



CARLOVIANA



Journal of the Old Carlow Society

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Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité

United North and South.

Those ideals which embraced the American Civil war of Independence and the French Revolution inspired the Irish insurrection of two hundred years ago. Liberty, Equality and Fraternity of the people of this nation was the basis on which the society of United Irishmen was founded by Wolf Tone, Rowan Hamilton and Napper Tandy in the northern city of Belfast, in December, 1791. *Catholic Protestant and Dissenter* joined together in a common search for a just society.

For centuries men and women have searched for social justice. Plato in his work the *Republic*, envisaged such a society in the 5th century B.C.

The men and women of Carlow, in 1798, pursued that goal, and many gave up their lives. In this Bicentenary year, we honour their memory and the sacrifice they made.

The 200- year commemoration of the 1798 Insurrection is to be celebrated on an international, national and local scale, the Government has announced.

It is hoped that the Bicentenary commemorations in Carlow and throughout the country will adopt a pluralist, non sectarian approach reflecting the vision of the United Irishmen.

The Ulster dimension, especially the enormous contribution of the Presbyterian tradition based on justice, equality and liberty must be acknowledged.

Editors' desk

We acknowledge with grateful thanks the efforts of our contributors written and photographic and sponsors. In especial we thank the Nationalist & Leinster Times for access to its files and allowing helpful extracts to be used.

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The Battle of Carlow

— 1798 —

To-night I propose to give you a short account of the Battle of Carlow, which took place 150 years ago to-day: This account is taken from two different sources, and they differ in many details. The reason that I can see for the differences in the details of the actual happenings of that tragic morning is that the attack took place in the early hours. A big proportion of the attacking force was completely wiped and those who survived could hardly be blamed for not revealing the facts of the attack as such an admission would practically sign their death warrants. Furthermore, the inhabitants of the town were so awed with the preparations they had seen the garrison making to deal with the attack on the town that they remained indoors during those terrible early hours of the 25th May, 1798 and knew next to nothing of what took place in Tullow Street and adjoining streets. Again the awful reprisals that followed the battle - the floggings, pitch-cappings and hangings - almost completely obscured in the minds of the people the events that had led up to these terrifying happenings. So we can see that a fear-stricken people could hardly be expected to be able to retain an accurate recollection of the battle, and as time went on the different accounts were circulated, each one giving his own version of what, at most, he thought had occurred in the street fighting.

The details of the attack

The details of the attack I now give you are those published in "The Nationalist and Leinster Times" 50 years ago on the occasion of the centenary celebrations. This account says:- Carlow being one of the counties organised by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, its leaders received word from Dublin to prepare themselves for action on the first failure of the metropolitan mail coach to put in an appearance. This vehicle always reached Carlow about 8.00 a.m. It did not arrive on the 24th May and immediately the United Irishmen of the neighbourhood betook

themselves to the appointed rendezvous at Viewmount (Browne's Hill). By evening a force of 1,195 men had assembled there including the following corps. 500 pikemen from Ballon under Capt.

This account of the Battle of Carlow appeared in *The Nationalist and Leinster Times*, May 29, 1948. It was compiled by the late JOHN ELLIS, a founder member of the Old Carlow Society, and was delivered at a public meeting in the Town Hall, Carlow, May, 1948 to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the event. William Farrell's autobiography was subsequently edited by Roger McHugh and published in 1949.

James Roche; 200 from Kellistown, Chaplestown and Ballinacarrig under John Murphy; 278 pikemen from Bennekerry, Rutland, Johnstown, Killerig and Pollerton under Capt Nolan. In the meantime a corps of 600 and 200 "gunsmen" under Capt. Wm. Murphy and Myles Doran was assembled in Ballickmoyler, Leix. This latter force was to march against the town and having arrived at Graigue on their own side of the Barrow were to fire three successive volleys as a signal to their comrades. Thereupon the body at Viewmount were to go into action entering the town by Staplestown Road and on through Tullow Street.

The Kings troops garrisoning Carlow at the time under a Colonel Mahon, were detachments of the 9th Dragoons, the Armagh Militia, the Durham Fencibles, the local Cavalry Corps of Yeomanry and the North Cork Militia in all about 2,000 men, according to an authority, L.G.

Kinsella. A few days before the attack an informer who had won the confidence of the insurgents, secretly informed the British Commander of the full details of the proposed attack on the town.

With the greatest secrecy the garrison were put into condition not alone to repel the attackers, but if possible to wipe them out to a man.

Yeomen and Militia positions

On the evening of the 24th May, the troops took up the positions assigned to them. A squadron of 9th dragoons was posted at Hanover Bridge, while Graigue Bridge was occupied by a strong Corps of Yeomen with two nine-pounders and Grape Shot, two companies of North Cork Militia extended from Bridewell Lane to Burrin Street and the Potato Market, another squadron of Dragoons was stationed in Coal Market; and a strong detachment of Durham Fencibles in the old graveyard of St. Mary's on Castle Hill. Most of the houses in Tullow Street and Barrack Street were taken possession of by the Yeoman Infantry, well provided with ammunition and in Barrack Street a wooden barricade was erected and manned by a body of troops and a nine-pounder.

Tactics

In order to lure the insurgents into the town Major Brown and a body of Yeomen were stationed in Staplestown Road, with instructions to retreat precipitately on the appearance of the attackers. This it was believed would encourage the latter to forget all caution and follow up in broken order. The scheme worked only too well.

The Ballickmoyler contingent, it appears started for their destination but on arriving in the neighbourhood of Graigue they learned that the Bridge was occupied by military. They decided then to retrace their steps, the chances of an encounter being no longer in their favour. The



Photograph taken at the 1798 graves, Graiguecullen, Carlow on the 25th. May, 1963, the 165th. anniversary of the 1798 Rising. Included in the photo are Fr. P.J. Brophy, St. Patrick's College; Mr. Sean Prendergast, Chairman Carlow Urban District Council; Mr. Desmond Governey, T.D., Chairman of Carlow County Council; Mr. John Ellis, Chairman of the Old Carlow Society.

First Communicants with wreath, Kathleen Doogue and George Power.

Photo: courtesy The Nationalist and Leinster Times

insurgents at Viewmount waited impatiently for the preconcerted signal, and none being heard, the Commander-in-Chief Capt. Roche finally decided to set his force in motion, hoping to capture the town without any outside help. Day was dawning when the Insurgents reached Staplestown Road. The four divisions were massed in one deep column, the gunmen in front, pikemen in the rear. When in sight of Askagh Bridge the insurgents perceived Major Browne's Corps., which immediately retreated as arranged and took refuge in the Barracks. The column continued advancing, but with such rapidity as to lose all regular formation, so that it entered Tullow Street a disordered mass. Not a sound issued from the grey closed up buildings of the narrow thoroughfare: not a soul appeared to be stirring within. The whole place wore a dead deserted look. Elated over the prospects of an easy victory the Crippies burst into a shout of exultation,

but scarcely had its last echoes died away than almost as if by magic the window shutters on all sides flew open and a fearful volley brought down half a hundred of them. From every house and roof top lead rained on the assailants.

Valley of Death

Veteran soldiers have been known to flee from less terrible an ordeal, so it is scarcely surprising that those raw fighters should have quickly lost their self-possession. In this shadow of death this mouth of hell, mowed down by an invisible foe, they were seized by an indescribable panic, and in their rush for shelter they plunged headlong into the royalist ambushade in Barrack Street. There they were caught in a murderous cross-fire that brought down whole ranks at a time, including every leader of importance. The poor fellows that had so far escaped the leaden hail, threw away their weapons and dashed into the houses

around, hoping to find security. This was far from being the case.

The troops, feeling that all danger of a hand-to-hand encounter was passed left their cover and proceeded to set fire to the dwellings harbouring the fugitives, altogether 150 houses were consumed, and with them 200 of the unfortunate inmates. Of the 800 men who had entered the Tullow Street death-trap 640 were shot or burned.

The other account of the Battle of Carlow to which I referred at the outset was one written by a man named William Farrell, a resident of the town at this time, and a member of the United Irishmen. This man in his declining years held the position of gate porter at the mental hospital and while there he wrote his reminiscences of the period 1795-1798; I think. I had the privilege of reading through this manuscript, an extract from which was

given in the 1947 Easter number of "The Standard".

According to Farrell the preparations for the attack on the town were of a more elaborate nature than those given in the account I have just read. He says the attack was to be made from four points. In addition to the attacking parties in Viewmount and the Ballickmoyler contingent, a party composed of insurgents from Ballaghmoon, Knocknagee and that district were to march on the town and enter by the Dublin road, while another party composed of contingents from Mortarstown, Ballycarney, Cloghna and Clochristic were to enter the town via the Kilkenny Road and Burrin St. and the United Irishmen of Carlow were to join the different attacking parties when they had entered the town.

Informer

One of the leaders of the Knocknagee-Ballaghmoon Corps according to Farrell, gave the information to the English garrison troops in Carlow of the proposed attack on the town. He furthermore, told his corps on the evening of the attack that orders had come from the headquarters' officers postponing the attempt to capture the town, with the result that this party did not march to Carlow at all.

The Ballycarney-Cloghna contingent when they came in sight of Burrin Bridge, found it occupied by the Dragoons, and retired down the Kilkenny Road, where one of their number swam the Barrow and proceeded to Graigue to discover if the Ballickmoyler contingent had arrived there, failing to contact them he returned and informed his comrades who then abandoned the idea of advancing into Carlow. This left only the force at Viewmount to make the attack, and William Farrell states that this party was led by a man named Heydon who had as his second in command a man named Berne.

Describing the advance of the Viewmount contingent into the town Farrell says:- in they marched, when they came to the Potato Market, the place appointed, they halted and commenced shouting for their friends to come to their assistance, but they shouted in vain. The friends they expected were too much terrified to stir an inch. When they found that they were left alone, they were seized by a sudden panic and some of them proposed to march forward and bring in the

Queens County men, but just as they made the movement to go on, there were two sentries at the Collector's House, a little below them in Tullow Street and one of them presented his piece and fired and killed one of the attackers. This single shot stopped the whole body. They then thought to go through Bridewell Lane and escape that way, but just at that moment Colonel Mahon who had been closely watching them ordered out a strong party of soldiers from the barracks, who taking them in the rear, had them covered the length of Tullow Street from the Fair Green to Potato Market, and opened on them a most tremendous fire of musketry.

The scene that followed could hardly be described; they flew like frightened birds; some down Tullow Street towards the Queens County; some across the Potato Market and down Bridewell Lane, being fired at from the windows as they went along. Others were so overcome with fear that they were not able to run away but forced in the doors of about forty thatched cabins that were on the spot, to hide themselves. In vain did Heydon call on them to stand and fight for their lives; he might as well be whispering to a tempest, and was obliged at last to run himself when all was lost, and saw his woe-ful mistake when too late.

Children, innocent and guilty died.

The garrison advanced firing volley after volley till they came to the cabins that were completely filled with the unfortunate creatures that rushed in. By this time there was not one of those who came in to be seen in the street except such as were killed and they were lying in heaps. The soldiers now having no enemy to oppose them turned their attention at once to the cabins and made short work of them by setting every one of them on fire and all that were in them, men, women and children, innocent and guilty, all burned together in one common mass.

Some of the unfortunate people rushed out of the flames, thinking to save themselves, but they were instantly shot or bayoneted, and even the people who rushed out of their beds with whatever covering they could throw around them shared the same fate. I knew one man myself, as peaceable and inoffensive as any man in the town, who ran out of bed in his shirt and an infant in his arms, who was shot dead at his own door, for orders had been given to spare no man who was

not in regimentals.

Though both these accounts of the battle of Carlow differ in many details, they agree that the failure of the attack on the town was due to two reasons: namely the warning given to the garrison by a spy or spies, and the total lack of military training of the unfortunate men who entered the town that morning.

Author's assessment

If I may be permitted to give my own opinion of the two accounts of the Battle, I am inclined to think that as far as the plan of attack is concerned, and its discovery to the garrison Commander in Carlow, Farrell's is the more reliable of the two.

There can hardly be much doubt that the plan for the taking of Carlow was arranged by the National Directory in Dublin, as the Carlow leaders were in close contact with it.

When one considers that Colonel Mahon posted his men on the bridge at Hanover or Burrin Street, and on Graigue Bridge, he expected an attack at both these points; also his strategy of having the small Yeoman force at Staplestown Road to lure the attackers from that point. It is remarkable that he does not appear to have made any provision to repel an attack either from the Athy Road or Dublin Road side of the town.

This surmise is strengthened by the fact that it is now known that many of the attacking party, who were trapped in Tullow Street escaped through the College grounds, entering it by the gateway that then existed at the end of Lowry's Lane. and leaving the College by a laneway, now non-existent, that opened on to the Dublin Road just above Court View. This clearly proves that the English Colonel knew the Rathnapish Knocknagee party would not march, as he had been informed.

One can hardly admit that the single shot by the sentry at the Collector's House in Tullow Street (where ever that may have been) was sufficient to cause panic amongst the United Irishmen; it is much more likely that there was a strong force at this point near Potato Market, who opened fire on the attackers, and stampeded them.

Clonegal

Before, during and after the 1798 Rising

Compiled by W.D. White

While other parishes and places had begun to feel the pressure of hard work for little pay and first signs of a new oppression in the early 1790's the working people and farmers of the parish of Clonegal had lived a sort of good life. This was chiefly due to the fact that there was a fair demand for barley and there were 76 barley growing farms in the area. There was also a large distillery and a number of malt houses in the district. In the middle 1790's the price of Barley began to fall and in 1797 the bottom fell out of the market when the English mainland were able to obtain barley from other sources at a far cheaper rate. This led to mass unemployment and left the area ripe for the agents of the United Irishmen to recruit members to their cause. The loss of work and the privileged position held by the so called upper classes had at this time driven many to desperation. The use of ballads and patriotic songs were used by the United Irishmen to gain recruits and when the rebellion broke activists quickly emerged.

United Irishmen

Foremost among those who took up arms were three Keegan Brothers (Masons) of Askakeigh, Michael Connors, a Blacksmith from the Watch-House, Whit Byrne, (Malster) Clonegal, the Clarke brothers, Thomas and William, (Slaters) from Ballyshonogue, Jackie O'Neill, (Farmer) Prospect, Dennis Beahon, (Schoolmaster) from Clonogan, John Mahon, (Farmer) Drumderry, James Ryan (Publican) Clonegal, John Kenny, (Labourer) Drumderry, John Short, (Farmer) Carhill, Brian Short (Tailor) Carhill, James Doyle (Carpenter) Ballyshonogue, Richard and Thomas Quinton, (Labourers) Garryhaston, Thomas Connors, (Carman) Ballyshonogue, John Keegan, (Tailor) Clonegal, Daniel Doyle (Labourer) Clonegal, Three Flynns, Monaghanrim, Three O'Donnells, Ballyredmond, Dan Murphy, Clonogan Cross, Jim Moran, Kilcarr, Andy Connors, Johnstown, Mylie Doyle, Ballyredmond, (Mylie was killed at the battle of Arklow and the Yeomen refused to allow his funeral to enter Clonegal. He was buried in his own land on the hill of Knockcorrigan), Bill Redmond of Springfield, James Kehoe, Moyletia, Hugh Keegan, Abbeydown, Several others including women, were involved in the carrying of arms, bringing messages, tending the wounded and other work for which some of them paid with their lives.

Returned Home

As far as is known only four of these men returned after the fighting. The others were either killed or had to seek shelter from the few gentry who would befriend them. The four who returned were Hugh Keegan (Abbeydown), Dan Murphy, James Kehoe and Billy Redmond. It was years before Clonegal again settled back to normal living but that eventually came to pass. The successes and tragedies which attended the men and women of Clonegal in 1798 were stark facts of their life, and only time could heal the wounds or soften the bitterness which it eventually did.

Malthouses

The Malt Houses of Clonegal, Drumderry, Johnstown, Watch-house etc. Simon Lacy had 3 malthouses (21, 26 and 42 gallon cisterns). He also had a large distillery at Johnstown. John Laffan, 26 gallon cistern, James Carroll 18 and 20 gallon, John De Renzy 21 gallon, Jim Redmond 25 gallon. Thomas Byrne 17gallon, Ralph Blayney (from Carnew) 19 gallon, Carollen had five in Bunclody of 17, 20, 31, 17, and 17. All these Malt houses were small and were affected by the lack of supply when the drop came in the price of barley.

Biddy Doolin or 'Croppy Biddy'

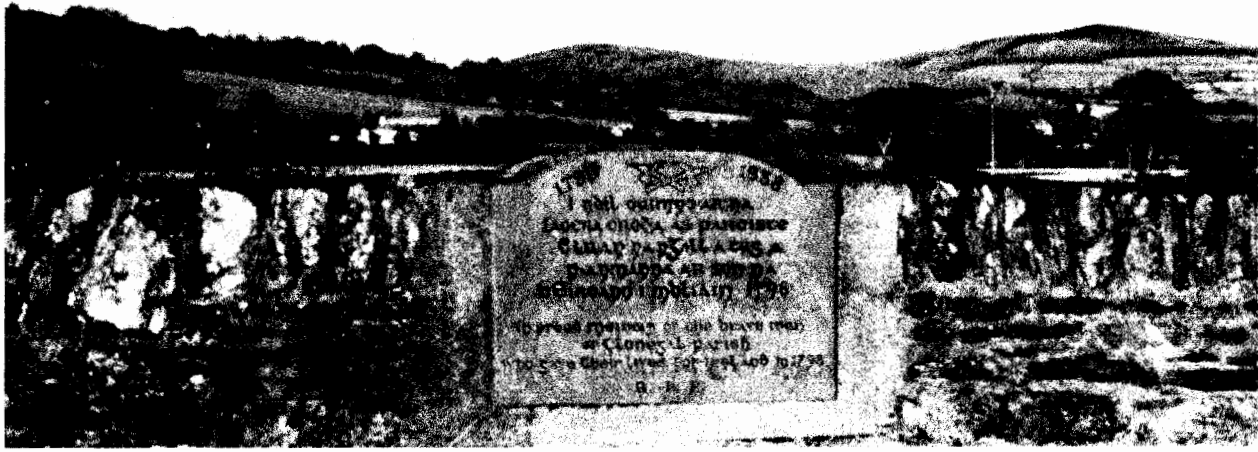
Perhaps the greatest curse of the Irish over the years, and especially during and before the 1798 rising, was the "informer" or Spy. This was evident at Carlow and again in other places during the rebellion. Clonegal too, had their trouble with informers and one of the worst was a woman - Bid Doolin, or "Croppy Biddy" as she was sometimes called. Bid had been a kind of nurse with the rebels early in 1798, before the fighting really started, she then went over to the Yeomen. A native of Co. Wicklow she went around with the yeomen pointing out those she claimed to have known as rebels in her days with the United Irishmen. She was based at De Renzys in Clonegal and often sat on the steps of the house and pointed to people passing in the street. Her activities extended to South Wicklow and North Wexford where she carried on her evil work. She is said to have sent more men to their death than any other Red Coat in the District. She often pointed out a man for very little, often it was said for spite. Eventually the fate she ordained for others caught up with her and she paid the price for her treachery to others. She was only 19 years old in 1798.

Six foot man with a 10ft. pike

Hugh Keegan, a mason, form Askakeigh fought in the battles of Bunclody (Newtonbarry), Vinegar Hill, Ballyellis, and New Ross. He was known as the "Six foot man with the ten foot Pike". He had made a reputation for himself as a man who did not know fear and was the terror of the red coats in many an encounter. He was captured after the battle of Ross and imprisoned in Duncannon Fort. He was sentenced to death and the night before he was to be hanged he was at the wall of the fort overlooking the sea, he decided that he might as well die trying to escape that night as wait to be hanged in the morning. He jumped from the wall down into the sea, a drop of over 150 feet and lived to return to Clonegal. The spot where he jumped is known as "Keegans Leap" to the present day. The story is told that following another skirmish his hiding place was revealed to the yeomen and this time he was hanged.

Pitchcapped

Michael Keegan, Hugh's brother, was pitchcapped by De Renzy, and in his agony jumped into the river Derry where he was shot



Memorial on the bridge in Clonegal

"In proud memory of the brave men
of Clonegal parish
who gave their lives for Ireland in 1798"

Photo: W. Ellis

while trying to escape. The third Keegan brother was hanged in the "Hanging Arch" in Clonegal by De Renzy. The "Hanging Arch" is the arch over the gateway into what was known as the parish yard, later the school yard, just above the old Rectory.

Deported

Whit Byrne was noted as a sportsman. He was very good at pitch and toss, marbles, dancing, pitching the sledge-hammer etc. He was involved with his father in brewing whiskey. He was noted for "Treating others" and was very popular. He enrolled in the United Irishmen and became a noted marksman. He fought in the '98 battles at Oulart, Enniscorthy, Ross and Bunclody. Afterwards he became a guerrilla fighter. He shot a teenager called Jordan in Newtownbarry. He was captured and deported to Botany Bay where he spent some years before escaping and returning to Clonegal. On October 16th. 1833 he married the daughter of a man called Paddy Kelly. Her name was Bridget.

Crawled 10 miles

Michael Connors, a blacksmith, from Johnstown, fought at Arklow and Ballyellis where he was wounded in the stomach. He crawled home 10 miles to die near the Watch-house cross within a few perches of his own home. The stone from his forge is still to be seen at the Watch-House cross.

The Battle of Bunclody, June 1st 1798

Following a string of successes the United Irishmen were planning to break out of county Wexford and link up with rebels in other counties. One of the points at which a break out was decided upon was Newtownbarry (Bunclody) on the Carlow/Wexford border. Some 2,500 men were allotted to the division for this task. They were under the command of Fr. Mogue Kearns with second in command Miles Byrne of Monaseed. Many thought it strange that Fr. Kearns had been given command as they thought he was lacking in military knowledge and tactical experience. The men were armed with pikes, a brass six pounder cannon, a howitzer and some swivel guns but only a few of them had fire arms. The column had divided into two parties and approached Newtownbarry along

both sides of the Slaney. They met little resistance on the way and arrived at the town about midday and halted to rest and review their position. It is possible that they had decided to attack from two points, Hospital Hill for those who had come up the left bank and Bradys Hill for those who had come up the right bank. Viewing the position Myles Byrne suggested to Fr. Kearns that in the event of a quick victory the garrison would retreat up Carrigduff and head back towards Kildavin and Carlow. He also suggested that they place either the howitzer or the six pounder on Hospital Hill to cover the Carrigduff road. Failure on the part of Fr. Kearns to heed this advice on military strategy was to prove costly in the end of the day.

The garrison of Newtownbarry was made up of about 600 men comprising the Newtownbarry and Carlow Yeoman cavalry, the 4th Dragoons and Yeoman infantry. As soon as the Newtownbarry commander, L'Estrange, learned of the approach of a large force of insurgents a dispatch rider was sent to Clonegal ordering troops of the Donegal Militia stationed there under Lieutenant Bob Young to march at once to the assistance of the Newtownbarry Garrison. Instead of immediately obeying the command Young spent two hours hanging four prisoners despite the fact that the "Gentlemen of Clonegal" and an officer of the notorious North Cork militia argued against the delay saying that the prisoners did not deserve to die. Young paid little attention to their urging to proceed to Newtownbarry and even when he was ready to march he brought his men the long way round through Kildavin and when he arrived in the town the battle was over.

As planned

The battle had gone almost exactly as Myles Byrne had predicted, the united men had taken the town with little loss and the defenders did as he had expected and retreated up Carrigduff. No gun had been placed on Hospital Hill to cover a counter attack and this was to prove fatal in the end. L'Estranges forces were met on the road between Kildavin and Carrigduff by a force of the Kings County militia who were coming to their aid and were persuaded to go back and make a counter attack. The Clonegal Force were in for the tail end of this engagement. When they entered the town the surprised insurgents were scattered and put up almost as little resistance as the garrison had in

the first place. They were driven out after holding the town for little more than one hour. This was one more case where lack of military tactics was to cost the insurgents dear.

Bagnal Harvey

Bagnal Harvey, the man who was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the United Irishmen before the battle of Ross, was well known in the Clonegal area. His mother was a Miss James of Urlands (Newry), Clonegal, and later his mistress was a Codd also from Clonegal. When Harvey and Colclough were captured on the Saltee Islands they were brought for trial to Wexford where they were sentenced to be hanged on the old bridge. When the officer-in-charge took Harvey's sword a young yeoman officer who was standing nearby asked the commander could he have it. Thinking he wanted it for a memento of the event the officer handed it over. He little knew that the yeoman who had asked for the sword was Harvey's own brother-in-law Ralph James of Urlands. Ralph James brought home the sword and later gave to another brother-in-law named Donohoe. It was through this family that the sword came into the hands of the Murphy's of Coolruss. It was wrapped in oil-skin and buried for some time in case it would be taken or fall into the wrong hands. Later, with the consent of the family, the late Mr. Dick Murphy presented the sword to the Wexford Museum at Enniscorthy. One of the conditions of the presentation was that the sword would be given to Clonegal for display if so required.

The Watchhouse village

The part of the village of Clonegal which is across the river Derry in Co. Wexford is known as Johnstown but in 1798 it received a new name "The Watchhouse". This was as a result of a hut being erected on the cross roads at this part of the village. In this hut were Yeomen or soldiers day and night. If a man wanted to bring a cow to Carnew fair he had to get a permit from the soldiers and if he did not sell the cow he had to get another permit from the Yeomen in Carnew to bring her home. The Keep Clonegal Tidy committee had a stone with the name "Watchouse" inscribed on it placed there in 1996 while the Wexford county council also erected a name plate in the village for the first time.

The Spy Bush

On a double "S" bend on what is locally known as the "Back Avenue" leading from the castle to the river Slaney stands a Holly tree which the locals call "The Spy Bush". The castle was built by the Esmondés on the site of the home of an Irish chieftain. Lord Esmonde married Ellice (Ellis) O'Flarthey, granddaughter of Grace O'Malley (Grainne Mhaoil) the well known hereditary Queen of Connaught, rival of Elizabeth. This marriage was later annulled on the grounds that Ellice was 'mere Irishy' and he was a Protestant. She used to go to this point to watch for the return of her husband and her ghost was often seen here after her death. Tradition has it that the local branch of the United Irishmen used to meet here in 1798 to avoid detection by De Renzy and his Yeomen and because they could, if danger threatened, retreat via a ford across the river Derry and also the Slaney. Suspicion grew that an informer was giving messages to De Renzy and a trap was set for him. He was exposed and hanged from the Holly Bush they used to meet under and his

dangling skeleton is supposed to be seen there at nights to the present day. Few Clonegal people care to pass by this tree after nightfall.

Brutally hacked

One summer morning in the year of Our Lord 1799, a farmer by the name of Kennedy left his home in Prospect, in county Wexford, to travel the few miles to the village of Clonegal, across the county boundary in county Carlow, to purchase goods for his family. He had only gone a short distance from his home when he saw a party of yeomanry approaching along the road. He became fearful for his life for he knew that although the '98 rising was over and peace had been restored to some parts, bands of yeomanry still roamed the countryside dealing out terrible punishment of those they came upon who were not on their side. They were the privileged ones who attacked if they felt in the mood. His fears were well founded for drawing their sabres they fell upon this unarmed and defenceless man and with the coolest deliberation almost literally hacked him to pieces. After leaving him apparently dead they galloped on down the road past his house. Fearing the worst members of his family came out on the road to search for him. They found him in a pool of blood and removed him to his house. They realised that the remains of life were ebbing so fast that the assistance of a clergyman was urgently required. They had been informed that Fr. Purcell, the parish priest, dare not, under the fear of his life visit the Kennedy home. As a result of this, his wife had her dying husband placed upon a car which she drove and brought him to the priests house near Clonegal. As soon as she arrived Fr. Purcell administered the last Sacraments of the church shortly after which the poor man expired¹.

May He Rest In Peace

Two miles north of Clonegal, on the hill of Knockcorrigan, on land owned by Mr. Hickey, and near the summit of the hill there stood a lime white-thorn bush visible for a quarter of a mile round. This bush marked the grave of a local insurgent of 1798 named Mylie Doyle, who was the owner of the land at time. After some years the old bush died and the locals planted another to preserve the tradition. This, sadly is now no more. Doyle was killed at the battle of Arklow and his friends brought his body home, intending to bury it in Clonegal. De Renzy and his yeomen met the cortege, barred his passage and refused to allow the funeral to proceed to the church yard. His friends then decided to leave the Carnew/Clonegal road and carried the body across the Derry and up to Knockcorrigan where they buried him in his own land. They planted the White-Thorn bush to mark his lonely grave on the hill top and in 1938 and 1948 locals climbed the hill to say a Rosary on the wind swept hillside in memory of one of the brave sons of Clonegal who gave his life for the cause he believed in.

¹. The facts are taken from the "Irish Magazine" of July 1810.

Front cover photograph: The Croppy Graves memorial, Graiguecullen, Carlow by Carol McDonagh

Back cover photograph: The Fr. Murphy memorial, Tullow, as captured by William Ellis.

Contentious

County Carlow Land Surveyors

Edward J Law

In late 1770 and early 1771 *Finn's Leinster Journal* carried a small series of advertisements from three land surveyors based in County Carlow. The *Journal*, founded in Kilkenny in 1767 and distributed throughout Leinster, was a very popular advertising medium, used largely by Kilkenny, Waterford and Dublin tradesmen, but also extensively for properties for sale or to rent over a very wide area. It is clear that it circulated widely among the gentry and nobility, and for that reason was patronised by those who provided services for the landed classes, including land agents and surveyors.

However, the series of advertisements here considered were only indirectly promoting the services of the advertisers. Their primary purpose appears to have been to denigrate the abilities of the opposition. The opening salvo in the affair was fired at Christmas time 1770 by Laurence Doyle of Ballon, a land surveyor and teacher of mathematics. By no means an unusual combination of occupations, indeed they might be seen as complementary.

Inaccurate surveys

His advertisement¹ concerned the abilities of Lawrence Nowlan of Fennagh "better known by the name of Larry Bollah, who attempts to measure land". Doyle contended that Nowlan had made inaccurate surveys of holdings of two namesakes, John and Matthew Nowlan, and offered to meet him on either holding to "show him his errors, as I have done in several other places". Clearly there was some history of rivalry between the two.

Early in 1771 Nowlan published his reply², prefacing it with a survey of the holding of John Nowlan of Ballon, one of those under query, taken by another land surveyor, William Thornton of Burton Hall. If the insults in Doyle's advertisement had been relatively restrained Nowlan was somewhat more obvious,

describing his adversary as "a pretended surveyor", and a "cobbling surveyor". He closed by stating that he would not enter into further contests unless a sum of money were deposited to cover the expenses into which such controversies would inevitably lead.

Challenge

Doyle seems to have allowed his ire to grow and ferment before publishing a verbose response a month later³. He commenced by belittling Nowlan's background and abilities. Nowlan had, it appears, come to the calling of land surveyor after serving his time to worsted spinning, something which Doyle stated, in prose befitting a school teacher, better suited him to "ornamenting his shoulder with a Sow-Gelder's Flagelet!" He went on to liken Nowlan to "an over grown Chimney Sweeper" who "became above business". Again he closed with a challenge to Nowlan to meet him on the disputed land to take field notes and prepare their calculations in the presence of each other. He would also, he notes, be prepared to have a trial of abilities with Nowlan and Thornton to see who is "the greatest cobbler in his business".

Final Salvo

A fortnight later the final salvo was fired in the form of an advertisement⁴ from William Thornton, who had been absent in Dublin. His missive is perhaps the more telling from the temperate language he uses, his dismissal of Doyle very effective: "If he (Doyle) be a Land-Surveyor, he must have sprung up like a mushroom, as through a course of nearly thirty years practice, I have neither heard of him nor any performance of his". In closing he notes that any further publications will be answered with "silent contempt".

This appears to have been the end of the matter, which was probably a great disappointment to the public at large, and particularly those who knew the parties

involved.

Discrepancy of six perches

And what, one may ask, was the cause of these acrimonious exchanges? What was the dreadful error in relation to John Nowlan's holding (under Mr. Edward Kinchella) at Ballon? The difference in survey which gave rise to the foregoing was *six perches!* Nowlan had surveyed the holding at 6A. OR. 9P., whilst Doyle, to the tenant's "great loss⁵" computed the area at 6A. OR. 15P. A difference of less than 2/3rds of 1%: of less than 4% of one acre! Men of great principle these eighteenth-century provincial land surveyors!

Amusing also informative

If, looking back, the incident is amusing, it is also informative. It is often the case that the minutiae of the eighteenth-century press yields, to the local historian, interesting information not available elsewhere. In this episode we are presented with useful background on three provincial land surveyors, and should be fortunate if we found much further information on either Doyle or Nowlan operating as they did from very small provincial towns. The most we might reasonably expect might be a few surviving signed surveys, unless either aspired in future years to a more exalted level, or indulged in further public argument. A little more information might be expected to be forthcoming on Thornton, who had been in the business nearly thirty years, an important piece of information in itself.

Certified Surveyor

Laurence Nowlan in his advertisement appealed to the public "with whom I dealt these several years past", and described himself as a Certified Surveyor. We have, from an earlier number of *Finn's Leinster Journal* information which confirms that he had a certificate, and suggests that he had been working as a surveyor since 1766. This evidence comes in an advertisement of 16th September, 1769.

Certification

I do hereby certify that I have caused Mr. **John Humphrey** of Killcarrigg, near Leighlin-Bridge, in the County of Carlow, Land Surveyor, to be duly examined in the Theory and Practice of Surveying, and that the said John Humphrey is perfectly skilled in the practice of surveying, and very capable of performing any survey however complicated, and of tracing from the Down survey or any other, and of reducing and enlarging Maps in any proportion with exactness. Dated at His Majesty's Surveyor General of Lands Office, this 17th day of August, 1769.

Richard Holmes, Deputy Surveyor General of Lands.

N.B. That the said **Mr. John Humphrey** and **Mr. Lawrence Nowlan** of Fenagh in the said County, Land Surveyor, and also certified the 24th day of July, 1766; intends for the future jointly to survey lands for the Nobility and Gentry with great expedition and exactness, and will also draw, or finely engrave on copper plate, maps for gentlemen, with every nobleman's coat of arms, with a distinction between mountainous ground and arable ground, rivers, turbery, woods, houses &c. and intends also to determine all errors committed by others.

The last phrase an indication that disputed surveys were in no way unusual.

It was another disputed survey which gives us the first of two further references to William Thornton. He advertised in *Finn's Leinster Journal* on 20 July 1768, the result of an independent survey undertaken to resolve a difference on an area independently surveyed by him and by Thomas Brown of Gowran. The lands were those of Low Grange near Gowran, County Kilkenny, and the difference was of 22 acres in an area of over 1,200 acres. Thornton was able to report that the two nominated referees computed the area to within 3 ½ perches of his own survey. The further reference noted to Thornton is a report of his death at Palatine Town, County Carlow in February 1772, when he was described as an "eminent land-surveyor and a man of unblemished character."

Sources:

1. *Finn's Leinster Journal* 26th. December, 1770
2. *Finn's Leinster Journal* 9th. January, 1771.
3. *Finn's Leinster Journal* 9th. February, 1771.
4. *Finn's Leinster Journal* 23rd. February, 1771.
5. *Finn's Leinster Journal* 9th. January, 1771.
6. *Finn's Leinster Journal* 28th. February, 1772.

Old Leighlin Man who represented Cumann Luth Chleas Gael

at the

Myles Byrne Ceremony

in

Paris in 1956

On Wednesday June 20, 1956 representatives of Ireland and France came together in Paris to honour an Irishman who won fame in both their countries. At Montmartre cemetery that day, General Sean McEoin, Ireland's Defence Minister, unveiled a memorial to Miles Byrne, '98 Wexford Insurgent leader, comrade of Robert Emmet, who fought in the battles of Bunclody, Ballyellis, Vinegar Hill, Arklow, Castle comer and Kilcumney, and, later, one of the most courageous Irishmen ever to pledge allegiance to France.

Miles Byrne was born at Ballylusk, Monaseed, near the Wexford-Wicklow border, in 1780. The Byrnes were tenant farmers of Capt. Thomas Knox Grogan of Castletown - brother of Cornelius Grogan, an insurgent leader executed on Wexford bridge in 1798.

In 1796, Capt. Grogan was given permission by the Government to raise a corps of yeomen cavalry at Castletown, four miles south of Arklow. Some time later, the Byrne lease came up for renewal and to procure the lease, the young Byrne's mother agreed to the landlord's request that her son join his yeomanry. Her husband, bed ridden at the time, refused to sign the lease with such a condition attached, and said he would rather see his son "dead than wear a red coat". The young man destined to become a gallant fighter in two lands was released from the obligation when his mother pleaded that, "in his absence it would be impossible to work the land".

After the Insurrection, the 18 year old from Monaseed went into hiding in the Dublin mountains and avoided arrest. Later, he joined the fugitive Wexford population in Dublin and became deeply involved in Emmet's conspiracy of 1802-1803. Such was his eagerness to be involved, he arranged the meeting between Thomas Cloney and Emmet that took place on the Green at Harold's Cross. He was disappointed at the total failure of the Rising of 1803 and later stowed away on an American ship and made his way to France. He spent the



Martin Lynch, Old Leighlin

Courtesy: Matt Lynch

rest of his life there and died on January 24, 1856 at his home in Rue Montaigne, Paris, never having returned to Ireland. This soldier d'elite wrote his memoirs in the 1850s.

Martin Lynch and the G.A.A were so much inseparable through the decades from the twenties as to become near legend. He exemplified that great partnership of people and the G.A.A. at all levels of the association. The Doyen of the G.A.A. in Co. Carlow was born in Old Leighlin in 1900. He played football with Old Leighlin and later with the famous 'All Blacks' and became County Board Secretary in 1929.

He was an outstanding Leinster and Central Council delegate for a quarter of a century. He was offered the secretaryship of the former body but declined.



Myles Byrne near the end of his days

Across the (Barrow) River and into the Desert

The strange true story of the last British commander of the Carlow garrison, Ernest Hemingway's truest friend, and playmate of John Charles McQuaid, later Archbishop of Dublin.

Martin J. Lynch



'Chink'

Major-General Eric Dorman-Smith

Family sources.

On a cold early February day in 1922, British rule, so far as Carlow was concerned, came to an end when Carlow Military Barracks were, as the Carlow Nationalist noted "..... taken over by the forces of the Irish nation, the (Barracks) oldest in Ireland, was witness to a heartening scene Perhaps one of the best comments on the incident was passed by one old lady who tearfully exclaimed 'thanks be to God'." It was handed over to a contingent from IRA HQ., at Duckett's Grove and who were led by Major General Lillis, whose daughter, happily, lives at Kilmeaney still.

The British Army C.O., who handed over the barracks was himself an Irishman and the subject of our story. He had spent the previous few months playing a half-hearted game (on both sides) of cat and mouse with the Irregulars in the then martial law region of Kilkenny. He commanded a detachment of the famous Northumberland Fusiliers, old regulars and like himself, veterans of the Western Front. This regiment had been the famous one which had been part of the force pinned down by the schoolboy Mauser's at the siege of Mount Street Bridge in 1916. This regiment, hated and despised both the Auxiliaries, and the Black and Tans, in whose hands law and order mainly rested. The C.O.'s home estate in Cavan had been attacked by Crown forces in the preceding months.

Baptism of fire

On his first day in Carlow, one of his armed lorries was seized and burned, and

three local girls had had their hair shorn for talking to soldiers. Later, a youth had been tied to the chapel gates, with a 'convicted for aiding the enemy' placard round his neck. The army though were largely then left alone with the IRA concentrating on the Auxies, and Black and Tans and the R.I.C. The officers were still welcome at the local hunt, at tennis parties and private houses. Unlike more violent areas Anglo-Irish officers were able, around Carlow, to regard Sinn Fein philosophically.

The Truce

The Truce on 16th July relaxed tension' still further. But "Kevin Barry" the song about that youthful Rathvilly medical-student martyr, was whistled so often at them in the streets that those stolid Englishmen found that they were humming it around barracks! Shopping unarmed in Carlow, the local Sinn Feiners would taunt them with revolvers and platoons of IRA men drilled in plain sight of the quadrangle. On August 13th, Sean McBride, a young inspecting IRA Officer, noted the strength at Duckett's Grove as being one battalion staff commander, six company commanding officers, nine half-company officers, 39 other ranks and five Fianna boys for cookhouse work. "The men are willing but untrained, arms in a bad condition. I have had to order a week's training immediately. No ink to hand, so I'm writing in pencil" (!!). Thus did the future advocate, C. in C. IRA and Minister in the Chlann na Poblachata Government note the need for rapid reorganisation in

Carlow.

Against them, had hostilities resumed, was one of the ablest but greatest might-have-beens of military history. British orders came from the Curragh 5th Division HQ by motorcycle as all other military mail was suspected of being intercepted! For once the Brits were right - at Carlow P.O. an IRA officer kept a kettle boiling ready to steam open all letters to/from the barracks! Did he casually cast aside the personal regular ones to the C.O. from the future author of A Farewell to Arms and Men at War?

Barracks take over

Finally when the Treaty was ratified, this great Irish son of Britain's military might, determined to withdraw with dignity. The Regiment held a ball, gave a variety show, two band concerts and had started to auction off superfluous equipment when the Free State Army announced the barracks were to be taken over as they stood.

The day of the handover, Major General Lillis, IRA, arrived in lounge-suit and Sam Browne belt from Duckett's Grove. Hands were not shaken and lunch was taken at separate tables in the Royal Hotel. The Quarter Master Sergeant handed over a meticulous inventory, beds, cooking equipment, furniture and lorries were handed over. Only the loved horses remained Regimental property. Ritually the Union Jack Flag was hauled down, the flag staff broken to prevent the Tricolour being flown on the same pole and then the IRA marched in. The Northumberland Fusiliers, mustering 23

officer and 338 men of the 1st Battalion, presented arms and marched out. Thus marched out of Carlow one of history's most colourful characters.

Irish born

Major-General Eric ('Chink') Dorman-Smith was born in Cootehill, Co. Cavan at Bellamont Estate on 24th July 1895 and he was christened a Roman Catholic locally. His mother though was staunchly Anglican. His two brothers were to be baptised in that latter denomination. The boy early showed a great grasp of both military history and strategy and showed great promise at becoming a great scholar. He loved and knew Philosophy, the Classics (read in the original texts), poetry, literature, genealogy, current affairs, obscure pre-Christian tribal movements, and much more. All of this later combined to render him a very 'odd-fish' in military messes and to aid in his ultimate downfall. As a boy, one of his closest intellectual friends and admirers to the end of his own days, was that other redoubtable resident of Cootehill, John Charles McQuaid, future headmaster of Blackrock College, Archbishop of Dublin, and co-framer of the Constitution. Together, both lonely, introspective and strongwilled boys played conkers, fished with worms and explored the estate. When McQuaid went to become a clerical student, young Eric became more and more prone to gravitate toward the servants' quarters and the rising whispers of Nationalist Ireland and the fall of Parnell.

When he entered Sandhurst, miraculously early in 1913, however, he had been both turned off the Catholic Religion and any latent anti-British feelings. He came 10th in his class, while the great future General Brian Horrocks, his pal and classmate could only manage 69th! Later Horrocks was to win fame in the armoured column drive on Arnheim in World War II and a place in Westminster Abbey! Smith was to be buried in an obscure Irish graveyard, unremarked and unheralded! On being posted to his first Regiment, Dorman-Smith received his nickname 'Chink' for his striking resemblance to the Indian Chinkara antelope, the regiment's mascot! He always referred to himself thereafter as 'Chink'. His regiment, the Northumberland Fusiliers (Fifth Fusiliers) has been founded from Irish followers of the Prince of Orange in 1694 who had followed him into English ser-

vice when he became William III. Kipling had drawn many of his famous characters from them and they claimed an ancient right to speak their mind to the Prime Minister if it was in the country's interest!

Wounded

All ranks, by 1914, were mainly Irish, recruited from Belfast and Dublin but NCO's and officers were nearly all English. Chink ended up in the retreat to Mons as the 'Guns of August' blazed forth, one of the last to pull out. He was wounded badly in the arm but his evacuation saved him from the almost entire annihilation of his regiment, as they and the Irish Guards fought to hold on in this nightmare debacle. He went back to survive miraculously the battles of Messines, Armentieres, Ypres and then to be wounded again in the leg in December. Two further later wounds to his back, resulted in a short nervous breakdown, and the award of the M.C. He recovered in time to participate in the Battle of the Somme, the only officer of his regiment still alive. All of this caused the Easter Rising to pass him by almost unnoticed. He began to note future tactical and personnel training requirements and to write about them. He finished his war with a Star to his M.C., mentioned three times in despatches and was sent to be Commandant, British Troops, Milan.

Friends

Here a young uniformed Red Cross Officer limped in on crutches, complete with his Croce de Guerra (Italy's second highest decoration) to a cafe where Chink was drinking. In a toast 'so we are to go on living' the young Ernest Hemingway introduced himself. This was during a period of Hemingway's life which is the subject of the current film 'In Love and War' and even more memorably features as background to 'A Farewell to Arms'. All based on this time of awakening friendship with Chink. Chink appointed him, in fun, his ADC a role proudly accepted by the writer and commemorated in:

*When you are picked up dead.....we won't believe you have gone
.....we have drunk too much beer
etc.*

To Chink Whose Trade is Soldiering
Hemingway, Paris, 1924

They were to be life long friends and

womanisers and Chink was to be either a side character or a lead in many of the Nobel-Prize Winners books such as *Green Hills of Africa*, *In our Time*, *Death in the Afternoon*. Chink even accompanied Ernest on his (first) honeymoon!

Drift

In his *The Sun also Rises* Chink becomes Wilson-Harris and unlike most of the friends Hemingway wrote into his novels, Chink was never exploited or parodied. But Hemingway's constant extra marital affairs caused them to drift. However, right up to their deaths they wrote to and loved each other. His final literary appearance was as the disappoint-



Chink on leaving Sandhurst, 1913

Family sources

ed American soldier Col. Robert Cantwell in *Across the River and into the Trees*, when Hemingway fully vented his anger at how his friend had been so curtly dismissed in the Desert War.

*I have failed and I speak badly of all
who have succeeded.*

The book was banned by his other erstwhile old friend, McQuaid! Through this cultured friendship, highly unusual for a British Officer of that day, he became an intimate of such writers as Gertrude Stein, James Joyce, Ford Maddox Ford,

Ezra Pound and Scott Fitzgerald, all that glittering Paris circle of the Twenties and Thirties.

Military strategist

His second last contribution to world-history was as Auckinleck's and the Irish General Richard O'Connor's, strategist. His plans, highly unorthodox, won the battle of Sidi Barrani in 1940, for O'Connor the first time Rommel was stopped. The First Battle of Alamein was won by Auckinleck again using Chink's plans in 1942, where the 'Desert Fox' was halted but not driven back. Chink's combination of armoured and infantry formations, later abandoned by his enemy Montgomery, foreshadowed Nato's tactics today. He fell out with Churchill and those other two Irish commanders Alanbrooke and Montgomery and was to be forcibly retired in 1943 but not before the map for Second Alamein was taken over by Monty at his HQ and ultimately turned back the Afrika Korps till they were driven to extinction based pretty solely on his ideas.

Return to Ireland

Then came the last perhaps most extraordinary, episode in his colourful life when he returned to take up his family estates in Ireland. He assumed the Irish form of his name, O'Gowan, together with an Irish persona, rejected the Britain he had served, and became a shadowy tactician in the planning of the 'moderate' IRA campaigns of the 1950's!

In the hazy summers of the 1930's a car had driven up the drive to Bellamont and disgorged the mysterious figure of the then new Taoiseach, Eamonn de Valera (friend of McQuaid's), to discuss with Chink the deteriorating international situation and how the Irish Army stood. No detail ever emerged exactly what was said but.....! In the shifting alliances of the 50's Chink's flirtation with Chlann na Poblachta prevented Dev. giving him the Ministry of Defence post which may have been the Chief's intent. The old English soldier and the IRA ex-Chief of Staff McBride became firm friends instead. (McBride had nearly met him 30 years before in Carlow when he had been

the young officer reporting to Dublin as I have quoted previously). But gradually Chink became disillusioned with Republican causes and spent his last years in arguments over his part in the Desert campaigns, still respected by IRA, Fianna Fail, both Churches and adored by his townspeople, while carrying on his last two love-affairs!

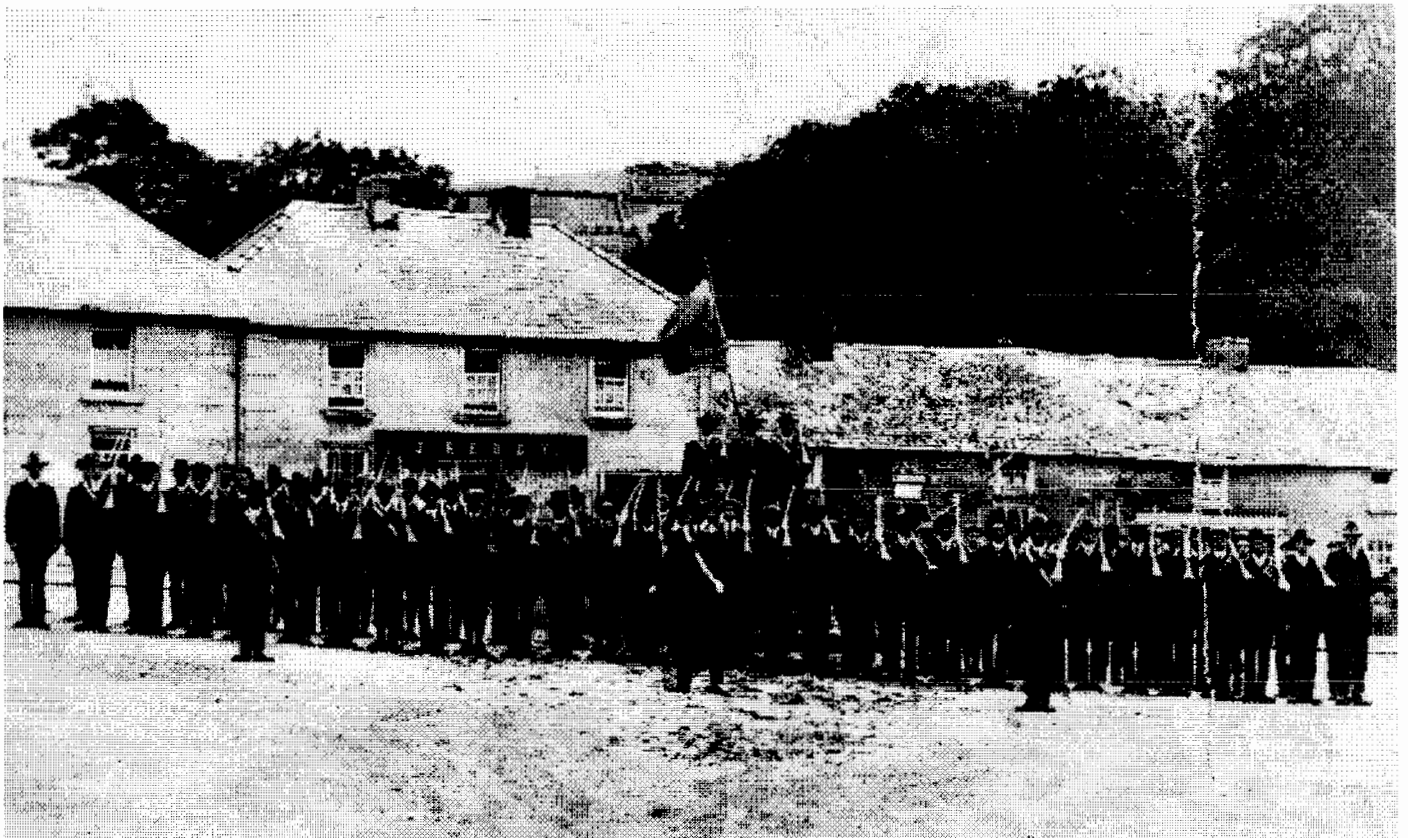
Demise

Following a bleak May day in 1969 this devoted scion of duty was laid to rest with only a handful of people at the graveside, in a joint Catholic/Anglican service (and no representative of either British or Irish Governments present) on a rain-soaked Cavan hillside!!

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Myshall



Training in the square c.?

Sir John Macneill's Chosen Successor: Bagenalstown Man, Samuel Downing Professor of Engineering at Trinity College, Dublin and text book writer.

Dr. Norman McMillan

Engineering as a profession developed at the end of the eighteenth century with the great engineering works of Thomas Telford¹ and other heroic figures that built the canals and roads at the time of the Industrial Revolution. Carlow's own William Dargan worked firstly for Telford on the A52 road project connecting London with Holyhead and thence Dublin. Dargan² went on to become Ireland's greatest engineering contractor and he employed many great Irish engineers the most well known of which were the Wexfordman John Blacker Vignoles³ and John Benjamin Macneill.⁴ It was the latter that contributed most to the fame of the philanthropic Dargan in his monumental works on developing the Irish railways. Appropriately, it was the pair who brought the railway to Carlow in 1855 and designed the wonderful provincial railway station that still stands in Carlow today.

Pioneers

In the first part of the nineteenth century Ireland had pioneered mathematical and scientific education in the British universities with a thorough going reform of the curriculum in Trinity College, Dublin through the activities of the Rev. Bartholomew Lloyd.⁵ It was only in the mid-century that Oxford and Cambridge began to introduce similar reforms of their curriculum and this only then under the impetus of Parliamentary Enquiries into the established universities in 1852. Ireland itself had acquired a proud engineering tradition by this time with the work of Richard Lovell Edgeworth on roads and carriages,⁶ Richard Griffith on surveying⁷ and in some other areas of mechanical engineering related to canal and railway construction all of which seem to be associated with the work of Dargan's engineers. Trinity in the 1820s and 30s boasted several internationally acclaimed figures in the field of mathematical science and optics with James McCullagh and William Rowan Hamilton, optics and magnetic studies with Humphrey Lloyd, and railway engi-

neering with Dionysius Lardner. With much young blood encouraged by Provost B.Lloyd's reforms, a strong policy was developing in the late 1830s to establish an Engineering School that was initially inspired it is believed by McCullagh. Indeed, Provost Lloyd had the pleasure at his last Board Meeting in Trinity of seeing a resolution passed to establish a School of Engineering. With the untimely and very sudden death of the Provost it was resolved by many of his followers that his last great project would be realised. In particular, his son Humphrey Lloyd took the political lead in this matter after this became stalled in the late 1830s. The deciding factor in moving the project forward however, was that the serious political agitation by the Catholic Robert Kane at the Royal Dublin Society which had succeeded in getting the ear of the prime Minister Robert Peel. It was rumoured that the Government was about to establish a large College of Technology in Dublin under Kane. Indeed the Museum of Industry⁸ was in 1844 hived off from the RDS. This showed that the prospect of a technological college was no idle rumour. In the event, this rumour proved quite sufficient in 1841 to galvanise the Board of Trinity into action. They committed to a proposal to move on a School of Engineering in an attempt to pre-empt this government initiative.

Staff

The Engineering School was duly established in 1841 with the following commitment of staff: Mathematics - Rev. Thomas Luby; Principles of Mechanics - Andrew Searle Harte; Practical mechanics, Heat and the Steam Engine - Rev. Humphrey Lloyd; Chemistry and Geology applied to the Arts of Construction - John Apjohn; Professor of Practical Engineering - John Macneill; Assistant to the Professor - H.L.Renny. Macneill was appointed in competition with Robert Mallet,⁹ who had sought Macneill as his referee for his own application. This was the first colonial chair of engineering to be established in the



Samuel Downing (1811-1882)

Courtesy of R.C. Cox, Senior Lecturer in Civil engineering at Trinity College Dublin.

English speaking world and was awarded daringly at the time to a self-educated practising engineer. In 1844, Trinity landed a big fish with the appointment to the Chair of geology of John Phillips. His tenure in the new school was however only a mere fifteen month. Phillips was only replaced in 1851 by the Carlowman Rev. Samuel Haughton who had been a student of the late Professor of Natural Philosophy McCullagh who had tragically committed suicide in 1847.

Engineering Diploma

Initially the Engineering Course was of two years duration and led only to a Engineering Diploma. This was extended by Macneill in 1845 to three years and remained so for the next 110 years. The engineering degree itself was not instituted until 1872.

Innovator

As with many of these kinds of daring innovations, the subsequent history of the school of engineering was shaped more by Macneill's successor Samuel Downing of Bagenalstown than by the great practitioner himself. Downing was born in 1811 and entered Trinity in 1829 from Kilkenny College. He subsequently studied Natural Philosophy at Edinburgh from 1834 after graduating from Trinity in that year with his B.A. He then practised in Northampton from 1847 with Hughes, and then significantly, with

Brunel on railway and bridge problems on the Taff Vale Railway. He returned to Trinity in 1847 as Assistant to the Professor on the resignation of Christopher Baggot Lane. This position came to Downing from Renny, who resigned in 1844 to be replaced by Lane. In 1851, he was re-elected Assistant Professor for a further five years, but one year later succeeded Macneill to the chair on the 4th December 1852. Macneill however retained until his death the position of Professor Extraordinary of Civil Engineering. The reason for Dowling's appointment is believed to be associated with the 1852 Dublin University Commission and the consequent pressing need to have in position an active rather than a titular head for the Engineering School. Macneill's involvement in the Engineering School was very limited and it is believed confined merely to examination of the students rather than lecturing. The routine work of the School under Macneill was almost certainly devolved to his Assistants. In the event, Downing drafted all 15 replies to the Commissions questions with the help of the School's other professors. The resulting Report was favourable and in particular commended the final examination and the introduction in 1851 of the Moderator in Experimental Physics. In 1853, Downing managed to get the Board to agree to the construction of new lecture rooms. In 1855 Downing consequently had the pleasure of overseeing the move from the makeshift accommodation occupied up until then into the new beautiful purpose built Museum Building.¹⁰

Downing on his appointment inherited this new Moderator in Experimental Physics. In 1853 the Rev. R. Vickers Dixon was replaced by the energetic reformer Rev. J.G. Galbraith who succeeded to the Erasmus Smith Professorship in Natural and Experimental Philosophy. This development within the School of Engineering is of some importance because early in the twentieth century it led to the establishment of the School of Physics. The most significant change in Engineering was however introduced in May 1860 when a Licence in Civil Engineering that was ratified by the University Senate. A mere one month later, the MAI (Magister in Art Ingeniaria) was introduced. Downing saw the first Licences issued in December 1860 and the first MAIs conferred when he and Macneill, Griffith and Mallet were all honoured by the univer-

sity with the award of a degree honoris causa. In 1873 at the age of 63 Downing was given life tenure to his chair after having to face the worry of re-election every five years from 1852. In 1864 the Model Room that Downing had established containing engines, hydraulic presses and other models was favourably commented on by the university's Museum Committee. His life, late in his career, was made somewhat easier by the employment of Henry Keating (LCE 1865) as a draughtsman at a salary of £120 per annum which was increased to £200 when he became Downing's Assistant in 1876. During these years of hard work, Downing undertook a very heavy teaching and administrative load, including the examination of the Degree subject of Engineering. The Engineering degree included also examinations in Geology and Mining and these were examined by his fellow Carlowman Haughton.

Macneill who was the author of a fine engineering book,¹¹ Downing was an author of it is believed two textbooks. The authority on Trinity engineering Cox¹² believed that "The elements of practical hydraulics for the use of students" (1855) and "The elements of practical construction in engineering and architecture" (1875) were important works. His works perhaps include one other book "A selection of specifications of public works" (1850).¹³ He published a few papers including a paper entitled On Robert Willis' laboratory experiment for measuring effects of dynamic loads on bridges,¹⁴ On the bridge at Goed-recoed on the Taff Vale Railway¹⁵ and on a demonstration model shewing the diagonal strains in wrought iron girders¹⁶ that appeared in the Transactions of the Institution of Civil Engineers of Ireland and one paper in the Proceedings of the R.I.A. on the Drainage of Haarlem Lake, Holland.¹⁷ He also produced one article on the New Carlisle Bridge.¹⁸ His work was therefore largely of an educational nature and this was assessed by Ronald Cox who wrote:

Important Era

Samuel Haughton resigned as Professor of Geology on the same day as Apjohn first offered to resign on his co-option as a Senior Fellow. He was succeeded by Valentine Ball. Apart from Downing all the Senior staff had either resigned or died within a year or so. Downing him-

self did not last much longer and died aged 71 on the 21st April 1882 after nearly thirty years in the chair. It was the end of a very significant and important era in the School of Engineering. The Diploma was replaced, first by the Licence and then by the B.A.I. The obituary in the Transactions of the Institution of Civil Engineers of Ireland was a glowing and revealing one. It stated that nearly four hundred students had passed through the School during the past thirty years and many had reached positions of eminence. Downing had a great skill as a teacher and was much loved. He never missed a single day and was patient, punctual and showed unwearied industry in imparting his varied stores of knowledge.

Eminent students

Many eminent graduates were produced in Downing's time. These included C.P. Cotton, eminent railway engineer in Ireland and President of ICEI., James Griffith who went surveying in Australia and taught in the University of Melbourne, Edward Townsend, Professor of Civil Engineering at Queen's College Galway, William Watson, Chairman of the City of Dublin Steam Packet Co., Clement Dunscombe, City Engineer of Liverpool and Chief Engineer of London City Council, W.A. Traill who built the Giant's Causeway Tramway, the first in the world to run on hydroelectric power, J.H. Ryan an eminent consulting engineer and President of ICEI, F.C.J. Spring who built railways and bridges in India and ended up as Chairman of the Madras Port Trust, H.D. Walsh, Chief Engineer of Sidney Harbour, J.H. Pentland Architect to the Board of Works who designed the post offices in James' Street and Ball's Bridge, Theodore Cooke, Principal of the Government Engineering College at Hyderabad, J.A. Anderson, Engineer in Chief to the Nirzam of Hyderabad and John Joly who became Professor of Geology in Trinity College.

School of Engineering acclaimed

Downing was succeeded in after his death¹⁹ by Robert Crawford and was an energetic, if as it proved, short lived new broom. The Scot 'Tommy' Alexander succeeded to the chair in 1887 to herald a period in which there was a significant broadening of the engineering curricu-

lum. The work of these two successors copperfastened the patient years of effort contributed by Downing. In his time the Carlowman had seen the School of Engineering become one of the most acclaimed in the whole of the British Dominions. Indeed for a very extended period the graduates of Trinity were the ones that went out to all corners of the globe to undertake the grandiose engineering projects demanded at this time by the expanding British Empire. Downing's monuments were not ones that he himself erected but were those rather left in the colonies by his students. What better and permanent marks of respect could be paid to any educationalist!

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- 14 *Proc. of the Institution of Engineers of Ireland*, Nov. 13 (1855) p.38.
- 15 *Inst. Civil Engineers of Ireland, Trans.*, Vol. IV, pt. I, pp. 23-33 (1851)
- 16 *Inst. Civil Engineers of Ireland, Trans.*, Vol. IV, pt. II, pp. 57-64 (1851)
- 17 *Royal Irish Academy Trans.*, Vol. XXIII, Science, pp. 449-460, (1849-56)
- 18 *Dublin Builder*, Vol. VI. no.103. p.54 (April 1, 1864)
- 19 Obituary S.Downing, *Royal Irish Academy Proc.*, Ser.2, Vol. III, Science, (Appendix 2) p. 220 (1877-83)

William Farrell describes the scenes at Leighlin

This was indeed a gloomy and an awful day. There were eight or nine prisoners in the guardhouse at the time. One of them was an old sailor of the name Mathias Lannan who was shot through the hand at Castlecomer; he protested most solemnly he was not engaged in the battle but was shot by accident. He was given to understand there was no hope at all of his life. All the rest were in the most dreadful apprehension of what would happen in the evening and everyone was endeavouring to make the best preparation he could.....

The friends of the prisoners during the day were coming with whatever assistance or consolation they could. Lannan's friends in particular, one of whom I think was his wife. He had them all employed abroad in striving to rall interest for him, but they all failed.....When he found this he began to settle his affairs as fast as possibl, which took a considerable length of time..... The military were in and out the whole time bringing various stories of the executions that were to take place in the evening. Sometimes five were to die, sometimes four, sometimes three, but who they were to be they could not tell. They only knew oneto a certainty and that was Lannan..... We were all on our knees to make the best preparation we could, for no clergyman would be allowed to assist us..... we continued still our prayers.

In a very short time the soldiers were all assembled at the Market Square anda guard sent down to us.....one of them called for Lannan.... 'Oh,' said his comrade 'I want another... William farrell I want..... I was walked out along with Lannan. As soon as we came to the Market Place I observed that the soldiers formed a hollow oblong, with a triangle near one end and about ten or a dozen officers in a group near the other. Lannan and I were marched up quite close to the triangle... Cornet Lowther... pulling out a large piece of paper read the sentance of death with awful solemnity on Lannan.... 'Well'said Lannan, as they put the noose on his neck 'the Lord have mercy on my soul.'

Alan Doran tells us, Mathias Lannan is buried in the grave marked Sparling in Old Leighlin.



This brief account of the history of the Tullow memorial has been compiled from a very extensive coverage of the event in *The Nationalist and Leinster Times* at the time.

Father John Murphy

and his faithful companion

John Gallagher

It is the tradition in Tullow that Bishop Daniel Delaney got an opportunity of pronouncing absolution on the patriot priest before he was done to death in the Market Square of the town.

-Nationalist and Leinster Times 3/3/1900

The memorial to the hero of '98, Father John Murphy of Ferns, which stands in the Square in Tullow, was unveiled ninety two years ago last July. The ceremony was the culmination of three years of intensive fund-raising by a committee headed by Mr. Thomas Bolger of Downings.

Mr. Bolger had been responsible for launching the project in June 1902, in a letter to the "Nationalist and Leinster Times", in which he recalled that nearly twenty years had elapsed since members of the National League of Tullow had contemplated erecting a memorial to the Wexford priest.

He said it was 104 years since Fr. Murphy had been killed in what he called "one of the most fiendish and dastardly outrages of modern or ancient times.

Suitable site

The question of a suitable site seemed to have been a problem but Mr. Bolger said that now that the Local Government Act was in force public representatives had sufficient control of streets and roadways to enable them to move on the matter without coming into contact with any other authority. The Act had been availed of in many places, such as Baltinglass, to erect memorials. Father Murphy's mem-

ory had been neglected for too long and that time had come to atone for that neglect.

Mr. Bolger's letter had the desired effect and within six weeks the "Nationalist" reported on a very successful meeting in Tullow Town Hall which elected a committee to further the project. Mr. Bolger was elected chairman and an initial sixty pound was subscribed by the attendance to launch the memorial fund.

Losing little time the committee drafted an appeal which was published in the local and provincial press. It was also sent to Irish Associations at home and abroad as well as to the Bishops and clergy of Kildare and Leighlin and Ferns.

The appeal was signed by Mr. Bolger; James Murphy, vice chairman; John Foley and Gerald O' Toole, Treasurers; and M. P. Maher, and James Maher, secretaries.

It said that it was in no sectarian spirit that they made their appeal but to give honour where honour was due. Father Murphy was no firebrand or fanatical bigot. He was a cultured, Christian gentleman; a kind and zealous minister of the gospel (who was) driven to the extremity of taking up arms to protect his people from oppression and nameless indignities.

Foundation Stone

Two years almost to the day after the inaugural meeting, the foundation stone for the Father Murphy memorial was laid in the square. The ceremony was attended by almost ten thousand people and by numerous representatives of public life.

The Lord Mayor of Dublin, Councillor Hutchinson; Mr John Hammond, M.P.; Mr. T.D.Sullivan, the well-known writer on nationalist affairs and a former M.P. were there and apologies were received from Mr. John Redmond, M.P. ; Mr. John Dillon; Mr. T. M. Healy and Mr. Michael Governey.

The "Nationalist" report described the gathering as "one of the very largest held in recent years". It commented favourably on the order and decorum which it said was due to admirable arrangements made by the committee.

The ceremony began with a parade led by the Tullow Father Murphy Band and the Tullow GAA and a brake on which travelled the speakers and members of the committee. Several other bands took part in the procession which marched through Chapel Lane and Mill Street to

the Green and on to Castlemore, where Father Murphy was arrested. It then returned by Tullowbeg to the Square.

Following the speeches Mr. Bolger laid the foundation stone-a large granite block with the inscription "1798 - July 17th, 1904."

Memorial designs

Following the success of the foundation stone ceremony, the committee returned to the work of seeking designs for the memorial. Designs were submitted by Messrs. Pearse of Great Brunswick st., Dublin; Messrs. Harris and Son, Dublin; Mr. G. Smyth, Dublin and Messrs. Walshe and Son, Carlow.

On the 18th of September the committee decided to accept the design of Messrs. Walshe, the Carlow sculptors on the production of a satisfactory model. All the details being agreed, the Committee fixed the date for unveiling the statue for July 30, 1905.

The "Nationalist" report of the unveiling in the issue of August 5, 1905 began as follows:

"Never in the memory of the oldest inhabitant of Tullow did such a crowd assemble in Tullow as that gathered on Sunday. Indeed it is doubtful if throughout the whole of provincial Ireland such a large assemblage of Nationalists has been witnessed in recent years.

"The occasion was that of the brave and patriotic priest and his faithful follower, John Gallagher, who in 1798 freely suffered death at the hands of the brutal British soldiery.....

"..... To ascertain the truth of the statement that the memory of the horrible crime is still green in the minds of the inhabitants of the town and district where the two victims to British tyranny were put to death, and that the crime has not been forgotten to England, one had only to go to Tullow on last Sunday, or even within three miles of the town on any side....."

The attendance included Mr. Michael Davitt, M. P. ; Alderman Cole of Dublin ; Mr. P. J. Lawler, President of the Wexfordmen's Association in Dublin and Mr. Michael Governey, M.C.C., Carlow. Letters of apology were read from Mr. John Redmond, M.P. ; Sir Thomas H. Grattan-Esmond, M.P. and Mr. John Hammond, M.P.

The procession from the railway station took the same route as that taken on the day the foundation stone was laid. At the

Square, the memorial was unveiled by the Fr. Patrick Kavanagh, the Franciscan historian and author of the "History of the Insurrection of '98".

Fr. Kavanagh said that Father Murphy was perhaps the most prominent and striking figure amongst the leaders of '98. "Nor was his fellow-sufferer, the devoted and faithful (John) Gallagher, unworthy of the honour that is today paid to his memory".

Fr. Kavanagh said: "I don't suppose that Irish history can show a greater figure than that of Father John Murphy, the priest and patriot and the martyr of liberty. Stainless as a priest, skillful as a

The memorial committee chairman, Mr. Bolger closed the proceedings with thanks to all who helped towards the erection of the statue and to "the magnificent attendance here today."

The crowd dispersed after giving three cheers for Fr. Murphy with "an energy that was quite deafening," according to the "Nationalist" report.

The Attendance

The report of the unveiling ceremony took up two pages of the Nationalist & Leinster Times of August 5th 1905. And the list of the attendance is very impressive.

Several bands

Six bands attended: The Tullow Fr. Murphy Memorial Band; Newtownbarry fife and drum band and pikeman; The Wolfe Tone Brass Band from Ballymore Eustace, Co. Kildare; Ballyknockan stonecutters' Brass Band from Co. Wicklow; Crookstown Band, Co. Kildare and St. Patrick's Brass Band, Borris, Co. Carlow.

And delegations came from many parts: representatives of Boolavogue parish; New Ross Board of Guardians; Enniscorthy Board of Guardians; Naas Board of Guardians; The Dublin Wicklowmen's Association; Arles, Ballylinan and Kilabban branch of the United Irish League; Blessington; Tynock and Kiltegan, United Irish League; The Dwyer and McAllister committee from Baltinglass; Ballon branch of UIL; Ferns; Belan, Co. Kildare;

Shillelagh, Co. Wicklow; Newtownbarry, Co. Wexford; Castledockril, Co. Kildare; Castledermot, Co. Kildare; Clohamon, Parnell's Cross and Kilmyshal branch UIL, Co. Wexford; Carnew, Co. Wicklow; Rathvilly; Kilmoate, Co. Wicklow; Clonegal, Co. Carlow; Enniscorthy '98 Memorial committee; Belfast Father Michael Murphy '98 Centenary Club;

Carlow Urban Council; Carlow District Council; Slievemargy Rural District Council; Carlow Board of Guardians; St. Patrick's Irish National Foresters, Carlow, Kildavin; Askamore '98 Association Co. Wicklow; and Arklow, Co. Wicklow.

The Memorial

The statue of Fr. Murphy was hewn from

a block of Sicilian marble which weighed six-and-a-half tons and the height of the figure is seven foot. three inches.

The statue stands on limestone pedestal which is 12ft. square and 14ft. high - giving a total height of 21ft. 3 inches for the memorial.

The statue and pedestal were executed at the marble works of Mr. J. Walshe in Castle Street, Carlow by Mr. E. Barnes, a Dublin sculptor who assisted by Mr. Walshe. They worked from a portrait of Fr. Murphy, supplied by Fr. McCrea, a curate in Clonbullogue.

The inscription, in Irish and English, reads:

Erected to the memory of Father John Murphy, Boolavogue, Co. Wexford, Priest and Patriot, and his faithful follower, John Gallagher, who were cruelly and barbarously put to death by English soldiers the Square in Tullow in 1798.

God save Ireland.

*Though they are gone, yet still lives on
Their fame although they have died;
And true men, like you men
Remember them with pride*

May they rest in peace. Amen

The following ballad records an incident of "98".

"The Hanging of a Carlow Boy"

"Early-early last Thursday night
The Myshall cavalry gave me a fright:
In my misfortune and sad downfall
I was prisoner taken by Cornwall,
In his guardhouse there I was tied,
And in his parlour my sentence tried
My sentence passed - and passed very low
Unto Duncannon I was obliged to go.

As I was going up the mountain high
Who would blame me then for to cry?
I looked behind me, then before,
And my tender parents saw, and ne'er saw more,
When my poor parents did hear the news
They followed me with money and clothes,
Five hundred guineas they would lay down
To let me walk upon sweet Irish ground!

They well guarded me through Borris town,
The bloody Orangemen did me surround,
The captain told me he'd set me free
If I would bring him one, two or three;
I'd rather die or be nailed to a tree
Than traitor turn to my country
In Duncannon was my lot to die,
And in Duncannon does my body lie,
And every one that does pass by,
Prays 'the Lord have mercy on the Roman Boy'

Nationalist & Leinster Times 27/10/1888

Who Fears to Speak of '98?

A PUBLIC

DEMONSTRATION!

WILL BE HELD

In Tullow,

On SUNDAY, JULY the 30th Next,

TO

UNVEIL THE MEMORIAL!

Which has been erected to the Memory of

FATHER JOHN MURPHY,

AND HIS FAITHFUL FOLLOWER

GALLAGHER.

All true Nationalists, who sympathise with the National Cause, and honour the men who died for Ireland in 1798, are invited to attend

SIR THOMAS H. G. ESMONDE, Bart., M.P.;
MR. JOHN HAMMOND, M.P.; MR. MICHAEL
DAVITT, MR. T. D. SULLIVAN, MR. MICHAEL
GOVERNEY, The Right Honorable the LORD
MAYOR OF DUBLIN; ALDERMAN COLE.

Other leading Members of Parliament and several local Nationalists will address the Meeting.

SEVERAL BANDS WILL ATTEND.

The Chair will be taken at 2 o'Clock.

GOD SAVE IRELAND.

leader, brave as a man, unselfish and self-sacrificing as a patriot, he claims all our esteem and admiration."

Michael Davitt

attended

Mr. Michael Davitt, M.P. - the founder of the land league- (who was "received with great cheering" according to the "Nationalist" report) said the monument was a testimony of your reverence and affection for the memory of Fr. Murphy. He had given his life just as the Protestant Henry Joy McCracken nobly sacrificed his for the same cause.

The seed of an idea sown by Michael Davitt at a Land League meeting on the Fair Green, Graigue, in 1885, germinated in 1889 and flowered in 1898 as in the Carlow-Graigue '98 memorial.

Croppy Grave honoured



At a meeting of the Carlow Gaelic Athletic Club on Tuesday, June 18, 1889, the subject of the "Croppy Hole" and its "neglected and discreditable state, exposed to desecration of every kind" was discussed. It was resolved to co-operate with Carlow-Graigue Gaelic Club in raising funds to enclose the ground and erect a suitable memorial. An editorial in the following week's *Nationalist & Leinster Times* described this decision as most laudable and deserving of support. The writer went on to say: "The spot' was left unenclosed and unmarked save by a tablet erected by one who had sufficient generosity to respect the memory of the dead patriots, although in religion and politics he differed from the popular side".

The tablet referred to was erected by Rowan McCombe, superintendent of the barrow Navigation Co., on a wall adjacent to the grave site. The tablet is now beside the cross on the grave.

Name changed.

Michael Davitt who had spoken at a Land League demonstration on the Fair Green of Graigue in 1885, referred to the "Croppies' Grave," describing it as "an appellation in which the people of the district should glory." He, however, had asked the people to change the name to "

'98 Street" and this suggestion was carried out by the town commission of the time.

Subscription were immediately forthcoming from the sponsoring clubs and from exiles in England and America but the event which gave the project the necessary impetus was the banning of celebrations to honour the memory of the Manchester Martyrs in 1889.

A warning was published that such meetings would be dispersed by the police.

Celebration in Graigue.

On the evening prior to the anniversary, Mr. James Carey, the secretary of the Graigue and Killeslin branch of the National League, and the editor of the *Nationalist &*

Leinster Times, Mr. P.J. Conlan, discussed this topic and these proclamations in the course of casual conversation. The question arose as to why there should not be a celebration in Graigue on the following day.

Also discussed were the identification and marking out of the spot which contained the remains of the men killed in '98 with a view to its enclosure and the erection of a memorial.

The project was agreed and immediate steps were taken to carry it out.

Although the demonstration was decided upon at short notice, it was an outstanding success.

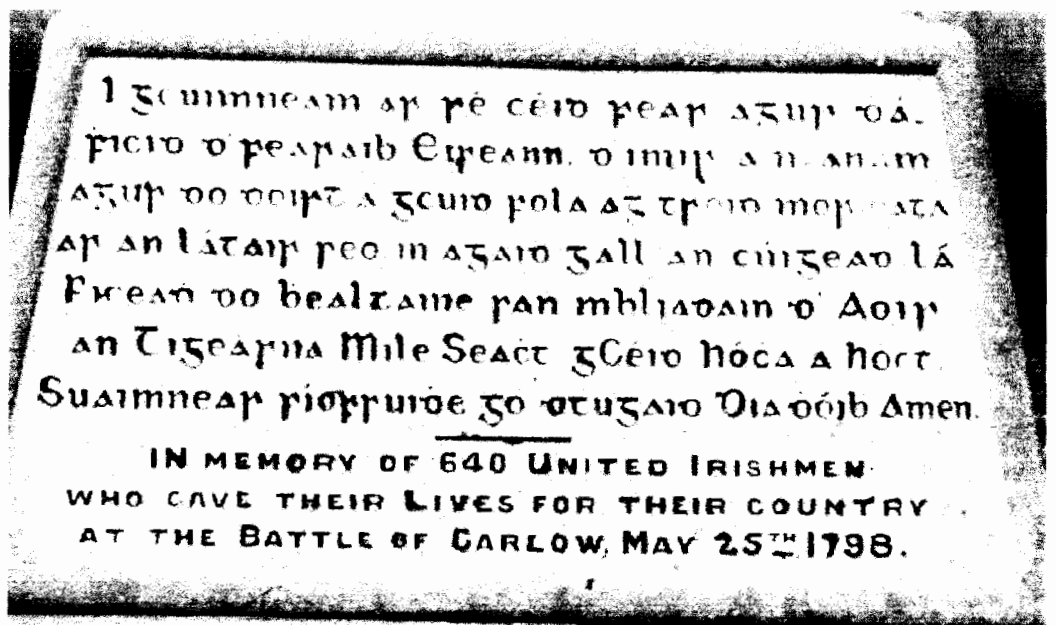
Owing to the inclemency of the weather, the meeting was held in the Hall, Henry St., Graigue, on Sunday,

November 24, 1889. Fr. Daniel Byrne, P.P., Carlow-Graigue, was chairman and during his address he said:

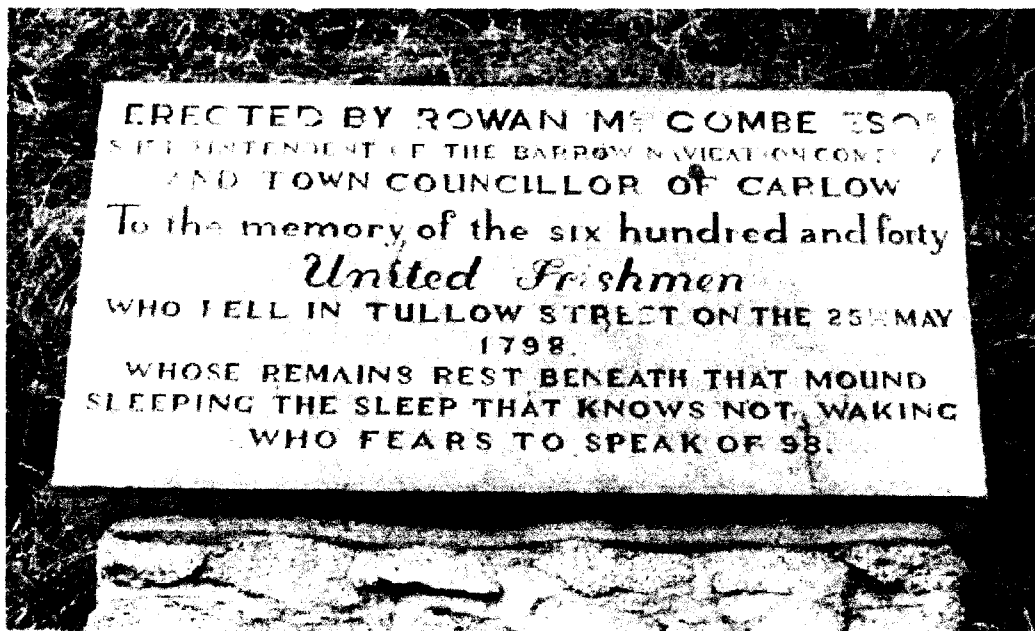
Ground not consecrated.

"I was always anxious that the ground where the '98 victims were buried should be enclosed and it appeared the Board of Guardians were the authority to enclose it.

"Some of the Guardians pointed out a difficulty that it was not consecrated ground, but three aged persons had come down and shown him (Fr. Byrne) the place where the men were buried and pointed out where the ground should be enclosed and they also told him very distinctly that on the occasion of one of the Bishops holding a visita-



Inscription on memorial cross, Croppies Grave, Graiguecullen, Carlow



Before the Croppy Graves at Graigue-cullen, Carlow was enclosed and the memorial cross erected, the site, the burial place of the victims of the 1798 massacre in Carlow was marked by the plaque over, erected on a house adjoining the the spot.

The person responsible for erecting the plaque was, Rowan McCombe, Superintendent of The Barrow Navigation Company who had sufficient generosity to respect the memory of the dead patriots, although in religion and politics he differed from the popular side.

Photo: P Godfrey

tion in the parish, he went in his robes and with attendants bringing lights and holy water he went down to the ground and blessed it.

"All this could be proved, and as nothing had been done by the Guardians or Town Commissioners, it became their duty to carry out this pious and patriotic work in a spirit of Christian charity and respect for the dead.

"Some discussion here arose about a tenant who had acquired a right to the Fair Green and had offered to give the site required for the enclosure free, but Mr. Carey insisted that the place was public property. The chairman said anyone who had a claim could make it, otherwise let no landlordism be mentioned.

"It was right and proper that they should take steps to have the graves of these victims of tyranny properly enclosed," he said.

"God Save Ireland"

The gathering then left the hall and marched to the Fair Green in a downpour and formed a circle around the ground to be enclosed. Fr. Byrne was then handed a spade and he turned the first sod to inaugurate the undertaking.

Fr. Byrne then asked all present to pray for those whose remains lay within the circle, the request invoked a heartfelt response. The attendance then joined in singing "God Save Ireland" and escorted Fr. Byrne back to Graigue Bridge where the proceedings were brought to a close.

The local police were completely in the dark about the "proscribed meeting" and appeared only at the refrain of the National Anthem. Most local police had been drafted to other areas to prevent demonstrations of support for the Manchester Martyrs which had been publicised. In June, 1890, the foundation of the memorial was laid, but the completion of the project was delayed by a "split."

Nevertheless, work progressed slowly and a fine enclosing wall coped with granite, and an iron railings and a gate were initially undertaken.

The contractors for the iron work were Messrs. Richards Foundry, Carlow. Dooley's garage now occupies their site.

In 1896, a final effort was initiated to complete the project by erecting a memorial cross in time for the centenary commemoration in 1898.

To further the fund-raising campaign, a demonstration

and hurling match were arranged in May 1896. The Old Guard Benevolent Union of Dublin organised special trains which carried 1,200 passengers including 300 from Athy.

Several bands

Five hundred supporters came by train from Kilkenny and large contingents also arrived into the town from surrounding districts.

A procession was formed outside the railway station with the Carlow branch of the Foresters (St. Patrick's) leading.

Among the bands accompanying the procession were the Phibsborough Band, Longford Street Fife and Drum Band, the Graigue and Killeslin Brass Band and Leinster Street and Barrack Street Bands from Athy.

The procession proceeded to Graigue where the local people had the route decorated with triumphal arches bearing national devices.

On arrival at '98 Street, a wreath of bead work with crystal centre bearing the inscription, "Who Fears to Speak of '98" was placed on one of the three trees which overhung the martyrs' grave, before an estimated crowd of

7,000.

Following the '98 Street ceremony, a hurling match was played at the Shamrock Hotel Paddock between Kilkenny Confederation Hurling Club and Dublin Celtic Hurling Club (result, Kilkenny 4-2 Dublin 1-5). A substantial sum was realised from the gate money towards the cost of the '98 memorial.

The committee worked diligently to have the celtic cross erected in time for the centenary celebrations and the sculptor was Mr. James Walsh.

A special meeting of the Carlow-Graigue '98 Memorial Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. James Carey was held on April 18, 1898 to decide on the wording of the inscription to be engraved on the pedestal of the memorial cross.

After some discussion the following wording was agreed. On the front panel in Gaelic and underneath in English:

In memory of the 640 United Irishmen, who gave their lives for their country at the battle of Carlow, May 25, 1798.

On the side panels in Gaelic and English was written:

"This hallowed spot was enclosed and cross erected by the Gaels of Carlow and Graigue and by numerous

friends at home and abroad, May, 1898."

Finally, on Sunday, July 24, 1898, the Carlow-Graigue '98 Memorial was unveiled with "a memorable and magnificent demonstration by the Nationalists of Carlow, Queen's County, Kildare and Kilkenny.

"The beautiful memorial cross in the neatly enclosed burial place was a worthy tribute to the United Irishmen

who fell on that ill-fated day of May 25, 1798."

Fr. G. P. Byrne, P.P. of Carlow-Graigue, was chairman of the meeting which followed the unveiling ceremony. Among the other speakers were: John Dillon, M.P.; John Hammond, M.P. and Fr. John Cullen, Adm.

In June, 1903, a letter was read at a Carlow UDC meeting from the Carlow-Graigue Memorial Committee stating:

"By unanimous resolution the committee expressed their desire to transfer to the Carlow Urban District Council, as burial board of the district, all their rights and privileges to the '98 Street graves."

It was decided at that UDC meeting to have the necessary legal steps carried out to have the graves vested in the name of the Council. This wish of the '98 Committee has not

been carried out yet.

But now, as then, there are still civic minded people who keep the '98 graves in immaculate condition on a voluntary basis.

This article appeared in *The Nationalist & Leinster Times*, June 16, 1989, and had been compiled from the files of the paper.

Part of the Roll of the 1st. Carlow Cavalry

from December 1796 - January 1797 and part from
December 1797 - May 1798.

Ms. No.8229 Manuscript Section, National Library, Dublin

Tommy Clarke

Robert Cornwall, Captain. Beauchamp Colclough, 1st. Lieutenant. John Butler, 2nd. Lieutenant. Rev. Samuel Lucas, Chaplain. Henry Bradley, Quartermaster. James Gregory, Adjutant. Thomas Butler, permanent Sergeant.
Sergeants Edward Cooke Thomas Bradley. Benjamin James.
Corporals Henry Bradley, Jnr. George O'Neill George Keating, Jnr. Ralph James Patrick Healy. (Trumpeter) Richard Shortle (farrier)

Privates		
Patrick Joyce William Bradley Robert Griffith Thomas Hollyman Caderwell Shepley Peter Salter William Lee Andrew Lee Hugh O'Neill John Little Thomas James William O'Neill Ralph Rickaby Nicholas Murphy	John Sheridan Bryan Farrell James Summers William Summers Thady Byrne John Hall John Purcell Michael Sheehan Michael Redmond Robert Jackson Denis Redmond Denis Doyle Richard Proctor James Doyle (Ballyellis)	John Doyle (Ballyellis) James Doyle (Kilbride) Martin Woonburne Patrick McDonald Patrick Breen (Monaseed) Patrick Breen (Castletown) Patrick Murphy James Byrne Daniel Byrne David Moran John Toole Patrick Maher Edward Fennell



Joe Hunt (RIP) and Kevin Kennedy looking at the headstone in the Abbey graveyard, Tullow marking the graves of William Kelly and William Murphy both of whom died 2 June, 1798. According to Fr. Peadar Mac Suibhne's '98 in Carlow, they were probably executed when it was found out that they were United Irishmen, although being Catholic members of the yeomary.



Photo: W. Ellis

No 2

8th July 1799

Maurice Kavanaugh
Narrant drawn
18th July 1799

The Court being assembled proceeded to the Trial of Maurice Kavanaugh Charged That he in performance of the Rebellion being a yeoman Enrolled and attached under the act of the 37th of his present Majesty did after such Enrolment Desert from the Corps Troop or Company to which he belonged and did join in the said Period Rebellion by traitorously by me to discuss Rebels the King's Enemies laying open War against our said Lord the King. And that he the said Maurice Kavanaugh in order further to promote the said Rebellion did on the 12th day of June 1790 being assembled with numbers of Rebels in arms. Enter the Town of Esmis in the County of Carlow and set fire to several Houses therein and partic-
 ularly to the House of James Early there. subject of his Majesty.

Carlow -
Wexford 18 July

Prisoner Pleads Not Guilty

No 21

1st witness Walter Kavanaugh Esquire Baron.

Question Do you know the Prisoner.

Answer I do.

2 Do you Command a Corps of yeoman in this County.

A. I do.

2 Was the Prisoner regularly Enrolled and attached a Member of that Corps.

A. He was an original Member.

2 Did he after being so Enrolled and attached Desert from your Corps.

A. He did.

2 Do you of your own Knowledge know of his having joined the Rebels after his Desertion from your Corps.

A. On the 5th of June the day of the Battle of Ross I was informed by my Lieutenant that he had Deserted and was away to the Rebels.

2 Was there any attack made on the Town of Esmis after .

Encl 18 Dec
3

Encl

58
2

- A. There was the 12th of June following.
- 2 What number of Rebels do you suppose Attached the Town
- A. Numbers of a thousand.
- 2 Was there any part of the town burned that day by the Rebels.
- A. There were a great many of the best Houses.
- 2 Was the House of one James Early burned on that day.
- A. It was.
- 2 Do you know of my having anything to do with the Rebels before.
- A. I do not, if I had you should not have been in my Corps.

End witness Edward Kavanaugh Esquire Lieutenant in the Esmis Cavalry soon.

2 Do you know the prisoner.

A. I do.

2 Was he a yeoman attached with you in the Esmis Cavalry.

A. He was.

2 Do you know whether he Deserted.

A. I believe he did, on the day of the Battle of Ross. I went towards postnominally where we saw the Rebels who

deserted after us, I was told by one of the Corps that the Prisoner intended to Desert I ordered him into Esmis but he declined, I after wards took his arms from him. I was told he Deserted after to the Rebels~

2 Was the Town of Esmis attacked.

A. It was and part of it burned.

2 Do you know of your own knowledge whether the Prisoner was at that attack~

A. I don't know except by hearsay.

2 Was James Early's House in Esmis burned on that day.

A. It was.

2 by the Prisoner. Did I not offer my arms to you before you demanded them~

A. No you did not~

3rd witness Samuel Little Baron.

2 Do you know the Prisoner.

A. I do.

2 Where you a yeoman in the same Corps with him.

A. I was.

2 Do you know anything of his having deserted his Corps.

A. I know of his having left the Corps.

2 Do you know of your going with him the 5th of June on any pretence towards the County Wexford and what particularly happened.

A. I went with him about half a quarter of a mile beyond his House he asked me to go with him towards Ross to see how the Battle was going on~

- 2 Did any Conversation take between you and the Prisoner that inclined you to believe which side the Prisoner would wish the Battle to go ~
- A. I don't think there did.
- 2 by the Court - Where you present when Lieutenant Karamnagh went to the Prisoner's Prison. ~
- A. I was.
- 2 Did Lieutenant Karamnagh ask him to Come up and join the Corps.
- A. To the best of my opinion and belief he did.
- 2 What reply did the Prisoner make to that order.
- A. That he would obey to take his position out of the Prison for fear it would be rumored that that he would Come and join the Corps the next Morning.
- 2 Did Lieutenant Karamnagh leave the Prisoner's Prison on receiving that answer.
- A. I believe he did.
- 2 Did you see Lieutenant Karamnagh Return to the Prisoner's Prison on that day.
- A. I did.
- 2 Did you hear what passed between him and the Prisoner on his Return to Prisoner's Prison.
- A. Lieutenant Karamnagh asked the Prisoner for his arms and he gave them to him.
- 2 Did you hear Lieutenant Karamnagh give any reason for his asking him for his arms.
- A. No. I did not.
- 2 Did the Prisoner join the Corps the next Morning according to his promise to Lieutenant Karamnagh.
- A. He did not ~
- 2 Do you know the Reason he did not join the Corps.
- A. I do not ~
- 2 Where you of the party or did you hear of Captain Karamnagh's sending to look for the Prisoner the day following.
- A. That is my knowledge.
- 2 Did you ever hear any reason given why he did not join the Corps.
- A. None except my hearing heard he joined the M.A.
- 2 Question - Did you hear any reason given for Captain Karamnagh's sending them parties out to take the Prisoner's Prison. I did for the Prisoner's hearing joined the m.

4th witness James Leann answers.

- 2 Do you know the Prisoner.
- A. I never know him before the day the Rebels came into Bonita the 12th of June.
- 2 Did you see him on that day.
- A. I did.
- 2 Was he along with the the Rebels.
- A. I did not see a man with him.
- 2 Did he take upon him to Command you in any way at on that day.
- A. He did not.
- 2 Did you see Carthy's Prison on that day
- A. I did.
- 2 Did you see a man in Carthy's yard with a Pistol in his hand on that day.
- A. I did to just out the line and the prisoner said he would not wish for live rounds it had been set on fire
- 2 Did you hear the Prisoner Command that Man to do any act on that day.
- A. I did to just out the line and the Prisoner said he would not wish for live rounds it had been set on fire.
- 2 Did he not advise you to just a green flag in your Hat on that day.
- A. He did for fear of how men that were around who were coming down the Road. I believe they were Rebels.
- 2 by the Court. What it before on after Carthy's Prison was set on fire that you first saw the Prisoner on that day.
- A. Almost at the same time for it was set on fire by a shot the noise of which brought me out of my Prison.
- 2 Did you go down immediately and overtook him before he got there.
- A. I followed him immediately and overtook him before he got there.
- 2 Did you hear the Prisoner give any orders or directions when he got to Carthy's Prison.
- A. Yes. I heard him order a Man to just out the fire ~
- 2 Did that Man obey that order.
- A. He attempted to do so but the Fire was too violent. he then said he would not have wished for live rounds that the Prisoner had been set on fire. that it was too bad and that there should be no more damage done in the Town.
- 2 That the Prisoner any arms on that day.
- A. He had a Sword.
- 2 Was he on Remondach on a Foot.
- A. On Remondach.

Patrick Dune Samon.

- 2 Do you know the Prisoner.
- A. I do.

- Q Do you remember the day the Town of Borris was set on fire.
 A I do.
 Q Did you see James Carthy's House in Borris set fire to on that day.
 A I did.
 Q Did you see the man that set fire to the House on that day.
 A I did..
 Q Had they not arms and did they not appear to you to be Rebels.
 A They were armed and appeared to me as such.
 Q Did you not see the Prisoner on that day
 A I did he ran thro the Town on Horseback.
 Q Had you any Conversation with him on that day.
 A On his return he desired me to put a green bush in my Hat~
 Q What distance does the Prisoner live from the Town of Borris.
 A About five or six miles.

The evidence on the part of the Crown being Closed and Prisoner put on his Defence says he has no xxx. that he was force do day.

The Court having maturely considered the Prisoner Maurice Kavanagh is of opinion he is Guilty of the Crimes laid to his Charge and do therefore Sentence him to suffer death by being Hung at Borris in the County of Carlow.

6201515312

Researched: Tommy Clarke

Sir Edward Crosbie of Viewmount Remembered

Anne Parker-Byrne

In 1798 the Old Military barracks was situated in Barrack Street, Carlow. It later became the County Home which much later was renamed The Sacred Heart Home. When the new hospital was built on the Old Dublin Road the property including the grounds, were purchased by a developer, J & L O'Toole Carlow Ltd., Ballon. The developer, Jimmy O'Toole is currently building on the site and has named it *Crosbie Place*. With so many "foreign" names being used by developers in the area, it is nice to see the past being remembered.

True, some of us remember but too many forget or do not care to remember. I have been asked many times in the past eighteen months "Why crosbie Place"? Where did the name come from?

As it will soon be the bi-centenary of 1798 Insurrection let us remember

Crosbie, who lived in *Viewmount* on the edge of Carlow Town, in those turbulent days of Irish history.

He had no knowledge of the intentions of the 1200 insurgents who assembled at his home on the night of the 24th May, 1798, the night before they marched into Carlow Town.

The British garrison was already aware of the Rebels intentions and set up an ambush. The Rebels were allowed to enter the town before the British military opened fire from their prepared positions. some of the rebels ran into houses to hide but they were burnt to death when the Crown forces set fire to the houses.

Half of the insurgents were killed and around 400 of them are buried in the "Croppy Graves" in Graiguecullen.

In the days following, hundreds of people were rounded up, tried before military courts and executed. Sir Edward Crosbie was among those.

It has claimed that Catholic prisoners were flogged and tortured to provide evidence against him and had been promised their lives if they did so. At his trial, witnesses in his defence, were prevented from entering the court by bayonet wielding soldiers.

Though no charge was proven against Sir Edward he was sentenced to death, taken out and hanged. His head was severed from his body and exhibited on a pike at the barracks in Barrack street for all to see.

One of the chief witnesses against Sir Edward Crosbie was a man named James Gaynor who claimed to have seen sir Edward on the steps of *Viewmount*

encouraging the Rebels. It later transpired that the man seen at *Viewmount* was Sir Edward's steward, Thomas Myler, an active United Irishman, who closely resembled Sir Edward.

Sir Edward Crosbie was, by reports, a good landlord and displayed sympathy with the poor Irish peasantry of the era. Mistakenly taken for one of the rebels of 1798, he paid the ultimate price, his life, in a case of what turned to be a mistaken identity. Or was it ?

It is fitting that he should be remembered, especially on the site of the Old Military Barracks, facing the row of cottages, also from that era, and known as Little Barrack Street today but previously known as Gallipot Lane. Some 200 years have passed since those fateful events. The Croppy Boys, Sir Edward Crosbie and Gallipot Lane are remembered. The Gallipot Cottages are inhabited with true Carlow Carlovians who remember the past with pride, and always will. They treasure their heritage and memories of days gone by.

Note

Let more developers, and the planning authorities, take note and remember Carlow's past when seeking names for developments, whether they be housing or otherwise.

Remember it is up to those who are interested to pass on to future generations a chance to remember the history of Carlow, both Town and County.



John Stieber

From Carlow

to the

Russian Front

Carlow in the thirties was a thriving, go-ahead, provincial town in which many cultural interests were pursued. The local industries provided plenty of good employment and there was a general air of prosperity. The Athy Road as well as roads and pavements in the town itself had been recently resurfaced, all of which added to the general appearance of tidiness.

The sugar factory brought an international flavour to the people of Carlow. Engineers had come from Germany, Czechoslovakia, Holland, Belgium and France and the highly-specialised sugar cooks were invariably Czechoslovakian. The foreign staff became well integrated in the local scene and, at worst, showed up in a humorous way the differences between people of this cultural mix.

My father was a chemical engineer from Austria and a specialist in the operation of sugar beet factories. After working for many years in this field in Czechoslovakia and England he joined the Irish Sugar Company in 1933 and was appointed to the Carlow sugar factory as assistant manager. My family consisted of my parents, my sister Erika, who was three years older than I, and myself. We lived at Straw Hall on the Athy road in the second-nearest house to the town.



As a young boy on the banks of the Barrow

I was not yet seven when I arrived in Carlow and I immediately took to the people, the town and the surrounding countryside. I remember social activities playing a big part in young people's lives, with children's parties, tennis and other competitions being the order of the day.

When I was later in boarding school in Germany, and a member of an ice hockey team, I embroidered the word CARLOW on my headband, as if I was playing for that town.

Most of our spare time was taken up with open-air activities. In small groups we would roam the countryside on foot or on our bicycles, invariably accompanied by a motley of excited dogs. In those days of traffic-free roads and an absence of criminal elements our parents would never worry, even if we stayed away for hours. Tree climbing was another favourite pastime and we used to scale tall beech trees right up to the swaying dizzy tops.

If anything, I think the tennis parties in Carlow were the highlight of our activities. There was no shortage of courts. The sugar factory had a grass court and two hard courts. The rector of the Church of Ireland, Canon Ridgeway, had a grass court, and Mr. Black, the minister of the Presbyterian Church also had one. After the competitions mountains of delicious sandwiches and cakes of every description were eagerly and quickly despatched by the hungry contestants.

There were many other pastimes, some of which are no longer in vogue. With our fretsaw-sets we made useful articles and presents out of plywood for other members of the family. We organised competitions using marbles and spinning our extensive variety of spinning tops. The freshly-concreted Athy road was ideal for our tops and we used home-made whips to drive them at astonishing speed along the road. One of our few sedentary hobbies was collecting cigarette cards which covered series of planes, cars, animals, birds, insects and many other interesting

subjects. We learned a lot from the information printed on the back of the cards and pasted them in special albums.

The river Lehr, a few miles away on the Athy road was our favourite haunt for swimming and catching minnows and the sugar factory's harbour was where I went to catch perch and roach with my fishing rod. The fast-flowing river Barrow was out of bounds for us and an occasional drowning tragedy emphasized our parents' warning. My only association with the Barrow occurred when my father took me canoeing in a rubber-skinned canoe which could be borrowed by the factory staff.

Pollerton Castle, in which the two Casey sisters, Emily and Florrie, lived had a particular fascination for us. We children were always welcome to play in the house with its impressive ballroom, and large grounds, and I still remember the strong aroma of fruit cake and tea, which were so lovingly served to us, whenever we came visiting. Emily Casey was one of the best-known characters in Carlow. Come rain or snow, she was out on her bicycle visiting people, always remarking what a lovely day it was.

Erika and I were voracious readers and visited the county library in the court house several times a week, always cheerfully helped by the librarian, Iona McLeod, in our search for new books. We would often peep into the courtrooms if no case was being heard and we never failed to be impressed by their majesty, especially the main court with its seats covered in luxurious wine-red upholstery.

My friends and I were all members of the Lifeboys, the junior section of the Boys' Brigade. We met once a week in the gym room of the town hall and I used to enjoy playing games and marching to music.

I have very happy memories of my schooldays in Carlow. After spending about a year in the Methodist school, run by kind Miss Dixon, I moved on to the National School in Barrack Street. Mr. Abbott, the principal, was strict, but just, and by coincidence married Dorothy

McMullen of Athy Road, who had acted as governess to Erika and me when we arrived in Carlow. Having previously been in school in Czechoslovakia, Erica and I needed some concentrated tuition to prepare us for school in Carlow and Dorothy McMullen proved to be an excellent teacher.

Many Carlow names have remained in my memory. Dr. Seale was our GP and Mr. Fletcher was our dentist. Duggan's and McDonnell's were our grocers and we got fruit and vegetables from Nelson's opposite the court house. Messengers would arrive at our house in the early morning to take the orders from my mother and would deliver the goods in time for lunch. I bought my Playbox, Hotspur or Champion magazine from Mrs MacElwee and my sweets from the Dempsey's, who had a tiny shop close to our house. Coleman's was the shop for all bicycle requirements and my father bought his cigars from two charming ladies in the Cigar Divan, which still had the homely atmosphere, when I last visited it, that it had in the thirties. Mr Beard developed and printed our films and I got my shoes in Poynton's in Tullow street.

My list of names could go on and on, but then, to me, Carlow has always been a very special place with special memories that remained with me all through my life. When I was later in boarding school in Germany, and a member of an ice hockey team, I embroidered the word CARLOW on my headband, as if I was playing for that town. To this day I have contact with, and meet, friends I knew in Carlow over 60 years ago and we speak with nostalgia of years which meant so



Stiebers' first car, an Armstrong Siddeley with their house on the Athy Road in the background

much to us.

In 1939 my life changed dramatically when, together with my sister, Erika, I was sent to school in Germany. Our parents probably thought we would be able to get back home quickly if the political situation became dangerous, but World War II broke out in September of that year and we became stranded. Our father appointed Oskar Soukal, who had been a fellow-engineer in Carlow, to be our guardian in Germany and to look after us until a hoped-for early end to the war.

However, events overtook us and after four years in boarding school my class was drafted to man an anti-aircraft battery in central Germany. A year later I was called on to do my three-month stint in the Labour Service and this was followed by conscription into the regular army. I became a member of the elite Paratrooper and Tank Division, Hermann Goering and after three months of gruelling training in Holland I was sent to fight on the Russian Front just after my eighteenth birthday. The uncertainty of my future and the chilling ordeals which I knew lay ahead of me were in stark contrast to the settled and idyllic existence I had left behind me in Carlow just five years earlier.

AGAINST THE ODDS,

Survival on the Russian Front 1944-1945.

In the following abridged extracts from my book I describe some experiences during my service in the army, as a gunners' helper in a battery of self-propelled quick-firing 20-millimetre guns. Each gun was mounted on an undercarriage driven by caterpillar tracks. The guns were highly manoeuvrable and much faster than tanks.

Under prolonged shelling

Near the end of August 1944, when I had been a 'war veteran' of just over a month, I had to face a big ordeal on my own. My gun-battery had taken up an elevated vantage position at the edge of a wood and the Russians were about a mile away. I was instructed to make my way to a prepared foxhole in no-man's-land from which I was to keep Russian forces under observation and make notes. After a long and laborious crawl I reached the foxhole and began my lonely stint that could easily last until nightfall. The foxhole was very deep, so I had to carry out all observations standing up. The only redeeming

feature was the almost idyllic location. A narrow stream between me and the Russians meandered through the small valley and behind it the rising ground was lightly wooded. It was also pleasantly warm; there was a light breeze and clouds were scudding across the sky. If the view had not been spoilt by the military array, it would have been perfect.

Standing in a foxhole in no-man's land was a new experience. It was as if I was suspended in limbo between two worlds and I felt disturbingly vulnerable. I had enough room to move around and could lean comfortably against the edge of the foxhole while observing the Russian units, but peering through the camouflage greenery was tiring and I began to get cross-eyed.

However, I was not alone in my vigil. Lying contentedly just a few yards away was a cow. She never moved from the spot, as she lay there chewing her cud and looking at me with her huge eyes betraying just a hint of dolefulness. I could not tell if she was hurt, or why she never moved, but felt glad that her presence was helping to alleviate any suspicions the Russian may have had of a German soldier being nearby. At the same time I was concerned that 'Daisybell,' as I had now fondly christened her, might decide to move and block my view. It could turn out very hard to shift her without alerting the Russians to what was going on. That I called the cow 'Daisybell' was just another example of the fact that I was still doing some of my thinking in English.

An hour passed while I made notes on Russian tanks, armoured vehicles, trucks and troop numbers, but then came a jarring development. I heard the whistle of a shell coming in my direction and knew it was going to hit the ground not very far from my foxhole. I ducked well down as it exploded about fifty yards behind me. Soon more shells came whistling over, and they were getting closer.

As time went by the Russians began to step up their rate of fire. Gradually their accuracy also improved and I found myself occasionally being showered with soil thrown up from small craters that appeared around me. Then the situation began to get desperate. The sudden, short whistle of a shell warned me that I was in for a direct hit and I flung myself down onto the bottom of my foxhole. The next moment there was a deafening crash as a shell exploded right beside me. I felt numbed and dizzy as my breath was whipped away by a blast of dust and fumes when one wall of the foxhole was

blown in.

I was buried under a mound of soil until I groggily managed to force my body back up through it. Desperately gasping for breath, I began to choke when all I got was air still laden with dust and cordite fumes. Before I had fully recovered, I was urgently re-excavating my protective foxhole, now reduced to a shallow crater. Using a short army spade I tried to work unobtrusively and then replaced the camouflage.

I could not believe my eyes when I suddenly noticed 'Daisybell.' There she lay, as if nothing had happened, the expression on her large face quite unchanged. I myself was still numb and my ears had not stopped ringing, while I felt a claustrophobic helplessness, restricted as I was to just a hole in the ground.

Over the next few hours the pattern of events was repeated without change. The Russians continued to fire in fits and bursts; I had more occasions to dig myself free after near-misses and 'Daisybell' also survived, as inscrutable as ever. Amazing as it was that I had not been killed, it was an even greater miracle that my cow was unhurt and seemed to be immune to the shells exploding around her. She did not even utter one single Moo! of complaint.

Eventually darkness fell and I decided to make my way back to the battery. At that moment I heard the din of fierce fighting suddenly erupt from the direction of my battery. The sound of machine-gun and rifle fire mingled with heavy explosions and I could hear the hard revving of the engines of our self-propelled guns. The next moment I was sprinting for all I was worth across the churned-up ground towards the battle-scene.

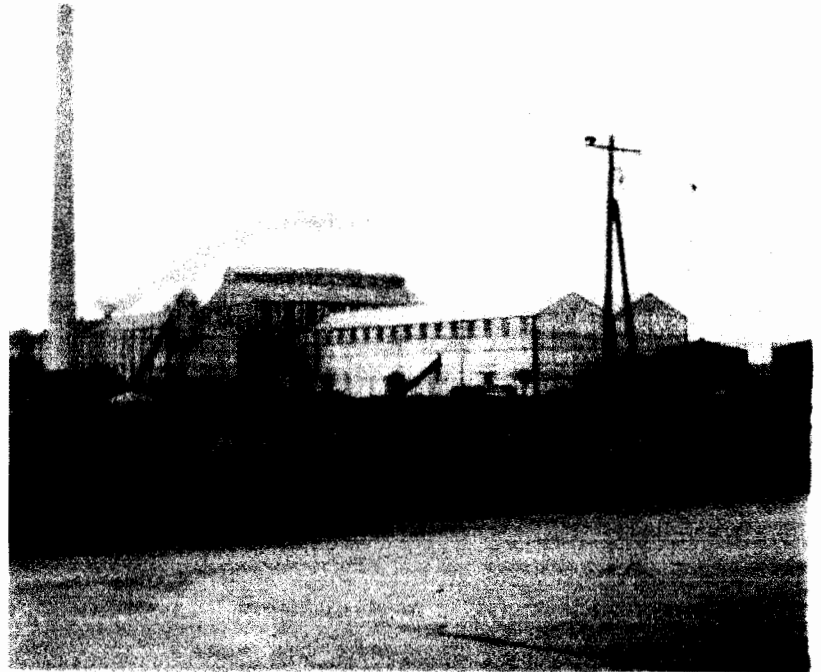
When I got back to the wood, I slowed down in case I would run smack into any Russians. I thought it best to make a quick circuitous movement to the west of the scene of action and so have a better chance of joining up with my comrades. As I moved between the trees, I became suddenly aware of other soldiers around me who were walking in almost the same direction. To my horror, I realised that they were Russians! Even now, fifty-one years later, I have a clear picture in my mind of the outline of the trees and the spectral shapes of the Russians as I made my heart-stopping way among them.

There was no question of suddenly stopping or diving to the ground; I had to keep on moving and do nothing which could attract their attention. Slowing

down slightly, I took advantage of a broad tree to whip off my steel helmet - its distinctive outline could easily betray me. Then I concentrated on following the deepest shadows and gradually worked my way out of the group, praying that nobody would decide to speak to me. Once clear of the soldiers, I stopped to take stock of the situation.

The noise of fighting, which now included the rapid fire of our 20-millimetre guns, had moved further away and I

rose again. Setting off in a south-westerly direction to try to avoid meeting the Russians again, I decided to keep walking until one o'clock in the morning and then find a hiding place for a two-hour sleep. I thought it essential not to get overtired and to be reasonably fresh to make a rational decision at daybreak. As I walked through the darkness, I felt my mental energy sagging; rather too much had happened in one day. Sometimes my mind wandered to my home in Ireland



The Sugar Factory in the 30s

seemed to be alone. I hurried to where our guns had been dug in and saw that one of them was still there, but nobody was around. The gun had been badly damaged, but whether by Russian bazookas or disabled by the gun's own crew I could not tell.

Moments later I could hear the surviving self-propelled guns roaring away in the distance. I was now truly on my own and, to cap it all, there were Russian soldiers in the wood around me.

I could not feel sore at having been left behind. To stay and search for me in the dark would have been suicidal and we all knew that, in a situation like this, whoever was unfortunate enough to get separated from the rest, would have to fend for himself.

What was I to do? My mental and physical exhaustion gave way to a sense of urgency. I had to get away as quickly as possible and not rest until I had put many miles behind me before the sun

and I thought how strange it was that my parents would soon be fast asleep in bed while I was stumbling along some God-forsaken track in Poland in the middle of the night.

An unpleasant task

One unpleasant task, which I never got used to, was having to wake my relief when we slept in communal shelters. As long as we had been in one-man shelters it was just a case of kneeling down and tugging a man's foot until I knew he was fully awake. It was different in the communal shelters where I had to use a torch to step across the sleeping bodies and look at their faces to make sure I woke the right man. Even the quickest, most cursory glance at a man's face was enough to give me the creeps.

The men invariably looked as if they were heavily drugged and would never

wake up, but often their faces wore an expression of frightening grotesqueness that literally sent shivers down my spine. I suppose that past physical hardships and lack of rest gave them a sleep of exhaustion, but whether their contorted faces reflected nightmares or suppressed tension, I can only guess at. However, I can still picture some of their expressions and well remember my feelings of queasiness whenever the boredom of guard duty ended with this eerie task.

In the depths of winter

The worst conditions of cold I suffered were on the self-propelled gun itself. Even sleeping out in deepest winter, which I often had to do, was nothing compared to this. Looking through military records I discovered that the lowest temperatures with which I would have had to cope reached minus twenty-five to thirty degrees centigrade in January 1945. I had to take my position on the gun with hardly any room for moving about. There was no effective way to keep my circulation going and I suffered sheer agony. As if this was not bad enough, the steel studs in my boots took up the arctic temperature from the steel plating on the gun-carrier. The nail part of the studs acted as perfect transmitters of cold to within millimetres of the inside surface of the boots. In no time my feet felt like two lumps of ice.

Sometimes I tried to stand on one foot to get a bit of relief, but that only made conditions worse for the other foot by increasing the pressure on its boot. Another thing I tried was curling my toes under my feet in order to raise the soles of my feet off the inside of the boots. That was quite effective, but it made things worse for the toes, especially the big toe, which had to be pressed down hard only to quickly feel an answering icy jab from below. There was no solution to the problem, so I just kept on doing different things with my feet, and constantly moving my toes, while fighting off feelings of despair and angry frustration.

Ambushed by the Russians

There had been no sleep for any of us in the night from 9/10 February 1945. Russian forces had already bypassed us on our north and south flanks and we were in danger of being cut off, so we retreated further west. Once again we

found ourselves part of a huge trek, marching and driving along a road already partly blocked with units from other divisions.

All of a sudden, Russian artillery opened fire from somewhere ahead of us on our left side, scoring hits on the trapped convoys of trucks and armoured vehicles. Suddenly I noticed a long row of heavy Russian Stalin tanks spread out about half a mile away and heading straight for us. Glancing back to the left everything looked unchanged to me when, out of the blue, the landscape took on a life of its own. As if appearing out of the ground, huge numbers of Russian tanks and armoured vehicles came into view in the distance and bore down on us from a westerly direction. Moments later we were under fire from both sides and the drivers of my battery had to use all their skill to get the self-propelled guns off the road in order to have more room for manoeuvring. We fired as fast as we could at the rapidly approaching semi-circle of Russian armour, but whatever success we had made little or no impression on the unstoppable forces. Two of our self-propelled guns were knocked out of action and the last thing I remembered was the violent bouncing of my own self-propelled gun when suddenly the whole sky caved in on me.

When I regained consciousness, I found myself lying on my back on the ground. I was deafened by the noise of vehicles travelling at high speed and the tortured sounds of engines being over-revved, all intermingling with the cacophony of guns firing and a myriad of explosions. Galvanized into action by the danger all around, I quickly checked whether my limbs still obeyed me while trying to decide what to do next.

Apart from a spell of unconsciousness, I seemed to have come to no harm, but when I looked about me an incredible sight met my eyes. As far as I could see, vehicles of every description, tanks, armoured cars, troop-carriers and many others were hurtling around as if in a frenzy. There seemed to be no pattern to what was happening. German and Russian motorised armour, all mixed up higgledy-piggledy, were dashing around firing at each other for all they were worth.

It was as if I was lying on the ground in a huge field of giant dodgems which had all gone completely mad, but this field was about a square mile in area and skirmishes were going on everywhere. The

din was incredible and, dazed as I was, it took all my will-power to force my brain to start functioning again. Already I was in danger of being crushed by the next set of wheels and tracks bearing down on me, but where could I go? Whatever I did, I had to get moving quickly. Rolling over, I jumped up into a crouching position and started to run even as I looked around desperately searching for inspiration. It was obvious that I could not keep on running through the line of fire and it seemed that the only place of relative safety lay in the actual shelter of the vehicles that were a danger to me. As I ducked and dodged I caught sight of my self-propelled gun about fifty yards away with a big hole in its side, but no sign of the crew; just a stationary Russian armoured car drawn up beside it.

I also saw that there was more action going on in the half mile between me and the road still packed with German units than there was to the west of me. It would have been suicidal to try to get back to the road on my right and I did not even have my rifle - as if that would have been any help. There was no time to lose and I had to get out of this *mêlée* superfast if I wanted to stay alive.

What happened next was one of the most bizarre episodes in my army career. Seeing a nearby Russian tank driving in a northerly direction I raced to it, bending low, and managed to take cover on its west side which I thought was not exposed to German fire at the moment. Running alongside the tank, I had to watch out for fire coming from my side while looking out for "traffic" going west that I could latch onto. Soon I became quite proficient at "changing horses" and began to feel more confident. Sometimes it was Russian vehicles that I tagged alongside and sometimes they were German and there were also times when I had to accept going in the wrong direction, because it was safer to do so. Unfortunately, the German vehicles I used were invariably tanks which could not have taken me on board, owing to shortage of space and the danger of stopping, so I was left to fend for myself.

The ear-shattering noise I had to endure all the while was almost unbearable. Worst of all was the firing of tank guns near me which sounded like huge timber boxes being smashed to pieces right beside my head. Several times I was quite close to the muzzle of a tank gun when it fired. Since it and my head were at almost the same level, I always felt as if I myself had been blown up in the explosion and

the numbness of my senses. Then again, if I ran around a tank I had to duck very low, because the machine-guns were located far down and I did not want my head shot off.

The ground I was running on was terribly treacherous. One moment I could be

erate.

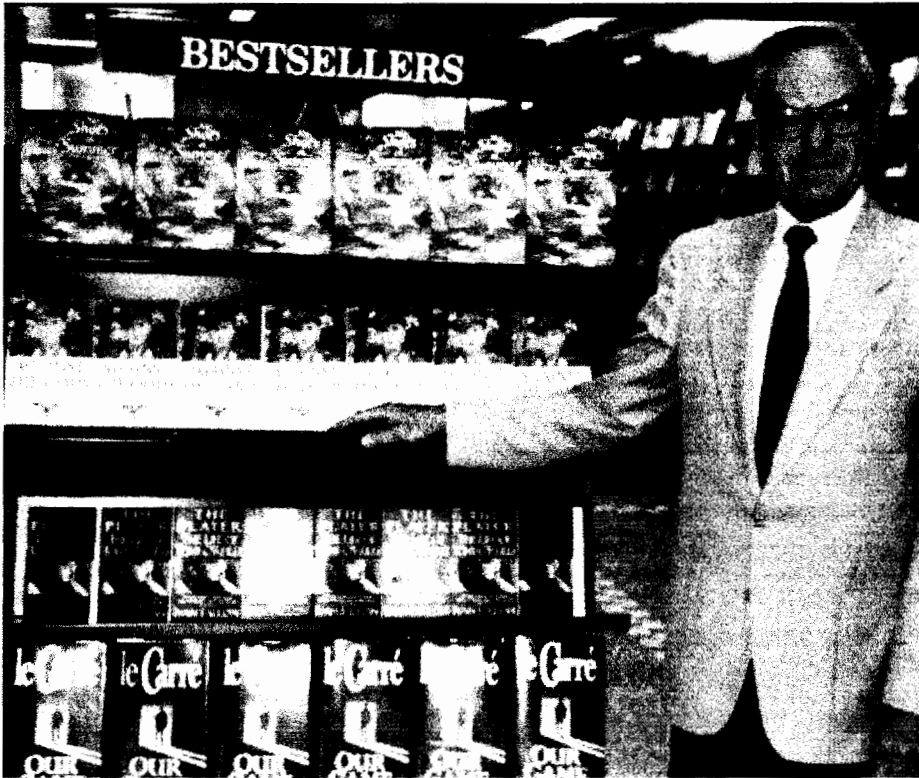
I do not know how often I swapped vehicles or for how long I zig-zagged back and forth. It must have taken over a dozen swaps and a quarter of an hour before I was finally near enough to the edge of the battle-field, for which I had

a reversal of roles had taken place.

After my return home in May 1946 I had to sit for the matriculation examination and then went on to take a degree in mechanical and electrical engineering at UCD. At the end of the war my parents had been dispossessed of their home and possessions in Czechoslovakia and so Ireland came to be our permanent home. I joined the ESB and worked in various power-stations until my retirement.

In the post-war years my memories of past trials and tribulations were gradually relegated to the subconscious. It was not until I did military research for my book that my mind became re-focused on the terrible death and destruction that those war years had wreaked on humanity. I find the thought especially sad that many of the young people who died were barely older than some of my own grandchildren. As a senior citizen those tragic events strike me more forcibly than they would have done when I was a young man.

Many changes have taken place in Carlow over the years, but, when making my customary annual 'pilgrimage,' I still see it as it was and wherever I go old memories spring to mind. It is little wonder that such happy memories accompanied me to Germany in 1939 and gave me an inner strength, which helped me in the many challenges that I had to meet.



John Stieber with his book AGAINST THE ODDS among the best sellers

on patches of deep snow and the next moment on smooth, slippery bits of ice and then again bounding over deeply churned-up ground trying to keep my balance. Tanks can swerve sharply and as I ran beside them I had to watch the turrets for signs of danger on my side while trying not to fall flat on my face or be crushed under their tracks.

Once again, as on previous occasions, I experienced the feeling that tanks were like living creatures. There was the anguished squeal from over-stressed tracks, the sight of a tank backing away and spitting venomously like a cat at another tank bearing down on it, and then the "dead" tank with its gun askew and its life blood pouring out in huge clouds of black smoke.

As I strove to keep going, there seemed to be a pneumatic drill in my head getting louder and louder and I began to feel dizzy and see everything around me as if through a haze. At the same time I felt fully in control of the situation and I think this must again have been an occasion where my "computer mind" guided me. I always seemed to know what to do next and my actions were confident and delib-

erated, and to make a dash for safety. Diving into some bushes where I could safely recover my breath, as well as keep an eye on the fighting, I sat down to steady my nerves while contemplating my predicament.

Postscript

When the war was over I was uninjured and managed to escape while en route to a prisoner-of-war camp. After making my way to Erika, who had also survived the war unhurt, we set off on an adventurous cycle ride, which brought us to relative safety in the Bremen area. A further year was to go by before Erika and I were able to rejoin our parents in Ireland after an absence of seven years. Among those who managed to survive the war we were the more lucky ones.

Arriving in Ireland from war-shattered Germany left Erika and me in a state of utter bewilderment. The sight of full shops and relaxed, well-dressed people gave the appearance of a country where time had stood still. But for our parents time had not stood still and the children they knew had suddenly become adult survivors of a country at war. It was as if

Leighlinbridge Pioneer Association

At the monthly meeting held on Sunday, the following resolution was passed unanimously - "That we the Council of the Leighlin Pioneer Centre, emphatically protest together with the other 3,500 affiliated Centres against any reduction in the drink taxes, as we are fully convinced that such would, undoubtedly, lead to cheaper drink, more drinking, more intemperance, as a Catholic Organisation, we deplore anything that would mean the lowering of the moral standard of our people; we also protest because any reduction to these taxes will mean an increase on the taxes on the necessities of the poor, viz., tea, sugar, etc. We know that this resolution speaks not merely for the pioneers of the parish, but also for many parishioners, who are not in the Temperance movement. The Secretary was directed to forward a copy of same to the Press, and to all the T.D.s of the Constituency regardless of party and also to the Rev. Joseph Flynn, S.J. President of the General working Council, Gardener Street, Dublin.

Nationalist and Leinster Times 14/4/1928

St. Mullins

during the Famine Years

Frank Clarke

Before dealing with the famine years as they affected the St. Mullins area, I think, perhaps, it would be worthwhile to have a brief look at the area in the years immediately prior to 1845 in order to get an idea of the state of the people and their lifestyles.

Firstly, let's look at the population of the Barony of St. Mullins as far as can be ascertained from the available records:-

1765	846
1800	3800
1821	4814
1831	5755
1841	5905

The enormous increase in the population from the year 1765 to the year 1800 of approximately 3000 was in line with the overall increase for the country as a whole; it is estimated that the population of Ireland increased by four million people between 1780 and 1845 and that the increase between the years 1760 and 1815 was around 172 per cent.

Occupations

The principal occupation of the natives of St. Mullins was agriculture, there being no town situated in the Barony. There were five corn mills in the area, situated at Paulmounty, Ballyknock, Ballymurphy, St. Mullins and Clashganny; these together with two or "luck" mills gave a certain, if limited, amount of employment.

The *Poor Enquiry* of 1835 (set up to look at the situation of the poor, the aged and the infirm in the county prior to the setting up of the Poor Law system) gives a valuable insight into the lifestyle of those living in the Barony of St. Mullins at that time and it is worthwhile having a closer look at the findings.

The *Poor Enquiry* found that there were 244 labourers out of a population of 5700; of these, 120 were in constant employment and 124 were in occasional employment. The rates of pay were 10d per day without food and 6d per day with diet. They worked 110 days in the year which compares badly with the adjoining Barony of Gowran in County Kilkenny where 145 days were worked and the Barony of Scarawalsh in County Wexford where 190 days were worked. They had no work from roughly November 15th to March 1st or from July 1st. to August 15th.

Universal diet

The universal diet of the labourers was potatoes with milk available at certain times of the year; (it is estimated that while the labourers in 1845 accounted for 40 per cent of the population of the country they consumed some 63% of the potatoes).

We may think that this unremitting diet of potatoes could not be a healthy one but it was calculated in 1839 that a diet of potatoes, supplemented by sweet milk or buttermilk, was, in fact, extremely nutritious and was a well balanced meal.

It has been estimated that a man, his wife, four children and a pig consumed 24 stone of potatoes in a week. The pig was literally a "piggy bank" in that the woman of the house bought a "bonuff" for 5 shillings and sold it for 15 shillings to one pound after six months to help with the rent and other necessities.

Land holdings

The rest of a farming community held their holdings either direct from the head landlords such as Thomas Kavanagh of Borris, the Earl of Courttown, Lord de Vesci and Robert Tighe or else from the middlemen. The rents payable to the principal land lords were generally in the region of 17/= to £1.50. The middlemen charged very much more; in the townlands of Knockeen, for example, the middleman paid 10s/ 6d per acre and charged 45/= per acre to his undertenants.

An additional burden on top of the rent charge was the price paid for lime. This cost some 1/3d per barrel and was used at 30 barrels to the acre.

From these various sources one can get a fair idea of the way of life in St. Mullins before 1845 - to summarise - the labourers and cottiers lived on the margins of society, well used to scarcity in most if not every year - depending on one crop - the potato - for sustenance and enduring extreme poverty for three to four months of every year.

The years 1845-1852

We now come to the famine years of 1845 to 1852 and perhaps a brief chronology of the period would be of help.

1845 - Blight came in September, most of the crop saved.

1846 - Relief Committees set up by Sir Robert Peel; complete destruction of potato crop.

1847 - Soup kitchens set up; worst winter in living memory; harvest small but good; Poor Relief Act enacted.

1848 - Potato crop failed again; cholera in towns.

1849 - Blight back again.

In 1845 a Constabulary Report for County Carlow stated that the potato crop was a heavy one and that disaster was not felt throughout the county and that a large amount of the crop had been saved before the onset of the blight. In the Barony of St. Mullins the constabulary reported that the oats and barley crop were very good.

Relief measures

In November 1845 a Central Relief Committee was set up in Dublin to co-ordinate the relief measures throughout the country which were being handled by the Local Committees. In the St. Mullins area the chairman of the Relief Committee was the Reverend Daniel Maher, the Parish Priest at the time - the secretary being Jeremiah O'Keeffe of Marley. The policy of these Relief Committees was to provide employment so that labourers could buy food which had been the way previous relief schemes had been managed. Another objective was to ensure that local traders did not capitalise on the food scarcity by raising prices to an exorbitant level. This aim was to be achieved by ensuring that a reserve supply of cheap food was held in reserve and to this end Sir Robert Peel purchased Indian meal in America and had it stored in depots around the country, one of which was in Waterford.

In early 1846 the Government initiated schemes of Public Works which included drainage and road works. The local Relief Committees co-ordinated these schemes and also reported on the blight situation, suggested Relief Schemes, drew up lists of those in need of employment and raised subscriptions locally.

The schemes put forward by the St. Mullins Committee were as follows:-

- I. The drainage of 555 acres in the Civil Parish of St. Mullins at a cost of £2,800.
- II. To enclose Ballymurphy Graveyard at a cost of £50.
- III. To build a new line of road between Ballymurphy and Coonogue on the road from Enniscorthy to Graigue at a cost of £360
- IV. To assist to build a chapel at St. Mullins on the road from Borris to Ross, between the townlands of Drummond and Coolnamara, at a cost of £400. (There were already three chapels in St. Mullins at Drummond, Glynn and Ballymurphy.)
- V. To make a new line of road between Graigue and Newtownbarry (Bunclody) between Coolnamara and Ballymurphy at a cost of £400.00.
- VI. To widen the road from Enniscorthy to Ross between St. Mullins and Ballybeg at a cost of £40.00.
- VII. To repair the road from Borris to Ross between Barrick and Drummond townlands at a cost of £126.00.
- VIII. To drain a further 1048 acres in various other townlands in the Parish at a cost of £4192.
- IX. To sink the bed of the river crossing the road from Borris to Graigue between the townlands of Harristown and Ballykeenan at a cost of £35.00.
- X. A new line of road into Ballycrinnegan village.

Not all these projects got the go ahead from either the Grand Jury or the Board of Works, those that did were the new line of road from Coolnamara to Coonogue through Ballymurphy and

the new line into Ballycrinnegan village.

Other ad hoc schemes were the laying out of field and other boundary walls on the Blackstairs Mountains and the fencing of various portions of the roads in the parish.

These local schemes proved difficult to control for various reasons such as pressure put on members of the Relief Committee to give tickets to anyone who asked for one regardless of their circumstances.

In one instance an Inspector of Constabulary reported in December 1846 he had "that at the new line of work called Ballymurphy men not in want were employed and others in very great want not employed ----- visited the site and found his information to be correct ----- several men were working, holding 6 to 10 acres of land, corn in their haggards, a horse, corn and sheep. He asked for a meeting of the local Committee -----who visited the works and 54 were struck off the list".

Again in December 1846 it was reported from Ballymurphy by the Constabulary that "on the 24th instant. about 50 men employed at Ballymurphy having a weeks wages due to them endeavoured to compel the pay clerk, Matthew Dwyer from Graigue, by force to settle with them".

One can sympathise with these men on being left wageless on Christmas Eve.

The numbers employed on Relief Schemes in the Barony of St. Mullins were as follows on 30th January, 1847.

Able bodied men	93
Women	5
Boys	3

These numbers are minuscule when compared to the total of 5,900 or so who lived in the St. Mullins.

Outdoor relief

It was decided at the end of 1846 to phase out the direct relief programmes and to replace them with direct outdoor relief and the model selected was the soup kitchen based on the methods used by the Society of Friends and others during the winter of 1846. There were delays in setting up these soup kitchens caused by problems in deciding who qualified for relief delays in making meal available at the kitchens and unfair conditions regarding the distribution of food.

These delays caused severe hardship in that there was a period from the ending of the relief works and the commencement of the soup kitchens which had to be bridged by the local Relief Committees out of their own resources. To cover the expense of local purchases of food, the St. Mullins Relief Committee opened a subscription list and it is interesting to note the list of subscribers.

1846	
December 15th Robert Tighe, Dublin	£10-0-0
1847	
January 1st Mrs. Byrne, New Ross	£5-0-0
January 16th Thos. Kavanagh, Esq. Borris	£33-6-8
January 16th Chas. Doyne, Dublin	£6-13-4
January 21st Hon. Mrs. Vesey, Abbeyleix	£5-0-0
January 21st Hon. John J. Vesey, Abbeyleix	£5-0-0
David Burtchaell Esq. Graigue	£2-0-0
Total	£82-0-0

Fever	202
Other Causes	26
Total	228

Cholera

In 1848 Cholera became an epidemic mostly in towns - due to contaminated water supplies but South Carlow was not affected to any great extent judging by the numbers that died from Cholera in the New Ross Workhouse during 1848.

In the years 1849 to 1852 things improved somewhat compared to the years 1845 to 1848 and by 1852 normality of a kind had returned to St. Mullins.

How did the famine years affect the St. Mullins area?

Firstly, there was a dramatic drop in population between the 1841 and 1851 Census Returns.

In 1841 the population of the Barony of St. Mullins was given as 7,640 and the Parish of St. Mullins as 5905. These figures had been reduced to 5,781 for the Barony and 4,486 for the Parish by 1851 - the reduced figures being due either to deaths from Famine, disease or emigration.

The decrease shows up dramatically in the Parish Registers of St. Mullins when one compared pre famine births and marriages to post famine figures. The average number of marriages per annum from 1840 to 1846 was 35 - this fell to 15 per annum for the seven years from 1847 to 1853 - a drop of some 57%. The marriage rate from 1853 to 1863 show a slight increase to 17 per annum and the figures for 1864 to 1871 show a drop to 14 per annum.

The births for the Parish show an equally dramatic reduction. The average number of births for the seven years from 1840 to 1846 was 173 per annum - this fell to 90 per annum for the years 1847 to 1853 - a decrease of some 48%. In the years from 1853 to 1863 the average yearly number of births was 73.

Unfortunately the Parochial Register does not commence to show deaths until 1875 but it has been estimated that for the period 1835 / 1845 that there were 100 deaths to 175 live births approximately - this would give a rough figure of 1000 deaths for the period 1841 to 1851.

The school roll numbers highlight the drop in numbers in the Parish.

	1846	1849	% decrease
Finch	157	107	31
Glynn	319	176	45
Newtown		357	220 38
Drummond		226	169 25

At a rough estimate approximately 2000 left the Parish during the years 1841 to 1851 - either to emigrate overseas or elsewhere outside the Parish of St. Mullins.

How did the Landlords in the Barony of St. Mullins react to the Famine period? Unfortunately the Rental Rolls for the Kavanagh seem to be extant only from 1853 onwards - these show very few evictions for the immediate post famine years. There does exist, however, the Rental Roll for the townland of Bahana where the present day Church and School in Glynn are

situated - this covers the period from 1843 to 1851 and gives a glimpse of how the small farms, cottier and labourer were dealt with by a middle landlord during the famine years.

This townland of Bahana had been held by the Rossitter family since circa 1780 and at the period we are concerned with was held by a Mrs. Cecelia Rossitter Byrne on a long lease from the head landlord, Thomas Kavanagh of Borris.

In 1843 there was a total of 47 families living in Bahana and the adjoining townland of Bandi - the size of the holdings were as follows.

Labourers (no land)	6/10 acres	11/15 acres	16/30 acres	Over 30 acres
7	15	7	5	4

The rents were from £80 per annum for holdings over 30 acres down to £2 to £3 for the smallest holdings of around 2 acres.

By 1851 only 25 families were left in both these townlands and to go through the Rental Book makes for sad reading, showing how these land holders never seemed to be able to clear off their arrears of rent and perhaps, to these families, assisted emigration would have been the lesser of two evils.

Rental book entries

Here are some instances of entries in the Rental Book - each family had a page to itself detailing the acreage of the holding, the rent per acre and details of the arrears due from year to year.

"Patrick _____ had 8 acres; 1/2 year's rent was £4-8-4 1/2. In 1847 his arrears amounted to £26 and at the bottom of the page is the stark word "gone".

"Mrs. _____, widow, had 6 acres; in 1843 her yearly rental was £9-10-0p; arrears in 1849 £27-0-0; last entry marked "gone to America".

"Daniel _____, 6 acres; in 1843 1/2 years rental was £4-19-8; in 1847 his arrears amounted £25-10-0 and the last entry has the observation "dead". (This man had eleven children).

It is noticeable that the bigger farmers were not treated the same way as the smaller ones when arrears accumulated. In one noticeable instance the biggest farmer in the area whose yearly rental was some £80 had arrears of £342-0-0 in 1851 but no action was taken against him, presumably because it was felt that his holding of some 50 acres was a viable one and that the arrears could eventually be cleared.

The 27 families marked in the rental book as "gone" or "emigrated to America", amounted to some 130 persons, including 82 children which is almost exactly the difference in population between the years 1841 and 1851 for the townland of Bahana.

Another point worth highlighting is the fact that it was the neighbouring land holders who, in most cases, cleared off the arrears of their neighbours and took over the vacant plots, sometimes even at reduced rents and this was done without, it seems, any agitation on the part of anyone in the parish. This was not the case in the 1830's and early 1840's when anyone who took over even as small an amount as an acre from which someone had been expelled, was subjected to a barrage of threatening letters, burning of corn ricks and the maiming or killing of cattle and sheep which could go on for two and three years at a time.

Emigration

Emigration from the St. Mullins area was through New Ross to either America or Canada and according to the New Ross

Harbour Commissioners' Records some 22 vessels went from New Ross to Quebec between 1848 and 1852 with emigrants. The number of persons on these vessels would have been some 2500. Waterford would also have been a place of emigration.

Looking through the Parish and other Records it is interesting to see that from about 1840 to 1854/1855 whole families emigrated whereas after the mid 1850s it is very noticeable that single family members emigrated leaving the oldest son at home. It is also noticeable that this eldest son would have to wait till the rest of his siblings were settled in life before he too could marry, with a reduction to family size compared to previous generations.

St Mullins - a comparison

How did the St. Mullins area fare out compared to neighbouring areas during the famine years? From talking to the old people of the parish and from general folklore in the area it would seem that deaths from starvation were few and far between; that any deaths that did occur were due to famine fever so called. Of the 7,568 deaths in County Carlow between 1841 and 1851 fever accounted for 2,516 and consumption (T.B.) accounted for 2,138.

The potato crop was not affected as much in County Carlow as it was in the surrounding Counties as the following chart shows.

Average yield per acre for years previous to 1846		Average QBI yield per acre 1846
	Potato	
Co. Carlow	153 cwt	18cwt
Co. Kilkenny	174 cwt	9cwt
Co. Wexford	167 cwt	14cwt
Co. Waterford	160cwt	7cwt

Fish

The Barrow provided a plentiful supply of Salmon and also of shad (Twaith Herring) which, although extremely bony, would seem to have been a part of the local diet. Sheep meat would seem to have been plentiful though it would seem from the records that people were not over-scrupulous as to where the sheep came from as the following entry from the *Outrage Papers* shows.

Number of sheep and cattle stolen each year from 1847 to 1852.

Year	Sheep	Cattle
1847	11232	4059
1848	8479	2596
1849	9527	4110
1850	5126	2743
1851	3762	2110
1852	2552	1261

Looking at these returns one must bear in mind that the stealing of sheep and cattle was punishable by transportation to Australia for either 7 years or 14 years, depending on the number stolen and, one can see the peoples' desperate efforts to survive by any means.



**Vol. James Lilis
I.R.A. B Company**

Executed in Carlow barracks

April 8, 1923

James Nolan of Knockindrane (C.1746 - 1858) Captain of the Myshall Rebels 1798

Brother P. J. Kavanagh

In his '98 in Carlow an tAthair Peadar Mac Suibhne writes of Myshall in that fateful year:

"The parish is full of '98 memories. On 25th October 1972, Mr. Peter Fox, Ballinrush told us:

"Myshall at that time was governed by Major Cornwall ... All the family are gone; there is no trace of his name or house. He was the military officer for the district and the magistrate.¹ The Myshall United Irishmen did not take part in the Battle of Carlow... [They] were commanded by Captain James Nolan and took part in the battles at Borris² and the taking of Bagenalstown. They did not succeed in either of these but Nolan got his men back safely...'

"There were informers in the camp, however, and these gave the names of the insurgents to Cornwall. The parish priest, Fr. Brian Kavanagh, knew what their fate would be, the pitch-cap or the hangman's rope. So he went to Cornwall to plead for them. Cornwall said they would have to go to him and deliver up their arms; then he would grant them their lives, but on one other condition. They went to him and he told them they would have to enroll themselves in a labour corps and make a new road, ever since called The Croppy Road, and dig the pond...'. [Both are in Myshall village and the pond is now an asset in the Tidy Towns' Competition.]

James Nolan was the son of Laurence Nolan of Lisgarvin, parish of Ballon, and Anna Wright, a Quaker, probably of the Kilconnor area, who converted to Catholicism³. One may well ask how anyone with Quaker blood in him could even dream of taking up arms, pacifism being a strong tenet of the Society of Friends. In the 1760s Laurence and Anna were evicted from Lisgarvin and went to live in Knockindrane where he had obtained the tenancy of the entire townland of 400 acres some time previously. Laurence and Anna had six children. James, the eldest and our subject, was variously estimated to be 112 and 116 years of age when he died in 1858! Quaker records give Anna Wright's birth as 1730⁴ and if James really were 116 years old he would have been born to her when she was twelve! It seems safer, therefore, to accept - as his gravestone indicated - that he was 112 years old on his demise. His mother, then, would have been sixteen or seventeen years old when he was born. Young brides were common enough in those days.

James' parents are buried in Ballon, Anna having "departed this life May 1st 1776 aged 44 years". [This age doesn't accord with the record of her birth, so she must have been 46 years old when she died.] "Laurence died April 19th 1785 aged 72 years."

The second son of Laurence and Anna,



Tombstone in Drumpeha cemetery

Edmond (1755 - 1847), acquired a large farm in Ballinrush; it was on Edmond's farm that Peter Fox, an tAthair Mac Suibhne's informant, was living in 1972. The third son, Laurence, born 1764, died in Knockindrane in 1808. A fourth son, John, migrated to Coolcargen, Co. Kildare. The two girls, Anna and Mary, married Sinnott of Burtown, Co. Kildare and Patrick Byrne of the Ballyraggett area, respectively.

Liberté and egalité

James Nolan, like most 'respectable' men of that era, was no rebel; but being a second class citizen in his own country must have galled him as it did so many of his contemporaries. The desire for liberté and égalité engendered by the French Revolution, the example of the successful American rebels under Washington and at home, the vicious behaviour of some of the Crown forces all combined to inspire him and his men to crop their hair in the style of the French revolutionaries and take up arms.

Professor Kevin Whelan has demonstrated elsewhere that many of the Wexford and Wicklow rebels came from farmland situated approximately 600 feet above sea-level where their ancestors had been forced to settle by the new Williamite

Professor Kevin Whelan has demonstrated elsewhere that many of the Wexford and Wicklow rebels came from farmland situated approximately 600 feet above sea-level where their ancestors had been forced to settle by the new Williamite planters. Other motives notwithstanding, rebellion was their opportunity to avenge the injustice done to their forbearers. James Nolan would fit into this category. Indeed in his own lifetime we have seen how the family had to leave Lisgarvan on the fertile plain and settle higher up in Knockindrane on the less hospitable foothills of Sliabh Bán.

Not only did James and his immediate family lose out to the more robust planters, but he would have been aware that his Grandfather and Greatgrandfather, John and James Nolan respectively, once inhabited the lower townlands of Ballinrush and Shangarry. James (with a Laurence Nolan of indefinite relationship) was attained in 1691, after the defeat of James II, thus losing both townlands; but John "claimed and was allowed an estate for lives in the lands of Shangarry and Ballinrush, as forfeited by Laurence Nolan". (pp. 862-3 of *King James's Irish Army List* by John Dalton). It was on the expiration of that lease that the Nolans had moved to Lisgarvan.

Only a few short years before 1798 Myshall had proved itself the most 'loyal' parish in the County, as the late Victor Hadden related in an article on 'The Carlow Militia' in *Carloviana* of 1960.

In 1793 France and England were at war and the Irish Militia (a type of Home Guard) as it then stood was deemed too weak to defend the island from a possible French invasion. So, by Act of Parliament in that year each County was enjoined to establish a new and more effective Militia, so many recruits to be balloted from each parish. Among the Kehoe Papers and also in the care of Carlow Heritage i.e., the Jackson Collection, are lists of "able-bodied men" compiled for the Grand Jury, the body that governed the County before the establishment of the County Council. The new Militia recruits would be selected from these lists.⁵ Catholics, hitherto forbidden by the Penal Laws to carry arms, could do so henceforth as militiamen, and the non-commissioned personnel of the Militia were overwhelmingly Catholic - as befitted their 'inferior' status in society. For instance, the rank and file North Cork Militia of notorious memory

were Irish-speaking Catholics!

Musgrave, in Appendix XI of his *Memories of the Different Rebellions* (1801) states that "About 1791-92 maps, pointing out the property of the old popish possessors, were printed and published". This he interprets as conspiracy to rebel and, although he suspects conspiracy behind every bush, these maps may have played a part in stirring up resentment against the new landlords.

There was much opposition to the new Militia at first. "Fathers to be taken from their families", was the outcry. However, when the balloting took place on 8th June that year the various parishes cheerfully submitted to their lot. Two hundred Myshall men turned up for the ballot and, although their allotted quota was only thirteen recruits, the rest voluntarily offered their services as substitutes for any draftees who didn't wish to be enlisted.⁶ We don't know how many, or if any substitutes from Myshall were chosen in this way, but the surname 'Nowlan' as it was then spelled, is prominent on the Muster Rolls.⁷

And so in 1796, for instance, we find the names Patrick, Joseph, James Snr., James Jnr., and James Nowlan on the muster roll of Major Newton's Company of the Militia. Their addresses, unfortunately, are not recorded and, while one would like to imagine that the James of this article could be equated with one of these Jameses, it is not possible to make that connection.

John the Poet

In 1793, at the time the Militia was being embodied, the Catholic people of Myshall had yet another opportunity of displaying their obedience to the Crown, by forwarding an address of Loyalty to the appropriate authorities. "The chairman of the meeting was John Nolan, Esq., and the Hon. Sec. was the Rev. Brian Kavanagh, P.P.," we are informed by *The Dublin Evening Post* of 10th June, 1793. This John Nolan, commonly called 'John the Poet', lived in Ballinvalley, Ballon and was, ironically, uncle of our James the Rebel. In a decade of wars and rumours of wars the Catholic folk of Myshall, quite understandably, felt the need to nail their colours to the safest mast. Their Catholicism, which looked to the Continent for leadership and priestly education, rendered them automatical-



Plaque to Fr. Brian Kavanagh on the exterior of Myshall Church

ly suspect and this address would send the right signals to those who counted.

We learn from the Militia Records, already referred to, that a James Nowlan deserted on 15th May 1798. What a tantalising piece of information for James' biographer! Was he our 'Captain James'? Veteran of five years of military experience, skilled in the use of firearms and in tactical manoeuvres? The best leadership material available to an untrained corp of Rebels?

One other consideration would have inspired the Myshall men to make James their leader: Only a few years ago the late Bernard Nolan of Ballaughmore told the present writer that James' family were believed to be the direct descendants of the last chieftain or Rí of Clan Nolan. 1798 came just 200 years after the break-up of the Gaelic clan system and residual memories of that culture may also have disposed the Rebels to choose James as Captain.

We next hear of James in *Musgraves Memories*, appendix XI, already alluded to:

"A man of the name of Hughes, appeared

before Mr. Cornwall of Myshall-Lodge (sic), a magistrate, on 21st July, 1798 and confessed he had been a lieutenant, under a captain James Nolan; he stated the whole progress of the rebellion from its commencement. He stated that on the night previous to the attack on Borris, Leighlin-bridge and Bagenalstown, he received orders from Nowlan, how he was to attack the enemy; and on asking him whom he was to consider as such, the captain replied, 'the king's troops and the protestants in general.'

Hughes' allegation, if faithfully reported, raises the whole question of whether or not the Rebellion was sectarian in origin. There are as many instances to prove that thesis as there are to disprove it and its resolution must be left to more able pens than this.

After this we hear no more of James Nolan until his obituary appeared in the Carlow papers of 1st May 1858:

"Extraordinary Longevity"

"On Saturday morning, the 17th ult., at his residence, Knockindrane, parish of Myshall, in this county, Mr. James Nolan departed this life at the very advanced age of 116 years. He was born on 4th March 1742 [The inscription on his tombstone is at odds with this account both as to age and date of death.] and remained in perfect possession of all his faculties till the day preceding his dissolution. In personal appearance he was most commanding, with good features, and fully six feet in stature. He was visited annually by his excellent landlord, the Earl of Bessborough who delighted to hold converse with him on the many and varied incidents of which he was an eye-witness. His memory was excellent, the scenes of the memorable year of 1798 were related by him with the greatest precision and the most pleasing humour, and his recollections of the leading celebrities of the last century were most accurately and cheerfully reviewed by him. He was of good family and could trace his descent from the ancient princes of his country. The deceased had two brothers, Mr. Edward [recte Edmond] Nolan of Ballinrush in this county, and Mr. John Nolan of Coolcargen, Co. of Kildare, who lived to very great ages." *Carlow Post* 1st. May, 1858

By 1858 most Irishmen wished to forget 1798. This is well exemplified in General

Cloney's *Memoirs* where he sought to distance himself from it. Hence the very vague reference in the *Post* to the part played in that event by James Nolan. The account of his life which follows from the *Sentinal* completely ignores his brief career as a rebel and concentrates on the story of his photographic likeness having been placed in the hands of Her Majesty the Queen. In other words, he was now a good boy, loyal to the government and 1798 was a mere aberration on his part.

DEATH OF MR. JAMES NOLAN, THE IRISH PATRIARCH

We regret to announce the death of our venerable countryman, Mr James Nolan of Knockindrane, in this county, who attained the age of 116 years, and who truly might be designated the Irish patriarch, being born - according to the most unquestionable evidence - in 1742. [See above] The deceased who was a tenant on the estate of the Earl of Bessborough, was born on the townland on which he died [Erronious - he was born in Lisgarvan]; and although in comfortable circumstances, - and many of his kinsmen growing up around him in comparative opulance, - nothing could induce him to enlarge his farm residence, or to erect one more suitable to the requirements of the age in which he lived; and we may add that his kind landlord was desirous to create the change - even at his own expense. He was a man simple in his habits, moderate in his diet, and exceedingly temperate. His custom was, from an early period of his life, to bathe his head in cold water every morning throughout the year. His memory was strong and tenacious; and his narrative of many of the events that occurred within his recollection, during the period of a century, was clear, precise, and accurate. When his great age became known about six tears ago, - and a photographic likeness of him taken, a copy was placed in the hands of her Majesty the Queen, by his landlord, an event which appeared to have contributed to his gratification, - he was visited by numerous parties from all parts of the country. He felt the compliment, and received his visitors in the position in which his portrait was taken, with his usual affability and thankfulness. This venerable Irishman enjoyed health up to a late period, - as usual, we are informed, attentive to the performance of his religious duties. When he complained, it was only of weakness. On Friday last he displayed no symptoms of early dissolution. On the following day he sat up in

bed and conversed cheerfully on ordinary topics with his family and neighbours; but in a few hours afterwards he laid down and died calmly, almost without a struggle - thus closing a long and an exemplary career, in the 116th year of his age, that is to say 46 years beyond the period allotted to man. The funeral of the Irish Patriarch was attended by a large number of people of the district, and his remains were deposited with those of his wife's ancestors in the burial ground of Drumsea, on Monday last.

- *Sentinal*, 1st May 1858

As already pointed out James' age at death was 112 years and not 116. To compound the problem of ascertaining his real age either the stone cutter or his own family were responsible for putting the wrong year of death on his tombstone!

Erected by Richard and Robert Nolan of Knockindrane in affectionate memory of their parents.

James Nolan who died April 21st 1857 aged 112 years and Elizabeth Nolan nee Barry who died June 17th 1827 aged 60 years and of their brothers and sisters John died Oct. 1832 aged 38 years

Edward died April 13th 1843 aged 41 years Laurence died Nov. 26th 1884 aged 89 years.

Anne Fenelon died in America Catherine died August 15th 1886 aged 61 years

Mary died Sept 20th 1882 aged 72 years Ellen Tyrell died May 19th 1886 aged 85 years their nephew John Fenlon died 1842 aged 23 years.

A number of James' relatives played an active role in the affairs of their country in later years. Briseann an dúchas trí shúile an chait. Two sons of his brother Edmond of Ballinrush, Thomas (1790 - 1886) and John (1808 - 1880) were priests of the Dioceses of Kildare and Leighlin and played prominent roles in the local politics of their day, a clerical practice now much decried by revisionist historians from the luxurious standpoint of hindsight. Tar éis a thuigtear gach beart! They were especially active in promoting O'Connell's Repeal movement, appearing on election platforms, etc. The aged Fr. Thomas, as P.P. of Abbeyleix, was on friendly terms with Prime Minister Gladstone having met him when he visited their mutual friends the catholic de Vescis. Fr. John, as C.C. of Baltinglass, was praised for his oratory at the Monster Meeting of Mullaghmast by no greater exponent of that art than the Great Dan himself. Mind

you, he had just dubbed O'Connell 'the uncrowned King of Ireland', so a little reciprocal praise was in order! John died as P.P. of Kildare.

Both brothers were instrumental in building up the "infrastructure" of the parishes in which they served. Fr. Thomas built the spires of Tullow and Abbeyleix churches, that in Tullow laying claim to be the first built in Ireland since Emancipation. Each of them gave every encouragement to the convents in their parishes and, as C.C. of Baltinglass, Fr. John is credited with building the magnificent church there.

A grand nephew of James, John, grandson of his brother John of Coolcargen, was so active in the movement to obtain an amnesty for the jailed Fenians who had escaped hanging that he was dubbed "Amnesty John Nolan". Although he died in far away New York, John Dillon, M.P. had a monument erected to his memory in Glasnevin Cemetery.

Another grandnephew of James, Dr. Eugene Nolan of Ballinrush had, as a medical student, taken part in the so-called Tallagh rising of 1867. Later he spent time on remand in Cork jail while the authorities tried to gather evidence against him of administering the Fenian oath in the Dunmanway area. He was able to swallow his list of initiates before his captors could get hold of it and he was released after a month. As Medical Officer of Castlecomer Union Hospital he contracted fever from one of his patients and died young. He lies buried beside the Church of the Holy Cross in Myshall.

In 1898 when the County Councils and Rural District Councils were established, Dr. Eugene's brother, William Francis Nolan who then occupied Ballinrush, was elected County Councillor for the Myshall area while Patrick Nolan of Roslee, their second cousin, represented the Shangarry electoral division on the Carlow no. 2 Rural District Council until those bodies were abolished by the Free State Government in 1924. A half-brother of Patrick Nolan, John P. Nolan of Myshall, was serving on various local bodies from an early age. In 1917 for instance, he was Hon. Treasure of the quaintly named Myshall Cycling and Dramatic Club Dance Committee. That same year he was co-opted to Carlow County Council and served on that body until his death in March 1960. He was

Vice-Chairman of the Council in the 1930s and was Chairman from 1940 - 1945. He was especially active on the County Committee of Agriculture.

During the Land War James's great grandnephew, Fr. John Maher of Ballyloughan, Muinebheag, was to the fore in supporting the Luggacurran tenants of the Landsdowne estate in their demand for a fair rent. Having been evicted, they resorted to the Plan of Campaign and their curate found himself lodged in Kilkenny Jail for his exertions on their behalf. Fr. John's brother, Patrick Maher of Ballyloughan was active in the labour cause until his death in 1937.

So, the tale that started out with a pacifist Quakeress and which, because of injustice and misgovernment, occasionally wandered from that ideal, ends finally with a return to peaceful politics. Anna Wright would surely have been pleased.

(1) For more on Major Cornwall see Jimmy O'Toole's excellent *The Carlow Gentry*, pp. 38-40. Cornwall was a Captain of the Carlow Yeomanry at this time. Wakefield's *Ireland*, Vol. 1, p. 249, states that "In 1787 Mr. Cornwall let 900 acres in Myshall for three lives and 31 years."

(2) Borris was attacked twice - 24th May and 12th June. It's unclear which attack is meant here. 'Cf. *Battles of 1798 Series* (part II), pp 65 ff. by Art Kavanagh.'

(3) Daughter of Thomas Wright and Ruth Eves. - Carlow Quaker records on microfilm in the National Library. It was customary for the Quakers to issue a "Certificate of Disunity" in respect of any member marrying before a minister of religion. A search at the central archives of the Society of Friends, Dublin, failed to unearth such a certificate in Anna's case.

(4) Carlow Quaker Records.

(5) These lists are invaluable as they allow genealogists to go one step further back than the Tithe Books in establishing their family trees. They weren't just a once off census of able-bodied men, but were put together on a number of occasions in the 1790s and early in the next century. 'Cf. *Carloviana*, 1996, for portion of the 1810 lists.'

(6) *The Irish Militia* by Sir Henry McAnally, quoted by Victor Hadden.

(7) Kew Public Records, WO 13 2627.

For further information on Robert Cornwall at this time see Allen Doran's *The Duplicators* in *Carloviana*, 1986/87

The Old Carlow Society would like to thank the Festival Support committee for their help in typing many of the articles in this and the last volume of *Carloviana*



Tombstone in Cloughna Cemetery
Note Clogrennane Limeworks in the background
across the river Barrow

Tombstone inscription:
Erected by Thomas Hughes in Memory
of his brother John Hughes who dep^d
this life the 2nd day of June 1798 Aged
32 years. May he rest in Peace Amen.

Taken from:
Cloughna Cemetery
by Fieldcrest Reynolds.

According to Peadar Mac Suibhne in '98 in *Carlow*, Jack Hughes was a substantial farmer from Kilcruit where the Doran family now live. He was greatly flogged while a prisoner in Leighlin but he was a stout robust man and bore it manfully.

This Hughes Family was related to those of Carlow and Kellistown.

'Carlow in '98 A Contemporary Narrative'

The men that were to die and their friends all breakfasted together; for their use there was a large pewter dish full of bread and butter, and a tin gallon of tea and as soon as they perceived I had none, they called out to me to come over and breakfast with them. I hesitated a little but they called out to me again. Oh you must come over; there is plenty here; dont spare it. I accordingly stood up and went over to them but it was indeed a sorrowful breakfast.

As soon as it was over, some of their relatives came to see and take their last leave of them. The first were Hughes' two sisters, Mrs Donohue of Clochcristic and a Mrs. Hawe, two respectable women and married to rich farmers.

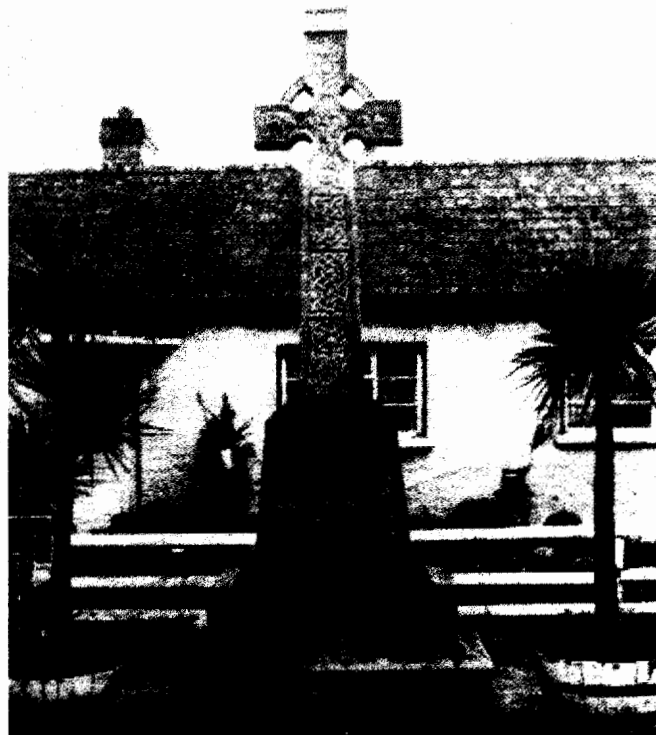
Cloughna is the next townland to Clochcristic where his sister lived which probably accounts for burying him there.

Fr. Mogue Kearns

(A Rebel Priest in 1798)

By Myles Kavanagh

I ndil-cuimhne ar an sagairt chrodha An tAthair Maodhóg O Céirín agus ar na laochra a sheas an fód ina fhochair, ar son na hEireann ins an mbliadhain a 1798
Crochadh an t-Athair O Céirín in Éadan-Doire, Ua bhFáilghe Iúil a 12, 1798
Solais na bhFlaitheas D'a n'anamaibh



Erected in 1948 to Kildealy's native son, the 1798 leader and survivor of the French Revolution, Fr. Mogue Kearns

On the eastern slope of Mount Leinster in the county of Wexford is the townland of Ballycrystal and south of it at the entrance to the pass of Scollagh Gap, which leads into the county of Carlow, is Kildealy, the highest Wexford village, nestled into the shoulders of the Blackstairs Mountains.

Into Co. Wexford, out of Co. Meath, in the 17th. or early 18th. century came the family Kearns, Hannah and her four brothers, Mogue, Pat, Michael and Martin, all rebels on the run. The latter settled in Ballycrystal and had three sons, Stephen, Roger and Mogue. Hannah married a Quigley of Boolabeg, Pat married a Murphy of Coonogue, Mogue married a Doyle and settled in Ballycrystal. All of the descendants of these families were active in the rebellion of 1798. Stephen and Roger were killed at Ardee Co. Louth. Mogue was wounded in an encounter at Skerries Co. Dublin and after the '98 rebellion settled down with his uncle Michael in Kildealy.

Michael married Ellen Kelly of Wheelagower, a sister of John Kelly sm. father of John Kelly, *The Boy from Killanne*, settled down as a farmer and lived in Kildealy. Michael and Ellen had four children, Mogue, Patrick, Martin and Mary. The three boys of this family were also active members of the United Irishmen. Martin the youngest brother was killed in the insurgent attack upon the military, fortified in the mansion of Lady Anne Butler at Cromer. His remains were interred in the east corner of the old churchyard of Castlecomer.

Survived for twenty years

Patrick *Paudeen Rua* was lieutenant to his cousin Colonel John Kelly at the battle of Ross. He it was who had the wounded disabled young hero Kelly conveyed to Killanne after the battle. Captain Rua was wounded at Cromer (where his brother Martin fell). He was also wounded in an encounter with yeomen from Kildealy at a place near Togher, next the junction of the road to Cullentragh. Understanding that Kearns had

been seriously wounded, the yeomen from Kiledmond made a raid upon a dwelling at Rathgeran expecting to find him there, but his friends anticipating such a hostile visitation had him secretly removed to shelter at Goulin. He survived for a further twenty three years.

The boys' sister Mary married Edmund O'Rourke (a young insurgent) a neighbour of the Kearns family, on the fifteenth of August 1798 and both escaped to France. O'Rourke joined the *French Horse* and took part in the memorable battle of Waterloo. Eventually he crossed over to New York. An epidemic of sickness having carried off his beloved wife Mary and four children, leaving only a surviving son, he afterwards left New York and went west and no further tidings were heard of him. Thus we come to Mogue the subject of this article.

Mogue's early years

The early years of Mogue are not clearly recorded but we do know that young Mogue was a skilled Duffry hurler and famed for deeds of strength and athletic prowess beating the record by long odds in a contest between the champion weight throwers of the time. It is related how Adam Colclough Esq. of Duffry Hall, wagered young Kearns against a previously unequalled athlete, one Captain Jones and how the future leader of the insurgents was eminently successful in this his first encounter with the Saxon. In stature Kearns is described as having been a large weighty man of powerful build and great activity.

There are two variations to the early education of Mogue. One states that his earlier studies were directed by Father Wadding, a Franciscan Friar at New Ross and his education for the priesthood concluded at Carlow College where he was ordained in the year 1795 and then appointed curate in Enniscorthy.

The second places him as a student in the Irish College in Paris in 1778. The Penal Laws were still in operation at this time and so a student for the priesthood had to go to the mainland of Europe to complete his studies. It looks as though he

may have spent a good number of years studying in Paris. The following story relates to the time of the French Revolution (1789). Mogue had gone out on to the streets of Paris to have a look around with a doctor friend. He was fool enough to go out wearing the long soutane and biretta of the priest. After walking along a couple of streets he was spotted by a lynch mob. They grabbed him with delight, put a rope around his neck hanged him up on a lamppost. They left him there to die and went off to seek other sport elsewhere. The lamppost buckled under his weight, as he stretched his feet it added on enough, to let him touch the ground. His horrified doctor friend cut Mogue down and to his astonishment found he was still alive, barely. He revived him with great difficulty.

Loaned to the Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin

After completing his studies in Paris Fr. Mogue returned home to Wexford. He became good friends with Fr. John Murphy. They linked up for grouse-shooting expeditions on the Blackstairs. Fr. Mogue and Fr. John had family connections on both sides of the Blackstairs Mountains and they frequently met to ride together, to go hunting and after a day's sport to rest in the houses of relatives, especially Murphy's of Rathgeran on the Carlow side. They became well known as companions and were regarded locally as *great sportsmen*. During this time it is likely that he became a member of the United Irishmen along with the rest of his family. According to Bishop Caulfield at this time Fr. Kearns was fond of both drink and fighting, with known links to the Defenders (a secret society) and a high local profile as a sportsman.

These may have been the reasons that caused Bishop Caulfield to loan Fr. Mogue Kearns to the Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin. Bishop Delaney of Kildare and Leighlin employed Fr. Kearns for some time and placed him as a curate in Clonard which is in the parish of Balyna, in the far north of the diocese. During his stay here he started to stir up trouble on behalf of the people against the King and London government. His adopted parish priest Fr. Michael Corcoran and bishop saw him as an agitator and dismissed him.

Fr. Mogue returned to live in Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford in 1797 and there is a doubt as to his status up to 1798 but he may have been listed as one of the unemployed or suspended priests of the diocese.

May the 23rd 1798 was to be the United Irishmen's day of rebellion in and around Dublin. Two days earlier Anthony Perry was arrested in Gorey, imprisoned and subjected to brutal treatment. On the 23rd rebels at Prosperous in north Kildare killed several soldiers who surrendered to them. Irish colliers in the county of Laois working the northern end of the large Castlecomer coalfield around the village of Doonane opened hostilities on this day also, by attacking the military barracks in the village of Doonane. They had hoped to join with the United Irishmen planning to attack Carlow but they were dispersed with heavy losses. On the 24th over thirty Catholic yeomen whose loyalty was suspect were picked out from the ranks in the village square in Dunlavin in west Wicklow, and shot dead; and on the 25th, within hours of a failed rebel attack on Carlow town which resulted in hundreds of casualties on the insurgents side, the magistrate in Carnew, had twenty eight prisoners taken out of jail and shot in a ball alley.

Wexford mobilising

On the 26th of May the Wexford United Irishmen began to mobilise. On the 27th Father John Murphy's house and chapel in Boolavogue were burnt down. On the 28th at least 6,000 rebel men assembled on Ballyorrl Hill, just a short distance north of Enniscorthy town. Fr. John Murphy was in command and among his captains was his friend Fr. Mogue Kearns. Paudeen Rua (Mogue's brother) and the Kiltaily United Irishmen were also present as part of the rebel army.

At the head of the Duffry men

Just after one o'clock the rebels began to attack Enniscorthy and the gigantic figure of Fr. Mogue, whip in hand, at the head of the Duffry men, along with hundreds of rebel pikemen, stampeded cattle through the Duffry Gate. As he rode through the town, one soldier thrust his pistol against Fr. Mogue's forehead and was about to shoot him but a young pikeman dashed forward and saved his life. Two hours later Captain William Snowe ordered his militia to abandon the town. Enniscorthy was ablaze and in the hands of the rebels. A huge camp was established on Vinegar Hill over-looking the smoked-filled town. Fr. Mogue was listed among the leading men and was one of the twelve committee men "who continued constantly to sit and superintend and regulate the concerns of the camp, and of the newly established republic." Musgrave in his account of a "Mrs. M." who sought a "protection" for herself and her husband; she says: "I was then desired to apply to one of their officers, named Morgan Byrne, whom I found sitting in their committee - room, at a long table, with many books and papers before him. Father Kearns was at the head of the table, round which all the members of the committee sat." "It is clear from this that Fr. Mogue presided over the meeting in question.

On the 29th Fr. Mogue formed part of the contingent that set up camp at the Three Rocks on the shoulder of the Mountain of Forth. On the 30th Wexford town was in the hands of the rebels. On the 31st the active insurgents were taken off the streets of Wexford and camp was set upon Windmill Hill above the town. Here a council of war was held.

The council decided that their forces would be divided into three divisions which would advance in separate directions. Bagenal Harvey took command of the division that was to break out of Co. Wexford through New Ross. Fr. John Murphy lead the division to the north to take Gorey and Arklow. The third division was lead by Fr. Mogue Kearns and its objective was to take Bunclody (Newtownbarry) link up with the Midland rebels and re-join the northern division lead by Fr. John.

Fr. Mogue set out with his column which included Myles Byrne and the Monaseed corps on the morning of the 1st June. They marched along the west bank of the Slaney towards Bunclody. The previous day government forces mostly Queen's County militia under the command of Colonel L'Estrange had arrived in the town from Carlow. During the night a young woman arrived in Bunclody and warned L'Estrange that rebel forces were approaching. He kept his men at arms all night and in the morning sent out patrols along the road to Enniscorthy to look for signs of rebels. Eventually Fr. Mogue's column was spotted as it made its way along the river valley.

Several mounted units were dispatched to meet Fr. Mogue's

vanguard but all had to retreat after a short time. When Fr. Mogue and his men came within sight of Bunclody they passed through Clohamon and made their way up the slopes of a hill (Dromcree or Hospital Hill) that lay just to the south of the town. Myles Byrne suggested to Fr. Mogue that he send a detachment to a hill just to the west of the town that would cut off the escape route to Carlow. Fr. Mogue was confident that this would not be necessary and dismissed Byrne's suggestion with this reply *Tell all those you have any control over to fear nothing as long as they see this whip in my hand!* He then declared that he would launch a frontal attack on the town at 9 o'clock. This he did. He removed his hat and asked his followers to join him in prayer. He then gave the order to attack and opened the battle with an artillery assault from the hillsides which L'Estrange's forces could not match. After a half an hour into the battle L'Estrange ordered his men to pull back and to retreat along the Carlow road. Whip in hand, and mounted on a fine horse, Fr. Mogue led his men down towards the town entrance and swept into the town square almost unopposed. Instead of pursuing the militia he allowed a small band of his men to besiege the landlord Maxwell's townhouse where a group of snipers were firing at them and the rest of his column to range through the town. Meanwhile up the Carlow road the retreating militia had been joined by reinforcements from the King's County militia. They could hear the sounds of battle that still raged inside the town. L'Estrange ordered a counter-attack. Fr. Mogue was taken by surprise when several cannons opened fired from the Carlow road above him and his men were thrown into complete disorder when they were hit with several discharges of grapeshot and a volley of musketry. The troops then charged into the square causing another surprise to Fr. Mogue and his men and so they fled into the fields. It was a disaster for Fr. Mogue who had lost over a hundred of his men, compared with a mere handful of soldiers killed. The first defeat suffered by the rebel forces in Co. Wexford.

Borris House attacked

Fr. Mogue and the remnant of his column made their way back towards Enniscorthy during that afternoon. The militia forces did not keep up the chase but returned to Bunclody. On Friday the 3rd June Myles Byrne and his surviving men reached the camp at Carrigrew Hill, halfway between Enniscorthy and Gorey, where Fr. John Murphy and his men were halted. There is no reference in any account of Fr. Mogue taking part in the north Wexford engagements. So it is likely that he remained camped at Enniscorthy. Some days later Fr. Mogue brought Patrick Sutton, William Barker and a group of rebels to Lacken Hill and on the way stopped at Newbawn chapel where he said Mass, having a broad cross belt and a dragoon's sabre under his vestments. On the 12th June Fr. Mogue along with Thomas Cloney attacked Borris House. The house was defended by a party of Donegal Militia, local infantry and Walter Kavanagh's corps of yeomanry. The rebels repeatedly launched attacks on the house and the struggle went on for hours, but when Thomas Cloney realised that they could not succeed, he withdrew his forces back to Co. Wexford.

The next account of Fr. Mogue is dated the 20th June when the northern rebels were due to arrive at Vinegar Hill and the government forces were closing in on Enniscorthy. When Fr. Mogue and the other leaders at Vinegar Hill learned that Lt. General Johnson and his column from New Ross had reached

the outskirts of Enniscorthy, William Barker and several units were dispatched to engage him at Bloomfield. A half hearted battle took place in the fading light and afterwards both sides settled down for the night. Meanwhile Fr. Mogue and Fr. Clinch on Vinegar Hill were in a very difficult position there was no sign of the northern army nor of Edward Roche who had been roaming about the countryside between Enniscorthy and Wexford looking for men to make the stand at Enniscorthy. At about midnight the rebels from the north arrived and rescued Fr. Mogue and Fr. Clinch from their vulnerable position.

Fr. Mogue was dispatched to be Barker's assistant at Bloomfield. On the next morning 21st June General Johnson's troops attacked Barker's forces at Bloomfield and drove them back to the streets of Enniscorthy through the Duffry gate. Fierce fighting took place in the Market Square but eventually the rebel units under Fr. Mogue and Barker withdrew from the west side of the town and slipped back across the river. They regrouped there and prepared to defend the bridge.

Retreat from Vinegar Hill

The battle for the bridge that now began was among the fiercest of the day. After Fr. Mogue and Barker launched counter-attacks they consolidated their hold on its east end, as both sides charged and counter-charged along its length. Casualties were heavy on both sides. William Barker was badly wounded and Fr. Mogue took command. The retreat from Vinegar Hill was ordered at about 9 o'clock and the defence of the bridge was now all important to provide effective protection for the right flank of their retreating comrades. Fr. Mogue who was now joined by Billy Byrne kept Johnson's men pinned down at the bridge and provided the required effective protection. Fr. Mogue was now badly wounded but the rebel army itself completed its retreat relatively unscathed. Once the main body had travelled some distance to the south, the rearguards began to withdraw themselves. Fr. Mogue and the units at the bridge got away clearly and made their way to join Fr. John Murphy's column at the Three Rocks in Wexford.

Passes through Carlow

Fr. John declared that he was going to fight on and he planned to push on into the Midlands through Carlow and hoped for support from the Doonane miners who had revolted in May. He then moved down from the Three Rocks and camped that night, the 21st of June, in the woods at Sleedagh taking with him the wounded Fr. Mogue who was weak from loss of blood and carried a shattered arm. The next day they made the long march passed Fr. Mogue's house in Killealy, Mogue was left in a safe house at Murphy's of the Bawnogue. Fr. Mogue and Fr. John had often lodged here when hunting in peacetime. After recovering from his injury Fr. Mogue returned to Co. Wexford and went into hiding with a number of other rebels including Thomas Cloney in the dense woods at Killoughrim.

On the 3rd of July the rebel forces at Croghan received reports of the whereabouts of Fr. Mogue, Thomas Cloney and some other rebels. That night Garret Byrne and Edward Fitzgerald set out for Killoughrim Woods. Eventually they came across some of the rebels who informed them that Fr. Mogue and Cloney were in Moneyhore. A messenger was sent to tell the two rebel leaders of the presence of Fitzgerald and

Byrne and of their request that they go with them to join the army at Croghan. Fr. Mogue agreed to go but Cloney refused. By evening of the 4th July Fr. Mogue had joined the two riders in the woods and when night fell they set off on the journey to Croghan. Shortly after mid night they reached the camp at White Heaps on the Croghan Mountains. The entire north Wexford United Irishmen leadership except for Frs. John and Michael Murphy were now back together after a separation of two weeks.

A dense fog covered the valley of the White Heaps on the morning of the 5th of July, Fr. Mogue along with the other rebel leaders got their camp moving quickly towards the pass that led into Wicklow. The presence of government forces changed their plans. They decided to split into three detachments to evade the governments troops and to join forces again later that day. Fr. Mogue, Edward Fitzgerald and a large band of rebels pushed their way southwards until they reached a former campsite on Carrigrew Hill. Sometime later that evening they travelled ten miles or so and crossed into Wicklow somewhere between Croghan and Carnew. They marched well beyond the Wicklow border before camping in the pre-dawn hours of the 6th of July. Here their next moves were discussed. It was decided that they would set out across the midlands picking up any scattered bands of rebels that they might come across and make their way to Down and Antrim. The march to the north began the next day. On the evening of the 8th of July they camped in the mountains just outside Blessington. Here Fr. Mogue gave them a stirring address, assuring them of the wisdom of the course of action they were now taking and urging them on to one final effort. The journey to Ulster would bring them within the range of many of the concentrations of government militia and so they would have to pick their routes carefully.

The next morning Fr. Mogue and the rebel forces made their way down from the hills and crossed into Co. Kildare. On the 10th of July they met with William Alymer a rebel leader in Kildare, along with the Timahoe rebels at Prosperous and made final plans for the journey to Ulster. Alymer suggested that they make a quick diversion and attack the small town garrison of Clonard which was about fifteen miles away to the west, just across the border in south-west Meath. Fr. Mogue had served as curate here and favoured this move. It was close to midday on the next day when they marched out towards the west and reports of their intentions had reached Captain Tyrrell the commander of the tiny garrison at Clonard. He sent a dispatch to Kinnegad asking for help and drew up his force of twenty men in a small battle line outside the village. When Fr. Mogue and the rebel forces appeared Tyrrell hurriedly withdrew his men to a barracks inside the village. The battle raged on for several hours. Government reinforcements of just under thirty men arrived from Kinnegad. The fight continued until almost 6.00p.m. It became clear to Fr. Mogue and the other leaders at this stage that victory was not in sight and so they disengaged and pulled back after losing a large number of men. They retreated back across the border into Co. Kildare. Fr. Mogue was captured by the militia, was tied and placed on his horse and roped to a tree. The militia party repaired for refreshments and left him to hang, when his horse would move. Every time the horse moved Fr. Mogue was heard to exclaim "Whoa Bobby if ye gang - I'll hang". Two girls of the Robinson family were watching from a nearby house and one came forward and offered to free him - if he'd marry her. Fr. Mogue refused the offer stating that he was a Catholic priest and prevented from getting married. She did release him, however and so Fr. Mogue

escaped death from hanging for the second time. He made good his escape and that night joined the rest of the fleeing rebels who had reached the little village of Carbury and were camped on a small hill nearby. Joseph Holt stormed out of the camp that night after a dispute and headed for the mountains. At dawn the next morning the 12th of July Fr. Mogue and the rest of the rebels marched north-eastwards and at about midday crossed the border at Johnstown Bridge and were once again in Co. Meath. That evening they camped at Dunboyne. On the 13th the march continued with a stop at midday at Garristown Hill, near the Meath Dublin border and by night were several miles into Co. Louth when they halted. Fr. Mogue and company were now within a day's ride of Ulster.

Early on the morning of the 14th of July Fr. Mogue and the other leaders addressed the men. They spoke of how disappointed they were that the people of Co. Meath had not rallied to them but they would continue on regardless. After the speeches they advanced towards Ardee but by now General Wemys and General Meyrick with their columns were in pursuit.

It was decided to make a stand at a spot in a townland called Knightstown and a battle took place. The fighting was intense and many of the rebels were killed. Edward Fitzgerald and a large number of men were wounded badly. Garret Byrne then gave the order to all to take to the high ground and to escape as best they could. Fr. Mogue, Anthony Perry and William Alymer made their way westwards and lost touch with the larger groups.

"Soap the rope"

They entered into Co. Offaly and near the village of Clonbullogue at a place called the "Wheelabout" they were confronted by government forces. Fr. Mogue and Anthony Perry were arrested by two Yeomanry Officers, named Ridgeway and Robinson. They were brought to Edenderry (Cooleystown), where they were tried and sentenced to death. On a large oak tree, on a hill overlooking the town, which today is called Blundell Wood, Anthony Perry was the first to be hanged and then for the third time, Fr. Mogue Kearns faced the hangman. The noose on the rope around his neck would not slip, but a man in the crowd, that had gathered to watch the executions, shouted *soap the rope - two heads is better nor one*. The hangman soaped the rope, the noose slipped and Fr. Mogue died. Both bodies were then drawn and quartered. Fr. Mogue's body was then beheaded and the intention was to spike the head, as a warning of what Croppies could expect when caught. But the spiking never took place, the plan was defeated by a young woman in the crowd, a Mrs. Catherine O'Connell, who retrieved the head and wrapping it in her apron, carried it along the road to Monasteroris graveyard, where with the rest of the remains, it was buried in the O'Connell family plot.

The man who shouted "soap the rope" was persecuted and taunted everywhere he went until the day he died and it is said that the descendants of this man were born with the track of the rope around their neck. The large oak tree that was used as the gallows was cut down in the 1940's, the stump is still to be seen.

In Monasteroris graveyard there is a large Celtic cross erected to the memory of Fr. Mogue Kearns and Colonel Anthony

Carlovians

who served

as

Chaplains

in the

Defence forces

1922-1997

A military camp was established at the Curragh in 1855 and a chaplaincy service was put in place there on the same date.

The service consisted of a Head Chaplain and two assistant chaplains. They held no rank as such but were paid the same rate as a Comdt. for H.C. and as a captain for assistant chaplains.

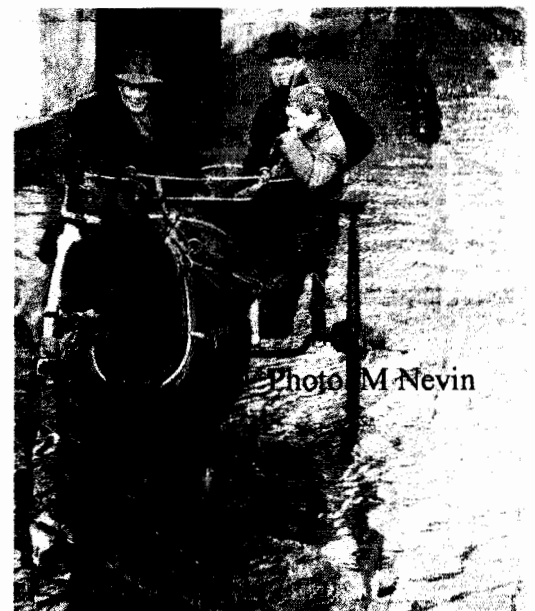
The Curragh obtained the status of Parish in 1965.

Fr. Hughes provided the link from British to Irish Army

Fr. John Hayden
Old Leighlin



Fr. John Hughes Clashganny, Carlow	(1916-1934)	HCF 1922-1934
Fr. Michael Bolger, Carlow	(1916 -1919)	
Fr. Patrick Donnelly Rathvilly, Carlow	(1922-1934)	
Fr. Edward Byrne, Kilquiggan, Clonmore,	(1926 - 1927)	
Fr. William Fanning Rathoe, Carlow	(1934-1944)	
Fr. John Hayden Old Leighlin, Carlow	(1945-1957)	
Fr. Patrick Boylan Ballon, Carlow	(1944-1963)	HCF 1963-1973
Fr. Gregory Brophy Rathoe, Carlow	(1957-1973)	HCF 1963-1973
Fr. Laurence Fleming Kilbride, Carlow	(1963-1977)	HCF 1973-1977
Fr. James Dalton Bagenalstown, Carlow	(1989-1922)	
Fr. Joseph McDermott Carlow Town	(1992-1993)	
Fr. Declan Foley Knockavanna, Carlow	(1993-	



Fr. Wm. Fanning

Secretary's Report

The 51st Annual General Meeting was held on 4th March 1997 in Dinn Ri Hotel, Carlow. The Chairman, Mr Martin Nevin, presided, and thanked everyone for their participation in the 50th Anniversary celebrations. The Golden Jubilee Issue of *Carloviana* was widely praised, and achieved an even higher than usual standard. The focus this year would be on 1798, and the bicentenary celebrations. The Hon Treasurer, Mr Pat O'Neill, presented the audited accounts which showed a small surplus.

The Officers elected were as follows:

Chairman: Mr Martin Nevin.

Vice-Chairman: Mr Kevin Kennedy.

Hon Secretary: Rev. Dermot McKenna.

Hon Treasurer: Mr Pat O'Neill

Editor Carloviana: Mr Thomas Smyth.

Committee members elected appear elsewhere.

Winter Lecturers -

October - "Pointing, and Repair of Traditional Stonework" - Mr Pat McEfee.

November - "St Moling A.D. 614 -696" - Sr Declan Power.

December - Slide Show - Mr Seamus Murphy.

January - "Manor, and Town of Carlow" - Mr Tom King.

March - "Found in a Jug - Patrick Kavanagh's Roots in the Grand Canal" - Sr Una Agnew.

Society Outing:

On 28th June two bus-loads set off for Cobh. They visited Cobh Cathedral, the Naval base at Haulbowline, Cobh Museum, and Cobh Heritage Centre.

National Heritage Day:

This was held on Sunday 21st September, and was observed by a special exhibition of the Jackson Collection in the Museum. I would like to take this opportunity of thanking everyone for their cooperation during the year.

MUSEUM REPORT.

The Committee applied to the Heritage Council for a grant to properly store through archival methods the parts of the Jackson collection in the possession of Mr John Keogh, Leighlinbridge. The Heritage Council awarded a grant of £3,010. With the cooperation of Mr John Keogh, FAS, and Very Rev. Fr Kevin O'Neill, a temporary conservation laboratory was set up in a room in St Patrick's College, to carry out this important work. This has been now completed.

The Committee are still engaged in planning the future development of the Museum. They have held meetings with the Heritage Council, and the local Government authorities. It is expected that once the new Library in Tullow St. is completed, the Museum will be relocated in the existing Library building in Dublin St.

Museum Committee:

Chairman: Mr Myles Kavanagh.

Hon Secretary: Rev. Dermot McKenna

Committee Members: Messers Martin Nevin, Pat O'Neill, Seamus Murphy, Michael Conry, Dermot Mulligan.

From the Chair

Famine commemorations continue and next year many events to commemorate the Insurrection of 1798 will take place in different parts of the country, but in particular in the counties that were most affected, amongst whom were Dublin, Meath, Mayo Carlow, Wexford, Wicklow, Cork, Antrim and Kildare. The Government played a very constructive roll in organising and financially supporting the commemorative events to mark one the most traumatic eras in Irish history, 1845-1849. And have for some time been engaged in preparations for the bi-centenary of 1798 which will be commemorated on an international, national and local scale.

However, as we approach the new Millennium there would seem to be a great lack of preparation by government to mark our entry into the year 2000, the 21st century. Unlike most other European countries where plans are at an advanced stage. In Britain a Millennium Dome is being constructed in London and many Millennium projects throughout the UK are being funded from the British Lottery.

Likewise the Christian Church here does not appear to be making any preparations to honour two thousand years of Christianity. In London a special State service to mark the occasion will be held in St. Paul's Cathedral on a Sunday in January, 2 000.

A crash waiting to happen

We are told that the necessary changes are being made to ensure that government computer data bases and equipment is ready for entry into the new Millennium. That the state will spend at least £12.m to update its system for entry into the second century with three noughts. However, health boards are still awaiting instructions to begin changing their systems. One wonders are things keeping abreast of the Celtic Tiger? Let's hope that the *Millennium bug* will not catch us napping.

Increase in Local history

Judging by the number of contributors to *Carloviana* over the last few years the interest in Local History is increasing. In producing an annual journal, the Old Carlow Society is providing a valuable service to this county which helps to foster and maintain this interest. Over fifty one years much has been written, never-the-less, a lot of Carlow's past is still awaiting investigation.

The Society would welcome articles of interest to our increasing readership from interested people.

Martin Nevin

MEMORIALS TO THE MEN OF 1798



Memorial on Penny Hill, Hacketstown which was erected to commemorate the Battles of Hacketstown, 1798. The memorial was unveiled by Very Rev. Father Dunne, P.P. in 1939.

Photo: W. Ellis



Photo: W. Ellis

Cross at Kilcumney erected in memory of an unnamed Wexford man who lost his life at the site in 1798.

It was unwise to put names on memorials during that unsettled period in our history.

Plaque at Kilcumney

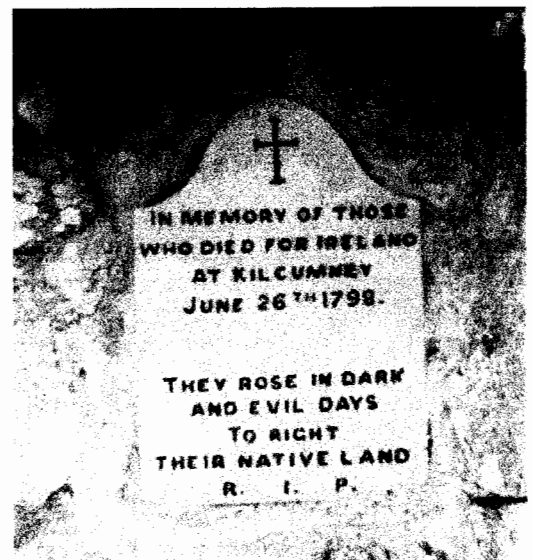


Photo: W. Ellis



Cross slab at Ballynasilloge was according to tradition erected to commemorate two Wexford girls who lost their lives in the 1798 rebellion.

Photo: W. Ellis



-Courtesy, *Nationalist and Leinster Times*.

An artist's impression of the 1798 memorial at Graiguecullen, Carlow, which appeared in *The Nationalist and Leinster Times*, July 30, 1898.

Tradition has it that the three trees on the grave were planted by the mother of the three Maher brothers who were executed in Carlow during the Rising.

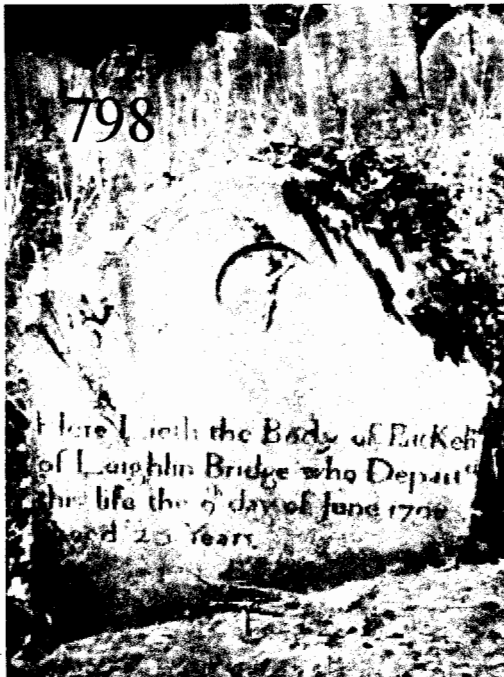
Photo shows the trees as they are at present



**Compiled
by
William Ellis**

Distinguished members of a Carlow family

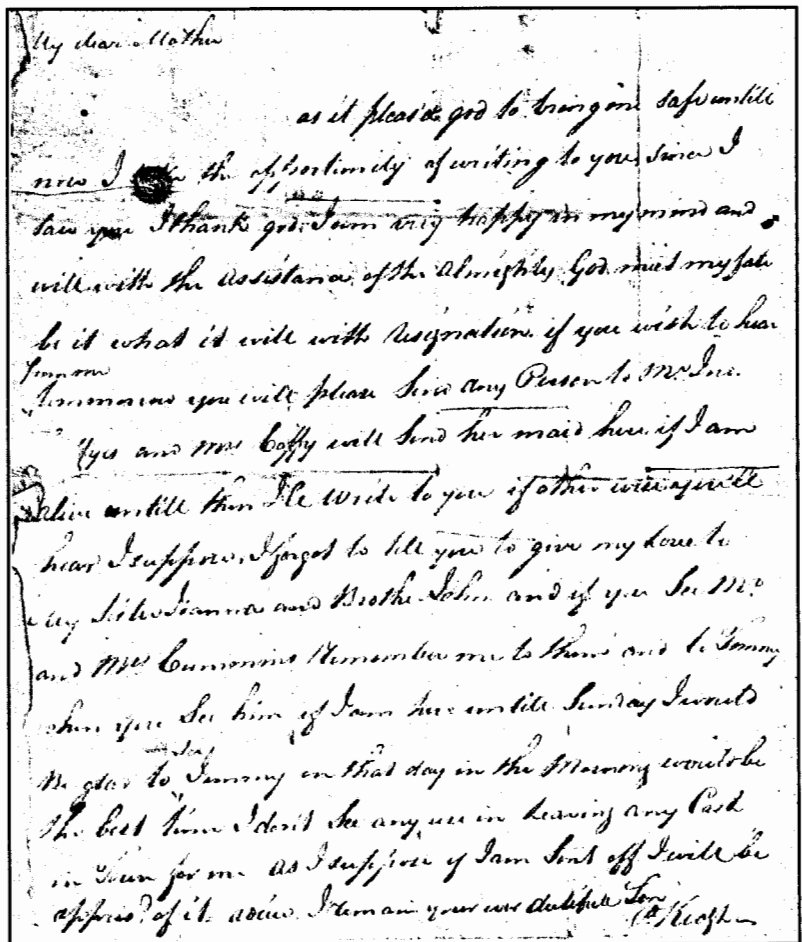
from Orchard, Leighlinbridge.



Patt Kehoe is buried in Dunleckney cemetery

Patt Kehoe had an extensive business in the woollen drapery, spirits and grocery close to where the present Garda Barracks now stands. Reputed to have been one of the wealthiest young men in Leighlin, he was a United Irishman and was executed in Carlow gaol on the 9 June, 1798

Patt Kehoe's letter to his mother, written on the eve of his execution and reproduced with the kind permission of Mr. Myles Kehoe of Orchard.



1916



Nurse Margaret Kehoe

She died for Ireland just as surely as if she'd worn the Volunteers' uniform (Eamonn Ceannt)

During Easter Week 1916, 42 Irish Volunteers occupied the South Dublin Union (now St. Kevin's Hospital, James's St.). Intense fighting took place there on Easter Monday and during a period of quietness word was brought to Nurse Margaret Kehoe that one of the Volunteers lay seriously injured outside. Without hesitation, she rushed down the corridor and bravely stepped outside. Within minutes guns rang out from within the institution and Nurse Kehoe lay mortally wounded. She lost her life while displaying a great devotion to duty coupled with an extraordinary sense of heroism.

The wounded man was Dan McCarthy, who afterwards became Chairman, Central Council, G.A.A. 1921 - 1924

She was buried within the grounds of the Union, but after the surrender the remains were exhumed and reinterred in Ballinabranna cemetery, in her native parish of Leighlin.

A plaque to her memory was unveiled at St. Kevin's Hospital, Dublin on Easter Monday, 1965 by the National Graves Association.



Orchard House, Leighlinbridge where Patt, Myles, Margaret and Blanche were born.

The Colonel from Leighlin who died in one of the greatest battles to grip the public imagination *The Battle of the Little Big Horn* or what became known as *Custer's Last Stand*.

The story of Myles Keogh is one of panache, adventure, bravery, and sacrifice all packed into a relatively short life span of thirty six years. Born at Orchard, Leighlinbridge on 25 March, 1840 his tumultuous career started at the age of 20 when he joined the Papal Army of Pius IX. As a lieutenant in the Battalion of St. Patrick, he saw battle for the first time when he distinguished himself in the defence of Ancona for which he was decorated by the Pope. Fellow Leighlin man and school mate, William J Delaney S.J. who was studying in Rome at the time became chaplain to the battalion. When the short war to unite Italy ended, the lack of excitement in regular service led him to seek further adventure.

Shortly after the outbreak of the American Civil War, Carlow's soldier of fortitude joined the Federal Army, took part in 80 battles, was decorated many times while being wounded only once. While in his mid twenties, he acted as a commander of 3 000 cavalry men with the rank of Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel. Later he joined the peace time army as a captain and found himself in the 7th US Cavalry Regiment under the leadership of Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer.

In the Summer of 1876, the centenary of American Independence, a large scale campaign was waged against the Sioux, Cheyenne and other Indian nations in what is now the states of Montana and North and South Dakota. It was in the valley of the Little Big Horn, a desolate plain, that the Indians, won the last battle to protect their inheritance over General Custer's forces, later known as Custer's Last Stand. Comanche, Keogh's horse and faithful servant for eight years was the only survivor on the battle field. It is said that all of the bodies were scalped and mutilated except those of General Custer and Myles Keogh

Sioux accounts of the battle indicate the great efforts made by one cavalry officer to rally his men. The Sioux chief, Red Horse speaking of the battle in 1881 referred to an officer who rode a horse with four white feet.... The Sioux say this man was the bravest they had ever fought.

So highly was Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Myles Keogh regarded in the Army of the United States of America that a new fort close to the battlefield was named fort Keogh in his honour. No longer a military post, fort Keogh is now a US research station.

Myles W. Keogh

1876



Courtesy:
Myles Kehoe

1943



Blanch (Patrick Blanchfield)

was born on 21 Sept. 1919, the eldest of a family of six to Blanch and Ellen Kehoe. His early schooling was at Leighlinbridge N.S. He received his secondary education at the De le Salle Brothers in Bagenalstown and joined the British Army, in 1940. He served with the 8th. Army as a 1st. Lieutenant during the North African campaign and was killed on 11 July, 1943 during the landing in Sicily. He is buried in Palermo.

*Blanch Kehoe
Courtesy: Myles Kehoe*

Noblesse Oblige



O.7367 Lt.-Gen. Tadgh O'Neill KCPS.

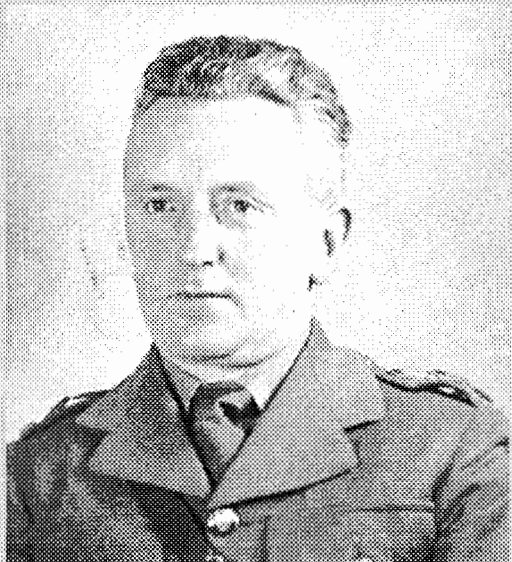
Granby Row, Carlow
 Service Corps - Artillery
 20th. Cadet Class 1946- 48

Senior appointments held:

School Comdt. Artillery Corps	1978-79
OC. 2 FD Artillery Regt.	1979-83
OC. 2 Brigade	1983
EO. Western Command	1983-84
GOC. Western Command	1984-86
Chief-of-Staff Defence Forces	1986-89

United Nations Service

HQ. ONUC. (Congo)	1961-62
UNFICYP. (Cyprus)	1968
HQ. UNIFIL. Sn. OPS. Offr.	1981-82
UNIFIL. Mil. Asst. to FCE. Comdr.	1982-83

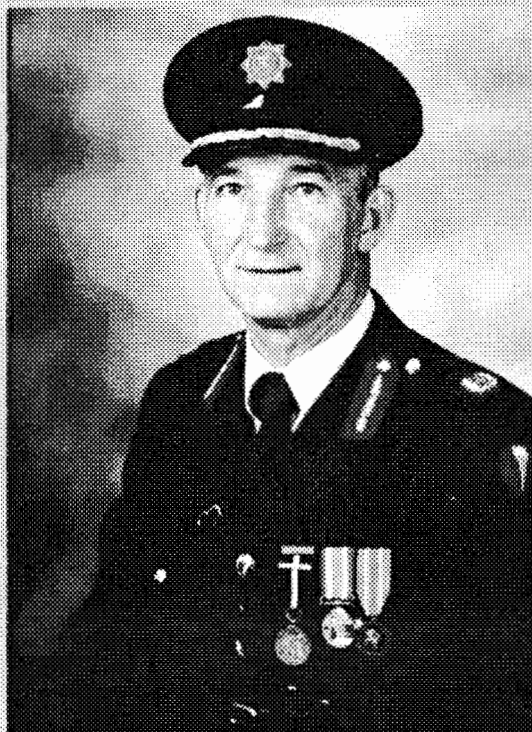


O.1658 Maj-Gen. James Lillis

Tullow, Co. Carlow
 Service Corps - Supply and Transport

Senior appointments held:

Commanding Officer Military College	1950-51
GOC. Curragh Command	1951-52
Assistant Chief-of-Staff	1952-55
Quartermaster General	1955-58



O. 7430 Brig-Gen. Ambrose Brophy

Mill House, Rathrogue, Carlow.
 Service Corps - Infantry
 21st Cadet Class 1948-50

Senior appointments held:

Director Reserve Forces	1983-85
Director Military Police	1985-87
OC. Infantry School, Military College	1987-88
Commanding Officer, Military college	1988-90

United Nations Service

HQRS. UNIFIL (Lebanon)	1982-83
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Ducit A-Mor Patria

O. 4907 Col. P.J. Crowe

Maryboro St, Graiguecullen
 Service Corps - Infantry
 12th Cadet Class 1938-39

Senior appointments held:

Executive officer Western Command	1969-70
OC. Comd. & Staff School, Military College	1970-74
Deputy Adjutant General	1974-77



O. 6874 Col. Eamon Quigley

6 Staplestown Road, Carlow
 Service Corps - Infantry
 15th Cadet Class 1941-43

Senior appointments held:

OC. 28th Infantry Bn.	1973
OC. 5th Infantry Bn.	1975
Exac. Officer, Curragh Command	1978
CO. Infantry School, Military College	1979
CO. 2nd. Brigade	1980-81

United Nations Service

ONUC. (Congo) 33rd. Bn.	1960-61
UNIPOM. Military OBS.	1965-66
UNIFIL. (Lebannon) Deputy COS.	1980

Course abroad	
Staff course, Camberly, UK.	1953



433917 RSM. Des Nolan

Burrin St., Carlow
 Corps - Calvary
 Service 1940-78

Author of
The Calvary Corps Compendium

He researched the material for this article and also compiled the Register of Carlovians who served in the Defence Forces from 1922 - 1984

Units served in

4th Motor Sqdn.
 1st Tank Sqdn.
 1st Armoured Sqdn.
 Cavalry School, Military College

An active member of Lt. K. Gleeson Branch ONE, Carlow.

United Nations Service

ONUC. (Congo)	1960, 1962
UNFICYP. (Cyprus)	1964, 65, 66, 69, 71

Course abroad

Driving, Gunnery, Radio - Orleans, France, 2nd. Huzzard Regt. 1964



Distinguished Military Carlovians cont.

O.4848 Lt.- Col. Peter O'Neill, 3 College St., Carlow.	10th Cadet Class 1936-38
O.4943 Lt.- Col. Jim Crowe, Maryboro St., Graiguecullen, Carlow.	12th Cadet Class 1938-39
O. 5133 Lt.- Col. T.W. Brophy, Mill House, Rathcrogue, Carlow.	13th Cadet Class 1939-40
O. 6877 Lt.- Col. Ger Delaney, Chaplestown, Carlow.	15th Cadet Class 1941-43
O. 5166 Lt.- Col. Jim Breen, Strawhall, Carlow.	13th Cadet Class 1939-40
O. 7291 Lt.- Col. Austin Crowe, Maryboro St., Graiguecullen, Carlow	18th Cadet Class 1944-46
O. 7419 Comdt. Pat Harte, Castle St., Carlow.	21st Cadet Class 1948-50
O. 9182 Comdt. Joe Ryan, Athy Rd., Carlow.	Army School of Music 1980

Carlow man who would not give in to the Reds, so he died.

He wanted to see the world the hard way Mrs. Martin Kavanagh, mother of 37 year old Sergt. Lawrence Kavanagh, St. Patrick's Avenue, Carlow, told a *Nationalist and Leinster Times* reporter this week. A British War Office on Saturday last announced that Sergeant Kavanagh's death, while a prisoner of war in Korea in 1951, was a direct result of his refusal to give into the Communists.

The war office added that the Queen had approved his mention, posthumously, for services while a prisoner. Mrs Kavanagh told our reporter that he was last home on embarkation leave in September, 1950. She wrote to him every week and received replies until he was captured in 1951,

In May, 1953 she received word from the war office that he was believed to have died while a prisoner of war. She spoke to some of Lar's fellow prisoners, who were released and one of them, a son of Sergt. J.N. Shaw, Mountmellick, told her that he had been separated from him and put in a camp for Americans.

National Army

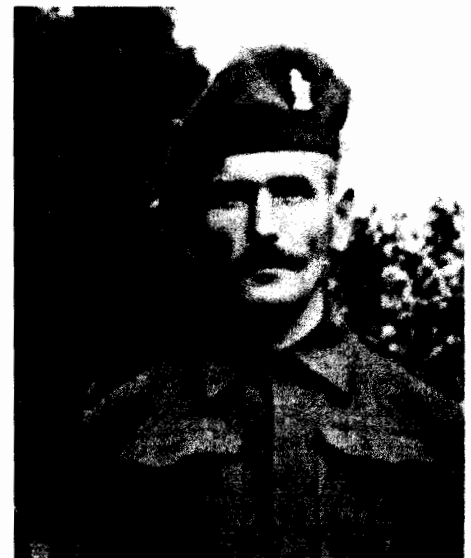
The late Sergt. Kavanagh was educated at the Christians Brothers Schools and later

employed for 6 years as a shop assistant by Mr. P. Duggan, Market Cross. After 12 years service in the National Army, in which he was a Corporal, he joined the British Army and was attached to the royal Ulster Rifles. He volunteered for service in Korea. Reports say that the Communists tried brainwashing and indoctrinated but could not get Sergt. Kavanagh to break. He was ill treated.

A *Daily Worker* correspondent, Michael Shapiro, interviewed him when he was in Chinese hands. Their encounter is mentioned in the report *The treatment of British prisoners of war in Korea* issued last February. It states During the interviews, one Sergeant of the Royal Ulster Rifles, who was suffering from dysentery and the early symptoms of beri - beri, from which he later died, told Shapiro that he was the poorest example of an Englishman I've seen. If I could get my fingers around your scrawny neck, I'd wring it. Shapiro had him marched out with the comment, I'll have you shot.

Refused Proper Food

Because of his stubbornness, Sergt. Kavanagh was refused proper food and medical attention. He died in September 1951. Three of Sergeant Kavanagh's brothers Joseph, Stephen, and John live



Sergt. Lawrence Kavanagh in 1949

Family source

in England, another Martin, is married in Australia, and Dick lives in Grangeford, Tullow. His sister Chrissie is married in Clonmel.

Mrs. Kavanagh and her husband have received many letters of congratulations on her son's stand from people in England previously unknown to them.

Sgt. Kavanagh served in the Cavalry Corps for 12 years, the last five years as a Cpl. in the 4th. Motor Sqn. His brother, Stephen served as Cpl. in 6 Cyclist Sqn, Dick in Laois - Carlow area LDF.

THE LIFE

AND

SAD DEATH

OF

CARLOW M. P. JOHN SADLEIR

1813-1856

John F. Scott



On Sunday morning, the 17th February (1856), as a labouring-man was crossing Hampstead Heath, immediately at the back of the tavern known as 'Jack Straw's Castle,' he discovered the body of a gentleman, cold and stiff. He had evidently been dead for some hours, and was lying on the rise of a small mound in a spot which seemed to have been carefully selected. His clothes were undisturbed; by his side was lying a bottle, labelled in several places, 'essential oil of almonds - POISON,' and still containing a small portion of the fatal liquid. At a short distance from him was a silver cream-ewer empty, but smelling strongly of the same drug. To mark his identity he had written his name and address on a piece of paper which was found in his pocket. He was removed to Hampstead Workhouse where the inquest was held.... There was no room for question in the mind of the jury as to the motive of the suicide, and they returned the only verdict which, under the circumstances, they could return - viz., *felo de se*.¹

So ended the life of John Sadleir who was an MP for Carlow Borough from 1847 to 1852. Nobody could have predicted that it would end like this as Sadleir was a brilliant man, successful in business and politics, and very popular among his acquaintances. He was one of the most flamboyant and interesting MPs ever to represent Carlow.

From Stratford-on-Avon

The Sadleir family came from Stratford-

on-Avon where they were involved in business.² They had close ties with the family of William Shakespeare. Shakespeare's twin children were named after their god-parents Hamnet and Judith Sadleir. The first member of the family to settle in Ireland was John Sadleir who accepted land grants in Co. Tipperary during the Cromwellian period. He came to Ireland in 1660 when these lands were confirmed to him in the Act of Settlement. His third son, Clement married a daughter of William Chadwick of Ballinard near Tipperary town and settled in Ballintemple near Dundrum about eight miles from Tipperary town. Three of Clement's sons had connections with Tipperary. His second son, Clement William lived in Shroneil (previously known as Shrone Hill); Nicholas settled at Golden Garden (now known as Golden on the road from Tipperary town to Cashel), while Richard established himself in Holycross near Thurles. Clement William died around 1771 and his son William also lived in Shroneil. He died in 1791 and was succeeded in Shroneil by his son Clement. This Clement Sadleir was the father of the future MP for Carlow. The family home was Shroneil House and can still be seen in Shroneil; it is about three miles from Tipperary town on the road to Lattin on the left side of the road. It is still occupied.

Wealthy Catholics

Cement Sadleir, John Sadleir's father,

held over 600 acres of land from the local Damer estate near the Tipperary Limerick border. In 1805 Clement Sadleir married Johanna Scully, the sixth daughter of James Scully of Kilfeakle. Kilfeakle is located about five miles from Tipperary town on the road to Cashel. The Saddleirs were Protestants but became Catholics on the marriage to the Scullys. John Sadleir was the fourth son of Clement Sadleir and was born on 17 November, 1813.³ There were also two daughters in the family. The Sadleirs were wealthy Catholics and John attended Clongowes Wood College leaving in 1831. He worked for a while in his cousin's law office in Dublin. He was made a solicitor in 1837. He set up a solicitor's practice in Dublin and Carlow. Later he went to London where he flourished as a Parliamentary agent for Irish railways. He was also chairman of the London and County Joint-Stock Banking Company, chairman of Royal Swedish Railway Company, and had involvement in the Grand Junction Railway of France, the Rome and Frascati Railway, a Swiss railway and the East Kent line.

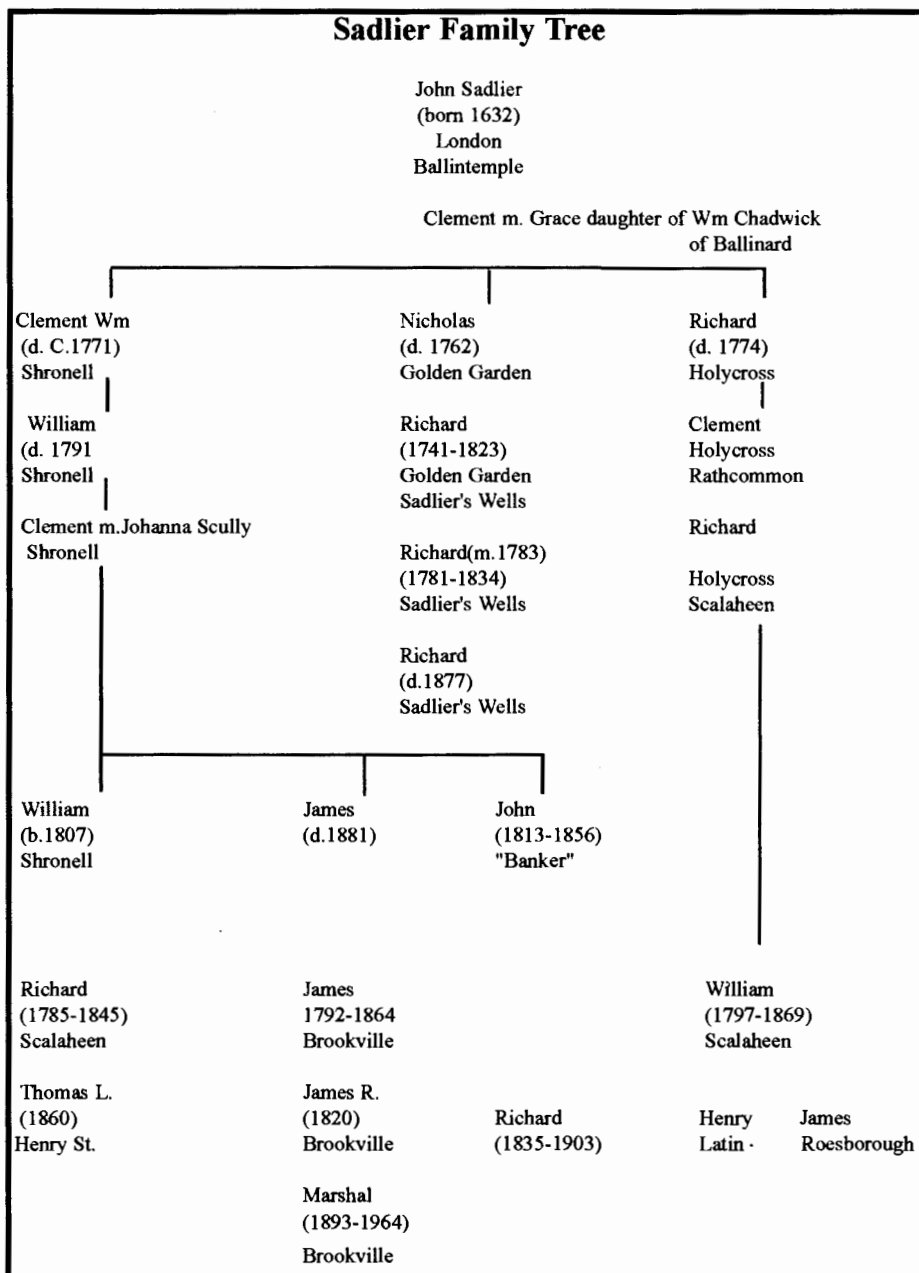
First interest was banking

His career as a solicitor was short as it was banking which really interested him. The family connection with the Scullys was very important in this venture. John Sadleir's maternal grandfather, James Scully, had set up a bank in Tipperary in 1803. This was located on what is now the Main Street at a place known as Bank

Place. There were many small banks at this time. The Bank of Ireland which was established in 1783 was protected by law from competition as no bank could compete against it as any other body of persons more than six in number were prohibited from issuing notes. As a result of this law many small banks were founded in rural areas and James Scully's bank was one of these. During the economic depression in the early 1800s many of these private banks went under. The Bank of Ireland had not opened branches in country places and many areas had no banking facilities. Legislation was passed in 1821 breaking the monopoly of the Bank of Ireland by allowing the establishment of joint stock banks with more than six partners outside a radius of fifty miles of Dublin. Many of the private banks closed. James Scully's bank closed in 1827.

Stock Bank founder

John Sadleir founded the Tipperary Joint Stock Bank in 1838 with James Scully as Chairman. Its premises was the building which previously housed James Scully's bank at Bank Place. Scully's reputation was of great assistance. Sadleir's brother, James was the managing director and all transactions were carried out in his name. Richard Sadleir was the first chairman but by 1842 he had been replaced by James Scully. John Sadleir was, in fact, never a director of the bank and he exercised his influence through this older brother, James.⁴ At the beginning of 1846 there were fifty-three partners, all Irish and mainly from the area of the bank's operations. Sadleir's bank established a close relationship with the Bank of Ireland. "The Tipperary bank was entitled to issue its own notes but by an agreement with the Bank of Ireland in October 1838, the latter's notes were to be issued by the Tipperary bank in return for certain credit advantages."⁵ It was to some extent an extension of the Bank of Ireland. By 1845 it had nine branches. These were at Tipperary, Conmel, Carrick-on-Suir, Thurles, Nenagh, Roscrea, Thomastown Co. Kilkenny, Athy and Carlow. The Athy and Carlow branches were opened in 1845. The Carlow branch was located at Burrin Place where the Junction Stores used to be. It faced the houses at the top of Burrin Street.⁶ Shortly afterward John Sadleir moved to London and his brother James became Managing Director.



John Sadleir decided to enter politics and offered himself as a Liberal candidate for the Borough of Carlow in the election of 1847. The election was set for August 3. The sitting MP Captain Layard intended standing again. However, in *The Carlow Sentinel* of July 10 there appeared an election address from John Sadleir who gave his address as 5 Great Denmark Street, Dublin. He was a Catholic landlord and he was for repeal and if he could get the nomination his victory was assured as the liberal voters had the majority in the Borough.

A Liberal

He described himself as a Liberal in his election address and held that the rigid rules of economics were not suited to the present conditions of the country so long as "our population remains in wretchedness and unemployed." He concentrated

strongly on the rights of tenants and he proposed that they should be compensated if they effected permanent improvements to the land. As well as this he advocated taxing absentee landlords to help support the poor. Much of this was sweet music to the Carlow people. Captain Layard's address, in contrast, concentrated on changes in army regulations, a subject not very dear to the hearts of the locals. Layard was supported by Thomas Vigers and Thomas Houghton. The entry of Sadleir into the contest caused a split in the Liberal camp. Some felt they had a prior commitment to Layard, while others found Sadleir a very attractive candidate. He was after all Irish and his policies were closer to the Liberal cause. Layard was told that his continuing presence in the election would split the Liberal vote and he was reported to have said that was not his concern. This comment did not endear him to the

electorate.

Mr Layard was proposed by Thomas Houghton and seconded by Patrick Lowry. Lowry in his address said that Layard as an Englishman would carry more weight in Westminster than Sadleir who was Irish. Sadleir was proposed by John Tuomy and seconded by Thomas Hughes. Some Tory voters cast for Layard but other voted for Sadleir on the basis that he was an Irishman, according to *The Carlow Sentinel*. Polling took place on August 5 and the result was:

Sadleir	164
Layard	101.

Sadleir now was coming to the apex of his career. His bank was very successful, he was also involved in speculative railway financing and he was chairman of the London and county Joint-Stock Banking Company. A M O'Sullivan described Sadleir at this time in the following terms:

*The repute of his wealth, the extent of his influence, above all the worship of his success, was on every lip. Whatever he took in hand succeeded; whatever he touched turned to gold. He was, everyone said, one of your eminently practical politicians; no mere agitator, but a man of sagacity and prudence, whose name alone guaranteed the soundness of a scheme or the wisdom of a suggestion. He was a decided Liberal and an ardent Catholic and very soon made his mark among the Irish member."*⁷

The Ecclesiastical Titles Act of February, 1851 gave offence to many Catholics. It was put forward by the Liberals but most of the Irish Liberal members voted against it. They delayed the passage of the act until August. Those Irish members who opposed it were known as "The Irish Brigade" or "The Pope's Brass Band". They voted with the Tory opposition and this led to the resignation of the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell. However, he resumed office again as no one was willing to take his place. The "Brigade" co-operated with the Irish Tenant League which was set up in Dublin by Charles Gavan Duffy. Its aim was to provide fixity of tenure, free sale and lower rents. In 1851 an act was passed providing for fair rent and free sale but omitting fixity of tenure. The House of Commons now had the seeds of an independent Irish opposition.

The government fell in February, 1852 and was succeeded by a minority Tory administration under Lord Derby. It was understood an election would follow later in the year. Parliament was dissolved on 2 July and in the coming election Lord Derby hoped to gain an overall majority. In March John Sadleir denied a rumour that he was to stand in Queen's County (Laois) instead of Carlow. In fact, people in Queen's County were trying to persuade him to stand for them. It shows that Sadleir was at that time a very attractive candidate. In the following month *The Carlow Sentinel* accused Sadleir of acting for the Earl of Portarlington and extracting high rents from the tenants on his behalf. However this effort to blacken his name failed as in the following week's edition of the paper⁸ the tenants inserted a notice praising Sadleir for his efforts on their behalf.

The election in the Borough was held on 14 July 1852 and Sadleir was opposed by Robert Clayton Browne. At the hustlings Sadleir was proposed and seconded by Rev. James Walshe, President of St Patrick's College, and Mr Anthony Coffey. Samuel Haughton and Mr Joseph Lynch nominated Clayton Browne. *The Carlow Sentinel*, again allowing its heart to rule its head, predicted an easy win for Clayton Browne. Sadleir was under pressure in this election as his opponent was a local and had much more support than Layard in 1847. This election was important because of an incident which took place during it. A local man, Edward Dowling, who had supported Sadleir in 1847, now pledged his vote for Clayton Browne on the basis that he was a local candidate. Dowling controlled at least four votes and Sadleir contrived to have Dowling thrown into prison on a trumped up charge so that he and his supporters would not vote for Browne. The issue upon which Dowling was put in prison is complex. Apparently he had a loan from the Tipperary Bank in Carlow which was guaranteed by Daniel Crotty but the loan was not then due or payable. The Tipperary Bank in Carlow was, of course, controlled by Sadleir. The bank put pressure on Dowling to repay the loan and when he was unable to do so he was put in jail. When Dowling was released from prison he began proceedings before Chief Baron Pigot and a jury. This action was heard at the Carlow Spring Assizes in 1854. Sadleir was the real, although not the nominal defendant. He was also an important witness. The jury found in

favour of Dowling and awarded him £1100 damages. The verdict meant that the jury did not believe Sadleir.

In the event, Sadleir did not need to have Dowling arrested as he won the election on a vote of:

Sadleir	112
Clayton Browne	95.

After this election there were five grandsons of James Scully senior of Kilfeakle in the House of Commons. John Sadleir for Carlow Borough, his cousin Robert Keating for Waterford County, another cousin Francis Scully for Tipperary County, his brother James Sadleir for Tipperary County and another cousin Vincent Scully for Cork County.

Lord of the Treasury

Following the election, the MPs elected on a tenant rights platform met in Dublin and promised to remain independent of the government. Sadleir was included in this group. The government at this time did not have a majority in the House. It fell in December 1853 and was replaced by a coalition. John Sadleir was offered the position of Lord of the Treasury and he accepted. At the same time William Keogh, MP for Athlone, was made Solicitor-General for Ireland. It was a tremendous blow to the independent Irish MPs. Sadleir and Keogh were seen as turncoats and were reviled. But some did not see their crime as all that great. "Like most politicians they served self and cause together without being clearly conscious of the distinction."⁹ Both resigned from their positions on 2 June 1853 in protest against a slur cast by Lord John Russell on the loyalty of Catholics. However, the Prime Minister rebuked Russell and they remained in office. And it must be remembered that they were not without support in accepting positions from the government. For example, Archbishop Cullen supported Sadleir probably in the expectation of getting him to use his influence in securing appointments for Catholics.

At this time when an MP accepted a position from the government he had to immediately stand again for election. This time Sadleir was opposed by John Alexander of Milford standing for the Conservatives.¹⁰ The election was held

on 20¹¹ January 1853 and the result was:

Alexander	97
Sadleir	91.

According to *The Nation* fifteen Catholic electors refused to vote for him. But this did not finish Sadleir. He stood in a by-election in Sligo in July 1853 and won the seat from a fellow Liberal. He represented that constituency until his death. Sadleir spent most of his time in London but his bank in several towns in Tipperary and in Carlow was flourishing. A relative Thaddeus O'Shea¹² managed the Carlow branch.

Fraud

The Dowling court case was held in 1854 and the result badly damaged Sadleir. He was seen to have used his position in the Tipperary Joint-Stock Bank to have a voter arrested. What he did was illegal and his losing the case allied to his acceptance of a government position made

mechanism to allow the sale of debt-ridden estates after the Famine. Following some regular purchases he decided to acquire a duplicate of the Court's seal and then used it to forge fictitious deeds, on the strength of which he was able to raise additional loans. James Sadleir was a party to the fraud carried out by his brother and letters were discovered later from John to James instructing him on how to "cook the books" of the bank.¹³

When the Tipperary Joint-Stock Bank crashed Sadleir overdraft was £250,000.¹⁴ He defrauded the Royal Swedish Railway Company of about £300,000 and the Bank of Ireland of £122,000. On the 13 February, 1856 the London agents of the Tipperary Bank refused to honour drafts from the Tipperary Bank. On Saturday 16 February John Sadleir could see no way out of his problems. He sent one of his servants to purchase a quantity of poison and then he wrote a letter to his cousin

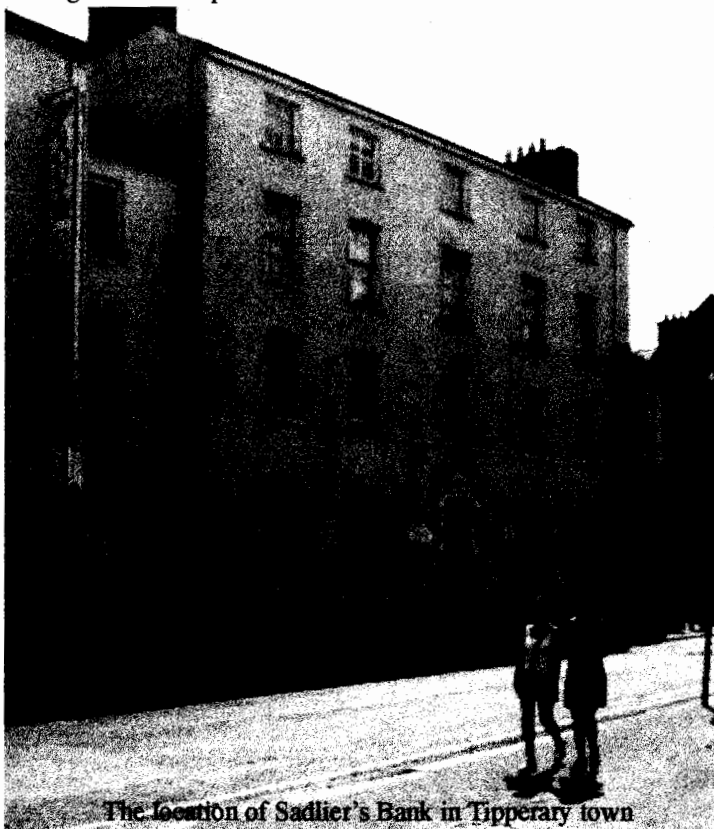
must fall! I could bear all the punishments but I could never bear to witness the sufferings of those on whom I have brought such ruin. It must be better that I should not live. No one has been privy to my crimes - they sprung from my own cursed brain alone. I have swindled and deceived without knowledge of any-one...

Oh, that I had never quitted Ireland! Oh, that I had resisted the first attempts to launch me into speculation. If I had had less talent of a worthless kind and more firmness might have remained as I once was, honest and truthful - and I would have lived to see my dear father and mother in their old age. I weep and weep now, but what can that avail?

Suicide

His body was found the following morning, Sunday 17 February on Hampstead Heath by a labourer. Near his body was the container from which he had taken the poison. On the day before his death he is reputed to have said to a Mr Makenzie, a big speculator in the City, "Good-Bye, I am going to make a long journey and we may not meet for some time."¹⁵ Much opprobrium was heaped on Sadleir. *The Waterford Chronicle* said "John Sadleir died the death of Judas Iscariot."¹⁶ The inquest on his death was held in the Workhouse in Hampstead and the Coroner was Thomas Wakeley Esq. Professor Quegret gave evidence that the stomach of John Sadleir contained opium. The jury returned a verdict of suicide in twenty-three minutes.

News of the problems at the Tipperary Joint-Stock Bank reached Ireland the week before his death. This caused a run on the bank's branches and despite efforts to maintain confidence it was of no use. William Sadleir, John's eldest brother, wrote to priests in the locality of the branches asking them to speak from the altar in favour of the bank. But by this time the news of Sadleir's suicide had become known and the run on the bank continued. In the circumstances the bank was unable to survive.



The location of Sadleir's Bank in Tipperary town

many people doubt his honesty. These doubts were well founded. The bank continued to give the appearance of success and in 1856 it paid a dividend of about 6%. Around this time Vincent Scully, Sadleir's first cousin and a director of the bank, withdrew from the bank and attempted to sell his shares. He gave no reason for this. Sadleir had also bought a lot of land through the Incumbered Estates Court which was a

Robert Keating MP:

Lament

To what infamy have I come step by step - heaping crime upon crime - and now I find myself the author of numberless crimes of a diabolical character and the cause of ruin and misery and disgrace to thousands - ay, to tens of thousands. Oh how I fee for those on whom all this ruin

Leighlin-man

Despite Sadleir's sad ending it must be remembered that the collapse of the Tipperary Bank caused great hardship to many. A Limerick policeman who had lost all of his savings became insane and was later found guilty of murder. In Carlow a man from Leighlinbridge when

he heard of trouble at the bank called into its branch at Burrin Place and sought to withdraw all his savings. The amount was £100. He refused to believe that it was all gone. He rushed out to the street and tried to hang himself. A policeman took the rope out of his hand and prevented him from doing damage to himself. It took a long time to unravel the affairs of the bank. Eventually it was decided that the English shareholders of the bank were not liable for its debts. Depositors finally received 7s 11d in the £. Members of the Sadleir-Scully family lost varying amounts. James Sadleir, John's brother, fled from Ireland in June 1856 and the following year was expelled from the House of Commons. He went to live in Zurich where in June 1881 he was murdered while out for a walk.

Remained a bachelor

Sadleir never married but in 1852 he formed a relationship with "a danseuse, one Clara Morton, of Her Majesty's Theatre, to whom was attributed much of his downfall."¹⁷ It seems that he became a member of the principal London clubs and began to gamble heavily with men much richer than himself. When his own fortune was dissipated he began to draw on the Tipperary Joint Stock Bank. One obituary of him at the time says: "He was personally an inexpensive man; was not known to be addicted to any of the ordinary vices of life, nor has he ever had the reputation of being even generous in his general disbursements. He lived plainly, entertained sparingly, and appeared to limit his extravagance in point of expenditure to a small stud of horses, which he kept in the vicinity of Watford, for the purpose of hunting with the Gunnersbury hounds."¹⁸ However *The Nation* newspaper had a very different view. It declared that "...he was a man desperate by nature and in all his designs. His character, his objects, his very fate, seemed written in that sallow face, wrinkled with multifarious intrigue - cold, callous, cunning - instinct with an unscrupulous audacity and an easy and wild energy. How he contrived and continued to deceive men to the last, and to stave off so securely the evidences of his infamies, until now that they all seem exploding together over his dead body, is a marvel and a mystery."¹⁹

One of greatest

"So died by his own hand, at the early age of forty-two, John Sadleir, one of the greatest, if not the greatest, and, at the same time, the most successful swindler that this or any other country has produced. That he was a man of high talents, few who know him personally can doubt, and had he been content to apply these talents to honest courses, the brilliant opportunities which opened for their exercise would have enabled him to obtain the highest position in the State."²⁰ Even *The Carlow Sentinel*, not an admirer of liberals, admitted that Sadleir was a very talented man and its comments on his death are devoid of bitterness.²¹ Litigation over Sadleir's assets and the liability of the bank's shareholders went on for twenty-six years.²²

In 1857 Charles Dickens published his novel *Little Dorrit* and *Mr Merdle* in it is based on the character of John Sadleir.²³

Mr Merdle was immensely rich; a man of prodigious enterprise; a Midas without the ears, who turned all he touched to gold. He was in everything good, from banking to building. He was in parliament of course. He was in the City necessarily. He was chairman of this, Trustee of that, President of the other...

Faked death

A story persisted for many years that Sadleir had not committed suicide at all but had faked his death and was living abroad. *The Carlow Sentinel* as early as October 1856 printed an article entitled "Is John Sadleir Dead?"²⁴

This question has latterly a definite form, notwithstanding the ridicule attempted to be thrown on the reasoning of those who assume that he is living. There are very many important facts connected with this man's history and career, which leads to the supposition that he is not dead, and the more his affairs are sifted, the more people are convinced that wherever the plunderer is, there is John Sadleir - for there appears to be in round numbers more than a quarter of a million unaccounted for - which has not been shown to be lost by mercantile speculations, gambling in the funds, or gambling at elections in Carlow or Sligo. It goes on to assume that Sadleir bought the election of 1852 in Carlow and says that then a vote was worth between £70

and £80 and this could go up to even £100 around 12.00 o'clock on the day of polling. The newspaper goes on to quote one case of a vote "where a sum of £500 was offered for a vote, with a cadetship in the Irish Constabulary for the son of the elector." Doubts were cast on the identification of the body found on Hampstead Heath and criticism was made of how the Coroner conducted the post mortem. After the post mortem *The Carlow Sentinel* says Sadleir was interred in a cemetery in the neighbourhood of Heygate. Later it was removed from there and shipped to Dublin but where, it asks, was it then buried. Some correspondent of the newspaper alleged that the body that was shipped to Dublin was that of a child.

Thomas O Duinn in "An Irishman's Dairy" in *The Irish Times* of 25 April, 1995, tells us that many Irish people refused to believe that Sadleir was dead. "An American newspaper in the early 1870s revived this belief with a sensational story of his (Sadleir's) discovery and arrest at a place called Avarranches in France. The story was that when Sadleir found himself cornered, as a result of his financial transactions, he approached a surgeon with an offer of £3,000 if he could procure a body of his own size and deposit it on Hampstead Heath. The surgeon, the story went on, consulted a resurrectionist who had agreed to do the job for £100. Sadleir, it was alleged, confided his plans to a confidential butler who, acting on his instructions, was on the Heath when the body was discovered, and announced that it was that of his master. At the inquest, the story alleged, the body was identified by the surgeon, and the butler and the resurrectionist never broke silence. The account went on to state that some years later a man, named Bridge, from near Roscrea, who had lost a large sum of money in the Tipperary bank recognised John Sadleir, although greatly altered, in a restaurant in France. Bridge wired particulars to Dublin and a detective was sent across to arrest Sadleir."

All of these stories were untrue and there is no doubt but that the body found on Hampstead Heath on 17 February 1856 was that of John Sadleir. It was difficult for people to believe that Sadleir, a man so much in control in all situations, could break completely in the end. He had been successful in everything and people found it hard to credit that his affairs were

in such a mess. He had been a successful MP and a successful businessman. He was a Catholic success story at a time when the loss of O'Connell was severely felt. But in the end his crime was that he let down his own and defrauded the people who supported him, many of them of modest means. His name, perhaps fading now, was a byword for treachery.

with the person.

³ Some references give 1814 as the year of birth but 1813 is the correct date. John B O'Brien in 'Sadleir's Bank' Journal of Cork Historical and Archaeological Society, LXXX11, 1977, p.33 gives 1811. Most references say that Sadleir was forty-two when he died.

⁴ The Emergence of the Irish Banking System, 1820-1845, G L Barrow, Gill and Macmillan, 1975, p.161.

In 1848 he married the daughter of Mathew Brinkley of Parsonstown, Co Meath. After his election in 1853 he again stood in the General Election of 1857 when he defeated Arthur Ponsonby.

¹¹ Malcomson, *The Carlow Parliamentary Roll*, Dublin: M H Gill, 1872 gives January 19 as date of the poll but Walker, *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland 1801-1922*, Dublin: Royal Irish Academy 1978, says it was held a day later.

¹² O'Shea was later chairman of Carlow Town Commissioners.

¹³ O'Brien gives a vivid account of the effect of the bank's crash in Tipperary town quoting from the diary of James Hackett who was a clerk in the Tipperary office.

¹⁴ For a detailed account of how the bank crashed see *History of the Bank of Ireland*, F G Hall, Hodgis Figgis, 1949, pp.224-231. The crash took place on 13 February 1856.

¹⁵ *Bucks Herald*, 1 March, 1856.

¹⁶ *Waterford Chronicle*, 1 March, 1856.

¹⁷ This is mentioned by Thomas O Duinn in an article in *The Irish Times* on 25 April, 1995.

¹⁸ *Dictionary of National Biography*, p.531.

¹⁹ *The Nation* 1856. A good source of information on Sadleir exists at the Tipperary County Library Headquarters in Thurles. It consists of a roll of microfilm containing articles with references to Sadleir from numerous newspapers and journals.

²⁰ Malcomson, p.89/90.

²¹ It is interesting to note that the previous MP for the Borough of Carlow, Captain Layard also committed suicide.

²² O'Brien, p.37.

²³ In the novel, Fanny Dorrit marries into the rich Merdle family. The Merdles own a bank just as Sadleir did. The bank collapses and Mr Merdle commits suicide. George Bernard Shaw said that Little Dorrit was "a more seditious book than Das Kapital" and reading it as a youth made him a revolutionary.

²⁴ *The Carlow Sentinel*, 4 October 1856.



Burrin Place as it is today where Sadleir's Bank was located

¹ Quoted in Malcomson, *The Carlow Parliamentary Roll*, Dublin: M H Gill, 1872, pp.89/90. Felo de se means self-murderer.

² For information on the family history of John Sadleir I am indebted to Dr. Denis Marnane, *Land and Violence: A History of West Tipperary from 1660*, published by the author, 1985. The Sadleir family tree is taken from p.73. In the family tree b = born, d = died, m = married. The place referred to in each case gives the property most associated

⁵ Marnane, p.74.

⁶ *Carloviana*, 1947, "Burrin Street Long Ago" by Edwin C. Boake, pp.14/15.

⁷ Quoted by Marnane, p.74.

⁸ *The Carlow Sentinel* April 17, 1852.

⁹ *A New History of Ireland*, Vol V, W E Vaughan (Ed) Oxford, 1989, p. 406.

¹⁰ John Alexander was from Milford and was the eldest son of John Alexander. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin where he received his MA.

Cont. from p.41

Fr. Mogue Kearns

(A Rebel Priest in 1798)

By Myles Kavanagh

Sources.

The People's Rising (D. Gahan), *Fr. John Murphy* (N. Furlong), *Wexford History and Society* (K. Whelan & L. Cullen), *Priests of Ninety-Eight* (Seamas de Val), *Musgrave, A Soldier Priest* (L. Mc Shane), *The Robinsons of North Kildare* (J. Robinson), James Timmons Forrestal, Seamus Rafferty, Mogue Kearns & Robert Kavanagh.



Tilled field to the right, known as the "Camp Field", Tomduff where the Rebels rested on their way back to Wexford in 1798.

Members of the Old Carlow Society, from left: Jimmy Moran, Darby Doyle, R.I.P; Michael O'Connell and Tommy Clarke.

Megalithic Dawn

over

Blackstairs Mountains

Joseph M. Feeley & Roger Jones

This period in pre-history was long before the Celts invaded Ireland. It saw the arrival in Ireland of the first farmers, probably via the north-east. They populated the northern part of the country initially and gradually moved south. The country was then thinly inhabited by earlier settlers who were primitive hunters and gatherers. The neolithic peoples arrived with domesticated animals and a knowledge of husbandry and agriculture. They would have found a country thickly forested and with large areas of bog and marsh. Since the only reliable way of transport was by water we find that field monuments and villages are invariably close to the coast or if inland are close to a river or lake.

The materials use by the stone age peoples for tools and weapons were local stone, flint for knives and arrows, timber, animal bones, horns and antlers and skins for clothing. Knowing when to plant crops was of vital importance to these early farming communities, hence their interest in solar alignments at different times of the year.

Each community having established a territory seems to have set itself the task of building megaliths in the vicinity usually on high ground. The purpose of these structures (often elaborate and requiring thousands of man hours to gather materials and construct them) remains a mystery. For several hundred years they have been examined and excavated. Many are the theories put forward, each generation has brought their own perceptions, culture and technology to bear on the problem.

In previous centuries investigators used excavation and linear measurement. In recent years Geiger counters, magnetometers, ultra-sound detectors, electro-magnetic field recorders, infra-red cameras etc are frequently used.

In the last thirty years in particular disciplines other than archaeologists have studied the megalithic mystery with surprising results. It has been found that many sites are aligned to underground watercourses and 'energy tracks' discernable through the use of dowsing rods. Many sites show electromagnetic anomalies and behave in a strange way in the presence of electric storms. Certain sites are known to be aligned to the rising or setting sun at certain important times of the year.

Local people refer to megaliths as 'druids altars' or 'giants graves' or assume them to be the burial places of some great chieftain or warrior. Megaliths are found all over Europe. The largest include Carnac in Brittany, Stone Henge in England and the Boyne Valley in Ireland.

It is the opinion of the authors most likely that megalithical monuments were used for several purposes eg. as solar observation sites, to mark energy tracts, sites for religious cere-

monies, tombs,
The current study only considers solar sites.

The Solar Year

Taking the simplest case of four seasons to begin with;



Fig. 1

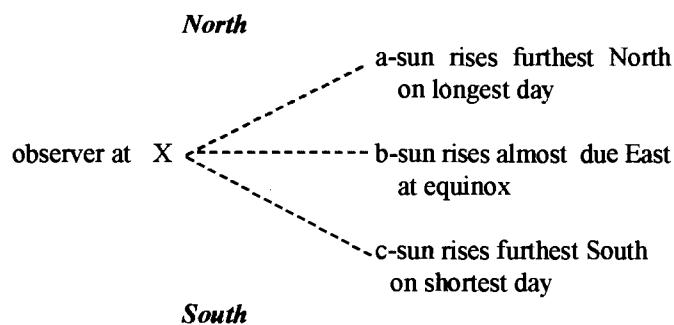


Fig. 2

Hence an observer located at point 'x' would see the sun rise at 'a' (North East) on the longest day, at 'b' (East) at the equinox, and at 'c' (South East) on midwinters day.

The sunrise would then move northwards again, being at 'b' for the Spring Equinox and so back to 'a' for the following midsummer day.

If the previous 4 periods are further split using a cross-quarter day we get eight periods of approximately 6 1/2 weeks in our solar year.

Eight Seasons

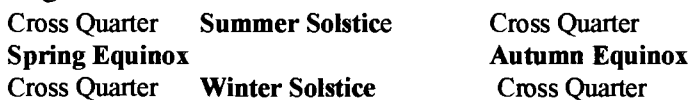


Fig. 3

Hence the ancient solar year would have had eight periods of 45.6 days duration. The start of each period can be determined by observing the position of the sun either at dawn or at sunset (but not both on the same site). If the rising sun (dawn) is cho-

Celtic	Christian	Solar Event	Modern Date	Azimuth Degrees
1.	Christmas	Winter Solstice	21st Dec	134
2. Imbolg	Candlemas	X Quarter	4th Feb	121
3.	Easter	Spring Equinox	21st Mar	105
4. Bealtaine		X Quarter	6th May	70
5.	St John	Summer Solstice	22nd June	60
6. Lunasa		X Quarter	6th Aug	70
7.	Michelmas	Autumn Equinox	23rd Sept	105
8. Samhain	All Souls	X Quarter	8th Nov	121

Methods of Observation.

The checking of solar alignment to establish when a quarter begins has been practised throughout the world with different methods being used.

For example;

Method A - Five stone pillars known as gnomes are erected in a large semi-circle at a certain distance apart. The observer watches the sun rise from behind a particular pillar.

Starting from the left they stand in the following positions; Summer Solstice / X-Quarter / Equinox / X-Quarter / Winter Solstice

Method B - Same stone alignment as at Method A but the sun's shadow aligns on a central stone.

Method C - Instead of pillar stones, holes or slits in a curved wall are used. (This method used in ancient China)

Method D - A long narrow passage covered by a tumulus is used to determine accurately one important date eg Winter Solstice (midwinter day) as at Brú na Boinne (Newgrange)

Method E - Similar to Method 1 but use natural hill or mountain top or other permanent topographical feature easily visible from a fixed observation point eg dolmen or cairn.

(We have not found any reference to this method in a literature search!)

sen there are five positions to be checked over a full solar year. However we are not aware of any site to check the cross-quarter dates. The daily shift in sunrise position is most noticeable at the Equinox and the sun seems to stand still as the Solstices approach. Consequently its behaviour is similar to that of a pendulum.

It is now reckoned that there has been a forward shift in dates since neolithic times. For example at the time Newgrange was built (3000BC approx) the Winter Solstice occurred on the 24th Dec, whereas it now occurs on the 21st Dec. All other solar dates have similarly shifted forward. The reason for this anomaly is that the earth has since shifted on its spin axis and will continue to do so over a 26,000 year cycle.

The commencement of each of these solar seasons was celebrated with much festivity, some would say debauchery by our ancient ancestors. With the introduction of Christianity these pagan festivals were gradually christianised and became an integral part of the Celtic Church.

Many of the solar dates are remembered in rural areas today with major horse fairs, pattern days, visiting of holy wells, festivals etc. Other dates have been merged with the Universal Christian Calendar as indicated by Table 1 above. The original eight calendar periods were increased to twelve as the Roman Church replaced the earlier Celtic Church throughout Ireland and Britain.

Neolithic Sites in South County Carlow

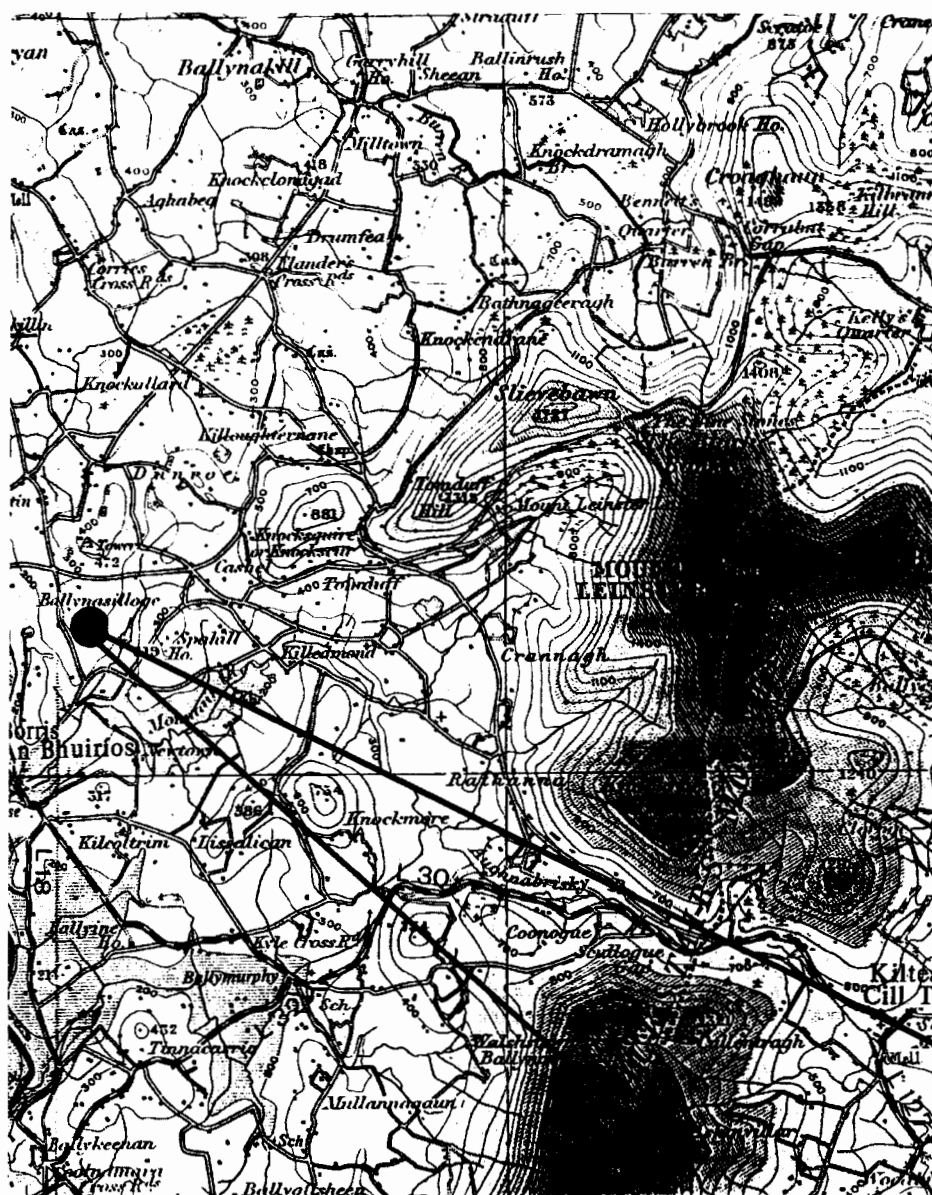
The recently published *Archaeology Inventory of county Carlow* has been used to find suitable sites. Ten possible megalithic sites are listed for County Carlow. However only sites in sight of the Blackstairs mountain range were examined in our study namely Donore (Dun an Or), Knockmore and Ballynasilloge (Townland of the Spittle). Of these Donore does not give a clear view of the mountain and the Knockmore megalith has unfortunately been destroyed. The remaining site at Ballynasilloge is sited about 4 miles due West of the Scullogue Gap. It is marked as a national monument with an OPW plaque.

Archaeology Inventory of Co. Carlow states as follows;

"Ballynasilloge

OS 22:3:2(588,585) OD 300-400 27467,15223

Portal-tomb Marked 'Banshee Stone' on 1839 OS 6" map, but marked incorrectly on 1908 revision. Displaced capstone (3.7m x 2m x 0.35m) originally resting on two portal stones and door stone. Partly collapsed chamber faces E. No clear evidence for



Based on the Ordnance Survey, by kind permission of the Government (Permit No. 6549)

cairn or mound. (JRSAI 1983,91)”

This rather small dolmen is situated on high ground in the corner of a field, easily accessible from the adjacent laneway. It sits atop an outcrop which protrudes above ground forming a granite pavement.

The stones to build it had only to be moved a few yards. The site affords a panoramic view of the mountain range. Unfortunately large trees obstruct the view in several places and consequently most readings had to be taken from the field nearby.

The purpose of our survey was to prove that this dolmen was sited so that our Stone Age ancestors could tell the seasons of the year by observing the sun rise behind the neighbouring hills to the east. All the sites mentioned were checked for suitability using the Ordnance

Survey Map 19 -Carlow/Wexford. Scale Factor; 1/2 inch=1 mile.

A protractor was used to check the angles from azimuth (Geographical North) as given in Table 1 on the map. These azimuth angles were published in Old Moores Almanac based on data from Dunsink Observatory (1986)

The actual solar alignment angles were then checked on site with a simple type of theodolite.

Table 2
The sun was expected to rise behind each of the following hills as seen from the dolmen at Ballynasillogue (Map Ref S74 52)

Sunrise

- @ Summer Solstice Slievebawn (1727’)
- @ Spring/Autumn X-quarter Scullogue Gap
- @ Equinox Gap between Mt Leinster & Knockroe
- @ Winter Solstice Caher Roe’s Den (2409)

Observations were taken over a one year cycle beginning with the Autumn Cross Quarter on Nov 8th 1996 and ending with the Summer Solstice of June 22 1997. A major problem with this site was cloud-out occurring on the event date. It was often necessary therefore to check the sunrise immediately before and after the scheduled date in order to get a proper reading.

The sunrise position at Winter Solstice and at both Autumn and Spring Cross Quarter showed remarkable agreement with the positions predicted at Table 2. All other positions moving northwards ie Equinox, Cross-quarters and Summer Solstice gave very poor agreement. This seems to suggest that the Ballynasillogue Dolmen was sited to monitor the Cross-Quarter dates and Winter Solstice only.

The Cross-Quarter dates of Imbolg (November 8th) and Imbolg(February 4) were very important occasions to our ancient ancestors Imbolg saw the 'coming of the light' when the Earth reawakened after long Winter (La Le Bride and Candlemas). Samhain on the other hand meant the 'forces of the dark'; Winter begins ,all crops harvested, a gathering in, time to take stock, reflection,remember our ancestors etc.

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- <http://www.active-mind.com/mysterious>

Carlow College

Pittsburgh

Pennsylvania

(U.S.A.)

Carlow College



Sharing a spirit of success

Source: College Brochure

Rev. Dermot McKenna

For generations of Carlovians, the name "Carlow College" has been synonymous with St Patrick's College. More recently this term has been extended to the Regional Technical College.

But there is another Carlow College, located in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. What, may one ask, is the link between Carlow, and Pittsburgh? The link lies, as I discovered, in St Leo's Convent. In December 1843, a group of seven women religious from St Leo's Convent in Carlow, arrived in Pittsburgh to found the first group of Sisters of Mercy in the United States.

Frances Warde

They were led by Mother Frances Warde. She was born in 1810 just outside Abbeyleix. Her Mother died shortly after her birth. Her Father sought help from her Mother's family - the Maher's of Carlow. They were related to Cardinals Cullen, and Moran, and Fr John Maher, P.P. of Carlow-Graigie, and Professor of Theology, and Sacred Scripture in St Patrick's College. A sister of her Mother, and later an uncle helped to rear the family. As a child Frances was very religious, and greatly impressed Bishop J.K.L. at her Confirmation.

Sister of Mercy

In 1827, she went to live in Dublin, and there met a woman who was to have a profound effect on her life - Catherine McAuley - the founder of the Mercy Order. She was so impressed that she became the first Sister of Mercy to be professed by Mother Catherine McAuley in the Chapel of Mercy in Baggot St. For a few years she worked with the other Sisters in Dublin.

Carlow

Bishop Edmund Nolan - the Bishop of Kildare, and Leighlin requested that a Mercy House be set up in Carlow. Sister Frances Warde was appointed first Superior of the Carlow foundation by Mother McAuley. A small group of nuns including her, and Mother McAuley set off on 10th April 1837 to travel to Carlow by stage-coach. When they arrived, they were wel-

comed by Bishop Nolan, the clergy, and laity of the town, and escorted to the Cathedral for a Te Deum. After the Service, they attended a reception in Carlow College, and were invited to visit Braganza House, Bishop Nolan's residence. However the Sisters chose instead to go to the nearby Presentation Convent. Later that night they moved into their own temporary convent.

Scraggs Alley

Soon they began visiting the poor, and the sick, and instructing children, and adults in the convents. The poorest families lived in a dirty little alley called the "Scraggs". One family took their half-door off its hinges to provide a clean path-way for the nuns. Mother Frances begged them not to repeat such action. The name "Scraggs Alley" survives to this day over the door of a fine local hostelry on the same spot.

St. Leo's Convent

The foundation stone for St Leo's Convent was laid on 20th May 1837. Just over two years later, it was completed, and Mother Frances, and her Sisters moved into it on 2nd July 1839. It was described as "the handsomest convent in Ireland", and nuns were often sent there to recuperate after illness or exhaustion caused by overwork. Mother McAuley thought highly of it.

Invitation to Pittsburgh

In October 1843 Bishop Michael O'Connor, Bishop of Pittsburgh, and a friend of Cardinal Paul Cullen who was a nephew of Fr James Maher, Frances's cousin, visited Carlow to appeal to the Sisters to work in his Diocese. Seven were chosen. They were Mother Frances Warde (Superior), Sister Josephine Cullen, first cousin to Cardinal Paul Cullen, Sister Elizabeth Strange, first cousin to Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman, Sister Aloysia Strange, novice, and first Sister of Mercy to make her vows in the States, Sister Philomena Reid, novice, Sister

Veronica McDarby, Sister Margaret O'Brien - the first woman to be received as a Sister of Mercy in America.

Arrival in Pittsburgh

They travelled by carriage to Dublin, and then to Kingstown, taking the ferry to Liverpool. As soon as winds permitted, they boarded the "Queen of the West". Just four weeks later, they arrived in New York. After they had recovered from the crossing, they set off in two stage-coaches for Pittsburgh, arriving on 20th December 1843. The next morning, they participated with Bishop O'Connor at the Eucharist. 21st December became the foundation day of the Sisters of Mercy in America. On the following day Mother Frances Warde, and her Sisters opened the first Convent of Mercy in America in a rented building in Penn St, naming it St Mary's Convent. The first Mercy religious reception in the States took place on February 22nd 1844, in the Convent Chapel. Margaret O'Brien received the religious habit, and the name Sister Agatha. She came from Marlboro St, Carlow-Graigue, and was to become superior of the Chicago community.

Later that year Mother Frances opened St Mary's private School for girls, the first run by the Sisters of Mercy in America. The care of the sick was also a major concern to her, and the other Sisters. With the full support of Bishop O'Connor, she opened the first Mercy Hospital west of the Allegheny Mts, in St Mary's Convent building.

Although she was to set up Mercy foundations in many other parts of the United States, Pittsburgh was always close to her heart. In time her work became widely appreciated by the citizens. In March 1966, as part of the one hundred, and fiftieth anniversary of its charter as a city, Frances Warde was named one of the ten outstanding women of Pittsburgh. In 1969, Mount Mercy College was renamed Carlow College in her honour.

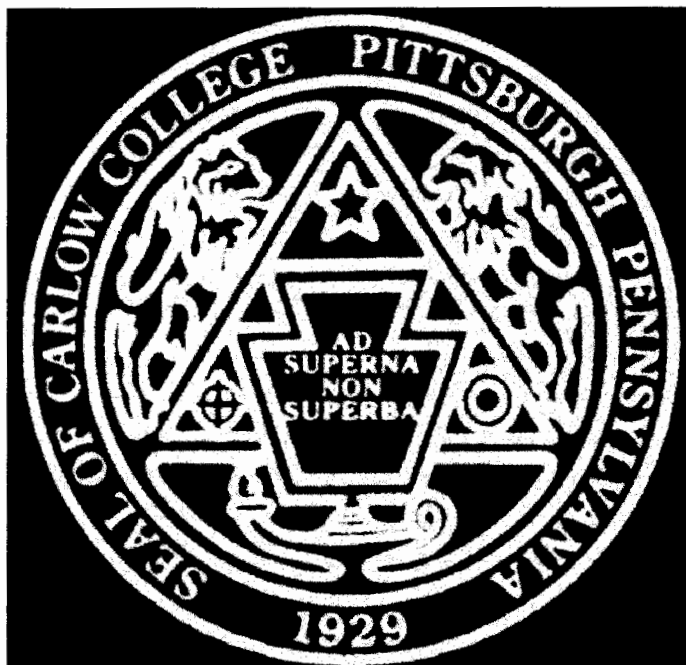
Carlow College

It was founded in 1929 as a Catholic Liberal Arts College for middle class women. It opened on the Feast of Our Lady of Mercy, 24th September 1929, following Mass. The co-founders of the College were two remarkable nuns, Mother M. Irenaeus Dougherty, the first President, and Sister M. Regis Grace, the first academic Dean. Shortly after the College opened, the stock market crashed, and the Great Depression began, ending Pittsburgh's economic boom. Under the able guidance of Mother Dougherty, and Sister Grace, the College survived, and was established as a centre for "the true scholar, and true woman with ability for real service." Sister Kathleen Healy, author, and lecturer, states that "the Sisters had little financial resources, but they had vision, courage, experience, and administrative skill." Initially there were twenty-four students (freshmen) taught by seven faculty members- one lay woman, and six Sisters of Mercy.

Mission Statement

The aims of Carlow College are, perhaps, best expressed in its Mission Statement "The Mission of Carlow College, a Catholic Liberal Arts College, is to involve persons, primarily women, in a process of self-directed lifelong learning which will free them to think clearly, and creatively, to discover, and to challenge or affirm cultural, and aesthetic values, to respond reverently, and

sensitively to God, and to others, and render competent, and compassionate service in personal, and professional life" This statement hangs in Grace Library, named after Sister Grace.



Carlow Seal

In order to market itself as a Catholic Woman's third level institution, the College adopted the motto "Ad Superna non Superba" "to the eternal, not the perishable". Here they were guided by Fr Jerome D. Hannon, Chaplain, and later Bishop of the Diocese of Scranton, Pennsylvania. The motto was inscribed in the seal of the College which was designed by Sister M. Clare Besterman, first chairperson of the Art Department. Several major symbols are included. They are

- (1) The Keystone of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.
- (2) A Five-pointed star representing wisdom.
- (3) The Irish Cross, suggesting the Irish heritage of the Sisters of Mercy.
- (4) A Triangle representing the Blessed Trinity, and Roman Catholic affiliation.
- (5) A Roman Lamp signifying knowledge.
- (6) Two lions rampant borrowed from the coat-of-arms of Catherine McAuley's family.

Carlow Graduates

The College has grown in enrollment since the early years. Its first graduation took place on 6th June 1933. Since then Carlow College has produced more than 9,000 graduates. They are to be found in various fields eg they have worked with Dr Jonas Salk in the development of the Polio vaccine, participated in biological research in Antarctica, been named "Pennsylvania Teacher of the Year", and ABC-TV News "Person of the Week".

Revision of Charter

In 1966 the charter was revised to allow the granting of academic degrees to men. The first male student graduated in the mid 1970s. However the number of male students, and graduates is much smaller than their female counterparts.



St. Joseph's Hall - Leisure Centre - including Swimming Pool, Gymnasium, Fitness Centre

Modern College

The Campus is located in a 13 acre park setting, overlooking the Monongahala river valley. About eight hundred students are enrolled in day courses, of these 93% are women. Total enrollment including evening, and weekend courses is two thousand, five hundred. The average class size is 15-20students.

The College offers 30 majors leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Science, Bachelor of Science in Nursing. Subjects range from Philosophy to Biology, Mathematics to Communication Studies, Accounting to Computer Science. Certification of Professional Courses are also available, eg Law, Dentistry, Medicine, Special Education. Graduate Degree Programmes eg Master of Education, are also offered.

In general the College has a good range of courses on a wide variety of subjects, providing excellent third-level education.

Conclusion

Today there is still a close link between Carlow College, Pittsburgh PA, and Carlow. That link is the Mercy Order. Without the spiritual leadership, and initiative of Mother Frances Warde, and her dedicated group of Sisters from St Leo's, Carlow College would not exist today. Over the years, the Sisters on both sides of the Atlantic have remained in close contact. Because of the Mercy Order, Carlow College, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, (USA), joins with St Patrick's College, Carlow, and Carlow Regional Technical College as

major centres of third-level education. They all have much to contribute to learning.



Frances Warde Hall, Carlow College

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3. Sister Patricia A. Hodge - Director of Archives, Pittsburgh, PA
4. Dr Paul Pegher - Director of Publications - Carlow College, Pittsburgh PA
5. Sister Nessa Cullen - Director of Archives, St Leo's, Carlow.
6. Fr J. McEvoy - Editor of Carloviana St Patrick's College, Carlow.
7. Mr James Mulvihill - Pittsburgh PA.

Could it be that at last we are beginning to see progress in ending the feud which has divided this land for so long. At the beginning of the summer, as "Drumcree Three" loomed closer, it looked like we were going to experience another summer of discontent. Then, with the courageous decision of the Grand Orange Order of Ireland and the revulsion expressed by Unionist and Nationalist alike, on both sides of the border, after the murder of the two RUC men in Lurgan we have the unequivocal cessation of all IRA violence. The community waits with bated breath to see what happens next. All of this gives me more hope in writing than I had thought not so long ago.

Next year we will be remembering the events of the 1798 Rebellion not to celebrate a victory but to seek to build a movement for peace and reconciliation, based upon a fuller understanding of this period of history and the ethos of both sides so that Irish men and women can be united regardless of their political or religious persuasion: to come to terms with our mutual history which has so divided and imprisoned us for so long having been misunderstood and misinterpreted sometimes even used to bolster one or other side rather than aiding historical understanding. All too often our understanding is too one-dimensional so that we lose sight of the other angles only seeing what supports our version of events. Some see this as "revisionist" but surely with the passing of time we continue to learn even if that means deserting the "sacred cows" of our tradition.

After the two General elections many people voted in the way they thought best to persuade the politicians to get down to talks. I was very interested to read the election

manifesto of Sinn Fein, taking careful note of the words used which sounded so democratic and had the feel of a constitutional party suggesting a link with the United Irishmen, not least with the acknowledgement that Irishmen come as Protestants, Catholics and Dissenters. Then with the shooting of the R.U.C. men and the sounds of Drumcree/Garvaghy Road optimism began to wane again to the point that the news became a source of depression.

UNITED IRELAND?

Rev. Jack Drennan

Like William Drennan I am Presbyterian and like his father, Thomas, I am a minister in the Presbyterian Church in Ireland both by birth and by conviction. The Presbyterian of the 18th century was considered by the authorities to be even more dangerous than the Catholics. This helps to explain why the Penal Laws applied to these men and women and why the Presbyterian minister was not acknowledged as ordained: this had the effect of nullifying any marriages performed by the minister, a right freely given to the Priest. Presbyterians were subject to frequent prosecutions and to expensive litigation in the church courts of the Establishment if married by their own ministers. John Barkley, in an essay called *The Presbyterian Minister in Eighteenth Century Ireland* cites Kirkpatrick who wrote in 1713 of the extreme provocation when he said: ¹

by numerous and violent prosecutions in the spiritual courts of many of untainted reputation who are libelled and prosecuted as fornicators merely for cohabiting with their own wives, whom they

married according to the Presbyterian way

Marianne Elliot in her recent biography of Wolf Tone, underscores this when she says ²

.....with its church structure, anti-authoritarianism and doctrine of a direct covenant between God and man, put them out of step with contemporary patterns of authority and deference.

She goes on to make the point

that their Calvinism translated into political terms meant that even though they considered civil authority to be God's representative on earth, they did not and could not recognise any such authority in which the church was not sovereign - actually Presbyterians would not use the word church here, rather they would prefer to think of the sovereignty of God. They had, and still have, an ingrained dislike of prelacy, aristocracy and authoritarianism in government. They saw themselves as leading their slavish countrymen {i.e. Roman Catholics} to salvation and Tone was happy to endorse this. In those days these men were in the vanguard of the push for democracy.

What were they against in the 18th century? Were they Irish Republicans? Would they have sided with Sinn Fein today? The answer to these questions has to be, yes and no. It all depends on what you mean by Irish Republicanism and I suggest that their view of the present state and their theological view of the state would not allow them to side

with any violent strategy except in extreme situations. They were Republican in the sense that they were deeply concerned for democratic representative government. What they were really against was corrupt government and government which was not based upon the principle of representation. Unlike the Republicanism of today there's was not based on what some have called {the British and Irish Communist Organisation among them} the issue of *national peculiarity* ³ That it was not particularly Gaelic and it did not require any denominational adherence which is often associated with the word today. Their "republicanism" was more associated with the Rights of Man and the French and American Revolutions. The Declaration and Resolutions of the Society of United Irishmen of Belfast of October 1791 spoke of the corrupt nature of the government and of the rights of the people. What they wanted was a national government and an "equal representation of all the people in Parliament".⁴

All of this agrees with the radical nature of the Presbyterian and was shown in other jurisdictions where many of that church rose to prominent positions and who went on to devise structures of government which had more than a striking resemblance to the Presbyterian Church. Many Presbyterians today are unionist in politics and would adhere to the constitutional monarchy yet if you scratch them you will find more than a touch of the dissenting republican. The battle for this parliamentary democracy and representative government has been won within the Westminster model as far as they are concerned.

As a Christian belonging to the reformed, and reforming,

family of churches I believe that we can make just as big a contribution to the current situation. As a church we are committed to the word of God as laid out in the scriptures of the old and New Testaments and in that word we find a call to engage with the world. We are called to help people to find peace with God and with man and so this is not the time to retreat into the safety of the ghetto. This is not the time to think of "ourselves alone" whether that be orange or green. Now is the time to work for a New Ireland.

As a Presbyterian Christian I find much of help in the Old and New Testaments. In the Book of Nehemiah we read of:

Those who survived the exile and are back in the province are in great trouble and disgrace.

It goes on to show that Nehemiah's response was to sit down and weep; *For some days I mourned and fasted and prayed*⁶ After this he got permission from the king to go and begin the task of rebuilding the city, temple and walls. The story is a great example to us and shows how men of faith were not dissuaded from their work and when the opposition arose so they increased their approaches to God. As the holiday time approached it soon became obvious that many of the peace loving people of Northern Ireland had decided to go away over the 12th holiday.⁷ Expectations of a repeat of last year were high but then so was the prayer of the people of God both in Ireland and overseas. The result, as many would see it, is the current IRA Cease fire.

The methods used by the paramilitary organisations over the past 25 years would also call in question any justifying link to the men of the '98. What

moral justification can there be for a campaign of violence which has killed and maimed so many non-combatants? In Nehemiah's case the opposition also came in the form of intimidation and violence and even murder.

They all plotted together to come to Jerusalem and stir up trouble.

They too discovered that one of the tactics of the enemy was to talk while sharpening their swords at the same time. His response was to pray and post a guard on the walls day and night. With every step forward came an uglier form of attack but the response was always the same - they prayed and reminded the people that the might of God was greater than that of the enemy. There have been many ugly events in this land over the past 25 years and very often men have resorted to the politics of the latest atrocity and that usually meant a widening of the community gap along with a distancing of the politicians. Nehemiah was never intimidated into stopping his work, he was determined to finish the task.

Fortunately there has been a lot of cross community work down over the years and some people have grown in their political maturity and commitment to constitutional democracy. What we need to do is to learn how to live together in the midst of difference. In the '98 the question of Irishness did not depend upon denominational background and belief. Today there is the idea that to be Irish means being a Roman Catholic. We are not newcomers, we are just as Irish as anyone, even if we don't speak the native tongue and some have descendants from Scotland.

Today Presbyterians are usually found in the unionist camp and part of the reason

for this is that in the 18th century they were, along with their Roman Catholic neighbours, outside the ruling elite but with the passing of time they were able to gain entrance into this group and have played a major role ever since.

As a Christian I believe that all of the earth belongs to God and not to any one of us, the land we live on is given to us on trust and its up to us to use it wisely and inclusively - too often we have clung onto the land, or our money or whatever for fear of losing it and the truth is that we have already lost it since we are no longer able to enjoy it, being too busy defending it. A sense of this inclusiveness of all the people is very necessary, in the unionism of the day before the Civil Rights Movement fear, on both sides, had the effect of making for an exclusive body politic. Those who could not espouse the crown and union were excluded from power, partly due to their own decision but also due to the will of the elite. Many today have realised that this was both wrong and short-sighted. Yet the problem remains the same how do you include and incorporate into the government those who do not support and in some cases, even recognise the right to exist and govern that state? How you allow those who have actively worked against the state, sometimes in violent ways, to have an active role in the affairs of that same state?

Living in the Republic as I have done now for nearly ten years I have learnt some important lessons: Firstly it is possible for the minority to become alienated. Perhaps this is too strong a word but there have been times whenever the majority fail to remember that not all the community are Roman Catholics and that "The Church" can mean different

things to different people. We must "include" rather than "exclude" in the way we speak and act without prejudice to our own theological and political beliefs. I heard, with a sense of regret that Bertie Ahern, the new Taoiseach, had said that he considered himself the leader of the nationalist population in Northern Ireland. Surely this is to espouse the very policy of exclusion that the Unionist have been blamed for many years. Surely the Taoiseach is to work for and lead all the people, unless he is denying the constitution? Gerry Adams was reported in the Times of 19th July as saying that Mr. Ahern had said he was pushing for "significant and substantial changes" benefiting the nationalist people in Northern Ireland.

Surely we have learnt nothing if we have not learnt that "significant and substantial changes" will need to be made by all the people.

Secondly that it is necessary for all the people to play their part in the community. There have been times when Protestants have kept their heads down and failed to take their place in the new Republic and its only now that some are beginning to feel that they too are Irish citizens. I know there have been leading Protestants in government and other areas of life and that in my experience their contribution has been more than welcome but in the past there were many who just felt too alienated and that they were just caught on the wrong side of the border and really looked to Britain for their allegiance. If the day arrived when there was an agreed Ireland account would surely have to be taken of the traditions of this sector of the community: They will not simply be subsumed into the state but will be forming a partnership and that will mean looking at

the constitution and other symbols of the new state such as the flag and the National Anthem. Can we learn anything from the Hong Kong agreement where there are two systems in one country? Or from the new South Africa where the two anthems are given equal standing, at least on the short term?

Lastly I have learnt that the real enemy in the Ireland of today is not Unionist, Nationalist, Catholic, Protestant or Dissenter but

SECULARISM. The real enemy is the thinking in which God is excluded and replaced by materialism of various hues.

Unity will not be found in mere political structures, it needs to be firmly rooted in the heart. If we could only find a unity based upon all that naturally unites us and appreciate all that is different so that they enrich us then we would begin to see changes and then who knows about the politics? Yet it may well be

that the unity of heart and mind that we seek will best be accomplished by setting aside any institutional framework, allowing for a time of national healing.

1 *The Presbyterian Minister in the Eighteenth Century* by Rev. Principal John Barkley in *Challenge And conflict Essays in Presbyterian history and Doctrine*. Published by W & G Baird 1981 Ltd.

2 *Wolfe Tone: Prophet of Irish Independence* published by Yale University Press 1989

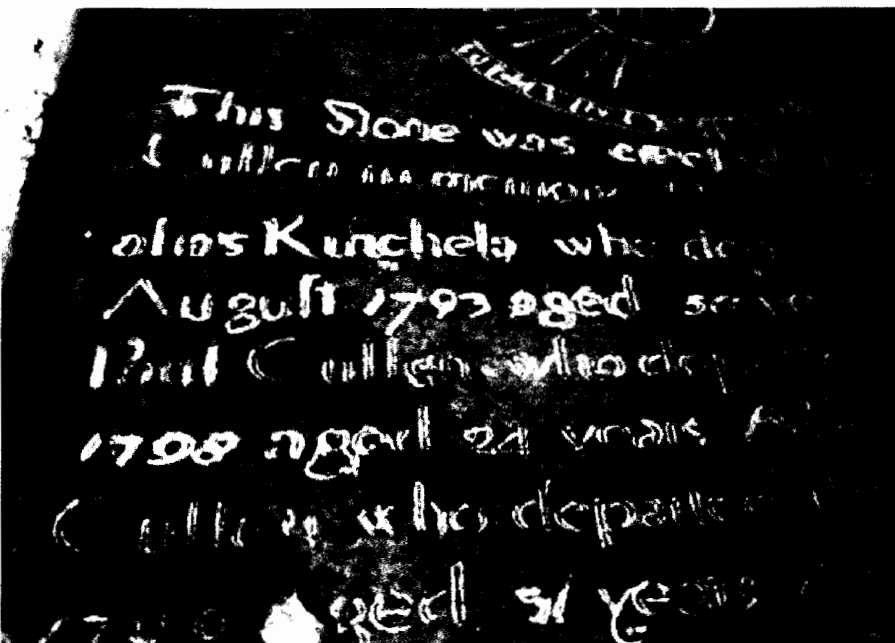
3 British and Irish Communionist Organisations: This comment was made in an introduction to a United Irish Reprints NO 4 called Belfast Politics.

4 Elliot

5 Nehemiah 1:3 in the New International version

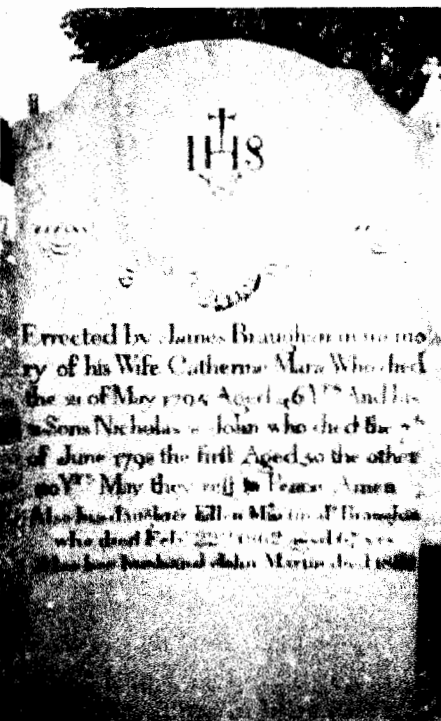
6 Nehemiah 1:4

7 12th holiday is the annual holiday celebrating the Battle of the Boyne when the Orangemen walk to various assembly points in Northern Ireland, called *the Field* and listen to speeches and make resolutions about the current political situation. Yet the Orangemen themselves would want to stress that they walk to celebrate freedom of religion as their primary purpose. The order dates back to 1795. Some historians have claimed that the Orange Order was encouraged by the government as a counter-revolutionary force but Professor Finlay Holmes in *Our Presbyterian Heritage* [published by W & G Baird in 1985] says there is no evidence of this.



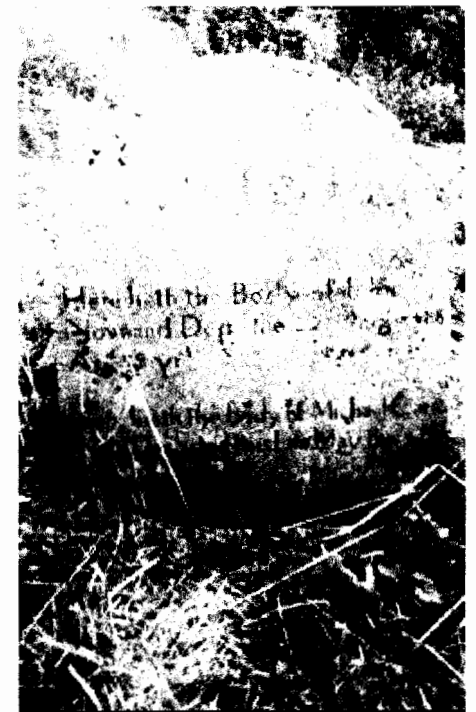
Paul Cullen was 24 years of age when he was executed in Leighlin on the 31 May, 1798. It's not certain whether the shooting took place in the Inn Yard, then known as Market Square, or on Murder Lane, referred to as Bloody Lane by Cardinal Moran. The tombstone above was erected to his memory in Nurney cemetery where it subsequently got broken and was taken away to Cullens of Craan, Leighlinbridge. The part of the stone where it stated *Shot by the Crown Forces* is missing.

Paul Cullen was an uncle of Paul Cullen, archbishop of Armagh 1850-1852; archbishop of Dublin 1852-1887, delegate apostolic and Ireland's first Cardinal. The Cardinal's father was interceded for by a Miss Lecky and escaped execution in 1798.



The Braughan brothers were executed in Leighlinbridge and are buried in the Cathedral cemetery, Old Leighlin

Michael Carroll was executed in Leighlinbridge and is buried in Dunleckney cemetery.



The First Irish President

By E. Kinsella

On the evening of Sunday 16th November, 1798, a south-bound coach stopped at the Royal Oak Tavern, Co. Carlow to have a change of horses and to take off a sick passenger. It must have been a shock to the innkeeper and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Mulronee to see that the man carried from the coach was in chains and heavily guarded. We assume that they were not told who the prisoner was, for had it been known, the story of the chained prisoner would have been told and retold around the firesides during the long winter nights on the Carlow/Kilkenny border, as was the story of Fr. John Murphy's hanging in Tullow after the Battle of Kilcumney on 26th June 1798. Or as P.J. McCall recorded the fame of John Kelly of Killarn, similarly a ballad might have been written about the first Irish President and how he was to die a prisoner in chains at the Royal Oak.

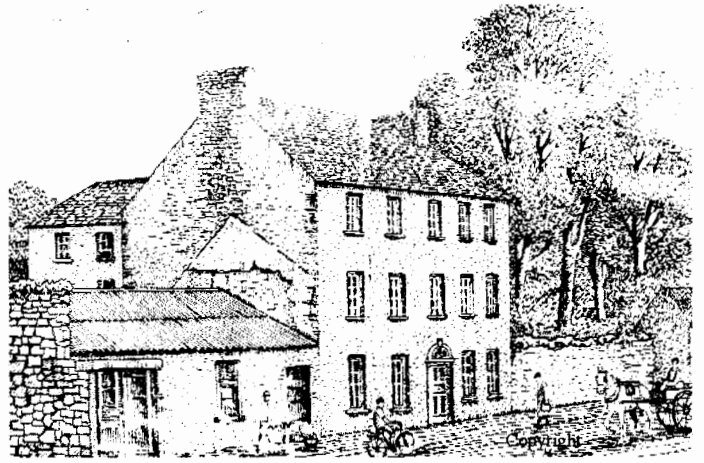
Studied abroad

The prisoner was John Moore aged 31 years. He was born in Spain in 1767 and the son of a wealthy Co. Mayo landowner, George Moore, who had a big estate on the shores of Lough Carra near Ballintubber. George had gone to Spain and married Katherine de Kilkelly of Bilbao who was descended from the O'Neills of Tyrone. After some years George took his wife and family back to Lough Carra in Mayo, but he sent John to study, when he was of age, to Liege in Belgium. Later John went to Sorbonne in Paris. When John came to Ireland to live and study, it was to Dublin he went, to the Law Courts and Law Library.

Joined United Irishmen

He joined the United Irishmen, and spent much of his time in the riverside taverns along the Liffey, where he came to know many of the people at the top of the United Ireland movement and became a member of the Dublin Directory. On the evening of 12th March in the spring of 1798, while on his way to a meeting of the Directory in Oliver Bond's house, Bridge Street, Dublin, on turning the corner into the street, John Moore beheld a crowd outside the house. He passed on as if he was going elsewhere. It was on that night that the Dublin Directory was arrested and so the planned uprising of the south-east of the country was upset. John Moore went home to Mayo to await the coming of the French, but where they were going to land, neither he nor anyone else knew. The rising in the south-east took place in the end of May; it was short and bloody, but hoped for "wine from France" did not flow.

Sunday 24th August was warm and sunny for a day in late summer in the county Mayo town of Killala. At noon on that day three ships sailed into the bay and set down their anchors. No notice was taken of this as all three ships were flying British Naval flags. The local clergyman seems to have been the only man ashore to show an interest in the ships. He was looking for-



The Royal Oak Tavern

Sketch: Tommy McAssey

ward to being invited aboard in the evening and had told his wife to have his best coat ready. But at 2p.m. the three ships lowered their flags and ran up three French flags. The word went around that the "French were in the Bay". Having shown their colours, the ships moved over to Kilcummin Strand and there they off loaded 900 troops of the French army, stores and supplies.

Appointed President

General Humbert of the army of France had opened a bridge-head on Irish soil. The ships, when the unloading was finished, set sail for France. Humbert marched his small army into Killala and took the town without a fight. A rider was sent post haste to Moore Hall, on the shores of Lough Carra near Ballintubber some 50 miles away, to inform John Moore of the landing. Moore was in Killala by the next morning, and as he could speak French, Spanish, English and Irish, he was of much help to General Humbert and his staff. A Proclamation issued by General Humbert read: "Citizen John Moore is hereby appointed to the rank and title of President of the Republic of Connaught."

Tactics

The army council under General Humbert set about to capture the town of Castlebar having taken Ballina. To take Castlebar, which was an important British town, the French-Irish army could make one of two moves. They could travel east of Lough Conn or march west of Ballina and over the Nephin mountains by Bofeenaun, Windy Gap, Burren and into Castlebar from the north-east. This would take them over the mountains and through bogs and also it was to be a night march. 900 French, eight regiments of infantry, 9,600 men and four cavalry regiments of 2,400 - a total of 12,900 men. The French left their heavy guns in Ballina because of the night march and terrain. Humbert wanted to attack Castlebar at dawn, which he did. The English knew that Humbert had left Ballina, so they sent out scouts to look for him to the east, but to no avail. The attacking army was in the streets of Castlebar before the defenders knew it, so they dropped their guns and ran and the affair became known as the "Races of Castlebar". By this time General Humbert must have been thinking of his supply linewhich by now was stretching too long. He was hoping for the promised reinforcements from France, and more supplies. A supply ship did sail from France, but no troop ship sailed. The supply ship did reach the Irish coast, in fact it got to Donegal Bay. It foundered at Mullaghmore in Co. Sligo, 8 miles south of St.

John's Point Lighthouse. Some local fishermen took the crew off the wreck.

Back in Dublin in the meantime, Lord Cornwallis, the Viceroy, had called his General staff and gave orders to all commanders north and south to send reinforcements to the west. He also sent General Lake (who was in Wexford) post haste with orders to hold the line and not to attack until he, Cornwallis got to the 'field'.

Cornwallis set out from Dublin with his staff by way of the Royal Canal on one of their barges - maybe only barge! There was a carriage waiting for him at Termonbarry, Co. Roscommon, here he was some 60 miles from Castlebar 'as the crow flies'.

Sought terms of surrender

On the 8th September the major English forces in Ireland confronted 900 strong French and the amateur army of the mainly Mayo farmers and small holders, and the place was Ballinamuck. The French were low in supplies, and had no contact with home. The Irish morale was low after 16 days and nights with no place to lay a head and no field kitchen for sustenance. Had Napoleon not said that an army marches on its stomach! The Irish-French army disintegrated on that day. General Humbert and John Moore sought terms of surrender, which were lenient on the French, but deadly severe to the Irish - Humbert and his men were returned to France in lieu of English Prisoners.

John Moore was arrested and a legal battle began between the military and the civil authorities as to whom should have custody. All this time since his arrest he had a broken arm and a badly cut face for which he does not seem to have got any medical aid. He was sent to Athlone, then to Dublin and back to

Castlebar. The Viceroy turned down a petition to have him pardoned - this was put up by the County Mayo Landowners. All of this saved him from hanging as were many in the early days after surrender.

Mulroney household, Royal Oak

Little is known of John Moore from the time of his arrest, until he was taken into the Mulroney household on that day in November "sick, barefooted and in chains". In the book or novel, "The Year of the French" Thomas Flanagan tells the story of John Moore being lodged in Waterford Gaol and being removed to the Royal Oak Tavern where he died in October '98. Flanagan also writes of John's older brother, George, travelling from Lough Carra to Waterford Gaol to visit John to give him a bank draft for £1,000. Could it be so when we read British State Papers in the British Museum which are thereby quoted:

"On Friday December 16th 1798 John Moore died at the Royal Oak Tavern, Carlow, of an illness and obstinate disorder. His remains were privately interred at Ballygannon cemetery. He had been some weeks since on his way to Duncannon Forth, but had taken ill at the Royal Oak Tavern. He was not only permitted to remain there, but received all possible medical assistance and every other indulgence compatible with his safe keeping."

The reader may ask where in Ballygannon cemetery? One can take different views - (a) the English forces in Ireland did not want the grave to become a shrine or (b) that it should read Ballyellen.

Note 1: The Mulroney family were the forebears of Brian Mulroney P.M. of Canada. After the Mulroneys left the Royal Oak for Canada the Hackett family became proprietors of The Tavern.

Note 2: George Moore, the distinguished Irish novelist and author of

Obituaries

Thomas Smyth

For many years, he worked as a Custom, and Excise Officer in Kennedy Avenue, carrying out his duties diligently. Always a keen sportsman, in his younger days, he had been a county footballer, and hurler. Retirement enabled him to spend more time on the Golf Course.



A deeply religious man, he was a great exponent of the Irish language, and a staunch republican.

He was also a very active member of the Old Carlow Society, and took part in everything. He went on this year's outing to Cobh, and enjoyed himself enormously. He served as Treasurer, and later as Editor of Carloviana. His editorials demonstrated his scholarship, and linguistic skills. Quotations from Roman

orators, and Irish writers flowed from his pen. Under his guidance, Carloviana has reached a very high standard. The Golden Jubilee Issue was widely praised. The Old Carlow Society is much obliged to Tommy for his contribution over the years.

Darby Doyle

Darby Doyle was an invaluable source of information on the Seven Stones/Mt Leinster/Killedmond area. A farmer, he knew every inch of that part of Carlow. A genial soul, he was always willing to share his vast knowledge of the district with local historians. Without his input, much important information would have been lost.



Ancient Jewellery in Carlow

Seán Cawley BSc, PhD, FICI

Head of the School of Science,
Regional Technical College,
Carlow.

This is a preliminary report of an examination of two jewellery items, in the possession of a resident of Graiguecullen in the urban district of Carlow and geographically of County Laois. The artefacts were examined under a medium power (20x) stereomicroscope and subjected to a semiquantitative analysis by x-ray fluorescence spectroscopy (XRF). The first item, on the left in the photograph, appears to be composed of lead, coated with nickel and the second is composed of copper with a thin coating of silver or silver alloy and containing some surface yellow metal globules.

The first artefact, the 'Amphora', is a gently convex pendant piece of jewellery, 4.65 cm high, 3.13 cm wide and about 3mm thick. It is silver grey in colour, is shaped like a 'flat' amphora and has a hole in the neck. Half of a surface layer, of nickel-silver aspect, is worn off. The design on the front, in relief, represents a lady in a full length gown, with a jug in her right hand and a soldier in uniform presenting her with a platter. The obverse

is plain, concave and of rough texture. Some abrasion of both surfaces reveals an under layer of a greyer, lead-coloured material.

The amphora is said to have been found between the late 1960's and the mid '70's, on the site of a demolished row of houses on the banks of the Barrow river, in Graiguecullen, on what is believed to have been Hunt Street. The original houses are said to have been built about 1810AD. The piece was found at a low level, on the surface of the ground, corresponding to the level of the foundations. Incidentally, new apartments are currently under construction on the site, this time facing this famous waterway.

The second artefact is an Ansato Cross (Crux Ansata) 4.6 cm wide, 4.7 cm long and some 6mm thick. It is said to have been found in the vicinity of a county Carlow portal tomb. The cross is of bronze colour and uneven surface aspect. Some pitting is evident under the microscope which incorporates some green and some rust coloured materials. Blobs of

yellow metal occur in a fracture, at the extremities of the cross, on outer portions of the ring and on the centre of the central 'sphere'.

The "Amphora"

The amphora design consists of a soldier, resembling a centurion, wearing a tunic, helmet and carrying a shield, together with a lady whose dress and hair arrangement are, as is the soldier, typical of first to second century AD Rome. The date of the design is thus probably between 50 and 200AD. The edges are rounded, as is the raised detail, suggesting a long life of wear as a pendant.

Indentations around the pendant shoulder and top, suggest that it consists of two plates. If so, the first plate could represent repoussage work, on to which a plain flat plate was hammered, to increase its thickness. If this were true it is strange that the edges were not fully finished by subsequent filing.

Microscope analysis of the surface reveals a plating of nickel-silver appear-

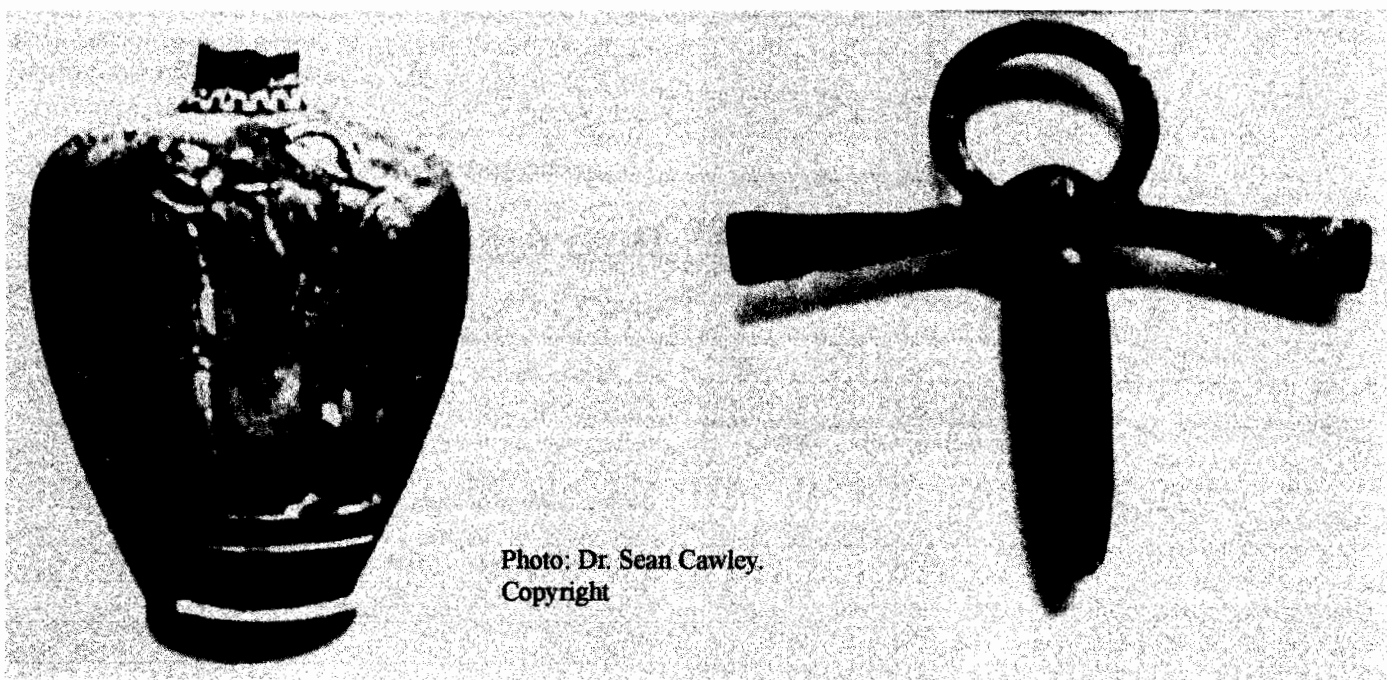


Photo: Dr. Sean Cawley.
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ance, peeled off in some places and worn or abraded (perhaps aided by oxidation) elsewhere. Where the coating is intact, there are numerous pinholes in the surface layer which appears as if the surface metal had been applied as a paste with a pallet knife (not however differing much from some modern nickel plating work). The outer metal layer is estimated to be between 100 and 300 microns thick and in crevices and indents there is clearly an amount of fine sand. Also, in crevices and close to the edges of raised detail, there is a black layer which looks as if it could have been laid down before the application of the surface layer. The surface coat has been removed or oxidised to the extent of some fifty percent from the front and twenty-five percent from the obverse.

Semiquantitative XRF indicates that some 92% of the signal intensity from the surface is accounted for by 44% lead, 40% nickel and 8% sulphur. The remaining intensity is largely due to Ca*, Si, Al and Mg. These of course represent an average of the abraded, non-abraded surfaces and surface impurities. By repositioning the XRF beam to several different areas it is clear that the abraded areas register the higher lead content and the low abrasion areas register a high nickel content. A black sulphide, perhaps lead sulphide, as a fluxing agent might explain the high sulphur content, as well as the black coating seen under the microscope (there are black nickel compounds that might also qualify).

The highest concentration of nickel recorded, from one of the scan positions, was 87%, taken at a position where the surface layer looks least abraded. Allowing for losses due to pin holes, impurities and scatter from other parts of the sample, it is reasonable to estimate that the originally applied surface layer had a nickel content percent in the high 90's.

Nickel was not known even in later Christian times, however Tholander¹ shows that a substance containing nickel was used to increase hardness of steel laminate-swords. He speaks of nickel in artefacts dated to between 600BC and 405AD. Some argue that the nickel came from meteorites, Tholander however points to the terrestrial mineral martensite as being present in a large number of samples analysed. Analysis of the nickel bearing parts of ancient artefacts do not

exceed 6% nickel, meteorites are not known to contain more than 15% nickel, while martensite streaks in the artefacts were reported to contain no more than 7% nickel. Our high nickel evidence therefore suggests that we should try to establish the earliest date on which the technology existed which could produce nickel to or above 90% purity at a date later than 405 AD. Such a technology will already be conversant with the fact that nickel imparts hardness and resistance to corrosion.

Nickel-containing substances were used in the Iron age by a number of different civilisations¹. The method of introducing nickel then was by layering, folding and hammering, using substances of nickel concentrations under 15%.

When the XRF beam was directed to an abraded area, the highest lead signal strength obtained was 67%. The spectrum at this point showed nickel at 10% and sulphur at 15%. Among other things this suggests that the sulphur content is **under** the nickel layer and the inner metal is lead of over 90% purity.

The absence of As, Sb, Sn, K, Na, Bi and Ag in our amphora spectra is noteworthy. From an analysis of English-Roman pigs, a purity of 99.9% lead was readily attained. Tylecote² reports, that the analysis of lead objects dating from 250BC to 400AD usually incorporate silver of from 0.01 to 0.04%. As the current analysis gives no detectable levels of silver or of any of the above list of elements, it is suggested that a very pure form of lead of more recent times has been used.

The amphora had been washed in water and scrubbed with a brush. Nonetheless under the microscope it is clear that sand and soil does still exist in the crevices. Accordingly (i) Ca, Si, Al and Mg occur at or over 1% levels (ii) Fe, Cu and P at over 0.1% and (iii) Zn, Co, Mn and Cr occur at over 0.01%.

'Amphora' Summary

The core is probably ninety-nine percent lead or of higher grade. The coating consists of nickel in the high ninety percent range. A flux of sulphur or metal sulphide is likely to have been used. The earliest date of the design is likely to be 50AD. The earliest date for the metallurgy is probably many centuries later. The deposition of the artefact in Carlow may have been on or before 1810 AD but could

have been later.

Further study of the 'dirt' on the amphora is required, followed by further XRF analyses. To date, neither the Smithsonian, New York Metropolitan, London, Paris, Athens nor Dublin museums are aware of examples of either of these artefacts. Replies to enquiries to Rome and Cairo museums are awaited. Access to a detailed history of the technology of the early nickel production and use, in particular the use of high concentrations of nickel, prior to its isolation in 1752 AD, is being sought.

Ansato Cross (Ankh, Crux ansata)

The ancient written symbol for life in Egypt, was a hieroglyph called an Ankh, whose shape resembles a Christian cross, having a solid ring, instead of the usual upper extension. The symbol occurs ubiquitously on Pharaonic tomb inscriptions. The Egyptian tomb, in the New York Metropolitan Museum, has engravings of a Pharaoh, holding an ankh which is pointing forward, in his right hand and the staff (crosier) of power held vertically in the left. In proportion, the length of the ankh is about three or four times the width of the Pharaoh's fist, having a ring diameter just larger than the fist. Flat, rectangular Ankhs made of blue enamelled ceramic material occur elsewhere in the museum and are from some four to six inches long. Our Ansato cross appears to have longer arms (width) proportionately, than the tomb glyphs and to be splayed wider at the ends of its arms. The temple of Nubia, in Egypt has a stone sculpture, said to represent the ancient Gods Isis, Oisirus and Horus, each holding a hand-sized ankh in one hand. A modern iron key, to Egypt's temple of Thebes, is in the shape (apart from the bit) of a hand-sized ankh. The ankh therefore appears to symbolise 'the key to immortality'. It is said to have been used by the early Coptic Christians as a cross, at least for the first centuries AD.

The artefact appears to have a bronze metal interior and a very thin grey metal coating, largely worn off. The arms are flat and the lower limb is 'bullet' shaped. The ring is of circular cross section and the centre is spherical. Blobs of yellow metal, visible under the microscope bears the appearance of being applied by way of repair, at a later date. The yellow metal occurs mostly at the extremity of the

arms and the foot, some on the ring and some on the central 'sphere' in its centre but **not** on surfaces which are less exposed to wear. A crack in the metal has some traces of the yellow metal embedded in it. Some areas of pitting occurs on the body and on the ring. These depressions contain some green-blue material and lots of rust coloured material. As the centre 'sphere' appears to have a raised band around it, the cross may have been constructed from a double mould. Accordingly the depressions may be occlusions which occurred during the moulding process. The cross has some traces of fine sand and soil, especially in crevices.

The XRF analysis gives a mean surface composition of 53% copper, 12% silver, 9% sodium and 7% zinc, together with a considerable quantity of 'impurities'. The elements Si, Mg, P, Ca, S, Al, Fe, and Pb are present at over 1% levels; K, Au, Ni and As over 0.1% and lesser amounts of Mn, Cr and Co. Spectra were recorded at different positions, giving the **highest** copper signal at 71% coupled with the **lowest** silver signal (2.5%). The spectrum giving the **highest** silver signal strength at 17% corresponded with the **lowest** copper reading of 40%.

This suggests that silver is a constituent of a coating, possibly pure originally. The absence of Sn, so common in pre-Christian and medieval alloys is noteworthy. A concentration of some 0.2 to 0.3 % gold was indicated. This low level makes

it important to determine if the visible yellow metal is in fact gold or brass. Yellow brass occurs at copper concentrations over 80%, the remainder usually being zinc. The copper levels are likely to be high enough, the yellow arising by the inclusion of other metals together with our 7% zinc.

Crux Ansata Summary

The cross (i) was adopted as a Christian symbol in Egypt by Saint Mark's Coptic Christians (as a symbol of immortality it was an eminently reasonable choice for Egyptians) (ii) probably consists of metals of non-European origin^{2,3}. (iii) is composed internally of metal of a high copper content, (iv) appears to have been dipped in silver (iv) may have been the work of the first century AD, worn for a long time and repaired with gold or brass and (v) contains substantial amounts of impurities of as yet unknown origin.

In view of the historical references to Egyptian monks arriving in Ireland in the first Christian centuries (and the wide travels of early Irish monks), it is reasonable to imagine a resident of, or visitor or pilgrim to the Killeslin monastic seat of learning (or St Fiacc's at Sleaty), visiting the ancient portal tomb and leaving the **sacred relic** behind. Howsoever, as a blessing for the souls buried there or accidentally dropped we shall never know.

Future work on these artefacts should seek to study early nickel technology, analysis of early Egyptian copper and ancient jewellery of similar aspect in

museums or collections. If any person has artefacts, traceable to the Carlow area, the author would welcome an opportunity to make a study of them, confidentially if necessary. Otherwise, evidence which might shine some light on the present study would be most welcome.

¹ E Tholander, *The Origins of metallurgy in Atlantic Europe*, The Stationery Office, Dublin 1978, pp 319-334

² R F Tylecote, *The Prehistory of Metallurgy in the British Isles*, The Institute of Metals, London 1986.

³ Jay J Butler, *The Origins of Metallurgy in Atlantic Europe*, The stationery office, Dublin 1978, pp 319-334

* The chemical symbols for the elements mentioned, in decreasing concentration of occurrence in the artifacts, are as follows: lead (Pb), copper (Cu), nickel (Ni), silver (Ag), zinc (Zn), sulphur (S), sodium (Na), calcium (Ca), silicon (Si), aluminium (Al), magnesium (Mg), iron (Fe), phosphorus (P), manganese (Mn), gold (Au), chromium (Cr), potassium (K), bismuth (Bi), cobalt (Co), tin (Sn), arsenic (As), antimony (Sb).

Acknowledgements:

I acknowledge with gratitude the invaluable assistance given by Mr Con Murphy and Mr Gerry Reidy of the State Laboratory in connection with the x-ray fluorescence spectroscopy and the courtesy of Dr Máire Walsh, State Chemist, the exceptional assistance of X who wishes to be anonymous is acknowledged

Footnote: Irish Archaeologist, Michael Ryan and a correspondent from the British Museum advise caution in referring either artifact to an ancient date until further study is made

Obituaries

Sally Fitzmaurice

Sally Fitzmaurice was a keen local historian, and member of the Old Carlow Society. She served on the Committee, and as Chairperson. She carried out her duties loyally, and conscientiously. She was also involved in setting up the Museum, and took an active interest in it.



Breda Brady

Breda Brady was an enthusiastic member of the Old Carlow Society, and attended all the meetings regularly. A teacher by profession, she was a keen local historian, and knew much about the Borris area, representing it on the Committee. For some time she was Hon Treasurer. The organisation's sound financial position today is due, in no small part, to her wise stewardship of its resources.



John Ryan Polemicist

and

Local Historian

Thomas King

John Ryan, author of *The History and Antiquities of the County of Carlow*, died on the eighteenth of May 1849 in Carlow Lunatic Asylum¹. The date of his birth has not been established but from other evidence it appears he was not more than forty-five years of age when he died. Writing in 1845 about his early life he said that on the 1 August 1823 'while still a minor'² he left Dublin for Bristol and then proceeded to le Harve via Southampton to reach Paris on the 6th of the month. This was the first of many trips abroad. An early military adventure also helps to establish his age. Apparently in 1820 a general Devereux was recruiting volunteers to fight Spain in South America and Ryan 'at that time in his youth' obtained an appointment as first lieutenant in Colonel Powers regiment of light infantry. The whole episode was a debacle and an older Ryan, he intimates, would not have engaged in such an enterprise. It appears, then, that he was a young man coming to maturity between 1820 and 1823. His father Beaumont, who died in 1810, lived in Broghillstown and married by special licence Mary, the daughter of James Shepard of Paulville, Co Carlow on 22 January, 1802. They had five children - John, James, William and two others.³ They lived in a large house, originally built by William Pendred prior to 1750. Beaumont Ryan was a member of the Orange Society in Tullow in 1798 and uncles of John Ryan were members of the Tullow Yeomanry Cavalry commanded by Captain Edward Eustace. One of his brothers James Shepard Ryan who was living in Birmingham in 1838. His wife's name was Jane and they had two children James Beaumont and Eliza Jane and were expecting a third. James was due to travel to Rio de Janeiro and would be absent for twelve months. Another brother William was at that time living in New

Orleans and 'exceeds fully....his expectations'.⁴

From brief notes he made about his education John Ryan was, it seems, a boarder at Abraham Newland's Academy, 33 Aungier Street, Dublin.⁵ He also boasts that he was in first or second place in all classes at the schools at which he was educated. For a year and a half in his youth he attended St Mary's Church in Kilkenny,⁶ indicating perhaps that part of his education was obtained in that city. He spent one year and four months as a cashier with Arthur Guinness some time prior to 1827. He left, according to himself, because he was 'disposed to take some part in matters of a political and literary nature'.⁷

Editor of *The Carlow Standard*

In 1827 Ryan's pamphlet *Reflections on the demands of the romanists* was published by Curry and Co. in Dublin. This was the beginning of his polemical career. As a result of this work he was proposed, early in 1829, as a member of the Upper Talbotstown Constitutional Club in County Wicklow by the earl of Alderborough. About the same time he was admitted a member of the Royal York club in the city of Dublin.⁸ It was his third publication *A Letter to the Protestants of Ireland* in 1831 that induced several leading men in Carlow to request that he establish a 'Conservative' journal in Carlow town.⁹ *The Carlow Standard*, edited by John Ryan, appeared the same year, published twice weekly, a fact which Ryan considered not to be judicious. He felt that it should only have appeared once a week because the expenses were more than could be sustained, the cost of paper, stamps and printers alone amounted to £13 a week.

Besides, there were two other journals, the *Carlow Sentinel* and the *Carlow Morning Post*, in the town of Carlow at that time. Finding that he did not have sufficient funds to defray expenses Ryan resigned from his position in April 1832. However the list of subscribers which Ryan obtained served to support the *Carlow Sentinel* when it was subsequently bought by the Protestant interest. He had been admitted a member of the Loyal Orange Society of Ireland in October 1831, the certificate of admission was signed by Mr Judkin Butler Master of the Lodge. He was himself appointed to the rank of master and authorised to establish a lodge soon after.¹⁰

History of County Carlow

After the collapse of the *Carlow Standard* in 1832 Ryan started to write a history of county Carlow. In order to accomplish his task he needed to have access to the libraries of Dublin for the purpose of collecting materials for the publication. Among those who recommended him 'to be a gentleman well worthy of admission' to the major libraries of Dublin were William Harty M.D., the Very Reverend H.R. Dawson, Samuel Litton, M.D. and the Reverend H. Kingsmill, who introduced him to Trinity College Library. In the course of his research he traversed the county from north to south and from east to west on foot because "in too many instances writers have been led into gross blunders by improperly attempting to describe places and structures which they have never seen". John Ryan's *The history and antiquities of the county of Carlow* was published on 3 August 1833.¹² At the same time he published a work of fiction called *Some passages in the life of Philip Thornville* in which he 'endeavoured by means of dialogue to disseminate sound sentiments on religion and politics'.¹³ Early in 1833 he had been made a member of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom.¹⁴ and thereafter he appended the letters M.R.S.L. after his name. He was approached to write histories of other counties but he turned down the offers because he 'could not feel the same interest in any other district as in that of my [JR's] birth'. Besides his attention was now directed to work of a political/historical nature. In March 1836 Ryan's *Life of King William the Third* appeared with the aid of a list of subscribers among whom were the duke of Cumberland, twenty

three noblemen, seventeen members of the House of Commons and 708 others.¹⁵ But he later says that it was printed at his own expense and 'unsold copies left his finances in anything but a flourishing state'.¹⁶ It apparently appeared late in the season in an edition of 1,000 copies. Between 1829 and 1838 Ryan travelled extensively in Ireland and Britain. He sailed to Liverpool in 1829 and went on a pedestrian excursion through the 'northern' lake country, meeting with the Romantic poets Southey and Wordsworth and covering 318 miles in all. It was on this journey that he wrote a two volume diary which he believed was stolen by 'Papists' and handed over to their priests. His paranoia led him to suspect deeper meanings in this event. He wrote 'They have intimated a wish that I should wait on his reverence to request the restoration of my property; but I think it the more prudent course to avoid the Romish priesthood'.¹⁷ He went to Scotland in 1830, landing at Glasgow and travelling on to Edinburgh and Melrose Abbey, where he met Sir Walter Scott.¹⁸ He was in London in 1834 to try and sell copies of his *History of County Carlow*.¹⁹ He visited several of the principal cities and towns of Ireland to promote the Protestant cause in 1837 and early 1838 with the twin aims of obtaining information on the state of the country and at the same time selling more copies of his life of William III.²⁰

In 1838 Ryan was editor of the *Protestant Guardian* and in December of that year Messrs. Hill of Bristol asked him to contribute a weekly letter from Dublin to a proposed paper called the *Bristol Standard*, however in March 1839 they offered him the editorship.²¹ He was to remain in that position until October 1841, a period of two years and seven months.²² Among those he engaged in controversy in Bristol was Robert Owen.²³

Under great stress

After his stint in Bristol he moved to London in 1841 and stayed there until April 1843. Apparently he lived for fourteen months with a Susanna M---- in Camden Town at this time.²⁴ It is obvious that John Ryan was under great stress at this time. James S. Hetherington, a relative, wrote to him from Dublin in March 1843 saying "I send you a letter of credit. You will please acknowledge receipt of

the latter sum to Mr. S--- (a cousin)...Hoping you are now recovered from your late severe attack".²⁵ One symptom of his paranoia was frequent changes of address. After his return from London to Dublin in 1843 Ryan provides a list of over seventeen locations in the city where he lodged, they include; Kingstown, Park Street, Merrion Square, Donnybrook, D'Olier Street (two houses), Talbot Street, Charlemont Street, Upper Mount Pleasant Avenue, Merrion Row, Dawson Street, Nassau Street, Molesworth Street, South Frederick Street, Wentworth Street, Sinnot Place, Lower Gardiner Street and Coburg Place

Visit to Carlow

In 1844 he visited county Carlow 'in reference to a matter of property' and claimed he was followed every step of the way by three or four Papist vagabonds telling him that every Protestant in the county of Carlow would be murdered in three days.²⁶ The property referred to was probably the dwelling house and land of Broghillstown - about 144 acres - situated within half a mile of Rathvilly. Advertisements for the sale by auction appeared frequently in the *Carlow Sentinel* in 1846.²⁷ The advertisement of 3 January 1846 stated 'For further particulars apply to Mr Ryan, 12, Jervis street, Dublin, who will close with a purchaser.' One of John Ryan's Dublin addresses was 12, Jervis Street.²⁸

Singled out for persecution

The most striking feature of *Popery unmasked*, which he published in 1845, is the evidence which Ryan brings forward to support the case that he has been singled out for persecution by members of the Roman Catholic population because of his work on behalf of the Protestant and loyalist cause. He says 'that for twenty years since [prior to 1845] the romanists attempted to entrap him into wickedness and destroy his moral character by the foulest imputations'.²⁹ He also charged that Popish priests and Jesuits had tried to disable him as a Protestant or convert him to Romanism. There are three strands to his paranoia. First that individual Catholics are following him and slandering his good name. Second that his moral character is under attack often from sexual innuendo and third he

fears that they are trying to convert him to Catholicism. He also refers to an incident in February 1844 while he was out walking on Donnybrook road and was met by two ladies dressed in black who passed cryptic comments which he overheard and which appear to have unnerved him greatly.³⁰

Popery Unmasked opens with an account of 'this scandalous street nuisance and persecution having been continued for seven years. I thought it advisable to take notes of the language shouted out in the streets of Dublin within the last two years'.³¹ This is sample of what he wrote down.

'Wednesday. - "Bishop ---- (a Papist) has me employed. They are to murder you We have desperate thieves will poison you. The police will destroy a respectable man. The policemen will ---- with your paupers in Castlecomer."

'Sunday. - "Weh'v cursed an Orangeman. WE MUST RUIN THE PROTESTANTS, and if the Catholics didn't help us they'd be poisoned themselves. WE'LL CRACK THE PARTY WITH SODOMY. - We have thieves in every house and can poison them. We're to martyr you with alum water."³²

The collection of staccato phrases is endlessly repeated over thirty -six pages, containing the words pauper, pauperise, sodomy, sodomite, martyr, ruin, persecute, poison, disgrace with frequent references to hell and hell's fire. The target is either John Ryan himself and the Protestant party or simply the Protestants. The messages are invariably shouted in the street by one or more 'Papist' or 'Romish' ruffians usually at the instigation of Catholic clergy, even bishops.

Sought a state pension

Ryan's fears of persecution make for a powerful cocktail of anxiety and were compounded by financial worries which increase after 1836, particularly because of the lack of financial success of his biography of William III, but become acute after 1843 when he returns to Dublin from London, and underlie his campaign to obtain a pension from the state in recognition of his services to the Protestant cause. He wrote to Mr Litton, Master in Chancery, Dublin looking for £3,000 for services to the Protestant cause saying that Rome has offered him similar amounts.³³ He alleges that he

has impaired his private fortune in pursuit of the Protestant and Conservative cause.³⁴

Yet in spite of his paranoia some of his relations with Catholic clergy could be surprisingly cordial. He sent a copy of his pamphlet *Address to the people of Ireland on the repeal of the Union* to the Rev. John Gahan, Catholic parish priest of Rathvilly in 1843.³⁵ He received the following reply 'Your reputation as an author, and the high estimation in which this your last publication is held in, prevent the necessity of my reading it before humbly requesting you to accept my sincere thanks for so justly esteemed a favour as that you kindly presented me with this evening. I am, dear sir, your very obliged and humble servant John Gahan'.³⁶

Published works by John Ryan

- 1 *Reflections on the demands of the Romanists; showing the disastrous consequences which must result from a concession of political power to them* Dublin: Curry and co, 1827.
- 2 *An inquiry into the nature and effects of Popery* Dublin: Curry and co [1830].
- 3 *A letter to the Protestants of Ireland on the pre-*

sent state of their affairs Dublin: Carson, 1831.

4 *Some passages in the life of Philip Thornville* Dublin: Grant and Bolton, 1833

5 *The history and antiquities of the county of Carlow* Dublin: Grant and Bolton, 1833.

6 *The life of William the Third, King of England* Dublin: Grant and Bolton, 1836.

7 *A disclosure of the principles, designs and machinations of the Popish revolutionary faction of Ireland* London: Olliver, Dublin: D. R. Bleakley, 1838.

8 *Sir Robert Peel's claims to the confidence of Protestant Conservatives* London: Hatchard and son, 1841.

9 *Address to the people of Ireland on the repeal of the Union, and the moral and religious condition of England* Dublin: Curry and co, 1843.

10 *Protestant Union. A letter to the Protestants of Ireland* Dublin: Curry and co, 1844.

11 *Popery unmasked. A narrative of twenty years Popish persecution* London: Ollivier, 1845

1 *Carlow Sentinel* 26/5/1849.

2 *John Ryan Popery unmasked, a narrative of twenty years popish persecution* (London, 1845), p.61.

3 *John Ryan The history and antiquities of the county of Carlow* (Dublin, 1833), p. 373.

4 *Ryan Popery unmasked* p. 121.

5 *Wilson's Dublin directory*, 1809, p.76.

6 *Ryan Popery unmasked* p.192.

7 *Ryan Popery unmasked* p.57.

8 *Ryan Popery unmasked* p. 58.

9 *Ryan Popery unmasked* p. 63.

10 *Ryan Popery unmasked* p. 74.

11 *Ryan History of Carlow* pp iii & iv.

12 *Ryan Popery unmasked* p. 76.

13 *Ryan Popery unmasked* p.85.

14 *Ryan Popery unmasked* p.75. He was notified of his membership by letter from the Secretary, dated February 20, 1833. But the Society does not have a record of his membership.

15 *Ryan Popery unmasked* p. 91.

16 *Ryan Popery unmasked* pp 117-8.

17 *Ryan Popery unmasked* pp 53-4.

18 *Ryan Popery unmasked* pp 69-61.

19 *Ryan Popery unmasked* pp 85-6.

20 *Ryan Popery unmasked* pp 103, 113.

21 *Ryan Popery unmasked* pp 128-9.

22 *Ryan Popery unmasked* pp 167-8.

23 *Ryan Popery unmasked* pp 144-5.

24 *Ryan Popery unmasked* p. 188.

25 *Ryan Popery unmasked* p. 187.

26 *Ryan Popery unmasked* p.54.

27 *Carlow Sentinel* 31/1/1846, 14/3/1846.

28 *Ryan Popery unmasked* p. 53.

29 *Ryan Popery unmasked* p. iii.

30 *Ryan Popery unmasked* p 203.

31 *Ryan Popery unmasked* p. 6.

32 *Ryan Popery unmasked* p. 6 & 7.

33 *Ryan Popery unmasked* p. 211.

34 *Ryan Popery unmasked* p 118/9.

35 *Ryan Popery unmasked* p. 239.

36 *Ryan Popery unmasked* pp 239-240.

'98 Commemoration St. Mullins. 1948

Carrying the banner:

Owen Doyle, Tinnaslee, Graigue-namagh, lecturer emeritus in Economics at the Regional Technical College, Carlow and Laurence Ryan, now Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin (right).



Carlovians in the Great War

Paul Maguire

This country's military heritage first dates back to Strongbow's Castle on the Barrow. Carlow remained a garrison town since those medieval times and down through years County Carlow's sons and daughters left to enlist in the Armies, Navies and more recently Air Forces in the four corners of the world.

Where they went and what they experienced would deserve a chapter or two in any history book worth its salt (and in some cases an entire book).

Of all of Carlow's long and distinguished military history one period far exceeds all other episodes both for the scale in numbers involved and the extent of the tragedy that befell those that took part.

Between August 1914 and November 1918 250,000 Irishmen enlisted and fought in every theatre of the war that 'experts' claimed would be over by Christmas. Some 50,000 were killed in action with three times that number maimed and infirmed, theses to linger for many years after the war itself was over.

On August 6th, 1914, Britain formerly declared war on Germany. There were thirteen Irish regiments in the army at that time, the latest being the newly created, Irish Guards. The full listings were:-

Cavalry

- 4th Royal Irish Dragoon Guards.
- 5th Royal Irish Lancers.
- 6th Inniskilling Dragoons.
- 8th Royal Irish Hussars.
- * North Irish Horse / South Irish Horse.

Infantry

<i>Former Names</i>	<i>Current Names</i>
4th Regiment of Foot Guards.	1st Batt. Irish Guards.
18th Regiment of Foot.	1st, 2nd Batts. Royal Irish Regiment.
27th/108th Regiment of Foot.	1st, 2nd Batts. Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers.
83rd/86th Regiment of Foot.	1st, 2nd Batts. Royal Irish Rifles.
87th/89th Regiment of Foot.	1st, 2nd Batts. Royal Irish Fusiliers.
88th/94th Regiment of Foot.	1st, 2nd Batts. The Connaught Rangers.
100th/109th Regiment of Foot.	1st, 2nd Batts. Leinster Regiment.

101st/104th Regiment of Foot. (1st Batt Bengal Fusiliers)	1st, 2nd Batts. Royal Munster Fusiliers.
102nd/103rd Regiment of Foot. (1st Batt Madras Fusiliers)	1st, 2nd Batts. Royal Dublin Fusiliers.

<i>Regiment</i>	<i>Abbreviations</i>	<i>Nick-names</i>
Irish Guards	The Guards	The Micks
Royal Irish Regiment	Royal Irish	The Old Namurers
Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers	Inniskillings	The Skins
Royal Irish Rifles	Irish Rifles	The Rifles
Royal Irish Fusiliers	Irish Fusiliers	The Faughs
Connaught Rangers	The Rangers	The Devils Own, The Old 88s
The Leinster Regiment	The Leinsters	The 40 - 10's
The Royal Munster Fusiliers	The Munsters	The Dirty Shirts
The Royal Dublin Fusiliers	The Dublins	The Blue Caps The Old Toughs

As you can see each regiment was usually made up of just two battalions, they in turn consisted of one thousand men each, in times of war, but in times of peace, however, their numbers were kept to just half strength. This was their state whether stationed at home in Ireland, or, abroad. The two battalions seldom, if ever, served together. When the first battalion might be stationed in Cork, Dublin or Belfast, then their comrades in the second battalion would almost certainly be posted overseas.

This was their situation at the outbreak of the war: -

Unit	Posting
1st Batt. Royal Irish Rifles	Aden
1st Batt. Royal Irish Regiment	India
2nd Batt. Royal Irish Fusiliers	India
1st Batt. Leinster Regiment	India
1st Batt. Royal Munster Fusiliers	India
1st Batt. Royal Dublin Fusiliers	India
1st Batt. Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers	India
Irish Units of the (B.E.F.) British Expedition Force. Aug/Sept 1914.	
<i>Formation and Commander</i>	<i>Unit</i>
Cavalry Division	4th Royal Irish Dragoons

Jackson Collection

Dermot Mulligan
Project Administrator

The 'Jackson Collection' has always been a source of interest to the Old Carlow Society. Unfortunately, it has been fragmented. The collection contains artefacts such as muskets, swords, bayonets and archaeological objects.

Earlier this century the collection was split in two, documents and artefacts. The artefacts ended up in the town hall and now form part of the current museums display. Later the documents were stored in the office of Mr. Bob Kehoe, solicitor to the County Council.

In 1991 Mr. Thomas King, County Librarian made a catalogue of the collection, it numbers nine thousand six hundred and ninety nine individual documents. The documents are hand written, many containing stamp marks and original wax seals. The sizes range from A4 size to several feet. The time period ranges from the late eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth centuries. The documents include Grand Jury presentations, road bridge constructions and repairs, voters certificates, voter applications, trial verdicts and prisoner lists. There are thirteen bound volumes of schedule of presentments for Co. Carlow Grand Jury 1821-1886. Also included are two hundred and fifty four copies of the Carlow sentinel newspaper.

County Carlow Museum is a remarkable achievement for a voluntary organisation. Many problems with the museum have been due financial constraints. Thankfully this is taking a turn for the better with a major development in the pipe line.

This road took a more immediate turn earlier this year with the announcement that the Heritage Council was offering the Old Carlow Society its biggest single public funding ever. The Heritage Council is a statutory body. Its grant scheme had a total fund of £150,000 with a maximum of £10,000 to any one organisation. The Old Carlow Society received £3,010. A formal ceremony was held in Kilkenny Castle at which Myles Kavanagh formally accepted the grant from Freda Rountree Heritage Council Chairperson. The money was for a preventative conservation programme on the Jackson Collection. The collection had never been stored in a correct fashion. The collections condition varies from good to poor. Unless a presentation programme was put in place it would all eventually deteriorate beyond a point of use and value. The programme set up is one which adheres to museum principles and standards. The collection had been sorted into various bundles and assigned a number of Mr. Thomas King. It was decided to maintain such a system. The documents are separated and dusted gently, a matching piece of "acid free paper" is placed between each document. Each bundle is then placed in a suitably sized "acid free box". The documents are of such an age and condition that it takes very little to damage them, this ranges from light (U.V.), heat, humidity, dirt and dust, poor storage even handling. Giving them a proper environment allows them to maintain their condition and offers them a chance to last longer. "Acid free paper/box" means that the ph is virtually

neutral and will help protect the documents from many of the damaging effects that can/will harm them.

The above work began on 28th July, 1997, in St. Patrick's College who very gratefully offered us a room until September. Two students, Mr. David O'Neill and Mr. Keith Ryan availed of the summer student scheme to participate on such a project. They finished up the scheme in early September. Work will continue on in the museum with the assistance of the Éigse Festival Support Office FÁS scheme.

The project has been inspected twice to make sure it was run in a proper fashion and that the project was fulfilling its promises. The first inspection was by Ms. Maighread McParland from the National Gallery of Ireland. The second was by Mrs. Eithne Virling, Officer with the Heritage Council. Both were extremely pleased with not only the progress of the project but also the whole concept of such a huge collection being so diligently preserved.

The project will be finished by the end of 1997. The Old Carlow Society would like to sincerely thank the Kehoe family for minding such a valuable collection; the Heritage Council for their generous grant; Mr. Thomas King, County Librarian; Ms. Maighread McParland, National Gallery; Summer Students, Mr. David O'Neill and Mr. Keith Ryan, Éigse Festival Support Office - Co-Ordinator Thérèse Jackman and her staff not only for this project but all other work relating to the museum, St. Patrick's College for a suitable room.

As well as thanking all the above I wish to thank the Old Carlow Society for their help and support throughout this project and the year, to treasurer Mr. Pat O'Neill for all his valuable assistance and help in ensuring a smooth running project.

Royal Oak and Leighlin Bridges

Notice is hereby given that the following BY-LAW was passed at the Spring Assizes, 1897, under the power of the 42nd and 43rd Vic., O57:-

Whereas the Grand Jury of the County of Carlow are satisfied that the use of Locomotives propelled by steam upon and over the Bridges over the river Barrow at the Royal Oak and Leighlinbridge, in said County, would be attended with danger to the public, it is hereby resolved that the passage of such Locomotives across said Bridges be, and is hereby prohibited. And it is further resolved that the County Surveyor be directed to take such proceedings as he may be advised against any person or persons infringing the provisions of this By-Law.

B.T. Quilton,
County Surveyor

A Carlow- descendant

who added to the

World's History

one of its

Decisive Battles

An Irish American Hero
in the American Revolution

Prof. Garrett Bolger



Timothy Murphy monument in the Middleburg cemetery
This Tablet was unveiled with impressive ceremonies Oct. 17, 1910, the 130th anniversary of his heroic services at the Middle fort.

The following article was inspired by an article in the *Nationalist & Leinster Times*, 8th June, 1935, written by Paul B. Mattice, editor of the *Middleburgh Gazette*. This piece draws on several additional sources. The author wishes to thank Alfred E. Geraghty, of Gloversville, New York, for his help and his fieldwork. The photographs are his.

In October, 1979, at a celebration of the 152nd anniversary of the American victory held on the battlefield of Saratoga, some thirty miles north-east of Albany, New York, Franklin D. Roosevelt, then Governor of New York, spoke. As recounted in Michael J. O'Brien's biography of Timothy Murphy, he pointed to "the place where Timothy Murphy, the famous sharpshooter, brought down the British general who was turning the tide of battle against the Americans." He said, "This country has been made by the Tim Murphy's....Conditions here called for the qualities of heart and head that Tim Murphy had in such abundance. Our histories should tell us more of the men in the ranks, for it was to them, more than to the Generals, that we were indebted for our victories."

Timothy Murphy, the hero of the American Revolution, was the son of a Carlow man. His father, Thomas Murphy, may have lived near Kellistown, though there are few good records going back to the years when he was born. In about 1745, he ran away to America, and settled in the area called Minisink, which, in days before definite boundaries between the colonies, included parts of the present

This article was inspired by an article in the *Nationalist & Leinster Times*, 8 June, 1935, written by Paul Mattice, editor of *The Middleburgh Gazette*. This piece draws several additional sources.

states of New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. Some reports say he married in Ireland, others that he married in America. They do not even agree to his wife's name; some sources say she was a widow, Mrs Simms, whose maiden name was Oliver; the records of the children's baptisms have her as Mary Lundy. Their third child, according to the baptismal

records of the Dutch Reformed Church in Minisink, Was Timothy, baptised 23 March 1755. Thomas Murphy was most likely a Catholic, but the nearest priest would have been in Philadelphia, some eighty miles away. Very few facts are known of the family, either while they lived in New Jersey or after their move to Shamokin Flats, the present Sunbury, in Pennsylvania.

In 1776, early in the Revolution, Timothy Murphy, then about 20, joined the company of Captain John Lowdon, in the First Battalion of the First Pennsylvania Regiment of the Continental Line, commanded by Colonel William Thompson. He was made sergeant; he never obtained a commission, possibly because he was (and remained all his life) illiterate, but possibly also because he preferred the active role of scout and ranger. He led scouting parties in the remote areas of Pennsylvania and New York; he went with the regiment to Boston, and probably took part in the siege of Quebec, though there is no positive proof. By 1775 he was a member of Morgan's Rifles, a regiment originally made up of

Virginians, but reinforced by crack sharpshooters from other regiments of Washington's army.

It was in the battle of Bemis Heights, the second battle on the field of Saratoga, in October 1777, that Timothy Murphy made his mark on the nation's history. At a difficult point in the fray, General Simon Frazer (sometimes called Fraser or Frasier) was attempting to rally the British regiments. Tradition tells that Benedict Arnold, then still a general of the American army, pointed out Frazer in his brilliant uniform; "That officer is himself a host, and must be disposed of." Morgan told his riflemen, "It is necessary that he should die, do your duty." Murphy climbed a tree, and fired three times at Frazer. The third shot mortally wounded the general. The loss of Frazer helped prevent the British from regrouping; Saratoga was lost; General John Burgoyne surrendered on October 17, and British prestige suffered a terrible blow. As a consequence of Burgoyne's defeat, the French government, which had been hesitant to confront England, decided to support the American cause. That surrender is viewed as a turning point in the American Revolution, and Timothy Murphy was instrumental in bringing it about.

However that may be, it was by no means the end of Murphy's exploits. He was at Valley Forge with Washington. Later he went with Morgan's Rifles on the expedition of General Sullivan to western New York against the Loyalist Tories and their Indian allies, who continued to raid the frontier settlements. Here his legend grew, as he killed the notorious Christopher Service and had remarkable escapes from Indian captivity. When his enlistment with Morgan's regiment expired, he joined a militia company in New York, continuing to fight Indians and British. In the Schoharie Valley, his future home in central New York, he distinguished himself in the defence of the Middle Fort. Twice, historians tell us, when his commanding officer was ready to surrender, Murphy prevented it by firing on the British soldiers advancing under a flag of truce with the summons to surrender. A third time the flag approached; he prepared to fire again. With the Major threatened him, he retorted, "Major Woolsey, sooner than see a flag enter this fort, I'll send a bullet through your heart." The cowardly commander was replaced, and the British

force retreated. He was also present at the Battle of Yorktown, the final defeat of the British in America.

Murphy lived on after the war for nearly forty years. He settled on a farm between Blenheim and Middleburgh, in the Schoharie Valley, where he had served for several years. He was married twice, first to Peggy Feeck, by whom he had five sons and four daughters. Mattice tells the story that he was without money - this was 1780, while he was still serving in the militia - and Peggy's father refused consent; but that he was given a stocking full of gold by a dying aunt, which removed the father's objections. After her death, he married Mary Robertson, by whom he had four sons. He remained illiterate, but achieved quite a success; he owned a gristmill and a number of farms. He was a great hero in the neighbourhood of Schoharie, on account of his record in the battles in the Schoharie Valley. He had considerable political influence in local affairs up to the time of his death in 1818, and through the connections of his very large family, that influence lasted almost until the time of the Civil War. The local saying to this day is that everyone in the neighbourhood is a descendent of his.

In his biography of Murphy, O'Brien quotes a John L. Maher, of Utica, New York; "There can be no doubt that Timothy Murphy's forebears were near neighbours of my own ancestors in Kellistown, County Carlow." In 1901 Maher had been in Carlow at a celebration of the heroes of 1798; he quotes the grandson of a Thomas Murphy who was in the rebellion as referring to a story in the family of "another Thomas Murphy, who ran away from his home in Kellistown, between the years 1735 and 1750, and worked his passage to Philadelphia from a northern Irish Port," and that that man had a son who fought in the Revolution. It would be hard to verify this story, since there are no existing records, but family stories are often remarkably close to the facts. The Thomas Murphy who appears in most accounts of 1798 in Carlow was Thomas Murphy of Rathgeran, a cousin of Father John Murphy, in whose house Father Murphy stayed in the last days before his death. Whichever family is involved, the Carlow connection is clear.

There are two monuments to Timothy Murphy, erected long after his death. The

first, erected by the estate of Thomas Foster in 1910, is a granite block, eight feet tall, inset with a bronze relief of Murphy dressed in the uniform of Morgan's Rifles, which was placed in the cemetery at Middleburgh, with the following inscription:

TO THE MEMORY OF
1751 TIMOTHY MURPHY 1818
PATRIOT, SOLDIER, SCOUT CITIZEN,
WHO SERVED IN MORGAN'S RIFLE CORPS
FOUGHT AT SARATOGA AND MONMOUTH
AND WHOSE BRAVERY REPELLED THE
ATTACK
OF THE BRITISH AND THEIR INDIAN
ALLIES
UPON THE MIDDLE FORT, OCTOBER 17,
1780
AND SAVE THE COLONISTS OF
SCHOHARIE VALLEY

The second monument is in the Saratoga National Battlefield Park, near the spot where Murphy felled General Frazer. Erected in 1913, it is a granite block, with a bronze plaque inlaid in it. The inscription reads:

THIS MONUMENT IS ERECTED BY THE
ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS
OF SARATOGA COUNTY

TO THE MEMORY OF
TIMOTHY MURPHY
CELEBRATED MARKSMAN OF COLONEL
MORGAN'S RIFLE CORPS WHOSE UNERRING
AIM TURNED THE TIDE OF BATTLE BY
THE DEATH OF THE BRITISH GENERAL
FRAZER ON OCTOBER 7, 1777, THEREBY
ADDING TO THE WORLD'S HISTORY ONE
OF ITS DECISIVE BATTLES.

IN THIS MONUMENT IS COMMEMORATED
HEROIC DEEDS OF HUNDREDS OF OTHER
SOLDIERS OF IRISH BLOOD WHO LAID
DOWN THEIR LIVES ON THIS BLOODY
FIELD THAT THE UNITED STATES MIGHT
BE TRIUMPHANT.

There are several books which include information on Murphy's life, although the earlier ones, written years after his death, tended to be rather fanciful elaborations, borrowing anecdotes from equally fanciful lives of Daniel Boone and from the novels of Fenimore Cooper. The best and most recent is Michael J. O'Brien, Timothy Murphy: Hero of the American Revolution, New York: Eire Publishing Co., 1941.

Oration by Rory Murphy

Croppies Grave, May, 1997

We are here to-day to commemorate the memory of the dead, particularly those who fell at Carlow on this very date, May 25th, in 1798, and whose bodies lie beneath us here. They are part of the tens of thousands of our people who lost their lives in the terrible weeks that followed Carlow and up to the final battle of June 21st on Vinegar Hill.

The official account of the battle of Carlow sent by Camden, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to the Earl of Portland, the British Home Secretary from Dublin Castle on May 28th at 4 p.m. was short and terse. It read as follows:

I have received an account from Col Campbell at Athy that he has had partial engagement with the Rebels; that at Monasterevan and Carlow they have been defeated. 400 killed at the latter place and 50 at the former. He informs me that his men are "in high spirits"

Our struggles in that era received but little mention in dispatches or in the newspapers. Writers and historians have given different accounts of the battles fought and of the numbers killed and the hardships endured by all our people. Some historians say that as many as 600 were slaughtered on May 25th by grapeshot and cannon ball in the crowded streets of Carlow or burned to death in the roofs and chimneys where they had sought refuge from the carnage. Whatever the number the tragedy was appalling.

It was war, brutal and terrible and barbarous cruelties were inflicted by and upon both sides in the conflict. The language used to recount the events was not always prudent and was generally biased and one sided depending on who was relating the tale.

Over the years stories were exaggerated and often changed to suite the occasion on which they were being told. It is no different in any war. Exaggerations and distortions are as much weapons of war as the arms that are used.

1798 is too often seen as a religious war where the Roman Catholics were on one side and the Protestants on the other. This is not the true picture at all.

Some of the rebels were United Irishmen, many were not. Some were Roman Catholics and some were not. Some of the Loyalists were Protestants and some were not. Half of the Rebel leadership in Wexford were Protestants.

Many of the histories written at the time or soon after do not give a balanced account of 1798. The principal accounts written and published in the immediate aftermath of the Rebellion were by Musgrave, Maxwell, Taylor, Teeling, and others. These were written from the Loyalist side. It was many years after before Edward Hay, Myles Byrne, Thomas Cloney, Fr Patrick Kavanagh etc. gave the Insurgent version of events. The written record was mostly of the loyalist viewpoint while the Insurgent viewpoint came down mainly in local Folk Memory.

One history written at the time does attempt to give a balanced account. That is the one written by James Bently Gordon, a Curate in Leskinferre and Barragh, later to become Rector of Killeghney, near Clonroche, in Co Wexford.

Many writers gave their own personal view point sometimes

with little or scant regard for fact.

Thus, many of us were brought up on a version of '98 given in those histories and certain attitudes were formed in our minds in consequence.

Calling 1798 a religious war between Catholics and Protestants is to distort known facts. Certainly the majority of the rebels were Roman Catholics, but a significant number were not. Certainly many of the Loyalist forces were Protestants but a majority of them were not.

Composition of the Loyalist forces

There was the Militia. The Militia were comprised of 32 Regiments conscripted one in each of the 32 counties. Each regiment consisted of 500 men and 25 officers. These officers were British or British trained but the men were mainly Irish. Their names had mostly been drawn by lot or by random selection in the conscription process. Many of whom were mainly Roman Catholic and Irish. An example of that is that the North Cork Militia at the battle of Oulart Hill could not be understood by the people there because they were speaking in the Gaelic tongue.

Some English Militia forces were brought in to assist in stamping out the rebellion, such as the Ancient Britons or Welsh Horse and some mercenaries like the Hessians who were brought in as soldiers of fortune from Germany. These were deployed mainly where the loyalty or strength of the local Militia or Yeomen was in doubt or where the Rebels seemed to have greater strength.

Composition of the Yeomen

Many were drawn from the Protestant landowners and their sons. Many more were drawn from amongst the tenants who were for the most part Roman Catholic. The Yeomanry were an unpaid force, part-time part trained and for local duties.

The Militia were trained, full time, paid, but not permanent and could be sent to fight anywhere. While the Yeoman's duty was in his own area. In addition there were the Garrisons of the many towns who were full time soldiers, fully trained, and fully paid in the service of the Government. Many of these were Irish too.

The roots of the Rebellion must go back to the Norman times of 1169 when the Anglo-Norman forces first landed at Bannow and Bag and Bun in south Wexford. They came at the invitation of Dermot MacMurragh who was losing his control over his kingdom.

Like the Irish the Normans were Roman Catholics. This situation continued until the Reformation some 400 years later when the religious divide took place and Ecclesiastical allegiance in England was removed from Rome and given to the English King. The Irish stood by their old allegiance to Rome.

1798 was a war between those who had power and property at their command and those who had no rights or privileges at all. It was an uprising of a people who were being increasingly denied basic human and civil rights.

For the most part Irish people

- could not enter Parliament or the professions,
- could not own land,
- could not own property
- could not educate or ordain the clergy of their own church
- could not educate their children

In fact many of the vicissitudes inflicted on the people of Ireland were not so different from those inflicted on the dissenting segment in England itself. Power was in the hands of an ascendancy class dominated by a small number of large landowners. These landowners controlled the legislature, local government, and the legal system and were not in any mood to surrender or share any of their privileges.

Parliament could not control them because they themselves were the Parliament. (There is one instance in Hore's History of Wexford in the mid 1700's where a meeting was called in Enniscorthy to elect two members to Parliament. Caesar Colclough was the Sovereign and he got news that there would be opposition to his nominees. He simply held the meeting at a different venue in the town and with only himself in attendance, he promptly named the two people he wanted to represent the area in Parliament and that was that)

1780, when Henry Grattan's Irish Parliament was demanding Home Rule for Ireland, from the then Tory Government, coincided with a significant episode in English history. The fear that Tory Government would give civil and property rights to the Roman Catholic in England led to what is known as the Gordon Riots. Lord Gordon led the opposition to the granting of any rights to English Catholics and the disturbances that followed led to the deaths of some 300 people and much destruction of property in London. More damage was caused to London property during those riots that was to be done in Paris during the French Revolution.

The Tory Government fell as a consequence of the Gordon Riots. The Rockingham Government which took over depended on Grattan's support for survival, was careful not to make the same mistakes here that had led to the Gordon Riots.

In 1783 Poyning's Law was repealed and the Irish Parliament was given some legislative freedom. Frustrated with no progress being made on any other front Wolfe Tone, William Drennan, Thomas Russell and a few more Nationalist minded people founded the United Irishmen in 1790.

They looked to France for help to force further concessions from a reluctant England Parliament.

When France declared war on England in 1793 the U.I. became even more suspect. England could not risk having a nation on its doorstep which was in collusion with France. They used the declaration of war by France as a signal to move against the United Irish movement.

The Chairman of the Dublin United Irishmen, The Hon. Simon Butler, son of Lord Mountgarrett and the Secretary Oliver Bond were called before the Bar of the Irish Parliament and sentenced to 6 months imprisonment. At the same time a number of measures were introduced aimed at curtailing what was perceived as the militarisation of the movement. They were:

The Convention Act which made all assemblies of delegates illegal.

The Gunpowder Act which prohibited the importation, man-

ufacture or sale of arms and gunpowder

The Militia Act which set up a Militia Force to counter the Volunteers which had been re-established at that time by Tone and Napper Tandy. They were a copy of the French National Guard.

Earl Fitzwilliam came to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant in 1795. He attempted reforms and conciliation of the Roman Catholics. The hard-liners amongst the ascendancy class fearful of the loss of power and privilege moved against him. He appealed over the head of the Government to King George III and Fitzwilliam was recalled after 7 weeks. This triggered change in the United Irishmen. Committed republicans took over the leadership, French support was promised and the stage was set for rebellion. Taxes, Tithes and the Land Tenure system proved fertile ground for the growth of the now militant United Irishmen movement. They specifically targeted Hearth Tax, Excise Duty and Market tolls as being unjust taxes. Sinecured place-men and others would lose their privileges to make up the lost revenue. It was a popular programme for the underprivileged Irish but sent shivers down the spines of those who were going to lose their privileged positions.

The language of Equality, Liberty and Fraternity and the Tree of Liberty was rampant everywhere amongst the under privileged and the seeds of Rebellion were firmly planted amongst all those whose loyalty to the English king and Parliament was in doubt.

The Orange Order was established in 1795 as a counter movement to halt the spread of the United Irishmen. To prevent the infiltration of the Militia and the Yeomanry by the United Irishmen, an Orange Order Lodge was mandatory in every Militia Regiment. These were known as "Marching Lodges" and they survived until 1834. Orange Lodges were also established among the Yeomanry corps for the same purpose. It was believed that the Catholic people because of the deep religious convictions would not take both the oaths of the United Irishmen and of the Orange Order at the same time.

We have record of there being 15 Orange Lodges in the Enniscorthy area, the heartland of the 1798 rebellion! Derenzy of Clobemon Hall, Blacker of Woodbrook and Rochford of Clogrennane were foremost in the work of expanding the Order in Carlow and Wexford. In December 1796 the French attempted a landing of 14,000 men and arms for 45,000 at Bantry Bay.

England re-acted swiftly. Acts of Parliament were quickly passed to finally subjugate the United Irish Movement.

The Indemnity Act

The Indemnity Act which "exonerated and person who had exceeded his legal powers in the preservation of Public Peace. This was in fact a licence to kill and maim without any accountability and was used as such.

The Insurrection Act

The Insurrection Act, one of the most severe and comprehensive in Irish History. Among the penalties it introduced were:

Death for administering a seditious Oath.

Transportation for administering one.

Transportation for possession or concealment of arms.

Transportation for tumultuous assembly.

Transportation for selling seditious papers.

Militia Regiments

It was at this stage that Militia Regiments were brought over from England lest the Irish corps would not implement the laws with the desired severity.

Fresh forms of torture were introduced to force confessions. **Flogging** was introduced on a wide scale. **Pitch capping** where the victim was crowned with a linen cap filled with boiling pitch and then set alight. **Roasting** the soles of the victims feet over a fire. **Half hanging** where the victim was hung to the point of near strangulation. **Rape** of the women folk to put pressure on husbands and fathers. **Picketing** in which the victim was bound to the ground and his limbs stretched with ropes tied to pegs stuck in the ground. **Barrelling**-putting the victim in a spiked barrel and rolling it downhill

It was an effort to totally crush the people or else make them rise before they were ready. Insurrection was inevitable. The counties in the north, and the eastern counties all rose.

They put up a valiant fight and everywhere they had initial success. Eventually they were crushed in just over a month.

To day we honour those people who made a valiant attempt to free themselves from the chains of bondage.

They tried and they failed. Yet they started us on the road to the

freedom which we today enjoy at least in this part of our Island.

After two hundred years it is time that the last of the wounds of that awful era were healed. Terrible and atrocious acts were committed by the forces on both sides. Rancour and hatred became rampant and many were blamed for acts they had not perpetrated. Families held ill will and grudges down through the generations. We can't erase those events from the pages of history or from folk memories. But we can and must forgive. Forgiveness is a core of all shades of Christianity. In our prayers, we ask God to forgive us as we forgive others.

Apart from any religious ordinance, life has shown us that hatred, malice and revenge do more harm to those who harbour them than to those against whom they are directed.

Our country is enjoying a prosperity like it has not had many times in its history. Together, we have all helped to create that situation. Together we should work to consolidate it. Don't have us go back again to the greed and selfishness that created the tragedy of 1798. We can and should dedicate ourselves to commemorating the bi-centenary forgiving what is past and dedicating ourselves to working together for a better future for us all. Most other small nations suffered from subjection, anarchy and greed just as we have done. Most of them have learned to put the rancour and bitterness behind them; so will we.

Let our commemoration be a sign and an omen that only evil comes from bitterness and division. That we of this generation are determined to go forward in harmony and in peace for the good of us all.



Commemoration at the Croppy Graves, Sunday, 25 May, 1997

The last of the great British eccentric explorers-

Sir Wilfred Thesiger

and the

Carlow Connection

E.L. Gavin M.D.

He has been described as *the last of the great British eccentric explorers* renowned for his travels in the most inaccessible places on earth.

David Attenborough regards him as one of the very few people who in our time could be put on the pedestal of great explorers of the 18th and 19th centuries.

He was the eldest of four brothers, born in 1910 in Addis Ababa where his father was British Minister (now Ambassador) to Abyssinia. He lived there for his first nine years. He came from distinguished families, his father, a son of General Lord Chelmsford, his mother Kathleen Mary Vigors of Burgage, Leighlinbridge, Carlow. His father died suddenly when home on leave in England, in 1920. His mother enjoyed longevity, she died in 1973 at the age of 93. Wilfred was educated at Eton and Magdalen College, Oxford where he read History and won his Blue Ribbon for boxing in four successive years.

In 1930 while still an undergraduate, he attended the coronation of Haile Selassie, at the Emperor's personal invitation. This was because his father had been a great friend and supporter of Ras Tafari as the Emperor was known when Regent. Three years later when only 23, he carried out the first successful exploration and the most dangerous of his many expeditions to discover the source of the Awash River in the Danakil Country of the semi-independent Sultanate of Aussa in the most remote part of Abyssinia. The description he gives in his diary of his meeting with the Sultan on March 29, 1934 gives us a flavour of his philosophy and writing: 'As I looked around the clearing at the ranks of squatting warriors and the small isolated group of my own men, I knew that this moonlight meeting in unknown Africa with a savage potentate who hated Europeans was the realisation of my boyhood dreams. I had come here in search of adventure; the mapping, the collecting of animals and birds were all incidental. The knowledge that somewhere in this neighbourhood three previous expeditions had been exterminated, that we were beyond any hope of assistance, that even our whereabouts were unknown, I found wholly satisfying.'

Exploring and writing

Apart from some five years with the Sudan Political Service (where he was able to indulge his love of travel in remote areas) and the war years he spent the rest of his life trav-

elling, exploring and writing. on his expeditions, he travelled on his own with indigenous people as guides and helpers, always using traditional means of transport. He had great empathy with the natives of the regions he explored and came to understand their customs even if some of these seemed barbarous.

During the war he served in Abyssinia and the Western Desert and while still a Subaltern was awarded the D.S.O. on Wingates recommendation. He went to live among the pastoral Samuri Tribe in Northern Kenya when he was no longer able for strenuous travel.

He now lives in London.

I had the pleasure of meeting him about 40 years ago when he was visiting his cousins, the O'Grady's at Holloden, near the Royal Oak.

He is a big man and I found him to be unassuming, gentle and courteous, just as one would expect from his writings.

Having spent five years in southern Arabia exploring the Empty Quarter he went on to live for eight years with the Marsharabs in Iraq.

Interview

He tells of his Arabian explorations in an interview with Vanya Kewley which appeared in the travel section of the *Sunday Times* in March of 1996, part of which follows:- "The five years I spent in Southern Arabia exploring the sands (The Empty Quarter) were without doubt, the most important. The vast emptiness; the bitter desiccated land where only the changing

temperature marks the passage of a year; waterless wastes, where huge sand dunes ran for hundreds of miles and were 700ft. high, and as Lawrence of Arabia said- no man can live this life and emerge unchanged.

I travelled with the Rashid who had previously had no contact with westerners. They weren't ignorant savages. To the contrary, they were lineal heirs of a very ancient civilisation. they accepted me and I was absolutely determined to meet the challenge on equal terms.

We led as hard a life as it is possible to lead. But remember the Bedouins lived their life from choice. They could have easily gone off to live in comfort in the Hadhramaut, in the Gulf but they scorned the easy life of lesser men.

We were always hungry and thirsty. Once we went three days without any food whatsoever, and of course, there was always the risk of meeting another tribe and being attacked. I met the physical challenge but I couldn't compete with their standards of behaviour; their generosity, courage, patience, their endurance. They had an unmatched quality of nobility. For five

years it wasn't so much exploration but their comradeship that was important. Without it the journeys would have been a meaningless penance.

I didn't miss western civilisation. I wanted to get as far away from all that as I could. Two years after I left, oil arrived and the traditional Bedouin life - and their unique values - disappeared. I am very lucky, I was just in time to travel, see and experience a vanishing world and to have lived the life of my choice."

Books

His books include *Arabian Sands*, *The Marsh Arabs*, *Desert, Marsh and Mountain*, *Visions of a Nomad*, which is a collection of his superb photography. His autobiography entitled *The Life of My Choice* was published in 1987 and his latest book called *Danakil Diary. Journeys Through Abyssinia, 1930-1934* came out last year.

Honours.

He has received many honours, among them 'The Founders' medal of The Royal Geographical Society. and the 'Burton' medal of The Royal Asiatic Society.

He is a Fellow of The Royal Society of Literature, an Honory Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford; an Honory D.Litt of Bristol and Leicester Universities.

The C.B.E was bestowed on him in 1968 and he received a Knighthood (K.B.E.) in 1995.

Vigors - a notable Carlow family

Kathleen Mary was the third eldest of four. She was born on



Wilfred Thesiger
Heart of a Nomad

David Attenborough interviews the famous explorer and author Wilfred Thesiger, a man who has witnessed many of the major changes that have occurred in the 20th century. The one hour interview for channel 4 featured many of Thesiger's own photographs that provide a unique record of worlds that no longer exist.

<http://channel.bristol.net/icon/doc4.html>

4th Feb., 1880 and married Capt. Hon Wilfred Gilbert Thesiger, on 21st. Aug. 1909. He died suddenly in 1920. In the same year she was awarded the C.B.E. It was then quite unusual for a woman to be so honoured. On 8th.Oct.,1931 she married Reginald Basil Astley. A most intrepid lady, she accompanied Wilfred on many of his travels (as distinct from explorations). The last time when she was 89.

Her eldest brother, Edward Cliffe was for a time High Sheriff of Carlow. He later became examiner of Standing Orders and principle clerk to the House of Commons.

Ludlow Ashmead Cliffe was the 2nd eldest and served in World War 1 as a Capt. in the Royal Airforce He was Assistant Military Attaché at the Hague 1918-1919. He resided at Coolmore, Fethard, Co. Tipperary

The younger sister, Eileen Esmée was born 15th May, 1881 and married on 19th. Nov., 1909 Rev. Arthur Evelyn Ward, Canon of Rochester.

Many Vigors choose a career in the "colours" and won military honours in foreign lands. Evidence of this can be seen on plaques that adorn the walls of the ancient Cathedral of Old Leighlin of which they were great benefactors.

Others joined the church.



Sean Nolan, Ardattin (right), new chief of the Nolans with outgoing chief Tom Nolan, Slyguff, at the Nolan Clan gathering on Sunday 10 August, 1997.

The American Nolans at Ballykealy House Hotel, Carlow, Ireland, Sunday 10 August, 1997.

The gathering also included the Canadian Nowlans.





Born March 24, 1821
Died March 19, 1880
Courtesy of Jocelyn Proby's library

**Brigadier-General and Brevet Major General, U.S. Volunteers;
Junior Vice-Commander of the Commandery of the State
of Pennsylvania of the Military Order of the Loyal
Legion of the United States; Member of the
Philosophical Society, The Academy
of Fine Arts, The Academy of
Natural Sciences, and the
Historical Society of
Pennsylvania.**

Hector Tyndale

Carlow's Association

with the

**American Civil War
and the return**

of

John Brown's body

to his

wife.

Martin Nevin

The name Tyndale has long been associated with Carlow County. Descendants, spelling the name as Tyndall still reside in the Leighlinbridge area and many of the family name repose in the Cathedral cemetery of Old Leighlin.

1798

During the Insurrection of 1798, William Tyndale raised and commanded a troop of cavalry on the Government side in which his son, Robinson was a cornet.

At the beginning of the 19th century, Robinson still a young man emigrated to America and settled in Philadelphia. Soon after he married Sarah Thorn, a member of the Society of Friends and established himself in business in the city. Their son, Hector Tyndale was born, March 24th., 1821.

Declined a military career

Just three years into his teens, he displayed a strong inclination towards a military career. However, he bowed to the wishes of his mother and declined a cadetship at West Point. Instead he spent sometime on business in Texas before returning home to join his father in business. But his desire to soldier never waned, he served as a corporal in the Artillery Corps of the Washington Grays before going on to be a captain and reorganise another company as the *Cadwalder Grays*.

Restoring law and order

Soon after his marriage to Miss Julia Nowlan, in 1842 he resigned his commission in the Cadwalder's Grays but during anti-Catholic riots in 1844, he commanded the citizens' police force in the middle ward of Philadelphia, and gave much of his time to protect property, and restore law and order.

In 1845, on invitation, he joined Major Sumner of the 1st. Dragoons, U.S.A. and made expeditions into the Northwest Territory, now Dakota, and Montana, among the Indians

Politics

He was active in favour of Free Soil and Free Speech and had sympathy with anti-slavery movements and gave active support. He was a member of Philadelphia Republican Executive Committee and worked unstintingly for John C Frémont in the 1856 campaign for the Presidency.

John Brown

John Brown fought for the abolition of slavery in America and helped indirectly to bring on the Civil War. On October 16, 1859, with a small number of devoted followers, he led an attack on the U.S. arsenal at Harpers Ferry in Virginia (now West Virginia) but failed to escape. On October 18, Colonel Robert E. Lee captured the fort and delivered John Brown to the state for trial. He was convicted and sentenced to be hanged on December 2. Shortly before his execution Mrs Brown visited Philadelphia on her way to meet her husband for the last time. The antipathy was such at the time that there were fears for her safety. Friends of her failed for a time to provide an escort. Finally, an approach was made to Hector Tyndale who having consulted with his wife decided to escort Mrs. Brown.

Assassination attempt

The pro-slavery people became more and more aggressive, to the extent that to show sympathy with John Brown was to invite assaults, or even assassination. On the day of the execution an attempt was made on Hector Tyndale's life while walking in

Harpers Ferry. A bullet from an unknown person whistled by him.

The handing over of John Brown's body

John Brown was hanged at Charlestown, Jefferson county and his body transported by railroad in a rude coffin for collection by Mrs Brown at Harper's Ferry on route to Philadelphia. Because it had been rumoured that his body would not be given up to his family, but would be treated in some humiliating manner and some other means rather than a coffin would be used. However, when the coffin arrived, Hector Tyndale refused to receive it until the lid was removed and the remains identified. On arrival in Philadelphia with the body, Mrs. Brown and Hector Tyndale were approached by the Mayor and asked to remove the body from the city. He feared a riot. They continued on to New York and had the body properly cared for by an undertaker.

The event inspired Ralph Waldo Emerson to say that Brown would make the gallows "as glorious as a cross." Union troops, when the Civil War began sang:

*John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave,
His soul goes marching on.*

Hector Tyndale suffered as a result of assisting Mrs. Brown. Many of his close friends refused to speak to him and in July, 1860 he travelled to France to conduct business. He hoped to remain there for a couple of years and was soon joined by his wife.

Returns to America

In the mean time, following the election of Abraham Lincoln as President the withdrawal of the Southern States took place. News of the conflict, the attack on Fort Sumter reached him in Paris and feeling a sense of duty to his country, he immediately wound up his affairs and returned with Mrs. Tyndale to America. At once he offered his services and in June, 1861 he was appointed major in the newly recruited 28th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers under Col. John W. Geary. Later the Secretary of War empowered him to recruit a new regiment of which he was to have been Colonel but he declined. Instead through Tyndale's personal influence with the War Department the 28th Regiment was increased to fifteen companies. In all the 2,834 men and officers fought in eight States of the Union, in twenty-four battles and nineteen skirmishes. The 28th was to become one of the most outstanding regiments in the Army of the U.S. Volunteers. At the battle of Antietam after one of its most brilliant charges, one of the veterans shouted to Tyndale as he passed, "I would rather be a member of the 28th than King of the whole world"

Posted to the front in August, 1861, Tyndale commanded the post of Sandy Hook and along Potomac for a distance of 10 miles. While stationed at this post he had frequent engagements with the troops of Col. Ashby and saw action at Bolivar Heights.

During the spring of 1862, the command of the 28th Regiment devolved totally upon Major Tyndale, who was constantly on outpost duty, and flanked General Banks column under General Geary in all their movements.

In April he was raised to Lieutenant-Colonel and a short time

later was posted to Front Royal, Virginia soon to become a major supplies depot.

Tyndale's Brigade and "Stonewall" Jackson's Corps

Lieutenant-Colonel Tyndale's Brigade was responsible for checking the advance of a part of "Stonewall" Jackson's Corps, which had thrown part of McClellan's right wing into disorder and retreat at Antietam. The enemy was driven back more than a half mile into the shelter of the woods. His brigade captured the battle flags of seven regiments at the battle of Antietam, an achievement without parallel in the war of the rebellion. He suffered a compound fracture of the skull which induced *angina pectoris* and partial deafness

Brigadier General

For his courage-gallantry and judgement at Antietam Lieutenant-Colonel Tyndale was promoted to Brigadier-General U.S. Volunteers, in November, 1862.

However, after some recuperation he again applied for active service in the field. He was assigned to General Keyes and fought at Gettysburg before moving to Washington under the command of General Heintzelman.

Just prior to the retreat of General Lee across the Potomac, General Tyndale joined General Meade's army and was assigned to the command of a brigade in Scurtz's Division of Howard's Corps and, with the army of the Potomac, relentlessly pursued Lee.

Tyndale's Hill

In the hills distant from Chattanooga, Tyndale came to the assistance of his old commander, General Geary who was under some pressure from the enemy. Following a sustained bayonet charge he drove them from the hill and placed his command on the summit. Likewise he came to the rescue of Colonel Orland Smith on the adjoining hill and in similar manner drove the enemy back. These hills were afterwards known as *Tyndale's Hill* and *Smith's Hill*. He fought along side Grant at Chattanooga and with Burnside at Knoxville.

In January of 1864, he took his first leave of absence and went home for 30 days. Although he returned to active service, constant suffering from his wound caused him considerable trauma and in August, 1864, he resigned from the service.

For gallant and meritorious services during the war, he was given a commission as Brevet Major-General U.S. Volunteers, dated March 13, 1865.

As a commissioner of the State of Pennsylvania, he was involved in establishing the soldiers' cemeteries at Antietam and Gettysburg. In 1868, he was narrowly defeated when he stood for mayor of Pennsylvania as a Republican Party candidate.

Demise

For the last three years of his life he suffered from acute bouts of pain in the chest and on the morning of March 19, 1880 he passed away.

The following Sunday March 28 the Rev. W.H. Furness in his Easter sermon referred to him as follows: *And now I pause to*

pay a tribute of respect to one of our fellow-citizens recently departed, a man of no ordinary simplicity and elevation of character; a lover of Freedom and Humanity from early youth - in a righteous cause knowing no fear. at a time when it was at peril of his life, he 'confessed with his mouth' his faith in the Right, which is one of the truth of Christ. After the execution of John Brown, Hector Tyndale went to Virginia with the widow to receive the remains of the hero. There amidst the yells of a brutal mob who threatened to throw him and the coffin into the river, he not only claimed it, but required that the coffin should be opened and the body identified; and so calm and fearless was his bearing that one of the roughs came and whispered to him, 'We are not with you, but you are a man, and there are some of us here who will not suffer a hair of your head to be injured.' He was severely wounded in battle and never fully recovered. his death sent a large shock through a large circle who knew and honored him. He is joined now to the invisible host of martyrs, whose memory speaks to the people of the North with mediatorial power, charging us to be faithful still to the sacred cause for which they suffered, and to permit no advantage purchased for Justice and Freedom with their blood, to be lost through a base and cunning policy.

Professor John Tyndall

In 1872, his cousin, the famous Professor John Tyndall, of the Royal Institution of London delivered a series of lectures across America. He was accompanied throughout by General Hector Tyndale, and when in Philadelphia was his host. The professor appointed him as managing trustee of the Tyndall fund, a position he cherished and held until his death.

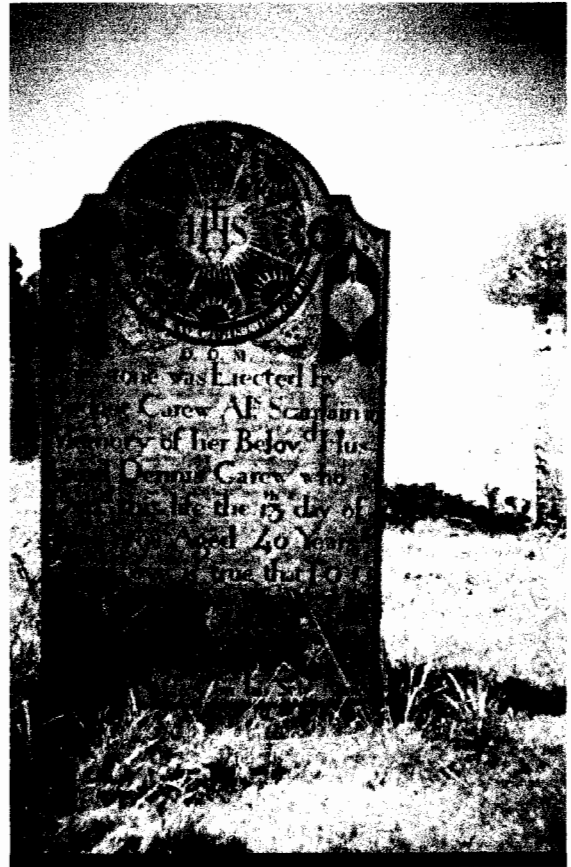
Many letters of sympathy and condolence were received by the Tyndale family.

Professor John Tyndall, of the Royal Institution, London, wrote: *When I first met my cousin he was one of the strongest built men I had ever seen. He was here when the civil war broke out, and I clearly remember our discussing the chances of the war at a Philosophical Club dinner, where he was my guest. He returned immediately to the post of duty, and was soon in the midst of the fray. Exposure and wounds made their marks upon him, and though, when I last saw him after the war, he seemed still robust, yet I could also see that the vigor of his former self had been invaded, and that he had lost a portion of that life the whole of which he was so willing to give in the service of the cause for which he had fought and suffered all his life.*

.....He had a most noble intellect, I do not know that I ever met a more supple and vigorous mind. Strong and elastic at the same time, it used to charm and astonish those who knew him in London. And surely that intellect was matched by a loftiness of character fit to guide it into all noble action. Had he been a noisier man - a man more in love with public display - he would assuredly have made a deep mark in the politics of his country. But for me, his kinsman, it is far pleasanter to think of the strength, purity, and generosity of his private life - to think of him as a man in whom strength and truth were mixed in the happiest proportions with tenderness and love.

This article is based on references in Jocycelyn Proby's Library.

Love is true that I.O.U.



The Carew tombstone in the Cathedral cemetery, Old Leighlin

Denis Carew was hanged on murdering lane, Leighlinbridge, on June 13, 1798. As he walked to the scaffold, his wife handed him a clean shirt. He said to her: *What will become of yourself and the children? God and the good neighbours will look after myself and the children. Never leave a widow but myself* meaning he was not to flinch; he was not to give information that would bring others to the scaffold. He had been tortured in the hope of extracting information from him and his shirt was soaked in blood. That was the purpose of the clean shirt. Monsignor Nick Cody, Pastor, V.F. St. Patrick's Church, 2007 Arkansas, Wichita 3, a relative of the Scanlons said on 30 June, 1965 that the clean shirt was also a symbol of Denis Carew's innocence. Fr. Jim McDonnell, P.P. Clonbullogue, a native of Leighlinbridge has preserved the tradition that Denis Carew's widow, Brigid Née Scanlon brought home her husband's body from the Inn, Leighlinbridge in a car. He had been beheaded, for she carried his head in her lap.

The names Carew and Carey are used indiscriminately for the same person in this area. In Ballyknockan cemetery, Leighlin parish there is a stone inscribed: Here lieth....Robert Carew died 1st April, 1955 aged 14

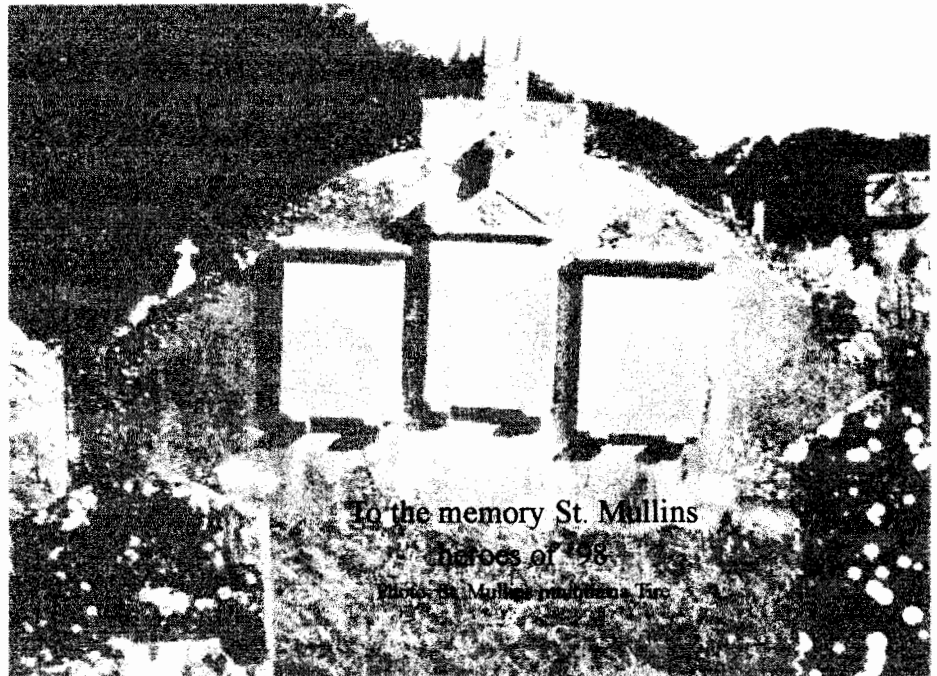
St. Mullins

1798

By
St. Mullins
Muintir na Tire

Historic St. Mullins contributed its quota of heroes to the Rising of 1798 and takes a pardonable pride in the fact. It is recorded that in 1898, the 100th Anniversary, 10,000 people assembled in St. Mullins for the commemoration. For the 150th Anniversary in 1948 a plaque was erected to their memory. Next year the 200th anniversary will be marked by celebrations in many parts of the country, in grateful memory of those who faced overwhelming odds in the cause for freedom. If we neglect to honour them, we prove ourselves unworthy of their sacrifices. In the following pages some account is given of the part the men from St. Mullins district played in the Rising.

The most notable of these being Thomas Cloney, known as General Cloney. His home was in Moneyhore, Co. Wexford where his father, Denis Cloney was a landed proprietor of independent means. His mother was Mary Kavanagh from Ballybeg, St. Mullins and it is here that tradition says Thomas was born. Cloney was but a young man in his early twenties when he marched with the Insurgents to Enniscorthy on the 29 May, 1798. He went into action for the first time, the following day, when he led an attack on a company of Meath Milicia and defeated them. He also took part in the attack on Wexford. it was he along with Col. John Kelly of Killann, led the attack on the Three Bullet Gate, New Ross, when during a thirteen hour battle the English were twice beaten out of town, which, however, they succeeded in holding. He obtained a pardon, after the surrender for saving the lives of captured yeomen, shortly afterwards he was arrested, court-martialled and sentenced to death. The sentence was commuted by Lord Cornwallis and instead he was imprisoned in several barracks including New



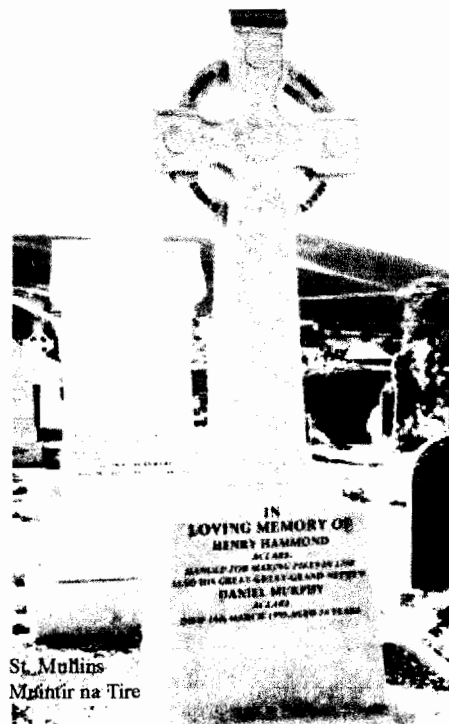
To the memory St. Mullins
heroes of 1798
Photo: St. Mullins Muintir na Tire

Geneva then finally sent to Fort George in Scotland where he was kept in irons for four years. After his release he went to live in Graiguenamanagh where he played an important part in the struggle for Catholic emancipation and was a close friend of Daniel O'Connell. He died at Graiguenamanagh in 1850 aged 76 and is buried with his ancestors here in St. Mullins within the monastic ruins.

Henry Hammond, pike maker

Henry Hammond, who lived in Aclare, was a blacksmith by trade, with forges in Aclare and Coppengh. After the Rising he was arrested and imprisoned in

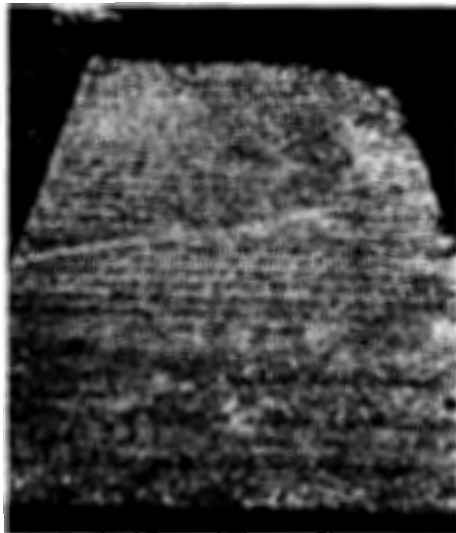
Kilkenny gaol, the charge, making pikes. With the intervention of a Miss Doyle, Aclare, of the landlord class, whom it was said had the power to take three men from the gallows every year, Hammond was released. On his way home he met with some friends at a public-house in Thomastown where they all got rather merry celebrating. However, Hammond is said to have made some jeering remarks about the soldiers and sang rebel songs. An informer told the military, the result, Hammond was re-arrested and taken to Kilkenny. He was tried by court-martial and sentenced to be hanged publicly. His body was returned to his relatives and laid to rest in the family plot in St. Mullins beside the Penal Alter.



St. Mullins
Muintir na Tire

George Dalton, pike maker

Like the Hammonds, the Dalton family of Dranagh were also blacksmiths by trade. George Dalton made pikes for the rebels before the Battle of Ross. It is unknown whether he actually fought in the battle. However, after the Rising he was arrested and imprisoned in Kilkenny. As in the case of Henry Hammond he was released. On his return home he continued to make pikes and for this offense he was beheaded. tradition tells us that George shod Fr. Murphy's horse on his march from Wexford into Carlow and Kilkenny. George Dalton's grave is marked with a small cross and is situated in the centre of the cemetery not far from the Penal Alter.



Tomb of General Thomas Cloney

Shaun Rua Daragh Doyle lived in Corcoran's Lane, Drummond. He first fought with the yeomen but changed sides at the Battle of Ross, when he took charge at a cannon for the rebels. He was a close friend of General Cloney and he often ran various errands to Moneyhore for him when Cloney stayed in Drummond. It was while on one of these journeys he was captured by yeomen, courtmartialled and shot.

John Byrne also lived in Drummond. He was wounded in the Battle of Ross and died shortly afterwards. The Byrne family then moved to Templeudigan.

The Scolardy Murphy's

John *Scolardy* Murphy's family lived in Marley and were very seldom called Murphy, hence the use of the nickname. So much so, that even in the Parish registers, this family of Murphys were recorded as Scolardys. Unfortunately we have information on John's activities during 1798.

Laurence Keefe was born in Ballinabearna. He was a mere youth when he rallied to the standard of John Kelly of Killann. He fought at Vinegar Hill, Oulart, New Ross and Ferns, surviving all these battles to live to be a great age. The Keefe burial plot is inside the gate of the cemetery, to the left.

James Byrne of Poulmounty was wounded at the Battle of Ross but succeeded in escaping with the defeated rebels to Carrickbyrne from where he made his way home. He was not long home when a yeoman named Captain Boyd, dragged him from his house and shot him. His brothers buried him in St. Mullins to the

right of the Penal Alter. He was 32 years old.

Another rebel who fought at the battle of Ross was James Rourke, Dranagh, aged 24. After the battle he returned home suffering from fever which confined him to bed. There on the same day as James Doyle was shot, 21 June, 1798 James Rourke was shot by yeomen under Captain Boyd. He was buried in St. Mullins on the left hand side of the cemetery near the path.

John Lacy lived at the *Pill* of Poulmounty where his family were boat-builders. Their boats plied between St. Mullins and Waterford. John fought and died at the Three Bullet Gate and is also buried in St. Mullins on the right hand side of the cemetery near the path.

Patrick Kearney also lived in Poulmounty. He fought at the Battle of Ross, where, in fact, he was the first man shot in the charge of the Three Bullet Gate. He was 23 years old. His brother was shot while swimming in the river Barrow at Poulmounty but lived for several years with the bullet in his body. The Kearney burial plot is almost directly in front of the Penal Alter. After the Rising the remainder of the family emigrated to America. However, the pike used by Patrick in Ross is a family heirloom of the Finn family of Drummond and has been carried by a member of his family at all the 1798 commemorations to date. It is presently on display, with the kind permission of Mr. Michael Finn, Drummond at the St. Mullins Muintir na Tire Heritage Centre.

The Finn family would also have a personal interest in 1798 as one of their ancestors William Finn also fought at the Battle of Ross returning home unscathed. However, shortly after the Battle, yeomen raided William's home on their way to Borris. The family would definitely have been wiped out had they not taken refuge in Drummond wood. Their burial plot is to the right of the Penal Alter.

Frank Moore was born and brought up in St. Mullins. In May 1798 his comrades and himself left home to join the rebels in Killann under the leadership of John Kelly. On the road there, at Goolin, they were overtaken by Frank's young brother, Art, who also wanted to join up. However, Frank convinced him to return home promising him if he survived

Enniscorthy he would meet him at Ross. On learning that Frank had survived Enniscorthy, Art, with pike in hand set out for Ross on the morning of the siege. He reached there before daybreak and hid inside the wall. When the battle commenced the rebels came storming over the wall right where he was hiding. Frank was among them. Art climbed up and tumbled over the wall to join them but fell into the arms of a yeoman. Before the yeoman had drawn his sword Art's pike pierced his heart. By this time Frank was nowhere to be seen. Art spent the remainder of the day wandering through the town looking for him, until eventually, completely exhausted he lay down and fell asleep. Another rebel named O'Brien disturbed his sleep to tell him Frank was dead. Art returned home alone to tell his mother the sad news. Early on June 7, Art and his mother returned to Ross to bring home Frank's remains. After a long search they found his body among the dead. They buried him under a yew tree in St. Mullins cemetery.

George Malone was born in one of the houses near St. Moling's Well, the ruins of which can still be seen. He was only 16 or 17 years old when he joined the Insurgents on their way to Ross. He was killed there. It was Art Moore who brought back news of his death to St. Mullins. He is buried here on the right side of the cemetery near the path.

Not much is known about one of the rebels, Patrick Logan. And we are not certain if his surname was *Logan* or *Laffan*. It is said that he fought with the rebels and is buried in St. Mullins, unfortunately his grave is not marked.

Another rebel named Patrick Foley was from Templeudigan. He was killed in Ferns on June 29, by yeomen at the age of 23. His friends brought his body over the White Mountain by night and buried it in St. Mullins to the left of the Penal Alter, near the path.

Local tradition has it that Murty Lawlor was from Ballywilliam. He, like others first fought with the yeomen but joined the rebels at Ross. He is buried in St. Mullins, it is believed, in what is now the burial plot of Baileys of Ballywilliam.

John Whelan who was from Grange, Rathmore, was hunted after the Rising for the active part he played in it. When

Ballymurphy

Tom Doran

*Sweet Ballybrack I'll give to Jack,
Inchaphook to Charlie;
Ballybeg I'll give to Peg,
And I'll live in the palace of Marley.*

The village of Ballymurphy is situated in the south of County Carlow about two miles as the crow flies from Sturra, the highest peak in that part of the Blackstair mountains. It is a small village with a Roman Catholic Church, a school and seven inhabited houses. In 1803 it had twenty four houses, a church that had galleries and a three storey school. The teacher lived in the top storey of the school. There were other schools in the area before 1803, at Ballybrack, Kyle, Ballyglisheen, Coonogue and Knockmulgurry. The old school at Knockmulgurry can still be seen, although nearly a ruin. It was used both as a school and a barn so that term time was regulated by the needs of the farmer.

The village of Ballymurphy is not ancient though the area in which it is situated is. The Rathgeran stone is thought to be some thousand of years old. Rathgeran means Rath of the Rowan and the stone is thought to be a guide to a tumulus an old burial mound, possibly as old as Newgrange.

Churches

There were four churches in the area older than St. Patrick's Church in Ballymurphy. Ballyglisheen means the town of the little church. A Holy Water Font that belonged to this Church is in Ballyglisheen school. The stones of the walls of this church were used to build the school at Inch. Kilcullen, "The Church of the Holly" and its cemetery are in the townland of Tinnacarrig. The last Parish Priest of Kilcullen, Fr. Terence Gromley, who lived at Ballyrughen with a Fr. Kavanagh died in 1758 and is buried in Kiltinnel. Kiltinnel is in the townland of Ballinvalley and ruins of the church and oratory can be seen there. The oratory was consecrated by Archbishop Byrne of Dublin in 1709. The Church at Kyle is very probably the oldest in the present parish of Borris. The outline of this church can be seen and the road passes through its cemetery.

Farms

Sixty years ago Ballymurphy area consisted mostly of small farms. These farms have since doubled and in some cases trebled in size. The area had many

Carpenters, two families of Stone Masons, two tailors, two shoemakers, a coachbuilder and two forges. Evidence of an older forge is seen in the binding stone on the Ballybrack road to Rathanna. This was used to hold a wheel while it was bound with an iron rim.

□ □ □ □

Ballymurphy area is watered by many streams, three of which flow towards the village. One of the streams starts in Neddies well where the townlands of Tathgerran and Ballybrack meet. The stream has no name so I called it the Eddie. This stream, though a small volume of water, worked a mill about two hundred yards from St. Patrick's church where the townlands of Ballymurphy and Ballybrack meet. Here a tiny ravine with a stone paved stream bed together with a small earthwork made a dam which held thousands of gallons of water. Another stream rises in the Crosses Well about two hundred yards south of Gallows Gap and flows by Clashahulla and Coolboash and at about two hundred yards from the ruins of the Church at Kyle it worked a horizontal mill, a simple but seemingly useful undershot. The stones of this mill were very well and smoothly dressed and were about two feet in diameter. One stone was broken in the lifting from the stream, the driver of the machine not knowing there was anything special there. This mill is now in the museum in Dublin and is thought to be one thousand and maybe more years old and the work of the Vikings. The cross flows on by Clasheen and joins the Eddie about forty yards from the bridge at Ballymurphy and flows to meet the Royboro about one hundred yards further on Southwest of the bridge. The Royboro rises at Stura in the Blackstairs and worked a mill at Mullawnagown and another mill at Ballymurphy. This latter mill was a busy one, working night and day from October to May. It was deemed to be a good oatmeal mill. It also worked maize which was hauled from the boat at Clashganny by horses and dray cars. The Aughafada rises at Knockmulgurry and flows through Ballyglisheen where it is in part a division between the parish of St. Mullins and the Ballymurphy area and then flows on through Inch to join the Royboro at Moycullen. The Black

Stream rises in Slievegar in County Wexford and flows into County Carlow with Knock na Meala on the left and then later Knockbawn on the right and joins two streams from Rathanna area at Moyvalley bridge becoming the Aughnabriska which flows by Kiltinnel on its way to the Barrow

□ □ □ □

Some prominent men of the Roman Catholic Church were born in the Ballymurphy area. Edmund Byrne, born at Ballybrack House was Archbishop of Dublin in the latter end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. Edward Murphy, born at Knockmore, was Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin and was transferred to Dublin to succeed Dr. Byrne in 1724. Dr. Mc Gee, born at Ballybrack, was Professor of Theology at Carlow College and Vice-President of the college for many years.

□ □ □ □

Ballymurphy was named after Matthew Murphy who lived at Clonroche and held great possessions there and at Palace in Wexford County. Sir Morgan Kavanagh of Poulmounty Castle had a regiment in the rebellion of 1641 and Murphy, who was kin and ally of the Kavanaghs, was made Captain of the regiment in 1642. I read in one history book that Colonel Kavanagh was killed in the Battle of Kilrush about three miles north of Athy where the Irish got a bad beating. I prefer to think that he was killed at the Battle of the Blackheath. Murphy survived this latter, got a company together and continued fighting but was badly wounded at Lynche's Cross and retired to Ballymurphy. Here he built a castle, married a sister of Donal Oge Kavanagh and had four sons: Laurence, Matthew, James and Richard. Cromwell's soldiers came along and burned the castle so that Murphy and his family had to flee to Cahir Kavanagh's cave in the Blackstairs (Cahir's Den).

□ □ □ □

Murphy's son Laurence died young. His other sons were at the Battle of the Boyne where James was wounded and returned to Ballymurphy. Matthew and Richard fought at Aghriin and Limerick and after the treaty sailed for the continent with Sarsfield and the Wild Geese.



Prehistoric Decorated Stone found at Rathgeran near Ballymurphy, Co. Carlow, on the slopes of the Blackstairs, in 1968. It has eight concentric circles carved on it, some with elaborations, such decorative symbols are associated with the earliest art found in Ireland, on megalithic passage Graves, and on isolated rock surfaces known as Galician carvings because of their occurrence in Spain. Both may be of East Mediterranean origin. The carving on the Rathgeran stone would be about 4,000 years old.

Matthew fell in action at the Battle of Lauden.

On far foreign fields from Dunkirk to Belgrade Lie the soldiers and Chiefs of the Irish Brigade

Richard served in the regiment of Lord Clancarty as Captain. One of Richard's sons served as captain in the Count Lally regiment and was taken Prisoner at the Battle of Culloden in Scotland between the Scots and the English. After being exchanged he went on to India and fought in the Battle of Wandewash after which he was again taken Prisoner.

James Murphy who returned wounded from the Boyne to Ballymurphy married a sister of Brian Oge Kavanagh of Ballyleigh (Who himself married a sister of Murphy). They had two sons, Richard and Matthew. Richard had three sons: Laurence and two others who fell in action at New Ross in 1798. Laurence married and had four sons. One of his sons, Matthew settled in Glynn, County Carlow, and another Son, James settled in Walshestown. Matthew had five sons, one of whom fell at New Orleans in the USA Civil War, and another, James was a teacher in Glynn and wrote a number of books including "The Forge of Clohoge", "Emmet's Day" and "Convict No 25". Between them Matthew and James now have descendants in the counties Wexford, Carlow, Kilkenny and Dublin.

Brian Kavanagh of Ballybrack, lost the townlands of Ballybrack, Lisalican and Barahaskin for taking part in the rebellion of 1641. His two sons went to Germany and rose to the rank of Colonel. Another family of the Kavanaghs lived in Inchaphooka now called Rocksavage. A rhyme said to be referring to the Kavanaghs goes: -

*Sweet Ballybrack I'll give to Jack,
Inchaphook to Charlie;
Ballybeg I'll give to Peg,
And I'll live in the palace of Marley.*

Men from Ballymurphy have travelled far to fight but back in 1491 a battle was fought at Mullawngown. The heads of the dead were severed from the bodies so that the corpses could do no spiritual harm and these heads were buried in Kilcullen. Sometimes the townland of Mulawngown is called "Headfield". James and Peter Farrell and Michael Ryan were shot at Mullawngown and Michael Fay was shot at Moycullen by British Forces on 18.04.1921.

There is a cemetery in Rathgeran. I was told it was used as a cemetery in a plaque that hit Ireland maybe in 1410, I am not sure. It is near the cross of Bo na Fuana, the field is still called reilig. Near this reilig was a village but only one house remains.

Athletes

Ballymurphy has had some fine Athletes and Sportsmen through the years. Mick Lawlor of Knockmore was never beaten in a pull. He was never beaten throwing the weight until he was past his best and even then it was no mean achievement. A Hundred years ago Mick was at a sports in Bunclody when he was past his best, the Dublin Athletes were there including the weight throwers. At the time it was thought and rightly so, that the Dubliners improved the sports. The people were backing the Dublin Men; however a Wexford Man shouted *Five pounds on the Carlow Man*. Lawlor heard the shout, it gave him courage and he won. Five pounds is not much now in 1992 but at that time one pound would buy one hundred and twenty pints or one hundred and twenty 1lb loaves.

Mick Lawlor had no equal in his hay day very probably in Leinster. His son John was an all-round athlete who played on Wexford Football team. He went to Boston and was selected to take part in the Olympics but could not take part because he would have had to pay his expenses and he was married. Things were not as flush in USA as they are now.

Christy Murphy of Ballymurphy had the record for the longest football kick in Boston. Jim Byrne, born in Ballymurphy, won four All Ireland medals in a row with Wexford County football team along with several Leinster medals.

The late Joe Doyle of Kyle told me of a football match between Ballyglisheen and Ballybrack when he was a chap some time in the 1870's. The game was in McGee's bridge field. Ballybrack was leading coming near the end and Tom Ryan was trying to take the game out of the fire for Ballyglisheen and advanced towards the Ballybrack goal but was stopped abruptly by Murtagh Murphy in the Ballybrack goal. Ballymurphy has a fine history for football, winning the Minor Championships in 1928, winning the Junior Championships in 1911, 1927 1939, 1956, 1962, and 1978; the Intermediate in 1943 and 1969; and the Senior Championships in 1947 and 1953. Ballymurphy also won the Intermediate Hurling Championship in 1986, the Junior Hurling in 1974 and the Minor Hurling 'B' Championship in 1985.

Tug-O-War

An old man from the Ridge of Old Leighlin told me of a tug-o-war team from Ballymurphy coming to the Ridge and beating a team from there. There were many tug-o-war teams in the area from time to time in the years gone by. Ballymurphy won an Ireland tug-o-war championship, I cannot find the year it was won. I think it was in the late 1880's or the early 1890's. The names of the team were John Corcoran Cummer, Bunclody; Christy Dalton, Ballybrack; Tom Fogarty, Seskin; Joe Kealy, Walshestown; Mick Lawlor, Knockmore; Tom Mc Cabe, Rocksavage and Jim Neill, Walshestown.

Kavanagh's cave in the Blackstairs (Cahir's Den)

A Letter to a Castledermot Emigrant

Michael J. Wall

On the 1st of April 1864, Martin Nowlan and his new bride Brigid Summers left Ireland for Liverpool and from there to America, arriving in New York on the 21st April 1865. From there he moved to the town of Hebron, Porter County in Indiana. Neither Martin nor his wife would ever return to Ireland, and indeed it would be almost eight years before his family back home would hear from him.

Martin Nowlan was born in 1841, the son of John Nowlan¹ and Mary Molloy of Bottleford - a sub division of the townland of Plunketstown Lower, Castledermot, who had a small land holding down the Dairy Lane. According to Martin Nowlan's grand nephew, Pat Kelly of Plunketstown - now 83 years old, Mary Molloy was a cousin of the Molloy's of Greenbank, Carlow.

On the 6th of March 1864, Martin Nowlan married Brigid Summers. She was born in 1838, the daughter of William Summers² and Elizabeth Dunne and they too had a small land holding in the neighbouring townland of Ballinacarrick.



Brigid Summers wife of Martin Nowlan

On the 1st of September 1866, Martin Nowlan became a naturalized citizen of the United States of America and in the process he had to renounce his allegiance to Queen Victoria. No word back home was heard from Martin until early 1872 when he wrote to his father, who was now seventy seven years of age. The obvious delight that this letter gave his father is evidenced in the response - now in the possession of one of the descendents of Martin Nowlan, given below, that his father wrote back.

Plunketstown,
May 30th 1872

My Dear Beloved Child


And well I have received your long wished for letter. And it has renewed my old spirit that I do think I will live for ten years longer by hearing from you for we thought you were not in this world at all or that you would not be so long without writing to

us. But thanks to God he has spared you and me to come to each other by writing and My Dear Child we are most happy that you enjoy the blessing of good health as this note leaves me. And your brother John and sister and all friends at this time Thank God.

My dear beloved child I have to let you know that I got your sister and brother Married. Maria is married to a man in the County Carlow named Pat Hickey³, she is very comfortable and well to do. Also John is married to a young woman from Queen's County, her name was Margaret Bolger. She is the most kind loving good woman to me as well as to her husband. She and John join me in sending you our fondest love and with the help of God again our next writing to we will have more friends to send their fond love to you. Also Maria and her husband join us too in sending their fond love to you. Also Pat Nolan⁴ and little Mary⁵ join their fondest love to you and Mary is getting a fine big girl. I have also to let you know that Tom Nolan⁶ is married to Eliza Noud⁷. He is very well to do and has two children. His wife and family send their best wishes to you. My dear child I have to let you know that we got no account from your brother James and we would have wrote sooner only we waited to send you John Walsh's address which is as follows illegible..... and his sisters address is Mrs. Maria McDaly Putnam Con. North America.

All the neighbours are well with the exception of your uncle Davy Ryan⁸. He is I think on the last at this time. All the family join their fondest to you and all the neighbours join their best respects to you. We all join our fondest love to you again and I conclude with my blessing, wishing you all happiness and a never ending one in the heart and remains your loving and brother and sister friends.

John Nowlan until Death.

UNITED STATES  OF AMERICA.
THE STATE OF INDIANA, } ss.
PORTER COUNTY.

Be it known, That on the 1st day of September A. D., 1866, personally appeared in the Porter Circuit Court, before the _____ thereof, _____ an alien, and reports himself for NATURALIZATION, and being duly sworn, on oath declares that: he is a native of _____, aged about _____ years, and owes allegiance to _____ that he emigrated thence, embarked at _____ and arrived at New York _____ in the United States, on the _____ day of _____ A. D. 1866, and that it is bona fide his intention to reside in and become a Citizen of the United States, and to renounce forever all allegiances and fidelity to every foreign Prince, Potentate, State or Sovereignty, whatever, particularly to _____ & Martin Nowlan

Naturalization papers of Martin Nowlan

Martin Nowlan continued to work and live in Hebron until his death, caused by liver disease, on the 10th of August 1891. His wife Brigid died on the 10th of May 1910. They had nine children in family:

John	born 1865;	mar. 1890 Kate Ryan.
Elizabeth	born 1868; died 1910;	mar. 1892 Jacob Romire.
James	born 1870; died 1960;	mar. 1908 Winona Frazier.
Mary	born 1872; died 1954;	mar. 1901 Otto Wharton.
William	born 1874; died 1958;	mar. 1896 Della Frye.
Martin	born 1876; died 1935;	unmarried.
Kate	born 1878; died 1901;	mar. 1900 H. Edmunds.
Rose	born 1880; died 1888.	
Helen	born 1883; died 1946;	mar. 1905 Roscoe Blood.

¹ John Nowlan was born in Plunketstown Lower in 1795 the son of John Nowlan and Brigid Connor.

² William Summers was born in Ballinacarrick in 1794 the son

of John Summers and Mary McDonnell.

³ They had a small holding near Green Acres cross in Carlow.

⁴ Pat Nowlan was born in Plunketstown Lower in 1807 the son of Thomas Nowlan and Rose Stynes. He married first, Catherine Nowlan a sister of Martin's in 1858 by whom he had a daughter

Maria born in 1861; and second, Eleanor Byrne the daughter of Oliver Byrne and Anna Roach of Lisnavagh, Rathvilly, in 1863.

⁵ Maria married Edward Nowlan, the son of Pat Nowlan and Anna Murphy of Plunketstown Upper in 1879. They lived in Plunketstown and had a large family.

⁶ Thomas Nowlan another son of Thomas Nowlan and Rose Stynes who was born in 1826. His grandson Kevin still farms in the homeplace.

⁷ Eliza Noud was born in Prumplestown in 1840 the daughter of Darby Noud and Brigid Headon. James Noud, an uncle of Eliza's, was a Christian Brother in Dublin in 1829.

⁸ Davy Ryan was born in 1790 the son of Luke and Anna Ryan. He married Bridget Nowlan an aunt of Martin's. Davy Ryan, who had a small holding in Plunketstown Upper, died shortly after this letter was written and is buried in Killelan.

Carlovians deported to Australia

1798

Then here's their memory!
May it be
For us a guiding light,
To cheer our strife for liberty,
And teach us to unite.

Name	Ship
Mark Barrington	AtlasI
Nicholas Bryan [Brien]	AtlasII
John Butler	AtlasII
Hugh Byrne	AtlasII
James Byrne	Anne
Patrick Byrne [Burn]	Rolla
Patrick Byrne	Rolla
Peter Byrne [Byran]	Anne
Hugh Crabtree	Anne
Thomas Daly [Dayly]	AtlasI
Myles Dolan	Tellicherry
James Doyle	AtlasI
Mary Doyle	AtlasI
Matthew Doyle	AtlasI
Richard Doyle	Tellicherry
Patrick Farrell	Anne
Laurence Fenlon	Tellicherry
John Fitzpatrick	Tellicherry
John Foley	AtlasI
Thomas Hayden	AtlasI
John Hickey	Anne
William Hussey	Anne

Name	Ship
Peter Ivers	Minerva
James Jenkinson	AtlasI
Gregory Kielly	AtlasII
Mark Lowrie	AtlasI
Catherine McDaniel	Rolla
Daniel McDaniel	AtlasI
Denis McDaniel	Anne
Wm. McDaniel (no county listed)	
John McDonald	Hercules
Patrick Mulhall	Tellicherry
Catherine Murphy	Rolla
Thomas Murphy	Rolla
Ann Nolan [Nowlan]	AtlasI
John Ryan	Tellicherry
Philip Shanahan	AtlasI
Rebecca Tarlton	AtlasI
Richard Tobin	Anne

John Butler (stonemason) became an overseer.
With 5 years of arriving in Australia,

Hugh Crabtree was renting 95 acres in partnership with Thomas Dowling of Kilkenny.

Most of the Irish wrote their own petitions which suggests that they were educated to high level.

Peter Ivers was a delegate to the Leinster Directory, was arrested at Oliver Bond's house in March 1798 and deported.

■ Continued from page 75

* Extracts from the book *Follow them out from Carlow* by Paul Maguire.

List no grand Cathedral music
 But the sound of bursting shells
 Loud the blooming of the canon's
 And the deadly shot that fells.

See no fine majestic alter
 Decker with vases richly chased
 Naught but broken shells for vases
 On an alter rudely raised.

As the Sacred Host is lifted
 Swift a hush of silence reigns,
 While the dying eyes are centred
 On the King who'll soothe their pains.

Many ere the mass is ended
 Wing their souls to Him above

Leave that scene of strife and discord
 For a world of peace and love.

*Poem in *The Nationalist and Leinster Times* by Mary Carey, Bagenalstown, Saturday, October 17, 1914

■ Continued from page 88

the yeomen raided his home his father was made a target on his own doorstep because they could not capture John. A large flat tombstone marks his grave at St. Mullins and reads: Here lies the body of John Whelan, Grange, who died 13th Oct. 1798.

In paying tribute to these 18 heroes, who found a resting place here among the saints and kings, let us also salute the memory of many heroes from St. Mullins and other parts who fell at Ross and elsewhere and who await the last reveille in unknown graves.

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The River Barrow

by

Arthur Kepple

Wed., November 19.

**Life & Times of the
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by

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