. On the contrary, people still lived in 12 deer forest townlands by 1861/2, when the forests were well established and deer stalking in progress.

Post-famine emigration continued, and Killarney was no exception to the nationwide phenomenon. By 1855 it was stated that the Earl of Kenmare had helped 100 families to emigrate[149], and financial assistance by

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147 Kevin Whelan 'The Famine and Post-Famine Adjustment' in William Nolan (ed)*The Shaping of Ireland* (Cork, 1986) pp 154, 156.

148 Valuation Office, General Valuation of Ireland. Cancelled Field Book No 29, County Health District of Kerry, Electoral Division of Muckross, Killarney, 1859 - 1935.

149 *Tralee Chronicle* 9 November 1855.

the Brownes continued, as the Kenmare ledgers attest. In 1862, Sullivan of Bantry was assisted to emigrate[150], and in 1864 at least a further nine families were financially helped to leave the country[151]. It is probable that an item in the Kenmare account ledgers may have alluded to the Gortagullane episodes of emigration or forced emigration, three years previously. In 1866 John Leary was paid 5s 0d 'for levelling cabins at Gortagullane'[152]. This would have represented about a week's work; the average agricultural weekly wage increased from 5s in 1845 to 7s in 1870[153]. It suggests, in the absence of any Muckross estate records, that cabins in this general area were demolished well after the deer forests' establishment.

Efforts were made to trace descendants of the deer forest owners for discussion on the possible survival in their family traditions of any references to deer forest evictions. The Herbert family had left Killarney by the start of the 20th century, and for this study their descendants could not be traced. The Browne family and its descendants lived on in Killarney until 1985. Valentine Dawnay, a nephew of the last of the family to live there, and who himself stalked deer in the Kenmare forest and who well knew the area and its tumbled-down cabins, has confirmed there was no tradition in his family of evictions from the Kenmare deer forests - 'it was cholera, typhus or starvation that put them out'[154]. One person was traced whose family had experienced eviction from a townland in the Muckross estate which could be regarded as coming within the deer stalking area of the Muckross lowlands, if not within the deer forests themselves. Donal MacCarthy, whose family occupied Foardal townland until the 1960s and who was himself born and raised there on the mountainside, recollected that his uncle, Dan MacCarthy, used to recall that *his* father used to say they were evicted from their 'fine land' in or near Killeagy and were sent up the mountain to the townland of Foardal. There was no recollection of deer being mentioned; Donal MacCarthy is of the opinion that the cause was non-payment of rent[155]. That the MacCarthy family, when evicted, were allowed to settle in Foardal, part of the Muckross Upper Lake deer forest, is telling evidence that occupation of deer stalking lands was tolerated by the Herberts.

The belief still surviving that clearances occurred in these deer forests appears to be confined to the Muckross district[156]. It would be churlish to dismiss such beliefs. The strongest argument in favour of these strongly-held views is that they are not a recent invention, but a tradition passed down through several generations. The difficulty with folklore legends, even though they may have originated in an actual happening, is that as they pass down from person to person, over the passage of time they can become blurred and intermingled with other events. It is possible that the evictions in Killarney folk memory concerning deer and game may have had some origin, in part at least, in the assisted emigrations, and quite possibly forced emigrations, in Gortagullane and Coolies. If any evictions did occur in the deer forest townlands, then they were

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150 PRONI, D/4151/K/97. Account Book - 16 July 1862.

151 PRONI , D/4151/M/6. Cash Book.

152 Ibid. 27 January 1866.

153 Joseph Lee *The Modernisation of Irish Society 1848-1918* (Dublin, 1992) p 8. This was confirmed for the Killarney area by a correspondent who, on his return there, compared the situation with that of 50 years previously; the wage rates now paid to Colonel Herbert's workers - between 80 and 100 in number - varied for boys and men from 6s to 8s to 9s a week - *Tralee Chronicle* 6 August 1861.

154 Valentine Dawnay interview 31 May 1996.

155 Donal MacCarthy interview 9 November 1995. Donal MacCarthy, whose sister was married to 'Young' Dan Donoghue, the last of the Kenmare gamekeepers, said he never heard Dan Donoghue referring to evictions from their deer forests by the Kenmares - Ibid.

156 It is held, for example, by Paudie Cremin of Tomies and Danny Cronin of Muckross, both of whom worked in the Muckross estate and whose intimate knowledge of the districts about Killarney is unequalled. Their sincerity and integrity are undoubted - many personal communications from Paudie Cremin; personal communication from Danny Cronin at interview on 15 November 1995.

selective, isolated and focused on a very few families, because the historical evidence is that only three - Ferta, Crinnagh and Cloughfune - of the 25 deer forest townlands were totally denuded of people, something that was by no means unique in the decade of the Great Famine. It could equally be argued that the people would have gone anyway, as is well attested and happened with other families forsaking the deer forests during the decades following the Famine.

No attestation of a general clearance of people to create the Killarney deer forests emerges from contemporary accounts of the afforestation period, or its aftermath. While the importance of keeping an open mind on the past is accepted, and it is a well-known truism that absence of proof is not proof of absence, nevertheless proof is fundamental to historical assessment. This study found none.

4

Victorianism and Nationalism: 1850-70.

The conscious policy decision by Henry Arthur Herbert I and the second Earl of Kenmare, between 1840 and 1850, to protect their wild red deer at Killarney was the most significant turning point in the future survival of this indigenous herd. Had this change from persecution to conservation not occurred, then there was a real probability that the native red deer in Killarney would also have become extinct along with the few remaining groups that finally perished during the Great Famine and its aftermath. That countrywide demise of the native red deer, except in Killarney, is well attested in the literature, the central thrust of which has been to blame a starving peasantry for the native red deer's final extinction. Typical of this attitude was Maxwell's account of the situation in Mayo. Writing in 1832, Maxwell attributed blame to the distribution of firearms among the peasantry following the French landing in Mayo, in 1798[1]. It was a convenient excuse. Taking deer by the peasantry was not poaching in the modern sense of illegal hunting for the commercial sale of stolen meat. Rather it was a question of subsistence hunting, and it was pretentious sophistry by those who killed for the sheer lust of killing to blame a people who killed a deer so that they and their families might stay alive - something that was not forgotten by poachers for well over a century afterwards. Maxwell claimed he and his kinsman went on a shooting expedition when a few of the last surviving animals were sighted; the stag was shot by Hennessy, a local[2], and thus the red deer of Erris were pushed that bit closer to extinction. Maxwell wrote that 'many, when severely struck, escaped the shooter; and there have been many stags killed in these mountains, who bore the marks of several wounds, from the effects of which they had entirely recovered'[3].

Although his autobiography was fictitious, Maxwell's details, and disclosure of his contemporaries' thinking, ring true. A few years later, about 1834, what were regarded as the last red deer of Erris were reported by Tom Daly of Nephin More; Payne-Gallwey later narrated the details, contained in an interview in 1874 by Richard Glascott Symes with Tom Daly, then 78 years of age[4]. Payne-Gallwey said he had proof from several gentlemen that in Erris 'a few roamed over the more solitary mountains' up to the Great Famine 1845-9, when those few still existing were hunted down with desperate energy by the hunger-stricken hill-men[5]. These and many similar narratives characterise the accounts of the extinction of the last of native Irish red deer. Overall summaries by Payne-Galwey[6], Harting[7], Scharff[8], Ussher[9], Moffat[10], Fairley[11], Welch[12], and Thompson[13],

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1 Maxwell...*Wild Sports...* p 102.
2 Ibid. pp 225-35.
3 Ibid. p105.
4 Payne-Gallwey...*Wildfowler in Ireland...* pp 316-7. Originally reported in the *Field* 11 July 1874.
5 Ibid. p 318.
6 Ibid. pp 313-21.
7 James Edmund Harting *Essays on Sport and Natural History* (London, 1883) pp 306-25.
8 R F Scharff 'The Irish Red Deer' *INJ* Vol 27 (1918) pp 133-5.
9 Richard J Ussher 'Notes on Irish Red Deer' *Zoologist* Vol VI No 63 (1882) pp 81-4.
10 C B Moffat 'The Mammals of Ireland' *PRIA* Vol XLIV Section B No 6 (1938) pp 104-7.

and extensive contemporary correspondence to the *Field*, have adequately covered the subject. It is unnecessary to repeat each detail; a synopsis is given in Appendix 3.

The vexed question of whether a few remaining native red deer may have managed to survive in Connaught must receive some attention, as reports persisted in the *Field* that native red deer still survived in the Mayo area into the 1870s. Mr Richard Glascott Symes of the Geological Survey of Ireland has rubbished these accounts in correspondence with Payne-Gallwey, claiming that any seen were escapes from deer parks[14]. Prior to this, in separate correspondence to the *Field*, R Glascott Symes had referred to 'tame' red deer that had escaped from Major Knox's demesne at Castlerea[15], and later elaborated on misconceptions arising from such escapes. Symes explained why a local man, Denis Lynn, had told his gentlemen employers that five escaped red deer were native red deer - the reason was purely commercial, to help in Lynn's own employment. Lynn, said Symes, was 'a man who lived entirely by assisting shooters and fishermen in their sports.. [and] immediately informed the gentlemen he was in the habit of attending that there were five of the old red deer still living'[16]. Symes wrote from Ballina, County Mayo, in the 1870s, and made it clear that he had personally researched not only the questions of the last red deer in Erris, but also the confusion arising from escapes. Nevertheless, the belief that red deer in Mayo were of the old native stock persisted into the first half of the 20th century[17].

The situation concerning red deer and game in Killarney was now one of firm protection. No widespread dispersal of guns, French or otherwise, had occurred among the Kerry peasantry, and contemporary reports showed it was no easy matter for the lower classes and tradesman to acquire a licence for firearms. In examining the applications for gun registration in 1844, the Bench of Magistrates in Killarney readily granted licences to people like John O'Connell of Grena for one double-barrelled gun, and to Sir A Blennerhasset for two double- barrelled guns, but when it came to the application of 'Thomas Griffin, a countryman, who spoke no English ... from the parish of Rossbeagh' (Rossbeigh, about 20 miles west of Killarney), there was no ambiguity in the thinking of one of the landed gentry. His application was objected to by J Leahy, on the grounds that

> He held no land, and dwelt in a mere cabin on the hillside. He was uneducated, and could not be supposed capable of exercising that discretion which a person of intelligence must be supposed to have. He could not speak English, and was a person unworthy of being entrusted with arms.

Mr Shine Lawlor contended that even though Griffin was a man of no education and a mere squatter, he should not be 'deprived of the constitutional rights every subject possesses'. Griffin, who had been given the gun by Lord Headly's agent Mr Higgins for 'foxes and crows', received an excellent character reference from Mr A Talbot, Lord Headly's rent collector, and on a division, his gun was registered[18]. J Leahy, who had objected, was a barrister and agent for Henry Arthur Herbert I of Muckross[19]. And when John Dodds, a young

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11 James Fairley *An Irish Beast Book* (Belfast, 2nd edn.1984) pp 75-9.
12 R Welch 'The Last Wild Red Deer, Co Donegal' *The Irish Naturalist* Vol XIV No 5 (1905) p 120
13 William Thompson *The Natural History of Ireland* Vol IV (London, 1856) pp 30-2.
14 Payne-Gallwey...*Wildfowler in Ireland*... pp 319-20.
15 *Field* 9 May 1874.
16 Ibid. 18 July 1874.
17 Sir T H Grattan Esmonde *Hunting Memories of Many Lands* (London, 1925) p 247. This is discussed again in Chapter 7.
18 *Kerry Examiner* 5 January 1844.
19 *Devon Commission* ... p 884.

shoemaker in Killarney, applied a few days later to register a gun, the reaction he received was '...Really, I do not see what business a shoemaker has of a gun...'. Even though Mr Justin Supple asked 'is it because a man is poor he is not to have any amusement ?', the application was rejected. The number of firearms registered on that occasion was 'about one hundred and forty five'[20].

There were other ways of taking a deer besides shooting; they could be taken by snaring, and with dogs. If poaching did take place, and it is beyond question that some deer must have been killed, during the Famine at least, by the cottiers and squatters in the Killarney mountains, it would appear the poachers went unapprehended. In a list of 173 prisoners in gaol in Kerry on 6 March 1848, the majority were in custody for common larceny, and for cow, sheep, goat, pig, ass and horse stealing, but no one for poaching or taking deer[21]. The penalties for poaching would have been severe, especially so for illegally taking red deer exclusively reserved for Herbert and Kenmare, both of whom were members of the judiciary. Examples of the penalties imposed at the Killarney Quarter Sessions in 1847 were: Henry Breen sentenced to 10 years transportation for goat stealing, and Mary Brown to seven years transportation for money stealing[22]. It would have been exceptional, if poachers were caught, that it would have gone unrecorded, as even a minor transgression of the game laws was a news item. At Castleisland Petty Sessions a man was fined £4 with costs for entering on property at Glounavadra with greyhounds 'in pursuit of game without being duly authorised to do so'[23]. Such punitive measures and the strict enforcement of the law may have been regarded as a sufficient deterrent to poaching, but there can be little doubt that the father of a starving family would have risked it.

While the Great Famine resulted in the near collapse of the Killarney stag hunt, and for most of the post-famine decade hunts were sporadic affairs, hunting had not entirely ceased during the worst of the famine. Even during Black '47 a buck was enlarged before Mr Richard Chute's hounds at Ardfert, and a doe was started at Clogherbrien[24]. A disastrous stag hunt, again organised during Black '47 to benefit boatmen feeling the effects of no visitors[25], left the *Kerry Examiner* reporting the following year that ' Our beautiful Lakes are comparatively deserted... No more stag hunts...no dancing...Everything is changed but the "Genius of the place"...'. The writer blamed the famine and 'imaginary rebellions'[26]. A hunt organised by Herbert for a visit by the Lord Lieutenant, his wife and entourage, to Killarney in 1849 was equally a failure, the local newspaper noted that 'such sport is now of rare occurrence'[27]. The Earl of Clarendon's reaction was not enthusiastic - he simply ordered his boat to 'steer home'[28]. Catherine M O'Connell witnessed a stag hunt in 1850; the stag was taken alive and rowed by his captors to Muckross. An elderly sportsman she met at the hunt told her it was nothing like former hunts, saying 'Ah ! these were really the "gay old times", the like of which we shall never

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[20] *Kerry Examiner* 9 January 1844.

[21] Ibid. 7 March 1848.

[22] Ibid. 25 June 1847.

[23] Ibid. 30 November 1847.

[24] Ibid. 23 March; 2 November 1847.

[25] Ibid. 17 September 1847.

[26] Ibid. 19 September 1848. The 'imaginary rebellions' was a reference to the Young Ireland rebellion of 1848, as it was known that Doheny and Stephens were fugitives in the mountains of the South West. Doheny wrote that Lord Bantry and 'all his tenantry' were actively pursuing them, but they succeeded in escaping with the help of a friendly gamekeeper - Doheny...*Felon's Track*... pp 241-2.

[27] *Kerry Examiner* 21 September 1849.

[28] Ibid. 28 September 1849.

again see in Killarney'[29]. His pessimism was understandable but his forecast erroneous; the Killarney stag hunt was later revived in the early 1870s.

Deer stalking was described in 1848 as 'the privilege of princes'[30]; it was a pastime for aristocracy, gentry and the very wealthy. The basis of the sport, and the dynamism that sustained its growth, was a trophy stag's head[31]. Charles St John's classic tales of his hunting exploits in the Findhorn river area of Scotland, especially his six-day stalk of the 'muckle hart of Benmore', culminating in his hand-to-antler struggle when he finally finished off the stag with his hunting knife[32], provided inspiration and impetus to the new devotees of stalking who flocked to the Scottish Highlands. And it was his famous description of a stag 'whose branching honours I wished to transfer from the mountain side to the wall of my own hall'[33] that neatly summed up the great longing and urgency felt by stalkers to acquire a stag's head bearing large antlers with many points. The much-sought-after head carried 12 tines, or points, and was called a *royal* [34]; a head with 14 tines was sometimes dubbed an *imperial*. Edwin Landseer's internationally known *Monarch of the Glen,* painted in 1851, was a classic illustration of a 'royal' stag, and so great was its appeal that innumerable engraved reproductions were produced, and certainly contributed to the deaths of tens of thousands of stags[35]. This morphology of an antler formed the basis for assessing what was considered an 'excellent' or a 'poor' head; the head of an old stag whose antler points had deteriorated, or *gone back*, and had lost all or nearly all tines except the main antler beams, was called a *switch* head, and was the most despised. Length, girth, ruggedness and spread of antler beams were also considered important aspects of the trophy. These artificial values, based on personal concepts of beauty and applied by a sporting elite, did not necessarily reflect the biological values of survival and reproductive abilities of wild red deer[36].

The commercial use of red deer artefacts as tourist items featured in Killarney by the mid-1800s. Fraser's guide book advised that 'the wood of the arbutus, and the antlers of the hart, both indigenous in the forests of Killarney, are manufactured into a variety of fancy articles, and sold in the town'[37]. Archdeacon Rowan recorded that antlers of the red deer could 'generally be purchased in the Killarney arbutus shops', and maintained that 'but a small proportion of those shed every year can be found'[38]. (Rowan correctly reported what is well proven, that the majority of cast antlers on the hill were eaten by hinds and stags). Decorated furniture made locally in Killarney was inlaid with scenes of the famous beauty spots and the native red deer, together

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29 O'Connell...*Excursions*...pp 106-16.

30 *Illustrated London News* 18 November 1848.

31 Orr ...*Deer Forests*... p 40.

32 Charles St John *Sketches of the Wild Sports and Natural History of the Highlands* (London, 1878 edn) pp 243-55.

33 Ibid. p 292.

34 In medieval times a stag hunted by a sovereign and escaped, was then called a *hart royal*. A stag hunted beyond the royal forest and might not return became the subject of the king's proclamation, and became *a royal hart proclaimed* - see N D C James *A History of British Forestry* (Oxford, 1981) p 34.

35 Sir Edwin Landseer was mush admired by Queen Victoria, who from 1842 onwards received art and engraving lessons from him, and who on her Scottish tours with Prince Albert visited Ardverikie and admired his original studies, painted on walls, for *Monarch of the Glen* and other paintings of red deer. See Godfrey & Margaret Scheele *The Prince Consort* (London, 1977) pp 54, 62; and David Duff (ed) *Queen Victoria's Highland Journals* (London, 1997 edn) pp 58, 228 (n72).

36 The considered opinion of scientific research on Scottish red deer in Rhum is that a popular belief that selectively culling "poor" heads to produce better quality antlers remains unproven . See T H Clutton-Brock and S D Albon *Red Deer in the Highlands* (Oxford, 1989) pp 199-200. See also Ryan...*Wild Red Deer*...p 65.

37 James Fraser *A Hand Book for Travellers in Ireland* (Dublin, 1845) p 293.

38 ABR ...*Lake Lore*... p 168.

with the Killarney fern, as exclusive symbols of the area[39]. Silver mounted containers for small items of jewellery were fashioned from the hooves of red deer and engraved as such. The supply for these may have come from shot animals, but the possibility exists that deer hooves may also have been imported into Killarney for this purpose.

While the numbers of red deer carried by both deer forests at the start of the 1850s are unknown, the Returns of Agricultural Produce for 1851 revealed that post-famine Ireland still held a population of 17,175 deer, species unspecified[40]. For County Kerry a total of 1,054 deer was recorded, of which Magunihy, the Barony in which the deer forests were situated, accounted for 912. A summary of the Returns, and the distribution of these 912 animals, is given in Appendix 4. It is probable that, in general, the deer referred to were emparked animals, as wild and free-ranging deer could hardly have been considered agricultural produce, though it is important to note that the basic data collected for these returns no longer exists[41]. Holdings of over 500 acres could have applied to the Killarney deer forests, and if wild deer were included in the returns, then the 400 deer recorded under this head may have been estimates of the numbers of wild red deer in both Killarney forests, but this must remain doubtful. If so, and it remains uncertain, Archdeacon Rowan's estimate of 'probably several hundred' red deer for both of the Killarney deer forests in 1853[42] would have been reasonably accurate - assuming that the Agricultural Returns were accurate. As the summary in Appendix 4 illustrates, the pattern of deer numbers distributed over holding size was not regular; in the larger holdings of 201 to 500 acres, deer numbers varied from just one animal to 826, and in the largest holding size of over 500 acres, the number of deer varied from one to 1,011. Almost half of the country's total deer was concentrated in just six of the 32 counties; Antrim, Cork, Dublin, Kerry, Tipperary and Waterford, which combined returned a total of 8,094 animals. Nevertheless, this census revealed a deer presence in each of the 32 counties of Ireland, and illustrates more eloquently than descriptive narrative how the keeping of them was not restricted to the deer parks of the elite. Deer held in holdings of less than one acre featured in 13 counties; those held in holdings of from two to five acres featured in 18 counties. Such small-sized holdings keeping a few deer testified to an evolution from the original exclusive deer park of the 17th century to a situation in the 19th century where emparked deer were now established countrywide as a produce species. Although the 1851 Census had returned 519 gamekeepers for the whole country[43], it is obvious that it would not have warranted employing a gamekeeper by those occupiers who held small numbers of deer.

It was unlikely that Lord Kenmare, now over 60 years old, enjoyed much deerstalking in the early 1850s. Gamekeeping for his estate continued, as it had done throughout the Great Famine, and estate accounts duly recorded the yearly cycle of preparing for and managing game for the Earl's shooting pleasure. He died at Great Malvern in November 1853, aged 65, after a lingering illness[44]. The *Kerry Examiner* judged him to be 'distinguished for his princely charities'[45]. The Great Famine had left its mark on his estate, and nothing

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[39] Brian Austin *Tunbridge Ware and Related European Decorative Woodwares* (London, 1989) pp 175-93.
[40] *Returns of Agricultural Produce in 1851* (Stationary Office, Dublin, 1852) pp 626-727.
[41] Mary Murphy, Central Statistics Office, personal communication 28 July 1999.
[42] ABR... *Lake Lore*... p 158.
[43] Parliamentary Papers.*1851 Census Ireland. Part VI General Report* (IUP reprint, Shannon) p 634.
[44] *Freeman's Journal* 4 November 1853.
[45] *Kerry Examiner* 8 November 1853.

illustrates this more cogently than the record of the estate's rent roll. As Appendix 5 shows, by 1850 the rental income was in serious arrears; the amount of arrears then (£27,806) just about equalled the nominal annual gross rental income (£28,678). Nonetheless, despite this loss of income, there was no cessation of game management by the Kenmares. The second Earl had died without issue and was succeeded by his brother, Sir Thomas Browne, as the third Earl of Kenmare (1789-1871). He had served in the Peninsular war, and was 64 years old on his succession. His own son, Valentine Augustus Browne, an elected Member of Parliament in 1852, assumed the title Lord Castlerosse. Lord Castlerosse, then 28 years old, actively took over the management of the huge estate. He was the Lord Castlerosse mentioned ten years later in connection with the controversial emigration from Gortagullane and Coolies, in 1863.

Thomas Browne, third Earl, continued the family tradition of game shooting. In 1856 he paid £49 to Sir T Herbert, one year's rent for Bunrower[46]. The Bunrower lowlands, owned by the Herberts of Cahirnane, bordered the Kenmare demesne in Killarney, and were rented by Lord Kenmare for his pheasant shooting, one reason being, as later evidence in a legal wrangle over his rental of Bunrower would show, the Earl's pheasants crossed the roadway dividing Bunrower from the Kenmare demesne, and the Earl wanted access to shoot them there[47]. The third Earl continued his family's tradition of generously contributing to charities, and fostering development. In 1855 he donated, free, 26 lineal miles of his lands, comprising 260 acres, for the Tralee and Killarney railway[48]. The following year he was extended the privilege of a seat in the British House of Peers, being conferred with 'a peerage of the United Kingdom, under the title Baron Kenmare, of Castlerosse, County Kerry'[49]. Kenmare House, Killarney, was the family seat. Detailed accounts are lacking of the deerstalking exploits by the third Earl, or by his son Valentine, but what is certain is that the Kenmare deer forests survived. If stalking or game had been an important or noteworthy item, it escaped analysis in the expense details in the estate's cash accounts for Killarney, the main items of expenditure being bills for Foresters, Steward, Gardeners, and Sundries (the "sundries" were concerned with items like blacksmiths' bills for shoeing horses, and repair work to various properties, such as the thatching, painting and glazing of Glena Cottage)[50].

Henry Arthur Herbert I advanced his career. In 1854 he was appointed colonel of the Kerry Militia, but according to the local press he declined to accept the office of Junior Lord of the Treasury[51]. In that year he was thrown from his horse at the Tower of London; the horse fell on Herbert, and it was expected he would be out of action for many months[52]. Henry must have quickly recovered, however, as a month later he was sworn in as a member of the Grand Jury[53]. When a mix-up occurred and British-made clothes of the Kerry Militia were sent out in error to the Crimea war zone, Herbert and his 'ragged regiment' were subjected of local sarcastic ridicule, suggesting that Herbert should have had his own regiment's uniforms made at home in Killarney[54].

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46 PRONI, D/4151/M/4. Cash Book 1855-7 29 September 1856.
47 This legal argument over the Bunrower rent is discussed later, in the context in which it occurred, towards the end of the 19th century.
48 *Kerry Examiner* 25 September 1855.
49 Ibid. 4 February 1856.
50 PRONI, D/4151/M/3. Cash Books for Kenmare Estate 1853- 5 and 1855-7, passim.
51 *Kerry Examiner* 24 January 1854.
52 Ibid. 27 June 1854.
53 Ibid. 25 July 1854.
54 Ibid. 6 February 1855.

Herbert was deer stalking in his forests by the mid 1850s - a stag's head still in Muckross House, dated 1855, bears the name of Henry Arthur Herbert[55]. By this time commercial deer stalking was a feature of the trade and business use of their Strathconan estate in Scotland by the Herbert's in-laws, the Balfours. Henry Arthur's father-in-law, James Balfour, had purchased an estate in Fife, and a further estate in Ross-shire (Strathconan) shortly after his marriage in 1815. These he acquired to establish himself as a country gentleman - he had made his fortune in India as a contractor, building railways and other projects[56]. The Strathconan estate was afforested in 1850, and advertised for commercial deer stalking lettings in 1854, netting a rent of £2,200 in the season of 1855-6 from an Irishman, John La Touche[57]. Consequently, when Henry Arthur Herbert I was visited in Muckross by his brother-in-law Charles Balfour in 1858, there was every reason to discuss the commercial aspects of deer stalking. Both men did stalk the red stags at Muckross and left two stags' heads as evidence (these are still exhibited in Muckross House, bearing the names of Henry Arthur Herbert and Charles Balfour, both dated 1858). Whether or not the Muckross forests were also commercially in use at this time remains unascertained, but photographic evidence confirms that deer stalking was active at Muckross in the 1860s. The newly fashionable pastime of the British landed gentry, the photographic process, was by the early 1850s also part of the entertainment of the ascendancy elite in Ireland - at the Great Exhibition of 1851, Edward, Baron Crofter, of Moate Park, Co Roscommon, bought a camera for his daughter Augusta Caroline Crofter[58]. The Herberts were enthusiastic devotees of photography, being more than sufficiently wealthy to enjoy this sociably acceptable and then very expensive practice. A photograph captioned '1st stag of the season, shot by H. A. Herbert of Muckross Abbey' shows an unidentified bearded stalker, possibly a head gamekeeper, leaning on his musket and standing by a dead stag[59]. The image, undated, is placed in the 1860-9 period, and must have occurred prior to Herbert's death in 1866. His son, also Henry Arthur Herbert II, had already at the age of 19 shot an 11-point stag in 1859, and in the following decade continued to stalk and shoot in the Muckross forest. Up to 1870, seven stags' heads in Muckross House bear his name; one in 1859, three in 1864, and one each in 1865, 1867 and 1869. The inscription 'Captain of the Coldstream Guards' on these heads distinguishes him from his father. The junior Henry Arthur was a captain in that regiment, and later became Major Herbert[60]. A further head dated 1864 carries the name 'Hon Percy Fielding' who most probably was Percy Robert Basil Fielding, brother of the eight Earl of Denbigh. In 1864 he was 37 years old, and as an officer in the Coldstream Guards - he retired as a general - would have known the younger Henry Arthur Herbert. Fielding's ancestor, George Fielding, was created first Earl of Desmond in the Peerage of Ireland, in 1622[61].

Game shooting, a popular sport of the wealthy landowning gentry whose estates were arranged to ensure sufficient numbers of game for themselves and invited friends, featured strongly in the Herbert estate in the 1860s. It is probable that it was a commercial letting in the 1863-4 season the brought Lord Elcho to reside at

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[55] It could equally have been Henry Arthur's son, also Henry Arthur, who was born in 1840 and at 15 years old would have been capable of stalking and shooting a stag. Skull details are set out in Appendix 11, and later discussed.

[56] Max Egremont *Balfour: A Life of Arthur James Balfour* (London, 1998 edn) p 14.

[57] Orr...*Deer Forests...* pp 30, 170, 211.

[58] Christopher Simon Sykes *Country House Camera* (London, 1980) p16.

[59] Ibid. p 79 illustration.

[60] *Burke's Irish Family Records* p 579.

[61] *Burke's Peerage* pp 643-4.

Muckross. He and other shooters, averaging five guns, shot 840 woodcock there in 10 days, and that winter 1250 woodcock were shot at Muckross. Charles Balfour came from Scotland once more to visit his sister's home, again shooting with Herbert, and between them they killed 75 woodcock in a single day at Muckross[62]. The visit by Lord Elcho, who was either the ninth Earl of Wemyss and March or his son the future 10th Earl[63], illustrated the Scottish connections of the Herberts, though the Elcho family, who held over 60,000 acres in Scotland[64], also had connections with Cahir Castle in County Tipperary.

The third Earl of Kenmare kept up the retinue of gamekeepers and game establishments, but if he or his friends were actively participating in the sport, his estate account records did not reflect it during his first two years of Earldom. The costs of game or of deer stalking did not feature as separate items of expenditure in the detailed estate cash book relating to Killarney, from 19 November 1853 to 28 November 1855[65]. Apart from family and annuity payments, the major expenses were farming, gardening and forestry. The steward Sinnott purchased cattle at £100 a time in September and October 1854, and sheep at £20 in September 1855, whereas T Finegan, woodranger at Kilbrean, was paid a half-yearly salary of just £1[66]. The title woodranger was applied to game watchers in outlying districts, who could also be called upon to accompany shooters and act as beaters when required. The yearly renting of Bunrower for £49, paid to Mr Thomas Herbert of Cahirnane in 1856[67], suggests that the third Earl may have still been active in game shooting at the age of 67.

From the start of the 1860s the estate accounts reveal more details of gamekeeping expenses for the Browne family. In 1861 and 1862 a gamekeeper was paid at the rate of £35 every half year[68]. It is significant that neither gamekeeper or caretaker were recorded for Ullauns, Poulagower or Incheens, three townlands in the Kenmare deer forests, and it appears that it was in woodlands and moorlands, rather than in mountain deer forests, that most of the expenditure occurred, though there was some activity in Derrycunnihy, a deer forest townland. A sum of £3 10s was paid for a scythe for Derrycunnihy on 21 June 1862, which may have referred to the lower levels of that townland. The gamekeepers' own accounts for sundry items purchased were considerable when compared to salaries, amounting to £3 4s 9d for the month of July 1862, and £2 6s 9d for the month of August 1862. Deer were being transported by cart - the sum of £0 13s 10d paid on 22 November 1862 for 'cutting timber for racks for deer'. Glena, part of the deer forest, was being looked after by the caretaker Donald Small at a quarterly salary of £7 10s, and activity at Glena included turf cutting, which cost £1 1s 4d on 9 August 1862, while the insurance for Glena Cottage cost £4 16s on 24 June 1862[69]. In 1867 the local press reported

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62 Payne-Gallwey...*Fowler in Ireland...* pp 228.

63 *Burke's Peerage* pp 2350-4.

64 John Bateman *The Great Landowners of Great Britain & Ireland* (1883, reprint New York, 1970) p 470.

65 PRONI , D/4151/M/3. Cash Book 1853-55.

66 Ibid. 25 September, 26 October 1855, 29 September 1855, 31 October 1855 respectively.

67 PRONI , D/4151/M/4. Cash Book 1855-7 Paid one year's rent of Bunrower, due 25 March, £49, less income tax £3 10s, 29 September 1856.

68 PRONI , D/4151/M/5. Cash Book 1860-2. Examples: 19 October 1861, 8 March 1862. Subsequent half-yearly account analyses show that this gamekeeper was J McLaren, probably the head keeper, as Luke Shayler, described as the under gamekeeper, was paid a monthly salary of £2 10s (or £15 half-yearly). McLaren as gamekeeper must have been considered quite an important employee, as he enjoyed a salary equal to the steward Hugh Toole, also paid £35 half-yearly. Additionally, a half-yearly salary of £23 8s was paid to Donal and Jas Healy, combined, described as gamekeepers' assistants. Salaries were further paid to Danl. Scannel, caretaker of Lissivigeen wood, at £2 half-yearly; to Dnl. Donoghue, gamekeeper at Gortdromakiery, at £2 half-yearly; to John Breen, gamekeeper at Killties, at £2 10s half-yearly; to D Moynihan, caretaker at Derrycunnihy, at £5 half-yearly; to M Luacey (sic), gamekeeper at Bantry, at £5 half-yearly; to J Sullivan, caretaker at Billagh wood, at £1 half-yearly; and to M Finnegan, caretaker at Kilbrean wood, at £1 half-yearly.

69 PRONI, D/4151/ K/97. Half Yearly Account Book, May - November 1862.

Lord Castlerosse and Lord Boyle going 'to the "forest" situate in the vicinity of the Upper Lake, for the purpose of deer stalking, which place is his Lordship's principal resort for this amusement'[70] (by then Lord Castlerosse's father, the third Earl, was 78 years old). For the Kenmares, Derrycunnihy and Glena were the two deer forests bordering Killarney's Upper Lake. However, the recorded expenditure on game suggests that it was pheasant, grouse and woodcock shooting that constituted the greatest sport and highest costs in the 1860s. This supports the *Cork Examiner's* contemporary allegations that assisted emigration from Gortagullane in 1863 was to create gamebird and ground game habitat.

By 1865 the Kenmare deer forests had begun to feature in the estate financial records. The forest at Ullauns was under supervision, and three month's salary of £5 was paid to Donoghue (no initials recorded) as 'Gamekeeper at Allanes[71]. Comparative salaries illustrate the standing of gamekeeping in the hierarchy of employment for the Kenmares, and the relative importance of deer on the hill compared to structured game shooting in the lowland coverts:

Steward	£100 per annum
Gardener	£ 80 per annum
Head Gamekeeper	£ 70 per annum
Agriculturist	£ 60 per annum
Caretaker (Glena)	£ 30 per annum
Gamekeeper at Ullaunes	£ 20 per annum[72]

At this time gamekeepers' salaries were recorded under 'wages' or 'salaries', and expenses associated with game and deer were not kept separately. The renting of Bunrower had increased to £92 5s per half-year, and though the purpose was sport shooting, Lord Kenmare additionally utilised Bunrower to sell off the hay produce, receiving £40 for it on 8 August 1867[73]. The gamekeeper was paid £60 salary, period not stated,[74] (as evidenced in later accounts, the keeper's name was Matson). This account book for 1867-9 contains numerous blank pages, which were subsequently used to write up some accounts for the year 1874. This suggests there was intermittent recording, and that some records were written up long after the event. This clearly happened in one case of £200 paid to Lord Kenmare. The correcting entry, made a year later than the event, states 'Paid his Lordship, being lodged to his credit on 14 Aug 1868, but omitted [in] the accts. until this date', £200 - 1 October 1869[75]. Consequently, the accounting records cannot be taken as complete, and much detail relating to game and deer may be lost. The cash book which completed the decade to 1870 shows that Lord Kenmare had let the grazing of Bunrower, receiving 'on account of grazing of Park and Bunrower', £60 - 6 November 1869[76]. His own demesne in the lowlands of Knockreer was likewise let, to J O'Leary from whom the Earl received £200 for

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[70] *Tralee Chronicle* 23 August 1867.
[71] PRONI, D/4151/M/7. Cash Book July 1865-April 1866, 21 August 1865.
[72] Ibid. Passim.
[73] PRONI, D/4151/M/8. Cash Book November 1867 - February 1869.
[74] Ibid. 9 January 1869.
[75] PRONI, D/4151/M/9. Cash Book, March 1869 - June 1870, 1 October 1869.
[76] Ibid.

the November gale, on 24 may 1869[77]. If income from the letting of game or deer was received, it did not feature in the accounting records, and the evidence is that the money on these pastimes was outgoing, not incoming.

Much more details of game shooting on the Kenmare estate, as well as on his own lands, are recorded in the diaries of Sir John Fermor Godfrey (1828 - 1900). The Godfreys were English adventurers who received their Kerry estates eventually from Charles II, in recognition of their former services against the Irish in 1641[78]. Col John Godfrey was a member of Ludlow's Regiment of Horse, and received a grant of 6,331 acres in Bushfield (Kilcoleman Abbey), County Kerry[79]. Sir John Fermor Godfrey, the fourth Baronet, born in 1828, was a passionate horseman who kept his own pack of hounds at Kilcoleman Abbey, Milltown, about nine miles north of Killarney. His yearly diaries leave little doubt that, for him, hunting was a religious experience[80]. Apart from fox hunting, game shooting provided him with personal amusement and food for his house, and many of his outings with dogs and gun were as a guest of Lord Castlerosse in the Kenmare demesne and parklands. Godfrey acquired a game licence for £3 in 1862, in which year he hunted otters[81]. The following year he fished in Killarney's Upper Lake, shot 'blackbirds' (possibly crows), went shooting snipe in 1863[82] and partridges in 1864[83]. Most of these outings were in County Cork where, following his marriage in 1856, he had leased Glanmire House near Cork City from Mrs Murrough, and where he remained until 1865, when he returned to Kerry after his father, Sir William Duncan Godfrey, retired to live at Woodlawn House, Killarney[84]. That year Sir John Fermor Godfrey bought powder and shot for six shillings, and shot partridges (one and a half brace) and snipe (four and a half brace)[85], which, coming at the year end, probably was achieved in Kerry, where from then onwards his hunting and shooting were concentrated.

From 1866 onwards, Godfrey took an active interest in noting down the names and activities of poachers about his neighbourhood - he was Deputy Lieutenant and a Justice of the Peace for County Kerry, and High Sheriff in 1861[86]. This information on poaching activity, often gleaned from informers, was written into the plain unruled fly-leaves and end-papers of his small, pocketable diaries[87], where it was immediately to hand. In 1866 he listed 12 poachers and four witnesses[88]. With such information, Godfrey was in an excellent position

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77 Ibid.

78 Smith's *History of Kerry* p 62.

79 *Burke's Peerage* pp 946-7.

80 The hunting aspects of the Godfry diaries have been published by Valerie M Bary as 'The Hunting Diaries (1863-1872) of Sir John Fermor Godfrey of Kilcoleman Abbey, Co Kerry' *The Irish Ancestor* Vol xi, No 2 (1979) pp 107-19; and 'The Hunting Diaries (1873-1881) of Sir John Fermor Godfrey of Kilcoleman Abbey, Co Kerry' *The Irish Ancestor* Vol xii, Nos 1 and 2, 1980, pp 13-25. Hereafter cited as Godfrey Diaries, with appropriate period. The diaries are part of the Godfrey Papers, in the possession of Mrs Valerie Bary of Callinafercy House, Callinafercy, Co Kerry, and are hereafter cited as Godfrey Papers, Diaries as dated.

81 Godfrey Papers, 1862 Diary. 28 August, 2 October.

82 Ibid. 1863 Diary. 26 August, 29 October, 13, 14 November.

83 Ibid. 1864 Diary. 28 September.

84 Bary...Godfrey Diaries (1863-1872) pp 107-9.

85 Godfrey Papers, 1865 Diary. 4, 13, 29 November, 1, 7, 28 December.

86 *Burke's Peerage* p 947.

87 Godfrey Papers. The diaries researched were *Chamber's Pocket Almanac Diary,* for years 1862- 80, with one year, 1879, missing.

88 Godfrey Papers, 1866 Diary. His detailed listings were: Dinie Sullivan, son of Thadi Sullivan 'tenant of the late Mr Hoare', was a poacher, and coursed a hare with greyhounds on tenanted lands held under lease from Lord Castlerosse; that on 8 April 1866 on the Harte property, Coolroe, Con Sullivan and Frank Butler poached - 'who can be identified'. Other poachers named were M Dobbin who poached on Billy Spring's lands at Cuss (Jerm White and Patrick White, witnesses); Denis Sullivan who poached on Tim Coakley's lands; Thady Foley and James Murphy, poachers; Dan Russell and John Foley, poachers; and Paddy Doyle, Mick Welsh and Keeffe, who poached on 18 and 20 September, James Breen and John Breen being the witnesses.

to advance his friendship with Lord Kenmare, and he likewise befriended the Herberts at Muckross. He shot regularly throughout 1866 in his own lands at Kilderry and Killaclohane, both townlands in the Parish of Kilcolman adjacent to his residence at Milltown. These lands were occupied by tenant farmers. In 1853, the 268 acres of Kilderry North were let to 28 tenants, and the 171 acres of Kilderry South were let to 11 tenants, at a combined valuation of £229 3s; while the 509 acres of Killaclohane were let to 25 tenants, at a valuation of £213 12s[89]. Godfrey thus had a plentiful supply of beaters, to whom he paid two to three shillings for a day's sport[90]. His diarying of his own shooting ability was honest, as for example his entry 'Beat Kilderry, seen some cock and hares, but shot nothing'[91]. At the end of this, his first full year at home in Kerry, he summarised the number of game under the heading: 'Game for House'. He had procured 49 partridges, 34 hares, 122 snipe, 85 woodcock, 20 ducks (which included two wigeon and three teal), 16 grouse, 3 moorhens, 31 woodpigeons, 18 'W T' and 7 'IOP' (not identified)[92]. From his diary summary of his own financial affairs, Godfrey probably needed that supply of game for his household. He noted that his Estate Debts were £32,726 0s 5d, that Bonds and Notes amounted to £5,500, that Bank Liabilities were £5,204 16s 0d, that Bad Debts were £2,050, and that Bills amounted to £1,050[93]. With this total of £46,530 16s 5d liabilities, against a gross valuation of £3,303 on his 6,092 acres as itemised in 1883[94], Sir John Fermor Godfrey was living far beyond his means.

Nevertheless, Godfrey's hunting and shooting continued unabated in the succeeding years. In 1867, Godfrey again noted the names of ten poachers and three witnesses[95]. The informer Arthur Gloster was most probably the Gloster employed as bailiff on the river Maine by the Earl of Kenmare, and whose wages were charged to the expense item 'Game'[96]. The river Maine, the sporting rights of which were held by the Earl of Kenmare, flowed adjacent to Godfrey's lands, and entered the sea near Godfrey's house at Milltown. Godfrey could confidently rely on several laws for the protection of game, applied to Ireland by English rule and dating back to 1389-90[97]. A comprehensive law on the preservation of game, and the conviction of persons who destroy game, as well as a definition of game itself, was further enacted in 1697-8[98]. This later act defined game

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89 *Griffith's Valuations...Barony of Trughanacmy...Parish of Kilcolman...* pp 128-9 - all acreages rounded to nearest whole number.

90 Godfrey Papers, 1866 Diary. 8, 9 January, 27 February.

91 Ibid. 20 January.

92 Ibid. p 151. The mss entries by Godfrey provide the various numbers of each species, and these have been summarised to make up the total numbers cited . These individual numbers presumably represented the actual number of each species shot on a day's outing.

93 Ibid. mss dated '10th Feb/66' on end-papers.

94 Bateman...*Great Landowners*...p 185. In a Common Recovery action in the Court of Common Pleas in 1805, the Godfrey lands in County Kerry were described as ' 2000 acres of arable land, 1000 acres of meadow, 1000 acres of pasture, 400 acres of wood and underwood, 300 acres of furze and heath and 300 acres of moor and marsh' - see Valerie McK. Bary and Jane Spring ' The Godfrey Papers: Abstract of Deeds, 1800 - 1839' *JKAHS* No 21 (1998) p 49.

95 Godfrey Papers, 1867 Diary. Poachers were: Mr Tim Spring, who shot a hare on Upper Ballynamona, and who fired on a hare at Tirnaboul on 16 January, while on 19 April Thade Sullivan of Battisfield killed a hare on Patrick Mannix's land at Battisfield. Additionally, this Thade Sullivan kept two greyhounds, after which notation Godfrey added 'to prosecute on qualification ?'. Also jotted down were Eugene Sullivan and Thade Sullivan, both of Battisfield, who were seen by Arthur Gloster having hares dead in their possession on 17 May 1867 on Michael Russell's land, the same being preserved; Thade O'Brien for killing 'several hares' on Wm Daly's farm; on 8 September Patrick Enright saw Michael and Thade Sullivan coursing (hares); and John Simpson of Boulteens had a greyhound puppy 'not registered'. Apart from the taking of hares, poaching for grouse was also recorded. John Sullivan saw John Moriarty and Donie Hurley 'beating for grouse' on John Foley's farm at Bansha - Moriarty had a gun and two dogs; and the same witness saw 'the Dunne people' doing the same on Dan Moriarty's farm at Dromaderry (? unclear).

96 PRONI, D/4151/M/11. Cash Book July 1874- December 1875

97 *13 Rich. 2, c.13.* See George C Oke *Game and Fishery Laws* (London, 2nd edn, 1863) p 1.

98 *10 Wm. III, c.8.* See Edmond Chomley Farran *The Game Laws of Ireland* (Dublin, 1907) p 1. The difference in dating between the Historical Year and the Civil, Ecclesiastical and Legal Year is dealt with in *Guide to Law Reports and Statutes* (Sweet & Maxwell, London, 1962) pp 20-33, on which the dating in text is based.

in Ireland as deer, hares, pheasants, partridge, landrail (corncrake), moor-game (black-game), heath-game, grouse, quail, bustard, wild turkey (capercaillie) and ptarmigan; and although some of these did not occur in Ireland, they could be introduced[99]. The requirement to 'qualify' for the purpose of legally killing, taking or destroying game, or legally keeping a hound, spaniel, beagle or greyhound, was to have a freehold of not less than £40 yearly valuation, or to possess a personal estate of £1,000 above debt[100]. But despite enjoying the full backing of the law, Godfrey met open defiance from some poachers. Denis Sullivan, whom Gloster reported coursing and killing a hare on 28 May 1867 at Firies, said 'that he would continue to course where he liked', and added that despite being 'hindered' (? unclear) a hundred times, he 'still would course'[101]. The independent thinking and refusal to obey, characteristics of nationalist insurgence that were becoming more manifest, were making themselves felt in matters of game and hunting as well as in politics.

The shooting details in his 1867 diary were sparse, Godfrey simply noting that he shot four brace of snipe[102]. What game was garnered for his house in that and the succeeding year he lumped together in his 1868 diary, giving a total of game for both years as: 12 Grouse, c 82 Partridges, 17 (wood)Cock, 47 Ducks, 23 Quail, 18 Plovers, 37 hares, 22 Rabbits, and 4 Pheasants[103]. Since his own shooting diary entries for 1867 and 1868 do not record anything like such numbers, one explanation for the amount of game is given by his entry: 'Shot Muckross with one of H.H's guns. Shot well..[.?.].. the bag to me'[104]. 'H. H' was Captain Henry Arthur Herbert II, whom Godfrey familiarly called Harry Herbert; the 'gun' was a term frequently applied to the shooting companion, as well as to the firearm itself. Being given the entire bag of game was important for Godfrey, who made several visits to Muckross that year, going on the Lake and through the Gap of Dunloe with Harry Herbert, and visiting Lord Castlerosse during the Killarney regatta[105]. His shooting in his own lands, by comparison, was not spectacular. In the 1867 season he recorded: 'Tried to shoot partridges. Saw lots of them but couldn't hit one'; again, he 'Shot the mountain. I saw cocks. Shot badly'; and at the year end he 'Shot Kilderry. No cocks. Shot 1 brace...saw a cock pheasant'[106]. But he still carefully noted the poachers. Under the heading 'Game Cases', Godfrey itemised further poaching incidents reported to him[107].

In the following years Godfrey no longer itemised the numbers of game culled, but his diaries make it clear that he continued to be a beneficiary as a shooting guest at Muckross and at the Kenmare estates. Early in 1869 he was guest of Lord Castlerosse, staying at Kenmare House, where there was 'great sport in the smoking room', and he went shooting on 'the hill' (not specified), and the following day he 'shot the Deer Park - great fun'[108]. The 'hill' must have been a local hill on the Kenmare demesne, as there is no mention in any of his diaries that Godfrey ever stalked the Killarney deer. There were several visits to Killarney throughout the year,

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[99] Farran...*Game Laws of Ireland ...* p 4.

[100] Ibid. pp 5, 10, 11, 22; *10 Wm III c. 8*; *27 Geo. III, c. 35.*

[101] Godfrey Papers, 1867 Diary. Flyleaf.

[102] Ibid. 16 October 1867.

[103] Godfrey Papers, 1868 Diary. Endpapers.

[104] Ibid. 3 December 1868.

[105] Ibid. 4, 9, 14 September 1868.

[106] Ibid. 6 November, 19, 28 December 1868.

[107] Ibid. Flyleaf. At 'Xmas', Godfrey wrote, 'John Sullivan saw Thade Griffin beating for game with dogs and gun; on 22 April John Sullivan saw John Flynn beating back a dog for grouse; on 22 March John Sullivan saw Denis Doyle coursing a hare 'which he turned and killed'; on 17 November Tom Collins killed a hare'.

[108] Godfrey Papers, 1869 Diary. 15, 18, 19 January 1869.

but his record of shooting only resumed in the following October, when he shot partridges, presumably on his own lands[109]. Then he was back again in Killarney 'to shoot with Castlerosse...sport good. 230 head [of game]'. A few days later he 'shot Gortroe. Sport good. Got more than half the cocks'[110]. Gortroe was a townland just north of the Kenmare demesne, and getting more than half the bag of woodcock showed that Godfrey was shooting for more than pleasure - he carefully noted what he could bring home. The following day he was a guest at Muckross, where he had a 'pleasant evening', and was up early on the following morning, when he again returned to the Kenmare demesne and 'shot the Deer Park. 300 head. Got nearly half [of the] cocks'. He paid the beaters 10 shillings - considerably more than what he paid beaters in his home grounds[111]. Four days later he was back at Killarney, and 'shot house park with Castlerosse. Sport great. 350 head'. The following day he 'shot the Reeks... 400 head'[112]. He spent two more days with the Kenmares, paid the beaters five shillings, and was 'up early. Shot gardens and Game Wood'[113]. Godfrey did well out of these visits, and his information on poaching cannot have been other than a contributory factor to his benefiting as a regular guest from his far wealthier neighbours.

In 1869 Godfrey listed five poachers and one witness; one poacher was named as Henry Dodd[114]. The Dodd family were important fish merchants in Killorglin, and if the Henry Dodd whom Godfrey noted was of that family, this may well have been a rare instance of the 'gentleman poacher' in Kerry. Poaching by gentlemen, who poached not for the 'pot' as labourers and small farmers did, but for the thrill of it, and daring to outwit the law, was an ancient tradition in Britain. In medieval England prelates of the church, archbishops, bishops, archdeacons and abbots had poached, but by the time of Victorian Britain, the gentleman poacher was considered rare, according to the historian Charles Trench, who could boast that his own grandfather, Evelyn Pocklington, was a poacher[115]. In Godfrey's lists of poachers for the following year, 1870, Dodd is not mentioned again among the other local men[116]. That year, Godfrey paid £1 to 'Terry, Gamekeeper'[117], but whether this was a gamekeeper he himself employed, or one of the gamekeepers of his shooting hosts is not stated - a substantial money tip to a gamekeeper was a regular feature by visiting shooters, to ensure being well placed in a driven shoot, or shown a good stag on a stalk. Again, Godfrey was a frequent visitor to the great Killarney landowners, visiting Muckross, Flesk Castle and Lord Castleross in August, boating on the Lakes in October, and in November he shot with Castlerosse - 'never shot better in my life, got quite half the bag'. This was when he stayed at Kenmare house for three days, when he also 'shot the Game Wood. Sport good...great

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[109] Ibid. 28 October 1869.

[110] Ibid. 18, 24 November 1869.

[111] Ibid. 25, 26 November 1869.

[112] Ibid. 30 November, 1 December 1869.

[113] Ibid. 2, 3 December 1869.

[114] Ibid. Flyleaf. Details were: Larry Brien was coursing on Sunday 25 April 1869, and 'killed one'; on Sunday 9 May Pat Cullinane saw Sandy and John Thompson coursing Pat Brien's farm; while on 21 November, on John Foley's land, Henry Dodd, James and Joe McEllistrim were coursing with greyhounds - 'all of Killorglin'.

[115] Trench...*Poacher and Squire...* pp 55-8, 191-2.

[116] Godfrey Papers, 1870 Diary. Flyleaves and "contents" page. Details were: on 28 August 1870 Collins killed a hare at Lyre on Terry Murphy's land, witness Tom Leary; also poaching was Denis Shea, whom Godfrey noted to be a 'tenant of H A Herbert'; on 24 September Eugene Hamilton was shooting on Tom Foley's farm, witness Jack Kavanagh; Eugene Hamilton was again shooting on 5 October on (?) Sullivan's farm, and again on 29 November Hamilton shot on Pat Sheehy's lands, witness J Sullivan; and, lastly, John Kerry Murphy killed a hare on Dan Spillane's farm on 21 October, witness Dave Spillane.

[117] Ibid. 2 April 1870.

fun'. Back home in Kilcoleman for December, he shot on his own lands, and his bags of game emphasised the enormous difference between his estate and that of the much larger and professionally keepered Killarney estates. He shot three brace of woodcock, and a week later two and a half brace of woodcock, leading up to Christmas[118].

The decades of 1850-70 saw substantial changes in both the Herbert and the Earl of Kenmare estates. During that period of 20 years, the third Earl, Sir Thomas Browne, spent much of his time away from Killarney, management of his estate being left in the hands of his agent Thomas Gallwey, who succeeded to that post in 1851 (previously occupied by his father, Christopher Gallwey), and who continued to manage the Kenmare estates until 1874. Between them, father and son, the Gallweys served the Browne family in Killarney for over 60 years as chief agents. Historical research by Donnelly concluded that under the Gallwey agencies rent payments were not enforced, and the commercial potential of the Kenmare's vast estates, including extensive hunting and shooting rights, were not utilised during the 1850s-70s[119]. That sporting potential could have been exploited, as the Earl's estates were enormous; their vastness in Kerry alone, of over 91,000 acres, had been carefully delineated and quantified 1856[120]. Additionally, the family holdings in Bantry, County Cork, amounted to 22, 700 acres; lands in Co Limerick amounted to 4,800 acres[121], while estates in Counties Clare, Carlow, Kilkenny, and Queen's County, brought the total holdings to over 130,000 acres[122]. But instead of leasing for sport, the Kenmares set about a process of realising their land assets. In 1858 the lands in Counties Kilkenny and Carlow, and Queen's County, were sold for about £94,000[123], a huge input of funds. More funds followed. The Earl, though a Roman Catholic, had held the Advowson of the Established Church in Killarney, and in 1870 he was compensated for the loss of that Advowson in the sum of £5,813 18s 9d[124]. Shooting and deer stalking were of no commercial importance to the Browne family in this period, and served mostly as sport, a diversion and entertainment for themselves and selected guests.

The much quoted Mr and Mrs M C Hall reported seeing red deer on the Mucross estate - on the north face of Torc mountain - in 1856[125], and that these red deer were now viewed as a valuable commodity was implied by a note from Dr R W Smith who recorded 'a malignant form of disease affecting the metacarpus of a red deer, and which probably caused the death of the animal, as seen in No 1 from Kerry'[126]. This note by Smith indicated that the Killarney deer forest owners, who must have sent the diseased leg to Smith for examination, were conscious of the health, and by implication, the value of their red deer by the mid 1850s. Although no reference was made to the cause, the injury could have resulted from a stag fight, common during the rut. By this time the Killarney stag hunt, though still referred to in the tourist literature, had all but ceased. Fraser's statement in his guide book to Killarney in 1857 that 'the stag hunt still constitutes the principal sport of the lake

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118 Ibid. 27, 29 August; 4 October; 26, 27, 28 November; 12, 17 December 1870.

119 Donnelly...'Kenmare Estates'... Part 1, pp 26-9.

120 PRONI, D/4151/S/1/A/174. Mangan's 1856 Map, op cit.

121 Donnelly...'Kenmare Estates'... Part 1, pp19-20.

122 *Kenmare Mss*... p xi.

123 PRONI, D/4151. Introduction by A P W Malcomson and Stephen Scarth.

124 Rev. James B Leslie *Ardfert & Aghadoe Clergy and Parishes* (Dublin ,1940) pp 122-3n. I am indebted to Mr John MacCarthy for this reference.

125 Mr and Mrs S C Hall *Killarney and the South of Ireland* 1865 (Cork, facsimile reprint, 1976) p 91.

126 R W Smith 'On the Disease of Foot Bone of a Killarney Red Deer '*Proceedings of the Dublin Natural History Society* (1856) p 52.

district'[127] was nothing more than a verbatim copy of what he had formerly written in the previous edition of his guide book, in 1845[128]. Though sport was important to the Herbert family, and they may occasionally have provided a traditional stag hunt, or possibly a private, unrecorded one, a stag hunt was not even mentioned when the Prince of Wales came to Killarney in April 1858[129]. Despite his father's well-known interest in deer stalking, reports of his visit carried no mention of that sport being available for the prince, who marked his visit the following month by sending a donation of £60 towards a new Protestant church in Killarney[130]. His visit was a forerunner of what was to follow. After two decades of rumour and speculation, Queen Victoria, Prince Albert, accompanied by family and a large entourage of followers, finally came to Killarney in 1861. And for this royal occasion, the sport of past times was to be resurrected, and there would be one great, no-expense-spared stag hunt.

The preparations were extensive and costly. Lord Castlerosse acted for the Kenmares, his father the third Earl was then 72 years old. Herbert's Scottish wife Mary was stated to have spent five years preparing for this most important event. From her researches in Jane Herbert's Journals and the Balfour family papers, Nell Spillane has concluded that there was 'friendly rivalry' between Mary Herbert and Lady Castlerosse as hostesses[131]. Castlerosse purchased a special boat in London - the 'royal barge' - to take his guests on the Lakes. The many costly items and elaborate preparations were described in minute detail in the press coverage that followed every move of the queen and her party.

Queen Victoria, Prince Albert, their children - the Prince of Wales, Prince Alfred, Princess Alice and Princess Helena - and followers estimated at about 100, stayed first with Lord Castlerosse[132]. The guests were taken by boat to see the beauty spots; a visit to Glena Cottage where the queen had lunch and signed the visitor's book[133], and then on to Derrycunnihy to see the Falls. Undertones of antagonism to the royal visit had surfaced, not least by a growing sense of Irish nationalism. A correspondent to the local press had referred scathingly to the 'gaping crowds who are expected in Killarney to grace! the Queen's visit...[and to the] display of spurious loyalty' that the event would create[134]. His forecast was correct. The welcome afforded by the gentry and elite of Kerry, on specially made stands where admission was by ticket only and in strict protocol[135], was tremendous. Additionally, thousands of Irish ladies dressed in red, white and blue greeted the visitors at Ross Castle. It was, said the *Illustrated London News*, 'the first time in history that a Monarch of England was afloat upon the Lakes of Killarney'.

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[127] James Fraser *Hand-Book for Killarney and Glengarriff* (Dublin, 1857) p 71.

[128] James Fraser *A Hand Book for Travellers in Ireland* (Dublin, 1845) p 298. In 1845 Fraser advised that red deer were then confined to Killarney and Erris; in 1857 he had dropped this statement.

[129] *Times* 21 April 1858; Hall...*Killarney*... pp 81, 101

[130] *Times* 17 May 1858.

[131] Spillane...*Mary Herbert*... op. cit.

[132] Details of Queen Victoria's visit to Killarney, in general, are taken from *Freeman's Journal* 29 August 1861; *Irish Times* 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31 August 1861; *Illustrated London News* 24 August, 7,14 September 1861; *Times* 23, 29, 30, 31 August 1861; *Tralee Chronicle and Killarney Echo* 30 August 1861. All reported on the stag hunt, some laconically, others in great detail. Specific items, apart from the foregoing, are individually referenced.

[133] This book, bearing the signatures of Queen Victoria, the Prince Consort and the Prince of Wales, is now in Muckross House archives, donated by Mrs Beatrice Grosvenor.

[134] *Tralee Chronicle* 9 August 1861.

[135] Ibid. 20, 23 August 1861.

The royals and entourage then moved to Muckross House. Mary Herbert was said to have charmed Prince Albert with her fluent German. A great dinner was held, regardless of expense. The native red deer of Killarney were part of the show produced to honour and amuse the royals. A specially commissioned circular table, made locally, was inlaid with depictions of Killarney's scenery, and featured a stag hunt on Tomies mountain, showing three of the 'Laune beagles' in full chase of the stag, and a Killarney eagle killing a crane[136]. It had been reported that 'several fine stags... [were] to be let off from the hall-door of Muckross House, before Her Majesty...'[137], but while it remains uncertain if this was achieved, it is certain that an elaborate stag hunt was arranged for the following day. It was managed jointly by Colonel Herbert and Lord Castlerosse, and the dogs, the Laune Beagles, were provided by Maurice James O'Connell, master of hounds. The *Times* had hopefully reported that 'hundreds of wild red deer still wander' in the mountains, O'Connell's nephews assured everyone that there were at least three fine stags in the woods at Tomies, and that Her Majesty would positively witness the hunt at five o'clock that evening. A flotilla of 'no less that 150 large boats' assembled on Lough Leane to witness the event. The royal barge had pride of place, and was loudly cheered as it passed.

The hunt was a disaster, an absolute fiasco. The hounds scattered throughout the mountain in pursuit of several deer, and failed to drive one into the water despite extra beaters being employed. Nothing went right for the organisers of this most important of all Killarney stag hunts. At seven o'clock that evening the queen was reported to have given up all hope of seeing a deer, and returned to Muckross. As reported by the *Times*, 'Her Majesty came, and the hunt took place, but nobody saw it at all'.

The apportionment of blame came quickly. The *Times* blamed the immense crowd of boats, the 'tremendous cheers' that followed Her Majesty's barge, the fireworks on the lake during the previous few days, and 'so many precautions were taken that it spoilt the whole affair'. The *Irish Times* went further and blamed the stag, saying he had 'disappointed Her Majesty and every person present', and observed somewhat shamefacedly that 'Colonel Herbert and Lord Castlerosse seemed much disappointed at the course taken by the stag'. Nobody ventured to actually name and blame the persons who managed the hunt - Herbert and Castlerosse.

The local press, while lamenting the dismal failure of the hunt, was quick to note that a stag had indeed been captured later that day. After the queen had left the scene and only three or four boats remained, then, according to the *Tralee Chronicle and Killarney Echo,* a stag was hunted into the lake, saved by Maurice O'Connell and taken to Muckross to be enlarged before the queen the following day. The *Times* said the stag, caught after the queen left, was 'secured, blindfolded, bound and hauled into the boat' and later released in another part of the mountain. It also claimed a second stag was killed by the hounds on the hill. This additional stag was not mentioned by other newspapers, and may have been put about to spare the blushes of the local nobility and gentry.

What did happen ? Local legend is reported to be that the hunt had failed because the stag, supposedly cornered for *weeks* (my emphasis) beforehand, escaped only hours before the actual hunt[138], but contemporary accounts did not mention this. A contemporary account of the failed hunt was given in a letter by Ella, daughter

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[136] Ibid. 27 August 1861.
[137] Ibid. 23 August 1861.
[138] Horgan... *Echo* ... p 64.

of Henry Arthur Herbert I, to her aunt Jane, Henry's sister (who had married into the Earl of Bantry's family, and was described as 'Jane Bantry', and who, incidentally, was not one of the guests of her sister-in-law, Mary Herbert, at Queen Victoria's sumptuous banquet at Muckross House - Jane's own home). Katherine Everett, one of the Herberts of Cahirnane, and cousin of Ella, claimed she was in possession of this letter, and stated that 'She [Ella] gives an hour-to-hour account' of the queen's visit and doings, and saying 'what a wonderful success it all was'. Katherine Everett quoted her niece: ' "We waited for such a long time" ' Ella writes, ' "and were so disappointed, but the Queen admired the view" '[139].

In the circumstances, there was little else the queen could do. However, Ella's letter to her aunt Jane differs from that quoted by her cousin Katherine Everett. Ella simply wrote that '...for some time nothing was heard but the dogs in the wood...We were all hoping for the stag to come down to the water but they say the noise prevented it and we were obliged to go before it was caught'[140]. An account in the Godfrey Papers tells a different story. A groom in Kilcolman Abbey wrote to Edmundberry Godfrey, Sir John's youngest brother, saying 'Sir William Duncan Godfrey, at the hunt given in her [Queen Victoria's] honour by Lord Kenmare, brought a boat from Dingle with five men who "took" the stag on the lake after intentionally ramming another boat from Killarney'[141]. Other narratives in contemporary literature confirm that competition between boats to be first up and take the stag was a feature of the traditional Killarney stag hunt. From the Godfrey account, and some of the contemporary newspaper reports, it appears that a stag was eventually taken, but too late for Queen Victoria. The queen was not amused, and her displeasure is implied in her own diary description of the affair. She wrote: 'At Benson's Point we stopped for some time, merely rowing about backwards and forwards, or remaining stationary, watching for the deer (all this is a deer forest as well as at Glena), which we expected the dogs would find and bring down into water. But in vain: we waited till past six and no deer came'[142].

It was not simply a failure, but must have been a most bitter disappointment at Muckross. Henry Arthur Herbert I had briefly held the office of Chief Secretary of Ireland in 1857-8, had been elected a member of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, was a Grand Juror, Justice of the Peace, Colonel of the County regiment and Member of Parliament[143], but he was still plain Mr Herbert. It had previously been advocated that he might be conferred with a peerage, and the title 'Mangerton' had long been suggested[144]. It was confidently and widely expected that, to coincide with the queen's visit and her stay at Muckross House, a knighthood would be conferred on him. It did not come. It is not improbable that the unpredictable wild nature of the Killarney stags, and the perceived mishandling of the stag hunt, had contributed to Herbert's loss. Queen Victoria left Killarney the following day, never to return.

Now that he was in Kerry, no mention was made of Prince Albert's love of deerstalking, or that he might indulge his passion for the sport while in Killarney, where two deer forests had been established for more than ten years. It is pertinent to ask why. The time, the end of August, was appropriate, for while stalking

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139 Katherine Everett *Bricks and Flowers: Memoirs of Katherine Everett* (London, 1953 reprint) p 2.
140 MHA. Typescript copy letter from Ella Herbert to her Aunt Jane, Countess of Bantry, 30 August 1861.
141 Bary ...' Godfrey Diaries' (1873-81) p 14.
142 Queen Victoria...*Our Life* ... pp 314-5.
143 *Kerry Examiner* 28 February 1866.
144 Ibid. 20 February 1855.

traditionally started on the first day of September, it was common enough for some deer shooting to take place in Killarney during the last week of August. However, the Prince Consort was a poor stalker, and a bad marksman. Albert repeatedly missed stags during Scottish deer drives specially arranged for him, and some of the stags he shot weighed only five or six stone, the weight of young, yearling animals. After his Killarney visit, when he returned to Balmoral he again missed his stag in a specially arranged deer drive for him in the woods of Abergeldie. He was partial to the easy kill, and had previously demonstrated his blood lust while a guest at Blair Castle in 1844, where he showed unsportsmanlike behaviour by shooting two semi-domesticated park stags from out of the castle window. This event was recorded in the diaries of Lady Charlotte Canning, one of the queen's ladies-in-waiting, but not mentioned in Victoria's own journals[145]. When at Saxe-Gotha in 1845, as the principal performer in slaughtering deer specially confined in a pen for easy shooting, he had received trenchant criticism from the *Times,* which described his behaviour then as butchery[146]. Prince Albert would not have relished the British and Irish media, and especially the *Times,* to have witnessed and reported any lack of expertise by himself in the wild and rugged Kerry mountains. It is no surprise that he did not stalk in Killarney, and neither was the prospect of him doing so discussed in the contemporary press. If the Prince Consort had hoped to return and stalk in Kerry at some future and more private occasion, there would be no second chance. Before the year was out Albert, prince of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, husband and first cousin of Queen Victoria, had died of typhoid fever.

The *Times*, when reporting the stag hunt, came out with the amazing statement that 'the woods of Toomies (sic) are crowded with red deer, which go about in herds among the mountains of Killarney, in ten times greater abundance than in any part of the Scottish Highlands, not even excepting the well kept Royal preserves of Abergeldie[147]. This announcement, completely without foundation, may have originated with a reporter following the royal tour and overindulging in local beverage, or from a gullible acceptance by the *Times* of local boasting - Killarney as a tourist mecca was never famous for underselling itself. It was reports like this that contributed to the ready belief in later years of large numbers of wild red deer roaming the Killarney mountains. But the *Times* accurately reflected the actual situation prior to the queen's visit, when it declared that stag hunts in Killarney were now rare in the extreme.

Lord Castlerosse and Henry Arthur Herbert I swiftly experienced criticism for not inviting certain sections of the local gentry, and, even worse, for not providing proper facilities for the 'gentlemen of the press'[148]. Castlerosse moved a month later to make amends, at a further stag hunt to entertain the visiting Lord Lieutenant, Earl of Carlisle, when the Earl of Kenmare ensured that a 'well-furnished boat for the press' was provided. The hunt, at Derrycunnihy, again proved a disastrous outing, the *Tralee Chronicle* being forced to describe it a failure'[149]. All in all, it had not been a good two months for the Herberts, for the Kenmares, or for Killarney. Shortly afterwards, an opportunistic and unauthorised local hunt ended in tragedy, when a stag was

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145 Hart-Davis...*Monarchs of the Glen*...pp 109-10, 113-4, 120-1, 123, 133.

146 *Kerry Examiner* 12 September 1845, quoting in full the *Times.* For an account of the caustic criticism of Prince Albert's shooting practices by *Punch* and the *Times,* see Harry Hopkins *The Long Affray: The Poaching Wars in Britain 1760 - 1914* (London, 1986) pp 213-5.

147 *Times* 29 August 1861.

148 *Tralee Chronicle* 10 September 1861.

149 Ibid. 11, 15 October 1861.

sighted in Minish, near to Killarney town. About 100 men gathered and tried to kill the animal, driving him towards the banks the Flesk river. When the stag paused, a tenant of Francis Bland, named Kelly, rushed at the deer with a pike; the animal darted away and Kelly's impetus carried him into the swollen flood waters that swept him to his death. The press report claimed it was not unusual for a stray deer to provide illegal venison[150]. This episode, and the public gathering of so many men was some evidence that not only poachers, but also their own tenantry were showing open defiance to their overlords.

The devastating effects of the Famine on Killarney gentry was reflected in the ultimate disintegration of the pack of black and tan beagles kennelled by the O'Connells of Grena. John O'Connell was popular, referred to as 'the poor man's friend'. In happier times a special dinner and presentation of a silver whip, a silver horn, and silver spurs was held in his honour, for the many years' sport he had provided, and for keeping his pack of beagles[151]. The Famine changed all. By 1849 John O'Connell 'late of Grena...[was] driven by necessities of these times to live in a foreign land...'[152]. His lands were sold by the Encumbered Estates process in 1850[153], and though he was expected to return from France in 1851[154], the local papers, quoting *Imperiale de Bretagne* , announced he had suddenly died in France[155]. His pack of hounds was dispersed; some were given by his nephew Maurice O'Connell to John O'Connell of Lakeview, who apparently kept them for some time. In 1870 Sir James O'Connell of Lakeview gave up his pack, the best of his hounds going to Scarteen, County Tipperary[156].

The introduction of exotic deer to adorn one's deer park, and especially the introduction of selected stags from other forests as 'fresh blood' in the hope that this would result in 'better' trophy heads of antlers, had become accepted practice in Victorian Britain. It had a long history. In 1688, 108 red deer were introduced to Windsor Park from Germany[157]. Throughout the second half of the 19th century red stags from Windsor and other English parks were introduced to Scottish deer forests. Queen Victoria presented a gift of six red deer to Brisbane, Australia, in 1873[158], and many red deer went to stock the colonies. Between 1851 and 1919 over 250 red deer of British origin were introduced into New Zealand, but only those of Scottish origin were by then considered to be of pure wild strain[159].

Irish aristocracy followed the example of empire, and in matters of deer stalking and exclusive shooting, it copied British practice. In 1858 and 1859 Viscount Powerscourt of County Wicklow imported 'Red Deer, white as well as common, Sambur Deer, Nylghaies, Axis Deer, Llamas, Elands, Wapiti Deer, and Moufflons or Wild Sheep'. These were kept in his deer park of about 1,000 acres at Powerscourt estate, where the introduced animals bred and increased. In *about* (my emphasis) 1860, as he later narrated, Powerscourt introduced four Japanese sika deer, one male and three females. By 1884 the sika had increased to 'upwards of

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150 Ibid. 15 October 1861.
151 *Kerry Examiner* 25, 28 March 1845. At that banquet the first toast was 'The Queen'.
152 Ibid. 27 April 1849.
153 Ibid. 2, 16 August 1850.
154 Ibid. 14 February 1851.
155 Ibid. 20 September 1853.
156 Redlich...*Dogs of Ireland*... p 111.
157 Rev H A MacPherson 'Natural History of the Red Deer' in E T Watson (ed) *Red Deer* (Fur and Feather Series, London 1896) pp 21-2.
158 *Times* 28 May 1873.
159 Carolyn M King (ed) *The Handbook of New Zealand Mammals* (Melbourne, 1990) pp 440-2.

100, besides having shot two or three yearly, and also having given away a great many and sold others'. Among those he distributed about Ireland were animals sent to Glenstal, County Limerick, to Castlewellan, County Down, to Colebrooke, County Fermanagh, and to Killarney - 'in the woods of Muckross'. He sent other sika to Britain. Most significantly, Powerscourt said that 'the Japanese Deer here have undoubtedly interbred with the Red Deer; there are three or four Deer in the Park here which are certainly hybrids, the Red hind in each case being the dam'. He liked the Japanese sika deer, describing them as 'a most satisfactory little Deer', and that 'they may be looked upon quite as a British Park-Deer'[160].

This introduction of sika to Ireland was to have profound effects, though the long-term implications could not have been guessed at, and even if they had, the ethos of landed estate owners at the time was such that they would hardly have objected. The thinking behind his introductions by Powerscourt was that the various animals 'might be ornamental as well as useful in Deer-parks in the United Kingdom...as suggested by...Lord Derby'[161]. Powerscourt did not specify when he sent the sika to Killarney. Whitehead stated in 1964 that the sika were sent 'about' 1865, that they were three in number - a male and two females - and were 'transferred from Powerscourt to the Kenmare estate'. This, however, was a contradiction of his previous statement in 1950, that they went to Muckross[162]. Powerscourt would have had friendly contacts with his fellow member of the nobility, Lord Castlerosse. But the woods of Muckross belonged to Herbert, and by the mid-1860s it was Henry Arthur Herbert II who would have been active, as his father was already in ill health. The Herberts, subsequent to Henry Arthur senior's death in 1866, had a history of introductions. As detailed later, they twice tried to introduce blackgame to Muckross, and introduced exotic fish - rainbow and Loch Leven trout - to the lakes in Killarney, in cooperation with the Kenmares. While it thus remains unclear when and to which estate the sika were introduced, it is certain that sika deer came to the Killarney Valley during the 1860s.

Henry Arthur Herbert I died on 26 February 1866 at Adare Manor, County Limerick, while staying with the Earl of Dunraven. His health had deteriorated over a year previously, and he had struggled through a long and severe illness. He had suffered convulsions[163]. His death notice stated he had been unsuccessful during his Chief Secretaryship of Ireland, being 'deficient in readiness of reply'[164]. It was otherwise assessed that he had mellowed with the years, his views had become more modified, and, in politics, he 'had become, in short, ... a Whig' (he became a Peelite - a conservative with liberal views). His illness and the manner of his death were considered hereditary[165]. The countryside was blanketed in snow as his coffin was borne from Muckross House on the shoulders of his tenantry through his demesne to Cloghereen church, and later to Killeagy graveyard. Among those present were many of his shooting comrades; the Chutes of Chute Hall, Sir William Duncan Godfrey and his son Sir John Fermor Godfrey, Sir Rowland Blennerhasset, and among his friends was J Leahy, Q C, and Lord Castlerosse. The Scottish family connection was represented by his brother-

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160 Viscount Powerscourt 'On the Aclimatisation of the Japanese Deer at Powerscourt' *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London* (1884) pp 207-9.
161 Ibid.
162 Whitehead ...*Deer of Great Britain* (1964)... p 394; ...*Deer Management.*(1950)... p 327.
163 *Kerry Evening Post* 28 February 1866.
164 Ibid.
165 *Tralee Chronicle* 2 March 1866.

in-law and fellow deer stalker, Charles Balfour[166]. His eldest son, Henry Arthur Herbert II (1840-1901), Captain in the Coldstream Guards, now took over the management of the Muckross estate.

Although devoted to the gentleman's sports of deer stalking, shooting and hunting, Henry Arthur Herbert I did not die 'in the field', like some of his local contemporaries. In 1861 Sir William White of Caragh Lake, about 15 miles west of Killarney, suddenly dropped dead into the heather while out shooting on the mountains above Glenbeigh, after he had just shot 'a brace or two of birds'[167]. The following year Herbert's neighbour, Keane Mahony, met his death while out shooting with Sir Rowland Blennerhasset on Gullabagh mountain, near the Reeks. The pin attaching the barrels to his gun stock fell out, and 'as he was getting over a stone gap... he stooped down to pick up the pin, when the barrels also fell out, and immediately exploded'. Mahony's leg caught the full force of the blast, and mortally wounded, he died that night from exhaustion and loss of blood[168].

In contrast to the sporting lifestyle of their overlords, for many of the common people of Kerry the 1860s were years of deprivation and grinding poverty. In 1862 Rev Dr O'Connor, the Roman Catholic curate in Killarney, graphically described the conditions of people in that town. He said 'their state is as near starvation as one thing could be... the lanes are crowded with people who are dragging out a miserable existence... My God ! how it humiliates me when I see their misery and cannot relieve it... unhappy people in the midst of plenty'[169]. The wet weather in October of the following year had devastated crops, and in Killarney 'large groups of tradesmen and labourers... are found standing idle', while the inhabitants of the lanes were living in hovels, in 'pinching want'[170]. The Earl, landlord of the town, could not have been unaware. His son's wife, Viscountess Castlerosse, while visiting local convent schools to distribute winter clothing, expressed compassion for the 'shivering half-naked little children of the poor', remarking 'how badly clad many of the little boys were'[171]. But woe betide any boy who might transgress the law, seeking firewood. That same year, an English tourist was so incensed when visiting Killarney that he wrote to the local press. He happened to enter the courthouse where 'Councillor Leahy' (J Leahy, Q C, of South Hill) had a poor boy on trial for injuring trees belonging to another magistrate of the locality. Leahy gave the boy the fullest authorised punishment, three month's hard labour 'for breaking two twigs', adding the boy was lucky the damage did not amount to £5, otherwise the penalty would have been 'penal servitude for three years'[172]. At that very time, Lord and Lady Castlerosse were sailing in their yacht around the south coast of Ireland with Colonel Herbert and friends[173] - Herbert died five months later. It was little wonder, given the exigencies in which the great majority lived, that emigration was draining away the very people on whom the great landlords depended for rental income to keep up their sumptuous lifestyle. Both

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166 *Kerry Evening Post* 7 March 1866.
167 *Tralee Chronicle* 20 September 1861.
168 Ibid. 12 September 1862.
169 Ibid. 9 September 1862.
170 Ibid. 23 October 1863.
171 Ibid. 27 October 1865.
172 Ibid. 1 September 1865.
173 Ibid. 8 September 1865.

Herbert and Lord Kenmare paradoxically contributed to assisted emigration, an exodus encouraged by local newspapers advertisements offering free grants of lands to stock the colonies[174].

It was inevitable that the grinding poverty and wretched conditions in which their subjects lived would impact on their overlords. They were presiding over a breeding ground of discontent, and as predators themselves who hunted for pleasure, they were in turn being increasingly regarded as prey. When Michael Doheny and James Stephens were evading capture among the mountains of west Cork and Kerry, Doheny observed that while the people in these most remote regions had little or no political information, they bitterly cursed their overlords whom they would willingly overthrow[175]. The feelings of exasperation 'in the midst of plenty' were already surfacing, ripples of currents that ran very deep. The Fenian movement, of which Doheny and Stephens were co-founders, began to manifest itself in Killarney. As Castlerosse and Herbert were sailing around the south west coast, a penniless 60-year-old ballad singer from Cork, Richard Barry, was sentenced at Killarney Petty Sessions to six months imprisonment for singing 'The Stars and Stripes' - the magistrates 'considered the ballad decidedly Fenian in its tendency'[176]. The ascendancy had good reason to feel nervous. Four days later five men were arrested in Killarney, 'supposed to be Fenians'. The men arrested were not Doheny's uneducated mountain peasants, but people who held down responsible positions in Killarney[177]. An attack did come, two years later, when in 1867 Fenian sympathisers attacked a force of police, pursuing them through the streets of Killarney[178]. This was following the unsuccessful uprising in Kerry in February 1867, when Fenians had seized a coastguard station near Cahirciveen, and a march on Killarney had been threatened. This was said to have caused alarm among the local landowners[179]. Godfrey's diary entries of the events were terse, but displayed little alarm. He wrote: 'February 13, 1867 Fenians rose and shot a policeman. Came home quick and rode to Killorglin - up late. Milltown police deserted us. February 14, 1867 Rode Kildoley to Killorglin. Fenians pursued by two corps of 60 rifles'. And then it was back to hunting. The following day Godfrey was riding to his hounds at Killorglin, and two days later was again hunting with his hounds at Cloonmore[180]. The defiance that Denis Sullivan had shown, and his contempt for Castlerosse's bailiff when poaching and killing a hare at Firies in May 1867, was about much more than the right to take game under Godfrey's nose. It was an unspoken questioning of Godfrey's right to hold land that had originally been acquired by conquest, and an assertion that these lands could likewise be regained by conquest.

Luck seemed to favour the landlords. It was simple good fortune that preserved Lord Castlerosse and his family from annihilation in 1868, when he, all his children and suite, were travelling by the Irish mail train from London to Holyhead. At a stop at Chester, four additional carriages were placed behind the brake van at the head of the train, thus replacing the front carriages in which Lord Castlerosse and family were travelling.

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174 An example of the advertisements is contained in *The Tralee Chronicle* 18 August 1865.

175 Doheny... *Felon's Track*... p 250. Doheny and Stephens had planned to collect up to about 100 of 'the most desperate mountaineers' to capture the British Premier Lord John Russell on his visit to Killarney, and keep him captive in the Killarney mountains. The abandonment of the Premier's visit scuttled their scheme - Ibid. pp 250-1.

176 *Tralee Chronicle* 22 September 1865.

177 Ibid. 26 September 1865. Those arrested were: Robert Fleming, a clerk to the Crown; J Shaw, an employee of Mr Hugh Keeler, Tobacconist; P Breen, assistant in the Post Office; J Gallivan, also an attorney's clerk; and J Looney, a gardener.

178 *Times* 13 May 1867.

179 Kevin B Nowlan 'The Fenian Rising of 1867' in T W Moody (ed)*The Fenian Movement* (Cork, 1968) pp 28-9.

180 Bary...Hunting Diaries (1863-72)... p 113.

Between Abergele and Llanddulas a collision with wagons on the line resulted in barrels of petroleum bursting open and being ignited by the fire-engine. Occupants, 33 in all, of the added carriages were incinerated, burned beyond recognition. Lord Castlerosse, his future heirs and servants escaped by the timely action of the guard and engine-driver uncoupling the London division of the train and pushing it out of danger. It had come narrowly close to the extinction of the Killarney-based Brownes. At subsequent public meetings and religious thanksgiving services in Killarney and Firies, relief was expressed that 'the noble House of Kenmare' had been saved[181].

Throughout the 1860s regular complaints were raised by Killarney business people, and reflected in the local press, that the annual races and lake regattas were no longer being provided, and from 1861 onwards this complaint was extended to bemoan the fact that stag hunts were no longer held. These festival occasions would, it was argued, help to bring more visitors and business to the town. The reasons were invariably attributed to the apathy of the gentlemen of the locality[182]. When eventually the regatta was revived in 1867, a hope was expressed for the 'resuscitation' of the Killarney stag hunt[183]. As events developed, however, the stag hunt did not come until the next decade. The wealthy and aristocratic still came to Killarney in August, but now only to see the lakes, woods and mountains; people like Lords of the Admiralty in 1864, Prince Napoleon in 1865, Compte de Paris in 1866, Archduke Regina of Austria and Earl Russel in 1867[184]. When one of Queen Victoria's sons, Prince Arthur, came in April 1869, the sport he enjoyed was duck and rabbit shooting on Killarney's Lower and Middle Lakes. That occasion was used yet again to air the hope that a residence for the British royal family would materialise in Killarney[185]. This old notion of a British royal house in Killarney may have been expectantly floated because Lord Castlerosse, the coming heir to the Earldom - his father, the third Earl, was then 80 years old - had been made Vice-Chamberlain to the queen's household[186].

Henry Arthur Herbert II was already involved in controversies within three years of inheriting the Muckross estate. In 1868 his published election letter had promised to support Gladstone's proposals on land reform (as also did Lord Castlerosse)[187]. Nevertheless, a year later Herbert came under severe press criticism, questioning his silence on the land question, and asking why details of his leases were not published. Captain Herbert defended his position, published his leases and had an anonymous writer submit a letter of support from his tenantry[188]. But no opportunity was lost in attacking him by the nationalist press, which fastened on a report carried by the pro-ascendancy *Kerry Post* that at the Protestant Church Synod in Dublin, Herbert had said 'In the South... they [Protestants] were but a few in the midst of enemies, for... they must be called their enemies as far as religion was concerned'. The editor of the *Tralee Chronicle* demanded to know to whom Herbert alluded[189] -

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[181] *Tralee Chronicle* 25, 28 August; 1, 18, 22 September 1868; *Illustrated London News* 29 August pp 189, 190, 205-6; 5 September p 230 1868. Lord Castlerosse wrote to the *Morning Post,* correcting some British newspaper reports of the tragedy - quoted in *Tralee Chronicle* 1 September 1868.

[182] *Tralee Chronicle.* Examples were: 11 September, 16 October 1863; 9 October 1866; 9, 27 August 1867; 1, 11, 15 September 1868; 1October 1869.

[183] Ibid. 11 October 1867.

[184] Ibid. 12 August 1864; 8 August 1865; 31 August 1866; 6 August 1867.

[185] *Freeman's Journal* 20, 21 April 1869.

[186] *Tralee Chronicle* 8 January 1869.

[187] Ibid. 2, 6 October 1868.

[188] Ibid. 15, 26, 29 October; 5, 9 November 1869.

[189] Ibid. 22 October 1869.

a challenge that went unanswered. The importance of these exchanges was not so much the detail, but that antagonism to the Herberts had become a matter of public comment. In the following decades that antagonism would erupt into open revolt, fuelled by nationalism, rent refusal and land ownership.

As the 1870s closed, a young Stephen Grehan (1859-1937) was about to stamp his own distinctive style of game shooting on his father's estate in north west County Cork, near the borders of Kerry and close to the eastern limit of Lord Kenmare's holdings. The Grehan estate in Clonmeen, Banteer, County Cork, commenced as an inheritance, and enabled a Dublin merchant family to establish a county gentleman's lifestyle, and acquire ascendancy status. Thady Grehan (d.1792), his son Peter and grandson Stephen were successful wine merchants and brewers in Dublin; so successful that the grandson Stephen Grehan (1776-1871) was a director of the Bank of Ireland[190], and credited with being the first Roman Catholic one. Stephen Grehan proceeded to acquire more lands in the neighbourhood of Clonmeen, and in County Tipperary. His son George Grehan (1813-1886) continued to do likewise, and took up permanent residence at Clonmeen about 1860, with his young son Stephen[191]. The estate at Clonmeen is cited as 7,319 acres, though other sources differ[192]. George Grehan was at work at Clonmeen, shooting and hunting, well before this, and in 1843 he was employing a gamekeeper, Owen Connell, there[193]. When the Cork historian J R O'Flanagan visited the district at that time, he described Grehan as 'the lord of the soil' who told him of his intention to restore the nearby Clonmeen Castle[194]. His son, the young Stephen Grehan was, by 1870, already involved in the typical field sports of a country gentleman, fishing with his father on the family's fishing rights on the Blackwater river[195]. His yearly diaries provide a penetrating insight into a man who made game shooting and fox hunting his lifetime's business.

For the Kenmares, the Herberts, the Godfreys and the Grehans, the coming decades would be ones of change, so fundamental that by the century's end their lifestyles would never again attain that power and status they enjoyed in the 19th century.

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190 *The Dublin Almanac and General register of Ireland* (Dublin, 1835) p 167.

191 Carol Quinn, Archivist, Boole Library, UCC. Grehan Family Papers, Descriptive List - Introduction. The Grehan papers at UCC are referenced BL/EP/G, and are hereafter so cited.

192 U H Hussey de Burgh *The Land Owners of Ireland. An Alphabetical List of the Owners of Estates of 500 Acres and £500 Valuation and Upwards, In Ireland, with the Acreage and Valuation in Each County* (Dublin, 1878) p 193. Note that Bateman...*Great Landowners*... p 193, gives Grehan's holding as only 2,319 acres. Stephen Grehan's marriage settlement, 1883, cites the Grehan family landholding as 3,912 acres, with other lands disputed - Settlement on the Intermarriage of Stephen Grehan, Esquire, with Miss Esther Mary Chichester, 6 January 1883; copy in possession of Carol Quinn, Archivist, Boole Library, UCC - not in Grehan papers. The larger acreage is more in accordance with family tradition - Peter A Grehan interview, 23 September 1998.

193 BL/EP/G/303, Wages Book 1843-93. Entry 5 November 1843.

194 J R O'Flanagan *The River Blackwater in Munster* (London 1844, Facsimile reprint, Cork, 1975), p 153.

195 BL/EP/G/728, 1870 Diary. 9 September.

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Ownership Changes: Land and Game, 1870-1899.

The business people of Killarney town, stung by repeated criticism in the press, revived the traditional horse races, and with them, the hunting of the stag, in 1871. The chase itself was far from their prime motive, rather it was the numbers of visitors the hunt was expected to attract; a report in 1868 quoted Killarney merchants saying they would prefer horse races to any other sport[1]. The revival of the races, not held since 1861, was therefore accompanied by a stag hunt[2]. The event brought into sharp focus the low numbers to which Captain Herbert's pack of hounds had been reduced. In his conditions of permission, he told the race committee '... if my huntsman, Denis Doyle, and the few hounds I keep be of use to you, you are welcome to them ...Mr J F Godfrey, one of the stewards, will furnish any number of hounds that may be necessary.' Godfrey supplied 14 couples of hounds, Herbert could only supply three couples. It was a further indication of how times had changed for the Herberts when the races committee offered to pay the cost of the hunt. Herbert would not hear of it, and in a show of family pride and dominance he paid off the expenses himself[3].

The reporting of succeeding hunts followed a well-worn formula of previous accounts - repetitive, and inevitably, tiresome. Godfrey's private diaries reveal that separate chases of the wild red deer were held, independently of the grand public spectacle[4]. In 1873 the public hunt was postponed due to the death of the Dowager Countess Kenmare at her residence at Belgrave Square, London, but a private one may have been held later[5]. When Henry Arthur Herbert II refused to provide a stag in 1874, Lord Castlerosse obliged and gave an immature yearling stag from his deer park, but the hunt was a failure[6], and Godfrey was disappointed[7]. Why Captain Herbert should have developed a huff was not recorded, but one possible reason could have been several derogatory articles in the local press concerning his tenant leases. In the previous year, 1873, a diatribe against him claimed that his tenants' signatures to a letter in support of his leases had been forced[8], and although this was contradicted, he obviously was deeply hurt. He was not going to be denied the pleasures of the chase, however, and with his friend Godfrey he held his own, separate stag hunts[9]. Godfrey noted they took three deer, and hunted a fourth in Muckross demesne[10]. Godfrey was joined by John Gubbins and his pack of stag hounds from County Limerick in 1875. Again, that hunt was a failure, and many of the followers suffered from motion sickness on the lake[11]. Godfrey dismissed Jack Gubbins' hounds as no use at all on the mountains[12]. In contrast,

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1 *Tralee Chronicle* 15 September 1868.
2 Ibid. 1, 5, 12 September 1871.
3 Ibid. 5, 12 September 1871.
4 Godfrey Diaries (1863-72), p 117.
5 Ibid. 1873-81 p 16.
6 Ibid. 18 August 1874.
7 Godfrey Diaries (1873-81), p 17.
8 *Tralee Chronicle* 7 October 1873.
9 *Tralee Chronicle* 15 September 1874.
10 Godfrey Diaries (1873-81), p 18.
11 *Tralee Chronicle* 7 September 1875.

the 1876 chase was a sparkling success[13], and it appears to have been one of the last to be publicly held. In the years following, local press reports of public stag hunts appear no longer, though the races and steeplechases continued to be regularly featured. A few stag hunts were held in Kenmare/Nedeen, sporadically from 1868 to 1874, and appear to have been opportunistic affairs occasioned by the unexpected appearance of stray stags, displaced from the Killarney mountains in the Autumn rut, though the hunting of a hind there in 1874 may well indicate that wild red deer were not entirely absent from the Kenmare/Nedeen locality[14]. Godfrey continued to hunt in the Earl of Kenmare's deer park, to acquire stock for his own and other deer parks, which in turn provided quarry to be hunted as carted deer, for himself and his friend Gubbins.

The portrayal of a stag hunt by Captain Herbert in Killarney's Upper Lake in an 1878 painting[15] was probably a specially commissioned work by him to impress, and to advance his deer forests' commercial potential. This, and other pictures of the Killarney stag hunt cannot be taken as accurate reflections of what was happening at the time of their execution. An example was the much-reproduced coloured engraving by Currier & Ives, American print publishers, depicting an imagined stag hunt on the Lakes of Killarney in 1868[16], though public hunts were then not reported. Even a cursory inspection of the Currier & Ives print shows that much of it was copied from Farrelly's 1837 engraving. An earlier instance was the c.1842 engraving illustrated by Bartlett, and entitled 'Taking a Stag near Derrycunnihy Cascade'[17], copies of which are still on sale to-day. Though Bartlett specifically stated the picture had been sketched on site in Killarney, the same engraving has been recently reproduced, unattested, as an illustration of hunting a carted deer[18].

At Clonmeen in the 1870s, Stephen Grehan was busily recording the game bags provided by a keepered estate. Shooting at home occupied his mind even when on his grand European tour during his late teenage years, and he would write to his father with instructions on gundog training, and querying how the pheasant rearing was progressing[19]. The idyllic, rural lifestyle at Clonmeen brought him into daily contact with nature, and he noted its rhythms - the first swallows seen on 24 March 1880, the first primrose on 12 December 1880, the first corncrake heard on 20 April 1882[20]. When he shot an unusual duck - a Goosander - he had it mounted[21]. But his major energies were devoted to garnering maximum game bags, and a substantial legacy following his father's death in 1886[22] enabled him to achieve uninterrupted game shooting and hunting with the Duhallow fox hounds. His marriage in 1883 to Esther Chichester (1860-1900) - a member of a very old English family with an estate in Runamoat, County Roscommon - enabled him to find acceptance among the minor

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12 Godfrey Diaries (1873-81), p 19.

13 Godfrey Diaries (1873 - 81), p 20.

14 The Kenmare/Nedeen hunts were reported in the *Tralee Chronicle* , 27 October 1868; 12 October 1869; 29 September 1874; 6 October 1874; 30 October 1874.

15 W A Nesfield *Mr.Herbert's Stag Hunt, Killarney, Upper Lake*. Painting signed and dated 1878. This painting was sold by Christie's of London on 30 June 1981 for £1,100; the vendor and purchaser details are not available under the auctioneer's 50-year rule - Christie's to author, 29 September 1998. The painting now hangs in Muckross House.

16 *The Lakes of Killarney* coloured engraving, New York 1868. Engravings of Killarney were the second most published prints issued by Currier & Ives, only superseded by New York City - see Kevin O'Rourke *Currier and Ives The Irish and America* (New York, 1995) p 125.

17 W H Bartlett *The Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland* Vol II (London c.1842) facing p 24.

18 G Kenneth Whitehead *Hunting and Stalking Deer in Britain through the Ages* (London, 1980) illustration No 2, between pp 64-5.

19 BL/EP/G/598 (1-5). Letter from Zermatt 4 August 1877; BL/EP/G/601 (1-6). Letter from Zurich 19 August 1877.

20 BL/EP/G/735, 1880 Diary; BL/EP/G/737, 1882 Diary.

21 BL/EP/G/729, 1874 Diary. 27, 28 January.

22 BL/EP/G/201 (6). G Grehan, decd., Statement as to Assets, 18 September 1886. The Gross assets came to £46,965 9s 8d.

aristocracy[23], to which the Grehans, coming from a background of merchants in trade, greatly aspired[24]. Stephen Grehan regularly shot in the Roscommon estate, and in the Frenchpark estate - Esther's sister had married Charles French, third son of Baron de Freyne, in 1880 - where on many occasions he was one of the shooting parties that included the Gaelic scholar Douglas Hyde. Grehan's listing of game killed at Clonmeen during 32 seasons, 1879/80 - 1912/13, detailed in Appendix 13, do not include his additional tallies of game killed at Roscommon and elsewhere because, while these were noted in his diaries, they recorded the entire bag obtained, rather than his own individual achievements at these invitation shoots. Nevertheless, Stephen Grehan's record of his personal shooting bags provide a pertinent example of the game output from a one-person, privately managed, and regularly keepered estate, and are in marked contrast to Godfrey's bag records from a roughly similar-sized holding.

In Killarney, it was politics, nationalism, and above all the question of land ownership that were to occupy the Herberts and the Kenmares from now onwards. Captain Herbert was seriously endeavouring to bolster deer stalking and the earning potential of his deer forest, and for this he imported fresh blood to his Muckross forests. The exact year when stags were introduced to the Muckross estate remains unclear. The date is of little consequence; what is important is that five red stags were introduced into the native red deer stock at Muckross in the 1870s. The details were provided by the Herbert gamekeeper Ross. As quoted by 'Q' of Trinity College in the *Field* in 1874, Ross advised him that 'except for the five stags obtained from Co. Roscommon, no admixture with the "old original stock" of Kerry red deer has taken place'[25]. Payne-Gallwey, writing in 1882, quoted the same information, having taken it verbatim from the *Field,* and included it with further information concerning the weights of Killarney stags he had received in correspondence from Ross[26]. Payne-Gallwey is now the regularly quoted source for this introduction. 'Q' said the correspondence between himself and Ross was 'a short while ago', that is, a short while before 'Q' wrote to the *Field* in May 1874, at least eight years before Payne-Gallwey's narrative.

Likewise, it remains unattested from what stock in County Roscommon the stags came. Maxwell had stated in 1832 that red deer calves were caught on the mountains of Mayo and transferred to parks, in an effort to continue the native wild strain, but that these efforts were 'found to be of little use...'[27]. If native wild red deer had successfully bred in a Roscommon park, the progeny would inevitably have interbred with park stock by 30 to 35 years later. The probability is that the red stags introduced to Killarney from County Roscommon were park red deer, and thus may have been introduced from abroad. Ross had pointed out in his letter to 'Q' that no further admixture had since taken place, displaying a consciousness that those introduced were not native, and at the same time acknowledging what the introduction may have meant to the native red deer in Killarney.

County Roscommon had a history of supplying and receiving deer, and supplied fallow deer to County Galway in 1845[28]. What is pertinent to the Killarney introduction is that in 1873 the establishment of a

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[23] Carol Quinn...Grehan papers, p iii.
[24] Peter A Grehan interview 23 September 1998.
[25] *Field* 2 May 1874.
[26] Payne-Gallwey...*Fowler in Ireland...* p 320.
[27] Maxwell... *Wild Sports* ...pp 102- 4.
[28] Payne-Gallwey...*Fowler...* p 323.

staghound pack in County Roscommon was proposed, amid some controversy that this might interfere with the existing harriers. The staghounds were, however, established by October 1873, containing 30 couples, and were hunting a fallow buck by the following month[29]. In May of the following year this pack was augmented with hounds from the Royal Kennels, and, significantly, fresh deer were obtained from England and from Killarney[30]. The Killarney source was not stated, but this contemporary attestation of movement of deer between Killarney and Roscommon removes any doubt about the introduction of Roscommon red stags to Killarney in the early 1870s. The Roscommon staghounds were based at South Park, the seat of the Balfe family at Castlerea, County Roscommon[31], where Stephen Grehan saw them while shooting in Roscommon in 1880[32].

Whether or not the Roscommon stags imported to Killarney were part of an exchange of deer remains uncertain, but the source of Killarney deer sent to Roscommon may well have been the Earl of Kenmare's deer park. The hunting and catching up of deer within that deer park, for the purposes of transfer to other parks, is well attested. Godfrey took his hounds there to obtain them for his own private use. In 1874 he called on Lord Kenmare and got two stags, and in February of the following year he took his hounds to Muckross, then rode with Mrs Herbert to Kenmare's deer park and took nine stags and two hinds[33]. There were several other incidences. Twenty years later, a correspondent to the *Kerry Evening Post* remembered them, and recorded his own eye-witness accounts of hunts in the Earl's deer park:

> In former years the hunting of stags in the Park was an exciting event, and generally took place whenever Lord Kenmare desired to make presentations of stags to any of his numerous friends or guests. On a few of those occasions I have seen stags hunted through the Park by the late Capt Gubbins and his brother from the county Limerick, Lord Kenmare, Mr S M Hussey, and other distinguished gentlemen, guests of his Lordship. The stags were driven along the route by a continuous gripe until they were driven to bay, or to the next net...He [the stag] was then placed in a cage specially provided for the occasion, and forwarded by one of the trains the same evening to Capt Gubbins address.

The writer recalled that these hunts were witnessed by a large number of Killarney townspeople, admitted free to view the sport[34]. The Kenmare estate financial records independently confirm his recollections. The sum of 3s 8d was spent on purchasing 'nails for deer crates' in 1875[35], and in 1876 the sum of £2 6s 10d was paid to William Connell for 'Timber for Deer Crates'[36]. By then, the Earl was moving deer from his deer park to his deer forest, and deer crates were also used for that purpose.

Deer were just one item of the game being carted about the country, and imported from outside the country, during this and succeeding decades. An example of the trade in deer is provided by an advertisement of a herd of 60 fallow deer for sale by Becher P Fleming of Rush, County Dublin, in 1873[37]. Viscount Powerscourt was to the forefront in this practice of movement of game and importation of exotic species. He was a prominent

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[29] *Irish Sportsman* 11, 18 October, 1 November 1873.

[30] Ibid. 24 October 1874.

[31] Ibid. 1 November 1873; Bateman...*Great Landowners*...p 23.

[32] BL/EP/G/735, 1880 Diary. 28 July.

[33] Godfrey Diaries (1873-81), p 18.

[34] 'Deer Stalking in Lord Kenmare's Park' *Kerry Evening Post* 31 August 1895.

[35] PRONI, D/4151/M/11. Cash Book 1874-75, 5 January 1975 p 37. This was analysed again in D/4151/H/5 Rental and Account Book for Half Year Ending June 1875, under 'Sundries' expenses.

[36] PRONI, D/4151/H/7. Rental and Account Book for Half Year Ending June 1876 - analysis of expenditure under 'Deer Forest'

[37] *Irish Sportsman* 30 August 1873.

member of the Acclimatisation Society, founded in Britain in 1859 for the express purposes of introducing exotic species, propagating and hybridising with newly introduced species, and spreading indigenous species throughout the United Kingdom[38]. His enthusiasm extended to importing to Wicklow, in addition to the introduction of sika deer already described, red deer from the Island of Islay, Scotland, and several species of mammals and birds, such as nightingales to his Powerscourt woods[39]. The introduction of foreign species, and moving game species between their landed estates, was actively encouraged in Victorian Britain, and Herbert was simply following example by introducing foreign blood. It was part of the ethos and thinking of landed gentry at the time. The Herberts had the example of royalty. Queen Victoria herself had sent six red deer, two stags and four hinds, to Brisbane, Australia, from Windsor Great Park in 1873[40]. Besides, the commercial exploitation of his deer forests was one source of income, and Herbert was sinking seriously into debt. He was reduced to borrowing from his friends, obtained a loan of £1,000 from his hunting and social companion Godfrey[41], and a mortgage for £1,500 from Sir Maurice J O'Connell[42], his close neighbour at Lakeview. These local loans were supplemental to his heavy mortgages from the Standard Assurance Company, Scotland, which amounted to at least £36,000 between 1873 and 1877[43].

Yet the Herberts were fully aware of the unique status of their Killarney red deer when introducing the Roscommon stags, and this was clearly implied in John Ross's correspondence with 'Q' in 1874, as discussed above. But the introduction would enhance their forests' reputation, and stalking was in full practice at Muckross by the early 1880s. Ross, in correspondence with Payne-Gallwey several years later, confirmed that:

> They [the red deer] are now very numerous, being strictly preserved by both Mr Herbert and Lord Kenmare. The weight of the heaviest killed in the Muckross estate was 31 1/2 stone, and several of from 28 to 30 stone. Many of the same weight are still in the forest...Every stag killed on the Muckross estate is gralloched, and the inside thoroughly cleaned out, *where it is shot, on the hill,* and the animal is not weighed until carried home. It is the weight clean that is always entered in the game-book... [44].

The emphasis in the above quotation was Payne-Gallwey's. Ross was writing to a well-known game shooter, and his stressing of large weights would not have been unconnected with the aim of securing notoriety in a book to be published, with consequent lucrative letting possibilities. But it is noteworthy that Ross apparently said nothing about the quality of trophy heads, their size, and number of points. The Scottish tradition and influence was very evident, as only the clean weight was recorded, when the animal had been gralloched. This Scottish word, from Scotch Galic, was much repeated in British stalking literature. It was not common in Killarney, when the term for gutting was *paunched*, a word widely used in Ireland.

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[38] R S R Fitter *The Ark in our Midst* (London, 1959) pp 35-8, 48.

[39] Ibid. pp 67, 237.

[40] *Times* 28 May 1873.

[41] Godfrey Papers, 1875 Diary. 21 September 'Lent H A H £1,000 at 5 per cent per annum'.

[42] Land Commission Office, Herbert Papers. EC 2290, Abstract of Title in the Matter of the Estate of H A E K Herbert and James Hope, A R C Pitman and Spence C Thomson, 3 February 1876, p 228.

[43] Ibid. Mortgage for £20,000, 18 July 1873, p 215; mortgage for £4,000, 24 February 1874, p 222; mortgage for £12,000, 18 June 1877, p 225.

[44] Payne-Gallwey...*Fowler*... pp 320-1.

Deer stalking practice began changing in the 1860s when rifles became more accurate[45], and deer were less often driven to concealed shooters. However, deer were still wounded by indifferent marksmanship, and stalkers were still accompanied by men with deerhounds to follow up a wounded stag and bring him to bay. In the Marchioness of Breadalbane's account of stalking at the Scottish deer forest of Black Mount, dogs were still in use for this purpose into the early years of the 20th Century[46]. Dogs were a feature of both the Muckross and the Kenmare estates during the 19th century, and were still in use for deer in Muckross until the mid-1960s.

A good indication of the numbers of deer shot by leasing tenants of the Muckross estate was provided by Shand, whose letters proved how important the monetary value of deer stalking and rough shooting was to both Captain Herbert and Lord Kenmare. Shand said that:

> Muckross has always been a famous sporting property. The deer-forest of 23,000 acres is rented by Mr Amphlett, besides the deer-ground of Lord Kenmare, and lands belonging to Mr Herbert of Cloghereen. For the actual shooting Mr Amphlett pays a rental of £2000, which would certainly be considered very cheap in Scotland. He is limited to forty stags; and last year he killed stags up to his limit, besides fifteen hinds... last year he and his party had 1150 woodcocks, nearly 200 brace of grouse, 350 brace of pheasants, and 300 hares. As for rabbits, they are swarming on the hills...[47]

Since Cloghereen was also owned by Herbert, the 23,000 acres implied that the additional acreage over and above the approximately 19,000 acres constituting both deer forests combined must have included the Muckross lowland woods for game shooting, and the Kenmare lowland coverts. By this time the Kerry deer forests had acquired a reputation. Shand observed that the 'climbing and walking must be extremely hard, and the stalking...both difficult and dangerous'[48]. Independent evidence of Amphlett's deer stalking at Muckross is provided in a contemporary report of arbitration proceedings between H A Herbert II and Killarney Town Commissioners, on the water supply for Killarney town to be taken from Mangerton's Punch Bowl. Captain Herbert wanted compensation for the proposed erection of water tanks within the Muckross woods that formed part of his deer forests. Mr Morphy, acting for Herbert, stated his objections on three grounds: the destruction of Torc Cascade by removal of water (this tourist attraction was yielding about £85 a year in revenue); damage to the deer forests; and damage to the salmon spawning grounds. The deer forest, he said, was 'now let for £1,000 a year', and the construction of tanks would scare away the deer. James Miller, Herbert's head gamekeeper, called this portion of the forest the 'Sanctuary', and said this was where the deer most congregated; if the work lasted four months, many of the deer would 'be scared away and never come back'. Miller confirmed that the shooting was presently rented by Captain Amphlett, with a limit to shoot no more that 25 stags and ten hinds in a year. Mr Greaney, who kept the books of the Muckross estate, also confirmed that Amphlett paid £1,000 a year for the rent of the deer forest, and that during the shooting season, men cutting timber were removed to another part of the wood[49]. On the basis of this evidence, and assuming that he achieved his full limit in Muckross, Amphlett must have made up his combined total of 40 stags and 15 hinds by taking the additional 15 stags and five hinds

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[45] J G Millais *The Mammals of Great Britain and Ireland* Vol III (London, 1906) p 130. When early stalkers were using flint-lock muzzle-loading muskets, frequent wet weather on the hills meant the stalker had problems of, literally, keeping his powder dry - see Duff Hart-Davis *Monarchs of the Glen* p 83.

[46] The Marchioness of Breadalbane *The High Tops of Black Mount* (1907, Edinburgh reprint, 1935) passim.

[47] Alexander Innes Shand *Letters from the West of Ireland 1884* (Edinburgh and London, 1885) p 199.

[48] Ibid. p 200.

[49] *Kerry Evening Post* 19 April 1884.

from the smaller Kenmare deer forest. As it appears that Amphlett's £2,000 must have been divided equally between Herbert and Lord Kenmare, then the Earl had the better bargain from the deer stalking aspect, but from the evidence of Godfrey's diaries, Kenmare probably had better-stocked game coverts.

These shootable limits provide good evidence of the total deer numbers which both deer forests combined were then considered to hold. A rule-of-thumb method of calculating total deer numbers at the time was the unit herd principle, based on the premise that at least 25 head of deer would on average be kept for each stag killed[50]. However, a separate Scottish method advocated a kill of between one eighth and one tenth of total numbers, to keep the herd at a steady level[51]. If these methods were part of deer management and thinking in Killarney in the second half of the 19th century, then total deer numbers must have been estimated at between 625 (unit herd basis) and 350 (one tenth basis) for the Muckross forests; and between 375 (unit herd basis) and 200 (one tenth basis) for the Kenmare forests; or between 1,000 and 550 for both forests, combined. Subsequent prime source historical evidence, discussed later, confirms that the lower figures reflected the real situation.

Shand's further comments confirmed that the Herberts had been selling off their woods - 'he has cut great quantities of timber in the last twenty years' - and his statement that Captain Herbert had twice introduced blackgame to Muckross, but the attempts were a failure[52], was further evidence that the Captain, in his need for cash, was trying to bolster up his game shooting in the competition for lessees. An intriguing entry in the 'comments' column of the Visitor's Book which Captain Herbert had placed for tourist signatures at Dinis Cottage may possibly have referred to an attempt by Herbert to introduce capercaillie to the Muckross woods. In October 1879 Lieutenant Horatio Kemble, R N, from HMS *Minotaur*, noted '...Shooting at this season, our driver told us - all the wild turkeys were shot last season, he said'[53]. The capercaillie was termed 'wild turkey' in game legislation. In the 19th century an unsuccessful attempt was made to introduce the capercaillie to Glengarriff, County Cork[54], while several attempts to introduce actual wild turkeys from Canada to Scotland were made about this time[55]. While the possibility exists that the Lieutenant's comment may well have been an example of tourist leg-pulling by a Killarney jaunting-car driver, it nevertheless would have been typical of Herbert to have tried importing capercaillie, or indeed actual wild turkeys.

By the 1870s game shooting was all the rage. It had received significant impetus by the development of the breech-loading shotgun in the 1860s and 1870s, which allowed shooters to fire more quickly and accurately, and this in turn increased the demand for more and more game to satisfy the boast of bigger and yet bigger bag numbers - preferably record numbers. One consequence was an enthusiastic switching to *battue* shooting, where game birds (principally grouse, but above all, pheasants) and ground game (chiefly hares) were driven by beaters to stationary gentlemen concealed at *butts* for grouse, or positioned in line and separated a gunshot distance apart beyond the woodland edge, for pheasants. Shooting by walking up, over dogs, had even begun to feel a

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50 Whitehead...*Deer of Gt Britain*... pp 185-8.

51 Viscount Ebrington 'Stag-Hunting' in *Red Deer* (Fur & Feather Series, London, 1896) p 269.

52 Shand...*Letters*... pp 198-9.

53 MHA. Visitor's Book 'Henry Arthur Herbert M P, Dinis' (12 August 1876 - September 1883); entry 15 October 1879. Hereafter cited as Dinis Visitor's Book.

54 Gordon D'Arcy *Ireland's Lost Birds* (Dublin 1999) pp 99-106.

55 Fitter...*Ark in our Midst*... pp 162-3.

bore for the more bloodthirsty and more sedentary adherents to battue-style shooting[56]. The battue had been favoured by the Prince Consort and it now had the important backing of his son Edward, Prince of Wales, who in 1861 had purchased the 8,000-acre estate of Sandringham for £220,000, added a further 3,000 acres, and established a regime where bag size predominated as the epitome of good sport. Despite a warning from his mother, Queen Victoria, on the danger to his reputation this competition for the largest bags would cause[57], he increased the annual bag at Sandringham from 7,000 to 30,000 head of game[58]. The royal involvement in game shooting encouraged a campaign in Britain for greater bag size, leading to the development of greater protection for game species by employing more gamekeepers, and destroying more vermin. This was to influence the development of game shooting in Ireland, as aristocracy and gentry took example from Britain, but with different consequences.

In Britain, the conflict over game preservation between landlord, farmer and poacher, going back to at least the 18th century, had led to complaints on the severity of the Game Laws, and to a call for an investigation in the problem; the subject has been researched and comprehensively detailed in a polemical study by the British historian Harry Hopkins[59]. In 1870, a House of Commons Select Committee was established to report into the Game Laws, and on the 'game question'. Its Reports, running to over 1,200 pages[60], additionally dealt with evidence on the situation in Ireland. While extensive evidence was taken and consideration given to complaints arising from deer and deer forests in Scotland and England[61], no mention was made on the two deer forests in Ireland; it was as if they did not exist. But on the question of game in Ireland, evidence was heard from eight witnesses[62] pertaining to their experiences, and to their recommendations for reform. The differences in dates between Britain (England and Scotland) and Ireland for the opening of grouse shooting (in Britain 12 August, in Ireland 20 August) and for partridge shooting (in Britain 1 September, in Ireland 20 September) was the essence of these witnesses' arguments. It was claimed that the later dates allowed poachers to sell birds on the open market in Ireland, passing them off as game imported from Britain, shot there in the earlier season. Essentially, the trust of evidence was to have Irish opening dates altered to the same as those in Britain, but as the statements delivered to the Select Committee illustrated the thinking of Irish landed classes on poaching and game law enforcement in Ireland, these aspects of the Reports are pertinent.

Mr Arthur Loftus Tottenham, who had considerable experience of shooting grouse (only a little on partridge shooting) in Leitrim, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Wicklow and Cavan, told the Committee that he was a magistrate, that poaching was widespread but convictions difficult to obtain. He knew of gamekeepers being warned off by determined poachers, and he had himself dismissed a keeper for not prosecuting when he actually caught a man in the act; game watchers on the mountains, he said, were afraid and terrorised. Constables in

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56 Hopkins...*Long Affray...* pp 162, 256. See also Trench...*Poacher & Squire...* p 171, and Brian P Martin *The Glorious Grouse: A Natural and Unnatural History* (London, 1990) p 31.

57 Hopkins...*Long Affray...* pp 213-5, 246-50.

58 Trench...*Poacher & Squire...* p 172. Note that Trench gives the date of acquiring Sandringham as 1863.

59 Hopkins...*Long Affray...*passim.

60 Parliamentary Papers. *Report of Select Committee on Game Laws; together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index* (HC, 1872) 337 X.1; Parliamentary Papers *Report of Select Committee on Game Laws; together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index* (HC, 1873) 285 XIII.1. (Hereafter cited respectively as Game Laws 1872 Report, and Game Laws 1873 Report)

61 Game Laws 1872 Report, pp 337, 482-6.

62 Game Laws 1873 Report, pp liv, 424-41.

Ireland declined to have anything to do with poaching, and as far as game was concerned, the law in Ireland, said Tottenham, 'was a dead letter'. But he confirmed that game had considerably increased in Ireland within the last few years, due to increased preservation - 'owing to the lead which has been given it in England; people heard of the large bags in England and thought... they must do the same in Ireland'. But the crucial question for the Committee was, should the opening of grouse shooting be brought forward from the present 20 August to 12 August ?; he said it should[63]. It quickly became evident that it was the bringing forward of the opening dates for grouse and partridge shooting which would dominate the Committee's approach to game in Ireland, and the subsequent questioning of all Irish game-related witnesses led in this direction.

The Committee had before it a memorandum, submitted by the Irish aristocracy and gentry to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, recommending that he use his influence with Her Majesty's Government to support a Bill in Parliament, '...enacting that grouse shooting in Ireland shall commence on 12th August and partridge shooting on 10th September', similar to England[64]. The signatures read like a *Who's Who* of Ireland's privileged nobility and shooting elite, including such aristocrats as the Duke of Leinster, Lord Powerscourt, Lord Castlerosse, Lord Ventry (of Dingle, County Kerry), Lord Howth, Stuart de Decies (of Dromana), Lord Doneraile, Lord Waterford, Lord Ormonde (Killkenny Castle), Lord Longford, Lord Portsmouth (of Devon); many other titled people and a whole host of gentlemen, in all, totalling 185 signatures. Sergeant Sherlock, a member of the Select Committee, was the principal advocate in bringing forward this memorandum as evidence in favour of the proposed change, and he used it throughout in his questioning. Colonel John J White, who lived in County Leitrim, 'but pretty close to Sligo'[65] said he had extensive shooting experience in Leitrim, and in renting shootings in Donegal for 12 to 14 years, but was never troubled with poaching. He argued that in the west of Ireland the existing 20 August should remain as the opening date for grouse. This was not to Sergeant Sherlock's liking, and he cut White down with two questions; was he (White) aware of the memorandum signed from all parts of Ireland asking for the opening dates to be changed?. White admitted he was. Could White name a nobleman who concurred with his (White's) opinion?. White had to admit, 'No'. (White must have realised at that stage that his case was lost, though he later returned for a second attempt). The next witness, Viscount Crighton, was a member of the House and confirmed he had signed the memorandum himself, and the remainder of his evidence was a mere formality. He had experience in Sligo, Leitrim, Cavan, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Donegal and Kerry; poaching existed but was hard to prove; he never heard any dissatisfaction expressed by tenants over game[66]. Sherlock himself, also a member of the House, then gave evidence on his views of the proposal to remove certain types of poaching from the class of criminal offences and make it a 'quasi civil proceeding for trespass in pursuit of game'. He advised the Committee that '...as a lawyer I may have my prejudices... and would not like to remove crime from the statute book and make it a civil offence...'[67].

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63 Ibid. pp 424-30. Tottenham had 14,561 acres in County Leitrim, and 257 acres in County Clare - Bateman...*Great Landowners...* p 443.

64 Ibid. pp 484-5.Though partridge opened in Britain on 1 September, the memorandum specified 10 September.

65 Ibid. pp 430-2. As his name was spelled Colonel Whyte, County Sligo, in the listing of Expenses to Witnesses (p liii), it is likely that this witness was Colonel Whyte of Glencar, who held 10,989 acres in County Leitrim and 1,293 acres in County Roscommon, as well as other smaller holdings, totalling in all 14,122 acres - Bateman...*Great Landlords...* p 476.

66 Ibid. pp 432-3.

67 Ibid. pp 433-4.

Viscount St Laurence, a Member of the House, told the Committee that his experience was not great - some shooting on Donegal, Mayo and Wicklow - but he wanted the opening dates changed. He went straight to the real reason why; it was that 'gentlemen in England, and especially in the House of Commons, would ... consider it a great hardship to have to delay the grouse shooting for eight days and partridge shooting for twenty days'. The recently-enacted Land Act (Gladstone's 1870 Land Act) had given tenants certain rights over game on their lands, but these game rights could be reserved for their own exclusive use by landlords when drafting their leases. St Laurence had heard that 'in portions of Donegal...since the passing of that Act, some of the tenants have actually showed some symptoms of not allowing their landlords to shoot'. This he contrasted with his father's (Lord Howth's) property, where the tenants were the preservers of game, and were 'very glad to see us [shoot]'[68]. St Laurence, a signatory to the memorandum, was for change. Viscount Powerscourt, a Member of the House of Peers, next told the Committee that he supposed he had 'about 25,000 acres' and his shooting experiences - great on grouse, little on partridge - were confined to Wicklow and Dublin. He also was in favour of change. His evidence was an illustration of the great difference which the battue had brought; by driving he could kill 150 brace of grouse, but Major Barton, to whom he had rented a 7,000-acre moor for the last five years, could kill no more than '10 brace or 12 brace at the most in a day with dogs'[69]. Powerscourt was a signatory to the memorandum. After him came Sir Roger Palmer, whose grouse shooting experience was in Mayo - he had not much of partridge shooting. He also advocated for the change in opening dates, and confirmed that the quantity of grouse was increasing in Ireland, as gentlemen were now preserving more than they formerly did[70].

Colonel John J White returned to add to his evidence already given, saying he had extensive experience of grouse shooting in Ireland, England and Scotland, and he feared that great damage would be done to the west of Ireland, if the opening date was brought forward. He had been preserving for 20 years and never had a case of a man poaching grouse in his life; poaching was of rabbits and hares, but poaching of grouse was never heard of, except by *gentlemen!* (my emphasis)[71]. Independently of White's allegation, there was contemporary published evidence to support his assertion. The *Irish Sportsman and Farmer* had cited an instance of 'two young gentlemen, the sons of a J P, shooting six young grouse, three weeks before the appointed time, when they were scarcely able to fly'[72]. That, however, was evidence the Select Committee would not have wanted to hear, and did not hear.

The final witness, Major William R Ormsby Gore, supported White's plea to permit the late starting in Ireland remain unaltered. He had experience of grouse shooting in Counties Leitrim and Sligo, and in Scotland. There was no organised system of poaching in Ireland, merely an occasional poacher. Ormsby thought that grouse were shot too early in Scotland, and argued that the opening dates for grouse, pheasant and partridge in

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[68] Ibid. pp 435-6. His father, the Earl of Howth, had 7,377 acres in Dublin, and 2,061 acres in County Meath - Bateman...*Great Landowners...* p 230.

[69] Ibid. pp 436-7. The 25,000 acres must have referred only to Powerscourt's grouse moors, as he held 53,258 acres in total; 40,986 in County Wicklow, 11,641 in County Wexford and 631 in County Dublin - Bateman...*Great Landlords*...p 367.

[70] Ibid. pp 437-8. Palmer held 98,954 acres in total, the vast bulk, 80,990 acres, in County Mayo, and 9,570 acres in County Sligo, as well as other holdings in County Dublin and in Britain - Bateman...*Great Landowners...* p 351.

[71] Ibid. pp 438-9.

[72] *Irish Sportsman and Farmer* 17 August 1872.

Britain should be later, like they were in Ireland. This was not at all to the liking of the Committee and it produced from them the real reason why a change was desirable; did he not think that postponing grouse shooting to 20 August (in Scotland and England) 'would have the effect of extending the Sessions of Parliament... would he not look upon that as an evil ?' It was a clear implication by the Committee that Members felt they should be free from the House of Commons by 12 August - the 'glorious twelfth' - for the start of the grouse season; it would be intolerable if Members of the House had to sit while other gentlemen might already be out on the moors. Ormsby's evidence showed original thinking. He said: 'we do not want any more facilities for killing game; every day firearms and appliances for killing game become so much more perfect, that I think it is quite easy enough to kill game as it is'. It was a neat point, and the only time that attention was drawn to the fact that in bringing the opening dates forward, the season for killing game would be extended, as there was no proposal to alter the closing dates. Ormsby had never heard of tenants warning off gentlemen from shooting since the passing of the Land Act[73]. Sherlock then advised the Committee in detail on the differences in game legislation between England and Ireland[74].

Unlike the evidence taken on Scottish and English game, no Irish tenant farmer, cottier, game dealer or shepherd was heard. It was left to the nobility and gentry to advise that Irish country folk were happy with the system of game preservation and legislation in their country. In particular, no mention or murmur of complaint surfaced on the Killarney deer forests. Questioning by the Committee had concentrated on getting evidence to support the changing of Irish opening dates for grouse and partridge; otherwise, it revealed a depth of ignorance on the situation in Ireland by those who governed it, as if it were a foreign land. The Committee had before it a memorandum signed by the most privileged and powerful in Ireland, many of them contemporaries of the Committee, and that was sufficient for them. Although Herbert, for instance, had not signed the memorandum, his interests would be well looked after by Lord Elcho, a member of the Select Committee who had shot woodcock in Muckross. (Lord Elcho had used the opportunity to get information for his own purpose; was there many grouse shootings for letting in the west of Ireland ?... what was the price compared to Scotland ?, he had asked Colonel White[75]). The other aspects of evidence were of little consequence to the Committee members in arriving at their decision. Their minds were made up, and they were not going to let themselves be confused by facts. Neither were they going to allow their fellow MPs and Irish peers to continue under the 'great hardship' of having to wait eight days later than their English counterparts before they could legally slaughter grouse. All those who had signed the petition were in safe hands. The Committee's Report concluded that in Ireland a 'Game Question' did not exist, and recommended that the time for the commencement of grouse shooting in Ireland be altered from 20 to the 12 August, and of partridge shooting from 20 to the 10 September[76]. The date for grouse shooting was duly altered from the 20 to the 12 August and passed into law in May 1874[77]. No change was made to the closing date. The dates for partridge shooting were not altered until 1899, when the opening date

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[73] Game Laws 1873 Report pp 439-41.

[74] Ibid. pp 447-9.

[75] Ibid. pp 431-2.

[76] Ibid. pp iii, vii, xii. The Select Committee would have had available the Judicial Statistics for Ireland, 1863 and the Census of Ireland, 1861, which showed that the Irish were less likely to break the game laws, and had relatively fewer gamekeepers - see Vaughan...*Sin, Sheep and Scotsmen...* pp 29-30. These statistics were not referred to by the Select Committee.

[77] *37 Vict. c. 11* The Game Birds (Ireland) Act, 1874.

was brought forward from 20 to the first of September, and the closing date extended from the 10 January to the first of February[78]. A partridge was obviously not considered as important as a grouse, a view well reflected in the Irish sporting press. In 1872, the red grouse was given the descriptive label 'King Grouse'[79].

On the death in 1871 of the third Earl, his son Lord Castlerosse, Sir Valentine Augustus Browne, became the fourth Earl of Kenmare (1825-1905). He soon began the hugely expensive undertaking of building a new mansion, sited on the hillside of Knockreer within his demesne and overlooking the splendour of his Killarney Lakes; it was called Killarney House[80]. This required far more money than his rental income could provide, a problem the Earl solved by yet more borrowing. At the time, rental income was in arrears, the account books had shown minor differences in tots, and an auditor was employed[81]. The estate steward Thomas Gallwey was replaced by Samuel Hussey in 1874[82], who introduced a more thorough and professional style of financial recording that provided far more detailed analyses of costs, and incidentally more information on the estate's game management. The new mansion was estimated to have cost at least £100,000[83] (but when a local man, Riordan, lost his life in an accident at the mansion, his widow was paid £10 compensation[84]). The principal mortgager was the Standard Life Assurance Company of Scotland, though Kenmare, like Herbert, also borrowed from several of his local neighbours and friends. Despite the extensive increase in estate debt, there was no diminution in the Earl's lifestyle[85], though Lord Kenmare must have been well aware of his financial situation. A serious review of his estate's financial position revealed that when all costs, including interest charges, were deducted from a (notional) gross annual rental income of £36,000, the net 'spending income' would come to only £7,803; but by saving £5,090 on certain costs which 'ought to be made', this could be brought up to a net income of £12,893. The review pointed out that 'according to Mr Hussey, the debt now amounted to £94,000' - this was noted in relation the expense items for interest and insurances, then amounting to £7,270[86]. However, no expense was spared on the new mansion. When Nora Robertson was invited to a game shoot there in the early 1900s, she expressed utter astonishment that the principal reception rooms had 'door handles formed of the embossed backs of old gold watches'[87].

In his half yearly reports and financial summaries for the Earl, Hussey introduced a Game Account in which total costs of game shooting and deer stalking were combined. The day-to-day details of expenditure and income on these items were recorded separately in cash books and journals. Since Hussey's first half yearly

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78 *62 Vict. c. 1* The Partridge Shooting (Ireland) Act, 1899.

79 *Irish Sportsman And Farmer* 17 August 1872.

80 Popular accounts have suggested that Queen Victoria had selected the siting of the Earl's new mansion. This is doubted by Valentine Dawnay, a direct descendant, who observed that Lady Kenmare was a formidable woman who wore a succession of differently-toned whistles around her neck to summon different servants, and would have told Queen Victoria to be off; he felt it was Lady Kenmare herself who selected the site, with the creation of elaborate gardens in mind - Valentine Dawnay interview 21 December 1995.

81 PRONI , D/4151/M/10. Cash Book July 1870 - February 1872, payment 13 August 1870 £150 to S E DeVere, Auditor, one year's salary. There are several instances of totting errors underlined with blue marker; none of these appear significant.

82 Donnelly...*Land and People...* p 186.

83 Ibid. pp 166-7.

84 PRONI, D/4151/H/11. Rental and Accounts for half year to 30 June 1878, General Account, p 132.

85 PRONI, D/4151/U/1. Cellar Book, Killarney House - loosely inserted account dated April 1872 from Cockburn, Campbell & Co., 151 Piccadilly, London, detailing the goods supplied. The fourth Earl imported 50 cases of spirits, containing 52 dozen dinner sherry, 10 dozen super dry sherry, 13 dozen after dinner sherry, 40 dozen light claret, 15 dozen superior claret (vintage 1864), and 20 dozen best champagne. Total cost, £339 16s 0d.

86 MHA, Kenmare Papers. Ten-page mss notation, undated, signed 'Charles [illegible]. The provenance of the document would place it about 1874-5.

87 Nora Robertson *Crowned Harp; Memories of the Last Years of the Crown in Ireland* (Dublin, 1960) p 75.

accounts ended in December 1874, it evolved that his full year extended from July to the following June, and this is followed in the extraction of total yearly figures for Game, which are summarised in Appendix 6. These totals are as recorded by the Kenmare staff, but as there was variation in the method of analysis, they did not always reflect the actual costs and income for Game only, but sometimes would include, for instance, income from the Lake fisheries, or charge the costs of gamekeeping in the Earl's demesne to his Demesne Account. Nevertheless, they do provide the best example available to this study of what it cost to run an extensive deer forest and game preservation organisation in what was one of Ireland's largest landed estates - in 1883 the fourth Earl still presided over 118,606 acres[88], and was ranked 19th of only 28 noblemen in the United Kingdom who possessed over 100,000 acres[89].

At the beginning of the 1870s deer were under the care of Mick O'Donoghue at Allanes (Ullauns), one of the Kenmare deer forest townlands[90]. By 1874 it was a James M'Intosh (sometimes written as McIntosh and MacIntosh) who was paid as 'salary to deer'. He was one of 12 gamekeepers and assistant gamekeepers now employed[91]. M'Intosh was a Scot from Braemar[92], south of the Cairngorm mountains, about ten miles east of Balmoral Castle and Abergeldie, red deer country in the central Highlands. Expenditure on deer now regularly featured. Lunch was provided for beaters 'for the staghunting' (as this was in February and March, it must have referred to taking deer from the Earl's deer park); crates were made up to carry deer, and men from the home farm were employed to take 'deer to the forest'; a wire deer fence and a 'deer shed' were erected at Derrycunnihy (possibly to enclose deer for controlled, and thus certain, shooting). A fallow buck was sent to Derrynane, possibly for a controlled hunt. Deer stalking was in progress on the hill. M'Intosh was reimbursed 14s for paying seven men 2s each for 'carrying deer from forest to road'. While M O'Donoghue was now only paid £5 for six months in respect of 'caretaking of deer forest at Poulagower', M'Intosh, clearly the head man on deer, enjoyed a salary of £4 6s 8d per month. Likewise, game cultivation featured in detail. W Thompson, in charge of the pheasantry, had the help of a boy tending the growing birds, and barley was purchased to feed them. Poison, powder and shot and 'vermin traps' were bought from London; beaters were paid 2s each for beating the coverts; furze was being stubbed out in Bunrower; and a fence was being erected in Mangerton. In the Mangerton footslopes area belonging to the Kenmares, the keeper was J Lyne of Cooles (Coolies). Shot game were packed up and sent to London, but only the carriage costs featured in the accounts. If the game had been sold to London dealers the proceeds did not surface in the game accounts, and it may have been that the Earl received the sale proceeds himself, or else these were presents to friends. And the big difference now was that game was no longer a seasonal family pleasure. In November 1874 and 1875 the shootings and fishing of the Cork estate in Bantry were advertised in the *Field* for letting, and produced results. In 1874 the sum of £150 was received from 'J Wienholt Esq, one year's rent Co Cork shooting to Dec [18]75'. This was considerable, and equalled exactly the amount received by Kenmare from H A Herbert for a year's rent for 'fishing on the Lakes' to April 1876. Under Hussey's stewardship the sporting potential of the Earl's moorlands, mountains, woodlands and

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88 Bateman...*Great Landowners*...p 248

89 *Complete Peerage* ... p 117. However, he was ranked fifth lowest in terms of rental income.

90 PRONI, D/4151/M/10. Cash Book, 20 May 1871 'Paid Mick O'Donoghue, Gamekeeper at Allanes, 3 month's salary £5'.

91 PRONI, D/4151/H/4. Half yearly accounts.

92 PRONI, D/4151/H/28. Rental and Accounts for half year to 31 December 1886. This referred to M'Intosh's return home.

rivers had begun to generate badly needed cash for the estate, and interestingly, both the advertising costs and the rent received were analysed in the Estate accounts, not in the game account. There was no mention in these analyses of advertising or letting the Kerry estates, where the game shooting was far more extensive, extending to County Kerry's eastern boundary. Here, men were paid 9s for 'beating at [the] Paps' in November 1875 (the Paps mountains, on the Cork/Kerry borders)[93].

This style of deer and game management, and the letting of the Cork estate shootings through advertisements in the *Field* and *Land & Water* followed a similar pattern throughout the 1870s. Salaries increased; Donoghue was now paid £10 for six months caretaking the 'deer forest [at] Poulagower', double his previous wage, and M'Intosh was close behind Thompson, earning a six monthly salary of £22, while Thompson, the head gamekeeper, earned £25 (which included a fuel allowance of £2 10s) for the same period[94]. By 1876 the game management employed 19 persons, and their wages outstripped in cost all other game expenditure. The six monthly costs for the kennel amounted to £10 12s 6d; for the gun room £44 10s 3d; for the deer forest £37 2s 4d; for the pheasantry £40 2s 2d; and for 'sundries' £51 5s 9d, but salaries at £120 10s 8d more than doubled any other game expense, and trebled most of them[95]. Included under 'sundries' was the cost of rabbiting. M Lynch was paid £7 5s for 'ferreting rabbits at Gortroe', and J Lyne was paid £1 10s for 'trapping rabbits at Mangerton'. The Gortroe mentioned must have been the lowland Gortroe, north of the Kenmare demesne, while Lyne was keepering at Coolies, near Mangerton. Rabbits, as well as game and venison, were regularly used for the Kenmare household larder. Hussey ensured that accounts for the home farm - the demesne - were credited with goods and services provided to game. Deer forest expense included £30 2s 6d charged for 'turnips supplied off farm for deer, per Farm Book'. This referred to the Earl's deer park, not to the mountain deer forests. In this year a new kennel was being built, Thompson was supplied with a 'second-hand breech loader', and M'Intosh was advanced a loan of £10[96]. There was a preoccupation with minutiae in Hussey's careful analysis to ensure that the costs of game were fully charged, and thus credited to the home farm. Milk supplied 'for young pheasants' was charged weekly; the value of 'labour off farm preparing land sowing oats for pheasants' was calculated at £7 16s, and 200 pheasant eggs costing £13 11s 2d, as well as locally purchased hatching hens costing £2 10s, were all charged up, as was the insignificant item of a 'feeding bottle for fawn', costing just one shilling. It was as if Hussey, who was endeavouring to collect all he could by increasing rents, was trying to show how much game and deer really cost the estate. If so, it had no effect on the fourth Earl. When he went deer stalking, it was not the traditional rough work with just a stalker and ghillie. The Earl was accompanied by men to drive the deer to him, and who were provided with 'refreshments for deerstalking with his Lordship' - this cost £3 19s 11d for two days in September 1877, as much as a full year's pay for a watcher on the Earl's outlying game preserves. Similarly in 1878 men were again engaged in 'beating for deer' for his Lordship[97].

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[93] PRONI, D/4151/M/11. Cash Book July 1874 - December 1875. The deer shed is mentioned in PRONI D/4151/H/5 Half Yearly accounts to 31 December 1875.

[94] PRONI, D/4151/ H/6. Half Yearly accounts to 31 December 1875.

[95] PRONI, D/4151/ H/7. Half Yearly accounts to 30 June 1876.

[96] PRONI, D/4151/H/8. Half Yearly accounts to 31 December 1876.

[97] PRONI, D/4151/L/1. Estate Office Killarney Journal 1876-8; D/4151/K/53 Estate Office Killarney Ledger 1876-9.

The Earl fully indulged his sporting life by introducing to his Killarney estate a pack of otter hounds. From 1877 to 1879 expenditure included travel and carriage for men and otter hounds; a boy was paid to mind them 'in the country'; a kennel was erected for them; collars, medicine and meal were provided for them; full board and hotel expenses were paid for the huntsman in charge; the hounds were taken to and from Garinish for hunting. This totalled at least £28 15s in the ledgers, but must have cost much more as two men, John and Denis Healy, were paid £7 wages per week 'minding [the] otter hounds', a practice that lasted to at least June 1879[98]. A new head gamekeeper was brought from England. Thomas Davidson came from Blaydon-on-Tyne, Country Durham, and stated in his applications that he was '35 years of age, 5 ft. 11 in. in height, strong and active... a Presbyterian [but] would have no difficulty in forwarding a letter of respectability from a Catholic Clergyman if required'. His experience included being head gamekeeper for eight years over a staff of five, and he was thoroughly experienced in rearing pheasants, breaking dogs, and a good shot. He had never tasted ale or spirits; his experience included 'vermin killing... keeping down rabbits', and he claimed to thoroughly understand deer. References were submitted from former employers, one of whom confirmed that Davidson 'was engaged on the moors of Northumberland, and thus was qualified in 'red game and black'. Perhaps the aspect of his credentials that most appealed to Lord Kenmare was that Davidson had himself rented shootings in the Isle of Weight and then leased and managed these to shooting parties himself[99]. Davidson's travelling expenses from Blaydon to Killarney were paid, and a game licence obtained for him[100]. He was destined to remain in Killarney well into the 20th century, and occupied Reen Cottage in the Kenmare demesne.

Efforts were made to maximise game income, with the dressing of deer skins for sale and the regular sending of pheasants and other game to London. Game licences were bought for Lord Kenmare, his son Lord Castlerosse and Thompson[101] which enabled them to deal in and sell game locally. Yet the absence of game or stalking income in the Kenmare estate accounts throughout the 1870s is striking. It may have been that no lettings were effected, and the *Pall Mall Gazette* hinted this when it observed that while disease was 'rampant' in the Scottish grouse moors in 1873, 'ten times the number may be bagged [in Ireland] for half the rental'. The article critically attributed this apparent anomaly to the 'contempt' with which English sportsmen looked on Irish shooting, arguing that the sea journey across St George's Channel was no more inconvenient than the trip to Norway[102]. Or it may have been that game and stalking income went directly to Lord Kenmare. While this remains unanswered, an advertisement in the Earl's local newspaper illustrated what may have been a flavour of the times. William Watson of Dublin informed 'Nobility and Gentlemen' that he would buy any quantity of rabbits and game 'in any way that suits gentlemen best'[103] - an implied offer to spare their blushes for involvement in commerce. A separate private account was kept for Lord Kenmare, for the expenditure he himself paid (for example, it was the Earl who paid a John Fleming to drive a priest to the Church at

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98 Extracted and summarised from PRONI, D/4151/K/53. Estate Office Killarney Ledger 1876-9; D/4151/M/13. Cash Book July 1877 - August 1878; D/4151/M/14. Cash Book August 1878 - June 1879; D/4151/H/10. Half Yearly accounts to 31 December 1877; D/4151/H/12. Half Yearly accounts to 31 December 1878.

99 MHA, Kenmare Papers. Davidson letter 8 April 1878; Davidson letter 11 May 1878; William Hutt to Lord Kenmare 20 June 1878; William Hutt to Lord Kenmare 21 June 1878; Richard Grant to Lord Kenmare 30 June 1878.

100 PRONI, D/4151/K/53. Estate Office Killarney Ledger 1876-79.

101 Ibid.

102 *Irish Sportsman and Farmer* 30 August 1873, quoting the *Pall Mall Gazette.*

103 *Tralee Chronicle* 7 August 1877.

Derrycunnihy every Sunday). He paid packing and carriage for his eagle which had died, and had the bird sent to Williams & Son, London, for stuffing and encasing[104]. Why the Kenmares kept an eagle remains speculative, but it was a practice in which some Irish landed gentry indulged[105]. At Trimelstown Castle, County Meath, in the mid-18th century the 12th Baron Trimelstown kept a large eagle chained up at his front door, where scraps of meat were thrown to it by the servants - from a safe distance[106]. When the antiquarian J R O'Flanagan followed the course of the River Blackwater from the sea at Youghal to its source in 1844, he found an eagle chained near the doorway of Lismore Castle, County Waterford, looking 'wild and untamed'[107]. It would have been quite in keeping for the Earls of Kenmare to have done likewise. They had an interest in eagles dating back to at least the 18th century. In 1760 the then Lord Kenmare had pointed out to Lord Chief Baron Willes two eagles perched on a rock - O'Donoghue's Prison - in Lough Leane, and Willes noted that 'One was much larger than the other, which my Lord told me was the female - the cock being smaller than the hen'[108], an explanation which demonstrated Kenmare's knowledge of eagle morphology.

Godfrey's diaries provide contemporary information on species and numbers of game shot in the Kenmare and Herbert estates during the 1870s. He was privileged to shoot the Earl's deer park in 1872, when the bag was listed as '31 cock pheasants, 7 woodcocks, 11 hares and 10 rabbits'[109], whereas three weeks previously when he shot the Queen's Drive (in the Muckross woods) and Torc with Herbert, the bag record was '21 brace of woodcocks and 40 pheasants'[110]. Sir John was more than a shooting guest, he was regarded as a family friend. He standing was such that he acted as a pallbearer at the funeral of the third Earl of Kenmare[111], and his friendship with the Herberts included accompanying Mr and Mrs Herbert to a party in Cork, attending balls at Muckross, and being a guest there at receptions for people like Lord and Lady Lansdowne, the Duke and Duchess of St Albans, and the Marquis and Marchioness of Beaumont[112]. His diaries reveal a consistent friendship with Captain Herbert's wife Emily, whom he regularly accompanied at the Killarney steeplechases, rode with her at the chase when following his foxhounds, and inspected the ornamental planting in Muckross demesne with her. In 1872 he and Mrs Herbert went together to a three-day race meeting at Punchestown[113]. His shooting with Lord Kenmare included the game coverts at Bellview, Reen, Gortroe, Victoria Bay, and the Game Wood. In 1875 a complimentary hunt dinner was held for him, and he was presented with an inscribed hunting flask, Godfrey himself noting that 'Kenmare spoke from his heart'[114]. It was a mutual admiration gathering by 28 of the local gentry, and Godfrey would have had stories to tell his fellow sportsmen about the

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104 PRONI, D/4151/K/5. Estate Office Killarney Ledger, Private Account pp 411-22.

105 The German tourist Kohl had recorded in 1844 that young eaglets were regularly taken from the nests in the Killarney area and sold 'to this or that Marquis for four or five pounds' - Kohl...*Travels in Ireland*... p 136.

106 Shevawn Lynam *Humanity Dick: A Biography of Richard Martin, MP 1754 -1834* (London, 1975) p 4.

107 J R O'Flanagan *The Blackwater in Munster* (London, 1844, facsimile reprint, Cork, 1975) p 50.

108 Willes...*Letters*... p 63. The larger size of the female golden eagle is well established in ornithological literature - see Stanley Cramp *et al* (eds) *Handbook of the Birds of Europe the Middle East and North Africa* Vol ii (OUP 1980) p 234. I am indebted to Dr T C Kelly, Zoology Department, UCC, for the Cramp reference.

109 Godfrey Papers, 1872 Diary. 1 February .

110 Ibid. 8 January .

111 Ibid. 2 January .

112 Ibid. 1871 Diary. 25 September, 28 October; 1874 Diary 31 August, 2 September. Attendance at the balls in Muckross were regular events.

113 Ibid. 1872 Diary. 15, 16, 17 April.

114 Ibid. 1875 Diary. 18 November. A fuller account of this is given in Barry...'Godfrey Diaries (1873-81)'... p 15.

local poachers. His diary records of poaching confirmed much of the evidence presented to the Select Committee on the Game Laws, that it was coursing for hares and killing rabbits, and unlawfully keeping greyhounds, that made up the majority of poaching incidents. He noted incidences in 1871[115], further evidence in 1872[116], and again listed the culprits in 1873[117]. Thereafter Godfrey seems to have become less obsessive about poachers, and only occasionally noted them, generally within the body of his diaries.

Following his complimentary dinner, Godfrey invited some friends to shoot with him on his own grounds at Kilcolman. He had Maurice O'Connell, O'Connell's son and Johny Leahy as guests, and over two days they shot 16 and a half brace (possibly woodcock), when Godfrey must have acted as organiser and head keeper, as he did not carry a gun himself[118]. He may have had notions of imitating his Killarney hosts when he visited Lord Kenmare's deer park with Harry Herbert and 'found out all about the pheasantry [and] pheasant's food'[119], though he appears never to have gone any further with that scheme. When he returned from his Killarney expeditions and tramped his own fields and woods his bag size, similar to the previous decade, was much smaller than those under professional keepering at Killarney. In 1878, when shooting Kilderry with his guests, a typical day's bag was four woodcock, 16 rabbits and two woodpigeons; on another day at Killaclohane it was four pheasants, eight woodcock, four wild duck and two snipe[120]. But the days of Godfrey returning from the Earl's well-manned shoots with half the bag were now over. While the House of Commons Select Committee on the Game Laws had concluded there was no 'Game Question' in Ireland, it could well have added 'but there is a Land Question', which had already surfaced by then. Land rents and land ownership were questions that would dominate the concerns of the great landlords in the South West for several decades to come, and would impact heavily on game and deer in their estates.

In the Landlord and Tenants (Ireland) Act, 1870, Gladstone had sought to provide a more secure tenure for farmers, some compensation for tenant improvements, and an incentive to purchase their holdings. As for game, giving the tenant entitlement to his farm meant that his right to property in game on his own lands was secure from landlord dominance, and in theory would enable him to treat the landlord as a trespasser in pursuit of game on his holding, unless the landlord reserved that right to himself in his leases, which landlords invariably did. Nevertheless, the concern expressed by the Select Committee on the Game Laws that this Act might actually prohibit gentlemen from shooting on their tenants' holdings was no idle worry. Concern was expressed by the *Irish Sportsman* that game would be wiped out in Ireland as a result of this legislation, arguing dubiously that the landlord's power to preserve game would be 'completely destroyed'[121]. Behind this concern was the apprehensive experience that agrarian aggression with regard to game had already manifested itself in

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115 Ibid. 1871 Diary. Notation on front flyleaf. He noted that Dan Shea and Patrick MacCarthy were seen by Sandy Thompson coursing hares; Michael Doyle had a greyhound and 'must be prosecuted under qualification'; John Thompson of Rockfield was seen beating for game with a brace of greyhounds and a harrier on Clifford's farm; and Michael Sullivan, Tralee, was seen by John Allman coursing on Sunday.

116 Ibid. 1872 Diary. Notation on flyleaf. He noted that Jerry Houlihane and Pat Quirk killed a hare on Maurice Casey's farm; that Gerry Sansford was coursing on Sandy Thompsons farm; that John Duggan was 'not a good man to let into Kate Sullivan as a labourer'; and that William Spring Snr killed a hare.

117 Ibid. 1873 Diary. Notation on flyleaf. Those listed were Humphry Leary, Ballincarrig, who killed hares on 'all Sundays'; while Patrick Foley and Conny Murphy were 'beating and worrying my best ram'.

118 Ibid. 1876 Diary. 25, 26 September.

119 Ibid. 1874 Diary, 28 June.

120 Ibid. 1878 Diary. 11, 24 January.

121 *Irish Sportsman and Farmer* 19 February 1870.

1870, in the burning of fox coverts and the poisoning of hounds[122]. When the fox coverts at Gowran, County Wexford, were burned in 1872 the deteriorating relationships between tenant farmer and landlord huntsman might, it was feared, result in gentlemen departing, and the *Irish Sportsman* argued 'it was the manifest duty of everyone interested in keeping the gentry at home'[123]. James Sheridan of Navan probably put the general reaction of the majority of Irish smallholders and cottiers to this attitude by the gentry when he responded that 'thugs, in Ireland, are a set of assassins who sacrifice men, women and children on a large scale ... to make room for game, bullocks and black-faced sheep', and who were so 'very solicitous about the comfort of two-legged and four-legged game and vermin, that they are quite callous about the state of the ...Irish human race'[124]. It was an expression of the peasant attitude to landlordism and game which would only intensify in the coming decade. The *Irish Sportsman's* reply was that the exodus of Irish peasantry was not due to the influence of game preservers, but was simply 'the destiny of the Gael', an outlook that typified the power, privilege and supremacy of the gentry, and did nothing to take the heat out of a deteriorating relationship between farmer and landlord, now heading towards inevitable conflict. The lord of the manor's gamekeepers added to this tension. Typical was a poaching case before Castleisland Petty Sessions in 1877, when the only prosecution witness was Boyle, gamekeeper for Lord Ventry. Boyle gave evidence that MacCarthy and another were coursing on the Ventry estate, and even though a number of defence witnesses proved that MacCarthy was not on the Ventry estate at all, Boyle's word was taken and a fine of £2 2s imposed[125]. That privileged position enjoyed by gamekeepers was the source of much of the odium in which keepers came to be held.

A succession of falling prices caused the prosperous conditions enjoyed by farmers since the mid-1860s to deteriorate towards the latter half of the 1870s. The adverse effects on farming were compounded by severe weather from 1878 to 1881, resulting in poor harvests, though for privileged landlords like Stephen Grehan, enjoying independent means, the cold weather was an opportunity to couple shooting with skating on frozen lakes and riding on a makeshift sleigh behind his pony to Banteer, over deep snow[126]. It was a far more serious business in Killarney. The Land League, established in 1879 with peasant ownership as its objective, could already count on the active support of the Killarney Tenants' Defence Association, already in existence since 1876[127]. A deputation to Lord Kenmare for rent reduction in 1879 was put off and told to put the request in writing[128]. When the League's president, Charles Stewart Parnell, himself a Protestant landlord, visited Killarney and toured the beauty spots he received small coverage in the local press, no landlord welcome, and no stag hunt[129]. Violence against the landlords, as much nationalist action as reaction to stubborn refusals for rent reduction, soon became the tenants' weapon, and was swiftly answered by evictions[130]. Neither Herbert or

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122 Ibid. 23 April 1870

123 Ibid. 6 July 1872.

124 Ibid. 24 August 1872.

125 *Tralee Chronicle* 7 August 1877.

126 BL/EP/G/734, 1879 Diary. 25 January 1879; BL/EP/G/736, 1881 Diary. 11, 14, 15 January. Grehan counted 'about 50 wild geese' on 17 January, at Clonmeen.

127 *Tralee Chronicle* 22 August 1876.

128 Ibid. 2 September 1879.

129 Ibid. 5 September 1879.

130 For treatment of the Land War 1879-84, principally in County Cork but also dealing with County Kerry, see Donnelly ...*Land and People*... pp 251-307.

Kenmare escaped. The messages written for Captain Herbert in his Visitor's Book at Dinis Cottage were unambiguous and left him in no doubt of nationalist feelings for his class. Among the comments were 'viva la liberte - may the Irish have their rights and landlords driven from the country'[131]; 'down with the landlords - three cheers for the Land Leaguers. Long may they reign'[132]; 'the land for the people means the people for the land - Ireland forever'[133]. The locals were no less vociferous, and contempt for Captain Herbert had already been shown at Killarney Petty Sessions in 1876 when three Killarney fishermen - John Robert, Timothy and Eugene Cournane - told him they 'didn't give a damn' for either himself or Lord Kenmare[134].

By 1880, Henry Arthur Herbert II was in deep financial trouble. His decision to give up farming and the subsequent auctioning of his herds of farm animals and farm machinery were initially greeted with regret, but with no expressions of surprise[135]. Later, he was reported in the local press as stating that evictions in Kerry were the work of middlemen, not of 'the great owners of estates'[136], a distinction which mattered nothing to those evicted. When he divorced his wife, Emily Julia Charlotte (nee Keane), whom he found involved with an English lieutenant in London, the case was much publicised[137]. Obviously deer stalking and game shooting fees could not service his debts and sustain an undiminished lifestyle. Herbert was already involved in commerce - or that hated word, 'trade', so detested by the ascendancy - on projects like the construction of Fenit Pier[138], and supplying timber to the Killarney Bobbin Factory (likewise being supplied with timber by Sir John Fermor Godfrey and Lord Kenmare)[139]. But these obviously did not provide sufficient income, and Captain Herbert departed for America, endeavouring to rescue his fortune as had many of his tenantry before him. In this he may have been emulating his Scotch grandfather Balfour, who had made his own fortune from commercial dealings in India. One of Herbert's purposes in America was to develop the Bobbin Factory timber supply. Herbert had the notion to exploit the birch woods on his mountains, and in America he purchased 'a private railway, a steamer, and ...a good lot of machinery', all on borrowed money. But, his cousin wrote, 'everything went wrong: the mountain was too steep for the railway, the lake and river too shallow for the transport he had planned. No reels were made, and his gear was taken by creditors and sold for scrap'. He also had a disastrous and futile venture into mining for copper on his property, again on borrowed money[140]. The Bobbin Factory eventually closed due to lack of sufficient timber supply[141].

While in America, Herbert was still embroiled in game and poaching on his lands back home, in a controversy over two incidents of outrage which served to emphasise the rift existing between nationalists and landlords. Herbert's employee, Sullivan, had been shot at through his home window; his three-year-old child was

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131 Dinis Visitor's Book. 4 August 1881. The writer was Robert Himan (?), New York.
132 Ibid. 28 August 1881. The writer's name illegible.
133 Ibid. 26 October 1882. The writer was Helena O'Sullivan, New York.
134 *Kerry Evening Post* 5 February 1876.
135 *Tralee Chronicle* 4, 7, 14 May 1880.
136 Ibid. 3 August 1880.
137 *Kerry Independent* 1 May 1882.
138 *Kerry Evening Post* 9 February 1881.
139 *Cork Examiner* 19 February 1887.
140 Katherine Everett *Bricks and Flowers* (London, 1953 edn) pp 3-4. Katherine Everett, nee Herbert, of Cahirnane, was a cousin of Captain Herbert.
141 *Cork Examiner* 19 February 1887.

wounded, but survived[142]. Another caretaker, Thade (Owen) Sullivan, was murdered the same month near Killarney's Upper Lake. It was suggested that Sullivan's murder was due to Herbert giving him a half-acre of land, taken back from the Tangney family who were Sullivan's neighbours, and bad blood had developed between them. Sullivan's skull had been partly blown away, and his body dumped in the nearby Gearhameen river. Two of the Tangney family were arrested and gaoled[143]. Herbert wrote a stinging letter from Baltimore, America, to the nationalist *Kerry Sentinel,* in which he claimed, *inter alia*, the Tangneys were poachers 'caught red-handed in my deer forest', and implied a pistol handed in by the Tangneys had been stolen from Mr Mahony's estate[144]. The *Kerry Sentinel* was furious, and branded Herbert's letter a calculated effort to ruin Tangney's chances of a fair trial, saying the Tangney in gaol must be presumed innocent unless proved guilty, and that Herbert was making an 'audacious effort' to have society forget past 'unpleasantness' when it suited him; the editorial included a sarcastic comment about Herbert's divorce[145]. The nationalist press had no pity for Herbert, but his own class were more understanding and sympathetic. When visiting Killarney at the time, Madame De Bovet attributed the charges for admission to the Muckross demesne to efforts by Herbert to pay for the upkeep, since his tenants were withholding rent and he was in America trying to repair his fortunes - an Irish landlord, she said, 'reduced to beggary'[146].

Herbert's letter contained important detail concerning the so-called deer forest 'clearances'. He said he had leased a large tract of his mountain to the Tangneys for grazing. This was Doogary (also written as Doogarah), the largest part of his Muckross Upper Lake forest and, similar to the MacCarthy family in Foardal, it was further evidence that the Herberts did indeed tolerate tenants within their deer forests. Herbert also attacked the Liberal government with a reference to Gladstone's second land act. The Land Law (Ireland) Act 1881 gave tenants their much-described 'Three Fs', set up the Land Commission to establish fair rents, and made loans available (75 per cent of the purchase price) to help tenant purchase. This was viewed as a disaster by deeply indebted landlords like Herbert.

Deer stalking and game shooting were the flavour of the 1870s for British gentry. Donald Cameron of London advertised in the Irish sporting press, offering services for mounting deer heads and antlers, and dressing deer skins[147]. Alarm guns, which were triggered by an intruder in the dark walking against a trip wire, were on sale to deter poachers, garden robbers and fowl stealers[148] - the main parts of an alarm gun still survive, found in the old Kenmare demesne near the former Killarney House[149]. Yet neither Herbert or Lord Kenmare seem to have benefited from the increased sporting activity in Britain. Instead, for many of the Irish gentry, the 1870s ended in violence directed against their estates, and the disturbed state of the country effectively put paid to any opportunities for regular game or deer stalking lettings. Although stalking, the prerogative of the wealthy and privileged, was still regarded as the best school for military training, 'wherein to acquire, not in theory only, but

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142 *Kerry Sentinel* 7 September 1883.
143 Ibid. 18 September 1883.
144 Ibid. 30 October 1883.
145 Ibid. Editorial in same issue, 30 October 1883. By this time it appeared that only one of the Tangney family was still retained in gaol.
146 Madame De Bovet *Three Month's Tour in Ireland* Translated by Mrs Arthur Walter (London, 1891) pp 157-8.
147 *Irish Sportsman and Farmer* 9 July 1870.
148 Ibid. 10 August 1872. See also Trench... *Sportsman & Squire...* p 162.
149 In the possession of Peter O'Toole, personal communication.

in practice, the art and highest requirements of generalship'[150], military-minded gentlemen or generals themselves were notably reluctant to practice those skills in the deer forests of Killarney during the Land War. Indeed, the Prince of Wales did his deer stalking in the forests of Mar, secure in the loyalty of Scotland[151].

The fourth Earl of Kenmare was proud of his immense new home, and escorted Godfrey throughout the house during one of their organised shoots[152]. But rising violence and agrarian aggression meant he had little time to enjoy his mansion. Fire destroyed the private chapel attached to Killarney House, for which £500 damages were claimed[153]. While the cause was not stated, this occurred during the height of the Land War and the possibility exists that it may have been malicious. Certainly, Lord Kenmare's deer and game were targeted. In the Earl's lowland game preserves the young pheasants were now being guarded at night[154], as was the gamekeeper's cottage at Reen[155]. In his upland forests watchers were likewise employed[156]. Poisoning of the Lord's cattle was also suspected[157], though this could equally have happened from poison laid for vermin, a regular activity. However, game preservation and deer stalking continued nonetheless. Game was sent on to London, vermin traps and poison imported, gun and dog licences obtained, and the Cork shootings at Bantry (the Borlin) advertised in the *Field,* though apparently with little success[158]. Furze seed was purchased from Sir James Mackay for the game coverts, and a special dog for grouse was purchased at a cost of £7[159]. Rabbits were imported from France and England[160]. It is likely that these were ornamental breeds of pet animals.

Lord Kenmare left Killarney at the end of 1880 in response to a death threat attributed to the Land League. The Earl announced that he was quitting Ireland, dismissed his labourers - reported to have been between 300 and 400 - and settled in to live in London[161]. When the land troubles had died down after 1882 he was reported to 'sometimes come [back] to Killarney where...he can shoot grouse in peace'[162]. The Earl had been invited to become Lord Chamberlain earlier in 1880[163], a position he accepted, and which Lord Oranmore had opposed because Kenmare was a Roman Catholic - an objection Gladstone did not accept[164]. In this privileged position he would not be denied his shooting, and Kenmare's friendship with the British royals paid off. In 1882 Henry Ponsonby, Queen Victoria's private secretary, wrote to Lord Kenmare from Balmoral, saying ' The Queen knows and regrets that you find difficulty in going to Killarney this year', and on the queen's instructions Ponsonby offered the Earl and Lady Kenmare the use of a house in Abergeldie for a couple of

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150 James Conway *Forays Among Salmon And Deer* (London, 1861) p 141.

151 *Illustrated London News* 9 October 1880.

152 Godfrey Papers, 1877 Diary. 28 June.

153 PRONI, D/4151/G/5. Letter Book 1879 - 80. Letters Nos 873 & 918, 29 December 1879 & 8 January 1880, to Phoenix Fire Insurance Office.

154 PRONI, D/4151/K/53. Estate Office Killarney ledger 1876-79. 24 May 1878 - Patrick Moynihan paid 15 shillings, one week's wages for minding pheasants at night.

155 Ibid. 20 September 1878 - J Hearne and E Nolan paid £2 10s for caretaking Reen Cottage, 59 nights.

156 Ibid. 8 November 1878 - Refreshments for men watching poachers on [the] mountains, 4s 8d; 22 November 1878 - Refreshments for men watching poachers at Mangerton, 10s; 6 December 1878 - Paid R Donoghue wages of men minding [the] deer forest, £1.

157 Ibid. 5 September 1879 - Paid P G Keane V[eternary] S[urgeon] for examination of cattle supposed to be poisoned £1 10s 6d.

158 Ibid. These items were regular entries.

159 Ibid. 4 October 1878. The furze seed cost £2 5s 8d.

160 Ibid. 28 March, 4 April 1879.

161 Donnelly...Kenmare Estates...Part 11 p 73.

162 De Bovet ...*Three Month's Tour in Ireland*... p 157.

163 MHA, Kenmare Papers. W E Gladstone to Lord Kenmare, mss letter 29 April 1880.

164 *Times* 19 May 1880.

months in the autumn. The house was close to Abergeldie Castle, about two and a half miles from Balmoral[165]. Balmoral, the Scottish residence of the queen, had deer stalking on its estate. Lord Kenmare accepted, and Ponsonby confirmed the queen's pleasure[166]. Kenmare may have used the royal stalking grounds in September and October of that year. He himself had offered 'bed & board' to the Lord Lieutenant that same August in Kerry, which the Lord Lieutenant had reluctantly refused[167]. When he returned to Killarney in 1884, the Earl soon became embroiled in further controversy. Sixty tenants had been evicted from the Kenmare lands in Cools, Coom and Gneegilla, and two further families from Coolick, near Kilcummin, which the nationalist press sarcastically described as 'some of his Lordship's good acts towards his tenants since his return home, after an absence of three years'[168]. The controversy arose from the well-publicised 'hatchet' affair. As reported in the British press, when Lord Kenmare and his guests came upon an evicted family huddled in a ditch, he immediately 'procured a hatchet, and with his own hands broke open the door of the house from which they had been evicted and allowed that family to go back into their former home', giving them some money in the process[169]. But the Earl's act, and his contention that he was unaware of the eviction, were dismissed by the nationalist press as no more than a staged attempt to impress his hunting and shooting guests, and 'a disgusting piece of hypocrisy, founded neither on humanity nor logic'[170].

The Earl of Kenmare's difficulty was lack of cash. His debts in 1882 amounted to about £227,000, his estate's annual outgoings were at least £30,000, while his yearly rental income stood nominally at about £38,000 - provided the rents were paid. By 1882, the rent arrears amounted to over £18,000[171]. His largest mortgager, the Standard Life Assurance Company of Scotland, was owed over £146,000[172], and in November 1882 that company appointed four trustees to administer the Earl's estates. Staff and labourers were laid off, farming stopped, livestock and farm machinery sold off, and the newly-built Killarney House left in the care of a few security people. The Earl's demesne and his beloved deer park were put out for letting; no bidders came. Under the 1881 Land Act Lord Kenmare's tenants could apply to the courts to have a fair rent assessed, and had this happened - only about 150 of the Earl's tenant farmers did so - the Kenmare estates would in effect have been insolvent[173]. The situation was not helped by the evictions in response to the 'No Rent' campaign. The reports of these, frequent in the local newspapers, featured also in the Earl's own records. Typical was an entry: 'Possession taken by the Sheriff [sic] from Mrs Mahony of Ballybrack on the 8th February 1883 all her furniture being put out on the public road and cattle removed off the lands - [signed by] Arthur Gloster'[174].

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165 MHA, Kenmare Papers. Henry Ponsonby to Kenmare, mss letter 17 June 1882.

166 MHA, Kenmare Papers. Henry Ponsonby to Kenmare, mss letter from Ashbourne 29 August 1882. This correspondence suggests that Kenmare returned temporarily to Killarney in the summer of 1882.

167 MHA, Kenmare Papers. mss letter to Kenmare from Vice Regal Lodge, Dublin, 23 August 1882.

168 *Kerry Sentinel* 30 September 1884.

169 *Times* 6 October 1884.

170 *Kerry Sentinel* 14 October 1884, quoting *United Ireland*.

171 Donnelly...Kenmare Estates...Part 11, pp 82.

172 Ibid. Part 1, p 30. See also Michael Moss *Standard Life 1825 - 2000: The Building of Europe's Largest Mutual Life Company* (Edinburgh and London, 2000) p110.

173 Donnelly...Kenmare Estates... Part 11, pp 82-4. The Earl was judged to be 'effectively bankrupt' - Moss...*Standard Life...* p 110.

174 PRONI, D/4151/B/301/1. Caretaker's Agreement Book 1878 - 83. The book, in very poor condition, contains printed forms of acknowledgement by tenants who had been put into possession as caretakers. The quoted extract is on the reverse of one such agreement.

Evictions caused further violence, directed at the Earl's property, at his bailiffs, his watchmen and minders of his game. Lord Kenmare's bailiffs resigned after receiving death threats - one, Daniel Leahy of Scarteen, was murdered - and process servers could not be found to serve summonses. Gamekeepers were regarded as particularly odious, accused of being the eyes and ears of the police and gentry in gathering information on the Land League 'moonlighters'. John Twiss, a suspected moonlighter, had been fined £3 for poaching in 1880; his fine was paid by local subscription. He admitted in court that he kept a brace of greyhounds for taking rabbits. He was alleged to have shot a gamekeeper named Culloty, and to have beaten Pat Carver, a gamekeeper for Lord Cork. Boyle, described as a 'bum bailiff' who lived near Cordal and a keeper on Lord Ventry's estate, was said to have kept John Twiss under constant observation, and gave evidence at Twiss's trial. Twiss was later charged for a separate murder and, protesting his innocence, was hanged in Cork[175]. The effects of the Land War on gamekeepers meant that many ended out of work. A total of 40 idle keepers responded to an advertisement for an underkeeper, in 1882[176]. Hatred was likewise directed at land stewards and estate agents. One of the most hated was Samuel Hussey, agent for the Earl of Kenmare, who subsequently wrote that a reward was publicly offered to anyone who would shoot him. In 1884, while he and his family were asleep at his home in Gortatlea, his house was dynamited; miraculously, all escaped. Hussey then went to live at Aghadoe House, the seat of Lord Headley near Killarney, where a second and again unsuccessful attempt was made on his life[177]. The following year Hussey ceased to act for the Kenmare estate, and his 21st and final half-yearly report revealed the Earl's plight. He told the Earl that during his ten-and-a-half years agency, gross rent collected amounted to £321,920. From this he deducted £17,606 arrears due when he took office, and a further £8,333 in respect of abatements and 'extinguished arrears', leaving his net collections for his period at £295,981, 'or an average of £29,598 per annum....on an estate...on which there are 2,400 tenants'. He added in self justification ' I may say there is not a more satisfactory return to be shewn in Great Britain or Ireland...'[178]. (On the basis of the gross rents collected, the average annual income was just £30,700 - barely enough to pay for the estate's outgoings and Lord Kenmare's lifestyle). Hussey, however, continued to act as agent for Herbert's Muckross estate. While agent for the Kenmares, Hussey had enjoyed the friendship of Lord Kenmare and was invited to the Earl's deer shoots. With Lord Kenmare, Captain Gubbins of Limerick and other guests he rode on horseback and shot driven deer within the Earl's deer park, where his horsemanship was recollected as noteworthy[179]. However, when he went shooting with Godfrey in the Aghadoe preserves, Godfrey had dismissed him in his diary as 'no good'[180]. Maurice Leonard, Hussey's apprentice at the Kenmare estate office, replaced him as agent for Lord Kenmare. Leonard was destined for a stormy agency.

Clearly, something had to be done to allow the Kenmare estates continue as a going concern. Standard Life was caught in an awkward situation. If it was to allow the estate breathing space and time to redeem its

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175 Pat Lynch *They Hanged John Twiss* (Tralee, 1982) pp 27-8, 84, 105, 153.

176 *Irish Sportsman* 19 August 1882.

177 Donnelly...Kenmare Estates...Part 11, pp 79 - 84, 93. See also the *Kerry Sentinel* 16 October 1885 for an account of the attack on Hussey at Aghadoe House. Even in his old age, Hussey was described by his neighbour in Aghadoe as a 'dominating, repellent brute' - Joseph O'Connor *Hostage to Fortune* (Dublin, 1955 edn.) p 225.

178 PRONI, D/4151/H/24. Rentals and Accounts for half year to 31 December 1884 - Report, 11 February 1885.

179 *Kerry Evening Post* 31 August 1895.

180 Godfrey Papers, 1877 Diary. 4 December.

debts, the insurance company had little option but to advance a further loan of £40,000, on conditions that the entail would be broken, and that the Limerick estate (Lord Castlerosse's) would be sold for not less that £110,000. The loan was advanced, but the Limerick estate remained unsold, and as time passed Standard Life continued to manage the Earl's estates to the end of the century[181]. In these financial crises, the Browne's excellent social and political connections once more came to their assistance. Lord Castlerosse, then 26 years old, became engaged to Elizabeth Baring, daughter of Lord Revelstoke, a principal of the Baring's banking business. Elizabeth could bring money to prop up the Browne's family finances, while she herself was quoted as deciding she would strengthen the family's character[182]. This alliance led to trenchant and sarcastic anti-Kenmare comment by the nationalist press[183]. The Barings were a very wealthy British family of bankers who enjoyed game shooting and deer stalking. They bought Stratton Park in Britain for game preservation, where they financed great partridge shoots. As large landowners, they were said to have bought up half of Hampshire[184]. In 1875 Edward Baring had rented from Herbert's Scottish cousins the Balfour deer forest of Strathconan, for £1,500[185]. In 1886, the year of Elizabeth's engagement, the Barings were in charge of the highly profitable Guinness public floatation on the stock exchange[186]. The Kenmares were old and respected aristocracy and friends of Queen Victoria, very significant and useful connections in the elitist world in which the Barings moved. It was no idle comment by Disraeli that the more important a politician grew, the more important well-stocked game preserves became to him - they were the neutral ground for cementing new parliamentary alliances and for winding up old intrigues[187]. And for arranging suitable marriages.

Throughout the greater part of Ireland, the effects of the Land War were felt on game shooting and hunting. Much hatred was directed towards the lord of the manor's gamekeepers. In 1880, when Lord Ardilaun, a member of the Guinness family, was supposed to be besieged in his exclusive game preserves and new mansion at Ashford Castle, County Galway - in fact it turned out to have been an exaggeration - he told the correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* that he had refused the help of the RIC, and relied instead on his loyal gamekeepers and labourers to defend his property[188]. Subsequently, in 1882, one of his keepers, Thomas Gibson, was murdered, and for this crime (as manslaughter) three men, William Diskin, Patrick Connelly and Edward Fox each received a sentence of 20 years penal servitude[189]. When Stanhope Townsend, whose uncle was boycotted for harshly treating his tenants, and two army lieutenants were shooting over the preserves of Lord Massey near Galbally, County Limerick in 1881, they were attacked by an angry crowd who chased them into Lord Massey's shooting lodge. The crowd broke all the lodge windows and a trap, and only dispersed when 25 policemen arrived. No arrests were made[190]. By far the most widespread attack on the pastimes of the landed gentry, however, was the campaign of 'Stopping the Hunt' in the winter of 1881-2, in response to the imprisonment of Parnell and his

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181 Moss...*Standard Life*...p 110.
182 Laurence M Geary *The Plan of Campaign 1886 - 1891* (Cork, 1986) p 47, quoting Terence H O'Brien 'Lord Milner's Irish Journal'.
183 *Kerry Sentinel* 24 September, 19 October 1886.
184 Hopkins...*Long Affray*... pp 85, 149, 281.
185 Orr...*Deer Forests*... p 38, Appendix viii.
186 Frederic Mullally *The Silver Salver: The Story of the Guinness Family* (London, 1981) pp 31-2.
187 Hopkins...*Long Affray*... p 230.
188 Bence-Jones...*Twilight*... pp 33-4.
189 *Kerry Sentinel* 7 August 1883.
190 Ibid. 16 August 1881.

colleagues. The essential features were the pitchforking and poisoning of hounds, crowd attacks at the actual hunt gatherings, and 'people's hunts' where farmer and peasant joined together to carry out mass poaching on their landlords' game preserves[191]. In these 'people's hunts' the wholesale trespass and deliberate hunting on Lord Lismore's lands near Clogheen, County Tipperary, took over 50 hares and rabbits before the police came, and over 500 men and boys took 60 hares and rabbits from game preserves near Cahir, County Tipperary[192]. Such illegal game 'drives' could not be regarded as a reliable source of ground game numbers, as the trespassers had mostly sticks and dogs, but few if any guns. The game they killed was reported as going to the families of Land War prisoners, though leaders of the Land League did not support the mass trespass and poaching. Those hunts effectively cancelled were mostly confined to the southern half of Ireland. Some hunt owners sold out their packs of hounds, others emigrated. There were objectors to the campaign in the Grehan's Clonmeen district. When the Duhallow hunt was stopped, Stephen Grehan's bride-to-be, Esther Chichester, wrote to him that the Curate in Doneraile was 'most anxious that the hunting should be allowed', and while all the Buttevant farmers had signed a paper saying they would prevent hunting, the Doneraile farmers who were asked to sign, had refused[193]. Confined mostly to fox hunting, the evidence is that stag hunting was not affected. Neither the Herberts or the Kenmares appeared to feature in this agitation, but for Sir John Fermor Godfrey it marked the end of his Kerry carted deer and fox hunting. In what was probably his last deer hunt in Killarney, Godfrey had his hounds draw for deer at Muckross in May 1879, hunting by 'foot and boat'. He himself was already in bad health and spent most of the following year, 1880, in hospital and health spas. His hounds hunted for the last time in 1881. The pack was taken over by Blennerhasset of Ballyseedy, Godfrey and his huntsman Mangan riding with them the whole way. Godfrey's son did not accompany them, as he could not bear to see the hounds depart - Godfrey's daughter was glad to see the back of them. Sir John Fermor Godfrey and some family members left Kerry shortly afterwards for Brussels[194]. John Gubbins of County Limerick, who had obtained deer from Lord Kenmare's deer park, gave up his 'Taglioni' stag hound pack in 1882 and gave six of his best stags to local hunts at Killmallock and Bruree. These amalgamated into the 'United Harriers' and appealed for subscriptions to defray the heavy expense of keeping deer[195]. It was probable that some at least of these stags had been obtained from Killarney. Shand, writing about Killarney in 1885, stated that 'the practice [of stag hunting in Killarney] has been abandoned because there are no hounds left in the county'[196]. By the end of the century, a listing of all packs of hounds in Ireland revealed that not one pack of stag hounds, harriers or beagles was registered in Kerry[197]. However, small packs of the Kerry Beagle did survive among local farmers and labourers in parts of south Kerry. At Cahirciveen, they were hunting foxes in the mountains in 1894[198]. The

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191 For a detailed account of this agitation see L P Curtis Jr 'Stopping the Hunt, 1881-1882: An Aspect of the Irish Land War' in C H E Philpin (ed) *Nationalism and Popular Protest in Ireland* (New York, 1987) pp 349-402, from which the details here discussed are taken.

192 Ibid. p 381.

193 BL/EP/G/664 (1). Esther Chichester, from Old Court, Doneraile, to Stephen Grehan 18 October 1882.

194 Bary...Godfrey Diaries (1873-81)... pp 24-5.

195 *Irish Sportsman* 25 November 1882.

196 Shand... *Letters from the West of Ireland* ... p 200.

197 *Field* 21 October 1899.

198 *Kerry Sentinel* 17 October 1894.

Kerry Beagle survived for well into the following century[199].

The *Irish Sportsman* contemplated the unthinkable possibility that landlords might indeed not be able to continue in the country without their sport, and what then for the peasants who relied on the employment provided by the various hunts? The editor's solution, influenced by the threat that Gladstone's 1881Land Act might actually result in peasant ownership of land - and the *Irish Sportsman* well knew that property in game was rooted in land ownership - was to create 'Nurseries for Game' in the south west, west, and north west of Ireland. Arguing that small cottiers in Connaught were so poor that the Land Act could not benefit them anyway, the editor suggested 'the formation of a company, composed chiefly of owners of poor lands in Connaught and elsewhere, which would have for its object the creation on a large scale of Game Farms'. Thousands of smallholders, he advocated, should be bought out at a fair price and all arrears of rent forgiven as it was uncollectible, anyway. As for the cottiers, 'the joy of clutching some current coin of the realm will be too great not to make them eagerly seize the opportunity'. The lands would then be fenced off and stocked with game. This would bring in 'crowds of money-spending Tourists and Sportsmen' who would give employment to a great many, hotels and 'smiling villages' would spring up. If anyone doubted this as fantasy, the editor added, they should visit the Scottish Highlands[200]. This editorial was directed purely at the newspaper's readership, the landed sporting elite. The last people the editor would have consulted on the feasibility of his pet scheme, had he even contemplated doing so, would have been the cottiers of west Cork, Kerry, Connaught, and Donegal. Less than six weeks later, as the 'Stopping the Hunt' campaign spread through the country, the editor was calling these same cottiers 'hound-poisoners, hunt-boycotters, and such like vermin'[201]. The thinking expressed in this, the voice of gentlemen's sport in Ireland, illustrated the enormous gulf that existed between the landed elite and their tenantry. As Nora Robertson, a member of that elite herself and whose family dated back to the Elizabethan Settlement, was later to write: 'The Anglo-Irish could not recognise that, deep down, the normal native Irishman of the 19th century was obsessed by his longing for national freedom and ownership of land'[202].

Quite separate to the effects of deliberate trespass, the severe winters of 1879-80 and 1880-81 had a marked effect on game stocks, and particularly facilitated poaching. Payne-Gallwey has described the great bags obtained during these winters and the surplus of game left unsold, so great were the numbers slaughtered. He had access to the books of McCowan, Tralee-based merchants who dealt in game, and their records showed that from 15 October 1880 to February 1881 that firm received a total of 16,733 birds; this included 2,021 woodcock and 9,264 snipe, but only 41 grouse - the rest were mostly duck and shorebird species, and 138 partridges. Fishermen were able to catch snipe by drawing their nets

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199 *Irish Field* 26 January 1924, listed the Kerry Beagle still in active use at Kells, Cahirciveen, Waterville, Ballinskelligs, Sneem, Kenmare, Valentia Island and Dingle, all in County Kerry.

200 *Irish Sportsman* 29 October 1881. The same newspaper had previously advocated game farming in Ireland in 1871 - see *Irish Sportsman* 9 September 1871.

201 Ibid. 8 December 1881.

202 Robertson...*Crowned Harp...* p 99. The *Irish Sportsman's* editor and proprietor, William Joseph Dunbar, died in December 1881. A native of County Cavan, he obtained a classical scholarship at Trinity College. His interests were essentially in Irish hunting, horse racing and game shooting; it rarely extended to deer stalking. Always loyal to the British crown, nevertheless he could not stand the bumptious and superior approach which some English sportsmen displayed to Ireland and things Irish. It infuriated him when an Irish horse that had won a race on English soil was reported in the British press as a 'British' animal. In particular, he savagely attacked and editorialised on the sectarianism of advertisements for gamekeepers in Ireland which specified that they 'must be a Protestant', and 'No Irish need apply', or 'Englishmen preferred'. These he deplored and roundly condemned. His newspaper was to continue, and survived into the 1930s, later changing its title to the *Irish Field.* See *Irish Sportsman* Obituary, 17 December 1881, and ibid., 16, 30 April 1870.

over frozen ground. He blamed the subsequent reduction in snipe numbers on this slaughter, and observed that in that season 'every other peasant owned a gun, and used it night and day'[203]. A decade previously, hares had been regularly described as scarce, and there was a scare in 1871 that hares had been affected by an outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease[204]. Special legislation was introduced in 1879 to protect hares in Ireland, where they 'have of late years greatly decreased in number... by reason of their being inconsiderately slaughtered'[205]. The hard winter of 1880-81 proved otherwise in west Cork. During the snows of 1880 a total of 300 hares were brought into Dunmanway town in one week alone, 'killed by trackers'; and one merchant 'sold more powder in one month during the snow than he did in the previous five years, mostly '... bought by poachers'[206]. The preserved mountains of Lord Powerscourt, County Wicklow, could produce in one day's shooting by 18 guns a bag of 505 hares on Douce and War Hill[207]. And a correspondent to the *Field* wrote that in Galway and Mayo in 1881 'hares are very plentiful'[208].

If the presumptions of Payne-Gallwey and others that nearly every peasant held a gun and could openly buy ammunition had some basis in fact, or are considered in relation to the 1870 legislation which provided for the licensing and registration of guns throughout the United Kingdom[209], it would have meant that either the police turned a blind eye to poaching, as alleged in the Game Laws Reports of 1872 and 1873, or that gamekeepers were unable or afraid to apprehend poachers, or simply that Ireland was indeed ungovernable in matters of game preservation. The likelihood was that Payne-Gallwey and other commentators were exaggerating, and that it was the exceptionally severe winters which mostly contributed to their cherished game in the south west of the country being easily poached. There were some prosecutions to support the undeniable fact that poaching did occur. Examples were John Shea of Muckross being sentenced to a month's imprisonment for possessing a gun without a licence; Elliot, an employee of Muckross being sued by Herbert and fined £1 for poaching and being in possession of an unlicensed gun; and another man fined £3 for trespass in pursuit of game in the Muckross estate[210]. But these occasional incidents, which amounted to about a half-dozen annually for both the Muckross and the Kenmare estates, did not reflect widespread poaching activity. On the contrary, the evidence that the same poacher could be caught and fined again and again suggests that the local poacher was well known. The same poachers' names, for example the Sullivans of Firies, appeared year after year in Godfrey's diaries, and a further example was the case of two youths, Fitzgerald and Sweeney, who appeared before Killarney Petty Sessions for poaching hares with a brace of greyhounds in Lord Kenmare's western demesne. The list of previous convictions against them showed that Fitzgerald had already been fined three times before and received a 14-day prison sentence, and Sweeney had already been fined twice

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[203] Payne-Gallwey...*Fowler in Ireland*... pp 209-31. Payne-Gallwey was himself an enthusiastic admirer of the largest possible bags - shot, of course, by gentlemen.

[204] *Tralee Chronicle* 3 October 1871.

[205] Preamble to The Hares Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1879 (*42 & 43 Vict.Cap.23*)

[206] *Irish Field* 7 January 1899.

[207] W R Le Fanu *Seventy Years of Irish Life* (London, 1901) pp 264-5.

[208] Quoted in *Irish Sportsman* 8 October 1881.

[209] Gun Licence Act, 1870 (*33 & 34 Vict. Cap. 57*)

[210] *Kerry Sentinel* 20 August, 17 September, 5, 22 October 1886.

before, all for poaching offences[211]. At Clonmeen, if Stephen Grehan's diaries are accepted as comprehensive evidence - and by the late 1880s, when he was already complaining of gout[212], he would have noted anything that annoyed him - poaching was rarely recorded. In 1884 his keeper Healy caught two Sullivans taking away a hare, and in 1893 Con Riordan and Dan Buckley were caught lifting snares[213].

The poacher, like the guerrilla fighter, had the initiative and could strike unexpectedly, and despite the general Victorian view that the poacher was a cowardly, drunken ruffian[214], deer poaching on the Scottish mountains was considered excellent training for a soldier's life[215]. The poacher's prowess in capturing game was at times admired, at least in the south west of Ireland, by gentry and police. C P Crane, an RIC police inspector in Killarney in the mid-1880s, received permission to fish the Laune river from John Ross, the Muckross estate gamekeeper. On his arrival at the river bank he found a poacher already fishing on his preserved stretch, but on the opposite side. Though Crane indignantly shouted to the man that he was a trespasser, the local calmly continued to fish. When the poacher hooked a salmon, Crane said 'he played him so hard [that] my indignation was overwhelmed by admiration for his prowess'. Crane was so taken with the poacher's expertise that he found himself 'shouting advice to him, and entering into the excitement of the sport'. After expertly landing the fish, the poacher held it up and shouted across to Crane 'Twelve pounds [weight], I think, yer honour'; then slipping the salmon into the lining of his coat he set off across the bogs at a trot, leaving Crane outwitted but highly amused[216]. Several visiting English game shooters observed that the widely-held view in Britain of widespread poaching in Ireland was an exaggeration, and it was more a case that 'Paddy poached for the pot'.

What upset Irish field sportsmen, however, was likely to have had more to do with the provisions of The Ground Game Act, 1880[217] than the question of poaching - they had lived with that for centuries, and could still, in the early 1880s, enjoy large bags of game. This Act entitled the occupier, as an inseparable right from his occupation, to kill ground game - defined as hares and rabbits - on the lands he occupied. He could authorise in writing one other person to do likewise, either a member of his household or an employee. The occupier, and his authorised person, could sell the ground game and were exempt from obtaining a game licence for this purpose, but were still subject to the provisions of the Gun Licence Act, 1870. A saving clause, an obvious palliative to landlords, provided that any person who held the right to kill ground game on lands under an existing lease or agreement would continue to hold that right for the duration of that agreement, during which time the occupier would not be entitled to kill or take ground game. An important restrictive clause, that ground game could not be taken at night - between one hour after sunset and one hour before sunrise - was deliberately aimed to deter poaching. When this legislation was taken in conjunction with the assistance towards peasant ownership provided by Gladstone's 1881 Land Act, the implications for the landed gentry were serious; they faced into an

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211 Ibid. 6 August 1898.
212 BL/EP/G/742, 1888 Diary. 29 November.
213 BL/EP/G/739, 1884 Diary. 4 February; BL/EP/G/747. 1893 Diary. 13 January.
214 Trench...*Poacher & Squire...* pp 146, 163.
215 Hart-Davis...*Monarchs of the Glen...* pp 43-4.
216 Crane...*Memories...* pp 85-6.
217 *43 & 44 Vict. Cap. 47*

uncertain future for taking ground game. The Ground Game Act was savagely attacked by the *Irish Sportsman,* which described it as a dictatorial and coercive piece of legislation[218]. However, it was not game but the land itself that preoccupied tenants, and that presented the privileged landowners with a much more uncertain future.

Burdened as they were by debt and the effects of the Land League's 'No Rent' campaign, it was no surprise that when the Prince and Princess of Wales visited Killarney in April 1885, one obvious solution for the Earl of Kenmare and Captain Herbert would be to sell off their estates, with their deer stalking and woodcock shooting attractions, as a royal residence, similar to Balmoral in Scotland. After the royal visit had ended, this idea was floated by the *Illustrated London News,* and the wording implied that the suggestion was not entirely its own. It reported: 'We understand that Lord Kenmare would not be unwilling to part with this estate to the Prince of Wales, and it deserves to become a Royal property; the same may be said of Muckross'[219]. But Ireland was now far too unsettled for British royalty. The royal couple had been booed and pelted with onions by nationalists in Cork[220]; in Kerry protests against the Prince were held in Abbeyfeale and Newcastle West, and he was hooted at in Tralee - the couple were subsequently given a rapturous reception in Belfast. The south west of Ireland was no place for members of the British royal family to reside, and if British royalty ever had that intention, there was a surplus of choice. In the 1880s land in Ireland was a glut on the market. While in Killarney, the Prince confined himself to visiting the Lakes and mountains and the Gap of Dunloe, and then quit the county. Later, in July, he sent a silver spirit flask and goblet to his guide, Mr Ross 'gamekeeper at Muckross'[221]. There was no deerstalking or game shooting, even though the Prince was a regular at these sports in Scotland where his exploits were faithfully reported[222].

The land question again came to a head in 1886 when the Plan of Campaign (1886-91) was launched, demanding substantial rent reductions and, if not conceded, then withholding rent until this was achieved. It was an intensification of the Land War, characterised by wholesale evictions for non-payment of rent, outrages perpetrated against the landed gentry's property, and intimidation of farmers who were suspected of paying their rent covertly, or who occupied evicted farms. The Plan, heavily concentrated in the Earl of Kenmare's lands at Rathmore on the eastern borders of Cork and Kerry, spread to his estate in Killarney and into his demesne, the home farm. Both Captain Herbert and Lord Kenmare were once more involved in local evictions, and reprisals came swiftly and savagely. Neither of them received sympathy from the nationalist press. In a hard-hitting editorial, taking up the theme of *United Ireland's* claim that 'five-sixths of the soil of Ireland is in pawn', the *Kerry Sentinel* agreed that proportion was not too high for Kerry, and added:

> Whether Kerry be claimed as the property of the landlords or the money lenders, we can tell both classes of them that the first right to its soil is recognised by its people as theirs, and not all the bayonets of Britain can coerce the payment of the impossible rents now demanded as a result of the bond between the usurer and the spendthrift[223].

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218 *Irish Sportsman* 21 October 1882.
219 *Illustrated London News* 16 May 1885.
220 Bence-Jones...*Twilight*...p 65
221 *Illustrated London News* 18, 25 April; 2 May; 10 July 1885; *Times* 20 April 1885.
222 *Illustrated London News* 9 October 1880; *Times* 12 October 1871.
223 *Kerry Sentinel* 20 August 1886.

It may have been in response to this and similar denunciations that Maurice Leonard produced a 35-year analysis and summary of Kenmare estate expenditure. He disclosed that, overall, a total of £173,994 had been invested in the estates in Kerry, Cork and Limerick. In Kerry, £40,116 had been expended on buildings, £15,020 on land improvement, £4,433 on roads, £1,982 on Killarney town, £2,381 on seeds and seed potatoes supplied to tenants, and £65,382 on general labour. The balance was made up by a loan of £34,500 borrowed from the Board of Works for buildings and land improvements, plus unspecified expenditure of £3,600 on Cork, and £6,580 on Limerick estates[224]. This was impressive investment by the Kenmares, but the exercise was in vain, and ultimately made no difference to the Plan of Campaign.

By comparison, the effects on the Clonmeen estate were minor. Though Stephen Grehan was a Southern Unionist and an anti-Home Rule activist who attended meetings in Dublin for these purposes[225], he appears not to have been harsh on his tenantry. During the Plan, he recorded that John Howard surrendered his farm to him for £550, with rent arrears forgiven[226]. Local recollections by Jeremiah Sheehan, Banteer, and Michael Sheehan, Inchidaly, credited Grehan with just one eviction from Clonmeen - that of Tade O'Barrett, in 1892[227]. Grehan also obtained an ejectment order against Mrs Michael Murphy the following year[228]. During the 1880s and 1890s Stephen Grehan's diaries record charitable subscriptions to local hospitals, and, similar to landed estate practice in Britain, yearly Christmas presents to his tenantry and the local clergy[229]. Overall, the Plan and its social, political and land ownership effects have received comprehensive historical analyses[230]. Its effects on game preserves in the landed estates are here discussed.

Contrary to Payne-Gallwey's assertion that nearly every peasant held a gun, the fact was that obtaining firearms posed a problem for the National Land Leaguers. It was axiomatic that guns and ammunition could not be openly purchased, but one obvious source was to take them from sportsmen, gamekeepers, game watchers and bailiffs. The gentry well knew they were targets, and a French tourist related how he and the Lansdowne estate agent Trench travelled together from Killarney to Kenmare/Nedeen with loaded revolvers, in 1886. Few travelled alone; there was safety in numbers. In the Lansdowne estate office in Kenmare/Nedeen the Frenchman noticed that the local gentry, assembled for a social evening, had revolvers, a tomahawk and a Bowie knife in case of an attack (reflecting the American influence - the Marquis of Lansdowne was then Governor of Canada). All those gathered were careful to take their loaded revolvers with them as they departed into the night after the evening's entertainment[231]. In contrast, the keeper, the watcher and the occasional fowler had to fend individually for himself. Thaddeus M'Namara, an ex-inspector of schools, had his fowling piece taken from him

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224 MHA, Kenmare Papers. Estate Expenditure, Cork and Kerry, from the year 1851 to the year 1885, signed [Maurice Leonard] 11 November 1886. See also Donnelly...*Land and People*... pp 166-7.

225 BL/EP/G/747, 1893 Diary. 1, 8 April.

226 BL/EP/G/741, 1887 Diary. 1, 22 February.

227 Typescript article 'The Landlord', dated 8 October 1938, in possession of Carol Quinn, Archivist, Boole Library, UCC - not in Grehan papers.

228 BL/EP/G/747, 1893 Diary. 23 June.

229 BL/EP/G/ 742, 1888 Diary. Grehan subscribed to the North Infirmary, Cork; the Mercy Hospital, Cork; the Magdalan Asylum and St Patrick's Hospital. His Christmas presents to tenantry and local clergy are in BL/EP/G/307, Note Book 1893-1917.

230 See Laurence M Geary *The Plan of Campaign 1886-1891* (CUP, 1986). See also James S Donnelly Jr *The Land and the People of Nineteenth-Century Cork* (London and New York, 1975, reprint 1987).

231 The Baron E De Mandat-Grancey *Paddy at Home (Chez Paddy)* A P Morton (transl) (London, 1887) pp 135,148, 156-7.

as he returned to Killarney from a shooting outing at Headford. Two men, Moynihan and O'Leary, were arrested for this offence but later discharged due to lack of identification[232].

The gamekeepers in the Kenmare estate had been supplied with revolvers during the Land War[233], and in 1887 the river bailiffs and game watchers were also given guns[234]. In 1887 Con Murphy of Coolies, Lord Kenmare's tenant and water bailiff, was visited by a group of men who demanded his revolver. He surrendered it and some ammunition without resistance, but when departing one man fired low down at Murphy. The bullet shattered and partly severed Murphy's foot above his ankle. Murphy had bled beyond recovery when medical aid arrived, and died. A few weeks previously, on evidence given by Murphy's nephew, a man had been fined £2 for poaching. After wounding Murphy, the assailants went searching for this nephew who, luckily, heard them coming and hid. Four guns were obtained that day, the other three being taken from Fleming, Shea and Lyne. Lyne was a keeper in the Earl's game coverts in Coolies and Gortdromakiery. Murphy's was the fifth murder in the Killarney locality, the other victims being Leahy, Rahilly, Tangney and Sullivan. Up to 13 men were arrested for Con Murphy's murder; some were later discharged. During their trial at Tralee these prisoners openly laughed, and as they were being taken by train back to Killarney they were cheered by onlookers - the police were stoned[235]. Later in 1887 a Thomas Rahilly, described as 'the well-known bailiff on the Kenmare estate' was appointed as a process-server, to replace two civil bill officers who had refused to serve civil processes for rent on behalf of landlords - 'and particularly for Lord Kenmare'[236]. The Plan of Campaign had made significant impact on keepers and bailiffs. It had petered out by 1891, with a victory for Leonard in keeping the Kenmare estates afloat[237], but evictions and aggression against the landlords continued, as did the acquisition of guns. In 1891 Thomas Casey was sentenced to twelve month's hard labour for stealing a revolver from a gamekeeper near Brosna, County Kerry[238].

That it was felt necessary to arm their keepers implied landlords were aware they were the subject of hatred and attack, but game was important and had to be preserved, and in the process the provisions of guns by Lord Kenmare and others proved to be counter productive. This applied especially to revolvers, a small and easily concealed weapon that could be carried inconspicuously and was deadly at close quarters. The actual possession of guns created problems for keepers and bailiffs, making them easily identified targets. From the purposeful manner in which a witness in a poaching offence was pursued, the likelihood was that those involved in game preservation could be ishmaeled within their own communities, and they knew it. In the instances quoted, it appeared that firearms were handed over without a struggle, but in a separate instance about a year previously three men had demanded his gun from Randal M'Sweeny near Killarney, and when M'Sweeny refused he was shot in the hand. Subsequently Michael Healy from Scartaglen was arrested for this crime but

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232 *Kerry Sentinel* 11 October 1887.

233 PRONI, D/4151/K/54. Estate Office Killarney Ledger 1880-81. 29 December 1880 '[paid] John Graham [for] revolvers supplied for keepers £5 2s'.

234 PRONI, D/4151/H/29. Rental and Accounts for half year ending 30 June 1887. Analysed under 'Sundries' - 'J Edwards [paid] £1 3s 6d for revolvers for Bailiffs'

235 *Cork Examiner* 22, 23, 25 February; 1, 2, 3, 9 March 1887. The Rahilly murder may have been that which occurred when a man named Rahilly, a caretaker on a previously evicted farm about two miles from Killarney, was found murdered - *Times* 15 December 1885.

236 *Kerry Sentinel* 18 October 1887.

237 Donnelly...Kenmare Estates...Part III pp 38-40.

238 Ibid. 1 August 1891.

apparently acquitted[239]. Providing firearms for the self-protection of his game keeping staff rebounded on Lord Kenmare himself. In 1886 a force of 22 policemen were reported guarding Killarney House around the clock, and as a result of the land agitation the Earl's shooting on the Kenmare estate could not be let, stated to be a loss of £1,150 a year[240].

Feelings were running very high, and evictions were almost a daily occurrence in the Kenmare estate during the stalking and shooting seasons. These also occurred, though less frequently, in the Herbert estate. Dr Maybury, who had shown much solicitude for a hunted stag when it was captured during one of the Kenmare/Nedeen stag hunts, expelled a man and six orphans in that district[241]. A particularly harrowing eviction of five tenants and their children by Henry Arthur Herbert II from his Muckross estate, and Herbert's further ruthless eviction of the Gleeson family from the Crohane district near Glenflesk, had resulted in women and children being left homeless by the roadside[242]. The damage to property which followed struck at their cherished game preserves. In Herbert's case 129 acres of his game coverts were burned at Knockane, and a further 100 acres at Garryna. The claim for malicious damage came to £180[243]. The reprisals against the fourth Earl ranged from the theft of 44 sheep from Innisfallen Island (leading to a malicious injury claim for £200[244]) to the particularly savage removal of an eye from a valuable mare being grazed by Leonard on an evicted farm (resulting in a claim for £60 compensation[245]). Leonard himself had been described as the most detested land agent, worse even that Samuel Hussey[246]. Lord Kenmare's game coverts were likewise put to the torch. Glena and Gortroe, both deer forests, were burned on 1 April 1887, for which £45 malicious damages were received. Following this the Shronemore coverts were burned on 14 April 1887, the malicious damages coming to ten pounds[247]. Yet more extensive arson attacks against Lord Kenmare continued. In Kerry the Earl's game coverts at Mangerton, Glena (twice), Gortdromakiery and Doocarrig were burned in 1890 and in 1891. For these, together with the burning of his straw at Coolcorcoran, Lord Kenmare received £242 compensation. In his Cork estate at Bantry the game coverts at Rangaroe, Derrynafincha and Curraghkeal were burned in 1891, and compensation for these came to £222 10s[248]. His overall total of £508 10s for malicious injury damages may have gone some way to compensate for the potential letting income the Earl probably lost, but the stark reality that the peasantry could strike back at the epitome of aristocratic class - deer and game preserves - was far more serious for Lord Kenmare.

Maurice Leonard solved the difficulty of having civil processes served by instructing a gamekeeper to deliver the summons. He selected James M'Intosh, the Scot in charge of the deer forests. It was a cunning choice. M'Intosh had been advanced a loan of ten pounds when he came to Killarney, and as this had only been partly repaid, M'Intosh was in no position to refuse. It is probable also that Leonard could not risk instructing a

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239 *Cork Examiner* 9 March 1887.
240 Donnelly...Kenmare Estates...Part III pp 5-6, 43.
241 *Kerry Sentinel* 20 September 1890.
242 Ibid. 31 August 1886; 12 September 1887.
243 Ibid. 21 September 1892.
244 Ibid. 1 May 1889.
245 Ibid. 7 October 1893.
246 Ibid. 19 October 1886, quoting *United Ireland.*
247 PRONI, D/4151/M/17. Cash Book 1886-8, 9 March 1888.
248 PRONI, D/4151/M/18. Cash Book 1891-3, 17 March, 11 April 1892.

local keeper, who might refuse and might not easily be replaced in the troubled conditions then prevailing. Leonard wrote to M'Intosh at Derrycunnihy: 'On receipt of this letter you will serve the enclosed summons. Serve the copy and keep the original - Maurice Leonard'[249]. What the summons related to, or its outcome, was not recorded, but it is pertinent that within months M'Intosh was on his way home to Braemar. He received £13 as travelling expenses for himself and family to return to Scotland, with the added important note 'in lieu of all claims'[250] - a clear implication that he had not been dismissed. It was carefully noted that the advance M'Intosh had received had been temporary[251]. M'Intosh's departure with his family suggests that either he abhorred the job of summons server and decided to quit, or that life was made untenable for him as a result of serving a summons - a task he was effectively forced to undertake. McIntosh's departure meant that the local keeper O'Donoghue of Incheens and Poulagower was now the main gamekeeper in the mountain deer forests, under the head keeper Davidson. Thompson, the former head keeper before Davidson, had also left for home the year before, again in uncertain circumstances. In 1882 a red deer stag had escaped from the Earl's deer park and gone in the direction of Ballyhar. Thompson and Moynihan[252] traced the 12-point stag to Michael Curtain's home at Ballinillane, and when Thompson tried to take away the venison, Curtain and he scuffled. In the subsequent prosecution Curtain was fined £5 on the grounds of having a dead deer in his possession without explanation. He refused to pay, saying he would appeal[253]. In 1885 Thompson quit, and was paid compensation £6 for the tillage in his garden and £4 for the hayseeds, manure, potatoes etc. at Annabeg, which he left behind[254], an indication that he departed quickly.

As soon as M'Intosh left, Davidson went to inspect Incheens[255]. Davidson came from the British tradition of covert shooting, and was now involved in deer management. The visit may have been to check up on O'Donoghue, though it could equally have been on the occasion when RIC Inspector Crane shot his first stag. Crane had already been given permission by Amphlett, lessee of both the Muckross and the Kenmare shootings, to shoot over certain bogs in the Farranfore district, but it was Lord Kenmare himself who allowed him to stalk deer. He shot a ten-point stag, and recalled in later years that 'I can even feel the slap on the back which Donoghue, the stalker, gave me when I killed the stag, and the quiet, austere satisfaction of Davidson, the head keeper'[256]. It hardly needs conjecture as to who got the bigger tip that evening from Crane, who took the stag's head with him and hung it in every house he subsequently occupied. The replacement of M'Intosh by O'Donoghue was typical of a developing pattern. The difference in personalities between English and Scotch keepers and the home-grown native gamekeeper was being commented on by other sportsmen, both visitors and Irish. Lord Rossmore, owner of 14,839 acres in County Monaghan[257], described his strongly-recommended

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[249] PRONI, D/4151/ G/31. Letter Book 1885-93, letter No 105, 1 October 1885.

[250] PRONI, D/4151/H/28. Rental and Accounts for half year to 31 December 1886, analysed under 'Sundries'.

[251] PRONI, D/4151/K/56. Killarney Estate Office Ledger 1886-89, memo on p 15. Leonard noted that M'Intosh had 'refunded £6 6s 8d to Mr Leonard and stated before leaving in October 1886 that he refunded the balance to Michael Doran (decd)'. As this could not be confirmed and had not been recorded, the balance due was transferred to 'Suspense Account' - effectively written off by Leonard.

[252] M Moynihan was the gamekeeper at Kilcummin, a townland adjacent to Kenmare's deer park, at a yearly salary of £8 - PRONI, D/4151/K/54. Estate Office Killarney Ledger, 24 April 1882.

[253] *Kerry Sentinel* 27 October 1882. See also the *Kerry Evening Post* 28 October 18882.

[254] PRONI, D/4151/K/55. Killarney Estate Office Ledger, 15 May 1885.

[255] PRONI, D/4151/H/28. Rental and Accounts for half year to 31 December 1886, analysed under 'Sundries'.

[256] Crane...*Memories*... p 102.

[257] Bateman...*Great Landowners*... p 387. See also Bence-Jones...*Irish Country Houses*... p 247.

Scottish keeper as 'a deuced lazy fellow' who mismanaged his 10,000 acres of grouse moor, made a shambles of a grouse shoot specially organised for the Duke of Connaught, and was dismissed. Lord Rossmore claimed the most efficient keeper he had was Mrs Anne Holland, a local Irish woman and widow of one of his Irish keepers, who terrorised the local poachers by shooting first and asking questions afterwards[258]. The mid-19th century British sportsman and naturalist, A E Knox, spoke of the 'light-hearted merriment and good temper' he experienced with his Irish beaters and ghillies in Connaught[259]. The veteran British shooter Charles K Akroyd, while wildfowling in the Belmullet district of County Mayo during the agrarian troubles of the 1880s, received the 'greatest civility and kindness from the peasantry' - it was the landlords they hated - and he thoroughly enjoyed the laughter and jokes of his guide Kelly[260]. And not all Scotch stewards imported for their expertise were exemplary. During their investigation into the murder at Derryveagh, the police described Grierson as 'a Scotsman of very low class...drunken and reckless'[261]. Bence-Jones, himself of gentry stock, has written that in general the Irish ascendancy considered their Irish servants to be 'better gamekeepers, ghillies and grooms' than their English counterparts[262]. They had the advantage of intimate local knowledge of people and country.

The last decade of the 19th century witnessed a surge in field sport lettings for the Muckross and Kenmare estates, coinciding with a similar flourishing in Britain. The period 1880-1910 was considered the heyday of Scottish Highland deer stalking[263], and the proliferation of deer forests there by the century's end had so increased that by 1895 Millais reported 111 deer forests in Scotland, with 2,000,000 acres devoted to red deer[264]. Orr, in his far more detailed study, suggests that by 1895 there were 137 deer forests, and between 2,500,000 and 2,800,000 acres reserved for red deer in Scotland[265]. By comparison with the two Killarney deer forests, some of the large Scottish forests had massive annual rents. Examples were: £20,720 in Sutherland - Tongue district; £18,163 and £15,731 in Lewis; and £12,600 in Cromartie[266]. As to profitability, the estate accounts of the 24,000-acre Balfour forest of Strathconan revealed that for the period 1853-90, the annual average rental was £2,850, against average expenditure of £2,944[267]. This was more comparable to what Amphlett was reported as paying for his 23,000 acres of deer stalking and game shooting in Killarney by the mid 1880s, then considered a bargain. By 1896 Cameron of Lochiel said Scottish deer forest annual rents varied from £2,500 down to £250, which he considered 'a fair range... But [that] no true comparison can be made [in Scotland] as regards cost'[268].

The lettings of the Kenmare estate's shootings and stalkings showed that the Earl's Bantry shootings - generally termed the Cork shootings in his ledger accounts - were more frequently leased out than was his

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258 Lord Rossmore *Things I Can Tell* (London, 1912) pp 206-9. Mrs Holland had asked for the position following her husband's death, and proceeded to quickly deal with the local poachers, when appointed by Rossmore.
259 Martin ...*Glorious Grouse*... pp 32-6.
260 Charles K Akroyd *A Veteran Sportsman's Diary* (Inverness, 1926) pp 144-9.
261 Vaughan... *Sin, Sheep and Scotsmen*... p 47.
262 Bence-Jones...*Twilight*... p 59.
263 Hart-Davis...*Monarchs of the Glen*... p 163.
264 Millais...*Mammals of Great Britain*... p 115.
265 Orr...*Deer Forests*... p 46.
266 Ibid. p 213.
267 Ibid. pp 211-12.
268 Cameron of Lochiel 'Deer-Stalking' in ...*Red Deer* ... p 74.

Killarney deer stalking. Initially, the Cork shootings were regularly advertised; later in the 1890s, the Kerry shootings and deer stalking were also advertised. The sporting journals and newspapers used included the *Field, Land & Water, Daily Express, Cork Constitution, Irish Times, Midland Counties Herald;* and services of agents such as French & Co, E Paton & Son, Watson, Lyall & Co, Stephen Grant & Co were utilised[269]. The Earl's game and deer stalking accounts for the 26 years 1875-1900 are summarised in Appendix 6. This illustrates the effect that the troubled times of the Land War and the subsequent Plan of Campaign had on lettings, when both the game shooting and deer stalking went virtually unlet. Why the financial reporting included the Glena fishery lettings, and from 1891 onwards the Lough Leane commercial fisheries, in the Game Accounts is difficult to explain. Maurice Leonard had written in 1889 to the Trustees appointed by the Standard Life Assurance Company that he needed at least £2000 per annum to '...preserve from absolute ruin the different home parks, deer park and deer forest...'[270]. The inclusion of commercial fisheries biased the Game Accounts into a profitable result in some years, and was perhaps one reason for their inclusion - creative accounting.

For these commercial fisheries, salmon caught in the river Laune (that carried the lake's outflow) constituted a far more important source of revenue than fish taken from the lakes. The numbers and sales values of salmon, analysed separately by Maurice Leonard towards the century's end, revealed how significant the commercial fisheries were. For the 20-year period 1873 to 1892, a total of 27,161 salmon were taken from the Killarney lakes, whereas 171,708 salmon were taken from the Laune river[271]. For the 22-year period 1876 to 1897, the total amount paid for salmon by Dodd and Power, Killorglin, came to £13, 795. Muckross benefited mostly, receiving £6,759; the Cahirnane Herberts received £3,973, and the Kenmare estate received the balance, £3,063, for Glena[272]. The Glena fishery letting was taken by the head gamekeeper Davidson, and is shown separately in Appendix 6; the costs and income from salmon fishing on the Killarney lakes are omitted. Although significant income from deer stalking occurred in the three seasons 1892, 1893 and 1894, it is clear that, overall, game shooting and deer stalking were operating at a loss. From about the second half of the 1890s onwards, the charging of expenses and salaries to game became haphazard and incomplete, and cannot be regarded as representing what game really cost.

Presumably Davidson had rented the Glena fishery because his own salary had by then fallen into arrears, and, as he had the experience in England of taking game preserves himself and then sub-letting them, operating the fishery was one way open to him to make money. A quarter year's salary of £22, due to him in 1886, was not paid until 1888, and by the century's end the balance of his salary for 1892 was only paid, in two instalments, in 1899 and 1900[273]. The reason for these and other arrears was succinctly summed up by Maurice Leonard in a letter to the Bishop of Kerry concerning a lapsed pension paid by Lord Kenmare to the parish priest of Kilcummin. Leonard wrote:

> The "No Rent Manifest" was issued by "The Irish land League" in the year 1881, and in consequence payment of Rent was practically stopped on Lord Kenmare's Estate. Owing to this the Estate had to be placed under the control of Trustees for a period

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269 Advertisement sources are the same as those given in Appendix 6.

270 Quoted in Donnelly...Kenmare Estates...Part 111 p 34. Donnelly interpreted this to refer to intrusion by invading tenants.

271 PRONI, D/4151/G/39. Kenmare Estate Particulars, in letter-style book, p 59; signed Maurice Leonard 27 January [18]95.

272 MHA, Kenmare Papers. Payments made for Salmon, 1876-1897, to the three proprietors in Killarney Lakes, 24 November 1897.

273 PRONI, D/4151/K/56. Killarney Office Estate Ledger, 12 May 1888; D/4151/H/54. Rental and Accounts for half year to December 1899; D/4151/L/9. Journal 1899-1902, 15 January 1900.

> of 7 years. Interest on the mortgages on the Estate fell into arrear, and the agent of the Estate at the time [Mr S M Hussey] was called on to pay all charges in strict Legal priority....In this year [1888] the agitation against payment of all Rents on the Estate was renewed under the "Plan of Campaign" - a conspiracy which was brought under the Notice of the Holy See and condemned....In consequence of this the Legal Charges on the Estate fell more heavily into arrear than in 1881 and the agent [Mr M Leonard] was bound by Deed to pay them in strict legal priority[274].

It was a terse revelation of the Earl's financial plight, and underscored his need to lease out his shootings.

Among those who leased the shootings was Captain Sir Thomas Freake and his party, recorded as taking the Earl's preserves 'for a long period' - Lord and Lady Churchston were to join them later[275]. His lease allowed Sir Thomas Freake, of Dartmouth, England, the shooting of the Kerry estate 'estimated to contain 91,000 statute acres or thereabouts', subject to the reservations that:

> (a) no ducks, swans or coot are to be shot in the Lakes of Killarney
>
> (b) no hen pheasants to be shot
>
> (c) rabbits are to be shot only in the course of shooting, and are not to be trapped
>
> (d) no deer to be shot or hunted
>
> (e) no hares to be shot

Freake was allowed control over the estate's gamekeepers, and could sublet the shootings subject to the Earl's approval. In the event of any dispute, the matter would be referred to the arbitration of 'two disinterested gentlemen'[276]. This was a neat point, based on the premise that only gentlemen could understand the niceties and subtleties of a gentleman's sport, and decide what was or was not acceptable behaviour by a gentleman. The commission on Freake's rent was £25 - five per cent[277]. A shooting letting to Lord Conway went unrecorded, except for an expense item of £9 5s 6d paid as commission at two and a half percent to Watson & Lyall 'on Lord Conway's rent'[278]. Lord Conway has not been identified, and his rent, which would have been about £370, was not recorded in the game accounts. He may have been of the Conway-Seymor family of Killultagh, the country east of Lough Neagh, County Antrim, who had a long history of hunting[279].

The Kenmares had a special swan house constructed in 1878[280], and as the cost was then charged to the game account, it remains unclear if the exclusion of swans was simply for their aesthetic pleasure or for the preservation of a game species. Wild swans - probably whooper swans - were regarded as game during the severe winter of 1882, and a wildfowler who shot some at that time said his actions were 'much to the disgust of the natives, who had some superstitious notions about them, and did not consider it *right* they should be killed'[281]. Some idea of game numbers killed at the time are contained in returns by the head gamekeeper Davidson. For the three seasons 1883-4, 1884-5 and 1885-6, these show that at least a total of 6,326 head of

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274 MHA, Kenmare Papers. Draft Statement re the Kilcummin Parish - letter to the Right Revd, the Bishop of Kerry. Signed Maurice Leonard, 24 December 1895 This draft listed all parish priests of Kilcummin for the period 1748-1872.

275 *Kerry Evening Post* 2 December 1893.

276 PRONI, D/4151/G/38. Estate Particulars Letter Book 1888-94, Memorandum of Agreement... pp 383-5.

277 PRONI, D/4151/L/7. Killarney Estate Office Journal 1892-5, 23 June 1893.

278 Ibid. 31 December 1892.

279 See the Introduction by James Fairley in Stringer...*Experienced Huntsman*... pp 3-5.

280 PRONI, D/4151/M/13. Cash Book 1877-8, 12 July 1878. The wages paid, £1 10s, were charged to 'game'.

281 *Irish Sportsman* 16 December 1882. The emphasis was as then written.

game were bagged, comprising 419 grouse, 385 partridge, 686 pheasants, 1850 woodcock, 861 snipe, 518 hares, 1384 rabbits, 64 duck, 92 teal and 67 wigeon - the entries are unclear or illegible for some species. Davidson added that 'a great many more woodcock and snipe could be added to this list, as they were never close shot. Hundreds of golden plover are also not added to the list of above three years shootings, for which time it was let'[282]. The game accounts for these years show that lettings were made to Captain Wade, Colonel Jenkins and Captain Morrogh for the Bantry shootings, but it remains unclear whether Davidson's returns referred exclusively to the Cork estate. If so, then the Bantry shootings would have been a bargain, and the records show that they were the most frequently let. Con Cronin was the head keeper at Bantry, and he occasionally had the assistance of three others - J Cronin, G Cronin and C Cotter; the number and individuals varied. Initially Con Cronin had an annual salary of £5, with an additional £5 for shooting game and posting it on to Killarney, 'for his lordship'[283]. In 1884 he was supplied with a breechloader[284], and continued to supply game to Killarney House in most seasons. In 1887 his salary had increased to £22 per annum. He also was given a game licence, sold game directly from Bantry, and remitted the proceeds to Killarney. In seasons varying from 1888 to 1891 the Killarney estate office received a total of £66 4s from Con Cronin's game sales. Ammunition was supplied to Cronin by G T Vickery, Bantry; the mountains were regularly poisoned and notice of same advertised in the *Skibbereen Eagle.* A watcher, T Sullivan, was employed as bailiff on the Borlin river[285].

In contrast, income from deer stalking in the Kenmare deer forests was noticeably limited, and stalking was mostly by the Kenmares themselves or their friends. In 1888 Killarney House and the shooting of the Earl's parks were let to the Earl of Brownlow for three months - Lord Kenmare and family left for England. Lord Brownlow and entourage arrived on 22 August, and were joined briefly on 3 October by the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Londonderry, and his suite, who left again on 6 October, unobtrusively, without meeting the local people and without any public welcome or farewell - this was during the Plan of Campaign[286]. Whether deer stalking was indulged in by Brownlow or the Lord Lieutenant remains unknown, though deer may have been shot in the Earl's more accessible and secure lowlands and woods, where a population of red deer is implied by contemporary compensation for deer trespass. In 1880 John Kissane of Tureen was paid £2 in lieu of all claims for trespass by deer[287]. Lord Kenmare also kept red deer within his deer park, and his source was made clear in 1889 when his workmen spent four weeks driving deer into his park[288]. That this may have been deer being shifted about because a golf course was created, or about to be created, at the time within the deer park[289] is hardly a feasible reason, as this would not have necessitated four consecutive weeks' driving, and in any case

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[282] PRONI, D/4151/G/38. Estate Particulars Letter Book, p 278; D/4151/M/15 - 25 July 1880; and MHA, K.33E.4.

[283] PRONI, D/4151/H/13. Rental and Accounts for half year to 30 June 1879.

[284] PRONI, D/4151/K/55. Killarney Estate Office Ledger 1883-5, 'Paid T Murray & Co £5 12s for breechloader for Cronin, Cork keeper' 20 December 1884. Donnelly states that Cronin was a land grabber who was put in possession of an evicted farm in Bantry, and thus the reason for supplying him with a gun - Donnelly...Kenmare Estates...Part 11, p 91.

[285] PRONI, D/4151/K/53.; D/4151/M/17.; D/4151/K/53.; D/4151/K/54.; D/4151/K 55.; D/4151/K/56.; D/4151/H/31.; D/4151/H/34.; D/4151/H/35.; D/4151/H/36.; D/4151/H/38.; D/4151/M/18.

[286] *Kerry Sentinel* 18, 22 August, 3, 6 October 1888. Two years previously in 1886 Maurice Leonard had told Lord Kenmare not to let Killarney House - it would be a signal to the tenants that funds were lacking to fight them - see Donnelly ... Kenmare Estates...Part 111, p 6. See also Crane...*Memories...* p 115.

[287] PRONI, D/4151/M/15.; and D/4151/H/15.

[288] PRONI, D/4151/K/56. Killarney Estate Office Ledger 1886-9, 11, 25 May, 1 June 1889.

[289] Donal Hickey *Queen of Them All: a History of Killarney Golf and Fishing Club 1893-1993* (Killarney, 1993) p 7. Hickey suggests that although tradition holds that golf started in the deer park in 1891, golf was played from the late 1880s in the area.

deer were still being shot in the deer park as late as 1905[290]. The implication of this extensive deer drive may have been that it was found necessary to supplement the numbers of emparked deer, or that some fresh blood was thought necessary to be introduced there, but irrespective of the reason, the decision to round up deer from outside and drive them into the deer park was an indication that a viable population of wild red deer occupied the Earl's woods and lowlands.

In 1892 Lord Kenmare and head keeper Davidson were red deer stalking with Lord Cloncurry, who with his suite stayed at the Lake View Hotel. According to Mr Doran, the hotel proprietor, Cloncurry stalked 'principally in the Tomies mountain district', and had shot 'about 40 stags altogether'[291]. The numbers of red deer implied by that newspaper report are so much in conflict with other contemporary evidence that a critical analysis is needed. The Tomies mountain district was part of the Muckross estate, and unless specific permission had been obtained to shoot there, Cloncurry would have been trespassing, and the aristocratic Earl was most unlikely to have trespassed. It is more probable that they stalked Lord Kenmare's own deer forest of Glena, which marched with Tomies (Map, and Appendix 2). If so, then the number of stags reported shot - 'about 40' - would have meant that the estimated red deer population in the Glena forest, on the basis of two Scottish red deer forest management systems, was then considered to be between about 400 and 1,000 red deer[292]. These would have been exceptionally high, if not impossible, deer numbers for Glena, and do not tally with other information from the Kenmare estate. In that same year, 1892, a Kenmare estate lease agreement for deer stalking made clear that for all other Kenmare deer forests in the Derrycunnihy district, the numbers of red deer were far less. The terms of lease were:

> Kenmare Estate.
>
> 1. If the rent is for twelve months, these shootings will be let for £1,000 from 1 November 1892 to 1 November 1893. Exclusive of the rabbit warren which if required will be let for the same term for £250.
>
> 2. Deer Stalking. This shooting is limited to the Derrycunnihy Forest, and to 14 stags and 6 hinds.
>
> 3. Fishing. The joint right to fish the Flesk, Maine and Lakes.
>
> 4. Keepers. 3 Inside and 6 outside.
>
> 5. Woodcock usually allowed about the 20th Nov.
>
> 6. Rabbits if they are still kept up. 600 can be shot under this letting but are not to be trapped or snared.
>
> 7. Wild duck in Lakes excluded from letting.
>
> ---- Maurice Leonard[293].

It is pertinent that the 14 stags allowed match almost exactly the 15 stags implied during Amphlett's tenancy about ten years previously, as evidenced during the Water Tanks hearings, and discussed above. On the basis of Leonard's official terms, the Kenmare estate would have estimated the red deer population in the Derrycunnihy forests to have been either 140 or 350, depending on which Scottish deer forest culling practice is applied. The Derrycunnihy deer forests contained 5,363 acres, whereas the Glena forest contained only 2,063 acres. Even if

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290 PRONI, D/4151/P/1. Game Book of Valentine, Viscount Castlerosse, 4-30 September 1905.

291 *Kerry Sentinel* 29 October 1892. This report called Kenmare's head keeper 'Mr Davis', obviously an error. Lord Cloncurry was from the Lawless family of County Kildare - see Bence-Jones...*Irish Country Houses...* pp 196-7.

292 See Whitehead...*Deer of Gt Britain...* pp 185-8; Viscount Ebrington 'Stag-Hunting' in *Red Deer* ...p 269 - both already discussed above.

293 PRONI, D/4151/G/38. Estate Particulars Letter Book, 22 October 1892, p 357.

the Muckross estate's entire Upper Lake deer forests - assuming that Muckross may have permitted Cloncurry to stalk them - were added to the Kenmare forest of Glena (and it would have been unlikely that one of these, the forest of Looscaunach - separated from the general Tomies district by the Killarney Valley - would have been included), the additional acreage would still only have just about equalled the combined forests at Derrycunnihy, with its stag cull limited to 14 animals. And as will be seen later, at this time the Muckross estate considered that the red deer population on its own entire deer forests - larger than the Kenmare forests combined - came to only 350 animals, at most[294]. If Lord Cloncurry did shoot up to 40 stags in the 1892 season, then he was allowed to seriously overshoot the red deer population 'in the Tomies district'. Doran had told the *Kerry Sentinel* that most of the stags shot by Cloncurry were packed and sent off by train to his friends. Among the venison sent out must have been the stags' heads, though some may have been left behind. When Doran put the Lake View Hotel up for sale four years later in 1896, included in the list of items for sale were some stags' heads[295].

No further letting of the Kenmare deer forests were recorded for the remainder of the 1890s, but deer supplied to Killarney House in 1897 and 1898 provide an example of the numbers culled for home consumption. The totals for both years came to 17 stags, one buck and one 'Japanese' (sic), valued at £54 1s[296]. The buck may well have been a fallow buck from the deer park, and the Japanese deer was undoubtedly from the sika herd now established. There was intense deer forest activity in these years, with men employed in burning the forests[297]. The average of only eight or nine stags per season sent to the House may have been more a reflection of what the household could eat rather than the amount of red stags available, as a considerable amount of other game was additionally supplied in these two seasons[298]. Rabbits featured during the 1890s as both food for the House and game sold. In 1891 Davidson collected £23 5s 10d for selling rabbits[299], and for 1892 and 1893 together rabbit sales had increased to £139 18s 2d (for 2,864 rabbits), a sum which exceeded the salmon sales (£98 18s 1d) for 1893[300], and was close to two year's letting income from the Cork shootings. Rabbits had long been regarded as part of a farmer's livestock. In the 18th century, detailed advice was published in Dublin on breeding methods for wild and tame animals[301], and rabbit husbandry had an extensive history with the Kenmares. When Lord Chief Baron Edward Willes visited Killarney in 1760 he observed that Lord Kenmare had one of his islands in Lough Leane well stocked with rabbits[302], while an account contemporary with Davidson's sales confirmed that rabbits were plentiful in Kenmare's deer park[303], where they were jealously guarded. In 1896 Paddy Doyle was fined ten shillings and solicitor's costs for stealing one rabbit from the Earl of Kenmare[304].

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294 This is described below in dealing with the sale of the Muckross estate in 1899.

295 *Kerry Sentinel* 21 October 1896.

296 PRONI, D/4151/P/7. Cash Book - Earl of Kenmare's Game Account, listed under 'Value of Game sent to the House for 1897 and 1898'.

297 Ibid. Analysed under weekly wages costs. 20 men in May 1898 burned Gortroe for one day and 19 men burned Poulagower for a half-day, followed by 20 men burning Poulagower and Ullauns, and 23 men burning Glena - total cost £7 5s.

298 Ibid. Analysed under 'Value of Game sent to the House'. This included three pairs of pheasants (13s 6d), 20 woodcock (£2 4s), 121 snipe (£5 19s 2d), 46 hares (£4 16s 6d), and 1035 rabbits (£51 15s), and game (unspecified) valued at £16 8s was given for presents.

299 PRONI, D/4151/H/38. Rental and Accounts for half year to 30 June 1891.

300 PRONI, D/4151/M/18. Cash Book 1891-3.

301 *A Complete Body of Husbandry* Vol III (Dublin, 1757) pp 82-9.

302 Willes...*Letters*... p 63.

303 *Kerry Sentinel* 15 October 1890.

304 Ibid. 25 April 1896.

Despite contributions from land sales to tenants, encouraged by further Land Acts - the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act 1885 (the Ashbourne Act) and the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act 1891 (the Balfour Act) - the Kenmare estate at the century's end was still in debt. They still possessed extensive land holdings, and their friendship with British royals and aristocracy ensured that the Brownes would be spared the ignominy of bankruptcy. The fourth Earl called in the substantial sum of £100,000 by selling Hengrave Hall, an estate of 4,500 acres near Bury St Edmonds, England[305]. His royal connections were impeccably maintained. In 1889 the Earl was favoured by Queen Victoria's gift of her Jubilee Medal[306]. When the queen's grandson, the Duke of Clarence, was seriously ill in 1892, his father the Prince of Wales informed the Earl by telegram that the 'situation was very grave...'[307]. And it was the visit of the Duke and Duchess of York in 1897 that presented the Earl with his best opportunity of escaping from his debts. The Herbert estate likewise hoped for redemption, and before the visit, typical speculation was revived that Muckross House and estate would be acquired as a royal residence, and that a stag hunt would be improvised for the pleasure of the aristocratic visitors[308]. The Lord Lieutenant, who accompanied the royals and their suites, sent detailed arrangements beforehand to the Earl[309]. One anticipatory press article claimed that Lord Kenmare's 'Kerry estate may be termed a sportsman's paradise, for though the deer forest does not compare in its yield to those of the highlands, there are grouse moors, pheasant and partridge shooting, besides plenty of snipe, woodcock and hares and rabbits, whilst the salmon and other fishing is of the very best'[310]. It was an obvious invitation, once more, to have Killarney House and the Earl's estate purchased as a royal residence. But when the purchase of Muckross House for the same purpose received support from the British press, including the *Lady's Pictorial,* which described Muckross House as 'a roomy but not very handsome house', the rumour was quickly discounted[311]. The Duke was described as being 'visibly nervous' at his public reception, which was low key and 'strangely quiet' - only one person shouted a greeting[312]. While the Duchess with a large entourage of followers and press went boating on the lakes, the Duke went deer stalking with his companion Derrick Kepple and the Earl's gamekeepers 'to the mountains in the vicinity of Lord Kenmare's deer park'. As the deer park was lowland pasture it remains unclear whether he stalked in that park, or in the deer forests, which were sometimes erroneously referred to in local press reports as the Earl's deer park. The Duke had only started off by mid-morning, and the account, embellished with long passages of hyperbole, made no mention of any animals shot. He and the Duchess were met by sullen onlookers, guarded by rows of RIC police, when his departure train stopped at Farranfore Junction and Killorglin[313]. It was very evident that Killarney was no locus of loyal subjects among whom royalty could reside in secure comfort.

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[305] Ibid. 23 September 1893.

[306] MHA, Kenmare Papers. Original letter from Osbourne, signed by Arthur Biggs, 21 August 1889.

[307] Ibid. Original telegram from Sandringham through Killarney Post Office, signed Albert Edward, 13 January 1892. The Duke of Clarence died of pneumonia in January 1892.

[308] *Kerry Evening Post* 4 August 1897; *Kerry Weekly Reporter* 14, 21 August 1897.

[309] MHA, Kenmare Papers. Original letter from the Vice Regal Lodge, Dublin, 20 August 1897.

[310] *Kerry Sentinel* 18 August 1897.

[311] Ibid. 21 August 1897.

[312] Ibid. 1 September 1897.

[313] *Kerry Weekly Reporter* 4 September 1897.

Muckross estate and House was occupied by the Hon. A Burke and family for the 1890-91 shooting season, and the following year the letting was taken by Captain A Greville for 12 months[314]. What numbers and species were killed was not reported. The malicious burning of 229 acres of the Muckross game coverts in 1892, resulting in a claim for £180 compensation[315], may have been one reason why no further lettings appear to have occurred until 1897. From 1894 the estate was managed by Captain Herbert's son and heir, Henry Arthur Edward Keane Herbert III (1867-1931), who had trust of the estate handed over to him by his father when he returned to Muckross in 1896 with his young bride[316]. During this last decade of the century, both the native red deer and the imported Japanese sika deer were inhabiting the Muckross woods and Muckross demesne. Evidence of this was provided by the visit of cyclists - a new and as yet elitist sport - in late August 1894. They were permitted to camp in Muckross demesne by 'Mr Herbert' - most probably Keane Herbert - near where the former Torc Cottage stood, by then in ruins but lived in by a local man Counihan, who was their guide. They recalled that 'at night time from the thickets rose the peculiar whistle of the Japanese deer, or the branches crashed before the flying forms of the huge red deer, which are so plentiful at Killarney'[317]. It was an accurate description of rutting calls of sika bucks, the term then applied to sika males[318]. As the cyclists arrived during the shooting and stalking season, it indicated that Muckross House may have been then unlet, and possibly unlet also the following year when 'Mr Herbert... kindly placed the banqueting hall in Muckross house at the disposal of the cyclists' if the weather should prove wet[319].

This report, and the fact that the Kenmares were eating them, showed that sika deer were now prolific in Killarney and occupying the same lowland woodland habitat as the native red deer. That this might result in hybridisation between both species did not seem to concern the owner-landlords, though it was already known by then that this was happening in the artificial conditions of park confinement. The naturalist Harting, having described the red x sika hybridisation that Lord Powerscourt had initiated in Wicklow, observed that hybridisation had now also occurred in Castlewellan between red and sika, adding that sika were obviously the male parent[320]. This was alarming news, if anyone cared to worry. The sika sent by Powerscourt to Killarney, as events turned out, were true specimens of Japanese sika - *Cervus nippon*. If hybridisation had occurred in his Wicklow park by the time Powerscourt sent sika as gifts to Killarney, then it was exceptionally fortunate that he did not send some of his hybrids. Much larger animals, the hybrids would undoubtedly have interbred with the native red deer stock. It was just as lucky that Powerscourt did not send some of the wapiti he had imported. The European red deer, *Cervus elaphus* (the Irish race is *C. elaphus scoticus*) are conspecific with wapiti, *C. elaphus canadensis*, but the American wapiti had evolved to become a larger animal with significantly larger and heavier antlers. Its importation to Britain had an extensive history[321]. Red deer and wapiti had already interbred

314 *Kerry Sentinel* 30 August 1890; 26 August 1891.
315 Ibid. 21 September 1892.
316 Ibid. 6 October 1894; 25 April 1896.
317 Ibid. 3 October 1894, quoting the *Irish Cyclist.*
318 Ryan...*Wild Red Deer of Killarney*... p 29.
319 *Kerry Sentinel* 14 August 1895.
320 *Field* 31 October 1903.
321 Whitehead...*Deer of Great Britain*... pp 414-7.

successfully in Caledon deer park, County Tyrone[322]. The offspring were not, of course, true European red deer. Had Herbert or Kenmare imported wapiti to Killarney, the native race would most probably have been irretrievably altered.

At the century's end, the British practice of introducing fresh blood was mirrored in the Killarney deer forests, when red deer from Scotland were introduced to Muckross, and possibly also, but less certain, to the Kenmare deer forests. As the dates of introduction remain uncertain, and indeed may have happened in the early years of the 20th century, this is dealt with in the next chapter; other introductions of deer to Ireland in the last quarter of the 19th century are here discussed. A deer forest was established in Glenveagh, County Donegal, in 1891, by Mrs Adair, widow of John George Adair who had orchestrated the evictions in nearby Derryveagh[323]. It was an exceptional enterprise by Irish standards, as the entire forest was railed off with an iron fence, approximately 26 miles in length, which still survives today. Initially stocked with Scottish red deer, more introductions have continued, and are comprehensively summarised by MacLochlainn[324]. At Lissadell, County Sligo, roe deer (*Capreolus capreolus*), a species not recorded in the archaeological record and thus considered new to Ireland, were introduced between 1870 and 1880[325]. These caused extensive woodland damage and, according to Barclay, 'they did so much mischief that they were finally got rid of about the year 1900'. They are regarded in the literature as having been shot to extinction.

The sale of Muckross House and estate had been an item of recurring comment since 1889, when the sale of the furniture, objects d'art, china and a library of c.3,000 volumes, in all 1,419 lots, were reported to be on the market[326]. That sale was cancelled, but a month later local gossip alleged, erroneously, that an 'American Plutus' had purchased the estate[327]. Standard Life Assurance Company's agent, Ralph Sneyd, took the shooting and deer stalking of the House and estate from 1897[328]. He and his wife proved to be locally popular. But irrespective of Sneyd's sporting pleasures, when the Herberts could not repay their debt of £36,000, his employers finally took direct action and purchased Muckross House and estate in 1898, sold off the lands to the tenantry, and finally put Muckross House and the residue of the estate up for public auction, in 1899[329]. Hope was expressed locally that Ralph Sneyd might be the ultimate purchaser of the House and estate, now just over 14,000 acres, including the demesne and deer forests, especially as Sneyd, Lord Brackley and Herbert were coming on 11 August for the grouse shooting. (Both Mr and Mrs Sneyd were charitable to the local poor, donating money and fuel, and sending gifts of venison to the local Workhouse[330]). Sneyd and his party came and shot 19 brace of grouse before breakfast on 14 August. Deer stalking opened on the following day, 15 August[331], a fortnight before the usual commencement on the first of September.

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322 *Field* 5 August 1899. This report by Elizabeth Caledon confirmed that wapiti, introduced by Lord Caledon six years previously, had interbred with red deer in Caledon Park, County Tyrone.

323 Vaughan... *Sin, Sheep, Scotsmen...* p 65.

324 Colman P MacLochlainn 'Aspects of the Ecology of Red Deer in Glenveagh National Park, County Donegal', MSc(Ag) Thesis (UCD, 1982), p 11. Introductions, totalling 231 red deer (68 stags and 163 hinds) are listed for the period 1891 – 1966.

325 Edgar N Barclay 'The Introduction and Extermination of Roe Deer in Ireland' in *Natural History* Magazine, No 3 (1932) pp 265-7. See also Millais...*Mammals of Gt Britain* ... pp 159, 166.

326 *Kerry Evening Post* 18, 25 May; 1 June 1889.

327 *Kerry Sentinel* 26 June 1889.

328 Ibid. 18 September 1897.

329 Moss...*Standard Life...* p 110.

330 *Kerry Sentinel* 5 August, 29 November 1899.

331 Ibid. 19 August 1899.

The sale of Muckross House and estate became a matter of national and international comment and controversy, and swiftly became known as the selling off of 'Killarney'. Hopes that it would not fall into the hands of speculators, or 'greedy syndicates', or 'some churl' were regularly voiced in the media, and it was repeatedly advocated that it should be bought by the government for the nation, as a national park[332]. However, the British government had no intention of buying. Mr A J Balfour, First Lord of the Treasury (and nephew of Mary Herbert) told the House of Commons that 'The policy of purchasing public parks so far [distant] from great centres of population, and which would not be of great value to the public during many winter months, seems very doubtful indeed'[333]. Arthur J Balfour, who enjoyed deer stalking - he disliked the large slaughter in game shooting - was in no mood to take over his Irish cousin's deer forests, and had already sold his own Strathconan deer forest to Mr Combes in 1891[334]. When his brother, Gerald Balfour, Chief Secretary for Ireland, visited Killarney the year previously in 1898, it was announced he would stay at Dunesfort, Killarney - not Muckross - and he went on to visit the Lansdownes at Derreen[335], an indication that the family connection with Muckross must by then have become indifferent. Though some were philanthropic, like Sir Thomas Lipton who reportedly offered to buy Muckross for £60,000 and give it to the nation[336], there were many who wanted Muckross for their exclusive commercial benefit. Boss Croker and a Mr Peck of America were reported to have American millionaires lined up to build mansions - skyscrapers - with frontage on the Lakes[337], while Kerry County Council wanted a public road made from the front entrance of Muckross House, through the demesne, to Dinis Cottage, free of charges[338]. A syndicate of Americans intended to develop the Lakes, and requested Lord Kenmare's permission to place electric gondolas on Lough Leane. Luckily, and nobly, the Earl refused, saying it was not compatible with Killarney's enchantment, and would adversely affect the local boatmen[339].

The elaborate prospectus of sale, already described[340] (Chapter 3), contained important references to the deer stalking and game shooting at Muckross. It advised that 'The deer forests have no rival in Ireland...the Woodcock shooting is stated to be the best in the United kingdom...there is good all-round shooting...there is fair Salmon and Trout Fishing...Cottages for a Head-Keeper, two Under-Keepers...a Keeper's Lodge'. It gave specific information on the extent of the deer forests, already discussed. Concerning the deer population itself, the auctioneers had this to say: 'These Deer Forests are the Finest in Ireland. They have been carefully preserved for centuries past, and are well stocked with splendid Red Deer and Japanese Deer. The average number shot annually is about 25 Red Deer Stags, 15 barren Hinds, and seven Japanese Deer, but this number could be considerably increased without injury to the herd, which is estimated at the present time to consist of upwards of 350 head'. The information on woodcock shooting was a copy from Payne-Gallwey's publication - 1,250 birds when Lord Elcho had the shooting[341].

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332 *Irish Builder* June 1899; *Kerry Sentinel* 10 May 1899; *Irish Field* 16 September 1899; *Times* 26 May 1899, *An Gaodhal* No 3, Vol XVIII (New York, June 1899) pp 67-8.
333 *Freeman's Journal* 20 June 1899.
334 Egremont...*Balfour*... pp 28, 105.
335 *Kerry Sentinel*... 20, 24 August 1898.
336 Ibid. 9 September 1899
337 Ibid. 5, 9 August 1899.
338 Ibid. 18 November 1899.
339 Ibid. 21 October 1899.
340 MHA. James H North & Co. *Muckross Sale Prospectus* (1899).
341 Ibid. pp 3-5.

The claim that the deer forests had been carefully preserved for centuries was without foundation. The forests had only been established for half a century, and on the evidence of Ross in 1874, the red deer had been persecuted by the Herberts until the 1840s. But auctioneers are not known for downgrading their client's assets, and the deer numbers quoted must be taken as the very best estimate that could be mustered. The numbers quoted - an average of 25 stags and 15 hinds culled annually against an estimated total of up to 350 animals - carried the clear implication that culling was based on the Scottish method of taking one eighth to one tenth of the total herd. The alternative basis of a stag as one twenty-fifth of the herd would have given a total of over 600 red deer on the forest - something the auctioneers would certainly not have missed. That alternative basis, if applied to the quoted number of 350 animals, would have limited the cull to about 14 stags per annum, and have meant the Muckross forests were being grossly overshot. Based on the contemporary evidence provided by both forests, and taking the Muckross annual average cull of 25 stags plus 15 hinds, together with the Kenmare's permitted cull of 14 stags and six hinds - say 60 animals in total, then the Killarney deer forests combined held something between 500 and 600 native red deer at the century's end.

The auction on 21 November 1899 was a failure. The House and the estate were subsequently bought in private negotiation by Lord Ardilaun for £60,000, an outcome greeted by the press with welcome and relief that Muckross had been spared from the jerry builder and speculator[342]. Lord Ardilaun's wife, Olivia Charlotte White, daughter of the third Earl of Bantry (and whose mother, Lady Bantry, had been Jane Herbert, the sister of Henry Arthur Herbert I, before her marriage) may have had some influence in this purchase, perhaps to save her mother's ancestral home. It was commonly felt that Muckross would remain intact, at least for the immediate future, as in ascendancy circles Ardilaun was considered a safe pair of hands.

At the century's end, the fundamental changes to other great houses in Killarney were marked. Cahirnane House was rented out to a Mr and Mrs Jameson by 1898[343], and Aghadoe House, its demesne and shootings were on offer to let from the end of September 1899,[344]. With Muckross sold and the Kenmares still in debt, the great landlord hegemony that had ruled Killarney and a considerable part of south Kerry for almost three centuries had effectively been broken. But crucially, both deer forests remained, side by side, as a single, intact unit of wild, rugged country of outstanding scenic beauty. And good fortune had smiled once more on the future prospects of the native red deer.

342 *Kerry Sentinel* 2 December 1899; *Irish Field* 2 December 1899.
343 Ibid. 20 August 1898.
344 *Tralee Chronicle* 9 September 1899.

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Ascendancy Decline: 1900 - 1929.

Arthur Edward Guinness, Baron Ardilaun (1840-1915), and his brother, Edward Cecil Guinness, had inherited the hugely successful Guinness brewing business in 1868. Lord Ardilaun additionally inherited the estates of St Anne's, Clontarf, County Dublin, and Ashford, County Galway. At Ashford he built the massive, baronial-style Ashford Castle, planted his c.3,500-acre estate there with thousands of larch trees, and turned it into a woodcock shoot that earned the reputation of being one of the best in the British Empire. His wealth was enormous. Over the eight years following his father's death his personal income amounted to £530,000, and on the dissolution of the partnership which left the brewing business to his younger brother Edward Cecil, he received a golden handshake of £686,000[1]. Prior to Ardilaun's purchase of Muckross, his brother Edward Cecil had bought the great English shooting estate of Elveden in 1894, for £159,000. Elveden had been in the ownership of the famous Indian Prince, the Maharaja Duleep Singh, favourite of Queen Victoria. His excesses in game slaughter were legendary, and he had built up Elveden as a shooter's paradise to rival the neighbouring royal Sandringham estate, but his immoderate and spendthrift lifestyle had squandered his wealth and led to a row with the British royals over the ownership of the Koh-i-Noor diamond. He neglected and abandoned Elveden, and Edward Cecil Guinness set about to rebuild it. He bought out the tenant farmers, cleared the grounds, increased the estate from 17,000 to 23,000 acres and proceeded to turn the neglected lands into one of the best pheasant and partridge shoots in England. Under his ownership the gamekeeping staff increased to 70. The Prince of Wales and the Duke of York became frequent visitors to shoot at Elveden, as did 'half the dukes and earls of the kingdom'[2]. It paid off handsomely, when Edward Cecil Guinness was later created the Earl of Iveagh. Edward Cecil himself was also a deer stalker, and had rented the Balfour's Strathconan forest in 1882-3 for the sizeable sum of £2,900[3].

In the early years of the 20th century Lord Ardilaun likewise hosted the Prince of Wales for woodcock shooting at Ashford. Among the accompanying guest shooters were Lord Bandon and Percy La Touche. Lord Ardilaun apparently did not participate in the slaughter, and was reported to have 'contented himself with supervising the arrangements'[4]. Now also the owner of Muckross, Ardilaun was credited with possessing the best woodcock shooting in the three kingdoms. Somewhat surprisingly, the *Irish Field* advocated that Muckross should be spared from those imbued with a desire to 'go out and kill something', and should become a haven for wildlife. It further suggested that 'interesting experiments [at Muckross] could be made in the introduction of

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1 Frederic Mullally *The Silver Salver: The Story of the Guinness Family* (London, 1981) pp 11, 26-30.
2 Ibid. pp 39-42; Hopkins...*Long Affray*... p 281.
3 Orr...*Deer Forests*... p 38, Appendix viii.
4 *Irish Field* 4 February 1905.

imported birds and beasts'[5]. Obviously the aims of the Acclimatising Society, itself now dissolved, still lived on, and such climate of thinking may possibly have stimulated the decision about this time for foreign red deer to be introduced to Muckross, although neither the Herberts or Lord Ardilaun needed such exhortation. It was a regular pattern of deer forest management during the second half of the 19th century to import stags from other forests, and from Europe, in the fond belief that this would improve the much-coveted head of antlers in the importer's forest. By the start of the 20th century Sir Harry Johnston, a British naturalist of the day, felt that British red deer in parks and in the Scottish Highlands were 'being very much Germanised' from the constant importation of stags from Germany and Austria during the 19th century, a practice he wholeheartedly approved as it had 'sensibly modified' their antlers[6]. A G Cameron has asserted that by the last decade of the 19th century only his beloved Jura could still claim an extensive tract of deer country in Scotland where no English park deer had ever set hoof[7].

How or when red stags were imported to Killarney either towards the end of the 19th or at the beginning of the 20th century remains unclear and unproven. However, it appears certain that red deer went the other way, from Ireland to Scotland. Whitehead records three instances of red deer exported from Ireland to Scotland; to Ardlussa in 1910, to Glenforsa between 1880 and 1895, and to Langass and Sponish in 1906[8]. The sources in Ireland are unstated, except possibly from Powerscourt in the case of Glenforsa. Whitehead has claimed that Scottish red deer were imported into Killarney, quoting his source as John Doody of Muckross, whose father remembered red stags being boxed and sent to Scotland in exchange for Scottish ones. The Muckross stags were said to have been caught by driving them into Muckross Lake and captured in the manner of former stag hunts. Doody believed that a similar exchange occurred in the 19th century[9]. A separate recollection by Patie Lynch of seven to 12 stags in an enclosure near the water tanks in Cloghereen Upper at the turn of the century was noted by Riney during his study period in Killarney, in 1970-4. Lynch, who believed the stags came from Scotland, had joined the Muckross staff in 1912 at the age of 20, and was at least 78 years old when he told of his recollection[10]. However, Lynch's further belief that there were about 1,500 red deer in Killarney at the start of the century is not supported by contemporary documentation, and his recollection of 200 red deer hinds being culled from Muckross between November 1918 and March 1919 to provision British troops in the Great War (1914-18) can be shown to be seriously in error. (The records in the Vincent Papers show that only 44 red deer and seven Japanese sika deer were supplied to the Venison Supply Committee from Muckross, when the Great War was actually in progress, in 1916[11]). Despite Lynch's genuine belief, his recollection of Scottish stags enclosed at Cloghereen Upper cannot therefore be accepted as an accurate attestation. Whitehead further observed that an introduction of one stag to the neighbouring Kenmare deer forest from Windsor Great

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[5] Ibid. 2 December 1899.

[6] Sir Harry Johnston *British Mammals* (London, 1903) pp 320-1. Sir Harry Johnston achieved fame in big game shooting circles by his discovery of the Okapi antelope in Africa.

[7] Allan Gordon Cameron *The Wild Red Deer of Scotland* (Norfolk, 1984 edn) p 173.

[8] Whitehead... *Deer Stalking Grounds...* pp 76, 84, 243.

[9] Ibid. p 454.

[10] Riney...Red Deer of County Kerry...pp 14, 70.

[11] MHA, Vincent Papers. Particulars of Venison sent to British and Argentine Meat Co., Cork, for Venison Supply Committee, October 1916. The supply of deer from Killarney to the Venison Supply Committee is dealt with below.

Park happened about the turn of the century; the stag was said to have been liberated in Derrycunnihy forest[12]. Whitehead's source for this introduction was a reply to wide-ranging circular he had sent to the Kenmare estate office. Whitehead asserted, without attestation, that a bald-faced stag - a stag with a white-marked head - was occasionally seen in the Kenmare deer forest subsequently, and added that white deer had been in Windsor Great Park at one time. Sir Harry Johnston had already stated in 1903, again unattested, that white-faced deer were characteristic of County Kerry[13]. However, Johnston's knowledge of deer in Ireland is subject to considerable scepticism. He wrote that roe deer had been introduced to Sligo a hundred years previously - roe were only introduced to Sligo between 1870 and 1880 - and that fallow deer had been 'quite recently introduced [to Ireland] from England' - fallow deer were introduced to Ireland as far back as the 13th century[14]. Attention to accurate detail on Irish wild deer was not a high priority among British sporting aristocracy and gentry. What they craved above all else was a heavy stag with a large number of antler points as trophy, and cared little about verifiable historical attestation.

Repeated attempts to verify any Scottish deer importations to Killarney produced no prime source confirmation. Had importation been by the Herberts, then their Scottish cousins' deer forest at Strathconan would have been an obvious source. Strathconan had already been sold by the Balfours in 1891 to the brewing family Coombes, who subsequently split up the forest and sold off the Scatwell and Strathconan sections, only Scardroy being retained. Today, Strathconan as it was in the Balfour's time no longer exists. The present occupier of the Strathconan estate, Hans-H Jorgensen, has confirmed that in the Coombes's shooting records, copy of which he holds, no record exists of deer being sent to Ireland from Strathconan, and Dr Laing in Scardroy had no records in this connection[15]. Correspondence requesting any information on Scottish deer being exported to Ireland was sent to six Deer Management Groups, as recommended by the Scottish Red Deer Commission, for distribution among their Group members. That request, circularised in turn to about 70 Scottish deer forests, produced not one reply[16]. The Crown Estate Office, Great Park, Windsor, has confirmed that there was absolutely no mention in the Royal Archives of any deer having been sent to Killarney, and has observed that if deer had been sent, some mention of it would be in its Archives[17]. Thus, documentary evidence of red deer introductions to either the Muckross or the Kenmare forests remains unsourced. Nevertheless, despite this lack of attestation, the Herberts, Lord Ardilaun and Lord Kenmare would have been willing and capable of importing foreign red deer to their respective forests.

In 1896 Captain Herbert was well aware of the monetary values of game in Scotland. He wrote to Maurice Leonard suggesting that, as both he and Lord Kenmare jointly held the fishing rights on Lough Guitane - except about 300 or 400 yards of shoreline owned by a local man Connor (whom Herbert accused of poaching) - Lord Kenmare should hand over to him the preservation of the Earl's side of the Lough 'for a trifling sum'.

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12 Whitehead...*Deer Stalking Grounds*... p 451.

13 Johnston...*British Mammals*... p 322.

14 Ibid. pp 299, 313.

15 Correspondence: Hans-H Jorgensen, Strathconan Estate, to author, 4 February 1999; Dr M Laing, Scardroy, Strathconan, to author, 23 February 1999. See also Egremont..*Balfour*... p 105.

16 Correspondence: Red Deer Commission, 19, 23, 26 September, 9 October 1996; Deer Management Groups at Arran, Loch Awe, Inverary/Tyndrum, Blackmount, Knapdale & Kintyre, Islay, 31 October, 18, 20, 29 November, 2, 18 December 1996.

17 Correspondence: Curator of the Royal Archives, Crown Estate Office, Great Park, Windsor, to author, originally 21 February 1986; confirmed 2 June 1997.

Herbert would then introduce 30,000 to 40,000 Loch Leven trout and turn Lough Guitane into 'a second Loch Leven' and earn up to £5,000 a year, as that Scottish loch was believed to earn[18]. Kenmare may have cooperated, as both he and his son Lord Castlerosse were busy introducing exotic fish stocks to Killarney and south Kerry by the century's end. In 1899 Lord Castlerosse presided at the Killarney Fishery Board's annual meeting and confirmed that among the fish artificially introduced were 60,000 salmon ova in the Muckross hatchery; 213,000 salmon ova in Dunmahun and Killorglin; 20,000 salmon ova and 20,000 Loch Leven trout ova in Caragh Lake; 60,000 salmon ova, 40,000 Loch Leven trout ova and 40,000 rainbow trout ova in Waterville; and a further 50,000 rainbow trout ova in tributaries specially prepared for them[19]. The following year rainbow trout ova were obtained from Californian rivers and 30,000 salmon ova from Germany. In that year Lord Kenmare, Lord Ardilaun and A S Herbert (of Cahirnane) had cooperated in hatching 80,000 salmon ova in Killarney's Upper Lake[20]. Ralph Sneyd, occupying Muckross at the time, was an active supporter of these introductions, and sent 10,000 trout ova from England to Muckross in 1898, and intended a further 10,000 for 1899[21]. In that environment of exploiting the commercial potential of their respective game preserves, Herbert, Lord Kenmare and Lord Ardilaun may well have imported red deer to Killarney, and the balance of probability is that they did. If so, the potential for 'admixture', as John Ross had put it, by foreign red deer with their own native stock was ignored by them. Their own red deer herds' pedigree could not have been unknown, or forgotten. The unique native ancestry of their Killarney red deer had been emphasised by Cusack in 1871[22]; Ussher emphasised it in 1882[23], and Lydekker again repeated it in 1894[24]. In 1899 the *Kerry Sentinel,* when reporting speculation on the sale of Muckross House and Estate, had emphasised that the Muckross deer forests possessed the last of the Irish red deer[25] (but no mention of this appeared in the Prospectus for the sale of Muckross, or in the solicitors' details of sale, or in the auctioneer's public speech at the auction). In the climate and thinking of the time[26], what mattered to the great landed gentry in Killarney was how to make money from their game and deer, not the preservation of genetic purity.

Lady Ardilaun was said to have been hostile to commerce and trade[27], but her husband's use of the Muckross estate was all about trade, and the commercial exploitation of its deer and game. The Muckross estate was conveyed to Lord Ardilaun on 31 May 1900[28]. When he and his suite arrived at Muckross late that October[29], the stalking season would already have been about finished. It remains doubtful if Lord Ardilaun

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18 MHA, Kenmare Papers. Herbert Senior (H A Herbert II) to Maurice Leonard, 14 June 1896.

19 *Field* 25 November 1899.

20 *Times* 14 May 1900.

21 *Kerry Evening Post* 29 July 1899. This issue of the *Kerry Evening Post* contains correspondence on further introductions of exotic fish ova to Killarney, advocating the imitation of American government practice in stocking rivers and lakes with imported fish.

22 M F Cusack *A History of the Kingdom of Kerry* (London, 1871) p 429.

23 Richard J Ussher 'Notes on Irish Red Deer' *Zoologist* Vol vi, No 63 (1882) p 84.

24 R Lydekker (ed) *The Royal Natural History* Vol ii (London, 1894) p 243. Lydekker's statement that native red deer were also then in Connemara was a repetition of William Thompson's account, published in 1856.

25 *Kerry Sentinel* 10 May 1899.

26 See, for example, Muriel Bowen *Irish Hunting* (Tralee, 1954) p 2, who cites instances of foxes imported to Ireland. In 1907, 110 brace of foxes, imported from Wales and Kerry by the United Hunt, were dispersed into the territory of the Avondhu Hunt, Co. Cork.

27 Mullally...*Silver Salver*... p 28.

28 MHA, Vincent Papers. Whitney Moore & Keller, Solicitors: Submission to Counsel to Advise Mr Arthur Rose Vincent of Muckross, 13 September 1917.

29 *Kerry Sentinel* 27 October 1900.

himself ever stalked his Killarney deer forests, but he immediately set about reaping financial recompense for his outlay on Muckross by letting it out to stalking and shooting clients. A detailed description of what Muckross had to offer is contained in answers to a questionnaire, one of many circulated by British factors. In their reply, Lord Ardilaun's Dublin estate agents Stopford and Turner, who administered Muckross, advised Walker, Fraser and Steele of Glasgow that 28 red deer stags, 15 to 20 barren hinds and 'about' 15 Japanese stags and 15 Japanese does were allowed to be shot each season. Additionally, the woodcock coverts averaged 500 birds each season, and 60 brace of wild duck could be expected, as well as teal, widgeon, pheasants, snipe, woodpigeon, hares and rabbits (unspecified numbers). Trout fishing in the estate's three rivers, and salmon fishing on the river Laune and in Loch Leane, were available, with the services of six gamekeepers, and kennels for ten dogs. Extensive facilities and servants were available, and Muckross House, fully furnished, and its gardens were included. The fee was £1,200 for a season or a year[30]. As this was in March 1908, the particulars were aimed at the next 1908/9 season. The stalking and shooting had by then been let for seven of the eight prior seasons, and comprehensive bag returns for these seven seasons have survived. Lord Portsmouth occupied Muckross in 1901, and boasted about two stags he had shot in the forest[31]. The Earl of Portsmouth's own landholding of 46,984 acres - mostly in Hants, Devon and Somerset - included 12,464 acres in County Wexford. As he and Henry Arthur Herbert II belonged to the same Liberal club, Brook's, in London[32], he would have had prior knowledge of the Muckross deer forests. A comprehensive list of deer and game shot during his occupancy, and during the succeeding years up to and including 1907, are summarised in Appendix 7, as quoted by Riney and based on information from the factors E Paton & Co, London[33]. That firm no longer survives[34]. The accuracy of this list is undoubted as, independently, a list of game in the Ardilaun Papers agrees in precise detail with that given by Patton & Co for the 1907 season, with the exception of an added note in the estate's record of '1 golden plover, 20 doz trout ... about 20 salmon'[35]; an omission that is unimportant to Patton & Co's authenticity. If Ardilaun had achieved his full asking price, these seven-year lettings would have netted him £8,400. He may not have achieved this, however, as friends and useful officials were also allowed to share in the prey. One example was the RIC Inspector C P Crane, a friend and regular guest of the Kenmares, who was given permission by Ardilaun to fish the Muckross preserves on the Laune river[36].

During Ardilaun's ownership, full advantage was taken to exploit to the very limit and beyond both deer stalking and game shooting in Muckross. This is well shown in Appendix 7. The average of 25 stags per season as given in the 1899 sale Prospectus was pushed to over 27 (excluding the first year, 1901), and twice reached

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30 MHA, Ardilaun Papers. Stopford & Turner, Estate Offices, 13, Anglesea Street, Dublin: Muckross Estate, Particulars of House and Deer Forest Shootings, 10 March 1908.

31 *Field* 12 October 1901. The stags weighed 19 stone 11 pounds, and 21 stone, clean.

32 Bateman... *Great Landowners...* pp 218, 365, 497.

33 Riney based his calculations of red deer numbers in Killarney on Paton & Co's returns. Using the one stag to one twenty-fifth of the herd method, plus a '16 per cent cull' basis for a stable population, and assuming the Kenmare forests held red deer numbers equal to Muckross, he arrived at between 600 and 1,400 red deer in Killarney about 1910 - see Riney...Red Deer...Report to OPW... p 14. Riney's study concentrated on the biology and management of the red deer herd, and much of the historical source material may have been unknown to him.

34 Editor of the *Field* to author, 8 May 1996. A game factor Edward Patton & Son advertised in 1870 that they were gun and rifle makers by special appointment to H R H the late Prince Consort - *Irish Sportsman* 13 August 1870.

35 MHA, Ardilaun Papers. List of Game 3 June 1908.

36 Crane...*Memories...* p 207. Crane delighted in catching glimpses of the wild red deer during these fishing expeditions, and in the 'wild beauty of the Long Range'.

30. The hind cull, an average of 15 per season up to 1899, was pushed to 17, and reached 20 on three occasions. The greatest increase over the 1899 Prospectus for Sale figures apply to the amount of sika killed. This averaged 45 animals per season during 1902-7, more than six times the average of about seven animals per season up to 1899. That the total cull of 268 introduced sika deer could now almost equal the total cull of 280 native red deer in the same forest over the same stalking seasons was striking proof that Harting's observation on sika fecundity was all too accurate. The increase in sika numbers could not have happened that swiftly since 1899, and it obviously implies that the deer management in Muckross must have had no interest in, or knowledge of the numbers of sika deer when Muckross was put up for sale.

Lord Ardilaun quickly found that concomitant with the ownership of Muckross came problems of deer trespass and crop damage. Whether this had featured during the previous Herbert ownership remains unknown, but it is significant that it became the subject of judicial processes, and the remedial actions taken by Ardilaun suggest that it may have originated during his occupancy. The details of tenants and townlands, both within and outside his deer forests, and the amounts of trespass compensation paid by Ardilaun, are summarised in Appendix 8[37]. These provide conclusive proof that far from being confined to upland moor and mountain, both red deer and sika deer inhabited the Muckross lowland woods and pastures in numbers to cause significant crop damage. In the Muckross district, the townlands and tenants of Cloghereen Lower (M Joy), Killegy Lower (Tim Shea), Gortahoonig (P Murell and Jas Shea), Ardagh (Ml & J Lucey), and the Demesne Lawn Field and Demesne Farm (J Neill) were lowland pastures and mixed farming lands, all outside the deer forests. Only two townlands, Cloghereen Upper (P Tangney & C Cronin) and Killegy Upper (J Lynch) were within the Muckross Home forest. And it was in the Muckross lowlands that most deer trespass occurred. In the seven years 1900 - 06 Ardilaun paid out £195 5s for deer damage to crops in the Muckross district, of which £142 5s (73 per cent) went to lowland tenants outside the forest, and £53 (27 per cent) to tenants within the deer forest. By comparison, Lord Kenmare's recorded expenses for deer trespass were insignificant, amounting to £4 5s for three instances in the 1880s, and £3 to Gleeson in 1906[38].

In the Tomies district, only one townland and tenant affected by deer trespass, Gortadirra (R Ferris), was within the deer forest. The remaining townlands of Tomies (Pk Courtney, Pk Cremin, Ml Shanahan & Tim Cremin); Ballinlough (John Sweeney); and the Mahony Estate (Ml Meara) were all outside the deer forest, but adjacent to it. Deer damage here cost Ardilaun £148 8s 3d in six years, of which £35 14s 9d (24 per cent) was paid to R Ferris within the deer forest, and the balance, £112 13s 6d (76 per cent), going to tenants outside the forest. It was proof that deer were ranging outside the confines of the essentially mountain forest in this area, onto nearby mixed farmland in the lower foothills and pastures.

In the Upper Lake district only one townland, Gearhameen, was outside the deer forest and its tenant (Ml Tangney) received the least compensation of all, just £1. The other three townlands of Gallavally (John Casey); Looscaunach (Ml McCarthy); and Foardal (T McCarthy) were within the deer forest and had significantly less deer trespass, totalling just £28 5s in damages. Payments for deer damage in this district ceased after 1904. Recollections by Donal McCarthy, born in Foardal, has confirmed that very little deer damage

[37] MHA, Ardilaun Papers. Reports on deer trespass by estate steward and gamekeeping staff, 1902-6; Particulars as to Deer Trespass Compensation paid to Tenants & Copy of Returns sent to Lord Ardilaun by Mr Turner on 20 November 1906.

[38] PRONI, D/4151/L/11. Journal 1907-08. The 1880s instances are detailed in D/4151/M/16; D/4151/K/55; and D/4151/M/17.

occurred when he was growing up there in the 1920s and 1930s[39].

After his initial payout in 1900, Ardilaun found that the sums paid for claims in 1901 had doubled in the Muckross district, and had increased five times in the Tomies district, while the Upper Lake district payout was just about the same. Ardilaun took action. The steward Thomas Greany specified a deer fence 4,150 yards (two and a third miles) long, to commence at Torc Lodge. The fence was to be six feet six inches in height above ground, and to be strung through with nine strands of wire 'closer than ordinary owing to the Japs [sika deer]'[40]. If the objective was to fence off deer from the hill, it implied that the introduced sika had expanded from woodlands to the open mountain. Additionally, in 1902 the tenanted lands were inspected by Muckross staff who proposed £46 12s 6d in total compensation; this was submitted to Ardilaun via Stopford & Turner, but only £35 7s 3d was eventually paid out. In the following year, 1903, several tenants initiated judicial processes for recovery of damages, and initially this proved highly profitable for them. Even though T Greany (estate steward), J Chisholm (gamekeeper) and J Reid from Muckross visited Patrick Courtney in Tomies and found that the lands for which he had claimed deer damage were in fact occupied by four goats, cattle droppings, two pigs and a flock of geese, and also found mangolds damaged by rabbits, Courtney was still awarded £10 at the January 1904 Sessions, as against their assessment of only £3. Richard Ferris of Gortadirra was likewise awarded £5 against their assessment of £3. James Shea in the Muckross farmland of Gortahoonig was awarded £16 against a proposed £10 10s. Lord Ardilaun, who had personally approved on 29 October 1903 to Stopford & Turner the amounts assessed by his Muckross staff, must have been taken aback by the increased sums awarded at the January 1904 Sessions. The result was a more thorough survey that year, with a special report on James Shea's holding in Gortahoonig, visited several times by Greany and Reid. They confirmed that about seven eighths of an acre of oats, three quarters of an acre of Swede turnips and three quarters of an acre of mangolds were considerably damaged, as well as potatoes rooted out of a field pit. Greany added that in October 'the deer are coming in every night to these crops...'. The damage was estimated at £10 15s, but Shea was eventually paid £15. More determined action was taken by Ardilaun in 1905, and the local solicitor Mr Downing was instructed to resist a claim for £11 5s by Richard Ferris in Gortadirra, as evidence would be produced that Ferris's farm fields had been effectively fenced off from deer. This was successful, and Ferris received only £7. Though Shea's fields in Gortahoonig were also fenced off in 1905, further deer damage still occurred and he was paid £13 10s. Men were now put watching at night after further fences had been erected for Courtney and Sweeny in the Tomies district, and for Morell and the two Luceys in the Muckross district. Nevertheless, deer damage continued. In Sweeny's lands in Ballinlough deer got into his farm by going around the lake shore after fencing had been erected. He claimed £31, but received only £10. Courtney in Tomies served process for £27 10s, but he received only £5. Michael and John Lucey served process for £20, and were awarded only £10. Ardilaun's solutions of night inspections, coupled with regular visits by his Muckross staff and evidence of continuing damage by the tenants' own domestic livestock, and other wildlife, were impressive in seriously reducing the sums paid compared to the amounts claimed. But it did not stop deer trespass.

Lord Ardilaun's efforts to try and eliminate deer damage and compensate for it were generous by any

[39] Donal McCarthy interview 9 November 1995.

[40] MHA, Ardilaun Papers. Specification for proposed deer fence to be erected, commencing at Torc Lodge - Thos. Greany, Muckross, August 1902.

reasonable standards. In addition to paying out a total of £372 18s 3d in compensation, he had fenced off the farmlands affected at his own expense. For this fencing he had entered into a legal agreement in 1905 with Daniel Sullivan of Tomies, who undertook to fence around the crops of Patrick Courtney, Michael Shanahan, John Sweeny, Patrick Cremin, Timothy Cremin and Richard Ferris 'so that deer cannot get through or over the said fences to trespass on the said tenants' crops...all said work to be done by me for ten pounds'[41]. Subsequent evidence showed that deer still got through. If the two and one third miles of lowland deer fencing proposed in 1902 was ever implemented, it was ineffective. Deer trespass continued yearly thereafter in the Muckross lowland farms. While this may well have included some instances of deer descending from the hills in search of food, the evidence is that, similar to the Kenmare estate lowlands, resident populations of deer - both native red and now also the introduced sika - occupied the Muckross pastures and woodlands. There was this difference, however, that while the Kenmares kept a deer park and hunted deer into it, Muckross did not have a deer park.

Lord Ardilaun introduced a new Scottish gamekeeper, Angus McLeod from the Island of Skye, whose contract of employment was legally binding[42]. McLeod came when deer stalking had begun to wane, and after his arrival in December 1906, stalking was let for only one further year, and in 1908 the forests remained unlet. In that year the problem of deer trespass costs was solved by a novel idea from the Muckross tenants themselves. Lord Ardilaun agreed to their suggestion that he would allow an abatement in their rent of seven shillings in the pound (35 per cent) in return for an undertaking by them to 'report to his servants any case of poaching, setting dogs at deer, cutting timber, or trespass on plantations or game preserves'. This was conditional on no legal proceedings being taken for trespass of game and deer by those who would receive this voluntary allowance. Ardilaun also made it a requirement that the tenants would protect their crops from damage due to the presence of game and deer[43]. Lord Ardilaun must have rejoiced at this easy way out, proposed by tenants who obviously realised the financial futility of continuing to serve processes for deer damage. And it is probable that by now Ardilaun may have begun to consider that he had obtained all he could from Muckross. The fact that the demesne itself and the demesne farm had been let to the Lucey family was indicative of a policy of extracting the maximum financial return from Muckross. He had already cut down the Muckross larch woods and sold them for £4,000[44], and his wife had taken 'some good pictures' from Muckross House to furnish her residence at St Anne's, Clontarf, Co Dublin[45]. The forests remained unlet, and Ardilaun decided to sell out. But no longer were there any worries about American millionaires and the vandalism which they might bring to Killarney. He sold Muckross to one of them.

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[41] MHA, Ardilaun Papers. Stamped Agreement of Daniel Sullivan of Tomies, 8 May 1905.

[42] MHA, Ardilaun Papers. Copy Agreement: The Right Hon. Lord Ardilaun with Angus McLeod, Agreement to act as Head keeper at Muckross, 29 December 1906. This stipulated that he would 'generally act as Head Keeper... and take charge and care of the entire Game coverts, woods, Plantations, timber, underwood, bogs, lake and River or stream fisheries, &c., ...and will do all that may be necessary and within my power to prevent trespass by Deer outside the Deer Forests on either demesne or tenanted land within the ambit of the Muckross Estate'. His wages were £4 11s 8d per calendar month, and included the use of a free house or cottage, unfurnished; permission to keep one cow summer and winter; the supply of seven tons of coal within each year; an allowance of three Pounds Ten shillings for, or a suit of clothes within each year; an allowance of one shilling and six pence per week for the keep of a dog; and an allowance covering the actual cost of postage for reports. The Agreement could be terminated with one month's notice in writing by either side.

[43] MHA, Vincent Papers. Stopford & Turner to James Shea, Gortahoonig, Muckross, 22 May 1908. Shea represented the Muckross tenantry. This correspondence is missing from the Ardilaun Papers, but copies have survived in the Vincent Papers.

[44] MHA, copy OPW file D96.2/31/40. Copy report by the Attorney General to the Executive Council of the Irish Free State, undated. This report, made in 1932, is cited hereafter as MHA, copy A G's Report.

[45] Everett...*Bricks and Flowers...* p 141.

William Bowers Bourn II (1857-1936) was an American multi-millionaire whose wealth source came from ownership of the Empire Gold Mine, Grass Valley, California, and ownership of the Spring Valley Water Company which controlled the water supply to the city of San Francisco. The Bourn family were of English Puritan stock, whose forebears came to America as colonists in the 17th century. His father, William Bowers Bourn I, was there at the start of the Californian Gold Rush, and went on to amass a fortune by shrewd investment. His son and heir was given a strict inculcation of military-style discipline at an Episcopal military school. William Bowers Bourn II became a 'hands-on' owner-manager, who insisted on knowing all aspects of the business, that things were done in order, and that a specific plan was required for everything. A staunch Republican who liked a game of high poker, he was associated with the *Western Field*, a magazine devoted to hunting and fishing, and was a keen nature lover who strongly supported the preservation of Yosemite National Park in California as a national treasure. While at Cambridge, England, in 1875, he formed the desire of one day owning a country estate with extensive lawns and trees. In January 1906 he, his wife Agnes and his daughter Maude left San Francisco on a grand European tour. On board the liner they were introduced to a member of the Judicial Service of the British Foreign Office, Arthur Rose Vincent. Maude Bourn and Arthur Rose Vincent were married on 30 March 1910, and after initially honeymooning in California, they departed on a European tour. Arriving back in Ireland, they found William and Agnes Bourn waiting for them. William Bowers Bourn II was in the process of buying Muckross from Lord Ardilaun[46].

The purchase of Muckross House and estate cost Bourn £50,000[47]. Ardilaun's capital loss of £10,000 from his own purchase price of £60,000 may have been compensated by income from shooting lettings and sale of timber, as well as rental income. The popular notion that Bourn purchased Muckross as a wedding gift for his daughter and her husband[48] is challenged by Egan's research. Egan agues that Bourn, who cherished ambitions of being appointed ambassador to England one day, was in effect buying his own dreams, and asking Maude, whom he idolised, and her husband Arthur to live out his fantasy. He arranged to provide them with an annual income of US $ 25,000, and additionally undertook to pay all operating costs of Muckross[49]. Bourn was entranced by British royalty, but though he now possessed a landed sporting estate in Ireland - then part of the British Isles - and succeeded in having his wife Agnes presented at the Court of St James[50], he never succeeded in becoming an ambassador to Britain. The Vincents took up residence in 1910, and the purchase of Muckross was finalised in 1911[51]. What is relevant is the character of the man who would reside in Muckross and manage its deer forests and game.

Arthur Rose Vincent (1876-1956) was the second son of Colonel A H Vincent of Summerhill, County Clare. He was born in Mhow, India, while his father was stationed there with the British army. His boyhood was

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46 This general description is taken from the fully referenced historical study by Ferol Egan, *Last Bonanza Kings :The Bourns of San Francisco* (University of Nevada Press, Reno, 1998). Specific details from Egan are individually referenced hereafter.

47 MHA, copy A G's Report. Egan...*Bonanza Kings*...p 183, gives the purchase price as approximately $200,000. Lord Ardilaun conveyed Muckross to William Bowers Bourn on 4 August 1911 - see MHA, Vincent Papers: Whitney Moore & Keller, Solicitors: Submission to Counsel to Advise Mr Arthur Rose Vincent of Muckross, 13 September 1917.

48 This is stated, for example, by Berkeley L Vincent 'The Vincent Family of Limerick and Clare' *The Irish Genealogist* Vol. 4, No. 4 (November, 1971) p 346. It is regularly repeated in practically every popular description of Muckross House.

49 Egan...*Bonanza Kings*... p 183.

50 Ibid. p 186.

51 MHA, Vincent Papers. A R Vincent to Whitney & Moore, Solicitors, 1 September 1923. The Apportionment Account indicates that 30 June 1911 was probably the cut-off date – see MHA, Vincent Papers, Vincent Ledgers, 31 July 1911.

spent in County Clare. After a first class honours degree in TCD he was called to the Irish Bar in 1900, and practised in the Munster Circuit. (It was probably during his term as a barrister on the Munster Circuit that he learned about Muckross and its sporting attractions[52]). He joined the Judicial Service of the British Foreign Office in 1903, and in succession acted as magistrate in Kisumu, British East Africa; as town magistrate in Mombassa; as second assistant judge in Zanzibar; as judge of the British courts for Siam, for China and for Korea; and finally as judge for Zanzibar[53]. His letters home, incorporating extracts from his diaries, from Kisumu and Mombassa, provide a penetrating insight into his character, to the urgency he felt to acquire wealth, and to his great love of big-game shooting. He explained that he went to Africa because he saw 'the prospect looming before me of being 10 years at the [Irish] Bar and not being able to scrape together more than £500 with an uncertain future', whereas in Africa he expected to earn an annual salary of up to £900. He urged his brother Berkley to come and join him 'for a month or two of the finest big-game shooting in the world'[54].

In Africa, Arthur Rose Vincent lived in a quintessentially British sporting environment - he described himself and his colleagues as 'us English'[55] - in which the pursuit of hunting and shooting African big game was actively encouraged as an approved sport for gentlemen. Wealthy British shooters collected trophy heads from Africa, India, Australia, North American, Northern Europe and elsewhere, and in the process donated entire specimens to the British Natural History Museum. They were regarded as 'gentlemen naturalists'. This lifestyle, part of the 'big-game' set, had the added attraction of being socially advancing for young men like Vincent, who requested his father to arrange for his election to a London club: 'I must have a club in London and the Sportsman will suit me best'[56]. Vincent aspired to be part of this society, and East Africa was ideal with ample opportunities for his shooting ambitions. The famous house of Rowland Ward and Co., Limited, Taxidermists, of 'The Jungle', Piccadilly, London, described the variety of African big game he might obtain, and listed the numbers and species obtained by one British shooting party during a year in East Africa. The total bag comprised 264 trophy animals taken from 28 different species, with the added laconic comment that 'They might have killed a great many more if they had liked; but they only went in for good heads and variety'[57]. It was mouth-watering stuff for an ambitious young man like Vincent, who got to East Africa as a paid official of the Crown.

Scarcely had Vincent landed in Africa, without shooting equipment, when he told his father that his 'fingers were itching for a gun', and that the herds of game were 'far more plentiful than cattle in Limerick'[58]. He had his guns shipped out, but the initial efforts with his Mannlicher rifle were unsuccessful, and he told of many misses. Nevertheless, Vincent was determined to get trophies, and he deliberately organised for himself to go on tours of inspection about every six weeks, so that he could see the country, keep himself healthy, but essentially

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[52] A W B Vincent, son of Arthur Rose Vincent, interview 21 August 1995. Hereafter cited as A W B Vincent interview, with dates.

[53] Vincent...Vincents of Limerick and Clare... pp 342-8. See also Egan...*Bonanza Kings...* p 215.

[54] MHA, Vincent Papers. Vincent to Berkley (his brother) 7 July 1903. This, and subsequent letters are taken from typed transcripts of six letters from Arthur Rose Vincent to his brother Berkley, and twenty-one letters, including instalments of his diaries, to his father, 7 July 1903 - 24 May 1905. Presented by A W B Vincent to Muckross House. Hereafter cited as MHA, Vincent's African letters.

[55] MHA, Vincent's African Letters. Vincent to father 24 July 1903.

[56] Ibid. Vincent to father 24 may 1905.

[57] Rowland Ward *The Sportsman's Handbook to Practical Collecting, Preserving, and Artistic Setting-up of Trophies and Specimens to which is added A Synoptical Guide to the Hunting Grounds of the World* (London, 7th edn, 1894) pp 126 - 154, 154n.

[58] MHA, Vincent's African letters. Vincent to father 9 August 1903.

so as to 'enable me to get shooting'[59]. And trophies he did get[60]. He shot far more than his list of trophies, killing leopards and cerval cats, and amusing himself shooting crocodiles for practice[61]. Native human life was just about as cheap. When describing an incident where a prisoner, sent to fetch water for him from a lake, was grabbed by a crocodile and never seen again, Vincent commented 'The worst of it was he took one of my only two buckets'[62]. The remark was not jocose. Vincent had a severe beating given to a native servant who got drunk, and in Mombassa had earned, he confessed to his father, a terrible reputation for handing down severe sentences of prison and beatings to Indian immigrants[63].

All the shooting and trophy hunting did not keep him healthy, as he had hoped. The expeditions were tough, and often involved stalking up to his neck in jungle and wet grass. After stalking and successfully shooting an elephant, he was so exhausted that he 'drank about 2 hatsful of filthy marsh water'[64]. Living and hunting close to the Equator, he was plagued by mosquitoes and contracted fever on at least eight occasions, twice mentioning it was malaria[65]. However, Vincent doggedly continued shooting and undertaking long marches after these bouts of sickness. His determination was all the more remarkable considering that a childhood accident had resulted in one leg being shorter, leaving him with a permanent limp[66]. He had a genuine interest in wildlife, and from the start collected butterflies and caterpillars. With a husband-and-wife team of French naturalists, M. Allaud, he collected birds, fish and insects[67]. He discovered a lake jellyfish new to science, and proudly told his father 'I have become quite famous in scientific circles...some old professors in London have had the impertinence to say that my discovery was impossible'[68].

In his correspondence Vincent referred again and again to his need for money, and this extended to influencing his selection of game species - 'If I could get a couple of good elephants, I would sell the tusks and make a bit of money'[69]. They were manifestations of his own hopes, therefore, when he told his father that one of his colleagues, Judge Piggot, had married money and could retire; and he had previously told his brother of his great ambition to make a trip around the world[70]. By the age of 34 Arthur Rose Vincent had achieved both of these ambitions, and in 1910 he could settle into the Muckross estate in the comfort of financial security and guaranteed status.

Vincent later recalled that he found Muckross much neglected by Ardilaun, who had taken very little interest and had allowed the estate to drift without proper management. When Vincent took up residence in

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[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid. Vincent to father 15 May 1904. He could boast to his father of having bagged '6 Oribi (6 very good horns), 6 Impala (2 very good horns), 2 Topi (1 very good horn), 5 Reed Buck (2 very good horns), 1 Bush Buck, 1 Roan Antelope, 4 Water Buck (1 fairly good horn), 3 Cobus Cob (3 fairly good horns - Uganda Cob), 6 Jacksons Hartebeests (3 very good horns), 2 Elephants (1 - 50 lb tusk), 2 Hippo (1 good tusk), 1 Dyk Dyk (fair horns)...Not bad, is it ?', he told his father.

[61] Ibid. Vincent to father 24 October 1903, 17 December 1903, 4 June 1904.

[62] Ibid. Vincent to father 24 October 1903.

[63] Ibid. Vincent to father 17 October 1903, 17 December 1903, 26 November 1904, 7 March 1905.

[64] Ibid. Vincent to father 4 July 1904. The transcript is incorrectly dated 7 April. This is evident from the sequence of letters and dates; it is typed 7-4-04 instead of 4-7-04.

[65] Ibid. Vincent to father 12 March, 12 June 1904.

[66] A W B Vincent 'A Little bit of Ireland in the Heart of California' *Ireland of the Welcomes* Vol. 44, No 4 (July-August, 1995) pp 9-11.

[67] MHA, Vincent's African letters. Vincent to Berkley 28 July 1903, Vincent to father 9 October 1903.

[68] Ibid. Vincent to father 12 March 1904.

[69] Ibid. Vincent to Berkley 20 November 1903.

[70] Ibid. Vincent to father 24 January 1905, Vincent to Berkley 4 July 1904.

1910, wood and scrub stretched from the lake shore to the edge of the house, over what are today the manicured lawns of Muckross House. He found that depredations by deer and rabbits had prevented tree growth, an implicit confirmation that Ardilaun's actions had not succeeded in keeping deer from the Muckross lowlands. Looking back over his 22 years in charge of Muckross, he claimed to the Attorney General in 1932 that he had wired off his property to keep out deer, and that he had cleared out the rabbits by persistent trapping[71]. But historical evidence shows that it was not that easy, or successful.

Vincent quickly demonstrated he had no intention of living an idle life, and plunged into the management of his father-in-law's property with enthusiasm. He visited estates in Scotland and England to learn estate management, and introduced to Muckross an accounting system, based in part on that used by American mining companies, which provided costs of the estate's many separate departments, one of which was the game department[72]. Though the accounts of the Muckross estate during Vincent's time are missing for some years, those surviving provide limited but pertinent information on deer stalking and game shooting that continued to be part and parcel of Vincent's ascendancy lifestyle.

Deer fencing formed a significant part of the expenditure Vincent thought necessary. He specified three miles of wire fencing inside the demesne, plus an additional seven miles of deer fencing, costing an estimated £1,375. This amounted to 44 per cent of the total estimated expenditure, £3,101[73], and was an indication of how seriously Vincent regarded deer presence in Muckross. Either Ardilaun's two and one third miles of deer fencing, proposed in 1902, had not been put in place (other than the fencing off of tenant's farms), or it had fallen into disrepair. By 1915 Vincent's deer fencing was still unfinished[74], and whether Vincent ever succeeded in keeping deer out of Muckross remains questionable. As described later, in the early 1920s deer could still be seen on the Muckross lowlands, and he was still paying Courtney for deer trespass in Tomies as late as 1931.

Vincent soon experienced at first hand how ugly deer poaching was, and how hazardous a keeper's occupation could be. On 26 September 1912 Patrick Lynch, gamekeeper, was shot in the right eye by a pellet fired by a poacher in the deer forest. At the time, Lynch's wages were 15s a week. His wound necessitated an eye operation, and he was sent to Cork for medical treatment[75]. Keepers and other employees were well treated, given milk and other farm produce, and Vincent continued to provide a specially made and distinctive suit of clothes for his gamekeeping staff. The suit was made by a local tailor, using an Irish tweed that became known as 'Muckross tweed'. Vincent himself obtained his own special stalking tweeds from London[76]. His approach to deer management may well have been influenced by a translated extract from Count Ernst von Sylva-Tarouca's book *Kein Heger Kein Jaeger.* Though it remains uncertain whether this was either Lord Ardilaun's or Vincent's property, its provenance indicates it was probably Vincent's, located among his papers, though he could equally have inherited it from Ardilaun. This extract exhorted the hunter/sportsman to ruthlessly weed out inferior or

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71 MHA, copy A G's Report.

72 Ibid. A receipt in Vincent's name suggests that he spent about a week in Scotland - MHA, Vincent Papers: Receipt from the Palace Hotel, Aberdeen, 30 June - 3 July (1911 ? date stamp unclear).

73 MHA, Vincent Papers. Capital Expenditure and Repairs necessary to put Muckross Estate in order. Undated, provenance suggests 1911.

74 MHA, Vincent Papers. Notes on work to be done: 'Deer fence to be finished - examine and repair if necessary Deer Fence running from Torc Lodge to Lynch's; and instructions for carpenters: 'Gates for the new deer fence above Torc waterfall'... November 1915.

75 MHA, Vincent Papers. Report of accident to the Commercial Union Assurance Company Limited, signed Arthur Vincent, 2 October 1912.

76 A W B Vincent interview, 21 August 1995.

diseased animals, to feed the animals during severe winters, and crucially, it said the consequences for an isolated deer forest, especially a small one, where no stags could move in from other herds, was that inbreeding soon became apparent, leading to a deterioration of trophy animals - stags with less antler points. While it acknowledged the benefit of a change in blood and good feeding, it stressed that the decisive element in management was well-informed shooting, and this required accurate knowledge of the number and composition of the stock of red deer. The sportsman would be well rewarded by exercising self-restraint and carefully selecting a lesser number of stags for culling[77]. Vincent was certainly influenced by Scottish deer and game management - one recollection asserts that he sent his head keeper Eugene Tangney to Scotland for training[78]. If Vincent was influenced by Sylva-Tarouca's work, then he was broadening out deer management from traditional Scottish practice to include Austrian-Hungarian management. At any rate Vincent acted quickly, and in 1913 he exported red deer hinds to Windsor Great Park, England[79].

The number of animals sent went unrecorded. It was typically the pattern of analysis of game and deer costs throughout the Vincent years that the number and species of game or deer were not accounted for. Vincent hoped for some red deer in return, and selecting Windsor was not haphazard. The Great Park at Windsor was famous for the size of its emparked stags, and particularly for their huge heads of antlers that could go up to over 40 points. The event itself occurred almost within living memory[80]. As World War 1 commenced the following year, Vincent was never to see any red deer sent in exchange, but the understanding that Muckross was owed some red deer from Windsor lingered on for decades. All was still peaceful in 1913, however, and it was a measure of how freely American money flowed into Muckross[81] that game alone cost the estate £691 2s 1d for that year, while income from game amounted to only £61 7s 7d. The head keeper Tangney took care of venison sales; his commission for this in 1913 amounted to £5 14s 4d. A bicycle, together with tools, ammunition, traps, poison, telescopes and the hire of ponies were acquired for the keepers, and Tower Lodge was fitted out with furniture for a keeper's accommodation[82]. Vincent still had to deal with tenants on his deer forest, and he solved the problem in Gortadirra by purchasing, after some negotiations, a separate holding for Ferris, costing £1,125[83]. In maximising all means of revenue, Vincent let for grazing 11 fields, comprising 209 acres, of his demesne; this produced a total rent of £209 5s[84]. Vincent also had the idea of using the water supply from the Punch Bowl lake on Mangerton to operate a sawmill, but his legal advice quickly showed the implications involved. He could not interfere with the dam at the Punch Bowl without permission from Killarney Urban District Council, who had previously acquired land from Herbert and Lord Kenmare at the Punch Bowl for

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77 MHA. Typescript extract:' "Kein Heger Kein Jaeger" A handbook of Game Preserving by Count Ernst Sylva-Tarouca'. The extract, translated into English, refers to red deer, and must have been from the book: E von Sylva-Tarouca *Kein Heger Kein Jaeger* (Berlin, 1899). The title means 'No Conservation No Hunting' as translated by the German Department, UCC, 13 August 1997.

78 Danny Cronin interview 22 November 1995.

79 MHA, Vincent Papers. Income and Expenditure Account for 12 months to 31 December 1913; analysis under game expenditure - the cost amounted to £38 0s 5d.

80 Danny Cronin, interview 15 November 1995. Danny Cronin was employed as a carpenter in Muckross estate, as also was his father, whom Danny recalled telling him the he (his father) had made wooden crates to take deer to England.

81 MHA, Vincent Papers. Accounts for year ended 31 December 1913. The contribution from William Bowers Bourn to the estate for 1913 came to £8,425.

82 Ibid.

83 Ibid. R Ferris to Vincent, 6 January [19]13.

84 MHA, Vincent Papers. Muckross Estate; acreage of fields in Demesne, and Grazing lettings, 1913.

taking its water supply. Furthermore, since Lord Kenmare owned part of the Punch Bowl lake, taking any water from it might cause injury to the Earl. His solicitors advised Vincent that, as a matter of politeness, he should inform Lord Kenmare of his intentions[85]. Vincent's plans had included raising the water level of the Punch Bowl by several feet, and as this would have necessitated considerable construction work within the Muckross deer forest, it is evident that as early as 1913 Vincent was considering exploiting his deer forest lands for purposes other than deer stalking. But once more the native red deer were lucky. The outbreak of war in the following year was the most likely cause for abandoning this scheme.

From the start of the 20th century until the commencement of the Great War in 1914, the Kenmare estate achieved more financial success in maximising its game shooting and deer stalking income than it had during the previous century. Maurice Leonard, the overall estate agent, appears to have been the main public figure behind this drive to woo wealthy lessees to the Kenmare's Cork and Kerry shootings. He prepared a detailed listing of the Kerry shootings, which in summary totalled 79,964 acres, available for letting at a total rent of £950. This information must have been for the estate's own use, as the 11-page typescript was far too detailed for advertising purposes. This vast area was parcelled out into ten separate districts, or beats:

District	Acres	Rent
Rathmore	8,981	£70
Drom	4,301	£50
Coom	9,261	£100
Stagmount	11,241	£100
Kilcummin	6,604	£50
Leamnagulia	5,881	£80
Coolies	11,853	£80
Farranfore	7,763	£60
Firies	7,126	£60
Killarney & Home Parks	6,953	£300

Significantly, the Killarney & Home Parks beat, the most expensive, included the 2,062 acres of the Glena deer forest, grouped together with cover shootings on this beat. This did not mean that the actual deer stalking was included, only the rough shooting at Glena was on offer. The services of the estate keepers were offered free of charge, and applications to be made to M Leonard, Estate Office, Killarney[86]. The gamekeepers employed at the end of the 19th century were T Davidson, D Donoghue and D Scannell, paid quarterly; and D Healy, M Gleeson, J Lyne, T Lyne and R Dwyer, paid weekly - beaters and men assisting in burning the deer forests were paid only when employed[87]. These eight keepers acted on the Kerry shootings. Four keepers cared for the Cork shootings at Bantry; C Cronin paid half-yearly, and N Flynn, J Costigan and T Keohane, paid yearly[88].

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[85] MHA, Vincent Papers. Whitney & Moore, Solicitors, to Vincent, 12 August, 20 October 1913.

[86] PRONI, D/4151/P/1-9. Shootings, Kenmare Estate, Lakes of Killarney. To be let the Shootings over the following Districts on this Estate. Copy typescript list, undated. Its provenance is commencement of 20th century.

[87] PRONI, D/4151/1-9. Cash Book, Earl of Kenmare Game Account, 1897-8.

[88] PRONI, D/4151/H/53. Rental and Accounts for half year to 30 June 1899.

In 1901 Leonard advertised in the *Field* the shooting and stalking of the estate at Killarney, specifying that these would be let 'on reasonable terms'. The lessee would enjoy the exclusive right of shooting, including deer stalking in the deer forests of the Earl of Kenmare, over an area of 'close on 100,000 acres'. Keepers were free, and there would be no charge for rates[89]. The actual area was, of course, just less than 80,000 acres as detailed in Leonard's own lists, and since these were made up of 185 townlands, with the precise acreage of each one noted in acres, roods and perches, it cannot have been other than that the extent of the shootings advertised was a deliberate exaggeration. The following year Leonard again placed an exaggerated advertisement in the *Field,* offering for letting 'the deer stalking of the Earl of Kenmare's extensive deer forests covering about 13,000 acres at the Lakes of Killarney'. No terms were stated, and no details given of the numbers of deer allowed to be shot. Again, rates and taxes, as well as the gamekeeping services, were free[90]. In this overstatement, Leonard had doubled the size of the deer forests; the actual extent of the Kenmare deer forests was, of course, just over 7,400 acres. No mention was made about the unique status of Killarney's red deer, though this was certainly known to the Kenmares. The RIC Inspector Crane, a close friend of the Kenmares and who had stalked with the Earl's permission, stressed this fact in his book on Kerry in 1907, in which he further declared that both the Muckross and Kenmare deer forests were strictly preserved, and inaccessible to tourists[91]. But that preservation was solely for the cash it could generate, and not conservation of an indigenous species. Similar advertising of the Kenmare shootings were placed in the *Daily Express* and the *Constitution* [92].

Taking liberties with facts was nothing new to Maurice Leonard. He was so swift in evicting tenants during the Plan of Campaign that he illegally seized the wrong cattle and a colt, and found himself threatened with proceedings when he illegally seized an innocent travelling tea-seller[93]. His public notice for fishing on the Earl's preserved Brown Flesk and Maine rivers wrongly stated that tickets could be had from a local man, Crowley. Crowley issued a complete denial of this, forcing Leonard to issue an amended notice[94]. His cavalier attitude was much resented by the legal profession. He had told tenants to use shopkeepers instead of lawyers to complete official forms, and when he came before the court purporting to act on behalf of the estate Trustees, his lack of modesty and presumption resulted in being dismissed and told to go and get the services of an attorney[95]. But in exaggerating the shooting and stalking lettings, Leonard and the Earl of Kenmare were not alone. It was common practice for agents to embellish their principal's sporting estates during those years. In 1901 Otway, writing on the Irish red deer, told how a stalker in Scotland proceeded to kill off as many as possible of the finest animals with the best trophy heads, only to find the following year that the stags available on the estate he had grossly overshot were highly exaggerated in the catalogues of shooting agents[96]. Millais, an ardent stalker himself, wrote that every time he looked at agent's shooting catalogues, he found in almost every

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89 PRONI, D/4151/G/23. Letter Book 1900-02, letter No 540, 17 July 1901.

90 Ibid. Letter 945, 30 July 1902.

91 C P Crane *Kerry* (London, 1907) pp 19-20.

92 PRONI, D/4151/M/19. Cash Book May 1900 - December 1903.

93 *Kerry Sentinel* 6 September, 15 October 1890; 17 October 1894.

94 *Kerry Sentinel* 8, 13, 24 August 1898. The Brown Flesk, which flows into Castlemaine estuary, is entirely separate from the Flesk, which flows into Lough Leane.

95 *Kerry Sentinel* 24 August, 25 September 1889.

96 A Loftus Otway 'Irish Red Deer' *Irish Naturalist* No 10 (May, 1901) p 101.

case, for forests he knew well, the number of stags allowed to be shot was twice and 'even three times' what it ought to be[97]. Writing on trophy shooting in Europe between the two world wars, Frank Wallace advised that what was promised in the sporting papers might well not come up to expectations[98]. Nevertheless, his overblown advertising paid off for the Earl of Kenmare. His estate's stalking and game shooting lettings are set out in Appendix 9.

In 1902 Lord Kenmare further increased his sporting territory by taking over the Muckross rough shooting rights, and proclaimed: 'Notice is hereby given that the exclusive Shooting and Sporting rights over the following lands (formerly portion of the Muckross Estate) are now vested in The Earl of Kenmare. Any Persons found Trespassing thereon in Pursuit of Game will be Prosecuted'. The Notice listed 28 townlands, which included Rossacroonaloo in the Glenflesk district. The Muckross deer forests were obviously not included, though Dromdiralough, which bordered them, was. The Muckross fishing rights on the River Flesk, as well as the Muckross interest on Lough Guitane, were also taken over[99]. The Kenmare administration marked out these areas on a map of the Muckross estate, and noted in manuscript 'Kenmare shootings'[100]. While no actual record of payment by Lord Kenmare specifically for these shooting rights could be sourced, interest payments on a loan from Standard Life Insurance Company were described as '[loan of] £600 Muckross Shootings' in the period immediately following their acquisition, and charged to the Kenmare Game Account[101] -none of the many other interest payments to Standard Life were charged to game. It is speculative whether payment, if made, for the Muckross shootings may have passed privately between Lords Kenmare and Ardilaun. There is evidence that the Kenmares did receive some monies directly from the proceeds of game. Lady Kenmare was handed the sums of £30 and £40, and Lord Kenmare was handed £40, from the estate coffers 'on account of game expenditure' in 1890[102]. It is possible that Lord Ardilaun may not have wanted to continue being involved with sporting rights still held on outlying mountains and moors, the lands themselves then no longer in the ownership of the Muckross estate, and may have conveniently passed them on to his friend Lord Kenmare, both fellow Southern Unionists. Ardilaun had retained the sporting rights through The Land Commission's Vesting Orders which, in the case of Muckross tenantry, had reserved:

> the exclusive right to all game as defined by the 27th and 28th Victoria chap.67 and wild fowl deer rabbits and fish and also the exclusive right for them or any of them of preserving the same and of hunting shooting fishing coursing fowling and sporting over and upon the said holdings respectively or any part thereof... [103].

The Earl was likewise enabled to reserve to himself exclusively his sporting and game rights as his tenantry achieved ownership occupation. Now the Earl also had the Muckross sporting rights, and when Leonard was touted for an advertisement on 'Poison Notices' by printers for the *Kerry Weekly Reporter* and the *Kerry News,*

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97 Millais... *Mammals of Gt Britain...* p 102.

98 Frank Wallace *Hunting Winds* (London, 1949) p 48.

99 PRONI, D/4151/C/4. Estate Office, Killarney. Game Notice 3 October 1902.

100 PRONI, D/4151/S/1/A/154. Hand-drawn map of the Herbert estate, c.1850. The mss notes thereon describing part as 'Kenmare shootings' must have been written in 1902, or later.

101 PRONI, D/4151/H/61. Rental and Accounts for half year to 30 June 1903; D/4151/H/62, Rental and Accounts for half year to 31 December 1903. These interest payments of £12 17s 8d half yearly continued in 1904; all were charged to Game Account.

102 PRONI, D/4151/H/35. Rental and Accounts for half year ending 30 June 1890; analysed under 'Sundries' in Game Account.

103 Land Commission Office, Herbert Papers. Court of the Irish Land Commission, Land Purchase Acts. Record Number 2290, before Mr Commissioner Wrench, 15 December 1900.

he included the additional 28 'Muckross' townlands to his previous list of 185 'Kenmare' townlands, and published them as lands with poison laid[104]. This represented a enormous stretch of country, and as the amount of poison purchased by the Kenmares would never have been sufficient to cover all 213 townlands, it was more an advertisement of the extent of Lord Kenmare's preserved lands than of poison laid.

There was both cooperation and competition between the two Killarney deer forests at this time. Since both deer forests marched together, each estate helped its neighbour in putting out fires, as a mountain fire could swiftly spread across the boundary line. And poaching was regarded as a mutual threat. When he wrote suggesting the development of Lough Guitane, Henry Arthur Herbert II pointed out to Leonard that his Muckross keepers had observed deer poachers working their mutual lake shores by Dinis and Glena, and observed that 'the trespass or poaching on one is [the] same as on the other'. He reminded Leonard that his staff had, the other day, helped the Kenmare workers with a fire at Glena[105]. When Leonard, who was preoccupied with poaching, heard that heads and skins of deer were being frequently sent by train from the neighbouring Headford Railway Station, he wrote not only to his own head keeper, Davidson, but also to Thomas Greany, the Muckross steward, telling him that if this went unchecked, it 'must result in an almost complete extermination of the deer both on the Muckross and Kenmare Estates'[106]. This was tacit acceptance by Leonard that the red deer were common to, and ranged over both forests. However, Leonard would brook no interference by the Muckross people into the Kenmare property, and was quick to react if he suspected it. When Ralph Sneyd was back again in Muckross in 1902, he requested from the Earl permission for himself and Lord Clonmel to shoot duck at the head of the Upper Lake (a privilege the Earl had previously granted). When Leonard received reports that Ardilaun's party were duck shooting by the Earl's Lake he immediately assumed they were poaching, and complained in writing to Muckross. In fact, Sneyd had offered Lord Kenmare any duck they might get. When Maurice Leonard's allegation was investigated it was found that no trespass had occurred. In a sharp repost to Leonard, Ardilaun's Dublin agents Stopford & Turner wrote: 'I assume that it is not intended to assert that the exclusive right to shoot is claimed by Lord Kenmare over all the Lakes, as such claim would be totally at variance with the legal position'[107]. Both estates were watching each other carefully, and competition for lessees was keen.

The long-drawn-out legal battle between the Kenmares and the Herberts of Cahirnane over the shooting leases for Bunrower was finally settled in 1900. The case centred on whether the Kenmares had rented the Bunrower lands for shooting purposes or for farming - the Kenmare family's leasing of part of Bunrower dated back to 1852[108]. Over the years, successive Earls had acquired the remainder of Bunrower in lease, and by 1896 the rent was £238 (reduced by agreement from £263). In 1897 the fourth Earl applied to have his rent reduced under the Land Acts, and the subsequent Land Commission and Appeal Court hearings made local and

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[104] PRONI, D/4151/C/4. J Quinnell & Sons to Leonard 11 April 1906; Notice of Poison Laid, listing 213 townlands, by Maurice Leonard, Estate Office, Killarney, 9 April 1906.

[105] MHA, Kenmare Papers. Herbert to Maurice Leonard 14 June 1896.

[106] PRONI, D/4151/G/21. Letter Book 1896-7, letters Nos 463, 464; 14 December 1896.

[107] MHA, Kenmare Papers. Ralph Sneyd to Lord Kenmare (?) November 1902; Maurice Leonard to Thomas Greaney 22 November 1902; Greaney to Leonard 24 November 1902; Stopford & Turner to Leonard 25 November 1902; F A B Turner to Leonard 10 December 1902.

[108] MHA, Kenmare Papers. Copy Lease Sir Thomas Herbert K C B to the Right Hon The Earl of Kenmare 2 April 1852.

national headlines[109]. A letter from the Earl in 1886 to Herbert stated that the purpose of his holding Bunrower was 'to prevent trespassing and to preserve my game'. Nevertheless, evidence by Leonard and others claimed that the Kenmares successively farmed and sublet portions of Bunrower. Leonard had prepared a three-page detailed list of all game shot by the Kenmares at Bunrower, which came in total to 84 pheasants, 33 woodcock, 327 snipe, 123 hares, 66 rabbits, 70 wild duck, 52 teal, 19 wigeon, 22 partridges and 3 wild geese[110]. However, this appears never to have been produced in evidence. Lord Kenmare was not called in evidence, and it was claimed his mind was a blank on any conversations with Herbert of Cahirnane. The Land Commission's decision was that Lord Kenmare was not entitled to have a fair rent fixed[111]. The Earl appealed to the courts and was successful, though one of the appeal judges questioned Kenmare's 'blank mind' on the matter[112]. The Irish Land Commission fixed the new rent at £160[113]. Leonard was exultant, and informed the Earl at Brooks Club, London, that the 'Commissioners have given seventy eight pounds yearly reduction on Bunrower'[114]. Subsequently Herbert of Cahirnane, writing from Champerey, Switzerland, authorised Greany to tell Leonard he would accept the offer of £5,700 for the lands, on condition that the view from his house at Cahirnane would not be blocked by scrub or furze[115]. The coverage of this prolonged affair contained several negative comments on Lord Kenmare, and local press articles revealed how antagonistic nationalist feelings had become to the Earl's landlordism. Kenmare's action was described as a mean performance, since he was 'not likely to be turned out on the roadside to beg for his daily bread'[116]. The Earl may not have felt much distress at such a hostile press, as he could still rely on his royal friendships. When Queen Victoria died in 1901 her daughter Beatrice, Princess Henry of Battenberg, had a souvenir of her mother sent by registered post to him at Killarney[117]. Such connections certainly did not hinder Lord Kenmare in letting his stalking and shooting, and he could afford to ignore local hostility, at least for the present.

A detailed account of rough game shooting on the Earl's Kerry preserves is contained in the published diaries of Charles K Akroyd, who took the Glenflesk shootings for ten consecutive seasons, 1903/4 - 1912/13. Akroyd was born in 1848 into a wealthy English family in Yorkshire, and after moving to Doddington Hall, Cheshire, his early shooting experiences were on carefully keepered and well-stocked English parks. He was privileged to pursue a lifetime of game shooting, deer stalking, game fishing, big game hunting and indeed anything he fancied to kill. He could afford continental shooting expeditions to Turkey, Greece, and Italy, sport fishing in Norway, and a three-year stay in Canada where he shot caribou and moose, became a trapper and lived rough in the bush with his native Indian guides. He was the typical gentleman naturalist, sending bear skeletons

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[109] MHA, Kenmare Papers. Copy extracts from the *Kerry Weekly Reporter* 2 October 1897; *Freeman's Journal* 25 October 1897, 22 July 1899, *Irish Daily Independent* 22 July 1899, 22 February 1900; *Killarney Echo* 17 February, 17 November 1900; *Cork Examiner* 3 October 1900.

[110] MHA, Kenmare Papers. Bunrower Game Returns, 1882 - 1897.

[111] MHA, Kenmare Papers. Land Commission Court, Appeal Commission. The Earl of Kenmare, Tenant; A S Herebert, Landlord. Judgements, 21 July 1899.

[112] MHA, Kenmare Papers. Court of Appeal, Ireland. Lord Kenmare, Tenant; Herbert, Landlord. Judgement of Court of Appeal 7 February 1900.

[113] MHA, Kenmare Papers. Land Law Acts; Order Fixing Fair Rent 14 November 1900.

[114] PRONI, D/4151/G/23. Letter Book 1900-1902. Letter 234, 14 November 1900.

[115] MHA, Kenmare Papers. Arthur S Herbert to Greany 7 September 1905.

[116] *Killarney Echo* 17 February 1900.

[117] MHA, Kenmare Papers. Osbourne Cottage, Isle of Wight, to Kenmare, 23 October 1901.

from Canada to his cousin naturalist Tom Buckley for the Cambridge Museum. True to type, his own collection of birds' eggs included those of osprey and golden eagle. It was characteristic of their class and period that he and his father each had overcoats lined with the hides of Scottish wildcats; the collars and cuffs were made from pine marten and polecat skins. He spent some years commercial fishing and trawling, and when the catch was scarce he collected seabirds' eggs or amused himself shooting rock pigeons from a heaving and tossing small boat underneath cliff faces, as the birds hurtled from sea caves - this he judged to be a real test of marksmanship[118].

As a young man Akroyd came to Ireland in the early 1870s, and though he drew blank when shooting seals in Achill Island, he killed wild geese and wild duck in the Ballina, Erris and Broadhaven areas of County Mayo[119]. In 1879 he came to Muckross as a guest of Edward Amphlett who, he said, 'never asked anyone who was not a good shot'. He shot with Amphlett, Richard Dawson and Colonel Sullivan. The overall bag was small, the party only killing 141 woodcock in eight day's shooting. They shot over the Queen's Drive in the Muckross woods, in the demesne around Muckross House, in the western demesne, and made long expeditions to the Tomies district and to Glenflesk, which at the time was in Muckross ownership. Akroyd was then 31 years old and in the full flush of youthful fitness, and he diaried that 'no day was too long' for him. But getting out of bed at 4 am, travelling 20 miles of country by horse and sidecar, and shooting from first light until late dusk, he found tough going. In Glenflesk he encountered shooting rides so steep that it was 'hand and knee work' on slopes of 45 degrees, through thick heather and undergrowth up to his waist. But nothing stopped his beaters, who 'kept a most beautiful line'. He longed for a rest, and was glad when Sunday came. Akroyd was impressed[120].

Back in Ireland during the troubled years of land agitation, Akroyd rented shooting in Belmullet, County Mayo, for seven seasons, 1884/5 - 1890/91. The cost, compared to Killarney prices, was ridiculously low. He paid £10 for 10,000 acres of shooting, and paid his local guide £1 a week. His overall shooting bags for these seven seasons came to 562 woodcock, 72 grouse, 2,541 snipe, 4 (wild) duck, 20 teal, 12 pigeons, 31 wigeon, 3 scaup, 41 'great' plover, 6 curlew, 5 (wild) geese, 3 barnacle geese, 2 rabbits, 79 hares, and 23 'various'[121]. When shooting seals about for miles off the Mayo coast, he sighted a walrus, 'a small bull'. This was an exceptional record, and Akroyd was careful to comment that as he was so well acquainted with walrus from his sealing expeditions in northern Canada 'there was no possibility of making a mistake'[122]. While in Mayo he shot choughs as specimens for the Cambridge Museum, and continued his interest in egg collecting. He shot a female eagle, went down a rope and got her eggs[123].

When Akroyd returned to Kerry in 1903 he was 54 years old and suffering from gout. During his ten-year renting from Lord Kenmare he never mentioned stalking the Killarney deer. Prior to this, when he had taken the Glenforsa shootings in Scotland in 1895, his companion shot stags but Akroyd did not. He had grown

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[118] This general account is summarised from Charles H Akroyd *A Veteran Sportsman's Diary* (Inverness, 1926). Specific detail on Akroyd's Irish shootings are separately referenced hereafter.

[119] Ibid. pp 30-3.

[120] Ibid. pp 74-6.

[121] Ibid. pp 325-8. For detailed descriptions of the Belmullet shootings see pp 144-204.

[122] Ibid. p 167.

[123] Ibid. pp 156-7, 170.

tired, he said, and no longer cared much about deer stalking[124]. He returned to Kerry for the woodcock shooting in the Glenflesk and Rossacroonaloo district, the sporting rights of which Lord Kenmare had acquired from Muckross the year before. By this time he had a new plaything, golf. In 1901 he 'had a serious attack of golf fever'[125], and the new golf course in Lord Kenmare's deer park was an added attraction for his 'off' days. His interest in returning to Killarney may have been rekindled when he shot Lord Brownlow's preserves in 1888[126]; Brownlow had rented Killarney House and the Earl of Kenmare's shooting that year. Akroyd found that rough shooting in Kerry had not got any easier. His first efforts in Kerry, before taking Glenflesk, was to shoot in the Glencar district, when he was invited to a day's sport in the adjoining McGillycuddy preserves. While at Glencar the beaters told him that 'marten cats' (pine martens) were very plentiful and offered to catch one for him. They brought him one next day. His bag for Glencar came to 15 pheasants, 126 woodcock, 12 hares, 17 snipe, 1 duck, 3 teal, and 3 pigeons[127].

Akroyd's experiences in the Glenflesk district reveal much about game management by Lord Kenmare, and previously by the Herberts. He found that the shooting rides at Rossacroonaloo were seriously overgrown and neglected. When he went directly to the Earl himself for permission to employ a gang of men to clear them, the Earl told him he could do whatever he liked - what mattered now to the Kenmares was to let the shootings. Although the Kenmare ledgers - Appendix 9 - show only nine of Akroyd's ten lettings, Akroyd's diaries make it clear his lettings were for all ten seasons. He was full of praise for the keeper, Pat O'Connor, and for the beaters who 'did not know what it was to be tired'. He found the ground very steep and difficult, and some of his invited friends from London refused to return with him to Glenflesk, as it was too hard work. He received invitations to shoot in Muckross, this time from a Major Waldron, whom he accompanied on several trips and described it as 'nice, easy shooting, compared with my own [rented] woods'. He, like the wealthy of his time, now had a further plaything, the recently available motor car, and those he brought from England regularly broke down (in 1910 he was able to hire a replacement motor car from Macroom, County Cork). But time was spent on the golf course as well as shooting, and some days there was no shooting at all. Nevertheless Akroyd continued to return to Killarney year after year, and his diaries have left an honest record of what rough game shooting was like in the Kenmare estate before the first world war. His exceptionally detailed notes recorded not only what he shot, but also his experiences of the locality, its climate, and its beauty which enthralled him. His bag details for Glenflesk/Rossacroonaloo are summarised in Appendix 10[128].

When the fourth Earl died in 1905, his son Valentine Charles Browne became the fifth Earl of Kenmare (1860-1941). On his father's death he received the condolences of Edward VII, who 'grieved to think he had lost an old friend'[129]. His father had been invested a senior Knight of St Patrick in June 1872, and the new Earl was immediately requested to return the Insignia of that Order to Sir Arthur Vicars, Ulster King of Arms, who offered to assist him in proving his right to vote at the elections for Irish Peers - to prove his right of

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[124] Ibid. p 249.
[125] Ibid. p 276.
[126] Ibid. p 266.
[127] Ibid. pp 281-3, 333.
[128] Ibid. pp 333-6. For detailed descriptions of Akroyd's shootings at Glenflesk see pp 286-311.
[129] MHA, Kenmare Papers. Buckingham Palace to 'Val' (now the fifth Earl) 10 February 1905.

succession[130]. Some of the debts on his inherited estates had decreased, and by 1902 the amount owing to Standard Life had been reduced to £111,000[131]. An evaluation of the overall worth of the Kenmare holdings, made post the Wyndham Land Act of 1903, showed a gross annual income of £33,890 which, less annual outgoings of £9,024, left a net annual income at £24,866. It was estimated that if all three estates - Kerry, Cork and Limerick - were to be sold at 18 and a half years' purchase, the charges and mortgages redeemed, and provision made to provide annuities for dowager and younger children, a net asset yield of £256,150 would produce an annual income of £7,680. A similar exercise on the assumption of selling on a split basis of 23 and 21 years' purchase would still only yield a net annual income £11,334. Both exercises were heavily biased by dependence on the additional bonus of 12 per cent under the 1903 Land Act. Lord Kenmare would have other income, estimated in the case of game lettings and letting the demesne, at £2,000; these he would retain. Additionally, on Lord Kenmare's demise, Lord Castlerosse his successor would benefit from insurance policies to the tune of £110,000[132]. These were optimistic assumptions - the average under previous Land Acts was 17 years' purchase - and no provision was made for legal costs and loss of rent during sale negotiations. Nevertheless, it was obvious that selling out would drastically reduce the family's income. Though still carrying an overall debt of £193,200 in 1905, the Kenmares were not bankrupt, and on his inheritance the fifth Earl went into further indebtedness. He consolidated a number of earlier mortgages, and created a further one for £53,000 with Pelican & British Life. This was additional to several other mortgages already existing, including three mortgages totalling £25,000 with the Barings since1884-7[133], though his in-laws were unlikely to press the Earl on these, provided annual interests continued to be paid. The money was needed to keep up a lifestyle the Earl and his predecessors were accustomed to. Typically, this could involve keeping up to nine visitors and their five accompanying servants in Killarney House, and a month's household costs could be as high as £206 12s 7d[134]. With such demands on his finances, additional to estate running costs, interest and loan repayments, it was fortunate for Killarney's famed beauty that in 1906 the Earl ignored some dubious propositions from a British speculator to acquire and develop the old copper mines on Ross Island in Lough Leane[135].

The fifth Earl, who maintained a sporting and expensive lifestyle, was described as tall, handsome, a superb horseman, and renowned as a dandy[136]. Fox hunting and horse racing were his main passions, and Ireland his chief sporting grounds, though he also followed the leading foxhound packs in England. He hunted in Meath and Kildare, but especially with the Duhallows[137], where his horses were stabled at Kenmares' own

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130 MHA, Kenmare Papers. Arthur Vicars, Ulster, to Kenmare 8 February 1905.

131 Moss...*Standard Life*... p 110.

132 MHA, Kenmare Papers. Estimate of Sale, etc., under 'Purchase Act' 1903. This detailed 24-page financial exercise, although unsigned, appears to be Maurice Leonard's work. It is undated. Newspaper cuttings attached to its pages, which dealt with estate sales and bonuses under the 1903 Act, and contemporary correspondence from engineers and land agents offering to act on land sales, give its provenance as late 1904 – see, for example, McGrath & Co. to Leonard 24 August 1904, followed by G A E Hickson to Kenmare 18 October 1905, and Mr MacKenzie to Leonard 10 October 1905.

133 MHA, Kenmare Papers. Statement Showing the Net Income of the Earl of Kenmare on 1 November 1907. This financial exercise is incomplete.

134 PRONI, D/4151/U/1. Killarney House Household Record Book. On 5 September 1903 Killarney House, in addition to the nine visitors with five servants mentioned in text, catered as well for the Kenmare's governesses, nurse, 25 servants, the Kenmares themselves and children; in all, 51 people.

135 MHA, Kenmare Papers. C W Robinson of Shepherd's Bush, London to Lord Kenmare 25 September, 9 October 1906.

136 George Malcolm Thomson *Lord Castlerosse: His Life and Times* (London, 1973) pp 17-8.

137 *British Hunts and Huntsmen: England (North), Scotland and Ireland* (London, 1911) p 559.

house and lands at Charleville, north Cork. Sport inevitably included deer stalking and game shooting, and his children were introduced to this important statement of their class at an early age. His wife Elisabeth had given their eldest son, Valentine Edward Charles, a game book for Christmas 1902[138], when he was 11 years old. The youthful Castlerosse was already shooting, mostly near home in the deer park and the demesne. At age 14 he had progressed to stalking and shooting fallow bucks, red stags, hinds, and Japanese sika - he always described the sika males as 'bucks'. He and his father - whom he described in his game book as 'Lord Kenmare' - shot together and killed 19 Grouse in 1906, when he was 15 years old. Those who accompanied young Castlerosse testified to the cooperation that existed between the Kenmares and Muckross in matters of game and deer. In January 1907 he, his father, Waldron and Talbot, shot on Mangerton, Pouladerka, the Beech Wood and Game Wood. This was Muckross territory, and Waldron had the lease of Muckross from Lord Ardilaun at the time. On other occasions the youthful Castlerosse was accompanied by Father Benson, P(ercy) La Touche, Mulhall, Douglas, Parsons, Ross, as well as others (indecipherable). He and his father shot the Muckross lands at Tomies and Dinis Island, when he noted that there was snow on the ground and 'Ross broke his leg while going home'. Ross may have been a descendant of the original John Ross who came to Muckross from Scotland in the late 1830s. The young Castlerosse's game book revealed that the Kenmares only shot game birds and ground game when on Muckross property; deer were shot in their own deer park and deer forest. Over the eight years 1902-9, young Castlerosse recorded shooting 8 fallow bucks, 2 stags, 11 hinds, 9 Jap bucks, 19 grouse, 75 woodcock, 22 hares, 114 rabbits, 42 pheasants, 20 wildfowl (wild duck), 9 pigeons, and 12 'various'. The fallow bucks were shot in the deer park from mid-August to the end of September 1905. The red deer and Japanese deer were all shot in Derrycunnihy forests. The red stags and hinds were winter shooting in January 1905 and 1906, with the exception of two hinds shot with Percy La Touche during August 1906. The Japanese bucks were all shot during August, in 1906 and 1909. As well as the deer park, where he shot most of the rabbits, Castlerosse's shooting on the Kenmare lowlands was confined to the Western Park, the Half Moon, the Lake and Bunrower. Entries ceased at 1909, when Castlerosse was 18 years old.

A photograph of a shooting party of 15 people - men, women, boys, guns and a dog, dated January 1907 - is pasted into Castlerosse's game book[139]. A woman's status at such organised shoots by the fifth Earl was later recalled by Nora Robertson, invited instead of her mother who, although a devoted enthusiast of fox hunting, could not bear to see anything shot. An unwritten but strictly observed social hierarchy applied to who was invited, and when. The Kenmares themselves were regarded as the very highest order in this ranking, and their Killarney House was still the centre of social life in Kerry in the first decade of the 20th century. Invitations to the first shoot of the season were confined to those who could and would reciprocate the same honour, and thus were reserved for peers and ascendancy of impeccable breeding, suitably inhabiting country seats on landed estates with game coverts. Invitations to second and subsequent shoots - which produced smaller bags - went to persons of lower social rank. The invited shooters numbered at least six, and they, with their ladies and servants, arrived the evening before. Three Ascot and three full evening frocks were a woman's minimum trousseau; she was expected to wear black on the second night. A lady who did not have her own maid accompanying her was a

[138] PRONI, D/4151/P/1. Game Book inscribed 'Valentine Browne from his Mother. Killarney, Xmas 1902'.
[139] Ibid. Reproduction of original photographs is not permitted by PRONI.

social misfit and risked ostracisation. Women did not shoot. They stood dutifully behind, next to their men's loaders - the keeper who kept his master's guns loaded and ready - and watched the day's slaughter, but they could join in the traditional game-pie at an *al fresco* lunch. On the final day, the ladies were given some of the shot birds to take home. On Robertson's visit, Castlerosse was still a slender youth, and the Roman Catholic Bishop of Kerry was the guest of honour[140]. It paid to befriend the Kenmares, devout Catholics. The fifth Earl continued his family's tradition of giving generously, and in 1907 he subscribed £500 to Killarney Catholic Cathedral[141].

The fifth Earl, when he was Viscount Castlerosse, had experienced at first hand the antagonism of nationalist thinking and action during the 1880s and 1890s. His marriage to Elisabeth Baring, and thus his assumed accession to fabulous wealth, had been criticised in the local nationalist press[142], and his attempt to sell off his Limerick estate in 1889 was rejected by his tenantry[143]. He well knew the nationalist aspirations of his tenants. With lady companions he went to listen when English delegates attended a National League meeting in Killarney[144]. As a devotee of the fox hunt, he would have been well aware that stopping the hunt continued sporadically in southern Ireland into the 1890s[145]. He complained in a letter to electors that he had been forced off the County Council, due to being disenfranchised, as he was not living in the deer park as he had claimed, and was not qualified for Killarney House[146]. Nevertheless his actions, now as the fifth Earl, suggest that he did not harbour resentment and could be magnanimous. During the Ranch War (1906-10) cattle were driven off a mountain on his estate in August 1907. At the Killarney Petty Sessions the cases were adjourned, and the nine men charged were merely cautioned on Lord Kenmare's application, which he did in the interests of peace in the district. After two further adjournments, the cases were eventually dismissed in July 1908[147].

The Kenmare shooting lettings 1901/2 - 1919/20 (Appendix 9) confirmed that the stalking fees were based on the number of stags allowed to be killed. Colonel Hall-Walker's payment of £150 for 1903/4 was based on six stags in Glena, at £25 each[148]. The following season his £500 specified 20 stags at £25 each for Derrycunnihy and Glena combined, and he additionally paid £20 for the River Flesk fishing that year[149]. Thus, an allowance of 14 stags from Derrycunnihy and six stags from Glena was on offer, but whether Hall-Walker MP achieved his quota remains unknown. He was not recorded as returning again, and the following season Derrycunnihy remained unlet and only the Glena forest was taken, by Major Waldron who paid £125 (in two instalments), with the allowed number of stags reduced to five[150] (Waldron had taken Muckross the previous

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[140] Robertson... *Crowned Harp*... pp 71-6. See also Crane... *Memories*... p 208. For a general comment on women's participation in deer stalking, see K D Reynolds *Aristocratic Women and Political Society in Victorian Britain* (Oxford, 1998) pp 56-7. I am indebted to Patricia O'Hare for the K D Reynolds reference.

[141] *Kerry People* 20 July 1907.

[142] *Kerry Sentinel* 24 September, 19 October 1886; 6 September 1887.

[143] Ibid. 14 September 1889.

[144] Ibid. 21 September 1889.

[145] *Kerry Evening Post* 2 December 1893.

[146] *Kerry Sentinel* 4 October 1899; 6 January 1900.

[147] PRO, C O 904/121. British in Ireland, Police Reports. List of Prosecutions in Cases of Cattle Driving, 1907, No 25, Co Kerry.

[148] PRONI, D/4151/M/19. Cash Book May 1900-December 1903. 11 September 1903, p 164.

[149] PRONI, D/4151/H/64. Rental and Accounts for half year to 31 December 1904; D/4151/M/20. Cash Book January 1904 - March 1908. 4 July 1904, p 28.

[150] PRONI, D/4151/M/20. Cash Book January 1904 - March 1908. 23 August, 24 October 1905, pp 86, 95.

season, 1904/5[151]). Thereafter, neither Glena or Derrycunnihy forests were let for 1906, 1907, or 1908. Had the stalking reports been good, the Kenmare forests would have been expected to have continued in demand, and it is pertinent that the neighbouring Muckross forests were let continuously from 1901 to 1907. The fees were not exorbitant when compared to some of the Scottish forests[152], but Ireland necessitated long and often disagreeable sea and train journeys, and was an unpacified country. The Ranch War of 1906-10, which directly affected Lord Kenmare, may well have had some bearing on the fall-off in lettings, but the possibility of the quota of stags not being achievable cannot be dismissed. The Kenmares, unlike Muckross, did not keep a deer pony, and the keeper/stalker was paid separately for bringing down the culled animals. His earnings for this service do not support all allowable deer numbers being obtained[153]. On the basis of Scottish practice, similar to Muckross, deer numbers in the first decade of the 20th century may have been estimated at up to 140 in Derrycunnihy and up to 60 in Glena forests.

The minor payments of £12 10s and £30 by Bowden-Smith were for a restricted number of weeks' game shooting, and it was only after an interval of five years that the Kenmare stalking was again let, in 1910, to W Birkmyre, whose fee of £400 would have allowed him a maximum of 16 stags[154]. Exceptionally, the same year Lord Kenmare also let his stalking on the basis of payment per animal shot. A Mr Davies paid £42 10s for the privilege of shooting one stag and three sika[155]. Birkmyre and Davies must have obtained between them the full compliment of animals, as Donoghue earned £12 16s for cartage of deer, made up by 16 stags at 12s 6d each, plus seven 'Japs' at 8s each[156]. Two further years elapsed before the stalking was again let, through the factors J Watson Lyall, this time to John Bayly who paid a total of £635 for each of the years 1912[157] and 1913[158]. This included £75 each year as rent for Glena Cottage, and meant that the balance, £560 each year, would have allowed Bayly a maximum of 22 stags for Derrycunnihy and Glena combined. In the final 1913/14 season W G Stewart Menzies (? unclear) paid £350, recorded simply as 'shooting season rent'[159]. It may have been the letting of the Earl's own exclusive shooting on his demesne, well stocked with birds from his pheasantry. A further five years elapsed before the stalking was again let, this time to Sir C Arnott, who paid £600 in two instalments[160]. It would have allowed him 24 stags. During these vacant years the keeper Donoghue of Incheens continued the winter cull, as for example in 1911 he earned £4 18s for bringing down 11 hinds and two 'Japs'[161].

Lord Kenmare maintained the full back-up of his pheasantry, gamekeepers, beaters, the supply of game

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151 Akroyd...*Veteran Sportsman...* pp 291-2.

152 See, for example, Orr...*Deer Forests...* Appendix VIII, pp 211-4.

153 PRONI, D/4151/M/26. General cash Book 1908-10 pp 38, 129, 171. A payment of £5 3s 6d to Donoghue in 1908 was for bringing down seven stags and two Japanese sika; in 1909 his payment of £10 10s 6d was for cartage of an unspecified number of animals - this could have amounted to 16 animals; and his payment in 1910 of £2 8s 0d was for delivering six hinds from the forest. Donoghue was paid 12s 6d for each stag, and 8s for each sika or each hind brought off the deer forest.

154 PRONI, D/4151/M/24. Cash Book 1908-26 - even years. 5 July, 16 November 1910 pp 67, 91.

155 Ibid. 25 November 1910 p 93. Lord Kenmare also let the River Flesk fishing on a one-day basis for 5s - Ibid. 25 June 1912.

156 PRONI, D/4151/M/27. Cash Book 1910-13, 19 November 1910 p 35.

157 PRONI, D/4151/M/ 24.19 July, 2 September, 6 December 1912 pp 128, 134, 146.

158 PRONI, D/4151/M/22. Cash Book 1908-26 - odd years. 25 August, 1 December 1913 pp 179, 192.

159 PRONI, D/4151/M/24 3 January 1914 p 151.

160 Ibid. 15 September, 20 October 1919 pp 299, 300.

161 PRONI, D/4151/M/27. Cash Book 1910-13, 10 February 1911, p 56.

licences, ammunition, gun servicing, the clearing of shooting rides and a kennel of sporting dogs as part of his lavish lifestyle. His traditional deer management ensured that Derrycunnihy and Glena deer forests were burned every year. For the home gardens and immediate demesne, four pairs of Belgian Hares were imported. These, a breed of domestic pet rabbits, were typical of the exotic species that the Earl's class kept about their mansions and demesnes for ornament and amusement; Lord Kenmare also kept peacocks and peahens. He made a special contribution in 1913 to the Irish Game Protection Association, towards the upkeep of a retired gamekeeper, an act of charity that revealed his sensitivity to the tradition that old keepers, no longer able to serve their masters, should not be left to live out their last years in destitution[162].

When Killarney House was burned to the ground in the early hours of Sunday Morning, 31 August 1913, it came close to total disaster for the Kenmares. There was never any suggestion of nationalist involvement. A contemporary account made it clear that the fire was accidental, and failure to control the outbreak was attributed to the fire-fighting appliances of Killarney Urban District Council not coupling to those on the private water supply of Killarney House, which supply was in any case not very satisfactory[163]. The local press unreservedly expressed sympathy for the Earl and his family[164], and even the nationalist *Kerryman,* that a year previously named Kenmare and Sam Hussey in a disparaging poem on Southern Unionists[165], was restrained by the tragedy. The Earl and some of his family were immediately accommodated as guests at Muckross House[166], and Arthur Rose Vincent sent his workmen to help during and after the fire[167]. The mansion had been insured for £43,000[168]. It was never rebuilt. Instead, old stables and outhouses of Kenmare House - the Kenmare's previous 18th century home in Killarney town - were renovated and extended. This reconstructed building, known subsequently as Killarney House - hereafter termed Killarney House II, to distinguish it from the 19th century mansion - became home to the fifth and successive Earls and their families[169]. Some contents - paintings, plate, light furniture, books and family portraits - were saved, but the valuable furniture, large paintings and other works of art were burned. It was of exceptional good fortune that the enormous quantity of family and estate papers were housed separately in the Estate Office, in Killarney town. Had these also perished, much detail of the Kenmare estates, and the Kenmares themselves, would have been lost to history.

While at Muckross, the Earl and Vincent would have had an opportunity to discuss their respective deer forests. It was the start of the stalking season. The Earl had successfully let his deer stalking and game shooting, whereas the Vincents did not rent out theirs. Vincent, with massive subsidisation from California, could sit back and enjoy his stalking, while Kenmare had competition from the third Irish deer forest at Glenveigh, County Donegal. This fenced forest was able to list details of the specimen stags shot there, 11 years after its

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162 Ibid. Passim.

163 *Kerryman* 6 September 1913. Thomson gives 1 September 1913 as the date of the fire (...*Lord Castlerosse*... p 30). Mosley gives 31 August as the date (...*Castlerosse*... p 22). The *Kerryman's* account leaves no doubt that the fire occurred on 31 August 1913.

164 *Killarney Echo* 6 September 1913.

165 *Kerryman* 28 September 1912.

166 A W B Vincent interviews 21 August 1995, 18 June 1999. Muckross House Visitors' Book, in the ownership of A W B Vincent, is signed: 'Kenmare' 31 August - 11 September 1913, 'Gerald Browne' 31 August - 22 September 1913, and 'Castlerosse', not dated.

167 MHA, Vincent Papers. Accounts for year ended 31 December 1913, analysed under 'Sundries'.

168 PRONI, D/4151/M/27. Cash Book 1910-13, 29 June 1911 p 91.

169 Bence-Jones...*Irish Country Houses*... pp 162-3.

establishment[170]. By 1902, the Glenveigh forest was already catering for the elite, and hosted the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, Princess Margaret of Connaught, the Duchess of Abercorn, and John and Leone Leslie[171]. In 1912 the British sportsman G W Hartley stalked there, and found the going strenuous and tough. At the time he observed that the two deer forests in Kerry were famous for the weight of their stags and the bags of woodcock[172]. Hartley was impressed with the stags he shot in Glenveagh[173].

Vincent and Lord Kenmare had less than a year to enjoy their lifestyles. For the Kenmares, the Great War of 1914-18 effectively put an end to commercial lettings of deer forests and game coverts. Lord Kenmare and his RIC friend Crane both volunteered, and enlisted at Codford St Mary in September 1914, to the 25th Division then being formed[174]. Kenmare's three sons, Valentine (Lord Castlerosse), Dermot and Gerald, also volunteered. Castlerosse was with the Irish Guards at the retreat from Mons in France on 31 August 1914 when a bullet pierced his right elbow and shattered the bones of his upper and lower arm. Though seriously wounded and captured, he managed through the offices of the American diplomatic service in Paris to get back to London. Castlerosse had been in battle from the start, had been badly wounded, captured by the Germans and escaped, and now, back in London within a few months of the outbreak of hostilities, he was a hero[175]. His brother Dermot, who had also been wounded about the same time, returned to France with the Coldstream Guards and was killed at Loos on 29 September 1916, at the age of 21. The youngest boy Gerald, who was with the Royals, survived to return safely to Killarney[176]. Arthur Rose Vincent was rejected for military service due to his leg disability, but nevertheless became a voluntary ambulance driver on the French Western Front. He likewise made it safely back to Muckross[177]. Stephen Grehan's son Stephen Arthur (1895-1972) - hereafter cited as Major Grehan - was already an army officer and immediately received his call to arms[178]. He likewise survived the human slaughter, eventually returning to Clonmeen.

As the Great War was prosecuted, hunting and field sports were once more acclaimed as the ideal for battle training. Beagling was described as 'a fine school for training our officers, and keeping them fit to rough it when sent to the front'[179]. In an article headed 'The military necessity of hunting', Lord Derby urged that hunting be kept up in the United Kingdom so as to continue the breeding of horses suitable for cavalry work[180]. In Britain, officers home on leave would snatch a day in the hunting field before returning to the front, and possible annihilation. The keepers of both Killarney estates were lucky not to respond to the call to arms. Other

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170 *Field* 25 October 1902. The letter from Donald Carr, head keeper, listed weights and number of points of 19 stags, shot during the 1899-1902 seasons.

171 Vaughan...*Sin, Sheep & Scotsmen* ... p 65.

172 Gilfrid W Hartley *Wild Sport and Some Stories* (Edinburgh and London, 1912) p 101.

173 Ibid. pp 101-21.

174 Crane...*Memories*... pp 216-7.

175 Viscount Castlerosse *Valentine's Days* (London, 1934) p 4. In this autobiographical book - subsequently republished as *Love, Life and Laughter* (London, nd) - Castlerosse confirmed his wounding at Mons. See also Mosley...*Castlerosse*... pp 33-9, and Thomson...*Lord Castlerosse*... pp 44-9.

176 MHA, Glena Visitor's Book. Mss notation. This mss note is in the hand of Dorothy Browne, a daughter of the fifth Earl of Kenmare. This was verified on 8 October 1996 by Elisabeth McCarthy, ex-employee and companion of Beatrice Grosvenor, who was Dorothy Browne's daughter - Dorothy Browne married Lord Edward Arthur Grosvenor in 1914 - see *Burke's Irish Family Records* p 513.

177 Egan...*Bonanza Kings*...p 200.

178 BL/EP/G/768, 1914 Diary. 5 August.

179 *Irish Field* 8 January 1916.

180 Ibid.

Irish gamekeepers marched off to the front[181], where they swiftly learned the difference between war and playing at war. Some would never return. They had their photographs published, posthumously, in the *Gamekeeper's* 'Roll of Honour'.

Both the Muckross and Kenmare deer forests continued to be keepered and preserved throughout World War I, although the effects of ammunition and firearms scarcity, coupled with soaring prices for most commodity goods, meant that commercial stalking was no longer feasible. Percy La Touche, living in Ireland, was able to shoot in the Kenmare preserves in 1915, and his fee of £200 may have been more a reflection of price reduction due to the war than an indication of what he shot; the record simply noted 'shooting rent'[182]. The war did impact on the Kenmare keepers in a different way. In October 1915 the Earl gave three month's notice to nine of his gamekeepers, advising them their employment would cease in January 1916[183], and no further lettings were recorded in the Kenmare estate until after the war. In Vincent's absence the management of the Muckross estate, its deer and game, was still in the hands of Greany, who reported regularly to Vincent by letter. Greany rejected claims of deer trespass by Courtney in the Tomies district, and warned him if any more trouble continued over deer, Vincent would put up a deer fence and Courtney would loose his seven shillings in the pound rent allowance[184]. Vincent had the financial backing of William Bowers Bourn II, and it made all the difference. In sharp contrast to the Kenmares, he was able to maintain a gamekeeping staff of 11 people during the war[185]. Attention to their welfare was not neglected. Tower Lodge, for instance, a keeper's residence, received alterations and additions in 1916[186].

Lord Kenmare had sold the produce of his game coverts and deer forests from 1905 onwards. During the Great War this practice was intensified, and the momentum then generated continued into the mid-twenties. An analysis of the daily sales reveal, in summary, that from 1905 to 1926, venison and other game sales netted the Earl a total of £2,220 2s 2d. This was made up by:

Rabbit sales (1905-26)	£1,146 17s 9d
Venison sales (1916-22)	£ 639 16s 8d
General game sales (1909-26)	£ 379 15s 4d
Deer skin sales (1916-20)	£ 26 15s 4d
Pheasant sales (1918-20)	£ 20 14s 9d
Woodcock sales (1919-20)	£ 2 10s 0d
Hare sales (1920-21)	£ 1 17s 9d

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[181] *Gamekeeper* xviii (1915) Nos 210, 211, 212, 214; xix (1915) No 218; xix (1916) Nos 222, 226. Among the Irish gamekeepers who went to war were: John Mason, an underkeeper at Lambay, Rush, County Dublin; Lance-Corporal Charity from Glenfarne Hall, County Leitrim; P W Lister from Oak Park, County Carlow; Richard Wolfe, underkeeper to Lord Inchiquin, County Clare; J McIntosh, second keeper at Castle Mary, County Cork; C Mollison, keeper to Lord Farnham, County Cavan; John Williams, underkeeper at Ballyfin, Queen's County; William Anderson, underkeeper to Countess of Careysfort, County Wicklow.

[182] PRONI, D/4151/M/22. Cash Book 1908-26. 13, 28 December 1915, pp 234, 235.

[183] PRONI, D/4151/G/29. Letter Book 1915-27. Letters Nos 249, 250, 251, 252, 253 (letters to two persons on one page); all 23 October 1915. The keepers dismissed were J McCarthy, Kilbrean; M Leahy, Mangerton; P Lyne, Anablaha; P Herlihy, Drum; J Scannel, Carrigeen; W Barry (no address mentioned); P Carroll, Maulyarkane; P Leary, Gullane; and J Cronin, Shronebeg.

[184] MHA, Vincent Papers. Mss notes on management of the estate, November 1915.

[185] Ibid. The Muckross keepers were E Tangney, head keeper; Ml Tangney, assistant; John Lynch, deer forest; Patrick Lynch, deer forest; John Casey, Tower Lodge; Denis Doody, underkeeper; Dan Sullivan, Tomies; John Sullivan, assistant; Dan Sullivan Jr., water bailiff; E M Tangney, Gearhameen; and Dl McCarthy, Looscaunach. Their combined salaries came to £412 4s per annum; each gamekeeper received one suit of clothes each year.

[186] MHA, Vincent Papers. Correspondence and estimate from John O'Connor, Builder & Contractor, Killarney, 13 July 1916.

Pigeon sales (1917-20)	£	0 18s 7d
Duck sales (1919-20)	£	0 16s 0d
Total	£2,220	2s 2d[187]

Approximately 92 per cent of 'general game' sales occurred during the pre-war period 1909-10, when detailed analysis was not a feature, and what it may have included remains speculative. Some of the sales of venison and rabbits, and the other minor game sales, were made from a shop the Kenmares had opened. Its location, unrecorded, may have been within the courtyard of Killarney House II, to which the public had access through a back gate on the Ross Road.

During the war and subsequently, rabbits and venison far outweighed in value all other game sales. Rabbit sales, almost double the value of venison sales, had assumed important status as a money earner for Lord Kenmare, and cost him practically nothing to harvest, compared to deer and flying game. His keepers were employed anyway, and in some years trapping contractors paid him rent for the privilege of taking rabbits off his lands. This could amount to £125 for a season[188], almost equal to what Akroyd paid him for a full season's rough shooting. When the Earl's own staff were involved, expenses comprised just a few ferrets and purse nets. Killing them off had the additional benefit of saving his crops from significant damage, as rabbits were regarded as pests. The numbers taken were not recorded, but at prices ranging from 6d to 1s 6d per couple, something in the order of 40,000 rabbits must have been extracted from the Earl's estate over a period of twenty years.

In the Grehan estate, 66,452 rabbits were taken over 25 years (Appendix 13), the two-year period 1909-10 and 1910-11 accounting for almost 11,000 of these. Stephen Grehan's records of the money from rabbits and game are fragmentary, but a general summary from his diaries, 1888-1905, shows he received for that period at least a total of £1,999 11s 9d[189]. With a wage bill running, on average, at £18 per week in the 1900s, Grehan's game income in some years could pay for up to three month's total wages, with rabbit and pheasant sales by far the major contributors[190]. Records of Grehan's associated costs are equally fragmentary. Between 1896 and 1904, the Clonmeen estate noted pheasant food costs at £138 3s 1d; hatching hens (for pheasant rearing) cost £7 13s 9d; and bread for ferrets cost £28 2s[191]. The costs of rabbit trapping only occasionally featured. In 1894 Doran, the head keeper who entered service at 14s per week plus a house and fuel, earned £14 14s 6d from trapping rabbits, paid at four pence per couple[192]. The irregular nature of Grehan's records are understandable. Stephen Grehan's wife had died in 1900 at the young age of 40, at Colombo, Sri Lanka, during one of their extended holiday cruises[193], and Grehan became increasingly irascible in succeeding years. By 1902, at age 43, he was grumbling to his diary 'How old I feel - quite decrepid'[194]. Between 1902 and 1910 he changed his

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[187] PRONI, Cash Books D/4151/M/20.; D/4151/M21.; D/4151/M/22.; D/4151/M/24.; D/4151/M/26.; D/4151/K/111.; passim.. Sales recorded in the Daily Cash Books were sometimes again summarised as totals in monthly or half yearly accounts; these could not be reconciled with daily figures, and have been omitted to avoid duplication. The use of separate Daily Cash Books for odd and even years, both covering the period 1908-26, allowed the use of one while the other was being audited.

[188] PRONI, D/4151/M/22. Daily Cash Book 1908-26. 3 August 1909 p 67.

[189] BL/EP/G/742-59, 1888-1905 Diaries. Summary.

[190] BL/EP/G/418, Cash Book 1902-1912. Summary.

[191] BL/EP/G/372, Game Account Note Book. Summary.

[192] BL.EP/G/748, 1894 Diary. Entry into service, 15 March; summary of trapping payments.

[193] BL/EP/G/754, 1900 Diary. 11 April.

[194] BL/EP/G/756, 1902 Diary. 19 July.

gamekeepers 15 times, summarily dismissing them, one after another[195]. During this period, his notations on game include a unique account of vermin killed over two years, the only such list sourced during this research. For the two years 1905-6, his keepers killed 31 cats (domestic), 87 stoats, 35 hawks, 22 carrion crows, 16 magpies, 1 brown owl, 1 badger, and 3 hedgehogs[196]. By 1914, Stephen Grehan's recordings were becoming haphazard, and the effects of the Great War on his game are unclear. Rabbit numbers had fallen dramatically, and never regained the peaks of 1910-11. Those killed, and some pheasants, were also used for the household, and as gifts to friends. In 1915, from 487 rabbits killed, 54 were taken by the house; in 1916, from 739 killed the house received 51; in 1917, rabbits killed numbered 528, but with little further details, for this or succeeding years[197].

For the Earl of Kenmare, the normal culling of deer by his stalkers/keepers may not have provided sufficient venison for sale, and a slaughter of deer within the Earl's deer park must have supported the volume sold. Venison was additionally sold to the Venison Supply Committee in 1916, to provision British fighting troops. The sum specifically received by Kenmare in this respect amounted to £80 13s 5d[198]. Though Lord Kenmare had correspondence with the British and Argentine Meat Company in Cork, which acted as supplier for the Venison Supply Committee[199], no details of numbers of animals, or weights of venison, were documented. It is significant that the Earl was paid for his supply to a British army he and his family so loyally supported. It is probable that Vincent, who likewise sent venison for the same purpose, was also recompensed.

The accounting methods introduced by Vincent ensured that an exceptionally detailed analysis was kept of venison sent from Muckross to provision British troops. Muckross records show that 44 red deer, and seven 'Japs', were taken from the forest specifically for the Venison Supply Committee. These produced venison totalling 6,792 pounds in weight; red deer averaged 145 pounds, and sika averaged 53 pounds. It was noted that of the 51 animals culled, 15 were shot in the neck, indicating that maximum venison was thus obtained in these cases. The carcasses were despatched in 24 consignments[200]. William Bowers Bourn II had visited Muckross during the summer of 1916, and as an ardent supporter of the war effort in France, for which he was subsequently decorated[201], it is probable he had a significant say in ensuring that a substantial amount of venison was supplied for British troops. Taking 44 red deer from the Muckross forests was taking a lot in a six-week period, more than previously noted in extant records, and may well have involved driving deer to shooters as well as stalking individually those animals shot in the neck. Since up to 11 people, between gamekeepers and watchers, were involved in game at Muckross, driving would not have been a problem and also Vincent had approximately 70 men on his payroll at the time, who could have helped. The Muckross list, which contains weights per carcass, suggests that stags and hinds were killed. Lord Kenmare and Arthur Rose Vincent were both members of the Venison Supply Committee. Initially the Committee was promised over 1,000 carcasses by

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195 Summarised from 1902-1910 Diaries.

196 BL/EP/G/761(6), 1907 Diary.

197 BL/EP/G/769-72, 1915-18 Diaries. Summaries.

198 PRONI, D/4151/M/22. Daily Cash Book 1908-26. 18 April, 13 May 1917 pp 247, 250.

199 PRONI, D/4151/G/29. Letter Book 1915-17. Letter 6 September 1916.

200 MHA, Vincent Papers. Double foolscap ledger analysis sheet, recording deer shot from 4 September to 11 October 1916, and headed: Particulars of Venison Sent to British & Argentine Meat Co., Cork, for Venison Supply Committee.

201 Egan...*Bonanza Kings*... pp 208-13.

Irish deer owners, or about 16 per cent of the deer population in Ireland, then estimated as c.6,000. Up to December 1916 the Committee had received 971 carcasses, estimated to have been about 60 tons of venison, for which the British War Office paid £1,637 13s 7d[202]. Based on this estimate, Vincent's contribution of 6,792 pounds of venison would have been worth about £85, or on a per carcass basis, about £86. Kenmare's receipt of £80 13s 5d - specifically for venison for the troops - would thus indicate that he supplied somewhat less than Muckross, something that would have been expected from the Earl's smaller forests. Lord Kenmare's remuneration came in 1917, and it is significant that receipts from game by Vincent in 1917 had jumped to £188, whereas in the two previous years game income for Muckross had averaged only £51[203]. It is thus probable that Vincent also received payment, though the sources of game income did not feature in his annual accounts.

Sending venison from Killarney for the British army was willing participation by Kenmare and Vincent in the war efforts of the British Board of Agriculture. In Scotland, the Venison Supply Committee was responsible for the slaughter of up to 16,000 deer between 1916 and 1917, and the willingness of Scottish forest owners, plus state intervention due to the war, resulted in the introduction of cattle and sheep to 99 Scottish deer forests[204]. During the Great War, game, rabbits and venison were rationed in Britain, and self-suppliers received no advantage in respect of deer. In Ireland, meat and fats were not rationed[205].

In 1914 William Bowers Bourn II had begun the process of building a new home at San Mateo County, California, and had told Vincent that he could not increase his financial support of Muckross[206]. This elaborate mansion he called 'Filoli' (an acronym for his personal credo: Fight Love Live). He later planted 210 Irish yew trees, brought as cuttings from Muckross, in the extensive gardens on his 654-acre Filoli estate. He named a knoll in his garden 'Dundag', after a promontory jutting into Muckross Lake, close to Muckross House[207]. Bourn, captivated by the beauty of Muckross and Killarney's lakes, nonetheless did continue to fund his beloved daughter and her husband, and in 1916 he settled Muckross House and estate on Vincent for life[208]. Not surprisingly, in a submission in 1917 to counsel by his solicitors concerning a water supply for Muckross, Vincent revealed his intentions of making the estate more cash productive. He queried his legal obligations if he should 'abandon the Home Forest or a large portion of it', and put 1,000 sheep, or a large number of cattle there, instead of deer. At that time, he said, there were on it 'not more than 250 deer'[209]. Vincent was worried that the increased number of grazers on his forest, part of the collecting watershed, might cause pollution to Killarney's water supply. Once more, Vincent had contemplated abandoning his principal deer forest in favour of commercial development. His contemporary comment on deer numbers, from a man as fastidious as Vincent, is revealing. His take-out of 44 red deer, as a percentage of his calculated herd size, was remarkably close,

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202 G Kenneth Whitehead *Deer and their Management in the Deer Parks of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1950) pp 16-7.

203 MHA, Vincent Papers. Summary of Receipts and Expenditure for eight years ended 31 December 1921.

204 Orr...*Deer Forests*... pp 49-50, gives the total as c.12,000; Hart-Davis...*Monarchs*... pp 215-6, says the total for 1916 was c.12,000, and increased to c.16,000 in 1917.

205 Sir William H Beveridge *British Food Control* (Economic and Social History of the World War Series, London, 1928) pp 211,212n, 225, 415.

206 Egan...*Bonanza Kings*...pp 196-200.

207 Ibid. pp 196-7, 206, 212, 220.

208 MHA, Vincent Papers. Whitney Moore & Keller, Solicitors: Case for Counsel to advise Mr Arthur Rose Vincent 13 September 1917. Vincent became owner of Muckross, as a tenant for life, under Settlement dated 18 August 1916.

209 Ibid.

differing by only one per centage point, to the ratio of animals promised to the Venison Supply Committee compared to the estimated national herd. The Home forest was Muckross's main deer forest. The Upper Lake and Tomies forests were smaller, in part under tenantry and let for grazing, and would not have held the same deer numbers. On Vincent's figures, the number of red deer in the entire Muckross forests may never have equalled the 350 'best estimate' of the 1899 Sale Prospectus, and may have been no more than 300, or less. The number of sika remained undetermined. On the basis of its stalking leases, the Kenmare forests would have been hard-put to muster 200 red deer. It is evident, therefore, that Patie Lynch's recollection of 200 hinds being taken from Muckross to provision British troops[210] does not have any backing from the historical record. It was one more example of exaggerated wild animal numbers.

One effect of World War I was that it prevented deer being sent from Windsor in return for the hinds received from Muckross. That was simply a fortunate result of circumstances, not a policy change on the forest owner's part. Soon, political developments in Ireland, commencing with the Insurrection of 1916, resulted in Vincent and Lord Kenmare having far more to worry about than bringing in new blood to their Killarney forests.

Vincent had left the Ambulance Service in France in 1917, and in 1918 the Foreign Office sent him to Chicago as head of the British Information Service there[211]. He delivered a lengthy address at the University of Wisconsin, arguing forcibly for Irish Home Rule, and looked forward to seeing a 'self-governing Ireland - still a part of the British Commonwealth to which it belongs'[212]. In the US, which had entered the war in 1917, there was considerable sympathy with the efforts by Sinn Fein and Irish Insurrectionists to secure political independence and freedom from British rule, especially so after the executions following the 1916 Rising. Whether Vincent was stating official British policy to keep America on side, or expounding his own personal views, remains unknown, though his subsequent actions strongly suggest that he genuinely held such views. He, with his wife and daughter Elizabeth Rose, born in 1915, returned to Muckross in 1919. He was obliged to leave the US because, even though he held Irish citizenship, his length of stay in America was determined by his place of birth - Dhow, India - something that caused him repeated annoyance. His son A W B (Billy) Vincent was born in July 1919[213]. Vincent came home to a country at war with Britain. This, and escalating costs during the Great War, meant he had to look seriously at his financial situation, and whether he could sustain Muckross as a gentleman's sporting estate.

As the country was in the throes of guerrilla warfare, Vincent was busy selling off much of the estate's woodlands. A total of 7,219 trees - ash, oak, larch, elm, beech, lime, chestnut, spruce, Scotch pine - from the Shillelagh Wood, the New Plantation, Torc Mountain wood, and inside and outside the demesne walls, were marked for sale[214]. In 1920, as the Anglo-Irish War/War of Independence advanced, Vincent faced a future in an uncertain country, and had detailed estimates of future expenditure and income prepared. Estimations of capital outlay included £300 for fencing wire for the forests and farm, and £584 for gamekeepers, part of total

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[210] Riney...Red Deer of County Kerry...p 14, already discussed above.

[211] Egan...*Bonanza Kings...* p 211.

[212] MHA, Vincent Papers. 32-page typescript copy 'An Historical Review of the Present Irish Situation, an address delivered before the University of Wisconsin, at Madison, Wisconsin, by Arthur Vincent' 12 July 1918.

[213] Egan...*Bonanza Kings...* pp 215-6.

[214] MHA, Vincent Papers. Archibald E Moran, Stillorgan Park, Dublin: Particulars of Trees for sale on the estate of A R Vincent, Muckross, Killarney. Undated, provenance c.1920

wages (£4,312). The overall deficit for 1920 was estimated to be £6,178, and was to be financed by £4,012 from the owner (Bourn) and by £2,166 increase in bank borrowing[215]. Vincent was looking at an estate that simply had to rely on his father-in-law's philanthropy - Muckross could not pay its way. One possibility that Vincent now considered was commercial forestry, and for the third time he contemplated abandoning his deer forests and considered planting them with commercial timber. His stock of land for this purpose was listed as 8,345 acres, which included all his deer forests in the Tomies, Upper Lake, Torc, Mangerton, Tower Lodge and Dinis districts[216]. His plan, if implemented, would effectively have obliterated the entire Muckross deer forests. Economic necessity, not conservation of the native red deer, was the determining factor in prioritising his policy for Muckross. Yet, once more, the future for the conservation of red deer, game, and the wildlife population of the deer forests depended on fortunate chance. The uncertain political situation brought about by the declaration of an independent Dail, and the volatile social conditions stemming from the Anglo-Irish War and later Civil War, resulted in all schemes being put on hold. Vincent himself became actively involved in the conflicts that threatened his and all other landowners' future.

In 1903 Vincent had threatened a native chief and his tribe in East Africa that he would burn down their village and take away their cattle if he and his porters were not given provisions[217]. Now, during the Anglo-Irish War, he himself experienced what it was like to be at the receiving end. In 1920 his farm was set alight, resulting in losses of machinery and produce amounting to £3,000[218]. Nevertheless, he overlooked this incident and, putting it behind him, Vincent tried repeatedly to broker a truce and peace-deal between the IRA and the British coalition government throughout February and March, 1921. He forcibly articulated his views and suggested solutions in letters to the press in March 1921. He was frank in his meetings with Erskine Childers and other Sinn Fein people, but their participation with him was dependent on Vincent getting a reprieve for prisoners under sentence of death, which he failed to do. His meetings with Philip Kerr, Private Secretary to Lloyd George, and with Sir Basil Thomson, were not successful. Thomson's reply to his request for safe conduct for Sinn Fein representatives to go to London was that it would be provided to anyone except Michael Collins. When Vincent himself went to Downing Street, and on to Chequers, he was obviously worried about his own safety, and sent the correspondence concerning his truce efforts to H Wickham Steed, editor of *The Times*, for safe keeping. While his efforts came to naught, Vincent's correspondence and diary notes reveal a man who was deeply unhappy with the activities of the Black and Tans and Auxiliaries, and his acceptance that independence was inevitable for Ireland, but within the British Empire. He had several correspondents who shared his views. His friend Shane Leslie told him in July 1921 that he favoured a Republic, with Belfast left out - Vincent himself had found Northern Unionists intransigent and unco-operative when he met them, and he vetoed Carson being invited to a meeting he had proposed. Hum Bland of Blandsfort, Abbeyleix, told him that as Britain accepted it was at war, then Sinn Fein committed no crime. Vincent was genuine in his efforts to negotiate a settlement, and

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[215] MHA, Vincent Papers. Estimated expenditure on capital outlay, wages, taxes, fixed charges, and charities; values of farm and garden produce, cattle sales, values of farm machinery and farm stocks; summary of estimated accounts for 12 months to 31 December 1920; mss schedules dated September 1920.

[216] MHA, Vincent Papers. Lands on hands 1920; Muckross Estate, List of Townlands to be Considered in Respect of Proposed Re-Afforestation Scheme, June 1920.

[217] MHA, Vincent's African Letters. Vincent to father 17 December 1903 - diary entry 20 December 1903.

[218] MHA, Vincent Papers. Vincent to Samuel Insull, Chicago, 28 December 1920.

offered Muckross as a venue for all parties to meet and discuss a truce. His neighbour MacGillycuddy offered accommodation for some representatives at Flesk Castle - but only to Protestant men, and perhaps some people of 'commerce'. Vincent displayed no such bigotry in his dealings with the Nationalists, and despite the burning of his farm, he harboured no bitterness and was willing to talk to all sides, and indeed accommodate them at Muckross House[219].

The Grehans' attitude to the Rising and Anglo-Irish War was ambiguous. It was an indication of their attitude to republicanism when Major Grehan, writing home immediately following the 1916 Uprising, advocated the ringleaders be hanged, as shooting them would be 'a waste of lead'[220]. Yet, as the struggle for Irish Independence raged in 1919, his father Stephen Grehan was happily shooting at Frenchpark in the company of Douglas Hyde[221], who strongly favoured separation from Britain, and wanted Ireland de-Anglicised. The politics of imperialism and nationalism could be conveniently set aside while the gentry enjoyed a day's shooting. Stephen Grehan, too, experienced the War of Independence at first hand. Clonmeen was raided by 'about 20 masked men' who searched his house[222]. However, it was the restrictions of martial law the irked most of all. Stephen Grehan wrote at the year end: 'Most dull and rotten winter up to now. No guns allowed. Have not fired a shot since last season and no likelihood of firing one, either'[223]. Nevertheless, when the British military surrounded Clonmeen and arrested two of his workmen, Paddy and Mark Harrington, Stephen Grehan's diary entry that he was 'very sorry', appears genuine[224]. When two IRA men came to Clonmeen and took away his telephone, Grehan noted 'They were quite civil and apologetic'[225]. For a man as cantankerous as Stephen Grehan, these were surprising reactions. By the end of 1921, when his first shooting invitation since March 1920 came[226], Grehan was once more out with his shotguns. It was a temporary reprieve, however, and during the following Civil War, Grehan diaried it was a 'beastly gloomy filthy day, and no newspapers to give one any interest in life. It is very miserable....no one to see, and nothing in [the] way of sport...'[227]. But he brightened up when the trains were back in operation, and he could return once more to slaughtering game with his friends at nearby Longueville[228].

In 1922, the auditors Kinnear & Co., when presenting annual accounts to Vincent, advised him a new estate agent would be required, as Greany had died in December 1921. The replacement was Major Edgar Lecky Phelps, who was married to Vincent's first cousin[229]. Kinnear & Co presented a summary of eight years accounts, 1914-21 inclusive, which left Vincent in no doubt what it cost to run Muckross, and how this was

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[219] MHA, Vincent Papers. Details taken from extensive 263-page typescript copies of Vincent's correspondence and diary notes, 1920-21, presented by A W B Vincent in 1958. The offer of Muckross House as a venue to arrange a peace conference is also contained in *Cork Examiner* 22 February 1921.

[220] BL/EP/G/1017, Major Grehan from Salonika to father 30 April 1916.

[221] BL/EP/G/773, 1919 Diary. 16 December.

[222] BL/EP/G/774, 1920 Diary. 12 September. A Grehan family tradition holds that prior to this, Clonmeen was raided by the Black and Tans, who demanded money or they would burn the house and blame the IRA - Peter A Grehan interview 23 September 1998.

[223] BL/EP/G/774, 1920 Diary. 31 December.

[224] BL/EP/G/775, 1921 Diary. 23 April.

[225] Ibid. 9 May. The IRA left a receipt with Grehan: 'Hqrs. 5th Batt. To Mr Grehan D L. 9/5/21. 1 portable telephone set commandeered by above authority. Signed Batt Adjt'.

[226] Ibid. 16 December.

[227] BL/EP/G/776, 1922 Diary. 28 December.

[228] BL/EP/G/777, 1923 Diary. 15 January, 27 December.

[229] A W B Vincent interview 18 June 1999.

financed. Expenditure had exceeded income by £45,979 over this eight-year period. The deficit was funded by £43,335 from 'Owner' (Bourn), and increased bank borrowing of £2,754 - the balance made up by insignificant items. Game had cost, in total, £ 5,528, while game income for the same eight years amounted to only £600[230]. Keeping a gentleman's sporting estate and deer forests was an expensive pastime that depended entirely on Bourn's munificence. Vincent looked hard at these figures, and on 'Filoli'-headed stationery he drafted a letter to his father-in-law, telling him that despite receiving a personal income from Bourn of £6,000 a year (additional to the funding for Muckross, and extra funds for Income Tax), he and his wife Maude were still in personal debt, amounting to £8,900. He added 'there is no more timber to sell', and to reduce their debt and meet the yearly deficit on the estate, a higher allowance was needed, 'plus what we can save from Income Tax and by letting the shootings'[231]. (Kinnear & Co had pointed out to Vincent in their report on the 1921 accounts that his Income Tax was in arrears). However, letting out shootings during the Civil War (1922-3) was impossible. The use of firearms was forbidden. Even in 1920, when asked by the Parish Priest of Beaufort for a day's shooting in the Tomies and the Gearhameen districts, Vincent had replied 'At this time to be found in possession of arms, the penalty was death'[232]. In 1922 a local priest, Fr Allman, risked prosecution for this very act. He had been reported shooting in Lord Kenmare's forest, and after crossing over into the Muckross forest, he asked John Casey, Vincent's keeper, if there were any deer about. Later Fr Allman called to Muckross and apologised for his transgression, which could have been potentially most serious if caught[233].

Vincent and Lord Kenmare soon found themselves dealing with the newly established Irish Free State. The Land Act of 1923 caused Vincent considerable worry in relation to those tenants in his deer forests and lowland farmlands who still enjoyed a rent reduction in lieu of compensation for deer and game trespass. His concern particularly applied to tenants who occupied part of Ardagh, Carrigfreaghane and Gortahoonig, townlands outside the deer forests and which, in the opinion of his solicitors, formed part of the Muckross demesne. The Act provided that, subject to certain exclusions, tenanted land would vest in the Land Commission[234]. Tenants would be entitled to a reduction of 25 per cent on rent arrears, but Vincent, who paid a head rent on these lands to the Lawlor Estate, would not be entitled to any reduction. Further, the method of calculating the sale value of such tenanted lands would be based on 75 per cent of the reduced rent, which in effect would leave Vincent with little compensation. The crucial question was, should that calculation of sale value be based on the old rent prior to Lord Ardilaun's agreement of seven shillings in the pound reduction, or on the reduced rent which Vincent had continued to honour. Vincent argued that it should be on the old, higher rent. He based his arguments on the fact that Ardilaun's reduction had been conditional on no legal proceedings being taken for deer or game trespass, and also on the grounds that Ardilaun could not accede to sell their holdings to these same tenants because of the 'circumstances of his property'. These circumstances, Vincent maintained,

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230 MHA, Vincent Papers. J A Kinnear & Co. report on 1921 accounts, 21 April 1922; Summary of Expenditure, Receipts, and Cash Paid for Labour for eight years ended 31 December 1921, and Receipts and Expenditure Account for the like period.

231 MHA, Vincent Papers. Mss draft of letter on 'Filoli' stationery, in Vincent's hand. Undated, it refers to his own mss notes made on the eight year summary of accounts to 1921; its provenance indicates late 1922.

232 MHA, Vincent Papers. Vincent to Fr E Fitzmaurice 7 December 1920.

233 MHA, Vincent Papers. Report of John Casey to Vincent 22 October 1922.

234 *An Act to Amend the Law Relating to the Occupation and Ownership of Land and for Other Purposes Relating Thereto* (No 42 of 1923), Section 24.

were that when the greater part of the Herbert estate was sold to tenants under the 19th century Land Acts, those holdings now in question were specifically excluded because they were deemed essential to the 'preservation of the present Muckross estate as a unique residential and sporting asset'. Vincent held that since the purchase by Bourn in 1911, damage by deer and game had entirely ceased, and Bourn had told the tenants in 1912 that he was only willing to continue the Ardilaun rent reduction allowance on condition that their applications to purchase were not renewed. However, in 1921 these tenants had formed the Unpurchased Tenants Association, and under the 1923 Land Act they would automatically be entitled to acquire their holdings by the action of the State. As there was no competent court at the time, it was characteristic of the man's undoubted generosity that Vincent offered to accept 50 per cent of the reduced rent until there was a court to settle the difference. The tenants' solicitor contradicted Vincent's claim on trespass, and told the Land Commission that 'the trespass of game has become so bad that it is intolerable'. In 1924 Vincent was told by his agent Phelps that counsel's opinion deemed he would have to grant the 35 per cent reduction that Ardilaun had given, both as a recovery of arrears of rent and as a basis for tenant purchase. It must not have been easy for Vincent to accept this decision. In 1923 he had put his argument succinctly to his solicitors: 'The State compels the Tenant to buy and the Landlord to sell and it gives to the Tenant the shooting rights'[235]. However, Vincent did have significant success later, and created an important legal precedent in 1928 when his argument was accepted that fishery rights in a river bordering lands being sold to a tenant were not a fishery appurtenant to these lands, even though the map showed half of the river bed as part of the lands being transferred. He kept his fishing rights[236].

Vincent's claim that his tenants' lands were trespass-free from deer was not well founded. Courtney in Gortadirra had complained of deer trespass in 1915, and independent evidence suggests that his assertion of his lowlands being free from deer was suspect. A young IRA fighter from the nearby Barraduff district, Jeremiah Murphy, knew Vincent's gamekeepers Patie Lynch, Angus McLeod and Matt Leahy. In 1922 Murphy and his companion Bill Sullivan clandestinely visited the Muckross deer forest with Patie Lynch and saw the red deer on Torc mountain. After the Civil War, when Murphy was employed as a chauffeur by Thomas Cooper in Killarney, he recalled a car being run off the Muckross road after hitting a deer, and while he himself was returning from Kenmare/Nedeen his own car struck a deer on the same Muckross Road. On another occasion a large stag jumped over the bonnet of his car. On yet a further occasion Murphy counted 24 deer crossing the road before him, temporarily blinded by his car's headlights. These incidents occurred during 1924-5, on the lowland main roadway between the Home deer forest and Muckross demesne[237]. Although Vincent employed at the time a staff of five men to patrol and repair his extensive wire fencing - D Connor and J Lynch on lowlands; M Murphy, Jack Lyne and Tim Lyne on the mountain fence[238] - yet he did not succeed in excluding red deer, or indeed sika deer, from the Muckross woods and lowland pastures. That trespass was intolerable, as

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[235] MHA, Vincent Papers. Vincent to solicitors 1 September, 9, 10, 11 November 1923; Whitney Moore & Keller Memorandum 27 November 1923; T O'Shea, solicitor for Tenants, to Irish Land Commission 10 January 1924; Phelps to Vincent 18 April 1924.

[236] *Vincent's Estate*: Wylie, J (Judicial Commissioner) *Irish* [Law]*Reports* (1928) p 627; *Irish Law Times Reports* Vol 62 p 103.

[237] Jeremiah Murphy *When Youth Was Mine; A Memoir of Kerry 1902-25* (Dublin, 1998) pp 184-5, 285, 292, 294, 298. Although written many years later, Murphy's recollections of events in the Anglo-Irish and Civil Wars, and of places and names in the Killarney district, are so accurate that there is no reason to doubt his recollections of seeing deer in the Muckross district. His reference to Sir Arthur Vincent (sic - p185) was not so much an error as an automatic assumption by a small farmer's son that the owner of a mansion as large as Muckross House, and its vast estate, must be one of the ennobled gentry. Knighthood would have pleased Vincent.

[238] MHA, Vincent papers. Muckross Estate Weekly Wages Return, 6 November 1926.

alleged by O'Shea, the Killarney solicitor for the Unpurchased Tenants Association, may well have been an overstatement, but O'Shea's assertion that trespass continued to occur was not without foundation.

In 1921 the 64-year-old William Bowers Bourn II suffered a severe stroke. Thereafter he was confined to a wheelchair, and life became difficult for him. Several subsequent minor strokes were followed by another major stroke in 1922[239]. Seriously ill, Bourn could no longer travel to his beloved Muckross, but had become so captivated by its exceptional beauty that he decided to bring Muckross to Filoli. In 1924 the artist Peixotto was commissioned to paint murals of Killarney's scenery on the walls of the ballroom at Filoli. Peixotto's murals were installed in 1925[240]. Bourn, now an invalid, continued to magnificently fund Muckross and Vincent's lifestyle. During Vincent's necessary absences, life at Muckross continued under the care of Phelps, who ensured the exclusivity of the estate was maintained. He allowed some persons in motor cars come in and see the rock garden, 'but only people of standing'[241]. Deer and game featured rarely in correspondence, other than the repetitive yearly cycle - burning of the deer forests, settling the pony tracks for stalking[242], and getting two Mannlicher rifles for keepers Lynch and Casey[243]. When the celebrated tenor John McCormack visited Killarney in 1924, Phelps had Tangney take him fishing on the lake, and McCormack asked could his boy go after 'Jap bucks'[244]. The opportunity of shooting a sika buck was also offered to Lord Lansdowne when he visited Muckross in 1927[245]. Phelps's personal activity in shooting appears to have been limited. He shot grouse on Mangerton on the opening day, 12 August[246], and shot at two sika bucks with Tangney, wounding one - both animals escaped[247].

The major concerns in Phelps' correspondence were unpaid bills and the developing political situation. A sum of £121 2s 6d was due to 'the Castle' (the Revenue Commissioners at Dublin Castle) and the accountants had advised it was important to keep 'in their good graces as much as possible', and pay it. The local manager of the National Bank had written for interest outstanding on Vincent's account. The solicitor Nathaniel Taylor advised that a Writ issued by Maude's creditors for a trifling sum should be paid before the matter reached the newspapers[248]. That such relatively small sums should be left unpaid must have been as a result of procrastination due to Vincent's absence, or tardiness on Vincent's own part, as there was no real money shortage. In 1926, Bourn's contribution to the estate was £9,902 16s 7d[249], and it is inconceivable that Bourn would have seen his daughter short. He had already purchased a plot and built a separate new home for her at Pebble Beach, California, by 1925[250]. Besides, Vincent did not use his deer stalking and game shooting to generate income, and his lifestyle displayed no sign of cash shortage. He was able to take an extended sailing

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239 Egan...*Bonanza Kings*... pp 225-9.

240 Ibid. pp 231-5. See also Vincent...'Ireland...in California'... pp 9-11, where these murals are illustrated. Peixotto and his wife stayed at Muckross for six months - Muckross House Visitors' Book, 1924 entry.

241 MHA, Vincent Papers. Phelps to Vincent 9 June 1927.

242 Ibid. Phelps to Vincent 23 February 1924.

243 Ibid. Phelps to Vincent 18 April 1924.

244 Ibid. Phelps to Vincent, undated. McCormack's Killarney visit was covered in the *Kerryman* 2 August 1924.

245 Ibid. Phelps to Vincent 12 August 1927

246 Ibid.

247 Ibid. Phelps to Vincent 29 July 1927.

248 Ibid. Memo Donnelly to Taylor 21 June 1927; National Bank to Phelps 22 June 1927; Taylor to Phelps 12 July 1927.

249 Ibid. Accounts for year ended 31 December 1926.

250 Egan...*Bonanza Kings*... pp 230, 234.

holiday with his Swedish friends the Loeffers in 1926, and he and Maude often went to Cannes in the south of France to escape the Muckross winters[251]. It may have been that Vincent, now 51 years old, was getting careless with small money items. For Phelps, there were other, political, worries besides finance. De Valera's formation of a new political party, Fianna Fail - the Republican Party and anti-Treaty, who strongly opposed the pro-Treaty Cumann na nGaedheal party then in government - was a cause for concern. Commenting on the general election of 1927, Phelps told Vincent: 'The Elections to-day are causing great excitement... If the Republicans win we are in the soup'[252].

In 1928 Bourn, contemplating his own mortality, told Vincent to live within his means. When her father's health seriously deteriorated towards the end of that year, Maude and her children hastened from Cannes to go to Filoli - Vincent returned to Muckross. While on board ship during that winter passage Maude caught pneumonia, and died in a New York hospital on 12 February 1929[253]. Devastated, Bourn set about settling his affairs as he faced his own demise. In 1929 he began selling off his Californian-based assets, and it was a measure of his wealth that the proceeds exceeded US $41,000,000[254]. With his wife dead and his father-in-law now in serious decline, the outlook for Vincent was bleak, and the future upkeep of Muckross, its deer forests and game coverts, were no longer guaranteed.

From the second decade of the 20th century onwards, the cash situation for the Kenmares must have been depressing in comparison with the American-funded wealth of the Vincents. Cash sources from venison and game sales were supplemented by the disposal of some surprising items from the Earl's estate. Among the many articles sold were some geese, poultry, an old telephone, a pony cart, an old donkey, harness, an old range, old wire, old iron, and produce sales of hayseed, wool, sheep skins, and deal timber from their sawmills[255]. Every opportunity was seized upon to bring in cash - rent of an advertising site to British Petroleum Co., Ltd, and the sale of old books, hatching hens, the hatcheries cart, some trout, and renting a site to a visiting circus[256]. Income from such items was paltry in relation to the Kenmare's lifestyle, and larger sums were needed. The fifth Earl turned to selling off his woods. In 1914 Lacka Wood was disposed of to M Kirkpatrick & Sons for £1,000. The same firm bought the Earl's Bantry woods in 1915, and paid £2,000 and £650 to Lord Kenmare - some of this may have also been in respect of Lacka[257]. This woodland, situated in Gortagullane and forming part of the eastern border of the Muckross woods, had been planted in 1879 over 20 weeks at a cost of £256 0s 8d - Herbert had paid portion of the cost of the boundary fence at the time[258]. Kenmare sold off the cleared Lacka ground in 1916 to Muckross; Bourn paid £200 for the fee simple of just over 68 acres[259]. For Muckross, it was a neat extension of its holdings as far as the roadway which ran from Gortagullane Cross southward to 'the foot of

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[251] Ibid. pp 237, 240.

[252] MHA, Vincent Papers. Phelps to Vincent 9 June 1927.

[253] Egan...*Bonanza Kings*... pp 239-41.

[254] Ibid. pp 243-6.

[255] PRONI, D/4151/M/21. Cash Book February 1905 - June 1908, passim.

[256] PRONI, D/4151/M/22.; D/4151/M/24. Cash Books for odd and even years 1908-26.

[257] PRONI, D/4151/M/24.; D/4151/M/22. Cash books for odd and even years 1908-26, 19 September 1914, 26 June 1915.

[258] PRONI, D/4151/H/1.; D/4151/H/13. Rental and Account Books for 1873 and half year to 30 June 1879.

[259] PRONI, D/4151/A/44. Draft Conveyance, Gortagowlane (sic) to Wm Bowers; Indenture -- day of -- 1916 between the Right Hon Earl of Kenmare (Vendor), John Baron Revelstoke; Hon Cecil Baring (Trustees) and William Bowers Bourn of Muckross (Purchaser) ... agree to sell for £200...lands at Gortagullane known as Lacka Wood containing 68 acres, 1 rood and 24 perches statute measure...

Mangerton', and woodland expenditure in post 1916 Muckross accounts may have been in part applicable to the replanting of Lacka. For the Kenmares, it was just one of their protracted sell-offs, and the loss of 68 acres did not hinder the continuance of their deer and game administration. The Kenmare deer forests and game coverts had been maintained throughout the Great War, but matters were to change. The Anglo-Irish and Civil Wars had a far more serious impact on the Kenmares than they had on the Vincents.

Action against the sports of the privileged ascendancy had continued after the 19th century Stopping the Hunt campaign, and it became part of the insurgent nationalist protests in the early decades of the 20th century. In 1907 the opening of the Ormond Hunt ended in a riot, due to the presence of two members whom the local United Irish League had branded as obnoxious[260]. In 1911 the Tipperary hounds were poisoned, and the hunt owner left the country[261]. In 1919 Sinn Fein stopped the Ward Union Hunt, stopped another hunt in County Kilkenny, and stopped a further hunt in Tipperary. The race meetings at Fairyhouse and Punchestown were abandoned[262]. The bitterness that lingered over memories of evictions by the Kenmares during the Land War, and particularly during the Plan of Campaign, had carried over from the 19th century, and as the Anglo-Irish War intensified, that anger was visited on the fifth Earl's property. In 1919 the Kenmare estate received compensation of £621 for malicious fire damage to timber[263]. The IRA sought guns, and gamekeepers were an obvious source. In February 1919 the Kenmare gamekeeper John Lyne was accosted on the roadside at Derrycunnihy when returning from shooting hinds with keeper Dan Donoghue in the Derrycunnihy forests. Lyne's deer rifle was demanded by two masked and armed men. When Lyne refused, one man fired and hit Lyne in the thigh. Lyne later said he put cartridges into his rifle and returned fire as he was 'between standing and falling'. One of his two bullets blew away the top of one man's skull, causing instant death - he was Patrick Casey, 22 years old[264]. Lord Kenmare received compensation £32 7s 3d for two telephone instruments taken from Park and the Priory[265]. Assaults on the Earl's property continued. For a shed burned in his kitchen garden, Lord Kenmare was paid £22 14s 3d; for four cannon taken from Ross Castle he received £22 7s 2d; for damage to balustrading the compensation amounted to £47 7s 6d; and for trees cut and felled the award was £74 9s 3d[266]. Lord Kenmare had claimed £235 15s 6d in this last case, calculated for trees taken from the demesne and Cronin's Park to block roads, plus damage to his demesne wall, the loss of his iron gates, and galvanised sheeting taken from his boathouse at Glena[267]. The much reduced compensation awarded by the Irish Free State must have been a chilling reminder to the Earl that control of the law was no longer a proprietary right reserved for members of the ascendancy and nobility, and in some cases he even had to appeal a second time before he received the monies awarded to him. Glena Cottage itself was burned down in 1920[268]. Kenmare claimed

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260 *Irish Field* 2 November 1907.

261 Ibid. 7 January 1911.

262 Ibid. 22 February, 1, 15, March 1919.

263 PRONI, D/4151/M/22. Cash Book, odd years 1908-26. 2 May 1919.

264 *Kerryman* 3 May 1919. 'Derrycunnihy Tragedy ... Verdict at Inquest' . See also Crane...*Memories*... pp 247-8.

265 PRONI, D/4151/M/22. Cash Book, odd years 1908-26. 17 October 1923.

266 Ibid. 29 October, 1 November 1923; 23 January, 27 February 1925.

267 MHA, Kenmare Papers. Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, Form No 7. Claim for loss by the Right Honourable Valentine Charles, Earl of Kenmare... for £225 15s 6d...3 January 1923.

268 MHA, Glena Visitors Book. Mss notation 'Glena Cottage was burned (maliciously) down during the rebellion in 1920'.

£5,000, and was awarded £2,900[269]. Glena Cottage, the administration and gamekeeping centre for the Glena deer forest, was certainly a significant loss in terms of the Earl's opportunities for future letting of deer stalking at Glena. The Cottage was never rebuilt. During the Civil War, Lord Kenmare's Lisnagree House at Charleville, County Cork, - his centre for hunting with the Duhallows - was taken by the Irregulars (the Republican, anti-Treaty IRA). Three thoroughbred hunters, three saddles and three bridles were taken and destroyed[270]. In this case, compensation included an award for the house itself, and the Kenmare estate received £1,903 18s 3d in restitution[271]. A sum of £530 was paid, on account, in compensation for the burned Mulgrave RIC Barracks, and apparently the Franciscan Friary in Killarney made representations on the Earl's behalf[272]. Malicious damage on the Earl's property continued into the late 1920s, but on a reduced scale. In 1926 the Earl claimed £250 for a bridge destroyed over the Galway River[273]. This bridge led directly to the Derrycunnihy deer forests.

Apart from the fire damage to Vincent's farm, criminal injury to the Muckross estate was, by comparison, negligible. Had the Herberts still been in possession, they would certainly have experienced some of the anger for perceived past injustices, whereas Vincent had no tradition of evictions or agrarian protests. Anecdotal evidence suggests that individual Republicans were not repugnant to him. He was known to 'turn a blind eye' to fugitive Republicans who used boats on his shoreline for escape routes across Killarney's lake system, and to give money to some of them[274]. His personal valet, John O'Shea, was a well-known Republican whom Vincent continued to employ after he had left Muckross; O'Shea was imprisoned three times for his republicanism[275]. Vincent's own gamekeepers were friends with those involved in the republican movement. Joseph Murphy, the IRA activist and anti-Treaty Republican, went to dances with gamekeepers Patie Lynch and Matt Leahy, and they were later invited to his 'American Wake' when he left Killarney for the US. The Scottish keeper Angus McLeod was also friendly with Murphy[276]. The Kenmare keepers 'Young' Dan Donoghue and his father 'Old' Dan Donoghue, gamekeepers for the Derrycunnihy deer forests, were very much republican sympathisers[277].

The succession of wars from 1914 to 1923 created a hiatus during which virtually no letting of either the deer stalking or game shooting was feasible in the two Killarney estates. These field sports were pursued, however, by family relatives and friends. Among Vincent's visitors to Muckross who stalked, shot woodcock or salmon fished, were the McGillycuddy, Lord Ormond, Kerry (Lord Lansdowne's son), Lord Granard, Lord Ellesmere, Lord Rossmore (County Monaghan), Mr Pack-Beresford (County Carlow), Francis Bourn Hayne (nephew of the Bourns), and perhaps others not recollected. Vincent and Kerry exchanged alternative visits to

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269 MHA, Kenmare Papers. Maurice McCartie, Solicitor, Killarney, his Account for costs in respect of this claim, 21 September 1920. Receipt of the awarded amount was not recorded in the Kenmare estate cash books, and may have gone directly to the Earl.

270 MHA, Kenmare Papers. Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, Form No 2. Claim by The Right Honourable Valentine Charles, Earl of Kenmare... for £630... 1 September 1922.

271 PRONI, D/4151/M/24. Cash Book even years 1908-26, 11 January, 17 September, 26 October 1926.

272 Ibid. 18 December 1926.

273 MHA, Kenmare Papers. Affidavit...service of notice ...for criminal injury to property; Earl of Kenmare, Appellant...14 July 1926.

274 Danny Cronin interview 15 November 1995. Danny Cronin asserts that Vincent gave money to his uncle, Michael Cronin, who was 'on the run'.

275 A W B Vincent interview 18 June 1999.

276 Murphy...*Youth*... pp 184-5, 300, 312.

277 Donal MacCarthy interview 9 November 1995.

their respective Muckross and Lansdowne estates for woodcock shooting[278]. In the Kenmare estate, one visitor of note was Rupert Baring, Lord Kenmare's nephew, who later succeeded to the title of fourth Lord Revelstoke. Baring was 18 years old in 1929 when he stalked the Derrycunnihy forests with the father-and-son keepers, Old and Young Dan Donoghue. He shot a 16-pointer stag and created a local legend. The trophy was photographed on the hillside, and carried in triumph back to Killarney. The mask and head of antlers were subsequently mounted, and photographed again. A detailed account of this stalking achievement, mostly quoting Rupert Baring himself, was carried with photographs in the British newspaper *Morning Post* [279]. The article was one of several on red deer stalking in the same newspaper, which had carried features on deer stalking for women, deer in Richmond Park, and deer stalking in Atholl forest, Scotland, some weeks previously[280].

Baring's account in the *Morning Post* contained telling information on the situation in the Kenmare deer forests, which it listed as: 'Derrycunnihy, but which comprises in addition Ullauns, Poulagower, Incheens and Gortroe' (see Appendix 2). Omitting Glena from this list was obviously due to the account being concerned with the Derrycunnihy area only, a name given, in general, to all five deer forest townlands in that district, south of the Killarney Valley - Glena was separate, north of the Killarney Valley[281] (see Map). In this information for the general reader, the feature went on to state that 'During the war, and the bad times which followed, this forest suffered from indiscriminate shooting. For the past few years it has been "rested", and now the stock bids fair to regain its former proportions'. Subsequent events would show that these additional details were not altogether idle information. The Kenmares were already thinking of selling out, and assurance to the British stalking and shooting classes that the 'Troubles' were now over and the deer forests back to normal may well have been an attempt to boost their chances of selling. 'Indiscriminate shooting' was a euphemism for poaching, which must have been practised during the years of malicious damage to the Kenmares' properties. "Resting" the forests - an obvious method of allowing deer numbers recover - was a definite admittance that deer numbers had decreased below that considered necessary before the letting of commercial stalking could recommence. Nevertheless, this obviously did not exclude family and friends from enjoying their sport. Baring had been given one week's stalking by his uncle the fifth Earl, with 'instructions that not more than two or three old stags should be shot'. Baring achieved his quota, killing the 16-pointer on his final day. Baring's own quoted account claimed that 'no such head, within living memory, had been seen or heard of in Kerry'. Rupert Baring was so impressed he arranged to have carved on a rock, near where the stag fell, the inscription: '16 pter shot here 23 Sept. 1929 24 stone R.B. D.D'. 'D.D' was the stalker (Old) Dan Donoghue. The carving survives today on Cromagloun mountain, Gortroe, now part of Killarney National Park[282]. It was unlikely to have been an entirely original idea. The same type of action had been taken six years previously by the successors to the Marquess of Rippon, whose personal lifetime total of slaughtered game came to 556,813 head. While shooting on 22 September 1923,

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[278] A W B Vincent interview 18 June 1999.

[279] *Morning Post* 14 October 1929: 'Record Stag From Killarney; Stalking a Sixteen-Pointer in the Hills of Kerry'. A fortnight later the same photograph made the title page of the *Field* - Vol cliv, 16 October 1929. I am grateful to Mike 'Kenmare' O'Sullivan for this *Field* reference.

[280] Ibid. 28 September, 2, 4 October 1929.

[281] The feature was in error in describing the MacGillycuddy (sic) Reeks to the 'south', and Glena and Tomies 'further west' - see Map which makes clear the positions of these last two mountains, to the *north* (my emphasis) of the Killarney Valley.

[282] Personally located, and verified in correspondence with Baring, then Lord Revelstoke - author to Revelstoke 25 March 1986; Revelstoke to author 29 March 1986, author's possession.

and having killed 165 grouse and one snipe, he fell dead in the heather on his Dallowgill moor, gun in hand, in his 72nd year[283]. A well-publicised engraved stone monument was erected to mark the spot where he died, describing him as 'the finest shot in England[284]. It is possible that Baring, from a family that regularly shot in Britain, was aware of this.

While the Vincents were on friendly terms with the Kenmares, it was not the same with Rupert Baring, whose shooting in Killarney was a cause for concern. He was a difficult person whom Vincent could not stand. Baring would shoot across from the Kenmare estate over the boundary into the Muckross deer forests[285]. Arthur Rose Vincent was furious at the indiscriminate deer shooting by Baring, and was known to challenge him on the street over what he was doing to the deer[286]. Over 50 years later Baring, then fourth Baron Revelstoke of Membland (1911-1994)[287], recollected that when he was in his twenties he shot 'over 200 [deer], mainly sika, who were making inroads into the territory'[288]. The reduction in deer numbers in the Kenmare forests was not solely due to poaching.

Neither of the estate landlords could count on the luxury of a secure income. The Kenmares and Arthur Rose Vincent were facing into an uncertain financial future, but the Earl still had title, class, and remnant family wealth. What really mattered was how to maintain a gentleman's sporting estate, of which the deer forests were an integral part, and the lavish, exorbitant lifestyle that went with it, in a new and independent state, no longer subservient to Britain or deferential to the landed ascendancy.

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283 Hugh S Gladstone *Record Bags And Shooting Records* (London, 1930 edn) pp 177-8.
284 Martin...*Glorious Grouse...* illustration on p 49.
285 A W B Vincent interview 21 August 1995.
286 Danny Cronin interview 15 November 1995.
287 *Burke's Peerage & Baronetage* (106th edn, Chicago & London, 1999) p 2395.
288 Revelstoke to author 14 December 1984. Author's possession.

7

'Good Business for Us': State Ownership and Jurisdiction, 1930 - 1970.

The period 1927-30 was characterised by a flurry of activity in the game management of the Kenmare estate. Significantly more time, and a total of £226 8s 5d was spent on clearing shooting rides in the demesne, in the home coverts at Bellview, in Park and in Reen, and further afield in Crohane and in Glena[1]. A decade previously, this activity usually cost no more than £15 yearly. In Killarney House II, the action was 'preparing furniture for auction'[2]. Some of the House furniture had already been sold off, including an armoire for £150 - this sum was passed on to Lady Kenmare, who also received a consignment of books from Killarney[3]. The deer forests at Derrycunnihy and Glena were extensively burned. Most significantly, in 1929 the O'Mahony family, tenants in Incheens deer forest, sold their game rights to Lord Kenmare for £150[4]. All of this presaged the Earl's objective to have his deer stalking and game shooting preserves in good order prior to putting his estate on the market. In 1930, Lord Kenmare offered the whole lot for sale[5].

All that was left of the Kenmares' once vast holdings amounted to about 10,000 acres, and the Killarney Lakes. The Sale Prospectus made much of the deer stalking, shooting and fishing attractions. There was little else to woo a buyer, and it was clearly aimed at the British owner-sportsman, describing Killarney as an 'unspoilt piece of nature', only 15 hours from London. The deer forests were pushed as a major attraction, since they constituted over three quarters of the lands for sale. The forests were listed as Derrycunnihy, Gortroe, Incheens, Poulagower, Ullauns and Glena - 'extending to about 7,500 acres'. This accurate description (Appendix 2) was in sharp contrast to the exaggerated advertisements by Maurice Leonard and the fourth Earl, earlier in the century. The Sale Prospectus claimed that 'Very heavy heads are obtained, and only last season a magnificent specimen having 16 points was shot by a member of the family'. This, of course, referred to Rupert Baring's 16-pointer stag shot in Derrycunnihy, and a photograph of that head occupied a full page. Significantly, no details were provided of stag numbers allowed to be shot, and no mention made of the unique status of the native red deer. Instead, an evasive description of the deer forest claimed 'while in acreage it does not compare with the large Scottish forests, [it] is notable for the variety and interests of its configuration' - verbiage that told nothing to a prospective purchaser. It continued: 'at the present time, in spite of the decrease due to the unsettled period, [it] possesses a good stock of deer'. The size of that stock was left unquantified. The details of game shooting were equally unspecific. It was stressed that the vendor, Lord Kenmare, possessed the shooting rights over 'some 80,000 acres lying within an approximate 10-mile radius of Killarney'. It admitted that pheasant rearing had not

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1 PRONI, D/4151/M/31. General Cash Book 1927-32, October-November 1927; November-December 1929; November-December 1930.

2 Ibid. 19 November 1929.

3 Ibid. 3 January, 28 February 1930.

4 Ibid. 15 June 1929.

5 PRONI, D/4151/U/5. *Killarney Estate, 1930. Killarney, Southern Ireland. Illustrated Particulars and Plan of the World-Famous Killarney Estate, embracing the Killarney Lakes, Mountains & Forests, together with a comfortable and convenient-sized Residence, Deer Park and Demesne, with well-equipped Farms, Cottages, & Lodges, Historical Remains, Woodlands, extending in all to about 10,000 acres, together with Sporting Rights over some 80,000 acres, affording Stalking, Salmon and Trout Fishing, Boating, Shooting. Possession of practically the whole on completion. To be conveyed free of any fixed annual charges. For Sale by Messrs Daniel Smith, Oakley & Garrard, amalgamated with Messrs H & L R Cobb, 4 & 5 Charles Street, St James Square,* [London] *S W 1.* Hereafter cited as 'Kenmare Estate 1930 Sale Prospectus'.

been carried out in recent years and, as for bag sizes, all a future owner could rely on was that 'During the past few years the property has been shot extremely lightly so that any records within that period would be no criterion of the bag that could be obtained' - a neat avoidance of having to provide shooting data. This thrust of the Sale Prospectus, exemplifying an American-style sales campaign to 'sell the sizzle, not the steak', concealed known facts. The Kenmares were fully aware of the state of their deer forests, and the numbers allowed to be culled, as a contemporary claim for compensation by them clearly evidenced.

The deliberate acts of malicious injury had ameliorated but not ceased in the case of the Kenmares, and while the estate was on the market, about 200 acres of Gortroe deer forest at Derrycunnihy were maliciously burned in 1931. In a brief to counsel on behalf of Lord Kenmare's claim for compensation, gamekeepers Daniel Donoghue of Incheens, John Shea of Derrycunnihy, Maurice Gleeson, head keeper at Gortroe, and C O'Keeffe, the estate agent, made submissions on the importance of Gortroe deer forest. They said it was the most important part of the forests, and was regarded as a sanctuary for the deer, especially for stags in winter. Now that it was burned, some of the trees and heather would 'die out altogether', and as the deer were scattered, the forest would be no use for deer stalking or woodcock shooting 'for years to come'. They themselves were aware the estate was on the market, and said the burning of Gortroe would seriously affect its sale, as no stalking could now take place. Stags, they said, 'were calculated to realise £25 each', and were limited to 'about from 10 to 14' per season. Thus, the loss sustained would amount to £300[6]. It was a spurious claim, and the implication that deer would not return to the burnt area was especially dishonest. It was common knowledge in Killarney that both the Kenmare and the Muckross deer forests were burned yearly, admittedly in a controlled manner, to keep deer hefted on the new growth of mountain grasses the burn would generate. The Earl was awarded £21 compensation, plus costs[7].

The number of stags allowable, 'from 10 to 14' a season, was a reduction from that advertised 20 years earlier, and must have reflected knowledge of a lesser herd size - the estate's own claim of £300 put the maximum that could be expected at 12 stags. This, which would have put the red deer numbers in the Kenmare forests at between 120 and 150, must itself be regarded as an exaggeration in line with the inflated claim for damages. That reduction in red deer numbers was only in part due to poaching during the Anglo-Irish and Civil Wars. The excessive shooting by Rupert Baring, and the distinct probability that the forests had been regularly overshot for commercial gain, must also have contributed to the decrease in deer numbers. As for the proposed sale, there was no evidence that any concern was felt for the conservation of the native red deer. It was patently obvious that the Kenmares wanted to completely sell out, and intended to follow the exodus of Southern Unionists who felt betrayed by their Northern Unionist neighbours and abandoned by the British Establishment during and post the wars of 1919-23. The Earl's sale received national attention, and the possibility of the Kenmare estate falling into wrong hands was briefly raised in the Dail by F H Crowley, Fianna Fail T D for Kerry. His concern received little sympathy from E Blythe, Minister for Finance[8].

Unsurprisingly, the Kenmare estate was not sold. The Brownes could hardly have chosen a worse time

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[6] MHA, Kenmare Papers. Killarney Trinity Circuit Sittings 1931. Saorstat Eireann. The Earl of Kenmare, Applicant; Kerry County Council, Respondents. Brief for Counsel on behalf of the Applicant on Hearing of Claim for Compensation for Criminal Injury herein. Daniel C Mangan, Solicitor, Killarney.

[7] MHA, Kenmare Papers. Saorstat Eireann. Decree for Compensation. The Circuit Court of Justice, South Western Circuit, No 7, County Kerry. 7 July 1931.

[8] *Dail Eireann Official Report* Vol xxxiv (1930) 2457.

to sell. The Wall Street (New York) financial crash in 1929 was followed by widespread economic depression, and there was no demand for properties that cost much to upkeep but yielded no profit - their era had gone, never recovering post the Great War. Indeed, the continued survival of a gentleman's large sporting estate was being questioned. When the second Earl of Iveagh succeeded to Elveden in 1920 he commenced converting it into productive farmland, sensing that 'the sporting estate would shortly become an anachronism - because the mode of life into which it fitted was passing beyond recall'[9]. The second Earl of Iveagh, Rupert Edward Cecil Lee Guinness, a shrewd businessman, rightly deduced how the Great War had radically changed aristocratic and ascendancy life. Deer stalking itself was being critically examined. Even before the 19th century closed, the Lord Advocate had been questioned in the House of Commons if the government would stop the spread of deer forests in Scotland; his reply was negative[10]. This drew an editorial from the *Field* on the 'wickedness' of deer forest creators so that a few rich people could, in a few days, kill a certain number of stags[11]. By the first decade of the 20th century, Scottish deer stalking was being described by influential writers as 'a make-believe and a sham', and the costs of renting a forest and keeping up the establishment necessary to work it was considered 'to be absolutely prohibitary to most sportsmen'[12]. Equally pertinent to the Earl of Kenmare, the income potential from deer forest lettings was falling rapidly. Frank Wallace, appointed Deer Control Officer for Scotland, lamented the fact that rents for Scottish deer forests never recovered from the blow suffered in the Great War, and that between then and 1939 deer forest rents had dropped by at least a half[13].

The game shooting situation in Ireland, once considered a bargain, had lost its attractiveness to overseas sportsmen post the establishment of the Irish Free State, and this was well publicised by popular books on rough shooting. One such, by J W Seigne, claimed that as a result of the free availability of shotguns, game had suffered cruelly since the Free State was established. Seigne's general survey, published in 1928, was available to any prospective purchaser who might consider the Kenmare estate. It would have told him that Kenmare's boast of sporting rights over 80,000 acres could be easily matched by Irish hotels that had either leased or bought from owner-farmers their sporting rights. In Connemara, Mongan's Hotel could offer 60,000 acres of shooting to any tourist, and a hotel at Gweedore, County Donegal, had 25,000 acres of shooting available for its clients. Closer to home in County Kerry, the Butler Arms Hotel at Waterville offered snipe and woodcock shooting, and a hotel at Glencar, Kenmare's neighbours not far from Killarney, had 'any amount of rough shooting'. A visiting sportsman could expect to pick up a season's shooting 'from £20 to £40'[14], a derisory sum compared to what the Kenmares could once command. Worse still, Fitzgerald's Hotel in Cahirciveen advertised 6,000 acres of shooting, free to visitors[15]. There was no incentive to acquire the fifth Earl's deer forests, and the 1923 Land Act had effectively killed off much of the value that shooting rights previously held.

At Clonmeen, Stephen Grehan's shooting and hunting lifestyle had become increasingly difficult to support from a static investment income that had fallen far behind the costs of living. This had risen by 123 per

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[9] G Martelli *The Elveden Enterprise,* quoted in Hopkins...*Long Affray*... p 301.
[10] *Field* 28 October 1899.
[11] Ibid. 25 November 1899.
[12] Captain H Hart-Davis *Stalking Sketches* (London, 1904), quoting Bromley Davenport, pp 2-3.
[13] Wallace...*Hunting Winds*... p 135.
[14] J W Seigne *Irish Bogs* (London, 1928) pp 208, 215-9.
[15] *Irish Field* 15 November 1924.

cent from 1900 to 1918[16]. Increasingly querulous, he dismissed six house servants between 1924 and 1937, was impatient at public holidays, and grumbled at social functions, such as attending the O'Connor Don's wedding, or a wet day at the Curragh races[17]. His daughter Aileen told her sister Maghda that 'He [her father] is bothered to death over finance... it is all terribly depressing... we have himself who is like a child over it all - won't realise it is serious... doesn't even know if the furniture and the house can be seized...'[18]. In effect, Stephen Grehan was near bankruptcy, but still continued to shoot, and ride with the Duhallow foxhounds. Nothing could deflect him from his lifetime's passion, an attitude to life he had repeatedly exhibited. When his companion Arthur Alyott shot himself in the wrist, Grehan took him to Kanturk Workhouse Hospital where Dr Herbert took off the man's hand; the following day Grehan was riding with the Duhallows, and killed a fox at Ballygiblin[19]. When his daughter Magda was thrown from her horse and brought home unconscious, Grehan continued to fish and attend the horse races throughout her 13 days of unconsciousness[20]. Now, at age 75, he still went shooting, though it was the keeper who provided most of the game for the house[21]. But he could not escape the inevitable consequences of living beyond his means. In 1935 Grehan was discharging his workmen, reducing his 'hands'[22]. The following year Grehan noted '[The] Land Commission took over...I don't approve altogether of some of the new occupants...on [the] whole fairly satisfactory'[23].

When Stephen Grehan died the following year, in 1937, his son, Major Stephen Arthur Grehan (1895-1972) succeeded to his inheritance at Clonmeen. Major Grehan had consolidated the family's aristocratic connection by marrying Cecily Gaisford St Laurence, connected with the Earl of Howth[24], but family debts were the more determining factor that dictated the lifestyle he could afford. Clonmeen was saved only through Major Grehan's inheritance of an estate in County Kildare, the sale of which enabled him to pay off death duties. Shortly after his succession, Major Grehan drafted a financial assessment of his affairs. It revealed that expenditure was running at £3,500 against an income of only £2,535 per annum. He noted he 'must spend £1,000 p.year less'[25]. The Land Commission had already informed him of its intention to vest the shooting rights on the lands acquired to its allottees, but would not object if these allottees leased these rights back to himself[26]. Game shooting would continue, and Major Grehan still retained some of the estate as shooting lands - bogland, and the north side of Mount Hilary.

The political situation thought likely to develop if the Republicans - effectively Fianna Fail - got into government was a cause of worry to those gentry and Southern Unionists still living in the Free State. It was

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16 Inflation rates based on Consumer Price Index figures for the years 1846 - 1995, supplied by the Central Statistics Office, - faxed to author 24 January 1996. Hereafter cited as CSO/CPI 1846-1995.

17 BL/EP/G/773, 778,779-81, 784-7, 790-1. Diary entries: 11 December 1919; 31 January 1924; 22 July 1925; 8 December 1926; 8 January 1927; 22 October 1930; 15 December 1932; 3 June 1933; 6, 29 January 1937.

18 BL/EP/G/876(1). Aileen Ryan (nee Grehan) to Magda Whyte (nee Grehan) 27 February 1932.

19 BL/EP/G/747, 1893 Diary. 16, 17 January.

20 BL/EP/G/769, 1915 Diary. 30 March - 12 April.

21 BL/EP/G/788, 1934 Diary. General note by Grehan. In the 1933/4 season the keeper killed 18 woodcock, 12 snipe, 5 grouse, 15 pheasants, 11 teal, 1 goldeneye, and 3 golden plover.

22 BL/EP/G/789. 1935 Diary. 5 November.

23 BL/EP/G/790, 1936 Diary. 4 February.

24 Peter A Grehan interview 23 September 1998.

25 Bl/EP/G/431. Draft Income and Expenditure account, in Major Grehan's hand. Undated, its provenance is c. 1938 - personal communication from Carol Quinn, Archivist, Boole Library, UCC.

26 BL/EP/G/367 (12). Land Commission to Major S A Grehan 2 November 1937.

causing particular anxiety to Arthur Rose Vincent at Muckross. W T Cosgrave, President of the Executive Council, had appointed Vincent to the Senate, the second House of the Oireachtas, in April 1931, and he was re-elected for a full term of nine years in the Senate elections the following autumn[27]. Now part of the Legislature himself, Vincent nevertheless felt unsure about the future actions of a native Irish government. In negotiations about fishing rights he held on lease from the Lawlor estate, he expressed this apprehension to his solicitors, stressing that '...there is too much uncertainty about this Right of Hauling being permitted at all by the State in the future'[28]. He had similar reservations about his own deer forests and their relationship with the Land Commission. The crucial question for him was, could the Muckross deer forests, or parts of them, be compulsorily acquired by the Land Commission, or would they qualify for exemption under section 24, sub-section 2 (b), of the 1923 Land Act? His solicitors had advised Vincent that this 'may become of great importance to you, particularly if there happened to be a change of Government in the future'[29] - a reference to then current Cumann na nGaedheal propaganda that Fianna Fail were Communists. The question hinged on the factual nature of the forests as at the date of the passing of the 1923 Act (9 August 1923) - were they substantially agricultural or pastoral, or partly agricultural and partly pastoral, in character. That question was now pertinent to Vincent because, arising from tenanted holdings already sold under the Land Acts to Eugene Tangney and to Michael Tangney, both of Gearhameen, the Land Commission in November 1930 had queried whether the owner (Vincent) was prepared to additionally sell the entire 1804 acres of Doogary, to be vested with the Tangney holdings which bordered Doogary. Vincent had replied he would not sell Doogary 'because it forms part of his deer forest'[30]. Ernest J Phelps, K C - brother of estate agent Edgar Phelps - advised there was little doubt that the deer forest lands, like similar mountain lands in Kerry, could be profitably used for grazing sheep or cattle, and if the Land Commission moved, those portions of the forests that were capable of being used for grazing would be excluded from the exception contained in section 24 (2) (b) of the 1923 Land Act; those portions under woodland or forestry probably would qualify for exception. However, counsel Phelps concluded that as the sporting rights on these lands were unique in character, and as Muckross estate was 'a national asset', it would be open to the Court to place a very substantial price on them, and the Land Commission 'might not care to incur the displeasure of the Finance Minister' by spending a large sum of money on acquiring deer forests[31] - a thinly-veiled reference to Earnest Blythe's tight grip on the national purse.

Considerable portions of tenanted lands in the Muckross estate had already been sold by 1931, the proceeds amounting to £3,498 Land Bonds[32]. These disposals had necessitated a survey of the entire estate, and its deer forests. These now amounted to only 9,475 acres[33]. Originally totalling 11,681 acres (Appendix 2), the reduction of 2,206 acres was due to the disposal of Looscaunach (523 acres) and Foardal (759 acres[34]), and the

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[27] Berkley L Vincent...'Vincent Family'... pp 346-7.

[28] MHA, Vincent Papers. Vincent to Whitney, Moore & Keller 20 December 1931.

[29] MHA, Vincent Papers. Whitney, Moore and Keller to Vincent 16 November 1931.

[30] MHA, Vincent Papers. Whitney, Moore and Keller: Senator A R Vincent's Muckross Estate, County Kerry; Re Deer Forests. Case on behalf of Senator A R Vincent for the Advice and Opinion of Counsel, 23 December 1931.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid.

[33] MHA, Vincent Papers. Whitney, Moore & Keller, List of Lands Taken From the Schedule of Areas of the Estate Stated Therein to Comprise Deer Forests. The Schedule formed part of the submission to counsel 23 December 1931.

[34] The MacCarthy family acquired the entire townland of Foardal. Donal MacCarthy interview 9 November 1995.

omission of Dromyrourk (267 acres) from the list, and sales of portions of Gortadirra (481 acres), Gallavally (117 acres), and other, smaller disposals (a further 59 acres). As previously described, Dromyrourk was never likely to have been considered a deer forest. However, both Looscaunach and Foardal did form part of the Upper Lake deer forest, and if they could be disposed of, why could not Doogary also be sold? Vincent had experienced repeated poaching trouble from the Tangney families at Gearhameen, but it was most unlikely that this would have influenced his decision. There was no evidence that Vincent was vindictive. Indeed, when his gamekeeper Patsie Lynch was found to have poached a deer from the very forests he policed, Vincent did not dismiss him but instead had him transferred to another task[35]. A possible reason for Vincent's concern may have been that if Doogary was acquired by the Tangneys, he feared the Land Commission might seek the other deer forest townlands of Gortadirra, Tomies Wood and Cullinagh, which made up that section of his Upper Lake forest north of the Killarney Valley - the forests of Looscaunach and Foardal were on the opposite, south side of the Valley. As events evolved, the Land Commission made no further move to acquire Doogary, or any other parts of the Muckross deer forests, and the matter died away.

It was the circumstances and exigencies of the times, rather than any conscious decisions, that combined once more to keep intact the deer forests and their herd of native red deer. There was every chance in these critical years, 1930-31, that the Kenmares would have sold off their forests to speculative profit-seekers, and the Muckross deer forests might have been vested in the Land Commission. Only Arthur Rose Vincent showed concern for preserving the deer forests of Muckross, primarily as an essential part of a gentleman's sporting estate. Vincent could afford to. His father-in-law continued his munificence, and in 1931 contributed £7,239 to keep the estate afloat. In that year game cost £769 14s 1d but provided no income, while fencing was still in progress and separately cost £443 4s 7d[36]. There was no let up in the careful estate management by Vincent and his agent Phelps.

In 1931 Bourn's wife Agnes suffered a severe stroke which confined her to a wheelchair, unable to speak. For Bourn it was a decisive moment, and at the commencement of 1932 he decided to sell Muckross. Vincent, shocked at being told to leave his home, tried unsuccessfully to change his father-in-law's mind. Nevertheless, both men had long fallen under the spell of Muckross's exceptional beauty, and their respect for superb landscape proved decisive. Eventually, it was Vincent who suggested and achieved a compromise. The alternative he proposed, to give the entire estate to the Irish Nation as a free gift, rather than see it sold off[37], was to be of seminal importance, not only for Killarney, but also was arguably to be the genesis of nature and wilderness conservation in Ireland. For Arthur Rose Vincent, effectively now without a residence, it was an act that was staggering in its magnanimity. He was parting with an estate that he had cared for and developed over 22 years, but could not bear to see it divided, perhaps torn apart by developers and speculators. In July 1932 he wrote to President de Valera, who with his Fianna Fail party had shortly before replaced the previous administration, and offered the Muckross estate to the state, saying 'it would make a public park such as any country might be proud of'. He and Bourn had decided, he said, that 'it is going to be too big an undertaking for

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[35] A W B Vincent interview 21 August 1995. Mr Vincent recalls that this keeper was known as Patsie Lynch - A W B Vincent to author 22 March 2001 - and thus may not have been the Patie Lynch previously referred to.

[36] MHA, Vincent Papers. Accounts for year to December 1931.

[37] Egan...*Bonanza Kings*...pp 247-8.

any private individual under the changing conditions of the world', and added 'it is now in what one might call perfect condition...if preserved as at present exists, [it] will for all time be one of the greatest beauty spots in the world'[38]. The change of government, dreaded by Phelps and Vincent's solicitors, had materialised, and it was to Vincent's credit, and characteristic of his lack of bigotry, that he did not balk at negotiating with de Valera's Republican-orientated administration. In fact Vincent had invited de Valera and some members of the Executive Council to come and stay with him and go over the estate[39]. De Valera wasted no time, and on the day he received the offer he replied, and he sent his Attorney General, Conor Maguire, to call on Vincent[40]. The Attorney General's report was enthusiastic about the rock garden, the woods, the farming run on a scientific scale, and 'the only herd of pure Kerry cattle in the country'. There was no mention of the native red deer, or the game coverts. Vincent told the Attorney General he had spent a total of £110,000 in bringing the estate to its present position - it was, of course, Bourn who had provided that money. Employment stood at about 65 men, who were paid the average wage of the district. He advised the Attorney General that the property cost £11,000 gross per annum to maintain, of which £3,000 was attributable to the household; the balance, £8,000, was in part recompensed by income of £3,000 from tolls, fisheries and farm, so a net £5,000 per annum would be required to fund the estate, excluding the household. Conor Maguire astutely pointed out in his report that 'in order to complete the acquisition by the State of the whole of the Lake district, it would be necessary to acquire part of Lord Kenmare's estate also' - and he specifically mentioned Kenmare's large area of mountain, which 'certainly should be acquired in order to round off the property'. He recommended the offer should be accepted, subject to the approval of the Minister of Finance[41].

A list of all employees and their wages, provided by Whitney, Moore & Keller to the state, included the six gamekeepers[42]. During investigation of the offer, it quickly became apparent that the possibility of using part of Muckross for commercial afforestation was of special significance to the state. An earlier, preliminary survey of Muckross in 1920 by the Forestry Commission had concluded that 1,900 acres of plantable land was then under consideration; now the Department of Lands advised the government that the Muckross estate should be visited and this aspect reported on again[43]. This and other surveys were undertaken by state personnel, one survey reporting 'on the best method of utilising the building and Estate'. It advised, *inter alia,* that the sporting facilities offered fishing, shooting, and 'include a deer forest comparable with those in the Highlands of Scotland, with two herds of deer of different species'. No mention was made to the unique status of the red deer. This report assumed the government's objective in taking over the estate was 'to preserve and so far as practicable improve the natural beauties of the place and to make them more widely available for the public'. But how to accomplish this 'in the absence of the special personal attention and supervision hitherto given to them by Senator Vincent' was the question, and a further problem was 'what is to be done with the residence'. It was

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[38] NAI, S.6355A. Vincent to de Valera, President of the Executive Council, 28 July 1932.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid. De Valera to Vincent 29 July 1932.

[41] MHA, copy A G's Report.

[42] MHA, copy part OPW file P7/284. Internal memo 9 November 1932. The keepers were: E Tangney (£8 12s monthly); Pat Sullivan (£6 8s 8d monthly); Dan Sullivan (£6 3s 8d monthly); D S Doody (£1 10s weekly); Matt Leahy (£2 weekly); and Tom Leahy (£1 15s weekly). The first three were 'less a quarter'. All workmen living on the estate were permitted to cut turf and receive a certain amount of wood for firing. They were given potato ground and allowed the grazing for one donkey.

[43] Ibid. Internal memo 1 November 1932.

suggested the state could 'attempt to let the house furnished, with the fishing and shooting, and with or without deer stalking'. However, in view of the world depression, especially in America where Killarney was well known, this was not immediately feasible. Significantly, it was intimated that the Forestry Division (of the Department of Lands) might take up the commercial afforestation themselves on the estate, which 'could be done without interference with the use of the place as a National Park'. It concluded that 'if we are to take charge of it, we must take it over as a running concern....taking care that the running expenses are kept as low as possible'[44]. A separate report advised the sporting rights could be let separately if the house remained unlet, and noted that Vincent had told them these rights were formerly let for '£1,500 a year furnished, and afterwards for £1200'[45]. That, of course, referred to Lord Ardilaun's lettings, which Vincent had available to him, and did not reflect the current circumstances then obtaining. In a letter to the Chairman of the Commissioners of Public Work, Vincent advised he himself 'may shoot two or three days here before the end of the year. I think you could certainly let the shooting for the remainder of the season from the 1st January for £200, and possibly the fishing to 1st April for £50...Phelps tells me that he already had an enquiry as regards the shooting'. By this time, November, the parties were approaching the end of negotiations, and Vincent was experiencing stress. He concluded his letter, saying: 'I have been ordered to bed for a complete rest for a week'[46]. However, a few days later he was vigorously rejecting any suggestion that he ever gave first option on the Laune River fisheries to each person whose lands the fishery adjoined. He told their solicitor: 'these fisheries are included in the gift of Muckross Estate to the Nation'[47].

There was an urgency to have the transfer completed by 31 December 1932, a deadline set by William Bowers Bourn. A legal hitch due to the estate being a settled property was swiftly solved by Bourn. In a final act of exceptional goodwill and generosity, he simply bought the estate back from the Trustees for £50,000, and cleared the way for himself and Vincent to hand it over, free, to the state, under certain conditions. These included: the estate to be known as The Bourn Vincent Memorial Park; William Bowers Bourn to have the right to erect a monument to his late daughter in the park; the state to maintain that monument; the park itself to be maintained and managed as a National Park; the state to pay half the Donors' legal costs (estimated at £1,000 - the state to pay £500); the Deeds of Transfer to be exempt from stamp duty; and in the event of Bourn's death within three years, the property not to be included in his estate for death duty purpose. By any standards, these were most reasonable conditions. Vincent additionally offered to hand over the estate agent's house, and all furniture, all farm machinery and implements, and all livestock, for his suggested figure of £8,500[48]. It was repeatedly stressed by both Vincent and Bourn that all staff were to be retained at existing rates of pay. While awaiting official sanction, a civil servant, N O'Connor, recorded on file certain points he thought pertinent for the government: the standard required to maintain the National Park, the source of funds for this purpose, the need to get expert advice on how to give the scheme a chance of success, 'it being assumed that the existing bodies such as the Commissioners of Public Works would be unsuited by tradition, etc., to give effect to the National and

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[44] Ibid. Internal report, part only, not dated.
[45] Ibid. Internal report 15 November 1932.
[46] Ibid. Vincent to Sir Philip Hanson, Chairman, Commissioners of Public Works, 26 November 1932.
[47] Ibid. Vincent to S O Riada, Attorney, Killarney, 30 November 1932.
[48] NAI, S.6335B. Attorney General to President deValera 19 October 1932.

other aspects of the scheme...'[49]. As the final days approached, Vincent requested that his letter of offer to the President should be read out in the Senate when the Bill came before the House[50]. The Act[51] was passed by both Houses of the Oireachtas on 15 December 1932. The king's assent was received, and the Act signed, on 16 December 1932[52]. Ireland had acquired its first national park.

The gifting of the Muckross estate to the Irish Free State was heavily influenced by American thinking on the preservation of places of outstanding natural beauty, on making them free for ever from exploitation, and on the conservation of wild nature and landscape for future generations to experience and enjoy. In particular, free access to the public was enshrined in that thinking. William Bowers Bourn II was an enthusiastic supporter of Yosemite National Park in the Sierra Navada mountains of California, and it was important to him to see it saved from the destruction that would result from private interests controlling Yosemite[53]. Vincent was of the same mind. His son observes that the decision to give Muckross to the Irish nation 'came about because both of these gentlemen [his father and grandfather] were so well acquainted with the national parks in the United States such as Yosemite. They both felt it would be wrong to sell this property to another individual because of the exceptional beauty of the place but that it should go to the nation and be preserved for posterity'[54]. The Bourn and Vincent philosophy behind the creation of Ireland's first national park differed essentially from that of some British landed estate owners who, while donating all or part of their great holdings to the British National Trust, still retained legal ownership. It was inherent American thinking that Muckross should go into state ownership. That was an innovative break with a British tradition that had hitherto exerted so much influence on Irish sporting and landed estates, and was to set a precedent for future Irish national parks.

Soon after the Bourn-Vincent Memorial Park Act was signed into law, Vincent forcibly expressed in the press his concern about the political future that faced the Irish Free State. He was antagonistic towards Fianna Fail, a common view of the landed gentry and ascendancy at the time. Their fear, articulated by the Editor of the *Irish Times,* was that Fianna Fail would seek complete separation from the British Commonwealth. Vincent was also unimpressed with the Cumann na nGaedheal party, regarding it as 'no longer a living entity', but he admired its leader, W T Cosgrave. He urged people to come together under the combined leadership of Cosgrave and his own friend Frank MacDermot - leader of the Farmers' and Ratepayers' League - and form a National Party, so as to 'eventually triumph over President de Valera and his caucus'[55]. The *Irish Press,* Fianna Fail's official newspaper, responded immediately, and rejected his proposal[56]. Neither did Vincent's idea go down well with Nationalist and Republican thinking. Vincent was accused by the Fianna Fail Cumann at Aunascaul, County Kerry, of organising 'a new Anglo-Irish Unionist Party', and *An Phoblacht* concluded he wanted to become 'an Imperialist leader' in compensation for his gift of Muckross[57]. Prior to this political intrusion by Vincent, it had

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[49] Ibid. Internal memo 27 November 1932.

[50] Ibid. Whitney, Moore & Keller to Sean McEntee, Minister for Finance, 10 December 1932.

[51] *Bourn Vincent Memorial Park Act,1932* [No 31 of 1932].

[52] NAI, S.6335B. Internal memos 10, 16 December 1932.

[53] Egan...*Bonanza Kings*...pp 110-11.

[54] A W B Vincent to author 7 September 2000.

[55] *Irish Times* 28 December 1932; editorial, and letter from Vincent. MacDermot was a guest of Vincent at Muckross - Muckross House Visitor's Book, November 1932.

[56] *Irish Press* 29 December 1932.

[57] *Kerry Champion* 7 January 1933; *An Phoblacht* 7 January 1933.

been contemplated that a formal dedication of the Muckross property would take place on 12 February 1933, to coincide with the anniversary of the death of Maude Bourn-Vincent[58]. But feelings had obviously soured, and the *Irish Press* reported that, on 1 January 1933 'the actual change over was marked by an entire absence of ceremony, the only indication being the signing of agreement yesterday by all employees on the estate by which they entered the employment of the Government' - Phelps would stay on as manager. Vincent said farewell to all employees, and left for England[59]. These last events revealed that Vincent's hugely generous gift was sincere and free from narrow-mindedness, in that not only did he negotiate with a government he manifestly disliked, but he trusted it, and its President de Valera, to care for and protect his beloved Muckross.

On the day following handover, de Valera - a far more astute politician than Vincent realised - dissolved the government at midnight[60], and in the following snap election he and his party were returned to power. It was the dreaded Fianna Fail administration that Vincent found managing the Bourn Vincent Memorial Park (BVMP), through the agency of the Office of Public Works (OPW). In the fluid political situation that had obtained leading up to its acquisition, there was little to indicate that a clear policy had been thought through on how to manage the BVMP, other than a general acceptance that the state would continue the management of a large, commercial farm as a going concern, and would exploit the park's deer stalking and game shooting potential on a commercial basis, letting Muckross House for this purpose when possible. Otherwise, how to utilise Muckross House remained unclear. Concomitant with these objectives was the acceptance that the state had the onus of preserving the natural and unspoiled beauty of those Killarney mountains, woodlands, lakes and rivers that had been entrusted to it. In addition, it was the expressed wish of the donors that the whole park, considerable areas of which had hitherto been off bounds except to a privileged few, should be made available free for the general public to enjoy. It was inevitable that these objectives, by a state just ten years in existence and in a period of widespread economic depression, would be heavily influenced by economic considerations.

The concept of managing the park's wildlife simply for its own sake and right of existence did not surface in either the offer or acceptance of the Muckross estate. It was the economic aspect of deer and game that was regarded as important. They were sources to be exploited for monetary income in addition to personal sport, and irrespective of the state's ethos in such matters, this had been practised by the Earls of Kenmare, by Lord Ardilaun, and by the Herberts during the prior half-century. There was little if anything in thought or print to encourage the government to think otherwise. The financial aspect of game had already been emphasised by the previous Cumann na nGaedheal administration, in its Game Preservation Act of 1930[61], which the Fianna Fail administration inherited. This Act had been steered through the Dail by the previous Minister for Justice, J Fitzgerald-Kenny, T D for South Mayo, whose personal interests centred on shooting flying birds - grouse, snipe, woodcock and pheasants, as his Dail debates made clear. Hares were considered important by the Act, deer were not mentioned[62]. The Act's stated purpose was to preserve game for the commercial advantages envisaged from tourism and local employment. Debates on the Bill itself brought forth a clash between

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[58] *Irish Press* 24 November 1932.

[59] Ibid. 2 January 1933.

[60] *Irish Times* 3 January 1933.

[61] *Game Preservation Act, 1930* (Number 11 of 1930).

[62] It may have been that the copying of British legislation, a practice at the time, caused the omission of deer. In England, deer were Crown property, whereas in Ireland deer were game, as previously described.

republican and gentry views on game shooting, and revealed that some old ascendancy values had not died out. While Martin Corry, the East Cork TD then in Opposition, considered preserving game a waste of time and worthless, Dr White, TD for Waterford, suggested the people of west Connaught should emigrate to other parts of the country, and all Connemara be turned into a 'forest or shooting ground' - this he offered as a solution to the 'Gaeltacht problem'[63]. The Act defined 'game' as pheasants, partridges, grouse, quail, landrail, plover, snipe, woodcock, mallard, teal, wigeon, other species of wild duck, brent geese, barnacle geese, other species of wild geese, hares and leverets. Provisions governing the licensing of dealers in game, the keeping of game registers, dates for burning coverts, open and closed seasons, firearms certificates, and the recognition of game preservation societies were also included. Of special significance was the repeal by this Act of previous legislation on game preservation, enacted both by the Parliament of Ireland and by the United Kingdom Parliament, amounting in all to 13 enactments. Since many of those repealed enactments specifically referred to deer, and as deer were omitted from the definition of game in the new 1930 Act, in effect deer, by default, were no longer protected by law. In practice, however, a *de facto* close season, long established by tradition, continued to be observed by deer stalkers.

Had the OPW consulted deer stalking literature when it took over Muckross, it would probably have concluded the state had obtained an exceptional, indeed a famous, deer forest. J G Millais, an artist of distinction and influential writer, was an accepted authority on stalking trophy red deer during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He had praised the beauty of wild Killarney red deer in 1897, saying they 'are finer both in body and head than those of any Scotch forest', and observed that White's Club, London, had 'two very fine Muckross heads'[64]. He later gave exalted praise to the quality of trophy antlers from Killarney, saying that 14 points were common, as against a usual 12 points in Scotland's red deer[65]. Millais's knowledge of Kerry red deer was limited to accounts given him by Ralph Sneyd, by Lord Powerscourt, and other tenants of the forests, and he himself must have lacked personal experience of Killarney, to judge by his listing of only six Killarney animals - complete details for five only. Two of these stags were shot by Ralph Sneyd in Muckross, the other three were shot by Lord Castlerosse in the Kenmare forests[66]. Though these few examples of exceptional animals could not have been typical of the Killarney forests, the data given by Millais would nevertheless have influenced the stalking elite.

The OPW, had it been so inclined, could have obtained more pertinent information on the Muckross red deer in its own Muckross House, where a collection of red deer stags' heads spanned the Herbert, the Ardilaun and the Vincent years. While these can only be considered now as a collection of heads left behind by the previous owners or by their invited guests, and may not be representative of the best trophies then obtained, nevertheless they remain a valid and dated record of animals shot in the Muckross deer forests during the period 1855-1916. Data on these heads are summarised in Appendix 11, in the context of antler points and body weight only - they are not trophy descriptions. It is clear that 14-pointer heads were anything but common; only one

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63 *Dail Eireann Official Report* Vol xxix (1929)1902. The long-winded debates on this Bill are reported in Vols xxviii 410-11; xxix 752, 1861-1916, 2091-2131; xxxii 303-47, 360-93, 436-40,1375-1416,1785; xxxiii 30-5, 675-8, 1432-3,1815-22, 2194-5; xxxiv 2304.

64 J G Millais *British Deer and their Horns* (London, 1897) p 119.

65 Millais...*Mammals of Gt Britain...* p 115.

66 Ibid. p 102.

head, the 15-pointer of 1912, reached that status. For those stags allocatable to the 19th century, the average weight of 13 stags was 20 stone 9 lbs, presumably weighed clean, as was the practice. The average number of antler points for 23 stags in the 19th century was ten. If these were representative of the Muckross forests, then those trophies quoted in the popular literature of the time were of exceptional animals, non-representative of the herd as a whole, and selected to boost the ego of the stalkers who shot them. Boasting of the trophy head and body weight of red deer they had shot was common among elitist stalkers of that period.

If the state had any queries concerning the special status of its red deer herd, it would have received little advice from the Irish universities. In a paper in 1918 on Irish red deer, Professor R F Scharff of TCD had considered it 'strange...that Red Deer had to be brought from England to stock the Royal Forest [of Glencree]'. He went on to speculate that 'the existing semi-domesticated Killarney stock should be the descendants of English ancestors and not of the old Irish race'. Scharff stated that he intended, by skull measurements, to establish whether the 'modern Irish Red Deer were the true descendants of the ancient stock', and for this purpose he was being supplied with red deer skulls by the Earl of Kenmare[67]. Scharff quoted Le Fanu's 1893 paper as a basis for his surmise, but overlooked the source reference quoted by Le Fanu in that paper, which made clear it had been fallow, not red deer that were introduced to Glencree. Likewise, some of the stalking and shooting Irish gentry themselves were no better informed. Sir T H Grattan Esmonde of County Wexford, a veteran sportsman who stalked and shot extensively in the United States, Canada, and Romania, considered red stags he had killed in County Mayo were native Irish red deer which, he said, were 'still found in the mountains of Kerry and in the western district of Mayo'[68]. The possibility of wild red deer in Mayo being of remnant native stock has already been discussed - it was dismissed out of hand by Glascott Symes in the 19th century. One possible reason for the belief's persistence may have been a relict memory of Killarney red deer - stags - sent to Roscommon from Killarney during the 19th century, for stag hunting, (when Killarney stags were also sent to Limerick) - again, previously discussed. Grattan Esmonde's claim is suspect. Esmonde, like many of his aristocratic and upper-class shooting contemporaries in the 1920s, was careless and inaccurate about the terminology of the trophy species he collected. He called the Virginian white-tailed deer the 'Red Deer of North America' and likened them to 'our Roe Deer'[69]. The Virginian white-tailed deer (*Odocoilius virginianus*) is a separate species, and roe deer had been shot out in Ireland by the start of the century. However, it was most unlikely that such details were of any concern to the civil servants in the OPW. They simply went ahead and commenced the letting the Muckross deer forests.

More relevant was the state's decision to immediately exploit the Muckross estate for commercial forestry. The thinking in the economic exigencies of the early years of the Irish Free State had been that state-owned forestry should be developed as a natural resource to provide economic and social benefits[70]. The Free State had inherited previous British policy and administration on forestry development, and one of the advantages of commercial reafforestation, as envisaged in a 1908 Report by the Departmental Committee on

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[67] R F Scharff 'The Irish Red Deer' in *The Irish Naturalist* Vol 27 (1918) pp 133-9. See also Peter Delap 'Deer in Wicklow' *INJ* Vol vi (1936) pp 82-8, who unaccountably considered the Kerry red deer to be semi-domesticated.

[68] Sir T H Grattan Esmonde *Hunting Memories of Many Lands* (London, 1925) p 247. For Esmonde's account of his deer stalking in the Nephin mountains, see pp 247-62.

[69] Ibid. pp 59-61, 108.

[70] Eoin Neeson *A History of Irish Forestry* (Department of Energy, Dublin, 1991) p 3.

Irish Forestry, had been 'the propagation of forest game (such as pheasants, cock, deer, hares)...[to become] preserves, the letting of which is to the State an important source of revenue'[71]. By the 1930s, that thinking was challenged. Deer and game were no longer advocated as part of state philosophy on forestry planting, a view forcibly articulated by one of the more influential commentators on commercial forestry development in Ireland, John Mackay. He wrote that 'The scientific forest does not contemplate the provision of game coverts'[72]. Mackay's book was especially influential as it contained 58 pages of carefully argued notes by Professor Alfred O'Rahilly of UCC, setting out basic facts on Irish forestry[73]. In this climate of thinking the OPW, on 6 October 1933, handed over a total of 1,304 acres of the BVMP to the Forestry Division, Department of Lands[74]. These lands, later described as Block I, were in the Muckross-Torc district[75], part of the red deer forest. If thought was given at all to government policy on this issue, it was confused and contradictory. With an ethos that excluded game and deer from state commercial forestry, conflict between the Forestry Division and the management of BVMP, as a national park open to the general public, was inevitable. While the acreage handed over was subsequently subject to several adjustments[76], these minor differences in acreage - due to ill-defined boundaries and inaccurate surveys in old maps - were of no significance to the fundamental question posed by the transfer of deer forest land: which would receive priority, forestry or deer and game protection? In 1937 Joseph Connolly was a Commissioner of the OPW, and had considerable input into management policy for the BVMP. Connolly had been Minister for Forestry in 1933, and is credited with being the individual responsible for the impetus given to state forestry during the Fianna Fail administration, 1932-48[77]. Connolly must have been aware that the financial benefit of shooting rights could still be a forestry objective[78], and he asked one of the OPW staff, Mr Allman, to enquire from local forestry personnel in the BVMP what the Forestry Division's attitude was to deer. Allman reported back that 'deer are not allowed within the area of the lands of the Department of Lands and Forestry [sic]'[79]. A fortnight later it was further confirmed that deer were excluded from the area being utilised by the Forestry Branch, and that all game were excluded 'as far as possible'[80].

A similar conflict of interest faced the Kenmare estate. The fifth Earl had already entered negotiations with Forestry Division in 1931 to sell or lease part of his estate for forestry[81]. The local Fianna Fail TD, F H Crowley, warning that the Earl of Kenmare had been selling off parts of his holdings for the previous five years, continued to urge the government to incorporate those Kenmare lands, adjoining the BVMP, for forestry, and his

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71 Quoted in Neeson ...*Irish Forestry*... p 120.

72 John Mackay *Forestry in Ireland* (Cork, 1934) p 18.

73 Ibid. O'Rahilly's notes are on pp 131-88. Neeson, passim, refers to Mackay's and O'Rahilly's influence on forestry in the Irish Free State.

74 Coillte, A52/32. Internal Memos 11, 18 January 1963. 1n a separate memo, 11 January 1963, the date of acquisition by Forestry Division is given as 1 October 1933.

75 *Killarney National Park Management Plan* (OPW, 1990) p 61.

76 Coillte A52/32. An undated mss note on file described the lands as 1294 acres plus 10 acres of nursery at 'Carrigafreakane' - an area of fertile lowland pasture. A memo 10 June 1943 stated that revised map tracings by OPW gave the area as 1,087 acres - a loss of 217 acres to Forestry. The area accepted by OPW in its *Killarney National Park Management Plan*, op. cit., is 538 hectares, equivalent to 1,329 acres.

77 Neeson...*Irish Forestry*...pp 165, 175, 329.

78 Ibid. p 166.

79 NAI, OPW F96/1/55/37. Memos 29 November, 22 December 1937.

80 Ibid. Memo 6 January 1938.

81 Coillte, A 40/34. Forestry to Kenmare Estate Office 21 September 1931.

efforts were supported by local organisations[82]. As the lands in question contained woodland which the Earl wished to first cut and sell, the surveys were delayed, and the transfer of approximately 554 acres dragged on until 1939. These included part of the Kenmare deer forest and game coverts in Derrycunnihy Woods, Deerpark Wood, Cronin's Park Wood, Pike Wood in Teernaboul, Derrynaheirka Wood, and Innisfallen Island[83]. Innisfallen Island was subsequently withdrawn from the sale by the Earl. In these negotiations the Earl insisted on the retention of sporting rights for at least two lives[84], and prior to finalising the acquisition of his lands, Forestry undertook to lease back the sporting rights for the duration of the life of the Earl and his successor at a nominal rent of one shilling per annum[85]. At Clonmeen, when Major Grehan sold c.472 acres to Forestry in 1943 for £1,100, Forestry similarly undertook to lease back the sporting rights to him, for his life and the life of his successor in title, for £1 per annum[86]. The leasing back of sporting and game rights on properties acquired by Forestry - which did not tolerate deer or game within its plantations - was far more than a simple administrative mistake by civil servants. It was, at best, a disingenuous, if not a cynical exercise to ensure the acquisition of estate grounds by the state. Within a few years of tree planting, the Grehans found it impossible to enter and exercise their shooting rights[87].

Letting the deer stalking and rough shooting of the BVMP commenced in 1934. The state had acquired 11,224 acres, the net area remaining after sales of 3,613 acres by Vincent. His sales, under the provisions of the Land Acts 1923-31, had included 1,866 acres of deer forest. This, together with the leasing of 1,329 acres to Forestry Division, effectively left 8,219 acres of traditional deer forest in state ownership[88]. From the start, a civil service administration ensured that detailed returns of both the numbers and species of deer shot, and fees obtained from lettings, would be furnished to OPW Head Office in Dublin. These are summarised in Appendix 12, covering a period of 30 years. Lord Castlerosse, Valentine Edward Charles, was the initial lessee of the BVMP deer stalking and rough shooting, combined. Castlerosse has been much extolled for his golf-course initiative in Killarney[89], but it is far from being representative of the man. By the time he leased Muckross, the Viscount was famous in British society circles, mostly for the wrong reasons. One of his biographers, who knew him personally, described him as '...a great personality, brilliant and, probably, slightly mad'[90]. His immense weight, gigantic appetite, and outlandish lifestyle of gambling, womanising, drinking, dancing and night club life had earned him a reputation that London society journals like the *Tattler* delighted in lampooning. He was credited with great physical strength and a violent temper. When he rented Muckross in 1934, he was a successful gossip journalist who wrote the 'Londoner's Log' in the *Sunday Express.* Its publisher, Lord Beaverbrook, had to repeatedly rescue him from his perennial debts. In 1934 he was 43 years old and married to

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82 Ibid. F H Crowley to Minister for Lands and Fisheries 8 December 1933; mss local letter to Minister 31 January 1934.

83 Ibid. Memos 28 October 1935, 27 May, 25 June, 20 October 1936, 23 June 1937, 11 November 1939.

84 Ibid. Kenmare Estate Office to Forestry Division 31 October 1936.

85 Coillte, A 28/40. Memos 16, 19 May 1941.

86 BL/EP/G/367(1, 3). Irish Land Commission to Major Stephen Arthur Grehan 13 January, 6 September 1943.

87 Peter A Grehan interview 23 September 1998.

88 These acreages are based on the Schedule, Parts 1 and 3, of the *Bourn Vincent Memorial Park Act, 1932*, compared to the original extent of the Muckross deer forests, as listed in Appendix 2. Deer forest lands sold by Vincent were located in the townlands of Killeggy Upper, Cloghereen Upper, Foardal, Gallavally, Looscaunach and Gortadirra.

89 Hickey...*Queen of Them All...* pp 133-5.

90 Thomson... *Lord Castlerosse* ... p 13.

Doris Delavigne, a non-Catholic to whom Castlerosse's mother strongly objected, as she had to one of his previous affairs with the French *coquette* Forzanne. His father, the fifth Earl, was aged 74, and the estate's future was effectively in the hands of his extravagant son and heir, who proceeded to further deplete the family's wealth[91]. When Castlerosse again leased the Muckross deer stalking in 1937, he moved to acquire it exclusively for himself for the next 20 years. He suggested to Phelps that as Forestry had taken part of the Muckross deer forest, and 'negotiations are afoot for a similar scheme in our own [deer] Forest' the shrinkage made the amalgamation of both deer forests a necessity, to be managed and let as one unit. He hoped to have wealthy guests staying with him, whose number was contingent 'on my having sport to provide for them'. This, he said, should also help to let Muckross House[92]. Phelps advised 'it would be beneficial in every way to grant him the [20-year] lease'[93]. This was received favourably by the OPW Commissioners, with the important provisos that the permission of the Department of Finance was necessary, that the park boundaries would have to be carefully surveyed to establish what was being let, and that open, public tendering would have to be adhered to[94]. The Commissioners saw the commercial possibilities, and minuted '...if we got a good offer for 10 years it might be good business for us'[95]. However, after several public advertisements in 1938 inviting tenders for five or ten year's stalking, copies of which were sent directly to Castlerosse with accompanying letters effectively telling him that the offer remained open should he care to tender, Castlerosse never replied[96].

A competitive tender did not suit the Viscount's purpose, though a contributory factor may have been his marriage ending in divorce in 1938[97]. The protection of the stock of native red deer was far from his real motive of acquiring Muckross exclusively for 20 years. Castlerosse intended to establish a new golf course in his western demesne, and part of this plan was to provide deer stalking, shooting and fishing as added attractions for the wealthy clients he hoped would come. He was quoted as saying 'I want to make it [Killarney] a resort to which people from all over the world will come. Already, there is the loveliest of mountains, there's fish in the lake and deer in the forest'[98]. How much deer he boasted to have in his forests was revealed by one of his friends and guest, J Wentworth Day, who stalked with Castlerosse in Derrycunnihy district in 1937. Day was told there were 1,500 red deer on the hills, and '3,000...even perhaps 5,000' Japanese sika deer on 'this 30,000-acre demesne of the Earls of Kenmare'[99]. His deer numbers, and his 30,000 acres, were nothing other than deliberate exaggerations by Castlerosse. His employer, Lord Beaverbrook, during one of Castlerosse's more serious financial crises that year, wrote that the Viscount was a man who made a world of illusion for himself, and who lived in 'his [own] world of make-believe'[100]. His outrageously exaggerated numbers of deer were part of

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[91] Thomson's *Lord Castlerosse*, and Leonard Mosley's *Castlerosse* are the basis for the general description of Viscount Castlerosse's character and behaviour. Lord Beaverbrook advised that, above all, Castlerosse should not be given control of the Kenmare estate, because of his extravagance - Thomson...*Castlerosse...* p 118.

[92] NAI, OPW F.96/1/55/37. Castlerosse to Major Phelps 2 October 1937.

[93] Ibid. Phelps to OPW 4 October 1937.

[94] Ibid. Memos 28 October, 29 November, 22, 30 December 1937; 6 January 1938.

[95] Ibid. Memo 9 February 1938.

[96] Ibid. Memos 11, 14 February 1938; OPW to Castlerosse 7 March, 4 June 1938; copy advertisements inserted in the *Irish Independent, Irish Times, Irish Press, Times* (London) and *Field.*

[97] Thomson...*Castlerosse...* p 111.

[98] Mosley...*Castlerosse...* p 140.

[99] J Wentworth Day *The Dog in Sport* (London, 1938) pp 266-7.

[100] Quoted in Thomson...*Castlerosse...* pp116-7.

Castlerosse's publicity stunts to draw attention to his golfing and sporting schemes. Regrettably, the account by Day, who had at one time served as acting-editor of the *Field* [101], became acknowledged in the literature as factual. Kenneth G Whitehead, regarded as an authority on British deer stalking in the 1950s and 1960s, accepted the figure of 1,500 red deer simply because Castlerosse had associated himself with Day's book - Castlerosse had written a one-page, whimsical preface in praise of dogs[102].

In fact, Castlerosse was fully aware of the scarcity of deer in the Kenmare forests. The year before, in 1936, he had requested permission for a few day's stalking in Muckross for himself and a friend - Muckross was unlet at the time - and offered to pay for the privilege[103]. Why he should request this was a good indication of his own forests' standing. And it was implicit in Castlerosse's correspondence to Phelps in 1937 - the same year he boasted of his deer numbers of 1,500 to Day, and the year he again leased Muckross - that the Kenmare estate did not have a sufficient stock of deer or game to cater for the wealthy people he hoped to bring for golf and sport. The historical evidence conclusively shows that the Muckross deer forests were *vital* to Castlerosse if his scheme of wooing wealthy sportsmen were to succeed. His sly approach in seeking to tie up Muckross for 20 years was not entirely lost on OPW staff, who minuted that 'Viscount Castlerosse has automatically had the Kenmare Estate stalking each year he rented the Muckross one from us, and the merging of them gives him no advantage which he did not formerly have'[104]. Only six years previously, his father's claim for criminal damage to his forests had implied the number of red deer then was about 120, perhaps 150 at most. Kenmare's red deer population could not have mushroomed within the intervening period. Neither were the Kenmares much concerned about preserving their red deer, or their forests. Two years previously, in 1935, when negotiating the sale of lands to the state for commercial afforestation, the whole of Lord Kenmare's deer forests south of the Killarney Valley, comprising 1505 acres in Derrycunnihy and 3,555 acres in Incheens and Ullauns, were offered to Forestry Division[105]. The Forestry Division did not take up that total offer of over 5,000 acres, but had it done so, it would have left only Glena as stalking ground to the Kenmares, and Glena was being regularly let out for grazing. Lord Castlerosse cared little for deer, except as sport for himself and a source of badly needed income. He was described by an acquaintance as having 'a positive passion for stalking and annihilating deer'[106]. When stalking he was accompanied by his keeper, ghillies carrying rifles and telescope, and 'a man bearing a pail with ice for his lordship's whiskey and soda'[107]. Regarded as a crack shot, he demonstrated his skill in killing a stag before a bemused group who were planning the layout of his golf course [108]; no mean feat for a man whose right elbow had been shattered by a bullet[109]. He claimed deer were ruining the demesne landscape being set apart for his golf scheme, and he set about eliminating them. To embellish his golf course he

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101 R N Rose *The Field 1853-1953* (London, 1953) p 193.

102 Whitehead...*Deer of Gt Britain & Ireland*...p 197.

103 NAI, OPW P 96/2/27. Memo Phelps to OPW 3 October 1936. Castlerosse returned to England the day after his arrival in Killarney, and no stalking occurred – Ibid, memo 12 October 1936.

104 NAI, OPW F96/1/55/37. Memos 22, 23 November 1937.

105 Coillte, A 40/34. Memo 'Kenmare Estate; Lands Offered' 19 August 1935.

106 Henry Longhurst, golf architect for Castlerosse's new Killarney course, quoted in Mosley...*Castlerosse*... p 157.

107 Thomson...*Castlerosse*... p 151.

108 Mosley...*Castlerosse*... pp 157-8.

109 Castlerosse used a rifle with double triggers, one a hair trigger, considered as a very dangerous weapon by his family relations - Valentine Dawnay interview 31 May 1996.

intended to plant 150 acres of massed native and exotic flowers from Australia and New Zealand, telling W M Campbell, curator of Kew Gardens in London, that 'The thing is to be as loud and vulgar as God will let you...'[110]. It was fortunate indeed that Castlerosse did not obtain his 20-year lease of Muckross, fortunate for that estate, and fortunate for the deer.

By the mid-1930s, the introduction of fresh blood to the red deer herd in Muckross became a serious objective for OPW Head Office and BVMP local management. In 1936 E Tangney, then described as 'ex-gamekeeper', told OPW that Muckross was owed two stags from Windsor Great Park. This was deemed impossible at the time, due to the danger of foot-and-mouth disease, as permission to import them would involve a long quarantine[111]. In 1937, A J Pearson advised his superiors in OPW that a new stag should be introduced every three years, or two new ones every five years, and suggested Powerscourt Estate or the Marchioness of Conyngham at Slane Castle as possible sources[112]. Lord Powerscourt advised OPW that he had 50 to 60 red deer in his deer park, and 'you can have what you want on terms of exchange...'[113]. Since Powerscourt's red and sika deer had already hybridised, and as the red deer at Slane Castle, emparked for the Ward Union stag hunt, contained stock imported from Britain, it was fortunate yet again that bringing in stags to Muckross from either of these two locations did not take place. One of the local landed gentry, Senator the McGillycuddy, put himself forward as an expert on deer management, and in 1938 he gratuitously told OPW that while 'there has been no deterioration in weight, there had been, with few exceptions, a very great falling off in form and size of horn' in the Muckross red deer. His solution was that 'real improvement can only be obtained by the introduction of new blood', and added that he had been told, when a small boy, that the Herberts had introduced fresh blood[114]. McGillycuddy had not rented Muckross at that time, and offered no authority to support his opinions. By 1939, fear of foot-and-mouth disease was still restricting importations, and the Glenveagh deer forest in Donegal was contacted for an exchange of stags[115]. P McIlhenny, proprietor of Glenveagh, was enthusiastic, and confirmed he himself would do anything possible to secure new blood for Glenveagh - 'both of us would gain'. He advised that the previous year Lord Castlerosse and Lord Revelstoke had offered him a stag from the Kenmare forests in exchange for a Glenveagh stag, but this never took place 'because of the difficulty involved in capturing'[116]. Matt Leahy, head keeper at Muckross, told OPW that the possibility of capturing a wild red stag was very remote in the mountain forests[117]. McGillycuddy again intervened, and accepted that exchange was out of the question due to the impossibility of capture, saying that anyway he considered the red deer from Donegal as 'inferior'. He again urged the importation of deer from Windsor[118]. Joseph Connolly of OPW astutely observed: 'Senator McGillycuddy may be right in his opinion about Glenveagh deer, but he may not', and suggested independent

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110 Thomson...*Castlerosse...* p 152.

111 NAI, OPW D 96/2/90. Memo BVMP to OPW Head Office 27 March 1936. Tangney had accompanied the hinds sent to Windsor by Vincent in 1913.

112 NAI, OPW F 96/1/55/37. Memos 22, 23 November 1937. Mr Pearson was also involved with the fallow deer in Phoenix Park as well as with the Muckross red deer herd.

113 NAI, OPW D 96/2/90. Powerscourt to Pearson 19 August 1936.

114 NAI, OPW P 7/80. McGillycuddy to OPW 28 November 1938.

115 Ibid. Memos 11 January, 3 March 1939.

116 Ibid. McIlhenny to J Connolly, OPW, 27 March 1939.

117 Ibid. Memo 9 June 1939.

118 Ibid. McGillycuddy to J Connolly, OPW, 9 June 1939.

advice be sought from Pearson[119]. Pearson confessed he new nothing about the red deer in Glenveagh, but Lord Oranmore and Brown had told him that the 'stags of the Scottish forests are lighter in weight and not always superior in head to the Irish ones'[120]. The extent of Pearson's expertise was revealed later that year, when he told OPW Head office 'so far as the red deer [of BVMP] are concerned, my knowledge is limited to seeing an odd stag in passing'[121].

It was evident that important decisions on deer management at Muckross were being taken by administrators at OPW Head Office in Dublin who possessed no actual knowledge themselves. It fell to the keeper Matt Leahy to point out the complexities involved in a rugged, mountainous environment. OPW, using the Department of Foreign Affairs, next approached Windsor Great Park for advice. The reply came instead from Richmond Park. It told OPW that standards for weight of animal and size of antler were dependant on mineral constituents of soil, on climate, on size of deer range, and on lack of disturbance. Small antlers it attributed to inbreeding over a long period, and absence of calcium-containing food. It recommended to 'kill off the unsuitable types of both sexes, persistently ... and introduce fresh blood by means of half a dozen 3-year-old hinds every year for three or four years, killing off the males of the progeny from these hinds every year for five or six years'[122]. But luck, once more, played a key role, and that advice was never implemented due to the outbreak of World War II in September 1939. Introduced hinds would have had a far more realistic chance of breeding than imported stags. Introduced stags would initially be subordinate to resident dominant stags, and might never be given a chance to breed - even native sub-dominant stags have been found in scientific red deer research to never achieve breeding status[123]. The advice from Richmond Park was naive in its assumption of accurate assessment of an animal's status being possible on the open mountains, and reflected more the experience of supervising a limited number of enclosed park deer, where each animal was tallied. Richmond Park's remarks on the 'Japanese deer' - referred to in the OPW enquiry - were that 'These, I take it, are the dark, almost black fallow deer...'; a clear indication that the situation at Killarney was foreign to them.

OPW were intent on obtaining new blood, and the continuing internal communications between OPW and Muckross revealed that stags were indeed due from Windsor. In 1940 Ex-gamekeeper Tangney told the BVMP superintendent that three hinds were sent to Windsor in 1913 by Vincent so as to obtain suitable stags in return. He, Tangney, had accompanied these hinds, and was asked at the time to point out the type of animal required by Vincent in exchange. Tangney claimed the Muckross hinds were taken to Windsor 'as a result of an inspection here [in Muckross] when it was disclosed that the hinds in this Estate were larger in body and bone than the stags at Windsor...'[124]. All of which begs the obvious question, why was it thought necessary to introduce new blood to Muckross, when Killarney's red deer were sought as first-rate breeding stock? It was the unthinking, repeated rhetoric of the time, considered 'the thing to do' - other forests did it - and stalkers, like the McGillycuddy, considered themselves the ultimate judges of what was a 'good' or a 'bad' head, and freely offered

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[119] Ibid. Memo 19 June 1939.

[120] Ibid. Memo 15 July 1939.

[121] Ibid. Memo 5 December 1939.

[122] Ibid. OPW to Department of Foreign Affairs 29 July 1939; Department of Foreign Affairs to OPW, enclosing letter from Richmond Park, 26 October 1939.

[123] T H Clutton-Brock and S D Albon *Red Deer in the Highlands* (Oxford, 1989) pp 50-1.

[124] NAI, OPW P 7/80. Memo from BVMP superintendent, quoting Tangney, 1 January 1940.

advice based on an artificial opinion of 'beauty', established by elitist British sportsmen in the Scottish Highlands a century previously. Nevertheless, these were the values that brought paying lessees, and it was clear by now that the exploitation of deer and game for commercial benefit dominated OPW policy in administrating the BVMP. This misuse of Muckross came into sharp focus when Joseph Connolly, a key player in BVMP policy and management, was asked by the Taoiseach[125] de Valera to meet Arthur Rose Vincent in 1938.

Vincent was no friend of the Fianna Fail administration, and in the Seanad had argued forcibly against the Constitution (Removal of Oath) Bill 1932, saying it was smashing the Treaty, and he 'did not care what Statutes of Westminster are passed'[126]. He had re-married a Mrs Dorothy Sands in 1933, lived mostly in France thereafter, and resigned from the Senate in February 1934, on grounds of ill-health[127]. He met Joseph Connolly in January 1938, and while making it clear he did not wish to interfere with OPW's management, he expressed keen disappointment at the way Muckross was being run. He confirmed his views in a follow-up letter to Connolly. In particular, he objected to Muckross being 'leased to one or more individuals for sporting purposes, [as] the public is necessarily prohibited from the full enjoyment of these areas, a result entirely repugnant to the wishes of the donors and to the spirit of the Act of Acceptance'. He strongly urged the whole of the estate be thrown open to the public, and that the estate 'be regarded as a bird, wild-life, and botanical sanctuary'. The public should be enlightened about the true value of the gift. He suggested that Muckross House, still idle, be cleared of furniture and converted into a hostel for hikers, that roads for motor cars should not be developed in the Park, and disagreed with the idea of combining the deer stalking with Lord Kenmare's forest. He told Connolly 'the Kenmare lands were practically stripped of deer', and thought any deer they had were strays from the Muckross herd. There were far too many deer at Muckross, and there should be 'a wholesale reduction in the stock'[128]. Connolly's reply assured Vincent that 'we have not really been so much concerned about the potential income to be derived from Muckross as to preserve the grounds and amenities of Muckross...'[129]. It was a patently untrue statement, as the internal memos and actions of OPW incontrovertibly attest. Vincent had not specified what species of deer were too many, but his opinion must have reflected the views of his cousin Major Phelps, who had told OPW only a month previously that sika were 'far too numerous', and had spread as far as Caragh Lake, 'approx 25 miles from Muckross'[130]. (Caragh Lake's distance by road from Muckross was accurate enough, but the distance as a deer travels is approximately ten miles). OPW's returns (Appendix 12) attest that the red deer herd was in fact reducing, and it was sika deer that far outstripped them in numbers shot.

OPW's public advertisements to let the Muckross stalking received harsh criticism in the *Irish Times.* In 1938 it charged the Board of Works (the alternative title for the OPW) with persistently thwarting the donors' intentions, and leasing out the stalking was 'a definite infringement on the people's liberty to wander at large over their own property...the Board of Works would sacrifice every public right for the sake of a few pounds'[131]. Neither this or Vincent's visit made any difference to OPW's intention to maximise income from the exploitation

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[125] Under de Valera's 1937 Constitution, the title Taoiseach replaced the previous title President of the Executive Council.
[126] *Seanad Eireann Official Report* vol xv, 843.
[127] *Seanad Eireann Official Report* vol xviii. v, 389. See also Vincent...'Vincent Family'... p 437.
[128] NAI, OPW F 96/1/55/37. Typed memo by Connolly of Vincent's visit 10 January 1938; Vincent to Connolly 18 January 1938.
[129] Ibid. Connolly to Vincent 26 January 1938.
[130] Ibid. Memo 22 November 1937.
[131] *Irish Times* 11 March 1938.

of the BVMP's deer and game. Lord Adare's attempt to get a five-year stalking lease in 1936 at £100 per annum was rejected, but he was told if he would increase his offer to £150, acceptance would be recommended. Adare was not prepared to do so, and the stalking went unlet that year[132]. The following year OPW lost an excellent opportunity when M T Stephens of the *Field* offered to visit Muckross and would 'say everything that is necessary as a result of two day's stalking, so the '*Field* should be able to give very useful publicity to the Park...especially as regards letting'. But OPW had already let the stalking for that year - to Castlerosse[133]. Despite advertising, BVMP remained unlet again in 1938, and hopes that Melville Balfour, a friend of the McGillycuddy's, would take both stalking and Muckross House in 1939 were swept aside by the threat of war[134]. Letting the rough shooting was more successful. It was included in Castlerosse's £250 for 1934, and was let again for £50 in 1935, for £110 in 1936, and £140 in 1937[135]. Thereafter, the rough shooting was taken on a five-year letting which brought it within the World War II period.

Although steady decline typified the fortunes of the Brownes and their Killarney holdings, following their disastrous efforts to sell out in 1930, the letting out of his deer stalking and rough shooting, difficult in the depression years of the 1930s, was easier for an aristocratic Earl who could rely on family. Cecil Baring, third Baron Revelstoke, picked up the bills incurred by his son Rupert while shooting and stalking on the Kenmare estate[136], and after succeeding to the title on his father's death in 1934, Rupert Baring, as fourth Baron Revelstoke, continued this practice[137]. A significant letting occurred in 1932 which brought in an income of £500[138]. The lessee remains unrecorded, and the amount suggests it must have been for deer stalking, or perhaps for stalking and rough shooting combined, and may have been in respect of the previous 1931 season. If so, it would seriously question the validity of the claim the Earl had made for malicious damages at Gortroe in that year. There were two further deer stalking lettings before the commencement of the Second World War. In 1937 and 1938 Dr E W Fish took the stalking at £125 per season[139]. Dr Fish was interested only in shooting sika deer, and apparently had no interest in the red stags[140], which may explain the reduced fees, though stalking fees in general had decreased by then. Receipts from the sale of game and venison on a yearly basis up to and including the early years of World War II reveal that deer culling on the Kenmare estate had effectively collapsed. In the twelve-year period 1930-41 game realised £149 17s 6d, of which rabbit sales yielded £93 8s 6d, while venison sales came to only £12 19s 1d, practically the entire of this occurring prior to 1935[141]. Deer were no longer any significant source of revenue to the Kenmares, a factor which, additional to his golf course project,

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132 NAI, OPW D 96/2/90. OPW to Lord Adare 10 August, Adare to OPW 12 August 1936. There followed several letters to and from Adare, during which he offered £100 for the 1936 season only; this was also rejected.

133 Ibid. Stephens to OPW 9 July, OPW to Stephens 16 July 1937. Stephens was the shooting writer for the *Field,* - see Rose...*The Field*... p 192.

134 NAI, OPW F 96/1/82/39. McGillycuddy to OPW 4 June; memo by BVMP superintendent 14 June; M Balfour to OPW 26 June 1939.

135 NAI, OPW 96/1/55/37. Memo 22 November 1937.

136 PRONI, D/4151/M/31. Summarised from General Cash Book 1927-32. Between 1928 and 1932 Lord Revelstoke paid £248 10s 8d to the Kenmares in reimbursement of such expenses. Cecil Baring himself may have also shot in his relative's Killarney estate.

137 PRONI, D/4151/M/25. Summarised from Daily Cash Book 1928-41 - he refunded a much-reduced sum of £53 17s 1d to his relatives the Kenmares for shooting expenses in 1937 and 1938 - the estate accounts do not record any involvement during the intervening years.

138 PRONI, D/4151/M/31. General Cash Book, January 1932.

139 PRONI, D/4151/M/25. Daily Cash Book 1928-41. 3 December 1937, 2 December 1938.

140 Valentine Dawnay interview 31 May 1996.

141 PRONI, D/4151/M/23.; D/4151/M/25.; D/4151/M/31.; D/4151/M/32. Summarised from Daily and General Cash Books, covering the period 1927-41.

must have heavily influenced Castlerosse's renting the Muckross stalking. As for the Kenmare estate itself, drastic measures were necessary if it were to survive.

In 1935 the management of the Killarney estate was effectively taken out of the hands of the Earl and his wayward son, and transferred to The Kenmare Estates Company, a private unlimited company. The Earl assigned to the company his life interest in the real estate in Killarney, and £20,207 6s 2d of guaranteed stock. The Assignment did not create the company a tenant for life, and did not prevent the vendor from selling parts of the real estate, provided the proceeds would be fully applied to reduce certain mortgages. When these were fully repaid, the proceeds of any further sales would first be paid to Baring Brothers and Company Limited, as trustees, for investment[142]. The business acumen of their bank-owning cousins, the Barings, would henceforward have an influential part to play in the Kenmare family's finances. The Earl had already begun to sell off some local properties by the end of the 1920s, and, under the new financial management, the sales of land, buildings, and other capital items quickly accelerated. Between 1928 and 1941, sales of estate assets amounted to £15,912, realised from the sale of leased and tenement houses (£2,486), the disposal of lands (£9,888), and sales of other properties (£3,538)[143]. Some of the disposals were real bargains. The building and a half-acre of land, known as Derrycunnihy Chapel, was sold to Most Rev Dr O'Brien and others for ten shillings[144], and the Presbytery and its lands at Kilcummin were sold for £150[145]. Their wealth may have been seriously dissipated, but the Kenmares were still big-hearted to their Church and Faith. Local people also benefited. When a half-acre of land at Lady's View, part of the Incheeens deer forest, was sold to Mortimer O'Shea for £70[146], the MacCarthy family living in nearby Foardal thought the Earl of Kenmare must have really fallen upon hard times[147].

The money generated was insufficient for the estate's upkeep, and family members had to dig into their personal finances to enable it continue as a going concern. From 1931 to 1941, loans totalling £18,799 were necessary to keep the estate afloat. While these injections, provided at monthly or quarterly intervals, were for the most part used in the day-to-day running of the Kenmare estate - Countess Kenmare paid specific estate bills - the Kenmares did not neglect their property commitments; £1,210 was used in repairing Ross Castle. The majority of these loans came from Lord Kenmare, who contributed £10,504, Lady Kenmare loaned £3,229 until 1936, when Baring Brothers took over and loaned £2,052, Lord Revelstoke (third Baron) lent £200, Castlerosse came up with £584 in 1937, and the balance, £2,230, came from unspecified sources - most probably bank loans[148]. How Castlerosse procured his funding remains unknown. As a young man in the early 1920s when he gambled on the Stock Exchange, his personal debts were about £20,000, and in 1937, the year he funded the Kenmare estate, he was in serious financial crisis. It is difficult to see, therefore, how he came by cash to give to his estate, except perhaps it may have been through a legendary coup one of his biographers has recounted.

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[142] PRONI, D/4151/A/50. Memorandum and Articles of Association of the Kenmare Estates Company 12 November 1935; D/4151/A/51 Certificate of Incorporation of the Kenmare Estates Company 28 November 1935; D/4151/A/52 Assignment, Earl of Kenmare to the Kenmare Estates Company 9 December 1935.

[143] PRONI, D/4151/M/23.; D/4151/M/25,; D/4151/M/31. Summarised from Daily and General Cash Books, covering the period 1928-41.

[144] PRONI, D/4151/B/65/1. Conveyance, 1932.

[145] PRONI, D/4151/M/25. Daily Cash Book 1928-41, 16 February 1937.

[146] PRONI, D/4151/B/105/3. Agreement, 1937.

[147] Donal MacCarthy interview 9 November 1995.

[148] PRONI, D/4151/M/23.; D/4151/M/25. Summarised from Daily Cash Books, covering the period 1927-41.

Castlerosse reputedly bought a dog track and sold it within a day at a handsome profit of £26,000, though his biographer added that little of this found its way to Castlerosse's creditors[149].

Despite his financial straits, the fifth Earl, at least until World War II, continued to employ five gamekeepers. Dan Donoghue, in charge of the deer forests, was paid £15 a quarter until the end of 1932, and thereafter his wages were reduced to £12 10s 0d a quarter[150]. This reduction was an indication not only of financial cut-backs, but that deer stalking was no longer of special importance. Donoghue, whose wages were less than half that of his counterpart Matt Leahy at Muckross, was living in a mountain deer forest over ten miles by road from Killarney town, and had little choice or opportunity of alternative employment. It was some measure of an inborn loyalty that Dan Donoghue, and his son 'Young' Dan Donoghue, never left their employment as gamekeepers to the Kenmares.

The outbreak of war created opportunities that were eagerly seized upon by Lord Kenmare. War-ravaged Britain sought rabbit imports from the neutral Irish Free State, and prices soared (Appendix 14). By 1940, rabbit sales from the Kenmare estate reached £56 1s 0d, more than four times the average over the previous three years, and by 1941 rabbits yielded £145 8s 2d, over ten times the estate's pre-war average[151]. The war resulted in radically altering game habitats, as the fifth Earl took advantage of local fuel shortages and began to sell off the woods in his game coverts at Deerpark and Crohane. In 1941 this provided him with £1,070 9s 9d, representing approximately 1,000 tons of timber cut and sold, over 80 per cent of which came from Crohane[152]. Regrettably, the full impact the war must have had on Lord Kenmare's deer, game and game habitat remains undocumented, as available financial accounts of the Kenmare estate do not extend beyond 1941, although some aspects of the Kenmare deer forests and game shooting continued to feature in the records of Muckross.

Phelps was replaced by Denis Kelleher, a state employee who took over management of the BVMP in September 1938[153]. Within a year he experienced the immense change of stalker-type, and fees, brought by the Second World War. What had been the exclusive preserve of aristocracy and gentry became the sport, and a source of fresh meat, for Killarney businessmen and their class, while Castlerosse returned to pursue his stalking once more in Muckross. At the commencement of the war Eugene O'Sullivan, proprietor of the Killarney Mineral Water Company and Chairman of Killarney Urban District Council, obtained the stalking lease of BVMP for £20, conditional on obtaining rifle and ammunition permits. This modest sum allowed him to shoot up to 200 sika deer, equivalent to two shillings per animal, a truly remarkable bargain. As events enfolded, he did not commence until 3 December 1939, and between then and the year end he shot 50 sika. To compensate for his late start, the park superintendent recommended O'Sullivan's licence be extended, and he continued killing deer until 18 February 1940, killing in all 73 sika, 70 of them does. In the same season the red deer stalking was leased to His Excellency John Cudahy, American Minister Plenipotentiary to the Irish Free State, who, for a fee

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149 Thomson...*Lord Castlerosse*...pp 68-9, 116, 119-20.

150 PRONI, D/4151/M/32. General Cash Book 1933-36, wage payments. The other four keepers were: Gleeson, Lyne and Dineen, each earning £3 15s 0d a quarter; in addition Gleeson and Lyne each received a quarterly bicycle allowance of 17s 6d. An occasional keeper, M Cronin, was paid, erratically, ten shillings a week.

151 PRONI, D/4151/M/25. Summarised from Daily Cash Book, 1928-41.

152 PRONI, D/4151/M/25. Daily Cash Book 1928-41. Timber sales were recorded from 28 August to 24 December 1941, at rates varying from £1 to £1 2s 6d a ton.

153 NAI, OPW F 81/1/20/39. Memo 15 November 1938.

of £30, was allowed to shoot up to 20 stags - in all, he shot nine. When Cudahy looked for a three-year lease, the Department of Finance, to whom the OPW deferred for approval, ordered no special privileges be given, and the rules of public advertisements for competitive tenders be strictly adhered to[154]. These lettings represented incredible bargains when compared to fees of £1,200 per annum obtained by Lord Ardilaun before the Great War, and to fees of up to £600 in some years obtained by the Kenmares. When inflation between 1900 and 1939 of about 96 per cent is taken into account, the state's initial war-time leasings amounted to just four per cent of Ardilaun's stalking income from Muckross[155].

The exigencies of the time - termed 'The Emergency' - did cause some soul-searching in OPW. After three months of war, Pearson had questioned the wisdom of expenditure at Muckross purely for sport, as he saw it[156], and the following year - the first real year of war - OPW Head Office questioned the costs of deer stalking, and the functions of gamekeepers. The park superintendent, after advising the weekly rates of pay for his four keepers[157], argued that only about one eighth of their wages should be chargeable to gamekeeping, as red deer stalking only averaged 14 days, and sika stalking 12 days. He claimed that preserving game and attendance at shoots were not his keepers' most important duties, and he held them responsible as park constables to protect ornamental shrubs and trees, to detect illicit grazing and trespass, and instanced how prompt action by two keepers in extinguishing a heather fire deliberately started on Torc mountain had prevented inestimable damage to the forestry section. (NB- See superintendent's mss. summary at end of Keeper's Diary for 1940). Though it could hardly be justified now as good business, the state nevertheless continued to lease out its deer stalking, based largely on the superintendent's argument that sika were becoming too numerous and should be controlled - though Denis Kelleher offered no data to support this assertion[158]. For the 1940 season a local medic, Dr William O'Sullivan of Killarney, teamed up with Eugene O'Sullivan and offered £15 for both of them to kill 19 sika. After consultation with Denis Kelleher he increased this to £20[159], and both men were allowed to take out 42 sika - more than double their allotted quota[160]. On this evidence, deer in the BVMP were unquestionably being over exploited, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the national park's resources were being locally abused to cash-in on wartime opportunities.

A clear indication of the situation in the Kenmare forests was Castlerosse's leasing of the Muckross deer stalking in 1941. Castlerosse had recovered from a serious illness in 1939[161], and in 1940 requested permission to shoot wild goats in the BVMP during his Whitsuntide vacation, a favour the state granted him, free of charge[162]. His 1941 lease of the BVMP allowed him to cull up to 20 stags, 20 hinds, 25 sika bucks and 75 sika does, a total of 140 deer, for £150. This was exceptionally cheap, an absolute bargain compared to what his own

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154 NAI, OPW D 96/2/27. Memos 17 August; 7, 8, 12 September, 4 October; 6 November 1939; 18 February 1940. Correspondence, Department of Finance and OPW, October/November 1939.

155 CSO/CPI, 1846-1995.

156 NAI, OPW P 7/80. Memo 5 December 1939.

157 NAI, OPW D 96/2/27. Memo 11 November 1940. These were: M Leahy, head keeper, £2 1s 0d; T Leahy £1 15s 0d; C Doody £1 10s 6d; and P O'Sullivan £1 10s 0d.

158 Ibid. Memo 12 September 1939.

159 Ibid. Memos 12 July, 19 August 1940.

160 Ibid. Memo 27 January 1941. Details in Appendix 12.

161 Thomson...*Lord Castlerosse*...pp 146-7.

162 NAI, OPW D 96/2/27. Memos 27 April, 4 May 1940.

Kenmare estate could ever offer. A total of 41 deer were taken out, but only ten of these were stags[163] - the quarry Lord Castlerosse most wanted. It was increasingly obvious that management of the BVMP was less concerned with conserving its resource of deer than with maximising lease income, and in its efforts to woo lessees, the state, acting on the advice of the park superintendent, offered a deer cull far in excess of achievable numbers. That this practice had official approval was confirmed later during the war when Joseph Connolly included in his memo to the Department of the Taoiseach a copy of circulars issued by OPW in 1940. As enticement, these public OPW circulars offered permission to take up to 30 stags and 200 sika deer per season from its national park in Killarney[164]. Not being able to achieve such numbers did not deter Castlerosse, who well knew that such numbers were unobtainable anyway, and knew even better that neither were they available in his own forests, despite his outlandish exaggerations. He again leased Muckross for the following two seasons, at reduced rates of £100 and £75 respectively. His father, the fifth Earl, who for many prior years was said to have lived a quiet, retired life, died in November 1941 and his son, Valentine Edward Charles Browne, became the sixth Earl of Kenmare (1891-1943) aged 50 years[165].

For his remaining short life the sixth Earl was assisted at Muckross by the head keeper Matt Leahy. BVMP game books for most of the 1940s, incorporating the daily diaries of Matt Leahy and some other keepers, have survived[166]. These reveal that the total numbers of deer killed and recorded in OPW returns included animals killed by the keepers. These were trespassing deer that were shot and then used as food for the dog kennels, and also deer deliberately shot for that specific purpose. Additionally, the keeper was not infrequently told by the lessee to stalk and shoot game on his behalf. The official stalking season then authorised by the BVMP for both red and sika deer commenced on 1 September[167]. In 1942 Lord Kenmare swept that aside and, demonstrating that he used Muckross for venison as well as sport, he instructed Matt Leahy as early as 14 August to shoot a sika buck for him, which Leahy did that day. This, and his subsequent sourcing of sika from Muckross just four years after his claim to Wentworth Day of having 3,000 to 5,000 sika in 1937, is a damning indictment of Lord Kenmare's flagrant exaggerations. The sixth Earl received exceptional service in the BVMP, whether or not he personally stalked. During the 1942 season Matt Leahy organised a deer drive in Tomies for the Earl and four guests; this involved employing 11 beaters[168]. In 1943 the Earl disregarded the official dates once more, and had his stalking commence a full month in advance, on 31 July, to shoot sika. This toleration of the Earl's autocratic behaviour may have been a survival of years of deferential attitude to 'his Lordship' by local Killarney personnel. The Earl himself stalked less frequently this season, and Matt Leahy was accompanied solely by Lady Kenmare and her guests on eight out of the 13 stalking days recorded[169]. This was the Earl's second wife Enid, Lady Furness of Australia, whom he had married shortly after his first wife's suicide. She,

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163 Ibid. Memos 31 July, 13 November 1941. Details in Appendix 12.

164 NAI, S.6355B. Memo J Connolly to Department of the Taoiseach 23 July 1943.

165 *Irish Times,* 15 November 1941, covered the Earl's death with a detailed obituary.

166 Game Books cum Daily Diaries for the calendar years 1942, 1943, 1944 (incomplete), 1945, 1947, 1948 and 1950 were sourced in the Park Rangers' Offices, Killarney National Park. Hereafter cited as Keeper's Diary, and appropriate dates. (Remember to include 1940 also)

167 NAI, OPW D 96/2/27. Copy Invitation to Tender circular, 31 July 1941, issued to prospective stalkers for 1942 season.

168 This did not necessarily contradict the costings for stalking as supplied by the park superintendent to OPW. It was usual practice for the stalker himself to pay his beaters.

169 Both seasons summarised from Keeper's Diaries 1942 & 1943. The sixth Earl paid little regard to *de facto* closed seasons in his own estate; in January 1942 Matt Leahy was sent to attend to a deer hunt in Lord Kenmare's deer park - keeper's diary 3 January 1942. As previously dealt with in Chapter 6, Castlerosse as a youth shot sika in the Kenmare estate during the month of August.

Doris Delavigne, had not been allowed to visit Killarney because of Countess Kenmare's hostility to her and her marriage to the heir apparent[170]. Though he was less active on the hill, the Earl nevertheless imperiously proclaimed to Matt Leahy that illicit shooting was going on, a clear implication that the BVMP keepers were not, in his opinion, vigilant enough. The sixth Earl lived long enough to regret that allegation.

As the 1943 stalking season progressed, Matt Leahy entered in his diary: 'Patrolled Doogary and Sheha Mountain on Sunday and caught Robert and Dan Tangney poaching. They had a deer cut in two parts'[171]. This was a sensation, as one of the Tangneys was Lord Kenmare's own gamekeeper. The BVMP's report asked OPW Head Office to particularly note that Robert Tangney was gamekeeper for the Earl, and his brother Daniel was an assistant water bailiff in the Killarney Fishery District. Alluding to Lord Kenmare's criticism, the report did not spare the Earl, and neatly made the point that 'it now transpires one of his own employees was caught inside our boundary, after a patient and trying watch over a number of weeks ... [of] two characters known to be rough men'. The Earl and Gardai were informed. Daniel Tangney was found to have a licensed shotgun, and as a member of the LDF (Local Defence Force, part of the precautions taken during the Emergency) he also held a rifle and 18 rounds of ammunition - these had been taken into custody and the ammunition accounted for[172]. The Earl's reaction remains unknown, and seven days after the incident he died, on 19 September 1943. Matt Leahy attended the funeral, as did Arthur Rose Vincent[173]. The sixth Earl died without issue, and title passed to his brother Gerald Ralph Desmond Browne, who at the age of 47 became the seventh Earl of Kenmare (1896-1952). The seventh Earl was described as 'rather dull', and one who knew him recalled that he rarely spoke[174]. There is probably no more pertinent evidence on the status of the Kenmare deer forests which the new Earl inherited than a simple entry in the Muckross head keeper's diary, three days after the sixth Earl's funeral. Matt Leahy wrote: 'Ordered to shoot 1 stag for the Kenmare House. Shot 1 stag'[175]. The significance of supplying venison to the Kenmare household from Muckross could not have been lost on the park superintendent, or on the BVMP keepers. The poaching case against the Tangneys was subsequently dismissed[176].

The war had ushered in a spate of projects to further exploit the national park, some that would impinge on the park's own exploitive stalking and shooting, others that would jeopardise the concept of a national park as conceived by its donors. One scheme was the utilisation of the park's wildlife habitat for extensive sheep pasturing. In 1938 the state had resolutely refused a request by local sheep farmers to fence off the national park and keep their sheep off Mangerton mountain. The OPW was under no legal obligation to do so, and instead used its gamekeepers to drive off trespassing animals[177]. In 1940 the state, through An Foras Taluntais, commenced its own experimental sheep breeding scheme on the BVMP deer forest townlands of Ferta, Cores, Crinnagh and Cloughfune. Subsequently, sheep numbers pastured on the deer forests rose from 370 in 1943 to a

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170 Thomson...*Lord Castlerosse...* pp 102-3, 168.

171 Keeper's Diary 12 September 1943.

172 NAI, OPW D 96/2/27. Report to OPW on the Tangney poaching incident 18 September 1943. The park superintendent was on holidays at the time.

173 Keeper's Diary 24 September 1943; *Irish Times* and *Irish Independent* 25 September 1943.

174 Bence-Jones... *Twilight...* p 170; AWB Vincent interview 18 June 1999.

175 Keeper's Diary 27 September 1943.

176 Ibid. 2 November 1943.

177 NAI, OPW F 96/1/55/37. E J Downing, solicitor, to OPW 25 March, memo 6 March , OPW to E J Downing 16 June 1938.

peak of 1,459 in 1954, and stood at 1,100 when the scheme was abandoned in 1966[178]. Also in 1940, the Forestry Division requested a further 357 acres of deer forest in Killegy Upper, Cloghereen, Crinnagh, Torc and Gortracussane, to facilitate access to its existing holdings. This was rejected by the OPW on grounds that these lands were required as deer habitat, pointedly remarking that Forestry wanted them solely to simplify boundary lines on its maps[179]. Luckily, a proposal in 1941 to have two and a half miles of public road constructed from Queen's Cottage to Gallavally did not succeed. This approach, made on behalf of Daniel Tangney and 35 other families in the Gearhameen district, dragged on for some years before being abandoned on cost grounds[180]. Had it proceeded, the road would have cut across outlying parts of both the BVMP and the Kenmare deer forests, and given ready access to them from the public Killarney - Kenmare road. (The concept of a roadway through the national park had previously been contemplated by OPW itself in 1938[181]). Wartime conditions demanded necessary turf production in the BVMP for local institutions. In 1942 the park's turf production reached approximately 300 tons, of which the BVMP itself used 100 tons per annum, 28 tons went to the Post Office, and two tons to the District Office of Works[182]. The use of Muckross House as a temporary military post during the war[183] probably had little if any impact on the park's stalking and game shooting. (But note their shooting in 1940 as guests of Dr O'Sullivan!).

More relevant to the BVMP and its gamekeepers during the wartime 1940s was the lack of ammunition, and the park superintendent complained that scarcity of shotgun cartridges made it difficult to control vermin[184]. In 1940 the Department of Finance had instructed Joseph Connolly to ensure that maximum wear was obtained from state-supplied clothing. It was tacit acknowledgement that Connolly was a key person to ensure these instructions would be observed, and they were. When gamekeeper Thomas Leahy died in 1942, instructions were issued that his keeper's clothes be returned by his relatives, and when Angus McLeod was due to retire in 1944, instructions came that his overalls should be passed on to his successor[185]. Of significant effect on the park's administration was the rationing of petrol. Permission for the superintendent to use his car was refused by the Department of Supplies, and he was without its use from 1 May 1942 until 30 April 1945[186].

A project that undoubtedly would have had a most serious impact on the BVMP was a proposed ESB hydro-electric scheme on the Torc river, within the national park. Exploratory work on the scheme began in the early 1940s. The ESB sank 36 trial pits in the deer forests, and requested permission to erect a flow-measuring weir on the Torc river. By June 1942 Matt Leahy was accompanying Professor Walsh surveying in the deer forest[187]. Professor Walsh, of UCC, had enthusiastically advocated hydro-electric schemes for local river

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178 Quoted in Riney...Red Deer of County Kerry... pp 25-6, 80.

179 Coillte, A 52/32. Forestry to OPW 20 June; OPW to Forestry 26 July, 2 October 1940.

180 NAI, OPW F 96/1/96/41. Eugene J Dowling, solicitor, to OPW 21 January, memos 11 February, 8 April 1941; OPW to Kerry County Council 22 June 1944.

181 Coillte, A 52/32. OPW to Forestry 22 August 1938.

182 NAI, OPW F 96/1/115/43. Memo 2 February 1942.

183 Commandant Laing, Military Archives, Dublin, personal communications 2 May, 19 June 1997; Commandant P D O'Donnell (Retired) to author 6 April 2000. The BVMP farm sold milk to army personnel on 18 November 1940, and 7 January 1941 - MHA, BVMP Cash Receipts Book.

184 NAI, OPW F 96/1/113/42. Memo 30 December 1942.

185 NAI, OPW B 77/8/32/38. Department of Finance to Joseph Connolly 17 May 1940; Memos 10 September 1942, 26 April 1944.

186 NAI, OPW F 81/1/20/39. Memos 24 October 1941, 27 June 1942, 17 October 1945.

187 Coillte A 52/32. ESB to Department of Lands 17 February 1942; Keeper's Diary 30 June 1942.

systems in 1919[188]. The scheme, as originally described in 1944 and more fully in 1955, proposed erecting a concrete dam 125 feet high and 740 feet long across the narrow gap between Torc and Failacurrane mountains, to contain a reservoir backing into the valley between Torc, Mangerton and Cores mountains, with an earthen dam containing its western end. The lake created would be fed from the Torc river (coming off Mangerton) and the Owgarrif river (in Gleann na gCapall - today's Horses Glen). Dams would also be constructed at the outlets of Loughs Erhogh, Managh and Garagarry in Gleann na gCapall, and the outflow carried by an aqueduct, more than two and a half miles long, across the face of Mangerton and Barnacurrane to the reservoir. This aqueduct would be open, concrete-lined, for about two miles, and then contained in a reinforced concrete pipe five feet in diameter, and would be fenced off on both sides 'to prevent damage by sheep and deer'. A tunnel, 11 feet in internal diameter and about three quarters of a mile long, would be cut through Torc mountain to take reservoir water to a surge tank 150 feet high, and then to an exposed steel penstock seven and a half feet in diameter, supported on concrete pedestals at 30 feet intervals, for a further quarter of a mile to a power station to be built on the shores of Muckross Lake. That station and other buildings were to be located within woodlands fringing the lake shore. The scheme involved pumping water back to the reservoir, and the narrow connection between Muckross Lake and Lough Leane (beneath today's Brickeen Bridge) would be deepened to ensure sufficient water. As Muckross Lake was considered an important tourist area, proposals included tree-planting to hide the power house and exposed piping, and a periodic release of water could be arranged to ensure sufficient water flow to Torc Waterfall - it was suggested that it might even enhance the falls when necessary. The lands to be flooded were considered to be 'of poor quality, mountainous type, of little value'[189]. Though still under consideration as late as 1955, the project never went ahead, and Ireland can count itself lucky that its first national park escaped such development.

Four years into the war, and in response to 'direct or oblique attacks on the government or on the Commissioners of Public Works' by the *Irish Times*, Joseph Connolly prepared an extensive overview of how business was doing in the BVMP. He told the Department of the Taoiseach that the cost to the Exchequer since the state took over the estate was approximately £30,000, after allowing for income from gardens, dairy, tolls, visitors, and 'the rest'. He asserted that the estate had been handed over because of its liabilities and losses to the previous owners, and went on to claim that 'the house and estate are in as good, and, it is believed, in better order than they ever were when in private ownership, and that proper order and management [now] operated instead of the rather undisciplined and loose management that formerly prevailed'. He predicted that 'under the present careful management', and by stockbreeding and sheep farming, the estate could be made self-financing[190]. Perhaps the kindest comment about this report is that it bore no relation to facts. As already mentioned above, this report by Connolly in 1943 included a circular dated 1940 on deer stalking, offering 200 sika and 30 red stags, as support for his contention of the state's 'careful management'. This was grossly misleading. The BVMP's superintendent had already noted by 1943 that red deer were no longer as numerous as formerly, and

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188 A Breathnach agus P O' Domhnaill *Comhacht Uisce in Eireann* (Corcaigh, 1919).

189 ESB files. Report on Proposed Pump Storage Hydro-Electric Development of Torc River, County Kerry, 28 March 1955; ESB Drawing DRG 1 (c.28633) 25 November 1942. Originals made available for research at the ESB Hydroelectric Generating Station, Inniscarra, County Cork.

190 NAI, S. 6355B. Typed memo, J Connolly to Department of the Taoiseach, 23 July 1943.

that only half the number could be offered for shooting - this was advised to OPW Head Office more than a month before Connolly submitted his account to the Taoiseach's Department[191]. As for the condition of Muckross House, it was still vacant, as Connolly himself had to acknowledge in his report to the Taoiseach. OPW's ideas for the possible uses of Muckross House were: as a hostel for An Oige (the Irish Youth Hostel Association), as an hotel, as a country residence for the President, as a letting to a suitable tenant, as a convalescent home, as a state college, as a retreat house for a religious order - all of which Connolly dismissed as being impracticable. It is unnecessary to stress how misrepresentative and inaccurate were the reasons cited for the state's acquisition of Muckross. The report's assertions were a disgraceful insult to the donors' magnanimity who, in fact, could have allowed it to be fragmented and sold off instead of gifting it free of charge to the state. There is nothing in his overview to suggest that Connolly had any concern for the unique status of the red deer in the BVMP, and they merited no mention. On the contrary, telling evidence had already been provided a month earlier that OPW's main goal was to exploit the commercial potential of its Muckross deer when it countenanced a request by Mr Ahern of Associated Merchandise Company, Dublin, to organise a deer drive in the BVMP and maximise the take out of deer - it fell to Denis Kelleher to strenuously oppose and cancel that move[192]. Conservation concerns were reserved for the rock garden attached to Muckross House, which received special mention by Connolly. That native wildlife species such as the Irish red deer, the Irish red grouse and the Irish hare (both considered endemic sub-species at the time), and an important local flora could be subordinated to an artificial creation stocked with imported exotics is an emphatic indictment of the Commissioners of Public Works and their attitude to Ireland's wildlife heritage in the 1940s.

A fee of £25 was justified by OPW for the 1944 deer stalking season on the grounds that Forestry had complained about deer presence in its plantations, and it was felt the numbers must be kept down[193]. Senator the McGillycuddy, who took the letting, got a bargain. He shot 11 stags, two hinds, 12 sika bucks and 49 sika does - 74 deer in all (the keepers shot an additional 26 animals). Nevertheless, McGillycuddy was not satisfied, and complained he had not sufficient time to take his full quota. He again gratuitously told OPW that the forest needed new blood, that switches were too numerous, that lettings should be for three consecutive years, that sika were too numerous and were unknown elsewhere in Europe, that sheep numbers should not be increased, that the deer would only be temporarily disturbed by the ESB hydro-electric scheme, and that, overall, there were 400 red deer in both deer forests[194]. Earlier in the year, McGillycuddy's efforts to ingratiate himself by offering a stag to so astute a civil servant as Connolly had backfired. Connolly told him it would be an embarrassment, adding that the two deer he received yearly from the Phoenix Park were passed on to a local charity in Dublin[195]. Likewise, McGillycuddy's views were rejected by the park superintendent, who contended the number of red deer in BVMP were no more than 250, that McGillycuddy wanted to keep the stalking selectively for himself, that he was the first 'who sought to profit from his sport' by selling deer in Tralee, and he, the

[191] NAI, OPW D 96/2/27. Memo 16 June 1943.
[192] Ibid. Memos 9 March, 16, 17 June 1943.
[193] NAI, OPW D 96/2/27. Memo 5 July 1944.
[194] Ibid. McGillycuddy to OPW 16 October 1944.
[195] Ibid. Connolly to McGillycuddy 12 September 1944.

superintendent, was not satisfied McGillycuddy was entirely motivated by a desire to improve the herd[196]. There was substance in Denis Kelleher's remarks, as McGillycuddy, despite his critical assessment, must have found BVMP's stalking profitable, and after further controversy he thought it worthwhile to increase his offer three-fold, to £75, to ensure obtaining it again for the following season.

That controversy had arisen by McGillycuddy creating unnecessary arguments early in 1945, repeating to OPW his tiresome advice that new blood should be introduced, knowing full well this was impossible, especially in a war situation, and was in any case subject to import restrictions by the Department of Agriculture's concern about foot-and-mouth disease - there had been an outbreak in 1941. He wanted the shooting of sika -'as plentiful as rabbits' - to commence by 15 July, so that he could kill more. And he insisted there was massive poaching of deer in the Killarney area. This last he based on information that 519 hundredweights (4152 pounds) of venison were exported in 1944, which he calculated to represent 346 stags at 12 stone a stag-carcass. Had McGillycuddy related this to his own overall number of 400 red deer in Killarney, it might possibly have dawned on him how nonsensical his assertions were - it would have meant the wipe-out of the entire Killarney red deer population. He made no reference to the venison exported by OPW itself, by reducing its Phoenix Park herd of fallow deer in 1942, when 763 animals were culled, the venison sold to Associated Merchandising Company of Dublin, and exported to England - this received media publicity at the time[197]. In response to McGillycuddy's claims, Denis Kelleher said sika were not numerous, that he and his keepers had counted the red deer in the BVMP and would not alter his figure of 250, and he asserted there were now no more than 60 breeding hinds in the forests. The superintendent submitted statements signed by keepers Matt Leahy and Dan Lyne which declared no poaching was occurring except in two instances - the Tangney and Lynch cases. Denis Kelleher would not agree to extend the stalking season, saying a decision was necessary as to whether they (OPW) were to protect the red deer or allow them become extinct by prolonged shooting. This was radically different to the early commencement dates allowed to the sixth Earl of Kenmare, and was probably due to McGillycuddy himself who was, the superintendent said, a person 'who brooks no authority but his own', accepted only his own interpretation of his lease, and who 'wanted his own way in all matters'[198]. Independently, the OPW obtained information unofficially from Mr Ahern of the Associated Merchandising Company that the exported venison came from various parts throughout the country. (It was clear from data supplied later by the Department of Industry and Commerce to OPW that 505 hundredweights were exported from Dublin, and only 14 hundredweights from Cork - the nearest port to Killarney). McGillycuddy sulked because his views were not taken on board, and withdrew his tender. He was in turn offered four weeks stalking in the Kenmare forests for £100, but again his negotiations fell through, and Lord Kenmare's agent told Denis Kelleher that the Earl had said 'the McGillycuddy is a pest, and the less we have to do with him the better'. Left with no other opportunity to stalk and sell venison, McGillycuddy asked his second son, Dermot McGillycuddy,

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196 Ibid. Memo 9 November 1944. See also OPW P 7/80, Memos 16 October, 9 November 1944.

197 *Sunday Independent* 5 September 1942. The culling operation is described in detail by Liam V Nolan and Liam M Nolan, 'Phoenix Park Cull, 1942' *Deer,* Vol 9, No 6 (March, 1995) pp 356-9. See also Fergal Mulloy 'Ireland's Deer' *Ireland of the Welcomes* Vol 23, No 6 (1974) pp 15-22.

198 Opposition to McGillycuddy may also have been influenced by a general hostility in overwhelmingly Republican south Kerry to the fact that McGillycuddy had rejoined the British army for the Second World War and was actively serving, while simultaneously sitting as a senator in the Dail - *Irish Times* Obituary 29 April 1950.

a partner in the Dublin-based firm of solicitors Darley, Orpen and McGillycuddy, to reopen negotiations with OPW; he, the McGillycuddy, would take the BVMP letting, after all[199]. He achieved a cull of 20 stags and 38 sika - four bucks and 34 does - and was allowed to shoot from 20 August to 30 November. Unlike the practice with other stalking lessees, Matt Leahy did not accompany McGillycuddy throughout the season, and he was shepherded instead by keepers Dan Lyne and Gerry O'Sullivan on many days. But Leahy was with him on 7 November 1945, when he entered in his diary an event not repeated in any other of his seven years' records. Matt Leahy wrote: 'accompanied McGillycuddy deer stalking and shot two does over the boundary in Kenmares'[200]. McGillycuddy himself was not above some poaching.

Stalking fees for 1946 in the BVMP were again depressingly low, just £50 from Major Ward and Dr O'Sullivan, combined. Ward took the stalking for six days at £5 a day, and shot five stags; it was, he wrote to OPW, the apogee of his honeymoon in Killarney. O'Sullivan of Inch House, Killarney, was given a quota of 30 sika for a fee of £20[201]. Thereafter, the forests remained unlet until 1950. Rough shooting continued during the war and for most of the 1940s. Rough game shooting was mostly by the Latchford family, by Major Aylmer, and by Arthur Rose Vincent, who had temporarily returned to Muckross. As the war progressed into France, Vincent had left the French Riviera in July 1940 and returned to the safety of neutral Ireland. In Killarney he stayed in the Muckross Hotel and in the Great Southern Hotel, and later moved to the Caragh Lake district until his return to Monte Carlo in 1949[202]. He was upset on learning about the ESB hydro-electric scheme within the national park[203]. When game shooting in Muckross, he was invariably accompanied by Matt Leahy. Among his shooting guests were the McGillycuddy, Dr O'Sullivan, and Mr Anthony McGillycuddy (cousin of the Senator, living in Kerry - he was described as not being a robust man [204]). Matt Leahy was regularly sent by Vincent to shoot on his behalf, and killed duck, pheasant, grouse, pigeons, and game generally for him. Vincent would himself occasionally accompany Leahy to the outskirts of the forests at Tomies, grouse shooting with the aid of up to seven beaters. This pattern was similarly adopted by Major Aylmer, who had Leahy out shooting on his behalf on many occasions during the seasons 1945/6 to 1950/1. By now, official game returns were neglected, and were grossly inaccurate when compared to entries in the keepers' diaries. OPW returns for the six seasons 1945/6 to 1950/51 show only 14 grouse killed[205], whereas keepers' diaries reveal that 41 grouse, 72 duck, 14 wild geese, 469 woodcock, 35 pigeons, 26 pheasants, six snipe, seven hares, 11 rabbits, and one teal were shot during the seven calendar years 1942-5, 1947-8, and 1950 (the intervening years are missing)[206]. By comparison with bags achieved during Lord Ardilaun's occupancy 40 years previously, these numbers were a stark revelation of dwindling game stocks. In contrast to game, official returns of deer killed were exceptionally accurate when compared to the keepers' records. For the six years of complete diaries (1942, 1943, 1945, 1947, 1948, 1950 -

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[199] Ibid. McGillycuddy to OPW 14 March; Memos 31 March, 18 April, 1 May; McGillycuddy to OPW 18, 26 June; Memos 10, 17, 25 July; McGillycuddy to OPW 28 July; Darley, Orpen & McGillycuddy to OPW 31 July 1945.

[200] Summarised from Keeper's Diaries 20 August - 30 November 1945.

[201] NAI, OPW D 96/2/27. Ward to OPW 4 September; memos 9, 10 September 1946.

[202] MHA. Mss notes by A W B Vincent, presented to Muckross House Archives by Henry de Courcy Dodd 21 October 1999.

[203] AWB Vincent interview 21 August 1995.

[204] Rosemary Brownlow MacGillycuddy *A Short History of the Clan McGillycuddy* (Dublin, 1991) p17 - quoting Obituary from *Irish Times* 11 June 1955.

[205] NAI, OPW D 96/2/90. Memo 5 June 1951.

[206] Summarised from daily entries in Keeper's Diaries 1942, 1943, 1944 (incomplete), 1945, 1947, 1948, 1950.

1944 is incomplete) the total numbers of deer culled came to 402; returns to OPW Head Office came to 399. The keepers' daily records show that these numbers included 179 deer killed for the dog kennels, composed of 171 sika plus eight red deer - six hinds and two stags. The dogs themselves pulled down and killed 14 of these deer - nine sika bucks, three sika does, one red stag and one red hind - when chasing them from the gardens and plantations of Muckross[207].

During the six shooting seasons from the war's commencement in September 1939 to its cessation in May 1945, a total of 322 deer were taken by paying stalkers from the BVMP. This comprised 54 stags, five hinds, 78 sika bucks and 185 sika does. It is evident that sika, especially does, were killed for venison, while red stags were killed for sport and, with hinds, also for venison. It is also abundantly clear that red deer numbers had been seriously reduced. Sika deer accounted for 82 per cent of the war years cull, red deer only 18 per cent. That the introduced Japanese sika cull outnumbered the native red deer cull by a ratio of nine to two says much for the scarcity of red deer in the Muckross forests, and the fecundity of sika. In the adjoining estate, the fact that Castlerosse (sixth Earl from 1941) choose to lease Muckross from 1941 until his death in 1943 says much about the scarcity of deer, particularly red stags, in his own Kenmare forests. This reduction cannot have happened suddenly, or be attributed to the Second World War effect. The number of deer taken from Muckross during the five pre-war seasons (1934-8) numbered 151 animals - 40 red stags and 111 sika bucks. During that time the Muckross forests had remained unlet for two seasons, and the red stags culled during the remaining three seasons averaged 13 animals per season - no hinds were recorded as having been shot then[208]. That pre-war average was well below that allowed at the commencement of the century, and only equalled half the average of 25 stags culled annually during Lord Ardilaun's occupancy. Either there was poaching on a massive scale, commencing with state ownership, or during Vincent's occupancy and he did not know it, or there was excessive overshooting before Vincent's years, dating back to the commercial lettings by Ardilaun and the Herberts. It is significant that after 1907 Muckross remained unlet, and was followed by Ardilaun's sell out. Thereafter, stag or hind cull numbers never again even approached his tallies - the average stag cull as recorded in the BVMP only came to about a third of Ardilaun's. This would mean that the numbers Vincent considered he owned and handed to the state - 250, at most about 300, red deer - may also have been an exaggeration. Whatever the causes of reduced numbers, the stalking returns from Muckross during the Second World War, when every effort was made to kill the maximum number of deer irrespective of the maximum allowed, made it clear for those who wished to see that the supposed numbers of red deer, especially stags, just were not there.

Neither was business good for the state during the Emergency. It collected £495 in stalking fees, averaging a little over £1 10s a head for deer taken out. The rough shooting provided an additional £700 from F H Crowley's five-year lease at £140 per annum, but game fees thereafter remain unknown. The probability is that sika were likewise being excessively culled, especially during and post the Second World War, and this is supported by the sale of deer skins from the BVMP. For the period 1943-51, 286 deer hides were sold (fetching a total of £8 11s 3d), and sika skins made up 257 (90 per cent) of that total, the red deer skins accounting for only

[207] Analyses and summaries of Keeper's Diaries and OPW official returns, Appendix 12.
[208] The basis for these is given in Appendix 12.

29 (ten per cent)[209]. Further evidence of sika slaughter is provided by keeper Dan Lyne's diary for 1945. In his entries of carcass pick-up on the hill, sika outnumbered red deer by a factor of four. Of 20 dead deer he found, 16 were sika (3 bucks, 13 does) and four were red deer (one stag and three hinds). The 1945 winter was severe, with snow recorded for most of January and into February, and while some of his finds must have been natural mortality, nevertheless the concentration on sika culling must also have resulted in many animals being wounded and dying later out in the forest. This is evident by Dan Lyne's diary entry when he found a dead hind on 19 September that year, and noted 'I was looking for a wounded stag'. It was also possible that some of the these animals had been shot by Forestry staff and not collected, as subsequent events revealed.

Forestry's only interest in deer or game was to expel them, and any enquiries it received about shooting availability in its holdings in the BVMP were referred to the OPW, saying the Minister for Finance held the sporting rights of lands used for afforestation purposes in the national park[210]. Expelling deer was not easily achieved, and by the 1940s the inevitable conflict between deer and forestry came to a head in the BVMP. Forestry's complaint in 1943 of deer damage was dismissed by OPW, saying its keepers reported a large gap in Forestry's own fencing[211]. Forestry, however, achieved the upper hand with a significant victory in the Forestry Act, 1946, which specifically defined deer as vermin for the purposes of Section 58 of that Act - the Prevention of Damage by Rabbits and Vermin[212]. This enabled the Minister responsible to serve notice on an occupier of lands infested with rabbits or vermin to destroy them within three months, and if failing to do so, to authorise entry into these infested lands and have them destroyed. Irrespective of species or native status, deer were now legally vermin, and the only good deer within the state's commercial forestry plantations was a dead one. This created a dichotomy of status for deer within the national park, and Denis Kelleher was left to deal with the state's contradictory business policies. The hunting and shooting of all trespassing deer in Forestry lands swiftly followed the passing of the Forestry Act, and Matt Leahy was sent to assist Forestry staff in driving and shooting deer. He shot six sika in 1948, and shot a stag, two hinds, and other 'deer' in 1950[213]. Forestry had by then received an important impetus from Sean MacBride, whose enthusiasm for its development dated back to the 1930s (when his interest had the support of the republican Bulmer Hobson, and academics Alfred O'Rahilly and John Busteed of UCC), and MacBride had made an accelerated forestry programme conditional on his Clann na Poblachta party participating in the Inter-Party government that replaced Fianna Fail in 1948[214]. In January 1951, Forestry were able to tell OPW it had sanction from the Department of Finance to pay bonuses to selected persons to kill deer, and drove the point home by asking if the BVMP gamekeeper Matt Leahy would be free to shoot for them outside his official hours. The park superintendent objected to deer culling outside working hours, but conceded his keepers would assist Forestry in driving and shooting trespassing deer. OPW responded by charging that Forestry's bonus payments were encouraging poaching, and objected to the indiscriminate shooting on Torc mountain, regarded as important deer wintering grounds. Controversially, OPW went on to request that

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[209] MHA, BVMP Cash Receipts Ledgers. Summarised from ledgers 1938-42, 1942-5, 1945-7, 1947-9, and 1949-52. Sika skins varied from nine to six pence each; red deer skins varied from one shilling and sixpence to nine pence each.

[210] Coillte, A 52/32. Forestry to Dr Oliver Chance, Dublin, 9 February 1943.

[211] NAI, OPW P 7/80. Forestry to OPW 24 May, OPW to Forestry 28 June 1943; Memo re keeper's report 6 May 1944.

[212] *An Act to Make Further and Better Provision in Relation to Forestry* (Number 13 of 1946), Section 58 (3) (a) and (b).

[213] Keeper's Diaries. 23, 26 February; 3 August 1948; 24 August; 8, 9, 15, 18, 27 September 1950.

[214] Sean MacBride *A Message to the Irish People* (Cork and Dublin, 1985) pp 92-3.

deer carcasses shot by Forestry be handed up to the national park. Forestry refused, saying the disposal of deer carcasses was a matter for them alone. What had become a tussle between civil servants dragged on, and by the year end it fell to Denis Kelleher to try and calm down the interdepartmental rivalry. He advised his superiors that deer drives by Forestry had ceased, no further venison was being distributed among Forestry employees and their friends, and suggested OPW should 'allow the matter to rest for the present'[215]. Nevertheless, this conflict of the state's own making was not over, and dragged on into the 1960s. During these troublesome years, the BVMP had remained unlet in 1947, 1948 and 1949, and this left OPW officials in a quandary. When tenders for the stalking were again not received for the third successive year in 1949, the park superintendent was asked 'can you offer any suggestion as to what we should do now?'[216]. Management decisions had drifted to park staff, and there was further drift by the Department of Finance, whose official sanction of shooting leases were being granted later and later, and eventually deteriorated to leases being sanctioned in retrospect, after the season had ended and the shooting was a *fait accompli.*

It is in the light of these happenings that information supplied by OPW to Kenneth G Whitehead in 1947 must be judged. In its reply to a questionnaire circulated by Whitehead to gather data for his proposed writings on the deer of Britain and Ireland[217], OPW stated the numbers of deer in the BVMP were unknown, that stags averaged 19 to 20 stone, hinds 12 to 14 stone, sika bucks 90 pounds and sika does 65 pounds (clean weights), that pre-1939 the number of stags killed averaged 15, and hinds averaged 12, while post-war the respective numbers were 12 stags and six hinds[218]. This information did not differ significantly from OPW's records[219]. OPW also claimed that stags weighing 31 and a half stone had been shot in the Killarney forest. This was not quite valid, as that weight related to just one record mentioned by John Ross three quarters of a century previously. Moreover, the approximate number of red deer in the national park was known to OPW, since Denis Kelleher and his keepers had counted and reported on them two years previously, in 1945. Rather than an act of deliberate deception, this supply of data to Whitehead was more likely an attempt by OPW to put on record the best picture possible for his forthcoming book on stalking, and OPW's denial of deer numbers may have been so as not to prejudice future lettings. It is probable that many other replies sent in response to Whitehead's circular were similarly embellished, and data supplied to Whitehead by the seventh Earl for his forest must have been exaggerated. As subsequently published by Whitehead, Lord Kenmare said pre-1939 the Kenmare forests averaged six to nine stags and 12 hinds, while post-war they averaged nine to 13 stags and 12 hinds[220]. Since the sixth Earl stalked principally in Muckross, and the seventh Earl is thought never to have stalked post-war[221], these numbers must be regarded as highly suspect, and Denis Kelleher's account of his meeting with Lord Kenmare's agent in 1945 corroborates that view. Kelleher then learned that the Kenmare stalking was inferior to

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215 NAI, OPW P 7/80. Forestry to OPW 5 January; Memo 15 February; OPW to Forestry 11 May; Forestry to OPW 31 August; Memo 14 November 1951. No records could be sourced on the numbers and species of deer culled by Forestry - interview with Denis O'Sullivan, Coillte archives official, 8 May 1997.

216 NAI, OPW D 96/2/90. Memo, OPW to superintendent, 25 July 1949.

217 The information was eventually used by Whitehead variously in *Deer and their Management in the Deer Parks of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1950); *The Deer Stalking Grounds of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1960); and *The Deer of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1964).

218 NAI, OPW P 7/80. Copy mss and typed replies to Whitehead questionnaire 22 May 1947.

219 Appendix 12, Returns of Commercial Stalking 1934-63.

220 Whitehead...*Deer Stalking Grounds...* pp 450-2.

221 Valentine Dawnay interviews 21 December 1995; 3 December 1996.

Muckross, with only two keepers and no deer pony, compared to three keepers and a deer pony at Muckross[222]. But by that time the seventh Earl's affairs and estate were effectively being dealt with by two trustees, Leonard Bevan and Cyril Pender.

In the winding up of the Kenmare Estates Company at the end of 1942, Leonard Bevan had been appointed liquidator, and Cyril Pender was Chairman of that Extraordinary General Meeting[223], and they were obviously suited as Trustees. In taking stock of the estate, a detailed summary of the Earl's sporting rights, prepared two years later, revealed that the Kenmares still claimed rights over 76,249 acres in 191 townlands[224]. These rights were more illusory than serviceable, as two keepers could not possibly patrol that vast area of land - but the Kenmares could advertise them as available for letting. In a comprehensive inventory of the Kenmare estate in 1946, no mention was made of these sporting rights, or indeed of the deer forests, and dealt only with Killarney House II and its contents, including the estate's many out-buildings and lodges, and the family's various sporting equipment[225]. The total value of all buildings and their contents came to slightly over £102,872. Included in the contents of Killarney House II were: a pair of 12-bore D/B hammereless shotguns, two Mannlicher 0.256 rifles, a 0.300 Rook Rifle, two leather cartridge bags, two leather shooting bags, and some sport fishing equipment. Of the extensive collection of pictures in the House, 79 dealt with field sports, and these provide some insight into the sporting priorities of the Kenmares. An analysis shows that 52 pictures depicted hunting scenes (mostly fox hunting), 17 depicted horse racing, five depicted rough shooting, three were portraits of dogs, and just two pictures dealt with a stag or deer scenes. In Lord Kenmare's private office and library - the library held approximately 2,400 volumes - were located ten antlered deer heads on shields, four separate sets of antlers, three other antlers on shields, and a wild goat's horns on a shield. These represented the stalking trophies, and constituted the only field sport trophies apart from some fox masks and mounted trout. They differed substantially in numbers from the collection of stags' heads and antlers in Muckross House (though many more may have perished in the 1913 fire). The appointment of Trustees to administer the Earl's affairs had been wise, and vital to the preservation of what was left of the Kenmare estate. For the Trustees it was not an entirely passive chore, administered from a distant city. In 1950 they obtained a High Court Order restraining Jeremiah McCarthy and Donald (Donie) McCarthy from trespassing by using motor boats or motor launches, or any other boats driven by engines, on Lough Leane, on Muckross Lake, on the Upper Lake, and on the Long Range, Killarney, for the purpose of carrying passengers or visitors for reward[226]. Such action by the Trustees was obviously necessary. In that year, Lt. Col. Waring told OPW that, due to illness, the Earl of Kenmare was incapable of looking after his own affairs[227].

Lt. Col. Waring - sometimes referred to by the BVMP keepers as Major Waring - had leased the BVMP stalking in 1950, and though he killed ten stags, 24 bucks and eight does, he was disappointed with his 42 deer

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222 NAI, OPW D 96/2/27. Memo 25 July 1945.

223 PRONI, D/4151/A/53. Registered copy of special resolution passed on 3 December, confirmed 31 December, 1942, that the Kenmare Estates Company be wound up voluntarily.

224 MHA, Kenmare Papers. Killarney Estate: Summary of Sporting Rights (Details taken from Land Registry Folios), not dated. On the basis that the last entry in this list refers to a Conveyance dated 13 November 1944, the document's provenance is c.1945.

225 PRONI, D/4151/U/1. Inventory and Valuation - Kenmare Estate, Killarney. Prepared by Wm Montgomery and Son, Dublin, for the Purposes of Insurance. July 1946.

226 MHA, Kenmare Papers. High Court of Justice Order, 1949 No 956P, 24 April 1950.

227 NAI, OPW D 96/2/90. Waring to OPW, dated 1950.

for £100. Waring sent OPW a 14-page letter in which he repeated the traditional clichés that the forest had too many switches and needed new blood. He advised OPW to import stags from Windsor Great Park, or alternatively his friends, Prince Auersperg, Count Draskovich and Count Trautmannsdorf, would offer stags from their forests, or he could ask his relative, the Duke of Atholl, for one or two stags from Blair Atholl. He said Lord Revelstoke had told him he (Revelstoke) had not seen a single stag worth shooting in the Kenmare forests that season, and was strongly in favour of importing fresh blood. Waring added that the deer in the BVMP were the last surviving native Irish red deer, and it would be a pity if they were allowed to die out. Seeing no conflict between their preservation and the introduction of foreign stock was typical of stalkers who wanted trophy heads and maximum venison, irrespective of the methods employed in producing them, and this was evident in Waring's approach. He wanted the exclusive stalking for five years, an option to renew for a further five years at £100 a season, and the seasons extended to take his full quota[228]. Waring subsequently went to the media, and George H Burrows of the *Times Pictorial* asked OPW for sight of Waring's letter, to write on the red deer in Muckross. OPW consulted the park superintendent, saying publication would be of no benefit to them as it contained information not for public disclosure, and asked Denis Kelleher, 'do you approve'? Burrows' request was refused[229].

The inherent contradictions in Waring's report, or his real purpose and interest in the Muckross forests, were not lost on Denis Kelleher. He told his superiors that Waring was an 'able, plausible gentleman, acting for a syndicate of wealthy sportsmen', and had sold all the venison he shot at a good price in Dublin. Also, it was the head keeper who decided what stags were shot, not the lessee, and BVMP's shooting practices and dates were handed down from the time of private ownership of Muckross. Anyway, Denis Kelleher confessed red deer numbers were now so reduced that no hinds were available for shooting in the next (1951) season[230]. In fact, Waring had been allowed to shoot in 1950 far beyond the traditional time. He and his syndicate had continued to shoot stags beyond 16 October, and sika until the middle of November - Matt Leahy was still boiling deer heads, and packing and despatching venison for Waring, until mid-November[231].

Prior to the opening of the 1951 season an OPW official consulted some old books on Scottish stalking literature, and concluded that while Waring's proposed dates were based on good authority, he minuted 'it would not be an economic proposition for us' to accept his proposals. Waring was told he would be considered with all others in open, competitive tendering[232]. Following the public advertisements to tender for shooting 50 deer in the BVMP, newspaper criticism was immediate, probing and well informed. It said no disclosures were available of the letting value of the state's sporting rights, and noted that in past years, lettings were secured by Irish sportsmen[233]. The three tenders eventually received for the 1951 season were: Waring, £120; local businessman Timothy Lyne, £112; and E H Smouha of London, £105. These were dismissed by the park superintendent as

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228 NAI, OPW D 96/2/90. Waring to OPW, not dated. Waring's letter was post the 1950 season; the park superintendent's memo in reply is dated 6 March 1951. Waring's stalking companions were: Prince Alaeddin Muktar, Count Mathias Thun von Hohenstein, Count Karl Draskovich, Captain Vaughn Stokes, and Don Manuel Canabel y Andrada.

229 Ibid. Burrows to OPW 13 February, Memo 20 February, OPW to Burrows 26 February 1951.

230 Ibid. Memos 6 March, 5 June 1951.

231 Keeper's Diaries. 19, 23, 24 October; 3 to 16 November 1950.

232 NAI, OPW D 96/2/90. Memo June (no date): OPW to Waring 29 June 1951.

233 *Irish Times* 3 July 1951.

unacceptable, arguing the value of deer permitted to be shot would equal £200, with venison selling at a shilling and sixpence a pound. Asked to re-tender, Waring increased his offer to £150, but Timothy Lyne upped his to £151, and was accepted[234]. By increasing his final offer by 25 per cent, Waring had unwittingly exposed his own scheming to acquire Muckross for up to ten years at a bargain, under the pretext of improving the herd. He had willingly tendered for the very practice he claimed was the cause of degrading the stock of deer - a yearly tenancy. It was obvious now that ultimate decisions on BVMP deer and game management were being left to the park superintendent and his keepers, but public perception appeared to be more concerned with local people being favoured than with dwindling deer numbers, and it was more a question of who was shooting rather than what was left to shoot. The *Irish Times* had made it clear it resented a local coterie obtaining shootings that a landed gentry had exclusively held for over a century. Though it was now unquestionable that red deer numbers were drastically reduced, commercial exploitation of the herd continued. The local businessman Timothy Lyne again obtained the stalking in Muckross for the following two seasons, with reduced fees of £110 for 1952, and only £35 for 1953. This reflected the situation on the ground. There were few deer left in Muckross to shoot, and the OPW's advertisements of deer numbers available were now exposed for what they had been for over a decade - a pretence. For 1952, sika cull numbers had fallen to 15, and to none in 1953 - stags shot were down to four that year[235]. The catastrophic drop was too sudden to be attributable to some recent event. There must have been regular overshooting, based on incorrect information and assumed numbers, and an irresponsible attitude that stocks of deer and game were somehow inexhaustible. It could not be claimed that warning notes had not been sounded; the reduction in red deer numbers had been noted at least as early as 1943. It could be claimed that these danger signals were consistently ignored. But no civil servant shouted 'stop', and instead stalking was again advertised for 1954. When no tenders were received, Denis Kelleher admitted there were very few deer to be seen, and suggested the stalking might be let on a day-fee basis of £5 a day for a red stag, £3 a day for either a sika buck or doe, and £2 a day (for the keeper's service) if no deer were shot - indeed, he said, this last charge could even be forgone[236]. That season a single red stag was shot, by Mr Smouha from London. It was the last red stag to be commercially shot by a lessee in the BVMP. At the start of 1955, OPW Head Office told Denis Kelleher it was becoming increasingly doubtful if the deer stalking was 'an economic proposition' any more, and asked his views on resting the shooting for a few seasons[237]. But the incontrovertible evidence throughout the national park was ignored, the superintendent opted to continue stalking, and agreed to extend the stalking season well beyond the traditional times he had formerly insisted upon, so as to achieve some letting, any letting. Nevertheless, for the park management this was a defining moment. The truth could no longer be avoided, and reality had to be faced. In June 1955 Denis Kelleher confessed to his Head Office: there are no red deer available for shooting this season, as they have become very scarce[238].

Despite the dire situation now confirmed of deer stocks, especially red deer, being effectively exhausted, stalking was unrelentingly continued by a determined civil service grinding onwards for a further

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[234] Ibid. Memos 20, 26 July, July/August correspondence, and memo 10 August 1951.
[235] Appendix 12.
[236] NAI, OPW D 96/2/90. Memos 17 June, 30 July, 28 August 1954.
[237] Ibid. Memo January (no date) 1955.
[238] Ibid. Memo 20 June 1955.

eight years. The day-fee basis drew a variety of shooters and would-be experts on how they would manage the deer forests if given the exclusive stalking for five or ten years - at fees they stipulated. One such was Dermot McGillycuddy, solicitor and second son of the McGillycuddy. He shot in the forest on most years from 1956 to 1963, and wanted to have Muckross at £25 per annum, exclusively, for five years, with an option to cancel after two years if it was not to his liking. He said he wanted a full ten years to build up the forest[239] and, despite his critical appraisal of the BVMP, he still wanted to acquire it in 1960 for a several further years. Dermot McGillycuddy, like his father the McGillycuddy, typified the ascendancy's resentment of the shift of power from gentry to peasant stock, and when he called to the OPW Head Offices in Dublin in 1961, he displayed exceptional arrogance in telling the official he met that he was 'doing us a service by offering anything at all for this shooting'[240]. Others - American Air Force officers, Sir Richard Keane, and various individuals like C J F McCarthy from Cork - were shooters who wanted a few day's sport, and an opportunity to kill a deer. C J F McCarthy wanted to acquire the BVMP for himself for five years at £30 per annum - he told OPW he had read books on the subject - and enquired on the number and sex of red, fallow, sika and roe deer available in Muckross, a request that exhibited his dearth of knowledge. Denis Kelleher felt McCarthy would be a nuisance to the sheep - McCarthy was the only stalker mentioned in OPW's extensive returns to have wounded a deer and let it escape[241].

Denis Kelleher died while in employment in 1963, and was succeeded by Dan Kelleher, from An Foras Taluntais. It is important to emphasise that Dan Kelleher had no relationship or connection with his predecessor; the similarity in names was coincidental. The new superintendent's initial responsibilities were twofold; to manage the national park, and manage the experimental sheep scheme[242]. The OPW was still unrelenting in pursuing its commercial deer stalking, and had already issued in June of that year a circular offering a day's shooting of sika deer at £5 each, and red hinds at £6 each[243]. But by now, concern at what was happening in the national park, and in particular the red deer situation, was fast becoming a public issue. Arthur Rose Vincent had died in 1956, and his son, A W B Vincent, continued the family interest in the welfare of a national park his father and grandfather had donated. He had practical knowledge of the BVMP; after distinguished service during the Second World War[244], he had shot game in the park with Matt Leahy. He was concerned at the state's indifferent management of the national park, and brought matters to a head when he visited the OPW offices in Dublin, in October 1963. He expressed disquiet at the steady deterioration in the park's condition; the game shooting and deer stalking were not being properly managed, and the red deer were being allowed to disappear[245]. The same month Killarney UDC complained to OPW that the number of red deer in the Muckross estate were near extinction[246]. Less than a fortnight later George Burrows went on the attack, alleging that

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239 Ibid. D McGillycuddy to OPW 27 July 1956.

240 Ibid. D McGillycuddy to OPW 14 October 1960, OPW's memo of his meeting in Dublin 4 April 1961.

241 Ibid. CJF McCarthy to OPW 13 October, memo 3 November 1953; memo 6 November, CJF McCarthy to OPW 10 November 1954.

242 Dan Kelleher interview 11 January 2001.

243 NAI, OPW D 96/2/90. Circular issued to 11 named shooters, signed by P Scanlan, 29 June 1963.

244 Sir David Cole *Rough Road to Rome: a Foot-Soldier in Sicily and Italy 1943-44* (London, 1983) pp 56-7, 157, 160-1, 213. See also Richard Doherty *Irish Men and Women in the Second World War* (Dublin, 1999) p 249.

245 NAI, OPW D 96/2/90. Memos of visit by A W B Vincent, 2, 3 October 1963. A W B Vincent recollects also writing to a government minister, expressing his concern - interview 21 August 1995. The letter could not be traced.

246 Ibid. Killarney UDC to OPW 31 October 1963.

poaching was widespread, that shooting red deer was a weekend sport in Killarney, and tourists were invited to go on shooting expeditions. He contended, erroneously, there had been about 400 red deer in Muckross during Vincent's time, and now there were only about 20, whereas the adjoining Kenmare estate he understood, again erroneously, had about 400. He suggested new blood was needed[247]. Burrows had no personal knowledge, and was obviously repeating unnamed sources whose knowledge of red deer numbers bore no relation to reality. This public criticism could not be entirely ignored by civil servants, even though they enjoyed a culture of official secrecy and, to some extent, anonymity. When the 1964 stalking season came up for review in June, OPW minuted that shooting any deer may be unwise for some years to come, in the light of public concern about the red deer. Dan Kelleher in turn recommended that no deer be shot in the BVMP during the coming season[248]. In September the new superintendent wrote to OPW, saying he understood the Board was actively considering the whole question of fauna conservation in the national park, and asked for direction as to whether any further shooting of deer be allowed. OPW replied that as both species of deer appeared to be decreasing, the continued issue of licences to shoot could be adversely criticised, and the suspension of deer shooting licences 'might make it easier for park staff to control the activities of poachers'[249] - a statement that went beyond sophistry, and turned logic on its head. Stalking may not have entirely ceased that season. In October, Minister Donogh O'Malley told an enquirer that while shooting was now suspended in the BVMP, shooting a very limited number of sika deer would be allowed, but there would be no shooting of red deer[250]. Irrespective of that concession, 1964 was in effect the defining year when the state finally ceased commercial deer stalking in its national park.

OPW's effort to justify cessation could not conceal its own incompetence, or avoid two indisputable facts. The state had been handed an estate with viable herds of red and sika deer; 20 years later red deer stalking had to cease, and in a further ten years sika deer stalking had to cease, because sufficient animals just were not there anymore.

The change in thinking that led to cessation did not originate from within the OPW. The historical evidence is that it was OPW's own inept management, resulting in an indefensible reduction in deer numbers, that had brought commercial deer stalking to a gradual halt, and it took public concern and criticism to force OPW to face up to and accept that disagreeable fact. Rough shooting had long ceased because of the scarcity of game. For the state, it was not an impressive business record, but unlike the real world of commercial enterprise where penalties for failure were harsh and swift, no one was blamed. If blame is to be apportioned, it cannot be placed wholly on politicians. The evidence shows that much of the decisions, and all the administration, were exclusively the prerogative of state officials who managed the BVMP. These enjoyed an indemnity from dismissal and thus could escape sanction for errors of judgment.

Proof that officialdom could continue to ignore the downward trend in deer numbers in the BVMP was well shown by the decisions to continue exploitation of the national park for commercial forestry. Additional deer forest lands of approximately 1,700 acres had been assigned to Forestry in 1958, bringing the Forestry's

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247 *Irish Times* 11 November 1963.

248 NAI, OPW D 96/2/90. OPW to park superintendent 6 June, park superintendent to OPW 26 June 1964.

249 Ibid. Memos 1, 9 September 1964.

250 Ibid. Donogh O'Malley to William Campbell 13 October 1964.

total within the deer forests to over 3,000 acres[251]. OPW were co-operative, and P Scanlan asked the BVMP superintendent to insure that, as Tomies forest had been handed over to the Department of Lands, deer stalking would now be confined to Muckross forests[252]. In that same year, the powers, duties, functions, administration and business of preserving game were transferred to the Department of Lands[253], which in effect resulted in a transfer to a new Wildlife Section in a Department whose Forestry Division did not tolerate deer or game. The change made little difference to Forestry's commercial ethos, and three years later it requested the removal of deer from over 800 of its acres in the Tomies forest - something found difficult to implement since Forestry's own fencing at Tomies Wood had been left unfinished due to boundary disputes with adjoining landowners, Courtney and Cremin[254]. In 1964 Forestry moved once more to acquire a further 2,901 acres of deer forest from the BVMP at Gortadirra, Cullinagh and Doogary[255]. This attempt by Forestry never succeeded, and it remains unclear if the change in thinking that year by OPW towards deer had any influence on the decision not to proceed. It is, however, pertinent that Dan Kelleher had informed OPW that efforts to drive out deer from Tomies had failed, and since he understood Forestry were considering exterminating deer in that area, he suggested to OPW that Forestry should be asked to reconsider their policy of deer exclusion[256].

Despite a deplorable record of inefficiency, state ownership did result in one crucially beneficial aspect of the Muckross estate. The state's monolithic organisation and exchequer resources ensured that the national park was not fragmented, split up into smaller units, but remained an integral entity under one ownership. This was something that private landed estate owners were unable to achieve, and the Kenmare estate was a case in point.

Unmarried and without issue, the seventh Earl died in 1952[257], and with his death the title was extinguished. He was succeeded in the Killarney estate by Beatrice Grosvenor, the elder daughter of the fifth Earl's elder daughter. After her marriage in 1944 to Major Richard Girouard had been annulled in 1945, Beatrice Grosvenor retained the married 'Mrs' as a prefix to her maiden surname, and was known and addressed as Mrs Grosvenor throughout her life thereafter[258]. In affairs of deer stalking, she was regarded locally as generous, and would distribute venison as gifts to friends and to the local Catholic churches[259]. In this she was continuing a long tradition of the Earls of Kenmare, who habitually sent venison to the local Catholic parish clergy, to the Franciscan Monastery, and to the local Presentation Convent in Killarney[260]. Of immediate concern to Mrs Grosvenor was the perennial one of enough finance to keep up the Killarney estate, and the Kenmare solution of many years - the sale of estate assets - was once more resorted to. Beatrice Grosvenor offered Ross Island on Lough Leane to Forestry for £2,000, but the sale was abandoned when Forestry would not pay more than £1,250

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251 OPW...*KNP Management Plan...* p 61. These lands were taken from Derrycunnihy, Looscaunach and Tomies - at that time Derrycunnihy was still part of the Kenmare estate.

252 NAI, OPW D 96/2/90. Memo 2 June 1958.

253 *Game Preservation Act, 1930 (Transfer of Departmental Administration and Ministerial Functions) Order, 1958* (S.I. No 186 of 1958).

254 Coillte, A 52/32. Memo 3 November 1961.

255 Ibid. Memo 28 January 1964.

256 NAI, OPW D96/2/90. Memo 10 January 1964.

257 PRONI, D/4151/D/13. Death Certificate of Gerald Ralph Desmond Browne, Earl of Kenmare, 19 February 1952. The Earl died from carcinoma of the larynx on 14 February.

258 *Burke's Irish Family Records* p 512.

259 Elizabeth McCarthy interview 9 June 1996. Elizabeth McCarthy was both employee and companion to Mrs Grosvenor.

260 Fr Quinlan, retired Killarney priest, interview 22 November 1995.

for the 133-acre island and all its growing timber[261]. Ross Island, an important tourist attraction and part of the Kenmare home game shooting, was then targeted by Mrs Grosvenor as a possibility for re-opening and working its ancient copper mines. After prolonged correspondence, Cyril Pender advised her, as mining was subject to state permission and unlikely to be granted, not to consider the matter further. Mrs Grosvenor sought advice from H C Webb, a mining expert, who also told her the idea was not feasible[262], and the scheme was abandoned. By 1956 Mrs Grosvenor had little choice but to sell off Killarney House II (by then sometimes referred to as Kenmare House), and sell most of the demesne lands and much of the remaining Kenmare estate, including Killarney's Lakes, and, as she advertised it, the 'deer stalking and five miles of salmon fishing'. This sale was forced by death duties accruing from the deaths of three Earls within 12 years. The prospect of much of Killarney's best scenery and tourist attractions being sold off once more raised public and national concern in the media. Most suggestions urged the state to buy the lands and Lakes for the nation, and yet again fears were expressed at the prospect of millionaires buying it and turning it into a playground. Felix E Hackett, Chairman of An Taisce, pleaded for legislation to protect the national park. Shane Leslie joined in and claimed the original idea of a national park in Killarney originated at a party in Muckross, attended by himself and W B Yeats, a claim that is doubted and not accepted by A W B Vincent[263]. When de Valera, then in Opposition, raised the desirability of state purchase in the Dail, the Taoiseach, John A Costello, replied that because ownership of Killarney's Upper Lake and Long Range was in dispute since 1748, the state could not buy a property, part of which the state's legal documents claimed it owned. It was a spurious reason for inaction by the Second Inter-Party government, who could have negotiated an agreement of eventual acquisition by way of mitigation of death duties outstanding. Eventually, portions of the Kenmare demesne, and Killarney House II, were sold to an American estate agent J Stuart Robertson, on behalf of an American syndicate[264], a syndicate that became the subject of local controversy and ridicule in the Dail. The behaviour of the Americans was not approved by Mrs Grosvenor's relatives[265]. In 1959 an American millionaire, Mr John McShain, took a minor interest in the US syndicate, and in 1960 he purchased the entire holding from them[266]. Beatrice Grosvenor was left with part of the Kenmare demesne, and built a new home at Knockreer, on the site of the former Kenmare House that had been burned in 1913, which she called Knockreer House.

When controversy erupted in 1963 over the deterioration in the BVMP and reduction in red deer numbers, Mrs Grosvenor claimed in the press that the numbers of red deer had *increased* (my emphasis)in the mountains of the Kenmare deer forest, and were now better in head and weight than at any time. She charged that little had been done by the Muckross forests to preserve the red deer in recent times, and it was the eradication of vermin - foxes - that was most important. She asserted that each generation of her family had

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261 MHA, Kenmare Papers. Forestry to P J Doyle, Kenmare Estate Office, 23 August 1954.

262 Ibid. Pender to Mrs Grosvenor 10 June, Mrs Grosvenor to Pender 16 June, Pender to Mrs Grosvenor 6 July 1955; Webb to Mrs Grosvenor 22 February 1956.

263 Leslie and Yeats were at Muckross in 1926 - Muckross House Visitor's Book - and A W B Vincent states there was no talk of Muckross becoming a national park at that time. A W B Vincent interview 18 June 1999.

264 The sale of the Kenmare estate received regular coverage in the *Irish Times* - 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 22, 25 June; 6, 13, 25, 26, 27, 31 July; 1, 3, 4, 8, 11, 13, 15, 16 August, all 1956. For Dail debates see *Dail Eireann Official Reports* Vol 158 (1956) 398-9; Vol 159 (1956) 1809-10; Vol 160 (1956) 1834-6.

265 Valentine Dawnay interview 3 December 1996.

266 Carl M Brauer *The Man Who Built Washington: A life of John McShain* (Delaware, 1996) pp188-92.

considered their deer forest 'a most important responsibility', and it was only those like her grandfather (the fifth Earl) or 'her uncle, Lord Castlerosse' who were experts in the sport of deer stalking[267]. Beatrice Grosvenor was a generous lady, liked locally, but her idea of deer numbers was simply fiction, and there is ample historical evidence to show that two previous generations of her family were only too willing, if a buyer could be found, to part with their deer forests, irrespective of how the red deer would fare, and her uncle, Castlerosse, was a deliberate exaggerator of deer numbers. It was a tragic example of how the Kenmares - in this case the last to reside at Killarney - could live on in a world of make-believe. The theory of getting new blood was still alive with the Kenmares, and in 1955 Mrs Grosvenor herself had contemplated importing five stags as fresh blood, and had asked Dermot McGillycuddy to approach OPW for their cooperation in not shooting them[268]. There was no record of this happening. Following her correspondence to the press, Mrs Grosvenor in 1964 was herself unwittingly in trouble over the shooting of a red stag. Her letter to the press in November 1963 had mentioned a 'demesne stag' seen about the lowland pastures - George Burrows had likewise mentioned this stag in his letter to the press the same year - and it was obvious this trophy animal was being carefully watched. The stag was shot in September 1964 by Mrs Grosvenor's nephew, Edward Dawnay, with the assistance of the keeper 'Young' Dan Donoghue. Mrs Grosvenor had her nephew, her niece, Dan Donoghue and the trophy head photographed and published, with an accompanying text stating that Edward Dawnay was a 14-year-old boy [269]. It proved to be foolish publicity, as Dawnay was too young to legally hold a shooting licence. The local Garda Superintendent, who was on friendly terms with the Kenmare family, had the unenviable but obligatory duty to charge Mrs Grosvenor with unlawfully lending a Mannlicher rifle to Edward Dawnay, and aiding him in shooting a deer, contrary to Section 10 of the Firearms Act 1925. It was seen as only a technical transgression, and the District Court hearing in Killarney, having adjudged the case proved, ordered the offence be struck out and a sum of £1 be paid into the Court Poor Box[270]. This considerate courtesy evidenced the local regard for Mrs Grosvenor, and she was thus deliberately exonerated from a criminal conviction. Edward Dawnay's subsequent dislike to Ireland in general and his refusal of access to the Kenmare family papers, which for many years he had in his possession, may well have been influenced by this happening at his young and impressionable age, though his brother thinks that this was not the reason for Edward Dawnay's later attitude[271].

Occasional stalking in the Kenmare forests, with some driven deer shoots in the lowland demesne, survived until about the end of the 1960s, characterised by many blank days; the quarry was predominantly sika deer[272]. The Kenmare mountain forests at Derrycunnihy, Gortroe, Ullauns, Poulagower and Incheens were left unattended when Dan Donoghue left Incheens in the 1960s and moved to the lowland Killarney area of Fossa, where he purchased c.35 acres of land. His brother-in-law has remarked: 'And you may be sure none of *that* money was borrowed[273]. Few comments better illustrate the change in fortunes that had evolved between landed aristocracy and peasant workman under Irish self-government than that succinct statement. Sporting

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267 *Kerryman* 16 November 1963.
268 NAI, OPW D 96/2/90. Memo of Dermot McGillycuddy calling to OPW Head Office 26 August 1955.
269 *Irish Independent* 17 September 1964.
270 Killarney District Court Records, Minute Book Nos 47/64, 48/64, 6 October 1964.
271 Valentine Dawnay interviews 21 December 1995, 3 December 1996.
272 Ibid.
273 Donal McCarthy interview 9 November 1995. Donal McCarthy's sister was married to Dan Donoghue.

rights, of little real value to the Kenmares, were effectively killed off by the 1965 Land Act, which enacted that sporting rights not exercised in the 12 years ending at the passing of that Act were extinguished[274]. Deer stalking finally ceased for the Kenmares when rifles, and any firearms exceeding 0.22 inches in calibre, were ordered to be surrendered into Garda custody under the Firearms (Temporary Custody Order) 1972, introduced by the Minister for Justice, Desmond O'Malley, on 2 August 1972[275]. As far as is known, the stalking rifles then surrendered may still be held in custody. On his retirement Dan Donoghue, the last of the Kenmare gamekeepers, probably received some pension, but it is though to have been 'not much'[276]. In a poignant poem he composed and sent to Dan Donoghue, Lord Revelstoke remembered the old stalking days with him, and remarked that the clothes worn by Dan's father, 'Old' Dan Donoghue, were cast-off tweeds from Valentine Castlerosse[277].

The concept of a national park, as envisaged by its donors, was still far from being generally accepted, not least by commercial interests, and before the decade closed an attempt to exploit it for personal gain was organised. A proposal was put to OPW by N H Walsh and Partners, consulting engineers in Cork, acting for Summit Cableways Ltd., to establish an aerial cable car development on Mangerton mountain, within the park. After considerable correspondence and soul-searching by OPW on the effects this would have on 'the rare flora of the district', and objections expressed by various organisations, clubs and individuals, the plan was agreed by OPW and the Department of Lands, but turned down by Minister Jim Gibbons following a planning appeal[278]. Its likelihood of impinging on what was left of the native red deer was one reason for objecting to that plan. This objection, and a movement to have the native red deer legally protected, were concurrently being advanced by local Killarney individuals, principally Fr Kissane of St Brendan's Seminary, Killarney, and Danny Cronin of Muckross. They were concerned that the native red deer were by then on the verge of extinction, and had grouped together with others to do something about it, and formed the Kerry Deer Society[279]. It was of no small significance that such sentiments were being expressed, and it was of equal importance that many letters to the press were now expressing open opposition to a development considered incompatible with the purposes of a national park. It was a foretaste of an embryonic movement and new thinking that looked on a national park in quite a different light to that of exploitation for 'good business'.

A government-commissioned report on the Killarney Valley by the consultants Fehily and Shipman in 1966 was told by Mrs Grosvenor there were over 600 red deer in Killarney, and that the Kenmare forests annual average cull of red deer was 15 during 1920-39, increased to 24 during 1940-54, and further increased to 29 during 1955-66. All her figures were without foundation and not accepted. They contradicted the historical

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274 *An Act to Amend and Extend the Land Purchase Acts* (Number 2 of 1965), section 18.

275 Commissioner, Garda Siochana, to author 5 September 1996.

276 Elizabeth McCarthy interview 9 June 1996.

277 Original poem by Lord Revelstoke, 22 September 1977. Author's possession, given by Donal McCarthy at interview 9 November 1995.

278 NAI, OPW P 7/194. N H Walsh to OPW 13 January, 26 June 1967; Department of Finance to OPW 8 September 1967; Irish Mountaineering Club to OPW 27 September, 6 October 1967; An Oige to OPW 20 November 1967; C J Haughey to Jim Gibbons January 1968; A W B Vincent to OPW 28 January 1968; Department of Local Government to OPW 11 November 1968; Summit Cableways Ltd to OPW - wishing to re-activate the project - 4 March 1971. The project received media coverage in *Irish Independent* 3 February 1967, *Kerryman* 4 February, 8 December 1967, 3 February 1968; *Cork Examiner* 15 December 1967, 1 November 1968;*Cork Weekly Examiner* 4 January 1968; *Daily Telegraph* 22 January 1968. Malachy Walsh, partner of N H Walsh and Partners, and a director in Summit Cableways Ltd., was son of Professor Walsh, UCC, who had surveyed for the Torc river ESB development in the national park.

279 Danny Cronin interview 15 November 1995. Regrettably, Mr Cronin refused to be tape-recorded. It can only be hoped that he will yet commit to paper his recollections, and his own involvement, in the conservation of the native red deer, especially during those crucial years1964-70.

evidence, and contradicted the Kenmare data previously supplied to Whitehead, already discussed. Fehily and Shipman said no other person they spoke to in Killarney could confirm Mrs Grosvenor's numbers, and its own team had not seen one red deer during its three weeks in Killarney, despite considerable efforts to do so. The report pointedly stated that sheep farming and state forestry were excluding red deer and the public from about two thirds the national park[280]. A change in official attitude was occurring, already evident in requesting this report and reacting to public criticism. The experimental sheep scheme was removed from the BVMP, after acceptance by the state that it was not consistent with the ethos of a national park[281]. The shift in outlook by the OPW towards the native red deer was well illustrated when a further effort by ESB to develop an electric generating station on Mangerton, within the national park, was considered in 1968. The scheme - a pumped storage scheme - would involve creating an artificial lake on the summit plateau of Mangerton, sinking shafts from there to Lough Erhogh and the Devil's Punchbowl, and building an access road through the national park to the summit reservoir. The project was now vigorously opposed by the OPW, citing the effect this scheme would have on red deer frequenting the area. In a summary of nine reasons for objecting to the development by the OPW, the disturbance to the red deer was number one, top of the list[282]. The project was abandoned.

The ethos of regarding the nation's deer (and among them the national park's deer) from a commercial viewpoint still lived on. Fergus O'Gorman, of the Zoology Department, UCC, argued the financial benefits to be derived from deer stalking, based on examples from Hungary, in 1965[283]. The same pleading was further advanced in 1970, in connection with a state-sponsored review of Irish wildlife[284]. But more fundamental changes were occurring that would challenge the thinking on Irish wildlife heritage. In that same year, scientific studies were initiated, in conjunction with UCD, on the native red deer (by John Riney) and on the introduced sika deer (by Jim Larner), in Killarney. Riney's research produced in 1970 the first scientifically-based count of the upland population of Killarney's red deer, embracing those in both the national park and the Kenmare estate. The combined total came to 110 animals - 25 stags, 60 hinds and 25 calves[285]. The nadir of red deer numbers must have fallen below that figure, as the animals had some opportunity to recover after shooting in the BVMP had ceased seven years previously, and stalking in the Kenmare estate was sporadic during the 1960s. Some estimates have put the low point at 60 or 70 animals[286].

With this new thinking and enlightened approach to the meaning and purpose of a national park, the conservation of wildlife and places of outstanding natural beauty had entered a new phase of management by the state, and a greater appreciation of these values by the general public had begun in Ireland, by 1970.

Epilogue

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[280] James Fehily and Philip Shipman 'Killarney Valley Survey'. Unpublished Report to An Foras Forbartha (1967). Copy in author's possession.

[281] Riney ...Red Deer of Co Kerry... p 80. Note that the *Cork Examiner*, 9 June 1967, gives the year of this cessation as 1967.

[282] ESB files. Copy reports: Pumped Storage Sites In Ireland, 17 September 1968; Potential Pumped Storage Sites, 24 February 1970; copy drawing 29 March 1972: OPW to ESB 6 November 1979. Files inspected at ESB Generating Station, Inniscarra, Co. Cork.

[283] Fergus O'Gorman *Irish Deer as a Valuable Natural Resource* (National Game Council of Ireland, 1965 Report reprint) pp 71-5.

[284] F O'Gorman and F Molloy 'The Economical and Recreational Potential of Deer in Ireland' in Fergus O'Gorman and Enda Wymes (eds) *The Future of Irish Wildlife - a Blueprint for Development* (An Foras Taluntais, Dublin, 1973) pp 55-70.

[285] Riney...Red Deer of Co Kerry...p 3.

[286] Estimate by Dr J B Larner, Killarney National Park, in various discussions.

Erroneous ideas of the number of native red deer in Killarney continued into the early 1970s[287]. In 1975, Clonmeen House and all that remained of the estate - by then c.210 acres - were auctioned off[288]. It was the end of an era for the Grehans, as it had been for so many other landed estates in the Republic. The state had not only survived, but could afford to go on the acquisition trail. In 1972 the state purchased Knockreer House and its accompanying demesne in Killarney from Mrs Grosvenor. In 1973, McShain presented Innisfallen Island as a free gift to the nation. By 1979 the state had further acquired parts of the Kenmare deer forests in Glena, Gortroe and Incheens, as well as Killarney House II and its demesne, and Ross Island, Lough Leane and Muckross Lake. On Mrs Grosvenor's death in 1985 - her nephew Edward Dawnay was the main beneficiary of her will[289] - the remainder of the Kenmare deer forests at Poulagower, Ullauns, and part of Derrycunnihy, as well as Killarney's Upper Lake, were purchased. All combined to form what is now Killarney National Park, incorporating the existing Bourn-Vincent Memorial Park. Today, both the Muckross and Kenmare deer forests remain the core land area of Killarney National Park.

After prolonged gestation, a new Wildlife Act was passed into law in 1976[290]. The Act proclaimed red deer a protected species, gave special status to the native red deer in Killarney, and prohibited the shooting of any red deer in County Kerry. Among previous enactments repealed by this Act was the Forestry Act, 1946. Legally, deer were no longer vermin within state commercial forestry. Changing legislation was one thing, changing the state's bureaucracy was another matter. Five years after the new Wildlife Act, and after reading through Forestry's communications on deer, an official reflectively minuted in 1981 '...unfortunately we have no formal agreement re management of deer after 49 years correspondence'[291]. After a further three years, the Irish government agreed in 1984 that commercial forestry was incompatible with the ethos of a national park. This eventually led to the cessation of commercial forestry in Killarney National Park. Blocks II and III were handed back to the national park in 1986, and Block I in 1990[292].

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[287] Fergus J O'Rourke 'The Fauna of Ireland' *The Capuchin Annual 1973* (Dublin, 1973) p 171. O'Rourke stated the numbers in 1973 were 500 to 600. In fairness to O'Rourke, Riney's research was in progress and probably unknown to him. Nevertheless, it illustrates how easily exaggerated numbers are accepted into the literature, and how slowly they die.

[288] BL/EP/G/587. Keane Mahony Smith, Dublin; and Aston Deller & Morgan, Cork, Joint Agents. Auction Brochure and Notice of Auction for 22 July 1975.

[289] Copy Will of Beatrice Elizabeth Katherine Grosvenor, made 12 April 1976; copy Probate 8 January 1986; certified by County Registrar, Courthouse, Tralee, 13 November 1995.

[290] Short Title: *Wildlife Act, 1976* (Number 39 of 1976).

[291] Coillte, A 52/32. Memo 13 February 1981, signed ' D Scannell'.

[292] OPW...*Killarney National Park Management Plan...* pp 13, 14, 61.

8

OVERVIEW

None of the owners, aristocrat or gentry, of the four landed estates studied, neatly fit into the stereotyped oppressive great landlord who rack-rented his tenantry to support a profligate lifestyle devoted entirely to game shooting, or deer stalking, or both. Historical evidence reveals that individual personalities differed, between family members and between estate owners. All were resident landlords.

The second Earl of Kenmare appears to have been a retiring, charitable man whose stalking and shooting was limited. His brother, the third Earl, was already old on his succession, and it was his son, Viscount Castlerosse, who largely administered the great estate. It was this man, as fourth Earl, who was so hugely involved in borrowing to finance his new mansion, and was caught up in the Land War and Plan of Campaign - resulting in so many evictions - who received most of the odium that history has heaped on the Kenmares. His son, the fifth Earl, was predominantly interested in fox-hunting. The sixth Earl, the renowned 'Castlerosse', gifted intellectually and an irresponsible spendthrift, killed all the deer he could when he found time to do so, and went a long way towards belittling the family's standing. The seventh and last Earl lived quietly, and scarcely shot or stalked. The last of the Kenmares in Kerry, Beatrice Grosvenor, stalked more as 'the thing to do' rather than for pleasure or profit, and had a fictional notion of deer numbers. For whatever reasons the Kenmares collected rent - and there is substantial evidence that they reinvested large sums in developing their estates and providing employment - they diverted little of it towards game and deer. The costs of these never much exceeded ten per cent of total estate expenditure.

Henry Arthur Herbert I can be credited with introducing the major Scottish influence to Killarney, and with the formation of the deer forests. Always involved in the commercial aspects of farming and forestry plantations, he and his Scottish wife proved considerate and generous during the Great Famine. His sporting speciality was to provide the annual stag hunts in Killarney, and woodcock shooting. His son, Henry Arthur Herbert II, had the ignominy of seeing his estate seized and sold off, but it was social high living rather than game and deer stalking that contributed most to family debts. His son, Henry Arthur Herbert III, had little if any influence on deer or game in the Muckross estate. Lord Ardilaun unashamedly approached the Muckross stalking and shooting as a business enterprise - as a Guinness, he had a business background - and treated his tenantry very fairly on matters of deer and game trespass. His successor, Arthur Rose Vincent, with continuous financial funding from his multi-millionaire father-in-law William Bowers II, spared no expense on deer and game, but again this never represented more than about ten percent of the estate's annual costs.

Sir John Fermor Godfrey's main occupation was riding to hounds, whether hunting fox, hare or deer. His game shooting was largely dependent on invitation shoots with the Earl of Kenmare or Henry Arthur Herbert II. When not hunting, he simply noted in his diaries that he 'mooned', or 'mooned about' - sometimes the daily entry for weeks on end. The 'Stopping the Hunt' Campaign dealt him, like many other masters of hunt, a severe blow from which his hunting never recovered, and the 'No Rent' Campaign signalled the end of his supremacy. Stephen Grehan's wages for gamekeepers and game preservation were usually below ten per

cent of his total wage bill. He seems to have enjoyed a more favourable relationship with his tenantry, but Grehan devoted so much time and energy to pursuing his passions of fox hunting and game shooting that commercial use of his extensive farm received little attention - it was not, in any case, 'what a gentleman did'[1]. For the Earls of Kenmare and the Herberts, deer stalking and game shooting were pastimes that characterised their class and status, and became commercial enterprises when rents no longer automatically rolled in, and servicing debt became obligatory. But for Godfrey and for Grehan, game shooting and hunting on horse was for each of them his *solum vitae solamen,* irrespective of the financial ruin that was inexorably engulfing them.

In Ireland, class was not automatic for all who embraced the pursuit of shooting and deer stalking. There was class within class. For the Grehans, possession of a stately mansion, well-keepered shoots and marriage into minor aristocracy did not guarantee assured acceptance into long established nobility circles whose pedigree went back 500 years[2]. And in Ireland, the sport of kings and princes was by no means the sole prerogative of Unionists, both Catholic and Protestant, who regarded England as 'home', or of elitist gentry. The Nationalist leader Charles Stewart Parnell was happiest at his shooting lodge retreat at Aughavanagh, County Wicklow, from where he shot over his grouse moors. In 1888 his guests included a bevy of M Ps and other friends - Sir Thomas Esmonde, Sir William Butler, Wm J Corbet, Timothy Harrington, James O'Kelly. Together, they bagged over 200 grouse and a number of hares[3]. Subsequently, the Nationalist leader John Redmond, who much favoured grouse shooting, acquired Parnell's shooting lodge at Aughavanagh[4]. Stephen Grehan, who regarded the Irish as 'riffraff'[5], could not have been unaware of the pro-Gaelic views of Douglas Hyde with whom he often shot, and two of Arthur Rose Vincent's friends, Shane Leslie and Frank MacDermot, were of like mind. Shane Leslie signed his name in Gaelic in Vincent's Muckross House Visitor's Book, and Frank MacDermot wrote a biography of Wolfe Tone[6], the man credited with being an originator of Irish Republicanism. While it may be argued that these were people of landed gentry class, the same can hardly be said of those who took over the trappings of power post the Anglo-Irish and Civil Wars. Patrick Hogan, a Minister for Agriculture in the Cumann na nGaedheal administration 1922-32, agreed to have the Land Commission build special sections of jumpable walls for the East Galway Foxhunt[7]. Strong farmers were already hunting with the gentry's fox hounds by the early 1880s, even during the 'Stopping the Hunt' Campaign. Among those invited by OPW to tender for deer stalking and game shooting in the BVMP was Dan Breen, the archetype IRA Republican guerrilla veteran who was credited with initiating the Anglo-Irish War, and who shot game in the Muckross estate. It was probably the presence of people like Dan Breen, and his fellow Fianna Fail TD, F H Crowley, that had caused the *Irish Times* to

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[1] Peter A Grehan interview 23 September 1998. As an example of this attitude, Mr Grehan instanced the large fields left fallow in the demesne, as it was felt that cultivating them would 'spoil the view'.

[2] Peter A Grehan interview 23 September 1998. In Britain, there was little welcome for Cockney deer stalkers mixing with the elite in Scotland, initially at any rate, and Millais looked disapprovingly at the parvenu who bought a mounted stag's head for £5 and displayed it, to be in fashion.

[3] *Irish Sportsman* 25 August 1888.

[4] F S L Lyons *Charles Stewart Parnell* (London, 1977) pp 37-8, 605. See also Paul Bew *John Redmond* (Historical Association of Ireland, 1996) p16.

[5] Peter A Grehan interview 23 September 1998: This applied to ordinary people - the only people worth knowing were 'County'.

[6] Frank MacDermot *Theobald Wolfe Tone and his Times* (Tralee, 1968 edn).

[7] Muriel Bowen *Irish Hunting* (Tralee, 1954) pp 72-3.

observe that the Muckross stalking and shooting had been obtained by 'Irishmen'. From both sides of the Irish political divide there were willing participants to be classed with the gentry's elitist sport of riding to hounds. The ex-Fine Gael Taoiseach Liam Cosgrave rode to foxhounds, and the ex-Fianna Fail Taoiseach C J Haughey rode with the Ward Union staghounds.

If the inter-action between landed gentry and commoner had crossed both class and social boundaries in one direction, it had also gone the other way. By the 1930s, the Earl of Kenmare's show dogs carried Gaelic names (for example *An Laighneach Laidir* - the Strong Leinsterman), and the *Irish Field* was printing advertisements for GAA hurling matches in Gaelic script. Bence-Jones has stated that by the late 1930s the old ascendancy had begun to prefer de Valera to the strictly Catholic W T Cosgrave, and regretted de Valera's leaving office in 1948. The declaration of a Republic by the Fine Gael Taoiseach, John A Costello, in 1948 was, for them, breaking the last ties with the Commonwealth[8]. Nora Robertson considered de Valera's choice of Douglas Hyde as President to have been a masterstroke, as Hyde, one of her own Protestant ascendancy class, was 'an excellent shot at snipe'[9]. Nora Robertson, of Elizabethan Settlement decent, was among those of the Anglo-Irish ascendancy who integrated with the new Ireland, sending her family to Irish schools where they learned the Irish language. But, contrary to a popular concept that it was hunting and shooting that encouraged many of the Anglo-Irish to remain on post-Treaty, for Robertson it was love of the Irish countryside, the enchantment of the hills, that held her. Though England was her and her forbears' spiritual home, nevertheless the English countryside was for her a strange land, a foreign place[10].

It was a similar sense of landscape and wild nature that enthralled many of the hunters, game shooters and deer stalkers who put their thoughts in writing. In an early 15th century work, *The Master of Game,* Edward, Duke of York, was of this mind when he wrote '...when the hunter riseth in the morning...and he heareth the song of small birds... and shall see fresh dew upon the small twigs and grasses...that is great joy and liking to the hunter's heart'[11]. Much the same sentiments have survived the centuries. Daniel O'Connell, when anticipating the prospect of hare hunting in Kerry with his beagles, wrote: 'I long much to see the mountains once again', and after a month's hunting he expressed his feelings: 'It is with bitter regret I tear myself from these mountains'[12]. The Wexford stalker and shooter Sir T H Grattan Esmonde has written that what mattered most to him was listening to the music of the mountains. He was enraptured by the unspoiled wilderness he found while shooting in America and Canada, and said: 'all I wanted ...was the perfume of the pines, the music of the waters, the play of light and shade, of sun and cloud on hill and forest'[13]. Esmonde, perhaps unknowingly, was echoing the very same enchantment with wild nature as expressed by Irish monks in Early Irish poetry, noted in Chapter 1. When C P Crane fished on Lord Kenmare's preserves, he wrote of the wild beauty of the Long Range[14]. In the midst of slaughtering all the

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[8] Bence-Jones...*Twilight*...pp 248, 264.

[9] Robertson...*Crowned Harp*... p 165.

[10] Ibid. pp 47, 183.

[11] Quoted in Trench...*Poacher and Squire*... p 64. The book was based on the earlier French classic on hunting *La Livre de la Chasse par Gaston de Foix,* also known as Gaston Phoebus.

[12] O'Connell's *Correspondence*. Letter 2660, 4 May 1838; letter 2980, 9 September 1842.

[13] Esmonde... *Hunting memories*... pp 53-5, 88.

[14] Crane... *Memories of an R M* ... p 207.

game birds he could find at Killarney, Charles H Akroyd would pause and note in his diary the beauty of the hills, capped with snow'[15]. Writing on the sensation of leaving behind a dusty city and travelling north to the Scottish moors, for J W Brodie Innes it was not so much the grouse slaughter that beckoned, but 'To-night we shall be among the hills, and to-morrow we shall breathe [fresh] air...[16]. It certainly was not all blood lust and slaughter for every Lord and ruling class who took up rifle and gun. Indeed, some of them expressed misgivings, and pondered on whether their actions were cruel.

Richard Martin, an Irish Protestant landlord with extensive tracts of land in County Galway, was an enthusiastic hunter and shooter, and won a formidable reputation for his duelling prowess. Yet it was the same Richard (Humanity Dick) Martin who succeeded in having the world's first anti-cruelty to animals legislation passed in Britain, in 1822[17]. His pity was applied to the mistreatment of domestic animals - cattle and horses - as well as to the sports of bull- and bear-baiting, rather than to hunted quarry, but by mid-19th century field sports were also coming under attack in Britain[18]. There was much resistance to that movement in 19th century Ireland, well expressed by the *Irish Sportsman* during the 1870s, which continued to argue up to the century's end that only for hunting, the fox, grouse, stag and hare would have all but disappeared,[19]. Nevertheless, 19th and 20th century Irish hunters were not entirely insensitive to the feelings of their prey. In 1874, hounds were called off after a two-hour hunt in County Wexford, 'pitying the poor brute', and in 1882 the Earl of Bandon's otter hounds were whipped off to save the otter's life - it was felt a sad thing when a female otter was unavoidably killed[20]. At least some of those who shot and stalked were often of two minds about the sport they loved, and felt the emotional conflict between the excitement of the hunt and compassion for their prey. Perhaps Sir T H Grattan Esmonde spoke for more than himself when he wrote that 'one feels a brute when shooting a deer', and he agonised over the inconsistency of his 'admiration for this thing of beauty [the stag]' and his 'desire for its possession [the stag's antlers]'[21]. It was a sentiment echoed by the Earl of Dunraven, a devoted shooter who in later years had come to regard taking life as repugnant, and spoke of the 'reproach in the eye of a dying deer'. Yet, when the aged Dunraven would entertain a shooting party at his home in County Limerick, he was once more as keen to shoot as ever, and found himself a 'mass of contradictions'[22]. In the 1960s Major Grehan became so disillusioned with the poor marksmanship of guests that he ceased shooting, and converted his lands at Clonmeen into a wildlife sanctuary[23]. While such feelings did exist among some, at least, of the ascendancy, others were not of similar mind. Castlerosse (later sixth Earl) poked fun and scorn at members of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals when he attended their meeting in London[24]. For this study, in general there was little evidence of an atavistic approach to hunting in its broad sense, and for those of the Irish aristocracy who wrote about their emotions,

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15 Akroyd... *Veteran Sportsman...* p 292.

16 Quoted in Martin...*Glorious Grouse...* pp 56-7.

17 Shevawn Lynam *Humanity Dick: A Biography of Richard Martin, MP 1764 - 1834* (London, 1975) pp 206-8, and passim.

18 Trench...*Poacher and Squire...* p 185.

19 *Irish Sportsman* 30 April 1870, 28 October 1871, 17 August 1872, 1 November 1873, 4 March and 2 September 1899.

20 *Irish Sportsman* 10 October 1874, 7 October 1882.

21 Esmonde... *Hunting Memories...* pp 148, 261.

22 Earl of Dunraven *Past Times and Pastimes* Vol i (London, 1922) p 87.

23 Peter A Grehan interview 23 September 1998.

24 Castlerosse... *Valentine's Days...* pp 240-4.

it appears to have been a mixture of appreciating wild nature, obeying a dictum of their class, and satisfying an inborn instinct to hunt. An anthropomorphic attitude towards their wild quarry was likewise rarely evident in the writings of the Irish hunting gentry, and, apart from an occasional reference to the 'gallant' stag, or the 'noble' stag, it seems not to have mirrored British sentiment[25].

On the basis of archaeological and historical evidence to-date, it is probable that, while native wild red deer may have been widespread, they were never numerous in Ireland. Their ultimate survival has been popularly attributed to the actions of Killarney's two great landlords, the Kenmares and the Herberts. It is far too simplistic an explanation. The remnant population of native Irish red deer were saved primarily by a hunting culture with money values. By the 1840s, when they were close to extinction except in Killarney, the defining impetus for their conservation came from outside. During the first half of the 19th century a new type of deer stalking had developed in Scotland which rapidly grew into a commercial business, and the historical evidence indicates the Killarney deer forests originated as a direct result of this new sport. It is probable the forests were additionally seen as an attraction towards enticing British royals to establish a residence in Killarney, a hope that survived for half a century. The second Earl of Kenmare and Henry Arthur Herbert I were simply the conduits through whom these influences were introduced to Killarney, leading to protection of their red deer, and it so happened their animals were the only native red deer to have survived intact as a viable herd. In short, they were the right deer in the right place at the right time. It was just luck that circumstances had come together to originate two deer forests where native red deer had survived, and the philanthropic reason suggested by Archdeacon Rowan had little if anything to do with it. As they became a new sporting quarry and developed into a commercial product, luck continued to play a crucial role in the Irish red deer's continued survival, far more so than any philanthropic efforts did. The driving force behind their continued conservation was commercial, for Earl, great landlord and state department alike. While that monetary basis initiated their protection, it subsequently almost drove them to extinction in the hands of incompetent state officials.

While it certainly affected the hunted animal, the Killarney stag hunt had no real effect on the red deer herd. Amphlett was able to kill his quota of 40 stags (a total from both deer forests) in the early 1880s, less than five years after the hunt had petered out in the late 1870s. The stag hunt was more a yearly or twice-yearly spectacle for public entertainment than a hunt to kill. Throughout its duration, the published accounts reveal very few deaths of the stag. When such occurred, the reaction was mostly one of regret, and it was traditionally regarded as a successful day's outing if the captured stag was released to the cheering of hunt followers. During the Killarney stag hunt in the early 1840s, when the quarry was caught and ear marked before release, the animal's ear tips were sometimes presented to the highest-ranking lady present - usually Countess Kenmare. But whether this can be described as atavistic by historians looking backwards from a century that saw at least 60 million people slaughtered during two world wars remains highly debatable.

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[25] The distinguished British art critic, Kenneth Clark, has argued that Landseer's painting, *Monarch of the Glen,* epitomised 'the self-satisfaction of the Victorian ruling class - masterful, courageous, aggressively masculine, dominating the whole environment. By deliberately endowing the animal [a 'royal' stag] with these human qualities, Landseer makes him an unconsciously revealing symbol of his own and his patron's values' - Kenneth Clark *Animals and Men* (London, 1977) p 102. Clark considered that investing animals with human characteristics was 'the ultimate sentimentality', and argued that one of the main attractions of hunting in the 18th and 19th centuries was to be part of nature – ibid, pp 193, 218.

Unlike the red deer, sika deer appear never to have been similarly hunted in Killarney. They were a disappointment to hunters with hounds, generally attributed to sika being short-winded, saltatorial deer, compared to the cursorial red deer[26].

Stalking and shooting the stag, Scottish style, with emphasis placed on trophy antlers, body size, and number of animals killed - the determining measure of a successful day's outing - resulted in a fundamental change in the structure of the red deer herd in Killarney. Far more stags were culled than hinds, and while this practice resulted in an explosion of red deer numbers in Scotland[27], a similar result did not happen in Killarney. No historical evidence of extensive poaching being concentrated on hinds was found, and the absence of a population increase is far more likely to be further evidence that red deer numbers were well below what was popularly believed. Neither does the historical evidence support widespread, popularly believed large numbers. In fact, following the example of Scottish deer stalking and deer forest management provided little benefit to either of the Killarney deer forests. Kerry stalkers sent to Scotland for training would not have learned much about the one aspect that Killarney most needed - restraint. It was open season on stags as soon as stalking commenced, and OPW were especially responsible for grossly exaggerating the numbers allowed for killing. In Scotland, cult of the red stag - A G Cameron's 'a poem created by the wilderness'[28] - had resulted in the animal's near veneration, if not totemism, by its worshipers, and the consequent proliferation of Scottish deer forests to over 300 in 1991[29]. Following Scottish example could not accomplish the same in Killarney, where there was far less land, and far less red deer. That red deer survived overshooting by landed estate owners, and appalling mis-management by state officials, was essentially due to the animals' innate ability to avoid detection in the ruggedness of their mountain habitat.

The essentially British mindset advice to introduce new blood and kill off the switch heads would have been willingly, and blindly, followed by the state, but was not implemented due to circumstances prevailing rather than decision, and would not, in any event, have improved the herd for stalking. It was already well known by the end of the 19th century that the effects of introducing park-reared stags to the hills were soon lost in the wild populations[30]. The fact that, today, wild red deer stags in Killarney carry up to 18 antler points without any selective culling or introduction of foreign blood over the last 45 years is telling proof that throughout the previous 100 years stags were not allowed to achieve their full potential in the cult of getting some stag, any stag, as a trophy to carry home. What introducing fresh blood would have done, however, would be to buttress the perception of the native stock being polluted; if not in fact, then in name. That taint of contamination is something many commentators have rarely missed an opportunity of stressing[31].

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[26] Valerius Geist *Deer of the World: Their Evolution, Behaviour and Ecology* (Shrewsbury, UK edn., 1999) p 88.

[27] See Michael Wigan *Stag at Bay: the Scottish Red Deer Crisis* (Shrewsbury, 1993) passim, for a descriptive analysis of the problems resulting from the non-culling of hinds.

[28] Cameron...*Wild Red Deer of Scotland...* p 52.

[29] Wigan...*Highland Estate...* pp 9-10.

[30] Hart-Davis knew that importing heavy park-fed stags to Scotland had only a very temporary effect, and wrote about it in 1904...*Stalking Sketches...* p 49. A G Cameron also knew the effects were short-lived, and wrote about it in 1923...*Wild Red Deer of Scotland...* pp 160-1. The transient impact by park red deer introduced into wild Scottish herds was scientifically established in 1985 by V P W Lowe and A S Gardiner: 'A re-examination of the subspecies of Red Deer (*Cervus elaphus)* with particular reference to the stocks in Britain' *Zoologist* 174 (1985) pp 185-201.

[31] Whitehead is a prime example. In 1950, Whitehead advocated the introduction of fresh blood to Killarney, saying it 'would be of great

Pressure to obtain a stag was centred on the head stalker. He became the high priest of the stalk, he was king when out on the open hill, and no one, either earl, lord, gentleman proprietor or especially the paying lessee, dared question his instructions or choice of stag for killing. It was he who knew the intricacies of the mountains and ways of the deer, while his superiors were visitors only, for a few weeks in Autumn. During Valentine Dawnay's days at Killarney, the Kenmares would not think of stalking without the company and direction of 'Young' Dan Donoghue. In the BVMP, the park superintendent regularly deferred to Matt Leahy's opinion on matters of deer, and what Leahy said could become policy in Dublin. But blaming a head stalker for the near extinction of the Killarney red deer, or for selecting the best head of antlers in return for a gentleman's tip, carries no credibility. For his loyalty and service, the head stalker earned a labourer's wage.

Similarly, blaming gamekeepers for the demise of the golden eagle was historically naive. The basis of blame has been the keeper's use of gin traps, guns and poison, and taking young eaglets from their nests. Keepers acted on their masters' instructions, and the keeper's vermin pole, a gibbet exhibiting the carcasses of birds of prey and other 'vermin', was regularly examined by the lord of the manor to confirm if his keeper was diligent in killing vermin; in Clonmeen, the vermin pole was inspected weekly[32]. In 1873, the landed gentry were provided with an excellent opportunity to protect the eagle in the light of evidence to a Select Committee of the House of Commons, examining the protection of wild birds[33]. Nevertheless, despite its declining numbers, the eagle was not included in the schedule of protected wild birds under the Wild Birds Protection Act ten years later, in 1880[34]. It took a further 25 years before orders prohibiting the taking or destroying the eggs of eagles, under the Wild Birds Protection Act of 1894[35], were issued in 1903-6 for Dublin, Mayo, Waterford and Wexford, and they were to take effect in Galway from 1907[36]. Had they wished to do so, landed estate owners and elitist game shooters could have had their gamekeepers cease persecution of birds of prey a quarter of a century earlier. Regrettably, for ornithologists assessing the cause of the eagle's demise in Ireland, gamekeepers seem to have been the softer target[37].

The void left by the break-up of landed estates and consequent cessation of keepered shoots was filled by voluntary Game Protection Associations, the genesis of which dated back to the early 1870s[38]. The state separately ventured into game shooting encouragement, and was equally as unsuccessful as in its undertaking in deer stalking. The results from an experimental grouse research programme at Glenamoy, County Mayo, initiated in 1966 by An Foras Taluntais, revealed a steady decline in grouse numbers[39]; the

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benefit to the herd' - *Deer and their Management...* p 327. Fourteen years later, in 1964, Whitehead commented that the Killarney red deer 'cannot be considered as being perfectly pure bred', because of introduced Scottish stags - *Deer of Great Britain and Ireland...* p 196. This later comment has been regularly repeated by several writers in popular works.

32 Peter A Grehan interview 23 September 1998.

33 Parliamentary Papers. *Report from the Select Committee on Wild Birds Protection; together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix* (HC, 1873) xiii.

34 *43 & 44 Vict. c.35.*

35 *57 & 58 Vict. c. 24*

36 Farran...*Game Laws of Ireland...* p 149.

37 Richard J Ussher and Robert Warren *The Birds of Ireland* (London, 1900) pp125-6; Kennedy, Rutledge, Scroope & Humphreys...*Birds of Ireland...*p 100.

38 *Irish Sportsman* , 26 August 1871, reported a meeting at the Imperial Hotel, Cork, to form a Game Preservation Society for County Cork, to prevent the slaughter of game and hares by soldiers stationed at Camden Fort. The article hoped this lead would be followed by other counties.

39 See *Canada Life Irish Red Grouse Conference, October 1993,* which summarises the decline in Irish red grouse numbers. I am grateful to Mr P J O'Hare, formerly of the Glenamoy research programme, for providing copy of the 114-page Conference Report.

project was eventually closed down. The provision of pheasant eggs as encouragement to attract game-shooting tourists was likewise abandoned. Today, game shooting is represented by the privately-run National Association of Regional Game Councils (NARGC), which claims 22,000 members from 875 gun clubs who rear and release game species, annually spend £425,000 on non-hunting nature conservation, and on average destroy 28,000 foxes, 1,200 mink, 15,000 grey crows and 17,000 magpies annually as vermin[40].

Rabbits, in numbers and value, far outweighed all other species of ground and flying game. On the evidence of rabbit carcasses and skins exported (Appendix 14), their numbers, prior to the deliberate introduction of the disease *Myxomatosis cuniculus* in 1954, must have been in the tens of millions. As an acknowledged pest to agriculture, all-out efforts were made to rid the country from the 'plague of rabbits' when their numbers had plummeted following the disease, but by 1956 they were reported to be again gaining ground in Counties Carlow, Clare, Cork, Galway, Kildare, Louth and Monaghan[41]. The impact of this introduced animal on the rural life and economy of Ireland, in terms of cash value and destructive costs, appears to have remained unstudied.

The legacies left by the Killarney great landed estate owners cannot be lightly dismissed. Their introduction of exotic deer species has created the possibility of hybridisation between Japanese sika deer and the native Irish red deer. Though red x sika hybridisation has occurred, deliberately by Lord Powerscourt in Wicklow, and elsewhere as a by-product of sika introduction, it is considered not to have yet occurred in Killarney[42]. The introduction of the wild rhododendron, *Rhododendron ponticum,* ostensibly as an ornamental shrub but possibly also to create pheasant coverts, in imitation of similar deliberate plantings at Windsor and Sandringham[43], has wrought havoc with native oakwoods and left Killarney National Park with an ecological headache. Yet the very foundation of Killarney National Park owes its origin to the survival of the deer forests, large tracts of lands that formed the essence of a gentleman's sporting estate. Had there been no deer forests, there could not have been a national park of international importance, now designated a Biosphere Reserve by UNESCO. It is one of the legacies of hunting, in its broadest sense, that the park's c. 26,000 acres have remained largely undeveloped, much of it wild, a landscape of exceptional beauty. The importance of deer stalking and game shooting can also be assessed in terms of conservation. It was central to a gentleman's sport that a core population of prey was left unshot each season, to ensure sufficient quarry for the following year. Concomitant with that practice went the understanding that deer and game habitat had to be preserved. Much of the moorlands, woodlands and parklands that have survived owe that existence to the gentry's elitist sport. Ultimately, though it may be indigestible to an anti-blood sports lobby - and I am no apologist for blood sports - these legacies can be said to have had their origins in the urge to hunt.

Luck also played a key role in the preservation of much of Killarney's undoubted splendour.

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[40] I am indebted to Mr James Fitzharris, Chairman NARGC, for this information, and for copy of an unpublished draft of A Brief History of the NARGC. The figures quoted refer to1993.

[41] *Biatas* Vol 10, No 1 (July, 1956), p 153 - editorial. See also *Irish Times* 17, 29 May; 21 June; 6, 26 July 1956.

[42] However, note that C B Moffat - described by Praeger as 'the most accomplished naturalist that Ireland has produced' - has stated that 'Both in Kerry and in Powerscourt demesne interbreeding is known to take place between this species [the red deer] and the introduced Japanese Deer (*Cervus sika* Temminck)' - C B Moffat 'The Mammals of Ireland' *PRIA* Vol xliv, Section B, No 6 (1938) p 106; Praeger...*Irish Naturalists...* pp131-2. Moffat's statement was repeated by Fergus J O'Rourke, Professor of Zoology, UCC, in *The Fauna of Ireland: An Introduction to the Land Vertebrates* (Cork, 1970) pp 112-3. Moffat's assertion was unattested.

[43] Hopkins...*Long Affray...* pp 75, 246-7.

Killarney, and indeed Ireland, was exceptionally lucky in the American millionaires who bought a spectacular landscape and left it unspoiled. Had these lands been fragmented, and absorbed into local tourist development, there was every chance they would not have been spared from the jerry builder and speculator. However, the great estate owners have received little recognition for their beneficial contributions. In particular, Arthur Rose Vincent has received scant historical treatment for his vision in presenting Muckross to the state, while William Bowers Bourn II, who made it possible, has received even less historical acknowledgement.

Hunting left other inheritances to Ireland. Parnell's shooting lodge in Aughavanagh, the O'Callaghan/Butler shooting lodge on the south slopes of the Galtee mountains, and Lord Headly's home in Aghadoe, Killarney, became An Oige hostels, providing many thousands of young Irish men and women with incredibly cheap accommodation, and for underprivileged city youths these hostels provided them with their first opportunity to see their own country, and their first introduction to appreciating wild and beautiful landscapes.

The state, with unmatchable resources and legislative privilege, has become a new ascendancy in its ownership of national parks, wildlife, and wild habitat. In 1970, a panel of international contributors to a wildlife seminar in Killarney advised the Minister for Lands that 'winds of change' were blowing in matters of nature conservation in Ireland, and Dr F Fraser Darling suggested that Ireland, in 1970, had 'an immense opportunity to get an overall conservation policy...into working order'[44]. Whether that opportunity was grasped, and whether winds of change were to characterise the state's subsequent management of the wild fauna and landscapes it inherited, await future historians. In historical research, there is no endgame.

[44] O'Gorman & Wymes (eds)...*Future of Irish Wildlife...Blueprint...* pp 3, 215.

Appendix 1. Placenames in South West Ireland Incorporating References to Red Deer and Wolf.

Placenames	Anglicised Form	10 Km Grid Ref.	Translation	Altitude	Source
Mullach an Ois	Mullaghanish	W 21 81	Hill of the Fawn	2,133 Ft	1(Pers.Com.) 2 p 477.
Com an Carrfhia	Coumacarrea	V 61 82	Coum (cirque) of the Stag	2,541 Ft	1 (Pers. com.)
Ath na n-Os	Ahgnanuss Bridge	W 04 78	Ford of the Fawns	c. 260 Ft	1 (Pers.Com.)
Doirin an Fhia	Dereenea	W 03 72	Little Oakwood of the Deer	c.800 Ft	1 (Pers.com.)
Carraig an Fhia	Carraiganea	V 99 78	Rock of the Deer	c. 600 Ft	1 (Pers.Com.)
Ceim an Damh	Kemadav or Kemaduv - "Moll's Gap"	V 86 77	Narrow Pass of the Deer	c. 900 Ft	1 Vol 4 p 10
Claidfhia	Claidia	V 68 77	Rock, or Stony Place, of the Deer	c. 1000 Ft	1 Vol 1 p141
Coimin an Fhia	Coomeenea	V 90 84	Little Hollow of the Deer	c. 1,100 Ft	1 Vol 1 p117
Gleann Agh	Glena	V 92 84	Glen of the Deer	up to c.1,000 Ft	1 (Pers.Com.)
Ceim an Fhia	The Pass of Keimaneigh	W 10 64	Narrow Pass of the Deer	c. 700 Ft	1 (Pers.Com.) 2 p 476.
Ceim an Fhia	Keamanee	V 81 84	Narrow Pass of the Deer	c. 2,000 Ft	1 Vol 1 p 81
Ceim an Fhia	Keamanee or Keamanea	V 88 87	Narrow Pass of the Deer	1,455 Ft	1 Vol 1 p 121
Ceim an Fhia	Keamanee or Keamanea	V 69 68	Narrow Pass of the Deer	c. 600 Ft	1 Vol 1 p 141
Doirin na Damh	Derreenadav	???	Oakwood of the Deer, or ox	Lowland by Kenmare River	1 Vol 11I p 57
Eisc na Mactire	Lough Isknamacteera	V 60 69	Fissure of the Wolves	C. 500 Ft	2 p 483 1 (Pers.Com.)

Sources: 1: O Ciobhain ; 2: Joyce ; Pers.Com.: Personal communication from O Ciobhain.

Appendix 2. Population Shifts in the Townlands of the Killarney Deer Forests, 1841 - 51.

TOWNLANDS	ACRES	POPULATION IN 1841 M	F	Total	POPULATION IN 1851 M	F	Total	POPULATION Increase(Decrease) M	F	Total	No of HOUSES IN 1841 Occ'pyd	- Empty	No of HOUSES IN 1851 Occ'pyd	-Empty
MUCKROSS DEER FORESTS														
Home or Principal Forest														
TORC	362	5	10	15	3	4	7	(2)	(6)	(8)	3	-	2	-
CLOGHFUNE	242	6	8	14	-	-	-	(6)	(8)	(14)	3	-	-	-
CORES	1,435	9	4	13	4	1	5	(5)	(3)	(8)	1	-	1*	-
CRINNAGH	571	3	2	5	-	-	-	(3)	(2)	(5)	1	-	-	-
FERTA	939	6	4	10	-	-	-	(6)	(4)	(10)	2	-	-	-
GORTD'RAREE+	389	-	-	-	2	3	5	2	3	5	-	-	1*	-
G'TRACUSSANE+	408	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
DROMYROURK	267	87	88	175	75	69	144	(12)	(19)	(31)	26	-	20	-
CLOGHEREEN Upr	271	5	5	10	4	4	8	(1)	(1)	(2)	1	-	1	-
KILLEGY Upr+	304	2	6	8	4	4	8	2	(2)	-	1	-	1	-
Upper Lake Forest														
LOOSCAUNAGH	523	-	-	-	7	6	13	7	6	13	-	-	2	-
GALLAVALLEY	329	-	-	-	3	2	5	3	2	5	-	-	1	-
CAHERNABANE	477	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CAHERNADUV	132	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
FOARDAL	759	7	2	9	3	2	5	(4)	-	(4)	2	2	1	-
DOOGARY	1,805	3	4	7	6	3	9	3	(1)	2	1	-	1	-
D'BLUNNAGA+	75	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tomies Forest														
TOMIES WOOD	268	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
CULLINAGH	598	-	-	-	7	4	11	7	4	11	-	-	1	-
GORTADIRRA	1,527	-	-	-	11	7	18	11	7	18	-	-	3	
TOTALS	11,681	133	133	266	129	109	238	(4)	(24)	(28)	41	2	35	1
KENMARE DEER FORESTS														
Derrycunnihy Forest														
D'CUNNIHY+	525	8	4	12	11	7	18	3	3	6	2	2	2*	-
ULLAUNS	1,588	11	15	26	2	4	6	(9)	(11)	(20)	3	-	1*	-
POULAGOWER	1,315	7	4	11	3	4	7	(4)	-	(4)	1	-	1	-
INCHEENS	581	4	3	7	2	3	5	(2)	-	(2)	1	-	1*	-
GORTROE	1,354	5	3	8	16	9	25	11	6	17	1	-	3*	-
Glena Forest														
GLENA	2,063	6	8	14	6	3	9	-	(5)	(5)	1	2	1	2
T0TALS	7,426	41	37	78	40	30	70	(1)	(7)	(8)	9	4	9	2

Acreages rounded to nearest whole acre.

+ Abbreviations used : Gortd'raree (Gortderraree) ; G'racussane (Gortracussane) ; Cloghereen Upr (Cloghereen Upper) ; Killegy Upr (Killegy Upper) ; D'blunnaga (Derrynablunnaga) ; D'cunnihy (Derrycunnihy) ; Occ'pyd (Occupied); M (Males); F (Females).

* Recorded as Caretakers' Houses in Griffith's *Valuations*.

Sources : *Census of Ireland* for 1851...County of Kerry ; Griffith's *General Valuation* ... Barony of Dunkerron North, Barony of Dunkerron South, Barony of Magunihy, 1852-3; MHA, Ardilaun Papers. Deer Trespass Records, 1900-06; MHA, Vincent Papers. List of Lands... to Comprise Deer Forests, 1931; R Baring, Record Stag...1929; PRONI, Kenmare Papers. Prospectus of Estate for Sale... 1930; Whitehead ... *Deer Stalking Grounds*... 1960.

Appendix 3. Synopsis of References to the Demise of Native Red Deer Throughout Ireland, except for the Population Remaining in Killarney.

County	District	Last recorded ref.	Source	Remarks
Galway	Connemara	1834	Thompson(13)	Only 13 remaining
Mayo	Erris	1834	Thompson(13)	Only 12 remaining
	Erris	1834/35	Tom Daly of Nephin (8)	Last two seen
	Remote parts	1846/47	Payne-Gallwey (6) - personal proof from friends	Last few killed by famine stricken people
	Achill	?	Payne-Gallwey (6)	Extinct long before Great Famine
	Mulranny - Ballycroy	1847	Payne-Gallwey (6)	Solitary stag shot - probably last of Mayo
Tipperary	Galtees	1840	Dr.Harvey in Payne-Gallwey (6)	'A small number'
Cork	Glengarriff	1850	George Jackson, Lord Bantry's Game-keeper, in Payne-Gallwey (6)	Some red deer still there
Sligo	Belmullet	1842 ?	Payne-Gallwey (6)	two hinds and one stag established themselves on private property - killed in a drain by workmen. Possibly escapes, according to Payne-Gallwey
Donegal		?	F DeVismes Kane in R Welch (12)	Single stag in Glenveagh - killed jumping off precipice.

Sources : As cited in footnotes 6-13, Chapter 4. Correspondence concerning the last red deer in Erris, on which much of Payne-Gallwey's accounts were based, appeared in the *Field* 11 April; 2, 9, 16 May; 11, 18 July; 1 August 1874. There were no references to the demise of red deer in Kerry, where alone the native stock were noted to have survived in the Killarney area - *Field* 2 May 1874.

Appendix 4 Numbers of deer in Ireland in 1851, by county and in holdings listed per acreage sizes.

County	Totals	up to 1 acre	2-5 acres	6-15 acres	16-30 acres	31-50 acres	51-100 acres	101-200 acres	201-500 acres	over 500 acres
Antrim	1054		1	10	20	5	3	113	2	900
Armagh	11		2	2	3	3			1	
Carlow	651							1		650
Cavan	299		3	16	17	1	1	3	248	10
Clare	159			3	1	6	7	8	134	
Cork	1895	13	3	10	33	9	277	158	642	750
D'gal*	27			8		2	9	1	7	
Down	702		8	6	3		5		483	197
Dublin	1006	7		26		1	29	117	826	
F'anagh*	443			24	15	3	94	27	153	127
Galway	751	4	2	11	15	1	1	314	112	291
Kerry	1054			8	1	1	10	2	632	400
Kildare	179	1	2	6			3	4	60	103
Kilkenny	620		1	1	33	10	2	174	127	272
King's Co	379	5	6	4	6	2	4		254	98
Leitrim	16		1	3	5	3	3		1	
Limerick	815	2	2	5	2	2	44	303	175	280
L'derry*	62				1	5	2	2		52
L'ford*	220				2	8	2	4	192	12
Louth	325				2		46	7	150	120
Mayo	314	1	6	9	5	1	13	62	181	36
Meath	282	12		1	6	10	17	13	49	174
M'ghan*	246	3	1	10	3		5	98	56	70
Queen's C	319	1	2	3	3	2	1	3	3	301
R'mon*	609		2	4	5	3		84	1	510
Sligo	240			3	14				100	123
T'rary*	1551	3	3	5	32	32	96	114	521	745
Tyrone	536			2	7	4	1	9	1	512
W'ford*	1534	1			6	1		11	504	1011
W'meath*	247		6	3	3	4	33	73	124	1
Wexford	290	3		2	7	12	14	250	1	1
W'low*	339		7			1	25		220	86
Totals	17175	56	58	185	250	132	747	1955	5960	7832

*Abbreviations for: Donegal, Fermanagh, Londonderry, Longford, Monaghan, Roscommon, Tipperary, Waterford, Westmeath, Wicklow.

Source: Summarised from *Returns of Agricultural Produce in 1851* Stationery Office (Dublin, 1852) pp 626-727.

Appendix 5 Nominal Rental Income compared to actual Rental Arrears in the Kenmare Estate, for Years ending at November, 1841 - 50.

Year	Gross Rental Income	Rental Arrears
1841	£25,763	£2,343
1842	£26,043	£1,354
1843	£25,759	£1,391
1844	£26,660	£1,271
1845	£27,283	£1,534
1846	£27,006	£6,175
1847	£27,482	£8,313
1848	£28,869	£14,973
1849	£28,357	£22,893
1850	£28,678	£27,806

All amounts rounded to nearest pound

Source : PRONI, D/4151/K/74B, Rental Ledger for Kenmare Estates 1841-50. Records of rental income and arrears, extracted and summarised, for the Kenmare Estate properties in Counties Kerry, Cork, Limerick, Kilkenny, Carlow and Queen's County.

Appendix 6 Kenmare Estate Game Accounts: Years Ending June 1875 - June 1900

Year Ending	Cost	Income from Kerry shooting	Income from Cork Shooting	Income from Glena Fishery
June 1875	£473		£150 J Wienholt	
June 1876	£551			
June 1877	£556			
June 1878	£526			
June 1879	£684			£150 Lord Headley
June 1880	£737			£150 Lord Headley
June 1881	£691			
June 1882	£528			
June 1883	****		£130 Captain Wade	£120 J Davidson
June 1884	****		£150 Col. Jenkins	£120 Thady Leary
June 1885	£435		£150 Captain Morrogh	£ 60 Thade Leary
June 1886	£424			£120 T McCarthy
June 1887	£331			£ 90 T McCarthy
June 1888	£460			
June 1889	£427			
June 1890	£586			
June 1891	£438		£ 75 Col. Jenkins	
June 1892	****	£500 Sir T Freake	£ 50 Col. Bevan	
June 1893	****	£500 Sir T Freake	£ 75 Col. Jenkins	
June 1894	****	£400 Thos Baring	£75 Col. Jenkins	
June 1895	****			
June 1896	****		£ 75 Col. Jenkins	£ 80 T Davidson
June 1897	****		£ 75 Col. Jenkins	
June 1898	****		£ 75 Col. Jenkins	£ 34 T Davidson
June 1899	****			£ 20 T Davidson
June 1900	****		£ 75 Col. Jenkins	

Totals rounded to nearest one pound.

**** From 1891 onwards the costs and part of the income of commercial salmon fishing on Killarney's lakes were charged to 'Game Accounts', resulting in a bias in the costs and income of game; these have been omitted. Sundry other items of 'income' - eg. value of game supplied to Killarney House, compensation for malicious damage to game coverts, sale of rabbits, etc., and small items of expenditure have also been omitted. See text for details.

Deer stalking lettings that did not feature in the Game Accounts are described separately in text.

Sources: Extracted and summarised from Kenmare estate accounts ledgers: PRONI D/4151/H/4, D/4151/H/5, D/4151/M/11, D/4151/M/14, D/4151/M/15, D/4151/M/16, D/4151/K/55, D/4151/H/24, D/4151/H/26, D/4151/H/7, D/4151/M/17, D/4151/K/56, D/4151/H/29, D/4151/H/30, D/4151/H/37, D/4151/M/18, D/4151/L/7, D/4151/H/41, D/4151/L/8, D/4151/H/48, D/4151/H/50, D/4151/G/22, D/4151/H/52, D/4151/H/53, D/4151/H/54, D/4151/L/9; and MHA, Kenmare Papers. Rental and Accounts ledger for half year ending 30 June 1881.

Appendix 7. Numbers and Species of Deer and Game Shot, Muckross Estate, 1901-07.

Year	Red Deer		Sika Deer		W'cock	Grouse	Pheasants	Snipe	Duck	Pigeons	Hares	Rabbits
	Stags	Hinds	Bucks	Does								
1901	13	-	9	2	532	5	54	36	42	29(?)	18	141
1902	28	20	29	1	395	4	53	52	49	83	-	1500
1903	25	10	40	20	335	26	31	73	52	27	18	30
1904	30	20	28	10	256	48	54	162	110	56	16	150
1905	30	19	23	27	208	80	28	57	145	7	18	116
1906	25	20	9	25	264	42	18	26	65	28	8	156
1907	26	14	23	22	211	29	6	19	61	25	7	712
1908	Unlet.											
Totals	177	103	161	107	2201	234	244	425	524	255	85	2805

'In 1907, 19 stags averaged 19 St. 7 Lbs., 6 averaged 19 St. 13 Lbs., one turning the scale at 27 St. 2 Lbs. The Japanese Bucks averaged 6 St. 13 3/4 Lbs. The Woodcock Shooting is celebrated and 500 birds should be got each season. The Wild Duck Shooting is also good and 120 should be bagged besides Teal, Wigeon and other Wildfowl etc. There is also a good mixture of Pheasants, Snipe, and a few Grouse. 28 Stags, 15 to 20 Barren Hinds and 15 Jap Does are usually allowed to be shot each season. The Salmon and Trout Fishing extends to about 3 ¾ miles, 3/4 mile being from both banks and 3 miles from one bank, also 3 Trout Rivers. Salmon in Killarney Lake'.

Source: E Patton & Co, London, quoted in Riney...Red Deer of County Kerry... p 85.

Appendix 8. Compensation for Deer Damage, Muckross Estate, 1900-1906

Tenant	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	Total paid
	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d
Tomies District								
Pk Courtney *Tomies*	------	10-0 -0	5-2- 6	10- 0- 0	5 -0 -0	8 -0 - 0	5-0-0	43- 2-6
John Sweeney *Ballinlough*	------	5- 0-0	3- 0-0	3 - 0- 0	5-10-0	9- 0- 0	10-0-0	35-10-0
Ml Shanahan *Tomies*	------	------	------	6-10-0	------	6- 0- 0	8-0-0	20-10-0
R Ferris *Gortadirra*	3-0-0	4-0-0	3-14-9	5- 0- 0	8- 0- 0	7- 0- 0	5-0-0	35-14-9
Pk Cremin *Tomies*	------	1-0-0	0-10-0	1- 0- 0	2- 0- 0	1- 0- 0	------	5-10-0
Tim Cremin *Tomies*	------	--------	0-10-0	0-10-0	1- 5- 0	0-16-0	-------	3- 1- 0
Ml Meara -- *Mahony's Estate*	1-0-0	1-0-0	1- 0- 0	1- 0- 0	1- 0- 0	------	-------	5- 0- 0
Totals	4-0-0	21-0-0	13-17-3	27- 0- 0	22-15-0	31-16-0	28-0-0	148-8-3
Upper Lake District								
John Casey *Gallavally*	------	------	------	------	8-5-0	------	------	8-5-0
Ml Tangney *Gearhameen*	------	------	------	1-0-0	------	------	------	1-0-0
Ml McCarthy *Looscaunach*	6-0-0	5-0-0	------	2-0-0	2-10-0	------	------	15-10-0
T McCarthy *Foardal*	------	------	2-0-0	------	2-10-0	------	------	4-10-0
Totals	6-0-0	5-0-0	2-0-0	3-0-0	13-5-0	------	------	29- 5- 0
Muckross District								
P Tangney *Cloghereen Upr*	3-0-0	3-0-0	2- 0- 0	2-0-0	3-0-0	2- 0- 0	------	15- 0- 0
J Lynch *Killegy Upr*	2-0-0	4-0-0	2- 0- 0	3-0-0	3-0-0	2- 0- 0	------	16- 0- 0
M Joy *Cloghereen Lr*	6-0-0	------	------	1-10-0	2-0-0	10-0-0	------	19-10-0
P Murell *Gortahoonig*	2-0-0	------	------	------	1-15-0	2- 0- 0	6-0-0	11-15-0
Tim Shea *Killegy Lr*	4-0-0	------	1-10-0	1-0-0	1-10-0	1-10-0	------	9-10-0
C Cronin *Cloghereen Upr*	------	10-0-0	4- 0- 0	4-0-0	------	4- 0- 0	------	22- 0- 0
J Neill *Demesne Lawn Field & Farm*	------	15-0-0	5- 0- 0	------	------	------	------	20- 0- 0
Jas Shea *Gortahoonig*	------	------	5- 0- 0	16-0-0	15-0-0	13-10-0	15-0-0	64-10-0
Ml & J Lucey *Ardagh*	------	------	------	------	1-0-0	6- 0- 0	10-0-0	17- 0- 0
Totals	17-0-0	32-0-0	19-10-0	27-10-0	27-5-0	41-0-0	31-0-0	195 - 5- 0
Overall Totals	27-0-0	58-0-0	35-7-3	57-10-0	63-5-0	72-16-0	59-0-0	372-18-3

Source: MHA, Ardilaun Papers. Particulars as to Compensation Paid to Tenants, and Copy of Return Sent to Lord Ardilaun by Mr Turner on 20th Nov.1906; and mss reports on deer trespass, 1902-6.

Appendix 9. Kenmare Estate: Stalking and Shooting Lettings, 1901/2 - 1919/20

Seasons	Kerry Shooting	Cork Shooting
1901/2		£75 Col Jenkins
1902/3	£100 Lord Mayo	£75 Col Jenkins
1903/4	£150 Col Peyton	£75 Col Jenkins
	£300 Mr Douglas	
	£150 Col Hall-Walker	
	£130 C H Akroyd	
1904/5	£500 Col Hall-Walker	£75 Col Jenkins
	£130 C H Akroyd	
1905/6	£130 C H Akroyd	£75 Col Jenkins
	£125 Major Waldron	
1906/7	£130 C H Akroyd	
1907/8	£130 C H Akroyd	
1908/9	£130 C H Akroyd	
1909/10	£130 C H Akroyd	
	£13 W B Bowden-Smith	
1910/11	£130 C H Akroyd	
	£400 Wm Birkmyre	
	£43 Mr Davies	
1911/12	£30 W M Bowden-Smith	
1912/13	£130 C H Akroyd	£75 T Copestake
	£635 John Bayley	
	£75 T Copestake	
1913/14	£635 John Bayley	
	£350 Stewart (Menzies ?)	
1914/15		
1915/16	£200 P La Touche	
1916/17		
1917/18		
1918/19		
1919/20	£600 Sir (?) Arnott	

All sums rounded to nearest pound.

Sources: PRONI, Kenmare Papers. D/4151/M/19, D/4151/H/58, D/4151/H/60, D/4151/H/61, D/4151/H/62, D/4151/H/64, D/4151/M/20, D/4151/K/111, D/4151/M/22, D/4151/M/24.

Appendix 10. Akroyd's Rough Shooting in Glenflesk/Rossacroonaloo, Co Kerry, 1903/4 - 1912/13.

Seasons	Pheasants	Woodcock	Grouse	Snipe	W'duck	Teal	Pigeons	Rabbits	Hares
1903/4		201	1	25	1		1	1	
1904/5	2	138		73	6	1		2	13
1905/6		132	1	78	1		16	2	11
1906/7		128		49			10		7
1907/8		136		11	1		2	1	2
1908/9	1	112		6			6	3	
1909/10		122	1		2		3	2	1
1910/11		166		38	1		1		2
1911/12		41		1			2	2	
1912/13		73		4	1				
Totals	3	1,249	3	285	13	1	41	13	36

Source: Summarised from Charles H Akroyd *A Veteran Sportsman's Diary* (Inverness, 1926) pp 333-6.

Appendix 11. Red Deer Stags' Heads, Muckross House, Killarney.

DATE	SHOT BY	No Points	Stones	Lbs (Weight)
1855	Henry A Herbert	12 (6 + 6)	---	---
1858	Rh. Hon. A Herbert	10 (5 + 5)	---	---
1858	Charles Balfour	10 (5 + 5)	---	---
1859	--------	8 (4 + 4)	---	---
1859	Henry A Herbert Coldstream Guards	11 (6 + 5)	---	---
1864	Captain Herbert Coldstream Guards	9 (4 + 5)	--	---
1864	Hon. Percy Fielding(?)	9 (4 + 5)	---	---
1864	Capt. Henry Herbert Coldstream Guards	10 (5 + 5)	---	---
1864	Capt. (Herbert ?) Coldstream Guards	12 (7 + 5)	---	---
1865	Capt. Henry Herbert Coldstream Guards	10 (5 + 5)	24	0
1867	Henry A Herbert Esq MP	10 (5 + 5)	17	7
1867	-- --- ? ------	11 (6 + 5)	19	?
1869	H A Herbert Esq MP	8 (4 + 4)	17	?
1869	? Sea Forth	10 (5 + 5)	17	0
1871	Captain C. Herbert	10 (5 + 5)	---	---
1871	John Ross	8 (4 + 4)	19	7
1872	John Ross	10 (5 + 5)	25	0
1873	Capt. The Hon. A. Dawson	11 (6 + 5)	27	10
1873	Capt. The Hon. A. Dawson	8 (4 + 4)	19	1
1874(?)	H A. Herbert Esq MP	9 (5 + 4)	20	12
1881	------- ? --------	10 (6 + 4)	18	8
1881	H A. Herbert Muckross	10 (6 + 4)	18	8
18?8	John Ross Muckross	13 (7 + 6)	25	0
1912	A V Muckross	15 (7 + 8)	28	2
1913	A V Muckross	11 (5 + 6)	27	7
1913	A V Muckross	12 (6 + 6)	28	12
1916	A V Muckross	12 (6 + 6)	26	2

An additional eight heads, with points of 11(6+5), 12(6+6), 10(5+5), 8(4+4), 12(6+6), 9(5+4), 13(7+6) and 13(7+6) bear no details.

Source: Personal survey at Muckross House. Numbers in parenthesis refer to the number of points on the animal's left and right antler, respectively.

Appendix 12 Returns of Commercial Stalking in the Bourn-Vincent Memorial Park, Killarney, 1934-63.

Season	Red Deer		Sika Deer*		Fees	Lessees
	Stags	Hinds	Bucks	Does		
1934	14		50		£250	Castlerosse
1935	17		29		£105	Baron Cunliffe
1936						*Unlet*
1937	9		32		£200	Castlerosse
1938						*Unlet*
1939	9		3	70	£ 20	(E O'Sullivan
					£ 30	(J Cudahy
1940			12	30	£ 20	Dr O'Sullivan
1941	10	1	19	11	£150	Castlerosse
1942	19	2	19	18	£100	Lord Kenmare
1943	5		13	7	£ 75	Lord Kenmare
1944	11	2	12	49	£ 25	The McGillycuddy
1945	20		4	34	£ 75	The McGillycuddy
1946	5	1	14	18	£ 30	(Major Ward
					£ 20	(Dr O'Sullivan
1947						*Unlet*
1948						*Unlet*
1951	10		25	12	£151	Timothy Lyne
1949						*Unlet*
1950	10		24	8	£100	Lt Col Waring
1952	8		9	6	£110	Timothy Lyne
1953	4				£ 35	Timothy Lyne
1954	1		5	3	£ 10	(Mr Smouha
					£ 10	(U S Officers
					£2 10s	(C J F McCarthy
1955			4		£ 10	(U S Airforce Officers
					£2 10s	(John Myles
1956			7		£ 10	(D McGillycuddy
					£ 15	(U S Airforce Officers
1957			4		£ 5	(Sir Richard Kane
					£ 5	(D McGillycuddy
1958			4	2	£ 12	(U S Airforce Officers
					£ 6	(Mr Bruen
1959			13		£ 21	(U S Airforce Officers
					£ 6	(C J F McCarthy
					£ 12	(D McGillycuddy
1960		3			£ 12	(C J F McCarthy
					£12 10s	(D McGillycuddy
1961					£ 10	(C J F McCarthy
					£ 5	(Mr Goody
					£ 10	(E Bohdanowiez
					£ 5	(Sir Richard Kane
1962					£ 15	(P Hitchmough
					£ 20	(D McGillycuddy
					£ 10	(C J F McCarthy
					£ 5	(L Neale
1963					£ 12	(C J F McCarthy
					£ 18	(W R Hitchmough
					£ 5	(G Husmann
					£ 5	(Ml Fleming
					£ 5	(D McGillycuddy
Shot by Lessees:	152	9	302	268	£1,772 10s	
Additionally						
Shot by Gamekeepers:**	6	15	71	386		
Totals	158	24	373	654		

*Sika male and female deer were described in OPW returns as Bucks and Does.
**The Gamekeepers may have shot more sika than recorded.
The highest numbers of deer shot have been taken in every case where any variations occurred when returns from the BVMP to OPW were repeated more than once in a given year. From 1960 the numbers or species of deer killed were not recorded in returns.

Source: NAI, OPW Files P. 7/80; D. 96/2/27; D. 96/2/32/40; D. 96/2/90; D. 96/2/90; F. 96/1/55/37.

Appendix 13 Records of Game Killed, Clonmeen Estate, for Seasons 1879/80 - 1891/2, and for Seasons 1894/95 - 1912/13.

Season	Rabbits	Pheasants	W'cock	Grouse	Hares	W'duck	Plover	Snipe	Teal	Pigeon	Landrail	Partridge	Others
'79/80			61					35					
'80/81			26			16		30	13				3
'82/83		6	21					25					
83/84		10	92			5		28	1				
84/85		20	91					12					
85/86		39	70		25		12	15				14	
86/87	160	82	101	11	31			30				12	
87/88	412	137	80		48			6					
88/89	1,540	213	90		50			5					
89/90	105	192	91					13					
90/91	2,367	98	107		25	7		27	15				
91/92	3,657	356	129		9	7		39	13			1	
****													
****													
94/95	5,725												
95/96	977	158	99	14	1	6	11	13	8				1
96/97	3,966	320	68	15	2	10	1	26	3		1		1
97/98	3,714	105	69			1		16	1				
98/99	2,742	312	109	10		7	5	15	2	21			
99/00	3,009	221	72	9		8	11	5	7	27	1		3
00/01	1,408	216	55	11		4	6	6		19			
01/02	1,899	360	54	24		11	1	6	5	24	4		
02/03	3,779	248	80	14	1	8	3	12	7	13			
03/04	3,099	260	103		1	1	2	26		23			1
04/05	3,656	196	96	11	3	6	7	26	6	19			2
05/06	1,385	307	52	5	2	3	2	8	4	12	1	4	2
06/07	1,225	249		6	3	8	1	3	7			9	3
07/08	3,083	249	46					1					
08/09	4,660	134	85			2		5	4	7			1
09/10	5,050	168	54					2	1	2			1
10/11	5,941	106	96		2	50	7	10	2	5			1
11/12	1,913	254	55			56		6	14	15			
12/13	980	288	123			44	1	15	4				
Totals	66,452	5,304	2, 275	130	203	260	70	466	117	187	7	40	19

* Records missing.
'Others' : Wigeon (6); Curlew (4); Wild Goose (1); Various (8).

Source: Boole Archives, UCC, Grehan Papers. BL/EP/G/360, Register of Game Killed 1879/80 - 1891/2, and BL/EP/G/361, Game Book 1894/5 -1912/13.

Considerably more game was shot by the Grehan family than estate records show; at Clonmeen itself, irregularly recorded, and during invitation shoots outside Clonmeen.

Appendix 14 Export of Rabbit Carcasses and Rabbit Skins from the Irish State, 1924 - 1960.

Year	Carcass wght: Cwts	Value £	No. Skins	Value £
1924	70,352	226,157	*******	*****
1925	50,296	184,385	*******	*****
1926	31,891	103,404	*******	*****
1927	28,056	84,038	1,303,363	29,740
1928	27,396	83,261	1,535,369	43,994
1929	25,125	76,221	1,355,565	39,380
1930	17,975	52,007	954,501	12,067
1931	14,285	38,392	1,031,712	6,980
1932	4,616	11,244	969,951	5,322
1933	909	1,045	882,165	4,147
1934	1,030	1,131	1,083,028	7,999
1935	5,802	6,443	1,663,544	20,049
1936	53,247	57,642	2,613,527	44,082
1937	82,340	90,749	3,789,566	61,761
1938	48,436	61,623	2,542,901	28,589
1939	12	35	2,862,648	37,001
1940	4,705	28,022	5,042,724	69,216
1941	6,830	46,170	9,911,400	306,342
1942	*****	******	5,079,120	197,439
1943	*****	******	********	******
1944	88,734	390,100	4,558,296	238,247
1945	72,454	305,863	5,203,416	293,844
1946	72,490	308,088	5,502,528	408,134
1947	50,324	216,479	4,319,448	284,416
1948	37,208	159,148	3,035,796	171,004
1949	29,655	125,548	2,527,032	60,309
1950	68,899	363,572	3,138,636	99,027
1951	137,108	1,102,870	4,704,180	155,604
1952	132,511	839,792	4,094,076	70,594
1953	96,840	589,735	4,881,048	126,950
1954	93,085	546,497	9,884 cwt	162,316
1955	16,289	116,637	1,547 cwt	57,646
1956	224	2,710	54 cwt	3,854
1957	725	6,870	76 cwt	3,524
1958	1,876	19,390	353 cwt	11,321
1959	3,257	35,894	451 cwt	18,299
1960	3,739	47,777	468 cwt	19,791
Totals	1,378,721Cwts.	£6,328,939	84,585,540 + 12,833 Cwts	£3,098,988

* No records.

Source: Summarised from CSO, *Trade and Shipping Statistics* (GPSO, Dublin, 1924 - 1960).

Note: For 1939 to 1953, rabbit skins exported were recorded per dozen. These have been converted to single numbers. For 1954 and onwards, rabbit skins exported were recorded by weight. For comparative purposes, CSO then converted 1953 numbers to weight, and on the basis of that conversion (one cwt = c.486 skins), the 12,833 cwts exported from 1954-60 would amount to c.6,236,800 skins. This would give a total of over 90, 822, 000 rabbit skins exported in 33 years, 1927-60 (1943 missing).

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