

Carloviana

**carlow historical
and archaeological society**

cumann stairé agus seandálaíochta cheatharloch

2003 EDITION

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Parliamentary Representation

Old Leighlin Monastery & Cathedral

Some American Bolgers

Past & Present

Edmund Burke

Carlow Poor Law Union

Carlow Brigade I.R.A. Roll of Honour

Birdman of Old Leighlin

Did He or Didn't He?

Bagenalstown Men who Died W.W. I.

Origins of Technical Education in Carlow

Designatio Status granted to Carlow County Museum

Obituaries

Castlemore motte & Bailey

Edward O'Toole

The Last Woman to be publicly Hanged in Carlow

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Editorial

2003 marked the bi-centenary of the up-rising of Robert Emmet. The youngest son of Doctor Robert Emmet, State Physician, he was born in St Stephen's Green, Dublin in 1778. He entered Trinity College, Dublin, in 1797, where he studied History, and Chemistry. He soon joined the College Historical Society that had been founded by Edmund Burke, and distinguished himself as an orator. His friend, and fellow-student, Thomas Moore said of him "wholly free from the follies, and frailties of youth, the pursuit of science, in which he eminently distinguished himself, seemed, at this time, the only object that at all divided his thoughts with that enthusiasm for Irish freedom which in him was an hereditary as well as national feeling"

He became the leader of the United Irishmen in College. As a result of a "visitation" by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Clare, nineteen students were expelled. Robert Emmet withdrew his name from the College books, and so avoided expulsion..

In order to avoid arrest, he fled to the continent. Here he met Napoleon, and discussed Irish independence with him, but did not think that he had any real interest in Ireland. Returning to Ireland in 1882, he tried to organise an up-rising. He hoped that it would coincide with Napoleon's expected invasion of England in August. But this did not occur. The rising had little support, and soon ended.

Emmet fled to the Dublin Mountains, returning to a secret hiding place in Harold's Cross in order to see his sweetheart, Sarah Curran. He was arrested on 25th August, and hanged outside St Catherine's Church, Thomas Street, the following day.

His eloquent speech from the dock is still quoted, and valued two hundred years later. At the end of his speech he says " I have but one request to ask at my departure from this world. It is the charity of its silence. Let no man write my epitaph; for as no man who knows my motives dare now vindicate them, let not prejudice or ignorance asperse. Let them, and me rest in obscurity, and peace; and my tomb remain uninscribed, and my memory in oblivion until other times, and other men can do justice to my character, when my country has taken her place among the nations of the earth, then, and not till then let my epitaph be written".

These words are stirring, and memorable. They indicate the high idealism, and sincerity of a young man who was dedicated to making Ireland free. He gave his young life for Ireland.

He left behind grieving relations, and a broken hearted Sarah Curran. He wrote to her from prison, but she may not have received his letter. Her Father ordered her out of the house, and she went to stay in West Cork. Here she met a soldier named Robert Sturgeon, and accepted his marriage proposals. They moved to Sicily, but she was grief stricken for Robert Emmet. Her story inspired Thomas Moore to write the words of a popular Ballad " She is far from the land where her young hero sleeps, and lovers around her are sighing, But coldly she turns from their gaze, and weeps, for her heart in his grave is lying."

This year we commemorate the sacrifice of Robert Emmet, and Sarah Curran who supported him. Ireland has indeed taken her place among the nations of the world. She has taken part in peace-keeping roles with the United Nations in Africa, and Eastern Europe. As a member of the U.N., Ireland has been on the side of the oppressed, and down-trodden.

Irish men, and women have followed the teaching of the Gospel, and have been inspired by the Prince of Peace. They have brought the Christian message of love, and forgiveness.

The Editors wish all our readers a very Happy Christmas, and a prosperous New Year

Editors' desk.

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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.

THE FRONT COVER
PHOTOGRAPH

**A COUNTY CARLOW
CURSUS
OR
"THE WITCH'S SLIDE"**

What is a cursus?

The name 'cursus' is another one of those words which has its origins in early descriptions of Stonehenge in Britain. It was applied by the eighteenth-century antiquarian William Stuckley to the large trackway north of Stonehenge which he considered to be a race-track used by the ancient Britons. Thus the Latin name *cursus* was used to describe the site. Like the word henge the name should not be taken literally but should be understood simply as an archaeological label for a particular type of site.

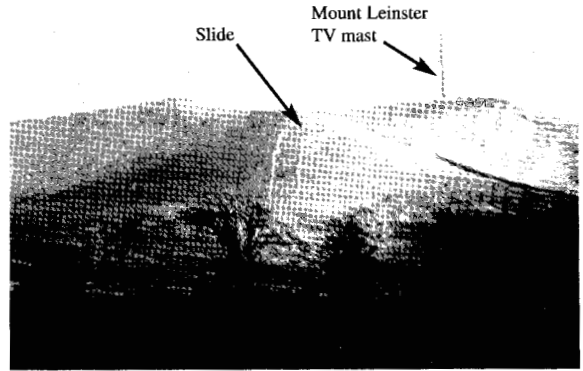
A simple description of a cursus is that it is a long, narrow enclosure, up to a hundred metres wide, which can be hundreds of metres long, and sometimes several kilometres long. On the long sides the enclosure is bounded by a bank and ditch. The ends of the enclosure are, where known, closed by a continuation of the bank and ditch either curved or rectilinear in plan. The majority of sites in Britain are found on the well-drained gravel terraces of major river valleys where they have been identified as cropmarks from the air, but they are also known to occur in upland areas.

In Britain up to fifty cursuses are known, most of which have been identified by aerial photography in relatively recent times as cropmarks. As stated above, the best known cursus is associated with Stonehenge, and the other cursus monuments, too, are associated with henge monurrients and other ritual sites such as barrows and subrectangular enclosures referred to as 'mortuary enclosures'. Ritual processions are thought to have taken place in cursus monuments along the demarcated route, presumably as part of festivals or anniversaries, funerary events or possibly for inauguration ceremonies.

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Tom Condit, *Avenues for Research*,
Archaeology Ireland, Vol. 9, No. 4,
Issue No. 34, Winter, 1995, page 16.

A story told in the Myshall area about the parallel ridges on the Black Banks, known as the "Witch's Slide", is that a Carlow witch had a falling out with her neighbour in County Wexford and threw a stone at her, in doing so she slipped and fell.



To unbelievers of the story the ridges are pointed out as the place where she slipped, the Standing Stone in Clonee, the stone she was trying to throw into Wexford and the double Bullaun Stone in the old graveyard, Myshall the marks of her knees where she landed !!!!



Above: The late Tommy Dobbs beside the Standing Stone in Clonee. The grooves on the top of the stone are pointed out as the marks of the witch's fingers!!!



Left: Kevin Kennedy and Tommy at the double Bullaun Stone. They seem to be very sceptical about the story!!!

Photographs:
Copyright,
W. Ellis

THE BACK COVER PHOTOGRAPH

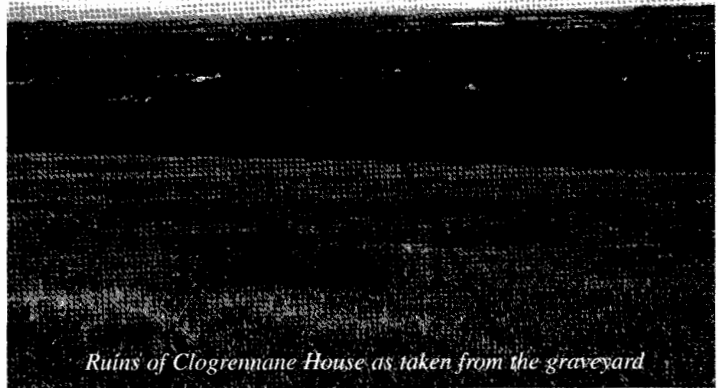
CLOYDAGH GRAVEYARD

IN THE

CLOGRENNANE DESMENE

In Clogrennan demesne are the ruins of the old parish church of Cloydagh, of which portions of the four walls remain. It measured about 50 feet by 16; in the east gable there is a Gothic window, the stone casing of which is of much more recent date than the church. A narrow lancet window is found on the Epistle side of the altar-place, and beside it, a Gothic recess for cruets, etc. Two Gothic doorways, opposite to each other, are found in the north and south walls, towards the west end. The walls are close upon four feet in thickness. On the outside and let into the west gable, is a stone about 1ft. by 1ft., bearing an incised cross in a circle, having a pellet within each of the four segments. There is a narrow ope in the northwest end 3 inches in width by 2ft. in length. A burial-ground is attached in which, however, there is no epitaph of historical importance. This living belonged to the Augustinian Priory of Great Connall, County of Kildare. On 18th of May, 1603, a grant was made from the King to John Sinbarbe, or St. Barbe, Gent., of the Rectory of Cloydagh, in the Dollough, extending into the townlands of Cloughrenan, Ballinabrenagh, Ballitrolly, Garramore, Ballybrin, Stradnefriske, Clogheristick, and Cloughna; parcel of the possessions of the Priory of the B. V. Mary of Connall, County of Kildare; rent, £4. 0s. 8d. Irish, to hold for 21 years, at a rent of £35 3s. Cd. Irish, in consideration of his good and faithful service (Cal. Pat. Rolls).

The above text taken from *Collections Dioceses of Kildare and Leighlin* Vol. III, p 27 by the Rev M. Comerford, M.R.I.A.



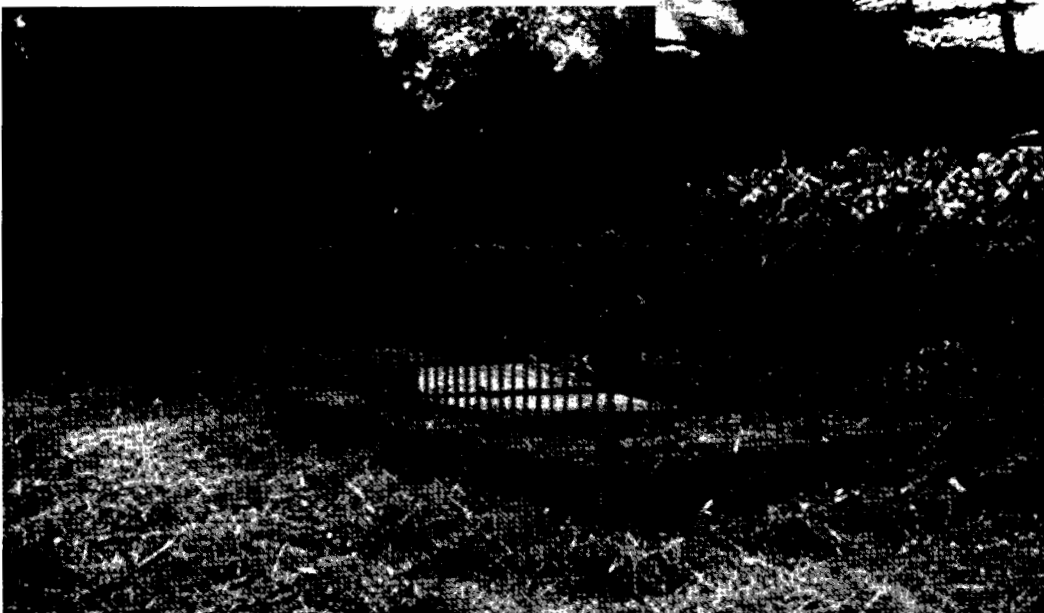
Ruins of Clogrennan House as taken from the graveyard



Church door at Cloydagh graveyard



Alexander family graves



Photographs:
Martin Nevin
&
William Ellis

Parliamentary Representation- Carlow (1613- 1900)

Sean O'Shea

The earliest account of Irish Parliamentary Representation occurred during the reign of King Edward III (1327- 1377). Hibernia records that County Carlow was represented by two Members at Parliaments held on the 25th March and 22nd November, 1374, and names Geoffry De Valle and Philip De Valle as representing the County at Parliament held at Westminster on the 22nd January 1377.

No accurate list of members exists for any of the Pre-Elizabethan Irish Parliaments, nor is there evidence whether members attended the Westminster Parliament or went only occasionally when invited.

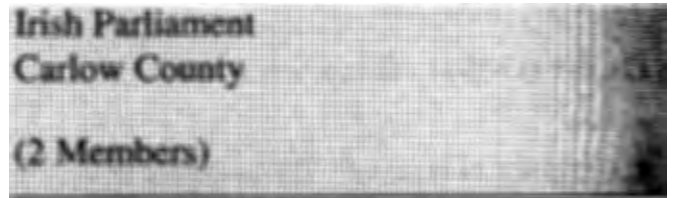
Elizabeth summoned three Parliaments during her reign: in 1559, 1568 and 1585.

Edward Butler and Sir William Fitzwilliam represented Carlow at the first Parliament, while Sir Henry Wallop and Geoffrey Fenton were members at the last Parliament.

The list of names of those attending the 1568 Parliament is extant. From the reign of Elizabeth there is reliable evidence relating to members of Parliament representing the County, and accurate records also exist of members representing the Borough of Old Leighlin from 1634 until the Act of Union 1800 and the Borough of Carlow from 1613 until the *Redistribution of Seats Act 1885*.

As a consequence of the Act of Union, Ireland returned 100 members to the House of Commons at Westminster (300 members had constituted the Irish Parliament). Old Leighlin Borough was disfranchised, Carlow Borough reduced to one member, with the County retaining its two seats. Total membership remained at three until the redistribution of seats in 1885 when the Borough of Carlow was disfranchised and the County reduced to one member.

This remained the position until 1921 when County Carlow and County Kilkenny were combined to form a single Constituency and proportional representation was introduced. W. T. Cosgrave, Gearoid O'Sullivan, James Lennon and E Aylward were returned unopposed that year for the Constituency



Year	Candidates	Votes Polled
1613	George Bagenal Morgan Kavanagh	
1634	James Butler Morgan Kavanagh	
1634	Morgan Kavanagh's election declared void Sir Thomas Butler	
1639	Sir Thomas Butler Oliver Eustace	
1654	Cor. Thomas Sadlier Col. Daniel Axtell	
1656	Col. Thomas Sadleir Major Daniel Redman	
1659	Major Daniel Redman Col. John Brett	
1661	Sir John Temple William Temple	
1689	Henry Luttrell Dudley Bagenal	
1692	Sir. Thomas Butler John Tench	
1695	Sir Thomas Butler John Allen	
1703	Sir Thomas Butler Pierce Butter Major Thomas Burdett	N/A
1704	<i>On death of Thomas Butler</i> Major Thomas Burdett	
1713	Sir Pierce Butler Jeffrey Paul Major Thomas Burdett	N/A
1715	Francis Harrison Major Thomas Burdett	
1725	<i>On death of Harrison</i> Jeffrey Paul Walter Bagenal	N/A
1727	Robert Burton Jeffrey Paul	
1729	<i>On death of Paul</i> Richard Butler	
1761	Benjamin Burton Thomas Butler Beauchamp Bagenal	N/A

CARLOVIANA

Year	Candidates	Votes Polled	Year	Candidates	Votes Polled
1767	<i>On death of Burton</i> John Hyde		1830	Col. Henry Bruen Thomas Kavanagh Horace Rochfort	242 216 174
1769	Beauchamp Bagenal William Burton		1831	Walter Blackney Sir J. M. Doyle	
1776	William Burton William Bunbury William Paul Warren	417 338 246	1832	Walter Blackney Thomas Wallace, Col. Henry Bruen Thomas Kavanagh	657 657 483 470
1778	<i>On death of Bunbury</i> Beauchamp Bagenal		1835	Col. Henry Bruen Thomas Kavanagh Maurice O'Connell Michael Cahill	588 587 554 553
1783	William Burton Sir Richard Butler John Rochford	508 351 337	<i>On petition Bruen and Kavanagh unseated and new writ issued</i>		
1790	William Burton Col Henry Bruen		1835	N. A. Vigors Alexander Raphael Thomas Kavanagh Col. Henry Bruen	627 626 572 571
1796	<i>On death of Bruen</i> Sir Richard Butler		<i>On petition Vigors and Raphael unseated and Kavanagh and Bruen declared elected</i>		
1797	William Burton Sir Richard Butler Philip Newton Walter Kavanagh	1072 1069 938 922	1837	<i>on death of Kavanagh</i> N.A. Vigors Thomas Bunbury	669 633
<p>On the 2nd August, 1800 the Irish Parliament was prorogued, and in consequence of the Act of Union, did not again assemble. In Ireland there was no General Election in 1801, and the sitting members of the county continued to hold their seats but now in the British Parliament.</p>			1837	N. A. Vigors J. A. Yates Col. Henry Bruen Thomas Bunbury	730 730 643 643
1801	William Burton Sir Richard Butler,		1840	<i>on death of Vigors</i> Col. Henry Bruen Frederick Ponsonby	722 555
1802	Col. David La Touche Walter Bagenal William Burton Sir Richard Butler	524 479 437 426	1841	Col. Henry Bruen Thomas Bunbury J.A. Yates Daniel O'Connell (jun)	705 704 697 696
1806	Col. David La Touche Walter Bagenal		1846	on the death of Bunbury Capt. W. B. McClintock Bunbury	
1807	Col. David La Touche Walter Bagenal		1847	Col Henry Bruen Capt. W B. McClintock Bunbury	
1812	Col. David La Touche Col. Henry Bruen Walter Bagenal	680 597 256	1852	John Ball Col. Henry Bruen Capt. W B. McClintock Bunbury Capt J. H. Keogh	895 893 880 877
1816	<i>on death of La Touche</i> Robert La Touche		1853	<i>on the death of Bruen</i> Capt. W B. McClintock Bunbury	
1818	Col. Henry Bruen Sir U. B. Burgh		1857	Capt. W. B. McClintock Bunbury Henry Bruen	
1820	Col. Henry Bruen Sir U. B. Burgh		1859	Capt. W B. McClintock Bunbury Henry Bruen	
1826	<i>Burgh resigns</i> Thomas Kavanagh		1862	<i>McClintock Bunbury resigns</i> D. W. P. Beresford	
1826	Col. Henry Bruen Thomas Kavanagh				

CARLOVIANA

Year	Candidates	Votes Polled	Year	Candidates	Votes Polled
1865	Henry Bruen W. P. Beresford		1634	<i>Bryan Failed to Attend Parliament</i> Edward Harman	
1868	Henry Bruen A McM Kavanagh		1639	Robert Hartpole	
1874	Henry Bruen A McM Kavanagh		Carlow Town had no Member at Parliaments of 1654, 1656 and 1659, during the Interregum (Cromwellian Period)		
1880	E.D. Gray D. H. Macfarlanc A McM Kavanagh Henry Bruen	1224 1143 714 633		Thomas Harman	
1885	E.D. Gray Sir T.P. Butler	4801 751	1661	John Temple Thomas Burdett	
Redistribution of Seats Act 1835 Carlow County reduced to one member			1689	Mark Baggot John Warren	
1886	<i>Gray resigns</i> J. A. Blake		1692	Sir William Russell Walter Weldon	
1886	J.A. Blake		1695	Edmond Jones Robert Curtis	
1887	<i>on death of Blake</i> Col. The O'Gorman Mahon		1703	Richard Wolseley Walter Weldon	
1891	<i>on death of The O'Gorman Mahon</i> John Hammond A. J. Kettle	3755 1539	1713	Thomas Burdett Walter Weldon	
1892	John Hammond R.M. McMahan	3738 813	1715	Richard Wolseley Walter Weldon	
1895	John Hammond S.J.C. Duckett	3091 685	1725	<i>On death of Wolseley</i> John Hamilton	
1900	John Hammond		1727	James Hamilton Richard Wolseley	
1906	John Hammond		1761	Robert Burton Sir Richard Wolseley	
1908	<i>on death of Hammond</i> Walter Mc M Kavanagh		1765	<i>On death of Burton</i> Robert Doyne	
1910	Michael Molloy		1769	John Hyde Edward Hoare	
1910	Michael Molloy		1769	<i>Hyde did not accept seat</i> James Somerville	
1918	James Lennon		1776	John Ponsonby John Prendergast	
1613	John Bere Sir Robert Jacob		1776	<i>Ponsonby did not accept seat</i> Arthur Dawson	
Irish Parliament Carlow Town (2 Members)			1783	Sir John Browne Charles Des Voeux	
Year	Members elected by the Corporation		1789	<i>Browne resigns</i> James Caulfield Brown	
1634	Sir Barnaby Bryan (O'Brien) James Rawson		1790	Augustus Cavendish Bradshaw John Ormsby Vandeleur	
			1796	<i>Bradshew Resigns</i> Sir Frederick Flood	
			1798	Henry Sadlier Prittie	

CARLOVIANA

Year	Candidates	Votes Polled
	William Elliott	
1798	<i>Elliott did not accept seat</i> John Wolfe	

On the 2nd August, 1800 The Irish Parliament was prorogued, and in consequence of the Act of Union did not again assemble In Ireland. There was no General Election in 1801, Cities and Towns with the exception of Dublin and Cork were reduced to one Member - a choice between sitting members to attend the British Parliament was made by lot.

British Parliament
Carlow Town
(1 Member)

Year	Members Elected by the Corporation
1801	Henry Sadlier Prittie
1801	<i>Prittie Resigns</i> Francis A. Prittie
1801	<i>Prittie Resigns</i> Charles M. Ormsby
1802	Charles M.Ormsby
1806	<i>Ormsby Resigns</i> Col. Michael Symes
1806	F. J. Robinson
1807	Andrew Strahan
1812	F. J. Falkiner
1818	Charles Harvey
1820	Charles Harvey
1826	Lord Tullamore
1830	Lord Tullamore
1831	Lord Tullamore

**Reform Act 1832 - House Holders of at least
£10 valuation granted franchise**

Year	Candidates	Votes Polled
1832	N.A.Vigors Francis Bruen	145 120
1835	Francis Bruen N. A. Vigors	150 134
1837	W. H. Maule Francis Bruen Philip Bagenal	180 158 2
1839	<i>Maule resigns</i> Francis Bruen	167

Year	Candidates	Votes Polled
	Thomas Gisborne	164

On Petition Bruen unseated and Gisborne declared elected,

1841	Capt. B. V. Layard	
1847	John Sadleir Major B. V. Layard	164 101
1852	John Sadleir R.C.Browne	112 95
1853	<i>Sadleir resigns</i> John Alexander John Sadleir	97 91
1857	John Alexander Capt. A. E. V. Ponsonby	127 79
1859	Sir J. E. E. Dalberg-Acton, John Alexander	117 103
1865	T.O.Stock Col. Horace Rochfort	126 107
1868	Capt W.A. Fagan Col. Horace Rochfort	174 150
1874	H. O. Lewis	
1880	Charles Dawson Col. H. T. Butler	174 135

**Redistribution of Seats Act 1885 -
Carlow Town Disenfranchised**

Irish Parliament
Old Leighlin
(2 Members)

Year	Members Elected by the Corporation
1634	Sir Thomas Meredyth Richard Fitzgerald
1639	Roger Brerton James Cusake
1639	<i>Cusake did not accept seat</i> Thomas Davells
1642	Davells Expelled Walter Chambre
1646	On death of Chambre Peter Wybrants
Old Leighlin had no Member at Parliaments of 1654, 1656 and 1659 during the Interregum (Cromwellian Period)	
1661	Sir Francis Butler Charles Meredyth
1689	Darby Long

CARLOVIANA

Year	Candidates	Votes Polled	Year	Candidates	Votes Polled
	Daniel Doran		1773	<i>On death of Monck</i> Sir John Blaquiere	
1692	Edward Jones John Dunbar		1776	Sir John Blaquiere Hugh Massy	
1695	Richard Boyle Edward Jones		1776	<i>Massy Resigns</i> Robert Jephson	
1695	<i>On death of Jones</i> John Beauchamp		1783	Henry Lawes Luttrell Arthur Acheson	
1703	James Agar John Tench		1787	<i>Luttrell Resigns</i> Edward Leslie	
1713	John Beauchamp St. Ledger Gilbert		1790	Arthur Acheson Edward Cooke	
1715	John Beauchamp St. Ledger Gilbert		1791	<i>Acheson Retires</i> Patrick Duigenan	
1727	John Beauchamp Thomas Trotter		1798	Edward Cooke Sir Boyle Roche	
1745	<i>On death of Beauchamp</i> Robert Jocelyn		On the 2nd August, 1800 the Irish Parliament was prorogued, and in consequence of the <i>Act of Union</i> did not again assemble in Ireland. The Corporation of Old Leighlin was disenfranchised		
1745	On death of Trotter Thomas Carter		References:-		
1757	Jocelyn Resigns Richard Rigby		<i>The Carlow Parliamentary Role</i> - Malcomson.		
1761	Francis Andrews John Bourke		<i>Parliamentary Election Results In ireland (1801 - 1922)</i> - Brian M Walker		
1761	<i>Andrews did not accept Seat</i> Edward Nicholson		<i>The History of Antiquities of County Carlow</i> - Ryan		
1769	Sir Fitzgerald Aylmer Thomas Monck		<i>Ireland since the Famine</i> - F.S.L. Lyons		
			<i>Lodge's Parliamentary Register</i> - Hiberniae		
			<i>Nationalist and Leinster Times</i>		
			<i>The Carlow Sentinel</i>		



Pictured at the launch of the Historical and Archaeological Society's 'Carloviana' '02 edition and 'Ballads of County Carlow' in the County Library, Carlow were Joe Whelan, Jim Nolan, Seamus Murphy, who officially launched 'Ballads of County Carlow', Noreen Whelan and Dr. Michael Conry, President.

OLD LEIGHLIN MONASTERY & CATHEDRAL

5th to 15th century

J M Feeley
J Sheehan

The history of this religious foundation is recorded from earliest times in the annals. St Gobanus is reputed to have founded the monastery and later yielded to St Lazerian, apostolic delegate in the 7th century St Gobanus then retired to the monastery of Killamery, (Co Kilkenny).

During the autumn of 2001 and spring of 2002 the site was examined using non-intrusive survey methods (mainly divining) by the authors. A total of 44 buildings were located dating from the 5th to the 15th century



Present remains are the Church of Ireland Cathedral, and St Molaise's Holy Well.

St Lazerian who studied in Rome and was ordained there, wished that the Irish should conform to Roman custom in liturgical matters and particularly the time for observation of Easter. Consequently he called a synod at Leighlin in 632 AD to discuss this question .

At that time Irish Christians followed a solar calendar while those of southern Europe and the middle East , followed a lunar calendar. Eventually the universal church adopted the compromise method in use at present ie; Easter Sunday falls on the 1st Sunday after the full moon which follows the Spring Equinox.

Old Leighlin grew rapidly during St Lazerian's lifetime and over the following centuries. The monastery is said to have had a community of 1500 at one time.

Because of its fame and proximity to the River Barrow, the monastery was burnt and pillaged by Vikings and native Irish alike on several occasion between the 9th and 11th centuries and even as

late as the 14th century.

In 1111 AD a national church synod decided to change from a monastic to a diocesan structure, already the norm in Britain and on the continent. As a result of this decision Leighlin became a diocesan centre.

The construction of the present cathedral began under Bishop Donatus in the 12th and continued into the 13th century. In the year 1400 AD it is recorded that the cathedral, a bishop's palace, a monastery and 86 burgage tenements and other houses existed.

In the years that followed a defensive wall enclosed the village. Following the Reformation the cathedral and lands were granted to the Church of Ireland. The cathedral was restored and extended in the 16th century by Bishop Saunders. Leighlin was granted several royal charters and returned three members to the Dublin parliament until the Act of Union.

Between autumn 2001 and spring of 2002 the area currently covered by the cathedral, graveyard and surrounding fields was searched (using non intrusive methods) for traces of monastic buildings. A total of 45 buildings was located, beginning with the 5th century and ending with the 14th century. Leighlin was a double monastery during the 1st millenium it included a convent nearby. This custom quite common elsewhere in early Christian Ireland.

Survey

Site1; Field adjoining the River Madlin to the south.

Site 2; Cathedral grounds and churchyard.

Site 3. Fields currently owned by the Doran family across the public road to the north and north west.

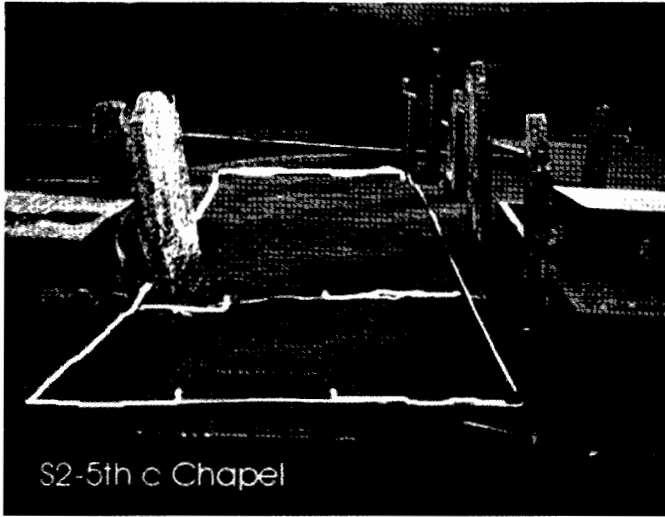


View of Cathedral
from the South West

Photo courtesy of
Ireland of the Welcomes

No monastic remains were found in the field enclosed by a high wall to the east of the cathedral or in the present lower graveyard.

The earliest buildings on site dating to 5th and 6th centuries were located in the upper churchyard.



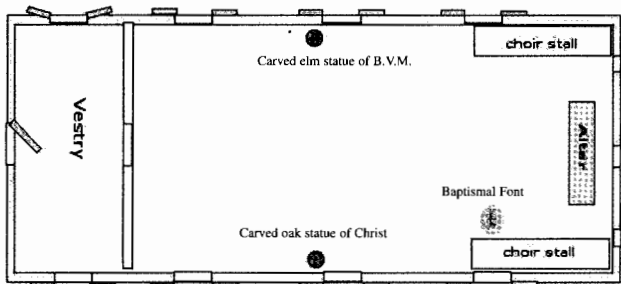
The church (5.1) shown above and two other buildings were located in the upper churchyard and dated to the 5th century ie two centuries before St. Gobanus and Laserian.

The building shown was constructed with a timber frame, with clay/wattle walls and a roof of thatch. The entire building would have been white-washed internally and externally. Dimensions; 22' long x 9' wide.

An unusual feature (for a church) is its orientation N/S. However the layout is typical of the period; ie vestry was immediately inside entrance door. A crude stone font (now located to the left of cathedral main entrance) also dates from this early period.

ST. LASERIAN'S CHURCH - 7TH CENT.

Timber, clay & wattle building with thatched (reeds) roof.



J.M.F.
12/01

Madlin River

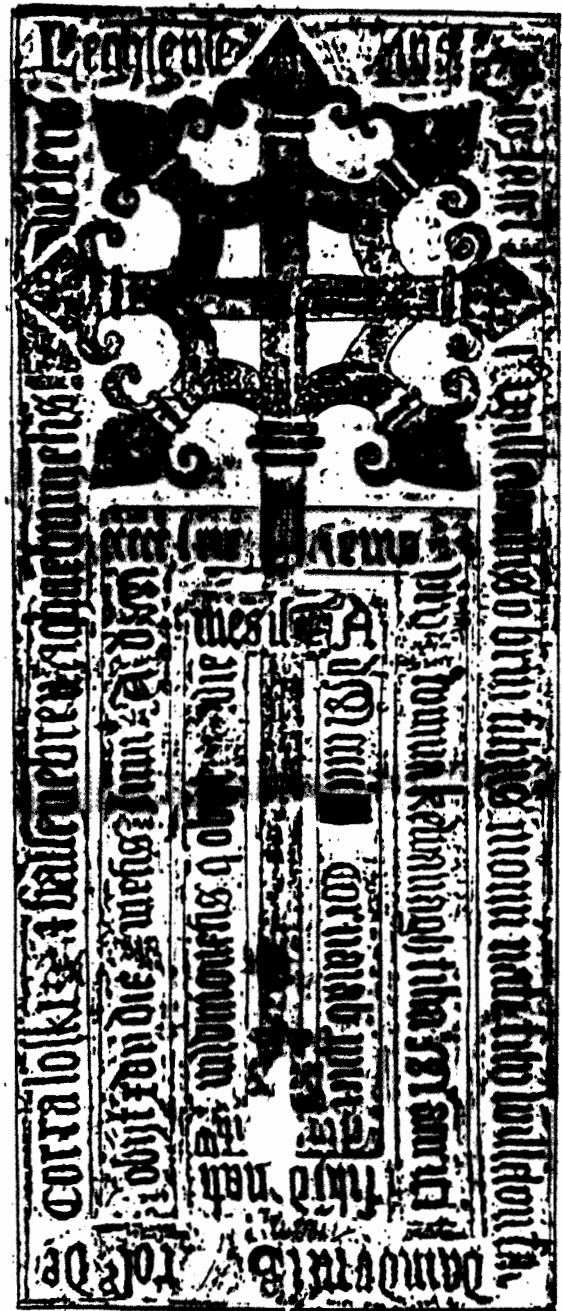
Above is a drawing of a 7th century church (7.1) dated to the time of St Laserian. Orientation is E/W (as shown). The vestry is immediately inside the main entrance door. Dimensions; 38' long x 21' wide x 14' eaves/28' ridge.

East gable has three separate high & narrow windows. With a total of ten windows this church would have been bright and airy. Fittings; (In sanctuary area at E end), altar, seats or forms for the choir, baptismal font, a plain wooden cross attached to the gable wall to left of altar.

Located about half way down the church were two statues ie at N side; a carved statue in elm of the Virgin at S side; a carved oak statue of Christ.

The baptismal font carved from a single stone was low and 'basin like'.

The windows were unglazed but the opening was filled by a screen on the inside and shutters on the outside. It should also be remembered that the thatch outside extended several feet beyond the windows thus giving excellent weather protection.



Memorial slab

CARLOVIANA

List of Buildings;

Note that the first digit indicates the century, the second the building number for that century.

All of the earlier buildings were timber framed with clay & wattle walls and thatched roof, with an average life of 150 years.

Site 1. Lower Field along Madlin River

Century		Century	
7.1	church	*10.1	dormitory
7.2	dormitory	*10.2	oratory
7.3	Abbot's office	*10.3	refectory
7.4	dwelling		
7.5	schoolhouse	*14.1	water mill
7.6	scriptorium		
7.7	dormitory		
7.8	garment shop	* stone	

The sitemap shows the location of all 11 buildings found in Lower Field adjoining the Madlin River.

The large group of 7th century timber buildings in this area correspond with the coming of St Laserian to Leighlin.

The area at bottom of map is now dry ground but was once a large pond or small lake used in the 14th century to supply water to power a corn mill (14.1). This required the construction of a weir across the river, sluice gates and a millrace. The mill was in use for about 80 years until the water supply failed.



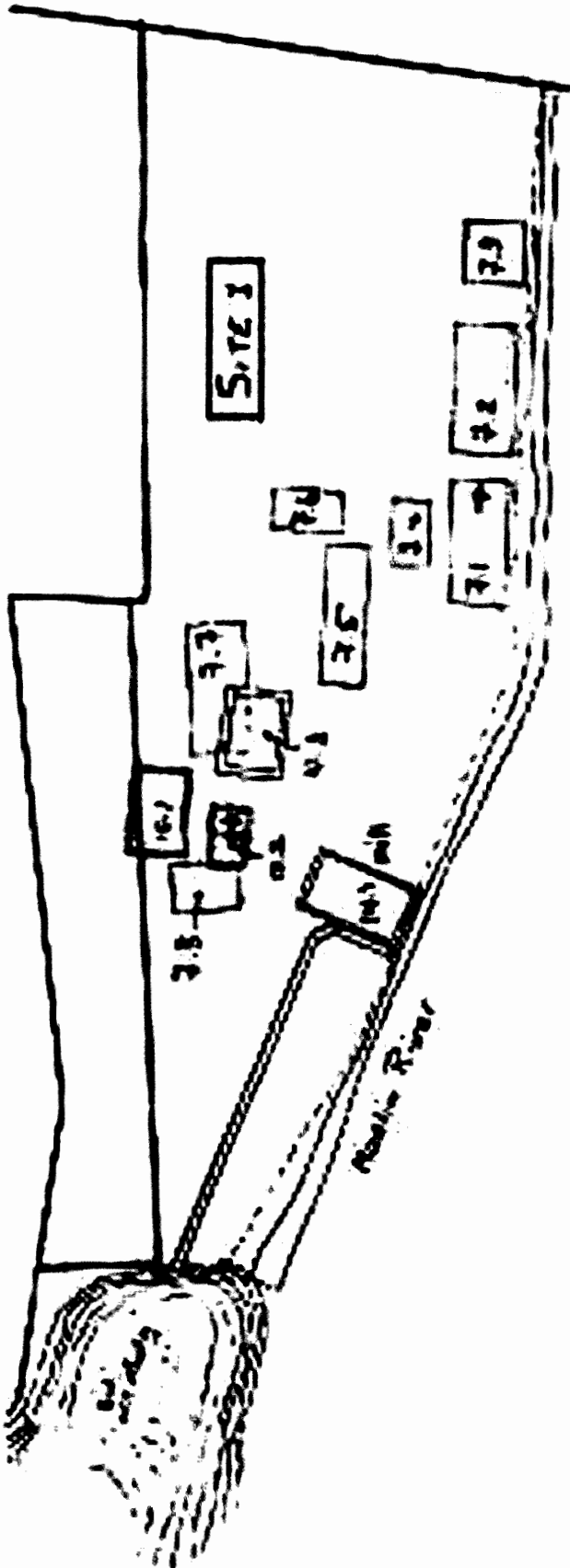
It will be noted that the distribution of buildings at sites 1,2 and 3 was very open, compared with the abbeys built by the Cistercian & Benedictine orders during 12th and 13th centuries (eg Duisce and Jerpoint), which formed a closely integrated pattern of church, cloisters, support buildings. The continental type of layout was never implemented at Leighlin because the foundation was in serious decline by that time.

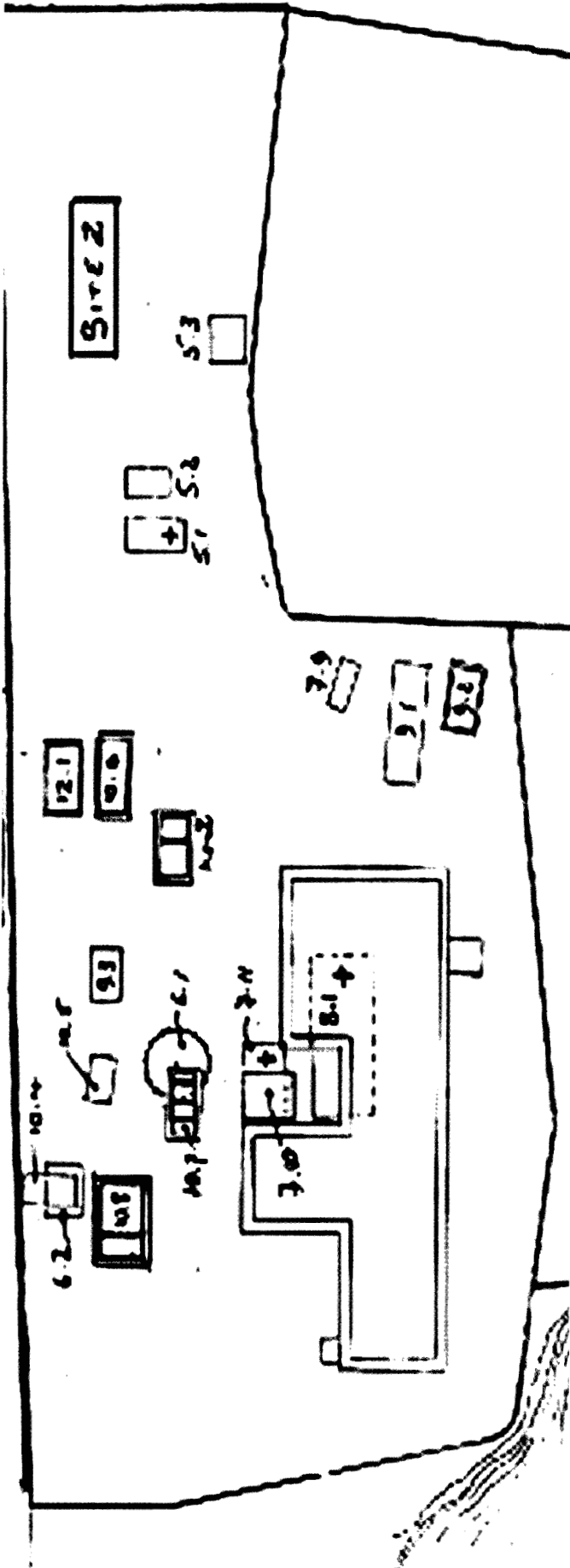
Monastic Crosses

Crosses are a feature of all early monasteries and were usually prominently sited next to the entrance gates.

A total of five crosses were found to have existed here. One at Site 1, two at Site 2 and two at Site 3. One of the Site 3 crosses seems to have been recovered and re-erected at St Molaise's Holy Well early in the 20th century. All crosses stood on base at a height of between 5'-6" to 6'-0". They were of celtic design without markings and were chiselled from either limestone or granite.

The survey did not reveal the existence of a round tower neither is there a record of one.





Site 2. Upper Churchyard

Century		Century	
5.1	church	10.4	refectory
5.2	refectory	10.5	cowbyre
5.3	unknown use	10.6	*guesthouse
6.1	cookhouse (round)	10.7	*penitentiary
6.2	dwelling	10.8	*dwelling
		10.9	oratory
7.10	refectory		
7.11	church	12.1	*unknown use
8.1	church	14.2	*bishop's palace
9.1	refectory		
9.2	*workshop		* stone building

Twenty buildings dating from the 5th to the 14th century were located in this area . The 5th century group consisted of only three buildings with a round building added in the 6th century. A large timber framed church dated to the 8th century lay beneath the present cathedral foundations. Measurements were 50' long x 22' wide x 15' eves / 29' to ridge.

The area also includes six stone buildings. It is worth noting that no gravestones were erected over buildings 10.7, 10.6, 12.1 and 14.2. Reason may be that some remaining foundation stones have made life difficult for gravediggers over the years!

The stone building (10.7) is probably the most fascinating found. It is mentioned in the annals that in the year 1060 Leighlin was all burned in a raid except the "penitentiary". This building consisted of two passageways accessed by doors at either end. Between were two cells without doors. As the walls were 12' high those imprisoned within could only be placed there and fed from the roof space. Between each cell and corridor was a small opening at ground level, presumably for 'slopping out'. Small slit windows in the gables provided limited daylight. The reason that this building survived a major fire locally was that it was built of stone and roofed with wooden shingles, whilst all others were of thatch.



The Penitentiary 10th c

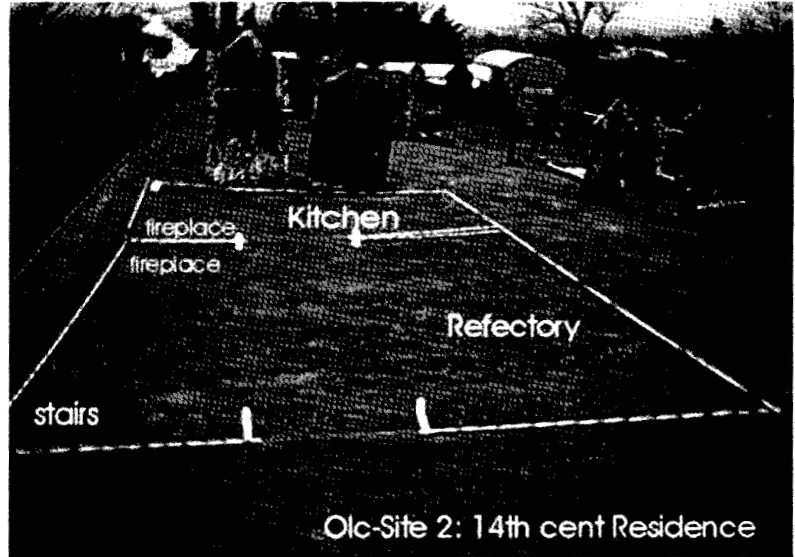
CARLOVIANA

14th century Dwelling. (14.2)

Bishop's Palace.

This building dates to the period when Leighlin was a bishopric. It is a dwelling, consisting of a refectory (foreground), with sleeping quarters overhead, and a kitchen (background). This is the only 2 storey building found on site. The building also has two fireplaces back to back.

Separate external door for kitchen not found!

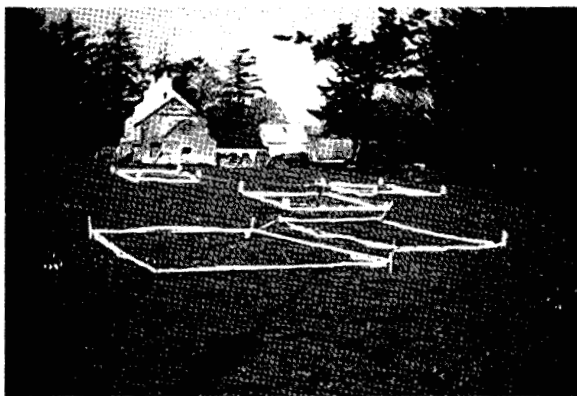


Site 3. Doran's Field
(to North West across main road)

Century	Nunnery
6.1	church
6.2	scriptorium
6.3	garment shop
7.1,2,3	sleeping huts
8.1, 2	unknown
9.1,2	unknown

Location; In field immediately across public road to North.
All of these buildings burnt down by raiding party in 9th century
8.4 church
8.5, 6 & 7 unknown use

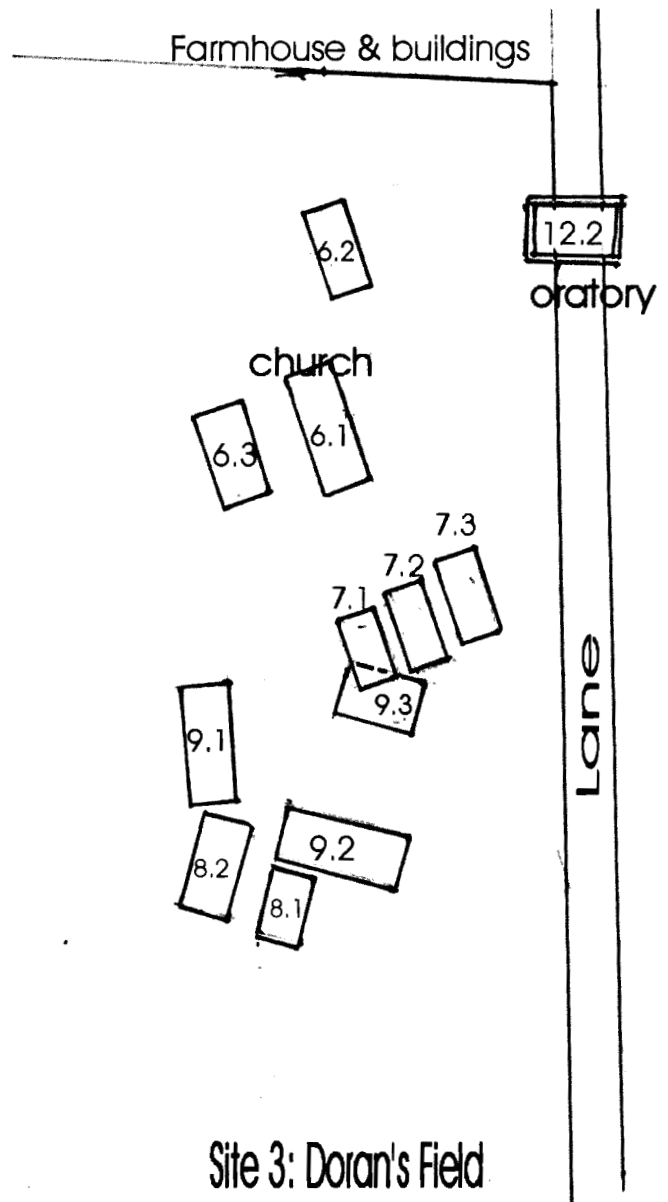
12.2 oratory (stone) is post Nunnery



Above: 6th c buildings viewed from south.



Below: 7th c buildings viewed from north.



Site 3: Doran's Field

Site 3: Doran's field

The Mill

During the 14th century a mill and associated civil works were constructed in the Lower Field alongside the River Madlin.

The mill has two floors with the transmission gearing on ground floor and the mill stones on the upper floor. The vertical mill wheel (under shod type) and transmission are made of wood. Metal (wrought iron or bronze) used to reinforce the wood where required.

To maintain a sufficient head to drive the wheel it would have been necessary to construct an earthen dam to raise the level of the mill pond located west of the cathedral. A weir of stonework across the river and sluice gates would have controlled the flow through the mill race to the wheel. The millrace would have been lined with stone to resist erosion by the fast flowing water. It is likely that sufficient water would only be available in season and only for several hours at a time.

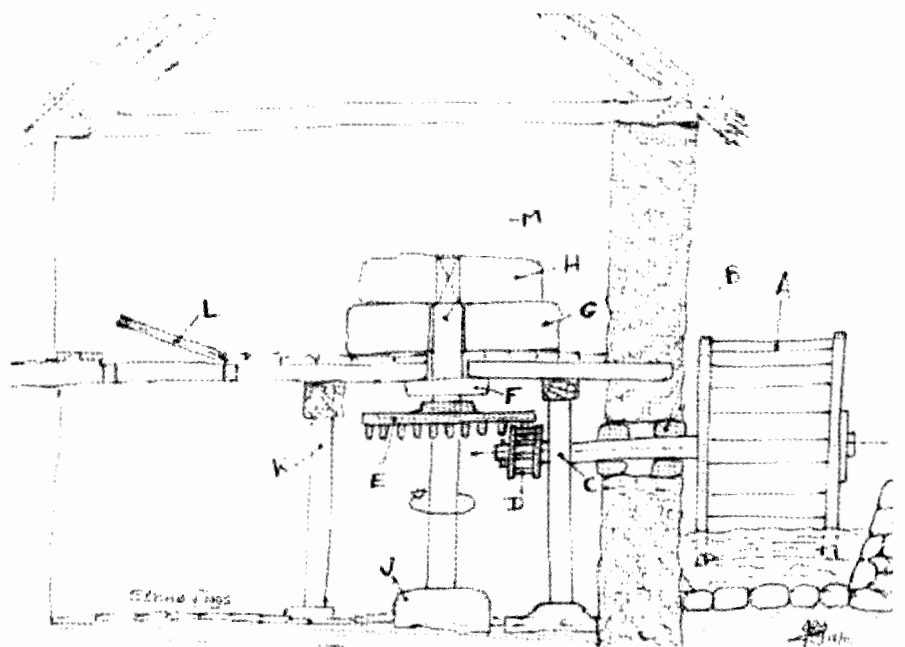
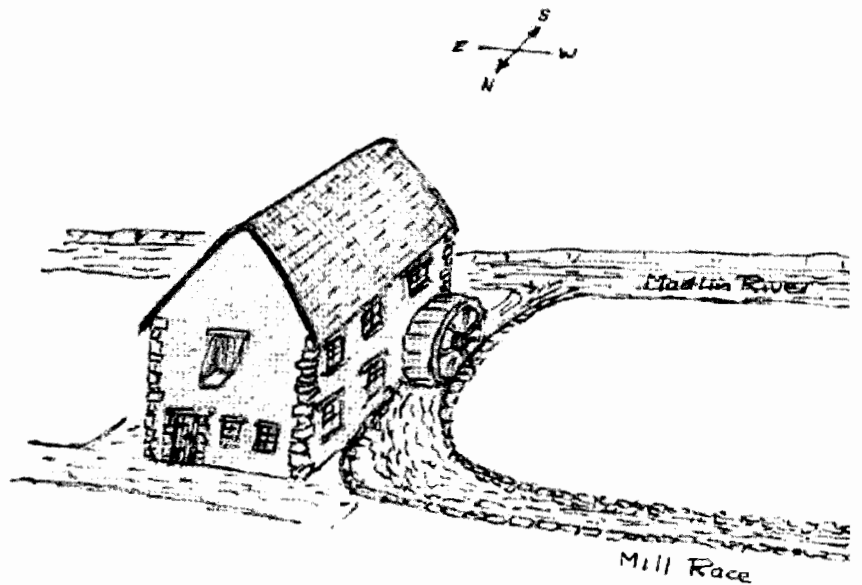
The water wheel (A) drives the horizontal shaft (C) and the bevel peg gears (D) & (F), which power the vertical shaft and thereby the top millstone (H). Gearing 3:1

Nine columns (K) were required to support the upper mill floor with its millstones, and grain storage area.

The building itself is constructed of stone with glazed windows on both levels and a thatched roof. Ground floor was stone flagged and lower than the local ground level.

Mill dimensions; (wall centre line), 31 L x 18' B x 18'/27' H

Our grateful thanks to Mr Keith Weightman, Institute of Technology, Carlow for technical assistance with this page.



Extract from The Archaeological Inventory of County Carlow. Duchas

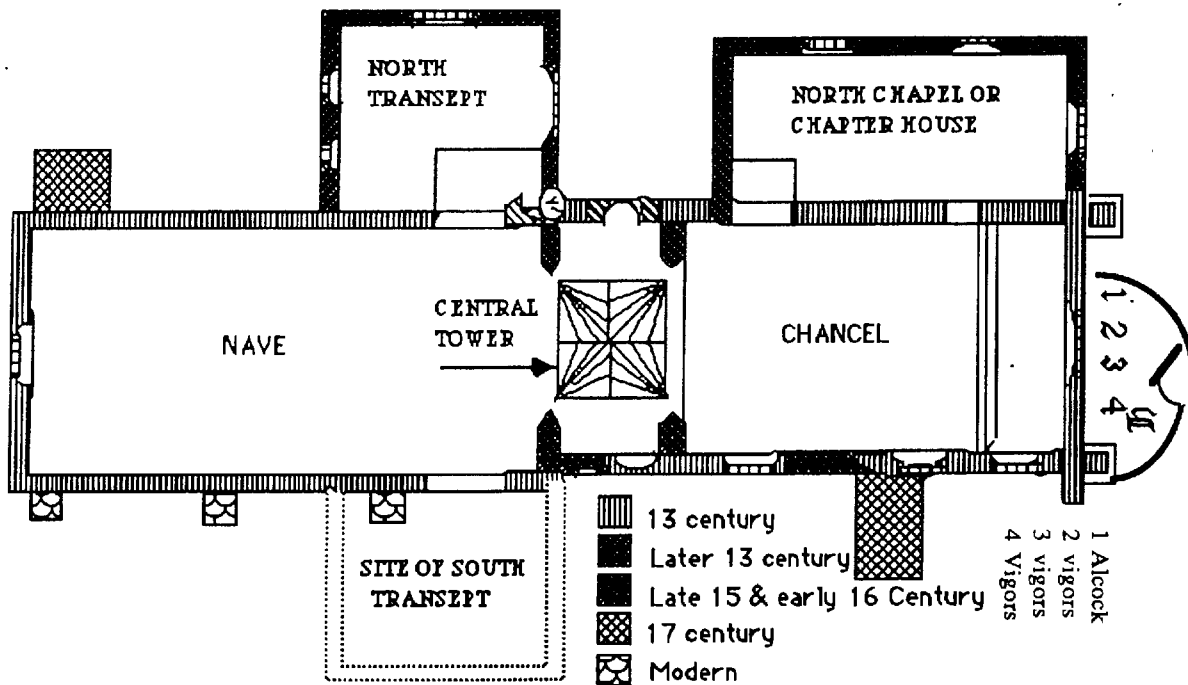
587 Old Leighlin (Old Leighlin Borough)

OS 11: 16: 4 (703, 27 'Cathedral' OD 300 26589, 16540

Cathedral: Present remains consist of thirteenth-century long nave and chancel to which two transepts, low crossing tower and chapel were added in the sixteenth-century. Built of mixed rubble and dressed granite jambs, windows and sedilia. Nave may incorporate thirteenth-century stone work. Two fonts within the cathedral (1) thirteenth-century, Kilkenny limestone, large square bowl with rounded arcades, standing on possibly modern drum-shaped base; (2) large square undecorated limestone basin, on drum-shaped base, two mid-sixteenth century limestone memorial slabs.

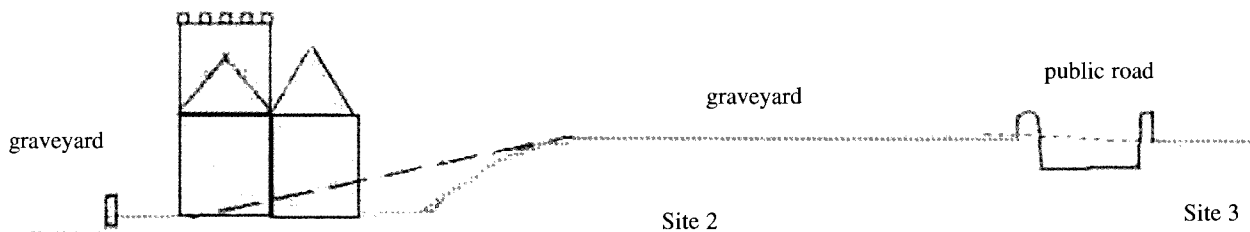
Limestone tomb table and end stone of another in nave (Bradley 1989, 46-50
11:16(05)

CARLOVIANA



Representation of floor plan, reproduced from a postcard marked
St. Lasarian's Cathedral, Old Leighlin

Section NS



NB. Original ground shown as dotted line

Tunnel.

Local tradition maintains that a tunnel exists leading away from the cathedral. Many years ago it is said that when digging a grave in the lower churchyard that the excavation broke through its roof. The authors located the tunnel in the vicinity of the 17th buttress shown in above drawing. It was constructed in the late 15th/early 16th century and leads due south from the cathedral towards the river. Dimensions 6' high x 4' wide at entrance, reducing to 4' high x 3' wide at exit. The final length is now completely flooded.

Sitework for Cathedral 12th century

Prior to the construction of the present cathedral the ground beneath was levelled. This would explain the steep gradient on the north side. The original hill slope is shown dotted in the north/south cross sec-

tion above.

To the right of the drawing is the present road to Castlecomer and the N boundary wall. This road has the appearance of 19th century construction and now splits the former monastic site.

An earlier road way dating to the 1st millennium ran parallel to the present road but at a higher level

References:

History of the Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin. Rev. M Comerford.

Molaise, Colm Kenny 1998

Carloviana 2002, Sean O'Shea

Sincere thanks to Rev. Ken Sherwood for his assistance and encouragement during the survey.

SOME AMERICAN BOLGERS FROM RATHGERAN

Prof. Garret Bolger

At Home in Ireland

A Family Name History certificate sold in every store in Ireland says that the "Bolgers were among those ancient and noble families called Milesian, for they claimed descent from Milesius, King of Spain." Another book claims that we descended from Milesius through his son Heremon:

The founder of the family was Maine, ancestor of the Southern Hy Nials, and son of Nial of the Nine Hostages, King of Ireland, A.D. 379. The ancient name was Bollsgaire and signifies "the Herald." The possessions of the clan were located in the present County of Carlow.

Other sources say they were medical men and advisors to the chiefs on legal questions in Wexford. They may indeed have been consulted on law and medicine, and one might have been a herald; but they were certainly not in Ireland from 379 A.D., nor were they Milesians. I believe that the Bolgers are descendants of Viking raiders who first invaded and then settled in County Wexford in the ninth and tenth century.

In a letter in 1918, newspaperman Peter Bolger, speaking of Bolgers as having been Vikings, quoted a Danish friend as saying that he knew Bolgers in Copenhagen, noting that in Danish and Norwegian *bølge* means an ocean wave, and *bølger* is the plural. (The *ø* would be pronounced like French *eu* and



Peter Bolger's House, Rathgeran

the *g* like a *y*.) There are no Bolgers in the Copenhagen telephone book now, but our name might plausibly have come from a raiding Viking.

But the name was anglicized to Bulger or Bolger, both pronounced the same in Ireland; there are in my own family two pronunciations of the name, neither the same as the Irish; the *o* as in *go* (the general American way) and the *o* as in *hot*.

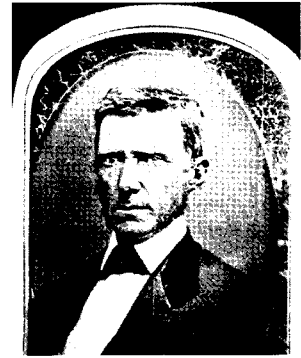
Among the Bolgers in Carlow and Kilkenny before the Famine there were some substantial landowners or leaseholders; one branch of the family owned several hundred acres in The Rower. For the most part, however, the Bolgers seem to have been tenant farmers in a peasant economy. Records of peasant families are hard to find; they appear in surviving rent lists, in leases (where they were given and preserved), and in the waste books and account books of estates. Many of these records were lost or discarded, and many of the official records of leases and wills were burned in the 1920s.

I found some possible ancestors in rental records and accounts of the Kavanagh estate, which included many of the townlands of South Carlow. Valentine Bolger, probably born about 1670, was the tenant of Ballykeenan around 1730. Valentine was followed in Ballykeenan by his son Stephen Bolger, born around 1700-1710, died 1756 or 1757 (his will was probated in 1757 but has not been found), and James Bolger, born about 1730-40, who held only part of the townland. A letter from Valentine in the Kavanagh records concerns an error in his rent payment in 1735. In later years there are references to leases in other townlands.

Unfortunately, I have not found any documents linking our branch of the family to Valentine Bulger. There may be a possibility in the name of his son Stephen. It does not seem to have been a common name in that part of Ireland, and a generation later there were three Stephen Bolgers living in the townland of Rathgeran, less than four miles from Ballykeenan. The nearly universal custom of naming the first son after his paternal grandfather points to possible descent from Valentine's son Stephen. Baptismal records begin much later, however, and this Stephen's will, which was probated in 1757 and might have named his children, is lost. There could have been a Peter Bolger, son of Stephen, as father of sons, one of them the Stephen Bolger of Rathgeran who is the earliest ancestor of whom I have found written evidence. There were three Peters born to Bolgers in Rathgeran around 1800.

When definite records of our branch of the family begin, they were living in Bulger's Quarter, a part of the townland of Rathgeran, County Carlow. The road from Enniscorthy to Kilkenny passes the house that my great-great grandfather Peter Bolger lived in. My wife and I drove that road on our first trip to Ireland and had no idea how close we were to our history. That part of County Carlow has rolling hills and farms, very much like the part of southeastern Pennsylvania from where the family came. (Father John Murphy, leader of the rebels in 1798, who had cousins in Rathgeran, is said to have come there after his losses in County Kilkenny, and to have spent the last night of his life in a Bolger house there.)

I have been told that it was com-



Stephen Bolger I

mon for a father and sons or a group of brothers or close relations to lease a large holding and divide it into farms for each. Presumably the tenancy of Bulger's Quarter began in the 18th century, in the generation of the earlier Stephen Bulger's children or grandchildren. The Tithe Book for the parish of St. Mullins, listing the titheable properties in 1826, showed seven farms in Bulger's Quarter, five of them occupied by Bolgers.

One of those farms was held by Peter Bolger, the oldest child of Stephen Bolger and Judy (probably Johanna) Murphy, from neighboring Knockmore. Peter was born in 1800; his siblings were Catherine, John and William. There may have been others, but the baptismal records for Borris are missing from 1814 to 1824. Peter had a farm of about 56 acres, a very substantial holding for the time. He also had a large stone house and attached barn, which still stands, now occupied by a family of Joyces. Peter married Margaret Dalton, daughter of Redmond Dalton of Mullanagaun. There were ten children of their marriage, at least eight of whom survived; Rose, born before 1824, Stephen, 1824 (died before 1828), James, 1826, a second Stephen, my great-grandfather, 1828, Catherine, 1832, Patrick, 1834, Mary, 1836, Simon, 1839, Johanna, 1843, and John, 1847.

One cousin from Rathgeran, Margaret Bolger, daughter of Simon Bolger and Margaret Doyle, became famous; she emigrated to Canada around 1810, and there married Patrick Breen, who came from Barnahaskin. They and their seven children (aged 2 to 13) were members of

the Donner party, trapped in the Sierra Nevada Mountains on their way to California by early snows. They spent a dreadful winter in rough cabins, and in the last days of their waiting for rescue they lived in a cave dug in fourteen feet of snow, where they took in some of the orphaned children. Many of the party had died, and, notoriously, the survivors, including the Breens, in their desperation consumed some of the dead. Patrick Breen kept a diary of that awful time; all of the Breens survived. They reached California that Spring, and were well treated by the Mexican governors. Eventually they settled in the area of San Juan Bautista, south of San Francisco. In the gold rush, son John went mining, came home with \$18,000, and gave it to the family. It was the foundation of their prosperity. Many of the descendants still live in the neighborhood. Margaret sent money to the chapel in Ballymurphy for a cross and a bell.

Emigration

The potato blight struck the crop all over Ireland and Europe in the fall of 1845. It is said that Southeastern Ireland did not suffer as badly as the West in the famine years, but it did suffer. The population of Rathgeran dropped from 418 in 1841 to 286 in 1851, a loss of over 30 percent. Much of the change was from emigration.

Some years into the famine, Peter Bolger gave up his farm and emigrated. John Joyce of Graiguenamanagh, a descendant of the John Joyce who moved into Peter's farm, did not know that the previous tenant was a Bolger, but Joyce family memory had it that the tenant had "turned the key in the lock" and left for America. The house is still there, still lived in by Joyces, and my family has visited and had tea in the house that Peter left-and as explained later, we are now cousins to those Joyces.

Peter must have had some resources (maybe he took the rent money with him) to have undertaken the trip, for he took



Judge Robert V Bolger 3 son of Peter (James)

Margaret and all of the children (possibly excepting Johanna, of whom I have found no record in America), who ranged in age from 3 years old to 27, bound ultimately for Plymouth Township and the limestone quarries along the Schuylkill River, 20 miles west of Philadelphia. (Landlords occasionally gave a subsidy to families to emigrate, but I cannot find any of the records for Rathgeran, which was the property of Robert Tighe). I do not know what port they left from; the nearest and most probable was New Ross. Family tradition, however, says that they sailed from Sligo. If so, a ship may have taken them there from New Ross.

They came to Canada; family memory says that Margaret was ill on the crossing, died while the ship was at anchor in the St. Lawrence, and is buried at Grosse Ile, the Canadian quarantine station. Peter and the girls and the three year old John probably sailed from Quebec to Boston, where Peter entered the United States. Sons James and Stephen, with a neighbor, Garrett Murphy, came down along Lake Champlain and entered the United States, according to their papers, at Burlington, Vermont.

In Montgomery County, they joined other immigrants from their Irish neighborhood-the family of Laurence Doran from Mohullen, two Murphys from Kilmison with two first cousins, Murphys from Borris, at least one other Murphy first cousin from Rathgeran, and possibly a family of O'Briens. The Dorans had come earlier, around 1847, and they may have encouraged

the others to come by sending news of jobs and opportunities in Norristown and Conshohocken. These families became especially important in the Bolger history. The mothers of all of those Murphys were sisters, Margaret and Ann and Catherine Joyce, each of whom married a Murphy-it was their brother, John Joyce, who moved into the Peter Bolger house and farm. All of these neighbors coming together into a strange place produced five marriages in the new country. Stephen Bolger and his sister Catherine married John and Ellen Murphy, Murphys from Borris; James Bolger and Rose married Anne Murphy and her brother Garrett, from Kilmison; and Patrick Bolger married Ann Doran.

James, Stephen and Patrick went to work in the limestone quarries along the Schuylkill in Plymouth. They were familiar with limestone; there were kilns on Bolger farms in Rathgeran where lime was burned to spread on their fields. Stephen and Patrick apparently worked in the quarries belonging to William Moge. Moge was born in the parish of Billy, County Antrim, and entered the United States in 1837. His quarries gave Mogeetown, a district next to Norristown, its name.

In 1866 Stephen and Patrick bought adjoining houses on Diamond Street in Mogeetown; Stephen also bought four lots on Diamond Street-\$600 for the house and \$105 for the lots. Actual land ownership was a strange and wonderful thing for those who had been tenants for centuries, unable ever to own the land they worked. James and Stephen also bought undeveloped lots in Conshohocken; James paid \$430 for five lots. Tax rolls for Plymouth Township showed Peter, Stephen and James each making \$80 a year, paying 24 cents each in tax. Their actual income must have been greater for them to have spent on real estate what was then a very substantial amount. In the tax roll for 1868, besides what they owned in other places, Stephen and Patrick Bolger owned "improved lands" to the

value of \$500.

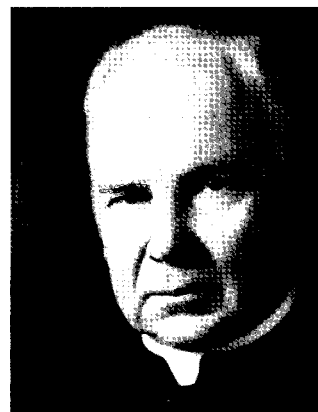


Mary Bolger I

Mary Bolger never married; she died in December 1871, and is buried in St. Patrick's Cemetery with most of the family. Johanna may have remained in Ireland. The others had families, and they will be taken up in turn.

The Families: Rose Bolger and Garrett Murphy

Garrett Murphy and Rose lived in Conshohocken, where he worked in a brick factory; he owned a large property on Sixth Avenue near Maple-120 feet in frontage. He and Rose had ten children, two of whom died young. The others were Patrick, 1853, James, 1854, Mary, 1854, Margaret, 1856, Michael, 1858, Catherine, 1861, Stephen, 1863, and Garrett, 1866.



Fr. Garret Murphy (Rose)

All of their children were baptized at St. Matthew's in Conshohocken, but at some time in the late 1870s, in the midst of a long economic depression, Garrett and Rose moved the family to Iowa to return to farming. By that time their oldest children were in their twenties, and some may have stayed in

Pennsylvania; but at least Catherine, Stephen and young Garrett went west with the parents. Catherine married a Shea; Garrett went to St. Joseph's College in Dubuque (now Loras College), where he achieved high grades, excelled at oratory, and played second base on the college team. He went on to the seminary, which is now St. Thomas College in Minneapolis, and became a priest in the diocese of Winona, Minnesota, serving in parishes in Currie and Blue Earth, Minnesota. Eventually he was pastor in Rochester, Minnesota; he frequently spoke on special occasions at the Mayo Clinic. He became a Monsignor in 1917. He visited us in my childhood, and went up to see the family home in Conshohocken, though I do not know whether he found any relatives there. My mother liked the name Garrett, and she gave it to me.

James Bolger and Anne Murphy

James and Anne lived in Ivy Rock, later Earnest Station, Plymouth Township, at first; he worked in the limestone quarries along the river. They had four children who survived infancy; Peter, born in 1852, Margaret, Mary Ann and Roseann. Life in the quarries meant heavy work, but there were clearly occasions for recreation. Early on, James Bolger, then working in Nurney's quarries, appeared in the Norristown Herald as the victim of an assault.

He was at another quarryman's house on a Saturday night in February 1859. When James was leaving, at about one o'clock, three men attacked him and stabbed him in the throat. It was thought that his jugular vein was severed, but he survived and was a witness at the trial, just a month later, in which two of the men were convicted of assault and battery with intent to kill.

James's son Peter, born in Ivy Rock in 1852, attended Treemount Seminary, a private academy in Norristown, from 1864 to 1867, at a time when the cost was over \$100 a year. After his graduation he became, in

1870, at eighteen, the first principal of the parochial school at St. Matthew's in Conshohocken, where he taught until 1875. He then turned to newspaper work. He was a reporter on Norristown papers, and then in Philadelphia he worked for various papers. For most of his career he was the political editor of the Philadelphia Record. His obituary noted that he covered the Centennial Exposition in 1876 and the Johnstown flood of 1879; his main interest for many years was Pennsylvania politics in Harrisburg. At the Centennial Exposition he met President Grant, and for some reason lent Grant a pencil-which he never got back. Beginning in 1912, he served as chairman of the Civil Service Commission of Philadelphia in Mayor Rudolph Blankenburg's reform administration.

Peter Bolger was a devoted alumnus of Treemount; he spoke at at least three reunions up to 1920, long after the school had closed, remembering his school days with affection; most especially, he enjoyed recalling the teachers and conducting mock lectures in the manner of his favorites.

Peter married Anne Marie McDermott, who was the organist and soprano soloist at St. Matthew's; their children were James, Daniel, Helen, Mary, Rose and Robert Vincent. Robert was a prominent lawyer and Democrat; he served in the 1930s as an assistant United States Attorney. Governor Earle appointed him to the Orphans' Court of Philadelphia, where he served for many years. Late in life he married Elizabeth Matthews, whom he met on a cruise. Until his marriage, he and his sister Helen, and for a while Daniel and his family, lived next door to us at 25 W. Phil-Ellena Street.

Helen married Eugene Moore, around the time if the First World War, and had one son, Eugene, who was a fine professional singer. He married Gertrude Altrogge, also a singer, and they frequently performed together. Daniel married Mae

Schaeffer; when he moved here from Cleveland he was a tipstaff in Robert's court. Their children were Robert, Daniel, William, Jeanne Marie, and Carol.

Stephen Bolger and Ellen Murphy

Like James, Stephen lived in Plymouth Township and worked in the limestone quarries there for about twenty years. He and Ellen had five sons; James, born in 1856, Peter, 1857, Joseph, 1859, John, 1861, and Stephen, 1864. By 1870 Stephen's family moved to Bridgeport, where he worked as a limeburner in the quarry of William Rambo; in 1873 he worked for James Lees and Sons. In the same tax roll John Bolger, same address, was an ostler at the Evans House Hotel at \$100 a year. Stephen lived there, on Front Street east of Vine, until 1879, when his tax record is marked "moved."

He and his family went with the Garrett Murphy family to Iowa to homestead. Stephen and Ellen and their sons Joseph, John and Stephen appeared in the 1880 census for Hamilton County, Iowa, where Stephen was listed as a farmer and his sons as farm laborers. Son James, also a farmer, and his wife Mary (nee Kinsella) lived close by. Peter would have been about 20 when the move took place, and he probably stayed in Plymouth or Bridgeport.

The Murphys put down roots in Iowa, but the family story is that when Ellen was told that there were still Indians nearby, she insisted that they return to Philadelphia. When they came back, they lived in North Philadelphia, where some of the sons went to work in the woollen mills. Peter never married, and in 1912 he was living in Chester County. Stephen, the youngest son, who worked as a hatter, died in 1888, at age 23.

Ellen died in 1899; Stephen later, in his seventies, married Bridget Dolan, sister of Mary Dolan, the wife of Stephen's youngest brother John. It is said that she was extremely religious, to the point that she slept on an ironing board during Lent. She



Joseph Bolger 2 (Stephen)

may have been caring for Stephen; she was thirty years younger than he. She survived Stephen by ten years, dying in 1922.

Of the three sons who married, Joseph worked as a salesman in the woolen trade, selling card clothing for Howard Brothers of Boston. He and his sons, Harold, Joseph, Arthur and Robert, later founded a woolen mill on East Cheltenham Avenue in Germantown; another son, Philip, died in early childhood. Harold married Edna Adams; their sons are Stephen, Robert and Richard. Robert married Alyce Campbell; they had two daughters, Barbara and Sheila. Arthur married Ruth Breene; their children were Joseph and Louise. Arthur's interest in horses led him into judging at horse shows. A daughter, Monica, married Dr. Joseph McGinnis; their children: Rita, Eileen, Joseph, Ann, Peggy, Arthur and Robert.

James Bolger and his wife also came back to Philadelphia. When his son James was born he lived in the parish of St. Veronica, in South Philadelphia. I know nothing more of him or his family than that his son James became a Redemptorist priest who frequently visited us.

John F. Bolger, my grandfather, married Mary Elizabeth Murphy (another Murphy!); another family story is that her grandparents died at sea, and her father was adopted by another family on the ship. Whether his name had been Murphy or he took the name from his adoptive family is unknown. No one has been able to verify this story or to go beyond the father's generation. Their marriage license application listed her as a tailor, John Bolger as a wool carder. They lived in St. Malachy parish, in North Philadelphia, after their

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marriage. They had a son, Stephen Joseph Edmond, and a daughter, Helen Mary.

John was for a time a contractor, building streets in new developments in Germantown; later he was a manufacturer's agent with an office in the Bourse, in center city Philadelphia. When he died in 1933 he was president of the Allbestos Company. He lived at 11 West Phil-Ellena Street in Philadelphia, his cousin, newspaperman Peter, lived at number 25, and my family at 27, in the other half of the twin house.

We always called our grandmother Nana-to her Murphy relatives she was Aunt Mame. She lived as a widow with her daughter Helen, who worked for many years for the Red Cross, in various Pennsylvania towns-Reading, Lebanon, and Steelton. For a while in the 40s Helen had a corner store in Philadelphia, with a little apartment in the rear. I spent many weeks with them in Reading or at the store. Nana listened to all of Joe Louis's fights, and liked an occasional Rupert beer. And they had full sets of Dickens and R. L. Stevenson and Conan Doyle to fill the days for me. Helen had a house in Stone Harbor, New Jersey, where we always spent a few summer weeks.

John's son Stephen, my father, married Marjorie Carroll; children John, 1915, Mary Louise, 1917, Mary Helen, 1918, Mary Elizabeth, 1920, William, 1921, and Stephen Garrett, 1927. Billy was killed by a car, right in front of the house, in 1926. Stephen worked in the contracting with his father. Then, in the 20s, he was a salesman in the woolen trade, visiting factories in the Middle West selling reprocessed wool. He never drank, and with nothing to do in small towns like Mishawaka, Indiana, he spent hours at the movies. He acquired a strong dislike for movies after years of that; the first film he saw after about 1932 was "Going My Way".

I remember him as a very careful man with money, but that was after the Depression came. My brother Jack told me that our

father quit his job with Kitchen on a Christmas Eve, in the late twenties. Great news for my mother. He worked briefly selling oil burners, and then for the rest of his life he sold domestic heating oil for Socony-Vacuum (Mobil), driving around all day, doing what he liked best, talking to customers and visiting Bolger relatives in Philadelphia and Norristown.

Catherine Bolger, John Murphy and Patrick O'Brien

John Murphy, husband of Catherine Bolger, enlisted in 1862 in the 51st Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers. He was wounded at Antietam, when the 51st, along with the 51st New York, made a famous charge across Burnside's Bridge. He came home to Norristown on furlough, and while there bought a house for himself and Catherine and their children at 358 East Penn Street. There were three children, two of whom died in infancy. Only Margaret survived to adulthood. John went back to the war; the 51st was transferred, with Burnside's division, to Grant's army in the West. He reenlisted there, with most of the regiment, at Blain's Crossroads, Tennessee, as the regiment became Veteran Volunteers. There was a generous bonus for his reenlistment. The regiment was at Vicksburg when it fell, on the same day as the battle of Gettysburg. They came East with Grant after Vicksburg, and in the long fighting through Virginia, John Murphy was fatally wounded at the Battle of the Wilderness, in May 1864. Catherine Murphy lived in the house with Maggie after John's death. She later married Patrick O'Brien, by whom she had a son Lawrence. Patrick died, Maggie



Cathreine Bolger 2 (Simon)

died in 1884, and in 1896 Catherine died, leaving Lawrence O'Brien and his wife in possession. John Murphy's brother Michael and his other siblings joined in a suit to eject him, as the house was purchased in John Murphy's name alone, and his wife and all of his descendants were dead. They were successful in getting the house, but in a few years they were forced to turn the house over to their lawyer, presumably for lack of funds to pay him.



Laurence O'Brien 2 (Catherine)

That deed was signed by all of the surviving members of the family, including Stephen Bolger's children, since Ellen and he were also dead-some fourteen signatures, including those from two families living in Ireland, who went to Manchester to sign in the presence of the American consul. This deed revealed many of the missing links in the Bolger-Murphy relationships.

Lawrence O'Brien became an undertaker in Bridgeport; he took care of the funerals of all of our relatives, though we lived in Philadelphia. No one in my generation realized that he was first cousin to my grandfather. He married Bridget McDermott; they had six children, Mary, 1903, Katherine, 1904, Lawrence, 1908, Regina, 1910, Philip, 1912, and Eileen, 1913. Lawrence and Philip, with the help of Eileen, continued to operate the funeral home until 1979.

Patrick Bolger and Ann Doran

A quarryman like his brothers, Patrick as noted bought a house on Diamond Street in



Edward Bolger 2 (Simon)

Mogee town next to Stephen. He fell on hard times, apparently, because in 1877 he and Ann turned over their assets, including a house he and Ann owned on Marshall Street, "for the benefit of Creditors." He and Ann had eight children-Margaret, 1865 (Peter Bolger, James's son, was Margaret's godfather; he was 13 at the time), Mary, 1867, Catherine, 1869, Rose (later Sister Corsini, IHM), 1872, Peter, 1874, William, about 1875, James, 1877, and Stephen F., 1880. At the time of Ann's death, she lived at 717 Walnut St., in a house she purchased after Patrick's death.

Margaret married John Nocton, a Norristown coal dealer. Margaret and John had six children; John, Mary, Gerald, Anna, Margaret, Paul and Corsina, named after her aunt's name in religion. John married Mary Gilder; Mary married Andrew McGlincy; Gerald married Mary Fliegner. Anna was the first wife of John Albert Fennell; their son John Fennell was a Norristown Councilman at the time of his sudden death. After Anna died, Fennell married Anna's sister Corsina.



Mgt & John Norton 2 (Patrick)

Margaret and Paul died in their thirties.

Mary Bolger married William Wheeler; they had six children,



(Sr. Corsini)

Anna, Claire, William, Catherine, Stephen and James. William Wheeler was an orphan, who was reared by his future wife's aunt, Catherine O'Brien. William was elected to the Norristown Council; after his death Mary Bolger Wheeler was also elected to the Council.

Catherine Bolger apparently never married; in Norristown directories she was listed as a weaver; she worked for many years as a store clerk. Rose was a milliner before she entered the convent.

William Bolger was a barber; he had a shop on Main Street, and later a shop at Marshall and Green. He died young, at 38. He and wife Kate Browne had three children, John, Nan and Edward (Ebbie). John worked for a time for his cousin John J. Bolger in the stone and contracting business, and later was a union electrician with Alan Wood Steel. Ebbie was a longtime Norristown policeman, with a beat on Main Street and later up the hill by St. Patrick's. He was affectionately remembered by many in Norristown, perhaps especially by the children who knew him as a crossing guard.

John and his wife had five children, Molly, Joan, Robert, John and Cornelius. Edward and his wife Elizabeth had two, Edward and Sister Mary Anne Bolger, IHM. Stephen F. Bolger married Mary Elizabeth Wafer in 1906.

Simon Bolger and Ann Quinn

Simon Bolger, who was a leather worker in Philadelphia, joined the 118th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers in August of 1862. He was taken prisoner at Shepardstown, Va. in December, but was soon

exchanged. He was promoted to corporal in 1863. He was wounded in the Battle of the Wilderness, May 1864, about the same time that his brother-in-law John Murphy was killed in action. After the war he returned to Philadelphia and the leather business. He married Ann Quinn and had four children, Catherine, Harry, Edward and Charles. He and later his wife received a pension for his war injuries. Catherine went to Girls' High in Philadelphia; she won a scholarship to the University of Pennsylvania. She and her mother operated a boarding house in Atlantic City. Edward left the family; he died in the influenza epidemic in 1919. Harry was a plumber, and he and Charles worked in the Atlantic City hotels. Catherine died in 1939, and was buried from Star of the Sea Church in Atlantic City.

John Bolger and Mary Ann Dolan

John Bolger, youngest son of Peter Bolger, arrived in America at the age of three. According to family history, he what was called the Eight-square school in Plymouth Meeting, probably on the grounds of the Friends' Meetinghouse. He and his father boarded nearby with a Quaker family. For the rest of his life he had a high regard for Friends; he said once that he might have joined them. He was only about 14 when the Civil War broke out, but he went to war like his brother Simon and brother-in-law John Murphy anyway, and served as a drummer boy or a mule driver. Family accounts say that he and his father Peter were outside the theater when Lincoln was shot.

John went into the stonecutting



John Bolger 1, Mary Dolan

business and operated a marble yard in several locations in Norristown. He married Mary Ann Dolan at St. Patrick's Norristown in 1875. They had five children; John Joseph, born in 1877, Mary, 1879, Margaret Rosella, 1883, Francis, 1886 and James.

John J. married Rebecca McMullin, whom he met through his sister Margaret. Rebecca was Episcopalian, but became a Catholic after attending missions with Margaret. They had six children; John Donovan, Mary, Dorothy, who married Joseph Smyth (their son Joseph recently served a term as President Judge in Montgomery County), Claire, who married John Bradley, Gertrude, who married Joseph Duddy, and Margaret, called Snookie, who married James F. Burke, M. D.

Margaret Rosella was a beloved aunt to John and Mary's children. She lived with Catherine



John J. Bolger 2, (John) and Rebecca

Bolger, Simon's daughter, in Atlantic City, but came to live with the Burkes whenever needed to help with new babies.

Mary Bolger married Samuel

Winstanley; their children are Robert, Mary, and Margaret. Samuel went to the Law School of the University of Pennsylvania. He passed the bar, but worked as a stationary engineer for the Standard Ice Company.

Francis and his wife Catherine had children: Francis, who died in an accident, Helen Virginia, and John. Francis lived in several places in the West, from Chicago to California; he came back to Philadelphia late in life and lived for a time with the Winstanleys.

The elder John's will left the marble business to John J. John J. was a stonemason and a contractor; he was involved in the stone work on many projects, including many churches and commercial buildings in and around Philadelphia. Among them were Suburban Square in Ardmore, the first shopping complex of its kind, Holy Child Church on North Broad Street, and an altar for St. Patrick's in Norristown. He died in 1930, at the age of 53; at the time of his death he was councilman for Norristown's Fourth Ward.

This bit of history began with a remarkable cast of people who had been peasants in a stressful time, apparently with little schooling—two of Peter Bolger's sons signed their naturalization papers with an x. They began their new lives in the towns and quarries and industries along the Schuylkill. They found schooling for their children. They helped build the region; they



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*SJG Bolger 2 son of
John (Stephen)*

fought, and one died, in the Civil War. Peter's descendants founded businesses, became journalists, lawyers, judges, scientists, pro-

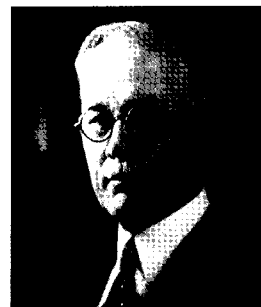
fessors, elected officials, priests, nuns. At least four found themselves in editions of Who's Who.

Acknowledgements

This history has been drawn from baptismal and cemetery records in Ireland and America, and from the memories of of three generations of the descendants of Peter Bolger and Margaret Dalton. I am indebted to many informants. In Ireland I owe thanks to Father Moore of Borris, John Joyce of Graiguenamanagh, Andrew Kavanagh of Borris House, Gerald and Sean Murphy,

Margaret Bastin, the Dorans of Coonogue and the courteous and efficient staffs of the National Library of Ireland, the Valuation Office, and the Ordnance Survey of Ireland.

This account stops with the generation of my father; that is, the great-grandchildren of Peter and Margaret Bolger. I think it has been possible to achieve reasonable completeness there. I hope that this article may get people interested in pick up the story of their branch of the tree from more family memories and documents.



John F. Bolger 2 (Stephen)

I hope that relatives, and others, in Ireland may be able to shed more light on the Irish part of this history. I would be grateful for any information.



With the President of the Historical and Archaeological Society, Dr. Michael Conry at the launch of 'Carloviana' '02 edition in the County Library were Annie Parker-Byrne, Seamus Murphy, Dr. Maurice Manning who officially launched the journal, and Martin Nevin

Reminiscence of Past and Present

Annie Parker-Byrne

Not alone has our built heritage changed or disappeared over the decades. Many 2001 "The Old Ways from The Old days" have also disappeared and the youth of today has not experienced the simple ways of life as we, the older generation remember. This article should recall some memories and make our younger readers aware of the past while living in the present!

Artificial Light-Heat

Today with a flick of a switch, one can have instant light and heat. In the late 1930s and early 40's -not that long ago really - light in some homes came from the open fire - which was minimal (depending on the fuel) or from other sources

The Open Fire

It was the heart of many homes, with its wide hearth and shelves. It was an efficient cooker, dryer and airer. The fire was never allowed to go out, day or night! It was banked down last thing at night and "brought back to life" with a prod of the poker early in the morning. Turf, hand harvested in the nearby bog, along with blocks of timber and coal from the local collieries, was the main source of fuel. Imported coal or "sea-coal" as it was called, came later. Some fire-sides had Bellows to make a strong draught underneath the fire otherwise you had to "puff and blow" or hold a newspaper before the fire to get a good "blaze" going. Often the paper went blazing up the chimney before the fire ignited.

After school, children went gathering "cipeens"-small rotten sticks that quickly brought the fire to life early in the mornings. It was good fun pulling these rotting pieces of hawthorn or gorse from the hedges and after a windy storm, fallen branches ensured plenty of "cipeens" to take home. Would today's children do this? I doubt it! If only they knew what fun they missed!

Vivid, happy memories from my childhood are "dancing the culm" in Matt Lynch's farmhouse (a neighbour of my grandparents) on the Royal Oak Road, Bagenaistown. Oh! The joy of being allowed to dance barefoot to dance on the mixture of yellow clay and slack, has never left my mind. Nor has the memory of "churning" and making the country butter- with a tear in it!



I remember seeking out "nests" and gathering the free-range eggs, the "slaughtering" of the pig and seeing it hang in two halves in the pantry to be cut up as required.

Another memory has being forbidden to enter the "cow-shed" as the cow calved, but later allowed to pet the new born calf! Sadly the calves grew too quickly for my liking. The kettle was always on the boil, with the never empty teapot "standing" on the hob! Toast was made by placing a slice of bread on the end of the Toasting Fork and holding it in front of the fire. The person sitting in front of the fire making the toast had to be careful not to get themselves toasted! There were no electric toasters in times past!

Bread was baked in a three legged skillet pot that had a handle which suspended the pot from a crane which hung over the fire. The lid of the pot was covered with glowing turf or coal during the baking. No bread today has the same flavour of Granny's home baked soda bread and especially if it was buttered with home made "Country Butter".

All meals were cooked over the open fire, until the kitchen range was installed into some houses. Ranges are still in use in some homes today, but mostly it is Gas, Electricity or Microwaves that are used!

The open fire still remains in some homes but hasn't the same uses as in days of old! To-day if you are lucky enough to have an open fire sit in front of it and in your mind,

make pictures appear out of the flames. A great past-time before T.V. arrived into our lives!

Candles

These made from wax and tallow- had to be tended carefully to ensure they gave generous light. Your thumb and forefinger were often blackened from "snotting" of the candle as the wick burnt and the flame guttered! A special custom at Christmas Time was to purchase a large red candle which was lit on Christmas Eve and placed in the window of nearly every Irish home. Today, many different decorations and lights may be viewed in many windows, but seldom the "Red Candle" of old!

Oil Lamps

Tilly lamps, storm lamps, and fancy decorative lamps, were also a source of light for many. Paraffin-oil was bought from the local hardware shop. The smell of it burning was not too pleasant- but beggars couldn't be choosers!

Gas

Carlow Town was supplied with gas from The Public Gas Company, which had its works near the River Barrow at the end of Montgomery Street. This building later became Brennan's (the butcher's) slaughter yard, currently Greenvale-meat factory. Any household lucky enough to afford gas, paid for it by putting a penny in the meter when

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required. Paul English R.I.P. Barrack Street, who was employed by the gas company, regularly came to the houses to empty the contents of the meters into a bucket which was then emptied into a special "cart" which he wheeled from house to house on his collection round. Coke which was burnt in the open fire, could also be purchased at The Gas-House,

Electricity

When electricity arrived it was a source of awe to many. I recall a neighbour who got it connected and would only allow the kitchen to be wired and connected as she thought it would be far too expensive to have electric light in the two bed rooms as well! Candles would be sufficient in the rooms and be cheaper, she stated! Nobody could convince her otherwise!

For a long number of years, people made do with the old ways. There was no Television. To own a radio was a welcome luxury. In days long past -radios were worked by wet and dry batteries which had to be regularly charged up. It would never do if the radio went dead during a special programme!

Today, up to 32 channels may be obtained on the T.V. and how often do we hear the remark "There is nothing on the Television"

Some favourite Radio programmes were Dick Barton (Special Agent), The Tipster with his three hot favourites for tomorrow's race-meeting which were duly written down before Din-Joe and Ceile House provided great entertainment for young and old.. Dancing instructions, to the music of the famous Victor Sylvester Band was enjoyed and practised by many people in their own homes - some of whom became expert ball-room dancers! Lack of a partner was no problem -a sweeping brush often acted as a "dancing partner". Also there was no danger of having your toes trodden on!

Not long ago certain areas of Carlow were without Electricity over the Christmas period. Neighbours from other parts of Town came to the rescue of those without! They invited people into their homes or cooked food and brought it to the people in their own homes. People sat in their living rooms lit by candlelight, played cards and talked to each other, something they had not done for a long time! It made many people think of the "rat-race" we now live in, with every modern convenience taken for granted! It also proved that "friendly neighbourliness" is still around-thankfully!

Furniture

Unlike today, furniture was mostly home-made, basic and functional! The three-legged stool, though no longer a feature in

homes, is nonetheless familiar to most of us. Three legs were essential as the uneven floor/ground would easily topple a four-legged seat. They were also used in the byre or barn, to allow you to sit while milking "The Cow".

Many kitchens had "flag" floors, which were usually scrubbed every morning or evening. Some people in later years used "Cardinal Red" polish on the floors and then "shined" them with a heavy cloth. This was hard work, as one had to get down on one's hands and knees to wash, polish and shine the floors. The range was Black-leaded and rubbed until you could see your face in it!

The traditional kitchen dresser, which had three or four shelves rising above a closed press, was the main show-case feature in many homes. There were a great many variations, because each dresser was made to individual specifications. The willow pattern delph was proudly displayed on the dresser as well as an assortment of jugs, ornaments and souvenirs.

The weekly rent, milk and insurance money were put into eggcups on the dresser to be paid out when "The Man" called! Various articles were kept in the cupboard of the kitchen dresser, away from curious eyes. The wide "lip" was used to serve food from or cut up the bread.

Some dressers had a very wide "lip" at the front of it, which served as a place on which to lay out a corpse in the event of a death in the family! Hard to believe, but I read that this did occur in some cases, but thankfully I never saw a dresser been used for this purpose.

The Settle-Bed in the kitchen served a dual purpose. During the day it was a seat that a few people could sit on while at night it was turned into a bed that could accommodate six to eight persons. Situated near the fire it was never cold in a settle-bed. Having slept in one, I can personally guarantee it was very warm and comfortable!

The meat safe served as good a purpose as today's Fridge! This was a press standing on four legs, with wire-mesh or louvered doors that allowed air in to keep the meat/butter reasonably fresh during the summer while also keeping flies out! Butter and milk were often placed down the well in the hot summers of by gone times to keep them fresh and cool.

Rainwater was collected in a barrel placed under the drain pipe. This water was marvellous for washing your hair. It gave a lovely shine to your hair, as well as that, it saved on time going for water to the pump down the road or to the Well,

An entire day was given over to the washing,

unlike today, when you pop it into the washing-machine and go about your business. The weekly wash was hard work for women. There were no washing machines. Water also had to be heated. In Carlow Town children were sent to Lennon's sawmills or up to Doyle's of the Shamrock for sawdust. This sawdust was then placed into a "drum" which had a hole in the bottom of it. The handle of a brush was then shoved down into the sawdust until it came out through the bottom of the drum. More sawdust was then very tightly packed into the drum so that the handle could be removed and a fire was then lit under the drum of sawdust.

A bucket or bath, filled with water, was then placed on top of the drum. This was the easiest and most labour saving way of heating water. It was also a cheap way to ensure that that you had ample hot water for the weekly wash! Once the sawdust caught alight it burnt for hours!

Ironing was another full days work! Most articles had to be starched. Sheets were folded over and pulled into shape- by two people stretching and pulling at each end, thus ensuring that the edges were even! Pillow slips were white, starched, ironed and folded into four. How different it is today -no pulling into shape, starching or ironing. Non crease material is wonderful!

The "flat iron" was heated by the old reliable- "The Fire" If you were lucky enough to be the owner of two of these irons- you got the work done in half the time! While you were ironing with one, the second was heating on the hob, so you didn't need to waste time waiting for the iron to reheat. If the clothes were too stiff you sprinkled water on them or placed a wet cloth over them to iron out the creases. To-day we now have modern steam irons, which we take for granted and which our ancestors never even dreamed of!

Many writings of the Old Ways and Old Days are just stories to some people while to others they recall happy -and some not so happy - memories of our youth. It is good to see how we have progressed, But please remember that it is essential that we never forget our heritage!

Hopefully in time I will record more of "Our Old Ways and Times Past" and that they will be edited by Martin Nevin and printed in "Carloviana" to be kept as a record of our past.

EDMUND BURKE :

IRELAND'S

LEADING POLITICIAN.

Rev. Dermot McKenna.

Edmund Burke was born in Dublin on 12th January 1729. His statue stands outside the front gate of his alma mater, Trinity College, Dublin, and is viewed by students of Ireland's oldest university, and by citizens alike.

At the age of twelve, he was sent to boarding school in Ballitore, Co Kildare. The School was run by Abraham Shackleton, a Quaker. There he was to join Richard Shackleton who became a close friend. Richard's sister, Mary, author of the "Annals of Ballitore", was another whose friendship he valued. Mary often refers in the book to visits by Edmund Burke to Ballitore in later years. Three of his letters were stolen from her house during the 1798 rebellion. This loss upset Mary, and it is possible that they were used to light the clay pipes of the rebels at the battle of Vinegar Hill!

Other famous pupils included Paul Cullen, later to become Archbishop of Dublin, and a Cardinal. Also Napper Tandy, one of the leaders of the 1798 Rebellion. His son was later stationed in the Police in Timolin.

Student at Trinity College, Dublin.

In 1744, he was successful in the Entrance Exam to Trinity College, Dublin. In his earliest surviving letter, written to his friend, Richard Shackleton, he describes his examination in Horace, Virgil, and Homer, "by an exceeding good humoured cleanly civil fellow, N.B. I judge by outward appearances". He also tells of his examiners' comments. "He was pleased to say (what I would not say after him unless to a particular friend) that I was a good scholar, understood the authors very well, and seemed to take pleasure in them,) yet by the by I don't know how he could tell that," that I was more fit for the College than three parts of my class."

Much of what is known about Burke's life as an undergraduate, is learnt from a series of sixty letters, written between April 1744, and January 1748. He trusted Richard, and was able to openly express his opinions to him. He was usually reticent. "The only safe way is to stay silent in any affair of consequence" This passage was written during the 1745

Jacobite rebellion. Burke did not mention it until 26th April 1746.- the day after the battle of Culloden which marked the end of the Jacobite Rebellion.

Burke had a distinguished career in Trinity. He became a scholar of the House in his Senior Freshman year which was one of the highest achievements for a young undergraduate.

In the following year, he founded a debating society. It held its first meeting on 21st April 1747. The seven members included William Dennis, and Andrew Buck who both were ordained in the Church of Ireland Ministry. The others were his old friend Richard Shackleton, Mathew Mahon, Joseph Hamilton, and Abraham Aedesoiif.

Burke kept the minutes of the club which later became known as the College Historical Society (the minutes have been preserved). The members were to meet twice a week to discuss historical, and philosophical questions, and for practice in public speaking. The members were conscious of the club as a training ground for life "so that when years draw us forth into the care, and business of life we would be there by enabled to go to the good of the public, and to the increase of our private interest"

Members were to read prepared papers, read aloud suitable poetry, and hold debates on set themes".

A short time after this new society was founded, a conflict arose. It was only their third Meeting! They were debating "whether woollen or linen manufacturing would be best for Ireland." Some remarks were made about criticising the English for "denying us a free commerce" Andrew Buck felt that questions relating to the government of the country are ticklish points, and not fit to be handled". Burke disagreed, pointing out that such a debate would not be an indication of disloyalty. This was discussed for some time, and a decision was postponed until the next meeting. On 8th May, Buck proposed a new club which would preclude any debate on matters "which may possibly affect our loyalty".

Another one of Burke's enterprises during his student years was to publish a journal called the "Reformer". It did not refer to any reforms as such. Burke disliked the penal laws, but did not attack them openly. Instead it set out to improve taste which upheld morality. He felt that morality was dependent on religion.

London

Following his graduation in 1748, he left Trinity, and began his legal studies in London. With one notable exception, very little is known about the next nine years. The only outstanding event took place in the spring of 1757. This was his marriage to Jane Nugent, the daughter of a well-known doctor, Christopher Nugent. Their union which lasted for over forty years was a happy one. Their two sons, Richard, and Christopher, were born in 1758, but only Richard survived.

Enters Politics

In 1759, he became an assistant to a leading politician named William Gerald Hamilton. In April 1761, Hamilton became Chief Secretary for Ireland, and appointed Burke as his private secretary. This gave Burke a minor role in the government of Ireland until 1764 when Hamilton was dismissed. He would have been in Dublin for sessions of the Irish Parliament in the winter of 1761 and 1762.

During that time he sought to improve the conditions of the Catholics who suffered under the restrictions of the Penal Laws. The 1761-62 rule of Halifax, and Hamilton seems to have been one that was benign. Here we can see the influence of Burke. The chief problem was the agrarian disturbances in Munster in the early 1760s. The Irish Protestant Landlords claimed that these were inspired by France which was at war with Britain, and Ireland. However Burke seems to have convinced the administration that the real cause of the Whiteboy activities were economic, not political, Sir Richard Aston, Chief Justice, agreed. He wrote that the disturbances were not caused by "disaffection

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to his Majesty, his government, or the laws in general", but arose mainly from bad economic conditions" Even though Burkes' political status was lowly, his gifts were recognised by William Hamilton, the Chief Secretary. The two quarrelled in April/May 1765, and went their separate ways.

Becomes an M.P. at Westminster

On 11th July 1765, he became private secretary to Charles Watson-Wentworth, Marquis of Rockingham. He became the chief policy maker of this new government which lasted a year. Allegations were made that Burke had been educated by the Jesuits in France, and sent to England as a spy. Burke was able to prove that these allegations were false. Further allegations about Burke were printed in a London evening paper. These were based on information supplied by his old schoolfriend, Richard Shackleton, and even referred to his wife. Richard was not as cautious or discreet as Burke, and he was hurt. He apologised, and is advised to be more careful in future. "Burn the letter I wrote, which deserves a better fate, and may I beg that you would commit to the same flames any other letter or papers of mine which you may find, and which you think liable through some accident to be so abused"

Member for Bristol 1774-80

In 1774, Burke was elected M.P for Bristol. This was a milestone in his Parliamentary career. Bristol was a thriving port, and the second city in Britain.

However Burke, who was a supporter of free trade, soon ran into opposition in Bristol.

Under a set of proposals put forward by a Parliamentary committee, Irish goods were to be imported! The traders in Bristol wished to continue working under protection. Burke pointed out that Bristol could benefit from increased Anglo trade. In a letter written to one of his prominent constituents, he said "if I thought you inclined to take up this matter on local consideration, I should state to you that I do not know any part of the kingdom so well situated for advantageous commerce with Ireland as Bristol. A public servant such as an M.P has a duty to the nation, and not just the electorate of Bristol". "He is not ready to take up or lay down a great political system for the convenience of the hour" "Your representative owes you not his industry only, but his judgement, and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion". Burke was aware that such statements would not help his chance of re-election.

He also drafted a bill that would lead to the relaxation of the penal laws. Under the Catholic Relief Act, restriction on the ownership of property by Catholics, and the aboli-

tion of the threat of forfeiture to Protestant relatives, informers, was repealed. This was resented by fervent Protestants who marched on Westminster, led by Lord George Gordon. They rioted and Burke's life was threatened.

Although he was not injured physically, he was damaged politically. Many felt that his bill had provoked the riots including some of the electorate at Bristol. In a letter to a constituent in Bristol, Burke says " You tell me besides that religious prejudices have set me ill in the minds of some people. I do not know how this could possibly happen, as I do not know that I have ever offered in a public or private capacity, any hardship or even an affront to the religious prejudice of any person whatsoever".

Opinion is divided on whether the Irish issue was the reason why Burke's loss of support led him not to contest the next election. One authority on Burke points out

"he had lost his seat in Bristol as a consequence of courageous exposure of the enormities of the commercial policy of England towards Ireland." Burke decided not to contest the election in Bristol. He had made the sacrifice, and stood up for his principles. A lesser man would have taken the easy option.

America.

Britain's relationship with America soon began to engross Burke. Here he followed his conviction rather than those of his party. Rather than attempting to preserve the empire, he supported the notion of freedom for the Americans. This was not a popular decision. Many of his fellow M.P.s, and fellow countrymen wanted America to remain a British colony, and subject to English rule. "With regard to myself, and my private opinion, my resolution is taken, and if the point is put in any way in which the affirmative or negative becomes the test of my vote, I shall certainly vote according to them, though some of my very best friends determine to the contrary". He was prepared to vote in accordance with his conscience, and in defiance of the party.

Burke was highly regarded as a speaker in parliament. He also carefully researched his subjects. His powers of persuasion were backed by a wealth of information. Such was acquired "by an enormous capacity for hard work" Such a combination was remarkable! Burke admired America's energy, and audacity. In his speeches, he advised the English not to use force against the Americans who would eventually prove too strong for them. He tried to persuade them to concede independence to America. He recommends friendship, and co-operation rather than strife. "Seek power, and ensue" "Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the

truest wisdom, and a great empire, and little minds go ill together".

In his speech on conciliation, he expresses his admiration for the American spirit.

"Pass by the other parts, and look at the manner in which the people of New England have of late carried on the whale fishery, while we follow them among the tumbling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating into the deepest recesses of Hudson Bay, and Davis' Straits." "Nor is the equinoctial heat more discouraging to them than the accumulated winter of both the poles. We know that some of them draw the line, and strike the harpoon on the coast of Africa, others run the longitude, and pursue their gigantic game along the coast of Brazil. No climate that is not witness to their toil; Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dextrous, and firm sagacity of English enterprise, even carried the most perilous mode of hard industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this most recent people, a people who are still, as it were, but in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood".

Burke, long before it had dawned on most of his fellow-mps, was sure of an eventual victory. "God knows they are inferior in all human resources. But a remote, and difficult country, and such a spirit as now animates them, may do strange things"

Ireland 1778-80

To Burke, Ireland and America were now connected. Shortly after he entered Parliament, he wrote "the Liberties of Ireland have been saved in America". He was referring to American reaction to taxation which could have averted a possible decision by the British Parliament to tax Ireland.

Apart from Burke, the only group of people who were concerned about America were the Dissenters who were largely living in Northern Ireland. Many of them, together with some from Scotland, had emigrated to America, and played a major part in Washington's armies. Because of that, Catholic leaders tried to take advantage of this situation by declaring their loyalty to the Crown. They were more loyal than those who had been regarded as loyal. This was a further argument for removing penalties imposed on Catholics.

Ireland became of much greater concern with the signing of the Franco-American Treaty in 1778. France and Britain were at war, and threatened with invasion. Much of the British army, and navy was fighting in America. To prevent a French invasion, the Irish volunteers were set up in 1779. This

was a Protestant force, and caused Burke to be apprehensive. The Protestants at that time would stand to lose badly if the French landed, and were supported by the Catholics. Burke feared a witch hunt of the Irish Catholic gentry as had happened in 1766. This time no such persecution took place. This was because the Catholic leadership chose to support the volunteers.

The numbers of the Irish volunteers increased, and they began to assume a political role, ie as an advocate of free trade. Spain entered the war as France's ally.

In early 1779, a combined French, and Spanish fleet combined at Brest, and were thought to be heading either for Ireland or the West Indies. He describes the fleet as "the greatest force ever got together" In August the fleet lay off Plymouth, and London was thought to be in imminent danger. Burke thanks his friends the Champions for offering his wife Jane "asylum" in Bristol. A week later the fleet returned to Brest and never put to sea again. The danger was now over.

The Volunteers were now able to concentrate on politics, and agitation, and their activities made Burke uneasy. He disliked their methods. He felt that they were usurping the lawful authority of Parliament. The Irish agitation was led by Henry Grattan who demanded Irish Free Trade. The British Government was powerless to stand up to them. Grattan was backed by 50,000 volunteers and a largely Dublin mob.

Burke had mixed feeling at such news. He was pleased to learn that Ireland had accorded free trade, but was alarmed and disgusted that the volunteers had been allowed to usurp the power and the authority of Parliament. George III said afterwards "that there is an end of all government in that country." Burke agreed with him.

Ireland 1778-81

In April 1780, Grattan launched the struggle for legislative independence ie that the British parliament had no right to legislate for Ireland. This he did by challenging the Mutiny Act which was the Act that gave Parliament continual control over the British Forces throughout the Empire.

Although Burke was in favour of liberty for the Americans, he did not support freedom for the Irish! Through the follies of the British government, America was lost already, and it was very likely that Ireland would be lost also. "So star would follow star, and light light, till all was darkness, eternal night".

Burke was soon determined to oppose liberty

for Ireland. "It became him to be firm, and to look on the preservation of what yet remained of their first duty". This puzzled some of his contemporaries. They could not understand the contradiction between his support for American independence and opposition to the same in Ireland.

For Burke, however there was no contradiction. His support for American independence was based on his belief that this was a genuine demand for freedom. However he felt that Grattan's demand was fraudulent. It could only lead to oppression of the Catholic majority by the Protestant minority. This is the only reason that Burke refused to support this move for Irish independence. He did not wish to maintain the British administration in Ireland, but only prevent the Catholic majority from being oppressed. Most of his contemporaries were puzzled by his lack of support for Irish independence. But he knew, probably better than most people that it would not work. It would only lead to further oppression!

French Revolution

In August 1789, Burke wrote the following comment about the French Revolution "England gazing with astonishment at a French struggle for liberty, and know not whether to admire or applaud". "The spirit it is impossible not to admire, but the old Prussian ferocity has broken out in a shocking manner". Burke's rather negative view of the Revolution in France hardened. However some of his friends did not agree, and thought that "in time things would settle down". Burke was proved right. On 5th/6th October, large crowds forced their way into the Royal Palace at Versailles. The Royal family were compelled to return to Paris, escorted by a mob which included women carrying pikes. Burke was horrified at such events.

The Revolution had its sympathisers in England. Because it was opposed to the Catholic Church, the anti-Catholic elements, supported it. Burke could recall the Gordon riots in London a few years earlier. The anti-Catholicism of the French Revolution made a big impact on him. But because such an attitude had such widespread support in England at that time, Burke did not emphasise it. Instead he referred to the revolutionaries as atheists. This had a much bigger impact.

In Parliament he warned his fellow-members about the danger of supporting the French. The French had shown themselves the ablest architect of ruin that had existed in the world. In that very short space of time they had completely pulled down to the ground, their monarchy, their Church, their nobility, their law, their navy, their commerce, their arts, and their manufacturers. Our friendship, and our intercourse with that nation had once

been, and might again become more dangerous to us than our worst hostility".

"Reflections on the Revolution in France".

Readers of this work can follow Burke's insight into the character of the French revolution. He saw the direction in which it was heading. It was written during the spring, and summer of 1790 which was period of tranquillity in France. Because of the calm, many people assumed that the revolution was over. Burke feared that it was only beginning. The most terrible event of the revolution, the September massacres, the Terrors, the executions of the King and Queen, were all in the future. Yet Burke was able to foresee not only "transmigration, fire, and blood", but how they would end in military rule. Napoleon Bonaparte seized power nine years after the Reflections were published, and more that two after Burke's death. He was able to see how events were moving. This he did through his powers of observation, and analysing what he had observed.

Perhaps the most famous passage in "the Reflections" refers to the Queen of France. He describes how he had seen her at Versailles, some sixteen years or seventeen years earlier. "I saw her just above the horizon, decorating, and cheering the elevated sphere she had just begun to move in, glittering like the morning-star, full of life, and splendour, and joy. Oh what a revolution! And what a heart must I have to contemplate without emotion that elevation, and that fall! Little did dream when she added titles of veneration to those of enthusiastic distant, respectful love, that she should ever be obliged to carry the sharp antidote against disgrace concealed in that bosom: little did I dream that I should have lived to see such disaster fallen upon her in a nation of gallant men, in a nation of men of honour, and of cavaliers. I thought ten thousand swords must have leaped from their scabbards to avenge even a look that threatened her with insult. But the age of chivalry is gone, and the glory of France is extinguished for ever. Never, never more shall we behold that generous Loyalty to rank or sex, that proud submission, that dignified obedience, that subordination of the heart which kept alive, even in servitude itself or exalted freedom"

Tragedy 1n 1794

It was agreed that Edmund's son Richard would succeed to his seat at Malton. Edmund had held this seat since he was defeated at Bristol in 1780. Father, and son travelled to Malton together, and Richard was elected for the borough on 18th July 1794. Ten days later he was taken seriously ill, and died a few weeks later.

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The parents were beside themselves with grief. The Government offered him a peerage as Lord Beamsfield. Burke declined. "Just then it pleased Almighty God to strike the old man to very earth by the untimely death of his beloved son, his only child" "There ended Burke` whole sphere of earthy happiness. There ended all his dreams of earthy grandeur. Thenceforth a coronet was to him a worthless bauble which he must decline to wear".

He had less than three years to live. Those were a period of great sadness. Yet it was a period of great activity. R.B. McDowell says "what is remarkable is not he is deeply affected, but how successfully he rallied, and with what intellectual, and emotional power he expresses himself during the following three years. It might almost be said that the blow of how his son` death acted on him as a stimulus, bringing home to him the immediacy of catastrophe in the political sphere. If his happiness was shattered, Europe`s future was imperilled, and Burke, like Job, to whom he compared himself, drew general lessons from his afflictions. He was consoled by the causes he and his son had shared. Both were committed to France, and Ireland.

He died on 9th July 1797. His funeral was attended by many of the leading political figures of his day.

Conclusion.

He has been described as one of the foremost political thinkers of the eighteenth century. He is said to have a "vast knowledge of political affairs, a glowing imagination, a passionate, sympathetic, and inexhaustible wealth of powerful, and cultural expressions". He made a great impression on his contemporaries. The famous Dr Samuel Johnson said of him "you could not stand five minutes with that man beneath a shed while it rained, but you must be convinced you had been standing with the greatest man you had ever yet seen".

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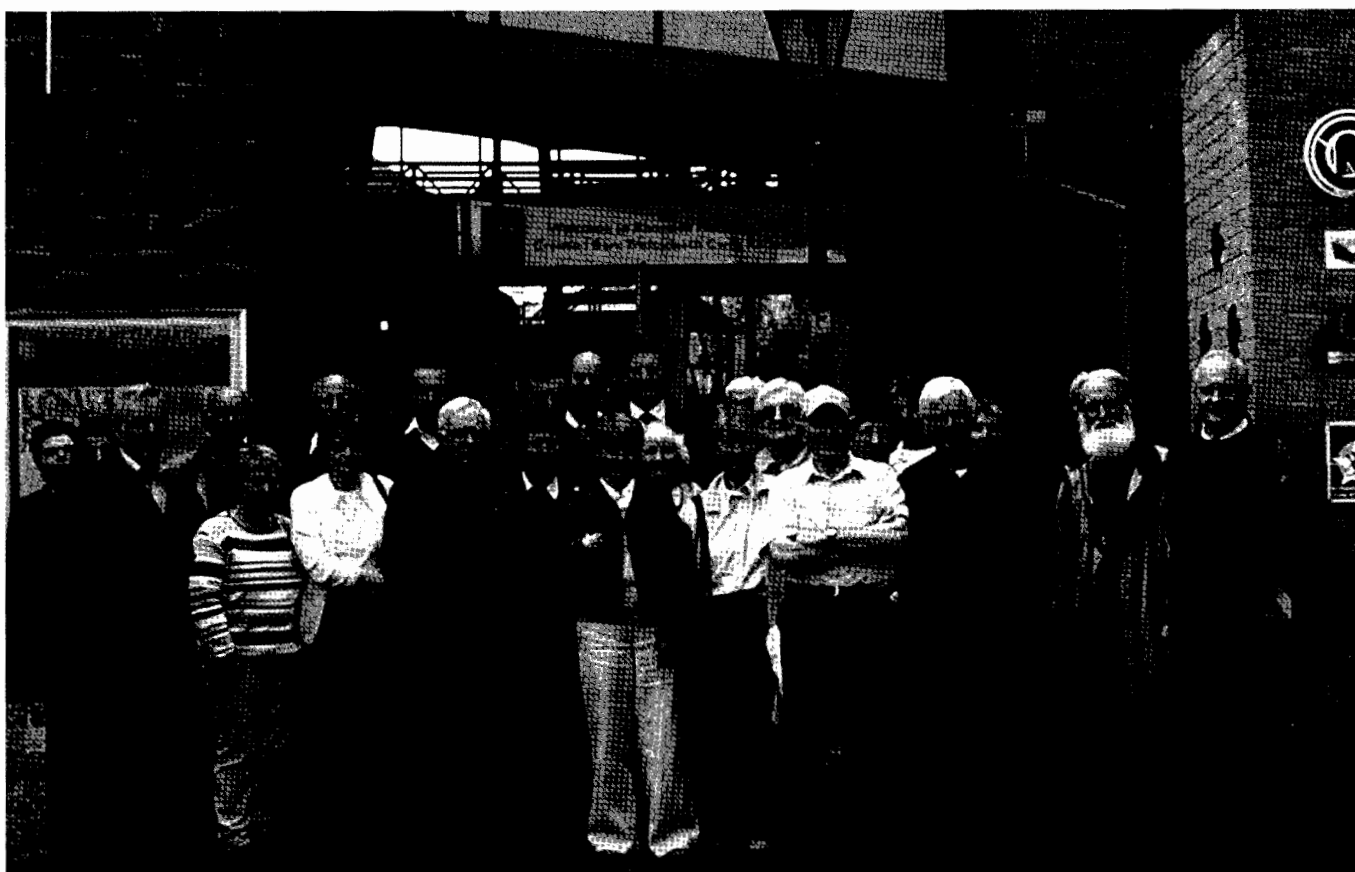
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Statue of Edmund Burke outside Trinity College, Dublin



Members of the Carlow Historical and Archaeological Society at the Lewis Merthyr Colliery, Trehafod, Rhondda, Pontypridd, South Wales on June 7, 2003

CARLOW POOR LAW UNION

THE EARLY YEARS

Sean O'Shea

Poor Relief in Ireland hardly existed as a system before the nineteenth century. An Act of 1635 projected a scheme of County Houses of correction for the "keeping and correcting and setting to work of rogues, vagabonds, sturdy beggars and other idle and disorderly persons". The first effort of the Irish Parliament to care for the poor was the provision of a workhouse in Dublin under an Act of 1703. This institution gradually evolved into a foundling hospital, and a similar venture was launched in Cork by an Act in 1735. County Infirmaries were established under the County Infirmaries Act 1765.

During the early nineteenth century, the poorer section of the population depended on potatoes as their main source of food, and unfortunately the potato crop is estimated to have failed, partially or totally fourteen times between 1816 and 1842. Hunger was frequent, leaving people particularly vulnerable to fever, which from time to time swept through their cabins and cottages during these years.

With the social and economic problems prevailing, it was understandable that poor relief became a national question. The introduction of a *Poor Relief Bill* was mooted by the eighteen thirties which was to be the first statute in Ireland to provide a system of Poor Relief and to be financed by way of a poor rate levied on occupiers of houses, land and other rateable property. While the majority of the clergy including Bishop Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin favoured the poor relief proposals, landowners and Daniel O'Connell were opposed principally to any kind of compulsory rate financing the system. In any event the Poor Relief (Ireland) Act 1838 became law on the 31 July, in that year.

The Act provided for the establishment of Boards of Guardians with responsibility for operating the Poor Relief System, particularly the superintending of workhouses. The areas in which Boards of Guardians exercised their duties were known as Poor Law Unions. The Act made no provision for outdoor relief. However it took a number of years before the Act came fully into operation, as work houses had to be provided. (118 workhouses were ready for occupation by 1845).

Carlow did not escape periods of distress and particular distress was experienced in the months of June, July and August 1840, due to the high price of provisions and the scarcity of work. At that time a Poor Fund Committee, financed by way of public subscription was in existence (this supplied the poor with coals at half price during the winter months) and now due to the severity of the crises was obliged to retail oatmeal at half price to those in need. The Committee reported that for eight weeks, large boilers were erected at the old court house and upwards of a thousand quarts of rice were distributed daily, which were sold at a halfpenny per quart. However three thousand quarts were distributed weekly, gratuitously, to a large number, who were in utter destitution.

On the 23 July, 1840 a meeting was convened by R. M. Muggeridge, assistant Poor Law Commissioner (one of four Assistant Commissioners appointed to bring the Poor Law System into operation in Ireland) took place at the Courthouse, to advise property owners of the Plan contemplated to give effect to the formation of a Poor Law Union in Carlow vis:

The area of the Poor Law Union was to consist of "the entire Baronies of Carlow, Idrone East and Idrone West in the County of Carlow and of the Barony of Slievemargy in the Queen's County also of the whole of the Barony of Forth (with the exception of a part of the parish of Barragh) and of the parishes of Tullowphelim, Fenagh and Ardristan in the Barony of Rathvilly and of four Townlands in the County of Kildare".

The Union was to be divided into electoral divisions, eleven in County Carlow and three in the Queen's County.

Landlords and Cess Payers (later the Poor Rate Payers) were entitled to vote at election of Guardians.

A system of plural voting was to be introduced whereby cess payers could have up to six votes, depending on amount of cess paid. Landlords could have a maximum of twelve votes.

Guardians had to be cess payers within the union.

Legislature also prescribed that a number of Magistrates would be Ex-Officio Guardians and should be one third of the number of Guardians.

Subsequently, a meeting of Magistrates to elect ex-officio guardians took place in the Court House on Thursday 24 September. Col. John Staunton Rochford chaired the meeting. Ten Guardians were to be elected. Each Magistrate submitted a list of the ten Candidates he supported. The result was as follows:

Candidates	Votes
Sir Thomas Butler, Bart.	24
Robert Clayton Browne	23
Henry Faulkner	21
William Fishbourne	21
Pilsworth Whelan	20
James H Eustice	20
Henry Bruen	19
James Butler	19
Harmon Herring Cooper	19
William Duckett	19
John Nolan	3
Thomas Haughton	3
Thomas Tench Vigors	5
Walter Blackney	3
Dr. White	1

Col. Rochford then declared the following duly elected as the ex-officio guardians of the Carlow Union

EX-OFFICIO GUARDIANS

Sir Thomas Butler Bart.	Henry Bruen
Robert C. Browne	James Hardy Eustice
Henry Faulkner	James Butler
William Fishbourne	Harmon H. Cooper
Pilsworth Cooper	Wm. Duckett, Esqrs.

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The election of Guardians took place on the 15th October, when thirty Candidates were elected to represent the fourteen electoral divisions in the Union. The following was the result of the poll as declared by the Returning Officer, Edward L Alma.

STATE OF THE POLL AT THE CLOSE				Elected	
Conservatives	Landlords Votes	Cess Payers Votes	Total		
W Fishbourne	392	481	873		
Sam. Haughton	401	465	866		
W. R. Leckey	383	389	772		
Simeon Clarke	385	384	769		
<i>Radicals</i>					
Thos Haughton	148	467	615		
Thos T. Vigors	150	463	613		
John Nolan	123	443	566		
John Byrne	124	416	540		
Jas. Brennan	14	67	81		
GRANGEFORD DIVISION					
CONSERVATIVES					
Thomas Elliott - Landlords votes 106 - Cess Payers 126 - Total 232.					
LIBERALS					
John Hanlon Landlords 124 - Cess Payers 209 - Total 333 - Elected					
TULLOW DIVISION					
CONSERVATIVE					
John Whelan - Landlords 157 - Cess Payers 436 - Total 593 - Elected					
Hardy Eustice - Landlords 156 - Cess Payers 371 - Total 527					
LIBERALS					
Thomas Doyle - Landlords 91 - Cesspayers 448 - Total 539 - Elected					
Robert Hanlon - Landlords 90 - Cess payers 424 - Total 514					
BARRAGH DIVISION					
CONSERVATIVES					
Thomas Tomlinson - Landlords 105 - Cess Payers 117 - Total 222					
James Kepple - Landlords 105 - Cess payers 109 - Total 214					
LIBERALS					
Patrick Kehoe - Landlords 31 - Cess payers 322 - Total 353 - Elected					
Sylvester Donoughoe -Landlords 31 - Cess payers 318 - Total 349 - Elected					
MYSHALL DIVISION					
CONSERVATIVES					
A B. Feltus - Landlords 80 - Cess payers - 323 - Total 403 - Elected					
J B. Brady - Landlords 78 - Cess payers - 205 - Total 283					
LIBERALS					
Peter Fenlon - Landlords 18 - Cess payers - 295 -Total - 313 - Elected					
Luke Nolan - landlords 18 - Cess payers 292 - Total - 310					
KILTENNAL DIVISION					
CONSERVATIVES					
Henry Newton - Landlords 115 - Cess payers 667 - Total 782 - Elected					
Arthur Fitzmaurice - Landlords 115 - Cess payers 670 - Total 785 - Elected					
LIBERALS					
William Maher - Landlords 1 - Cess payers 54 - Total 55					
John Kearney - landlords 1 - Cess payers 50 - Total 51					

BORRIS DIVISION

CONSERVATIVES

John Rudkin - Landlords 83 - Cess payers 455 - Total 538 - Elected

George Whitney - Landlords 83 - Cess payers 420 - Total 503 - Elected

LIBERALS

John Murphy - Landlords 40 - Cess payers 211 - Total 251

Edward Donoughoe - Landlords 40 -Cess payers 203 - Total 243

BAGENALSTOWN DIVISION

CONSERVATIVES

B. B. Newton - Landlords 139 - Cess payers 419 - Total 558 - Elected

Thomas Singleton - Landlords 139 - Cess payers 417 - Total 536 -Elected

LIBERALS

Darby Donoghoe - Landlords 14 - Cess payers 63 - Total 77

James Murphy - Landlords 14 - Cess payers 63 - Total 77

IDRONE WEST DIVISION

CONSERVATIVES

Wm. R. Stewart - Landlords 166 - Cess payers 499 - Total 665 - Elected

James Thomas - Landlords 126 - Cess payers 325 - Total 451

Wm. Fishbourne-Landlords 125 - Cess payers 327 - Total 452

LIBERALS

John Cummins - Landlords 72 - Cess payers 492 - Total 564 - Elected

Edward Lyons - Landlords 74 - Cess payers 486 - Total 560 - Elected

Pat Foley - Landlords 51 - Cess payers 422 - Total 473

KELLISTOWN DIVISION

CONSERVATIVES

Samuel Elliott - Landlords 190 - Cess payers 308 - Total 498 - Elected

LIBERALS

Luke Nolan - Landlords 62 - Cess payers 317 - Total 379

FENAGH AND NURNEY DIVISION

CONSERVATIVES

Henry Cary - Landlords 189 - Cess payers 540 - Total 729 - Elected

John Watson - Landlords 195 - Cess payers 511 - Total 706 - Elected

LIBERALS

James Murphy - Landlords 18 - Cess payers 228 - Total 246

Edward Cullen - Landlords 18 - Cess payers 207 - Total 225

DIVISIONS DECLARED WITHOUT A CONTEST

Shrute - Peter Gale and Joseph Fishbourne

Graigie - John Haughton, William Butler and Robert Farrell

Arles - Wm. C. Cooper, Denis Kelly

**SUMMARY OF THE WHOLE
CONSERVATIVE GUARDIANS**

Ex-officio	10
Guardians elected by Cess Payers	20
Total	30

LIBERAL GUARDIANS

Total returned out of the whole Union of the Liberal party	10
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The first meeting of the Guardians was held in the Court House on Thursday, November 5, 1840 where Colonel Bruen was elected Chairman, Sir Thomas Butler Vice-Chairman and William Fishbourne Deputy Vice-Chairman. At the December Meeting George Wilson, Graigue was appointed Valuator with responsibility to value all the rateable property in the Union, which comprised about 188,304 statute acres (County Carlow 151,935 acres, Queen's County 35,491 acres and Kildare 878 acres). Robert Davies, Dublin Street was appointed Clerk of the Union.

The Guardians preoccupation, following their establishment was centered on the erection of the workhouse at the Kilkenny Road, and dealing with the valuation of the Union, which took over two years to complete, followed by many objections and appeals, which had to be adjudicated upon. The Guardians were also required to provide a small-pox vaccination scheme and appoint medical practitioners to operate same. Mr Henry Montgomery, Dr. Payne and Dr. Bolton were engaged to administer the scheme.

Elections were required to be held annually in the month of March. As the first election was held in late 1840 the next election did not take place until March, 1842. The election was uncontested as the Liberal Party showed little or no interest, and those nominated were declared elected. This resulted in the constitution of the Board being Conservative in the proportion of 36 to 4.

During the months of June, July, and August, 1842 distress again visited Carlow when prepared rice was sold at a reduced rate, with approximately twenty six thousand quarts being distributed. In addition to alleviate the prevailing poverty the Poor Fund Committee provided employment, during the period, with men engaged in repairing streets and roads at Hanover, Pollerton, Green Lane, Gallipot, Athy Road, Montgomery St., Graigue, The Quays and Kilkenny and Dublin Roads.

The 1843 Election was also uncontested with the following being declared elected

CARLOW	William Fishbourne, Sen. Samuel Haughton Simon Clarke William R. Lecky, Esqrs.
GRANGEFORD	William F. Burton, Esq.
TULLOW	John Whelan & Hardy Eustice, Esqrs.
BARRAGH	J. J. Lecky & and Thomas Tomlinson, Esqrs
MYSHALL	A. B. Feltus, & Mr. Peter Fenlon, Esqrs.
KILTENNEL	Henry Newton & Arthur Fitzmaurice, Esqrs.
BORRIS	John Rudkin & George Whitney, Esqrs.
BAGENALSTOWN	B. B. Newton and Thomas Sigleton, Esqrs.
IDRONE WEST	Wm. Richard Stewart Horace Rochfort Wm. Fishbourne, Jun., Esqrs.
KELLISTOWN	Samuel Elliott, Esq.
FENAGH & NURNEY	John Watson & Henry Cary, Esqrs.
SHRULE	Wm. C. Cooper & Joseph Fishbourne
GRAIGUE	The Hon. Wm. Butler John Haughton & Robert Farrell, Esqrs.

ARLES Peter Gale & D Kelly, Esqrs.	
Guardians elected by Cess Payers,	30
EX-OFFICIO GUARDIANS	
Sir Thomas Butler, Bart.	
Colonel Bruen, M.P.	
Robert C. Browne	
James Butler	
H. H. Cooper	
William Duckett	
James H. Eustice	
Henry Faulkner	
William Fishbourne	
Pilsworth Whelan, Esq.	
No. of Ex-officio Guardians elected	<u>10</u>
Total	40

While each Electoral Division was required only to support the destitute from the area, the first rate to be struck in December, 1843 was a general rate of 5d to cover the following expenditure:

Debts	£800
Clothing	£500
Furniture	£500
Maintenance	£1,000
Salaries	£350
Contingencies including vaccination	£500
	<u>£3,650</u>

At the January Meeting 1844 the following Poor Rate Collectors were appointed to the undermentioned areas.

Matthew Griffm	--- Carlow, Kellistown, Fenagh and Nurney
Joseph Malone	--- Tullow and Grangeforth
John Moulton	--- Barragh and Myshall
John Cummins	--- Kiltannel, Borris, Bagenalstown
Martin Hughes	--- Idrone West
Matthew Farrell	--- Shrule, Graigue and Aries

It was also agreed at the January Meeting to appoint a Workhouse Master £60 p.a., Matron £30 p.a., School Master £25 p.a., School Mistress £15 p.a., Porter £12 p.a. and Medical Officer £60 p.a., to staff the workhouse which was nearing completion. Subsequently following interviews conducted by the Guardians the undermentioned were appointed.

Master	--- William Baird, Waterford
Matron	--- Mrs. Mary Anne Rose, Dublin St., Carlow
School Master	--- Mr. Murphy, Parochial School, Graigue
School Mistress	--- Miss Maryanne Noblett, Hacketstown
Porter	--- Mr. Ward, Cariow
Medical Officer	--- Dr. Porter, Carlow

The Clerk of the Union Robert Davies took charge of the Workhouse which was completed on 18th October, 1844, and made arrangements for the reception of inmates. The first applicants for admission were interviewed by the Guardians on Thursday the 21 November. The following report is taken from the Carlow Sentinel at the time.

ADMISSION TO PAUPERS

In accordance with a resolution passed on the last Board day, the Board proceeded to receive applications from paupers for admission into the Poorhouse.

Mr. Lecky - The master and clerk of the Shilleigh Union

CARLOVIANA

are in attendance, I think they have better be called in.

Colonel Bruen - Is it for the information for the Board of Guardians or the master and clerk that those people are brought here?

Mr. Davies - Both the master and myself thought their attendance necessary - they being acquainted with all the necessary forms of admission, &c.

The master Mr. Bate, and the clerk of Shillelagh Union were then called in.

Colonel Bruen - What are the necessary forms to be observed on the admission of paupers?

Mr. Bate - If you have reason to doubt the statement of a pauper, you are not bound to receive him. The usual way and the most correct is to require each pauper to bring a recommendation from a Guardian belonging to a district in which he lives.

Hugh Lee was then called in and examined by Mr. Bate, the master of Shillelagh Union. The following answers were given to the questions put to the applicant:

My name is Hugh Lee, I was married; my wife is dead; I am 48 years of age; I have no trade; I have been in the army; my usual occupation is that of servant; I have no family; does not know how to Labour.

He was then ordered to to withdraw.

Colonel Bruen - I don't think that we ought admit such an abled bodied pauper; we ought first to admit the destitute, the aged, and infirm.

Mr Whelan - The shillelagh Board of Guardians would not admit him.

The application was refused, and on hearing other applications, none were admitted but those who were considered fit objects for charity.

EXCENTRIC MEDICANT

The next applicant was a street beggar known by the name of Dick Shea. In appearance he represented a mountain of rags, which were confined to his legs and body by several hay and straw ropes; on making his appearance he bowed very courteously to the chairman when the following amusing dialogue took place:

Chairman - What's your name?

Shea - O'Shea, your honour.

Chairman - How old are you?

Shea - How old do you think? (laughter). I'm old enough to remmember the Rebellion.

Major Cooper - Perhaps you were engaged in it?

Shea - No I was too young at the time (laughter)

Chairman - What religion do you belong to?

Shea - I generally say my prayers at the fire side (laughter)

Mr. Whelan - Do you go go to church or chapel?

Shea - I you qualify me to go to either place, I'll go, but I suppose a man coming in here will be allowed the liberty of conscience (laughter)

Colonel Bruen - Were you ever in church?

Shea - I was and in chapel too. (loud laughter)

Shea being considered a fit object, he was accordingly admitted.

The applications were not numerous, and there were only fourteen admitted.

Wardens were appointed in January 1845 for the purpose of enquiry into claims for admission to the work house. In July Rev. Thomas Tyrrell was appointed Catholic Chaplin with Rev Joseph Jameson, Protestant Chaplin and George Wilson was appointed Revisor Valuator in September. The population of the workhouse that month was 259, with average expense of each inmate being one shilling and nine pence per week.

Also in the Month of September the undermentioned rate was struck in respect of financial year September 1845 to September 1846.

Name of Division	Amount of Rate	Probable ex. of same until Sept. 1846		
		£	s	d
Carlow	1 - 3	1420	0	0
Grangeford	0 - 2fi	113	4	10
Tullow	0 - 5	274	7	0
Barragh	0 - 2fi	130	8	1fi
Myshall	0 - 2fi	81	5	1
Kiltennel	0 - 5	162	19	8
Borris	0 - 5	262	5	2
Bagenalstown	0 - 6	265	19	6
Idrone West	0 - 2fi	202	4	3fi
Kellistown	0 - 2fi	158	1	0
Fenagh & Nurney	0 - 2fi	157	4	5
Shrule	0 - 3fi	176	2	7
Arles	0 - 2fi	84	13	0
Graigue	0 - 5	201	15	0
Total to September, 1846		£3690	9	8

The Guardians of the Poor were not long in existence when Parliament began to extend their functions beyond Poor Relief. In 1846 they were required to provide and equip hospitals and dispensaries for the sick poor. By the end of the year widespread hunger resulted in bread and soup depositories being opened at Chapel Lane and Cox's Lane by the Carlow Relief Committee. Relief Committees were constituted by the Lord Lieutenant in electoral Divisions of a Union under an Act for Temporary Relief of the Destitute Poor (10 Vic.c.7)

Soup Kitchens were established throughout the Union and many people sought admittance to the Workhouse. The Workhouse soon became overcrowded and the Guardians provided temporary sheds at the rear of the building which housed 250 additional inmates. Fever which began to make its appearance in January 1847 increased to an alarming extent, with the County Fever Hospital soon full to capacity and 200 inmates under medical treatment in the workhouse.

In April, 1847 the Guardians rented a Malt House, Property of Simon Clarke in Mill Lane as an extension of the workhouse for use as a temporary measure for their fever patients. This Building some time later became a recovery hospital for patients removed from the Fever Hospital. Inmates from the workhouse were also housed in the Building.

The following Month a Fever Hospital was established in extensive property adjoining the River Barrow owned by Thomas Fitzsimons which could accommodate up to 600 patients. While the Hospital was unconnected with the workhouse, the Guardians paid the rent and carried out any repairs required. Temporary Fever Hospitals were provided in Bagenalstown, Tullow, Leighlinbridge, Doonane, Borris and Kiltennel and funded partly by private subscription and grant out of the County Cess, with the Guardians giving support when required. Relief Committees were responsible for procuring and furnishing buildings as Fever Hospitals and appointing Nurses, Attendants etc. However, from 1 October, 1847 the Boards of

Guardians became responsible for all costs and expenses relating to Fever Hospitals (10-Vie. C.22) and to a large extent took charge by way of appointing staff seeking tenders for food supply, and repairing these hospitals.

The impact and continuation of the famine accompanied by the appalling scale of fever, resulting in gross overcrowding in workhouses, compelled the Government to alter its attitude and introduce "The Poor Relief Extension Act, 1847" thereby enabling the Guardians to pay out-door relief to the poor. At Meeting of the 12th August the following relieving Officers were appointed by the Guardians to administer the Act in the Carlow Union: -

Carlow and Kellistown	-	Henry Campion
Barragh and Myshall	-	William Kepple
Borris and Kiltennel	-	James Kerr
Bagenalstown, Fenagh and Nurney	-	John Corrigan
Idrone West	-	William Scanian
Graigue	-	James Wilson
Shrule and Aries	-	Thomas May
Grangeford and Tullow	-	Peter Twamley

In October the Master of the Workhouse reported that all the neighbouring Churchyards were so overcrowded that the persons in charge utterly refused permission to bury the Workhouse dead in them. The Guardians having failed to procure any place to hire or purchase (although repeatedly advertised for) agreed that the dead should be buried within the workhouse grounds.

At the meeting of January 1848 the following report was submitted to the members of the Board by the medical Officer.

STATE OF THE POORHOUSE

No. of paupers in the workhouse last Board day	1548
No. admitted during the week	118
No. of external fever patients during the week	10
	<u>1676</u>
No. of paupers left house during the week	69
No. left house on outdoor relief do	65
No. discharged cured out of fever hospital during the week	16
No. of deaths in workhouse during the week	11
No. of deaths in fever hospital do	10
	<u>171</u>
No. patients in workhouse, fever hospital, and boys dormitory, Mill-lane.	1505
No. patients in fever hospital	167
No. boys sleeping in Mill-lane dormitory	175
	<u>342</u>
Total in workhouse	1163

JAMES PORTER, M.D.

January 6th, 1848

OUT-DOOR RELIEF - CARLOW UNION

No. of individuals receiving out-door relief, and chargeable to the Carlow Union, up to Friday, the 7th January, 1848, viz:	
Adults, male and female	940
Children under 13 years old	1208
	<u>2148</u>
Total	2148

Prior to the March Election of 1848, Ex-Officio Guardians were empowered to increase their number to thirty, thereby forming half the complement of the Board. The following is the list of those elected at the time.

EX-OFFICIO GUARDIANS

Henry Bruen, Esq., M.P.; R Clayton Browne, Esq., Sir Thomas Butler, Bart.; C. H. Doyne, Horace Rochford, John B Brady, James Butler, William Duckett, Samuel Elliott, James H. Eustace, Hugh Faulkner, W. M. C. Bunbury, M.P., Beaucham, B. Newton, J. Nolan, James F. Sweeny, Henry Waters, John James Leckey, Thomas T. Vigors, James Eustace, Richard Ellis, John L. Watson, Clement Wolseley, Hardy Eustace, T Haughton, John Gray, Edmund Hagerty, William C. Cooper, H.H. Cooper, William R. Fitzmaurice, and Peter Gale, Esqrs.

ELECTIVE GUARDIANS

William Fishbourne, sen., William R. Lecky, Samuel Haughton, Simon Clarke, Edward Burton, Arthur Downing, Robert Hanlon, John McLean Baily, Wm. P. Butler, Benjamin B. Feltus, Peter Fenlon, Henry Newton, Arthur Fitzmaurice, John Rudkin, George Whitney, P. J. Newton, Thomas Singleton, William Fishbourne, jun. Wm. R. Steuart, Thomas H. Watson, Thomas Elliott, Henry Cary, John Watson, Joseph Fishbourne, John Edge, William Edge, Robert Farrell, Samuel Edge, Adam Jackson, and William Simmons, Esqrs.

The number of inmates occupying the workhouse and Fever Hospital in May, 1848 was 1684, and 5869 persons were receiving out door relief. With some improvement in conditions by early September, and the number of inmates considerably reduced in the workhouse, the Guardians were instructed to cease payment of out door relief. Recipients were informed accordingly and told that ample accommodation was available in the workhouse if required. This resulted in the virtual ending of out-door relief, as families declined to accept the offer, leaving 16 people only in receipt of out door relief at the end of the month.

However, by mid-January, 1849 wide spread hunger had again broken down resistance to the workhouse, which quickly became overcrowded. Vast crowds assembled seeking out door relief, with the local constabulary having to attend to preserve order. This resulted in the Guardians perceiving the necessity of maintaining the principle of out door relief and requiring them to meet daily for a month to attend to the crisis. In the meantime the outdoor relief system in the Union had changed considerably. Instead of money, the relieving officers gave tickets for meal to those requiring relief. The following report of the 22 February, 1849 sets out the scale of the crisis, with the Guardians having to provide a number of auxiliary Work Houses to meet the demand for in-door relief.

No. in house last Board day		2273
No. left workhouse	81	
No. died in fever hospital	2	
No. died in house	7	<u>90</u>
		2183
No. Workhouse patients in fever hospital	76	
No. men in Mill-lane House	72	
No. ditto sleeping at Nursery House	158	
No. boys at Mr. Dunne's Stores	276	
No. Women do at Brewery House	275	
No. girls sleeping at Graigue House	243	<u>1100</u>
		1083

Also at the February Meeting The Guardians approved recommendation of Dr. Porter to "Appoint inspectors of nuisances, with full power to remove nuisances which were tending to endanger the health of the inhabitants." It was hoped that with a Sewerage Scheme being provided in the town this together with the removal of nuisances would help to relieve the fever epidemic. The following inspectors were appointed under the "Nuisance Removal Act"

CARLOVIANA

Tullow	-	John Prosser
Leighlinbridge	-	Edward Hayden
Borris	-	-- Geoghegan
Bagenalstown	-	Thomas Ditcher
Carlow and Graigue	-	James Harold

The Clerk of the Union, Robert Davies retired at this time and was replaced by Andrew Geo. English, Burrin Street, Carlow.

The Guardians in August, 1849 for reasons best known to themselves gave directions to the relieving officers to "strike off numbers receiving out door relief." At that time the number of families in receipt of this relief in the Union at large for each electoral division was as follows: Carlow (289), Grangeford (37), Tullow (163), Barragh (54), Myshall (72), Kiltennel (99), Borris (124), Bagenalstown (32), Idrone (174), Kelliastown (39) Fenagh and Nurney (187), Shrulc (164), Graigue (183), Aries (153). By the end of September five families only were in receipt of out door relief. During the months official returns show that the numbers of inmates in the work house and Auxileries had greatly reduced from (3185) in mid July to (1464). At the end of September Cholera had almost disappeared from the Leighlinbridge area and the fever hospital there was closed. Borris and Kiltennel fever hospitals had already been closed earlier that year.

However conditions again changed, and while cholera was somewhat waning, destitution again increased at an alarming rate and by early January 1850, the number of inmates in the workhouse and auxiliaries had increased to 2331 and continued to rise.

In August, 1850 following a Boundary Commission Report, alterations were made to Poor Law Unions throughout the country. Carlow Union had portions of the Athy and Shillelagh Unions added to its area, with areas of the Carlow Union being transferred to these Unions. The Union itself was changed from fifteen electoral divisions (Idrone West having been previously sub-divided) to forty five. Also at that time the complement of the Board was increased to seventy, with thirty five members being elected and thirty five ex-officio guardians. The first election, following alteration of Union Boundaries, and electoral divisions, held in March 1851 was uncontested in the Carlow Union, as reported in the *Sentinel* on 8th March, 1851.

ELECTION OF GUARDIANS

The following is a list of the elective guardians for the ensuing year. No nomination took place for the Division of Turra, comprising ten townlands in the Queen's County, but the omission is of little consequence, as the Queen's County portion of the Union will be efficiently represented:

GUARDIANS	ELECTORAL DIVISION
William Carter	Rossmore & Ardough
William Edge	Arles
Joseph Fishbourne	Shrulc & Ballickmoyler
Adam Jackson	Graigue
* William Hovedan	Ballylehane & Farnans
Benjamin J. Edge	Doonane
John Edge	Newtown
George Whitney	Borris
Garret Nolan	Ballyellen
Thomas Singleton	Bagenalstown
Samuel Haughton	Carlow
Thomas C. Butler do	
Simon Clarke	do
Lorenzo Alexander	Clogrennane
Arthur FitzMaurice	Kiledmond
William Richard Steuart	Leighlinbridge

Benjamin B. Feltus	Myshall
Arthur M. Downing	Rathoman & Ridge
William R. Lecky	Kellistown & Ballinacarrig
Robert Hanlon	Tullowbeg
William Young	Tullow
Douglas Hamilton	Rathrush
Henry Newton	Rathanna
Henry Cary	Nurney
William P. Butler	Ballintemple
John McClean Baille	Ballon & Kilbride
Edward Burton	Burtonhall & Johnstown
John Watson	Ballymoon & Fenagh
John Newton	Augha & Templepeter
Thomas H. Watson	Old Leighlin
John Rudkin	Slyguff & Corries
Thomas Elliott	Grangeford
John W. Bathe, Esqrs	Garryhill
Mr. Peter Fenlon	Shangarry

There will be no contest in any Division of the Union

EX-OFFICIO GUARDIANS

The following are Ex-officio Guardians, being Justices of the Peace within the union. In this list no change has taken place since the past year:

Henry Bruen, M.P.	Hugh Faulkner
Sir Thomas Butler Bart.	J. F. Sweeny
R. Clayton Browne	Clement Wolseley
Horace Rochfort	Henry Waters
Thomas Kavanagh	John James Lecky
W.M.C Bunbury, M.P.	Walter Newton
Wm. C. Cooper	John L. Watson
William Fishboure	P. J. Newton
William Duckett	Thomas Haughton
Charles H. Doyne	John Gray
John B. Brady	Edmund Hagarty
James Butler	John H. Keogh
Samuel Elliott	Hugh Blackney
James H. Eustace	Hardy Eustace
John Nolan	John C. Vigors
William R. FitzMaurice	James FitzMaurice
H.H. Cooper	Peter Gale, Esqrs
John D. Duckett	

In April 1851 the Town Gas Supply was extended to the Work House and eighty two lights were provided in the building. The following report sets out the number of inmates in the work house, auxiliaries, and fever hospitals at the time.

			STATE OF THE HOUSE
			9th. April, 1851
Original Building			936
Auxiliary Workhouse at brewery			519
do do at Foundary			308
do do at Mill Lane			33
do do at Distillery			167
do do at Dunne's Stores			127
do do at Starch Yard			167
do do at Monacurragh			88
Barrow Fever Hospital			207
Doonane	do		56
Bagenalstown	do		40
Tullow	do		25
Total			2661

However by September 1851, the worst of the cholera and famine was over. Doonane Fever Hospital was closed, with patients accommodated in the Carlow Hospital. The Guardians had under consideration the closing of a number of auxiliary hospitals, but with applicants still seeking admission had to defer taking this action.

Towards the end of 1851 the Medical Charities Act, was passed which expanded the work of the Guardians by transferring full responsibility of the dispensary system to them. There were eight dispensary districts in the Union namely:- Tullow, Borris, Ballickmoyler, Newtown, Fenagh and Myshall, Leighlinbridge, Bagenalstown and Carlow.

During the next couple of years, as social conditions became more normal, the number of workhouse inmates, particularly the adult population greatly reduced. Inmates "under the class properly fitted" and approved by the emigration inspector Charles F. Crawford were offered passage paid and financial help by the Guardians to emigrate. A considerable number availed of the offer and emigrated to Canada and America, which also helped to reduce the population of the workhouse. The Brewery and Mill Lane Auxiliaries were closed in 1852 with Dunns Stores (Graiguecullen) and the Distillery closed in 1853. At Mid August 1853 the following report sets out the State of the Workhouse and Fever Hospitals.

STATE OF THE HOUSE		
Original Building		799
Auxiliary Workhouse at Foundary		68
do do at Starch Yard		140
do do at Monacurragh		85
Barrow Fever Hospital		2
Bagenalstown do		8
Tullow do		16
	Total	1118

The Starch Yard Auxiliary was closed early in 1854, with inmates transferred to the Barrow Fever Hospital, which had few patients at the time. In April that year there were 146 inmates in the Barrow Fever Hospital, 95 inmates in the Foundary, and 80 inmates in Monacurragh Auxiliary. Monacurragh Auxiliary had been estab-

lished in or around June 1850. Inmates farmed the land adjoining, under the supervision of Patrick Darragh, Agriculturist, and supplied vegetables to the work house and other Auxiliaries. Official returns published in May 1855 by the House of Commons gives the following information relating to the Carlow Union:

In 1853 the number relieved in door was 3924 out door 76
In 1854 the number relieved in door was 2946 out door 74

The Foundary Auxiliary was closed in early 1855, despite evidence of Distress, particularly in Carlow, Tullow and Bagenalstown. However, by late 1855, with improved conditions, Monacurragh Auxiliary and the Barrow Hospital were also closed.

As the century progressed, additional powers were vested in the Boards of Guardians, which were considered inappropriate to entrust to the Grand Juries, since these bodies met only twice yearly. With the coming of Modern Public Health Legislation, the Guardians were made the Custodians of Burial Grounds in the Rural District (1856) and accountable for the Registration of Births and Deaths (1865). Under Sanitary legislation they became responsible for the provision and maintenance of sewers; for the construction of water works and supply of water, and the enforcement of law relating to Public Health in the Rural District. The Guardians became Rural Sanitary Authorities under the Public Health Act 1878.

Under the Local Government Act 1898, Rural District Councils were established and assigned the Rural Sanitary Functions of the Boards of Guardians and the Guardians Power to Levy the Poor Rate was transferred to the County Councils. These changes resulted in the Boards of Guardians being now confined to Poor (including Medical) Relief, the purpose for which they were originally established.

The Boards of Guardians survived for another quarter of a century, until abolished under the Act of 1923. Poor Relief was then administered by County Councils through Boards of Health and Public Assistance.

The Genesis of elected local representatives had its roots in the Boards of Guardians and existing Local Government and Health Board structures can trace their origins to those initiated by the Guardians. During a period of untold hardship and in wretched



The Old Union on the Kilkenny Road where the Vocational School now stands

Photo - Godfrey

conditions, the Guardians laid the foundation of an organised procedural system in the face of inconceivable odds, famine, fever, financial, administrative and staff problems. While history shows that the system was not perfect, it is unlikely that any group of Public representatives since that time, have had to grapple with the enormity of the task of dealing with the reality of life and death on a continuous basis. They did not spare themselves in the efforts to cope with the problem and without recompense met each week in an endeavour to provide a solution to the predicament that confronted them. For that they deserve some recognition.

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Ireland since the Famine F.S. L. Lyons

The Carlow Sentinel, 24th. November, 1849

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CARLOW SENTINEL

Dear Sir - The following short statistical report of the mortality from Cholera in this town, which probably suffered more than any other of the same class in the British Dominion, has been laid before the Board of Guardians for this Union.

Total admissions to the Cholera Hospital, 395; in July 4, in August 114, September 250, October 27.

Taking the population at the last census-

Carlow lost 5%, or 1 in 20 from Cholera in 3 months

Graigue do 1.25% or 1 in 84 do do

London (pop. 2 mil) 0.7% do or 1 in 139 do do in 12 months

As epidemics occasionally visit this locality with some severity, it is peculiarly necessary for those who have the power to attend the sanitary improvement of the town. Private individuals have been doing much in this way, by filling the quarry holes on the Dublin Road, where the Cholera raged with great violence, in fact, commenced as an epidemic. Much money has also been granted for the sewerage of the town, from which it is hoped all the benefit, intended by the rate payers, may be derived.

As an instance of the evil effects from the stagnant water near the dwellings of the poor, attention may be directed to Lowery's Lane, Tullow Street, in which were 12 fatal cases of Asiatic Cholera.

Some localities favourable to the generation, reception, and spread of disease, no doubt, may at times be unvisited by a prevailing epidemic; but such are exceptions to a general rule.

In conclusion, I beg, on the part of the public, to return sincere thanks to the Guardians of the Union, for unhesitatingly granting every assistance necessary for the care of treatment of those attacked, or likely to be attacked with the awful disease here noticed.

I remain, Dear Sir,
Yours &c.,
SHEWBRIDGE CONNOR, M.D

CHOLERA

No. of fatal cases in and from the respective localities.

- 25 Workhouses and auxiliaries
70 Tullow-street 58, Lowry's Lane 12
50 Staplestown Road (Closh)
37 Pollerton Road
32 Barrack-street 29, Gallipot 3
14 Hanover-bridge and road
14 Green-lane
34 Bridewell Lane 27, Scragg's Alley 7
11 Potato-market 6, Cockpit-lane 5
24 Chapel Lane 19, School-lane 5
21 Browne-street 7, Charlotte-street 8,
M'Guinness's-lane 6
27 Quarries, Dublin-road 21, Bernard's-lane 3,
Kenny's-lane 3
13 Dublin-street.
15 Castle-hill 11, Coal-market 4.
13 Mill-lane 8, Castle-street 5
17 Burren-street 8, Granby-row 8, New-street 1.
10 Water and Grave Lanes, Montgomery & Centaur-
streets, Strawhall 2 each.
5 Barrow Hospital 2, County Fever Hospital 3 (matron
and 2 nurses)
6 Carlow 4, Wexford 2, (locality or lodging not known)
2 John-street 1, Clarke's-lane 1.
5 Paupish, Kilkenny-road, Newgarden, Tinryland,
Burton-hall.
4 Prumplestown, Ballymoon, (Kildare), Arles, Ballyfoyle
(Queen's) 1 each.
23 Graigue

	Males	Females	Total	
Dead				
In Hospital	97	132	229	
Out Hospital	111	127	238	
Total	208	259	467	438 Inhabitants of Carlow died
Died under 10 years of age		103		20 Inhabitants of Graigue do
Above 63		19		9 Co. Carlow 5, Kildare 2, Queen's 2
Average age of the fatal cases nearly		31		

CARLOW BRIGADE I.R.A. ROLL OF HONOUR

1916 - 1924

Seamus Murphy

In the late 1970s I was given a copy of the Carlow Brigade I.R.A. Roll of Honour, by the late Bill Bolton, Keelogue, Killeshin.

Unfortunately, by that time, most of the people who could have given me personal knowledge of the events, and the people mentioned in the document, had passed away.

Five people, whose names are on the Roll, had died outside the Brigade area.

The reason they are included is because they had either close relationship with the county, or they had died in the area.

To explain the presence of some names on the Roll, it is essential to know that the Carlow Brigade area, included, not only County Carlow, but portions of counties Kildare, Wicklow and Laois, while a number of men in the 4th. Battalion had County Wexford addresses.

The accompanying, hand drawn map, made in the 1950s, shows both the Brigade area and where the six battalions of the Brigade were situated.

Nurse Margaret Kehoe

The first and only female name on the Roll is Nurse Margaret Kehoe, Orchard, Leighlinbridge. She nursed in the South Dublin Union. This was one of the sites occupied by the Volunteers and the Citizen Army in the Rising of 1916.

The purpose of occupying these buildings was to control the various railway termini, and the principal roads into Dublin.

The South Dublin Union was occupied by members of the 4th. battalion, Dublin Brigade, under the command of Eamonn Ceannt with Cahal Brugha as second in command.

As these premises gave control of Kingsbridge (Heuston Station) and the roads to the south and west, it was of major strategic importance.

When British Forces attacked the building, some patients were outdoors. Nurse Kehoe opened a door to where the patients were,

she was shot dead.

She was buried in the grounds of the Union, but subsequently she was reinterred in Ballinabranna graveyard.

1916



Nurse Kehoe

Courtesy: Myles Kehoe

Michael O'Hanrahan

Michael O'Hanrahan who was born in New Ross, Co. Wexford but had come to Carlow when his father had transferred his business to Tullow Street, in Carlow town.

He was executed for his role in the Easter Rising 1916. He had been a prominent personality in Carlow before he went to Dublin. He founded the Workman's Club in Browne St., Carlow and was teacher to the Gaelic League classes. He also wrote novels "A Swordsman of the Brigade" and "When the Normans Came"

O'Hanrahan was in Jacobs biscuit factory, with Major John McBride as commander. This building was another of the positions, occupied by the Volunteers, in a ring around Dublin. He was executed on 4th. May, 1916.

The remaining names on the list are from the War of Independence and the Civil War periods.

In April it was decided to destroy barracks from which the R.I.C. (Royal Irish



Michael O'Hanrahan

Courtesy: C.H.A.S.

Constabulary) had been withdrawn, to prevent their occupation by Crown Forces. Luggacurran barrack, Co. Laois, was one of those buildings destroyed.

The most available method of destruction was by burning.

A number of I.R.A. Volunteers throughout Ireland suffered injuries and death during their operations.

John Byrne, Gracefield, Ballylinan was one of these victims. He suffered burns from which he died on the 4th. April, 1920 when Luggacurran barracks was burned. He is buried in Rathaspic graveyard, Ballylinan.

Patrick Meaney

Patrick Meaney, of Knockgarry, Old Leighlin, was one of a party of Volunteers, which in action at Ballybrack R.I.C. Barrack, Co. Dublin. He received wounds from which he died on 5th. May 1920. He is buried in Tomard cemetery in the Parish of Leighlin, Co. Carlow.

Kevin Barry

Kevin Barry spent a large part of his life at the family farm at Tombeagh, Hacketstown, Co. Carlow, having been born in Dublin.

He was one of the members of the 3rd. battalion, Carlow Brigade which had orders to destroy Aughavanagh House, to prevent its use by the Crown Forces. The house was the property of John Redmond, leader of the Nationalist Party.

After negotiations with the occupier, and getting a guarantee from him, that the building would not be made available to the British authorities, the house was not damaged.

In Dublin Kevin Barry became a member of H Company, 1st. Battalion, Dublin Brigade. On 10th. October, 1920, he was one of the members of the Dublin Brigade, which attempted to disarm members of the British Army which came each day to Monks bakery

CARLOVIANA



Kevin Barry

situated at the junction of Church St. and North Kings Street.

The operation was not successful and Kevin Barry was arrested.

He was tried by courtmarshall on the 20th. October, 1920 and was sentenced to death.

His sentence was carried out in Mountjoy Jail on Monday 1st. November, 1920.

He, with nine comrades who were hanged in Mountjoy Jail at that period for I.R.A. activities, was buried on the grounds of the Jail. (Thomas Traynor was another of these victims).

On Sunday, 10th. October, 2000 the remains of the nine Volunteers were reinterred in Glasnevin Cemetery.

The tenth Volunteer's remains were brought for burial to his native Co. Limerick.



Fr. Albert Bibby (1877-1925), the Capuchin Republican Chaplain was one of Kevin Barry's last visitors. To him he said: 'The only message I have for any-

body is HOLD AND STICK TO THE REPUBLIC.' He also visited fellow Carlow man, Michael O Hanrahan before he died. Fr. Albert was born in Regent Street, Bagenalstown Co Carlow and according to Ned Byrne (local historian) his birth place was where Rea's shop (Amusements) is now. Fr. Albert's views incurred the displeasure of the authorities and he was exiled from the country in mid 1924. He died in California in 1925. See 2000 edition Carloviana p.29.

Patrick O'Toole

Patrick O'Toole, Brown Street, Carlow died in Ballykinler Interment Camp on 10th. February, 1921

According to the report of *The Nationalist and Leinster Times* of 15th. February, 1921, he had not been in good health for some years prior to his arrest in late 1920.

His Sinn Fein and I.R.A. activities were the cause of his arrest.

He is buried in the Republican Plot, St. Mary's Cemetery, Carlow.

Michael Fay

Michael fay was killed at Mullaghnagaun, Ballymurphy, Co. Carlow on Monday, 18th. April, 1921.

Born in Dublin, he had moved with his family to Ballyoliver, Rathvilly, Co. Carlow. Fay had served in the British Army during World War 1. On his discharge from the army he had joined the Volunteers.

The Brigade Active Service Unit (A.S.U.) of which he was a member, had moved to the townland of Mullaghnagaun shortly before the 18th. April. Mullaghnagaun was considered a very safe area as the unit had not posted any sentries when they were preparing for an inspection by Simon Donnelly, an officer from G.H.Q. Unfortunately for them, acting on information, supplied by a stranger to the locality, British Forces surprised them.

Despite official and other reports, the I.R.A. men were unarmed.

They had left their arms in the various premises where they were stopping, as they would not be required for the inspection.

The British forces opened fire on the assembled men, who attempted to avoid capture and likely death by dispersing.

When the firing ceased four men were dead, two were wounded, six were prisoners and three had escaped capture.

Of the four dead, three were local men, who had been shot, as they were carrying out their work.

They were Michael Ryan, Michael Farrell

and his brother Patrick Farrell.

These three volunteers are buried in Ballymurphy Graveyard.

Michael Fay was the only A.S.U. man killed. His body was brought by lorry to Carlow Military Barracks (now the site of Betany House and Crosbie Place housing estate, that evening.

His remains were removed to the Cathedral of the Assumption, Carlow on wednesday evening. Mass for the repose of his soul was offered at 9am on Thursday morning.

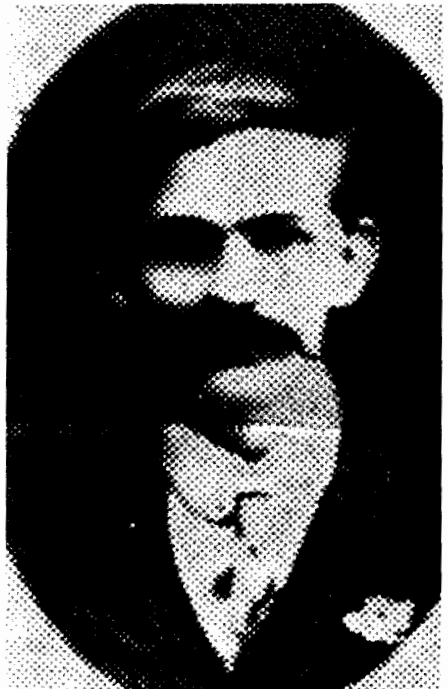
At 2pm that day, at which time all business had ceased in Carlow, his public funeral was held.

The Nationalist and Leinster Times of that week reported that his coffin was draped with the Republican colours and was borne by Volunteers and ex-service men.

Volunteers, Cumann na mBan, and ex-service men marched in the cortege to St. Mary's Cemetery, where he was buried in the Republican Plot.

Thomas Traynor

Thomas Traynor was hanged in Mountjoy Prison on Tuesday, 26th. April, 1921.



Thomas Traynor

Granddaughter's account

Thomas Traynor was born in May, 1882, Cannons Quarter, Tullow, Co. Carlow. He was one of ten children. He moved to Dublin as a young man and learned the trade of shoemaker. He was involved in the Nationalist movement and fought in Boland's Mills under De Valera, in 1916. Afterwards he was interned in Fronkgoek

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Camp in North Wales, where the internee General Council made him master shoemaker for the camp. In 1917 he was released in the General Amnesty. When he returned to Dublin he lived in Mount Brown and had a shop near Crown Alley where he continued on his trade. At that time he was attached to 'B' Company, 3rd. Battalion of the Dublin Brigade. Due to his age and family responsibilities, he was never asked to take any active part in the current conflict. However, since he was a long standing member of the republican movement he was a person who could be entrusted with a message. On the evening of the 14th. March, 1921 he was asked to bring a pistol to 144 Great Brunswick Street (Pearse Street) and told that someone would be there to take it from him. By an unfortunate coincidence he arrived there just as the attack had taken place in which cadet Farrell had been killed. Because Thomas Traynor was at the site of the ambush and armed, it was sufficient reason to arrest him. He was taken to Mountjoy Jail and on the 25th. April, 1921 was executed. He left behind a wife and ten children.

"AR DHEIS DÉ GO RAIBH A ANAM DILIS"
James Lacy and William Connor

The last casualties to Brigade members in the War of Independence were James Lacey and William Connors of Barrowhouse, Athy Co. Kildare.

In the afternoon of Monday, 16th. May, 1921 a cycle patrol of British forces was ambushed at Barrowhouse, Athy. The official statement was that about twenty members of the I.R.A. were involved in the ambush, because of the availability of arms and manpower to the I.R.A., the usual number involved would be no more than eight to ten men.

According to *The Nationalist and Leinster Times* of that week, locals in the vicinity of the ambush that day, said that in their opinion only five to seven men were involved on the Republican side. They were also of the opinion that the weapons used by the Republicans were shotguns. When the firing, which lasted about fifteen minutes, ceased, two of the I.R.A. men were dead.

They were James Lacey and William Connor, Barrowhouse.

The bodies were removed to Ballylinan that day. On Wednesday 18th. May the remains were transferred to Barrowhouse Church, and after Mass on Thursday they were interred in the local graveyard.

The Nationalist and Leinster Times of the 21st. May, 1921 reported that the two men were 26 years of age. They had been born on the same day, were baptised on the same day, and now were killed and buried on the same days.

On 25th. June, 1921, President De Valera received a letter from the British Prime Minister, Lloyd George in which the President was invited to a conference, "to explore the possibilities of a settlement".

The President insisted that a Truce had to be declared before any meeting.

The terms of the Truce were agreed on the 9th. July 1921, to come into operation at noon on Monday 11th. July 1921.

A delegation to negotiate with the British Government was appointed by Dail Eireann on 14th. September, 1921. This delegation met with the British delegation for the first time on 6th. October, 1921.

The signing caused differences of opinion among the members of the Dail on how the signing would affect the declared Republic.

When the terms of the Treaty were accepted by the Dail on 7th. January 1922, the differences of opinion became more serious.

Attempts to reconcile the differing parties had very little success.

For ease of defining in the remaining section of this article the differing parties will be referred to Pro-Treaty and Anti-Treaty.

The Pro-Treaty, whose leaders were originally Michael Collins and Arthur Griffith, were known in official and news media as "the Government" or "National" forces during the Civil War.

The Anti-Treaty group were termed "Republican" or "Irregulars" at this time.

Eamonn de Valera was the Leader of the Republicans.

When it was announced that an election was to be called on 16th. June, 1922 a pact was agreed between Michael Collins, acting for the Pro-Treaty side, and Eamonn de Valera for the Anti-Treaty group.

While other parties could nominate candidates it was hoped that only Pact candidates would be nominated as they represented all sections of the community.

Despite the fact that candidates were members of the same pact, there was intense rivalry between the Pro and Anti Treaty candidates.

It was at this time that what was to be termed the Civil War commenced.

Thomas Dunne

Shot in Castledermot 16th June, 1922. On Thursday evening, 15th. June, 1922, the Sinn Fein Hall had been taken over by the Anti-Treaty Forces.

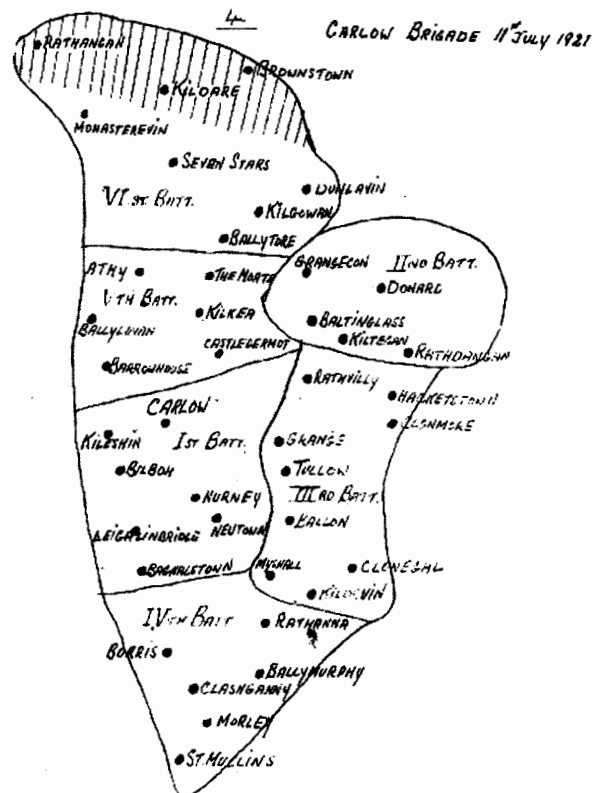
As he thought that this was a move to impede the election, and was not told that it was to be used as a barrack, he concluded that the taking over was irregular. Accompanied by Brigade Vice Commandant Cosgrove and Captain Lawler, he went to remove the occupants.

As Captain Lawler entered, Adj. Lillis heard two shots. He had called on some of his men to assist him in removing the occupants. On returning to the hall he was told a man had been wounded. The wounded man was carried outside the back door, where he collapsed and died shortly afterwards.

The dead man was Thomas Dunne.

His funeral was to be to the Republican Plot St. Mary's Cemetery, Carlow, the following Sunday and Solemn Office and High Mass was celebrated in the Church of the Assumption, Castledermot on Monday.

Sylvester Sheppard and Laurance Sweeney shot 5th July, 1922.



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The next two fatalities suffered by the Brigade occurred also in south Kildare.

On Sunday 2nd. July, 1922, a party of Anti-Treaty troops left Monastereven, moving towards Athy. They felled trees and blew up Cloney bridge to impede the movement of Pro-Treaty forces. They stayed in the vicinity of Athy until Monday night when they divided, some going towards Ballylinen, the remaining members staying near Athy.

The latter group had an engagement with Pro-Treaty forces on Tuesday at Rosetown, Athy, as a result of which Sylvester Sheppard was killed.

The remaining Anti-Treaty soldiers surrendered as they were under fire from machine guns. Sheppard's remains were removed first to Carlow Union Hospital (now site of Vocational School) and then to the Cathedral in Carlow town. After Mass the remains were brought to Monastereven for burial.

The same day a party of Anti-Treaty soldiers approached Castledermot, coming from Baltinglass. There was a large force of Pro-Treaty soldiers in Castledermot, because the previous day the town had been taken over by Pro-Treaty people. They had vacated the town about mid day Tuesday. The Baltinglass group on seeing the opposing forces in control attempted to escape.

Two did, but the third member did not, as he was the driver.

He was Laurence Sweeney.

When he did not stop when called to, he was fired on by a machine-gun and was wounded in the stomach. He died during the night at Carlow County Infirmary (now the site of the Sacred Heart Hospital). On Thursday his remains were conveyed to Dundrum, Co Dublin.

The writer's father was one of the men requested to accompany Laurence Sweeney's remains for interment.

In the Roll of Honour this man is named as Laurence Sweeney but in *The Nationalist and Leinster Times* he is referred to as Joseph Sweeney.

Myles Carroll

Myles Carroll, Killedmond, Borris and Seamus O'Toole, Rathdangan, Co. Wicklow, shot 5th. December, 1922.

These two men were in the Anti-Treaty party who had been in the Ballon - Myshall area. The officer in the Pro-Treaty soldiers stated that he had been officer in charge of a force which had been engaged in making raids through Ballon and Myshall areas

They had gone through Shangarry and had come to Shean.

Here he sent some of his men through the fields to meet him at Knockdrimagh hill.

This group, after going through a number of fields, saw men running. They did not halt when called on but, he said, opened fire.

The Pro-Treaty soldiers, when the firing ceased, found one man dead, one seriously injured, and two uninjured.

The dead man was Myles Carroll and the seriously injured was Seamus O'Toole.

Seamus O'Toole died within a very short time.

Myles Carroll was buried in Rathanna and Seamus O'Toole in his native Rathdangan. Eamonn Snoddy

On 5th. January, 1923. Eamonn Snoddy, Quinagh, Carlow accompanied by J Bermingham carried out a raid for arms on a house, Thornville, Palatine.

After gaining access to the house, they were fired on, from a concealed position, by one of the occupants of the house.

In evidence at Snoddy's inquest at Carlow Military Barracks, Dr. L. Doyle stated that he had made a superficial examination of the body.

He stated that he had found an entrance wound in the back of the right forearm, and an exit wound in the front of the right forearm. There was also an entrance wound at the back of the left shoulder and at the right side of the chest, at a lower level he found a bullet under the skin.

In reply to a question Dr. Doyle stated that in his opinion death was instantaneous and in reply to a further question it looked like as if the shots were fired from behind.

On Saturday evening the remains were removed to his father's residence at Blackbog and on Sunday interment took place in Ballinacarrig Graveyard.

It might be noted that the funeral went from the deceased's home to the graveyard. While this was not unusual in country areas, up to the 1940s, however, during the Civil War many of the Anti-Treaty dead were buried without the (official) presence of the any clergy.

J Bermingham was also wounded. He was shot through the jaw, the bullet entering one side and exiting the other side. He recovered from his wounds.

James Lillis

James Lillis, Chapel Lane, Bagenalstown, 15th. January, 1923. He was tried in Dublin on the 12th. December, 1922 on the following charges:

- 1 Having in his possession, without proper authority, at Knocksquire, Borris, a rifle, on the 14th December, 1922
- 2 Having in his possession, without proper authority, a number of rounds of ammunition.
- 3 Having taken part in an ambush of Pro-Treaty forces, at Graney, Castledermot, on 24th. October, 1922. The accused was found guilty on all charges.

He was executed in Carlow Military Barracks on 15th January, 1923.



James Lillis, I.R.A. B Company
Executed in Carlow Military Barracks
15th January, 1923

One of the men, James Rice, who was in command of James Lillis gave me an interesting account of why in his opinion James Lillis was executed.

He told me that an attack was planned on Carlow Military Barracks in 1922. To facilitate this attack James Lillis volunteered to join the Pro-Treaty force in the barrack.

When the planned attack did not take place he returned to to serve with the Anti-Treaty soldiers. After taking in a number of engagements, he and a companion, against their superiors advice, decided to visit friends in Borris area.

As already stated he was arrested at Knockquire and sentenced to death.

On the night before his execution arrangements were made for him to escape from the barracks on the night prior to his execution. However he was convinced that he would be reprieved, so he did not avail of the arrangements which had been made.

He was shot in the coalyard of the barracks the following morning.

His remains were reinterred in Dunleckney Graveyard, in 1924.

The reason why James Lillis was convicted under the firearms charge was that on October 10th, 1922, Richard Mulcahy, as General Commander-in-Chief had issued an order to the effect that anyone who did not notify the military that they had explosives, firearms and ammunition in their possession would be liable to be tried before a Military Court.

While the death sentence is not mentioned in the proclamation, this was the sentence which was generally given for persons found guilty of these offences.

On the same as James Lillis was executed, four men met the same fate in Roscrea for similar offences.

Charles Byrne, Kildavin

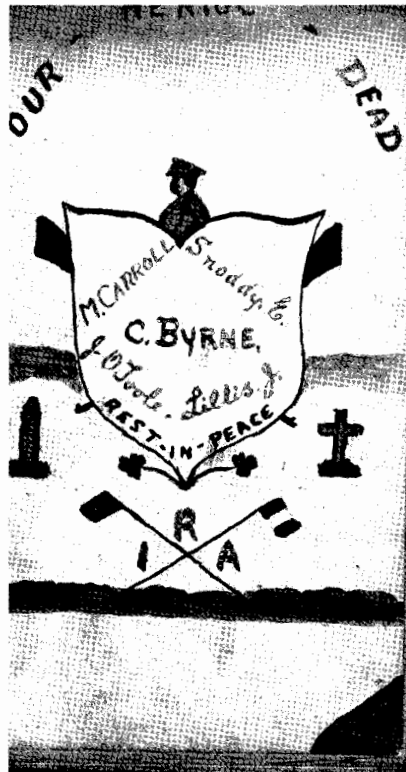
Charles Byrne was the victim of a common occurrence during the War of Independence and the Civil war.

He died as a result of the gun that he was using exploding, due to faulty ammunition. He was buried in Barragh Graveyard in Kildavin.

The remaining names on the Roll were the names of men who died, mainly as a result of ill health, acquired as a result of injuries or imprisonment during this period.

The list includes Patrick Quigley, Killeshin; James Byrne, Knockagarry, Old Leighlin; Thomas Murphy, Bagenalstown; John Leonard, Carlow; Patrick O'Brien, Castledermot; Thomas Bolton, Killeshin;

Joseph Rooney, Castledermot; and Sean Nolan, Ballon.



From the scrap book of Denis Nolan, Conaberry, Ballon, Co. Carlow. Denis Nolan and Joe O'Mara were arrested in Aghade while in possession of Arms. Denis was in Mountjoy along with Seamus Lillis. He was sentenced to death, afterwards commuted to 7 years imprisonment.

In conclusion, I wish to thank all who assisted me in preparing this record of a very important era in our history.

The staff of Carlow County Library was most helpful in the study of post editions of *The Nationalist and leinster Times*, Ms Audriel Byrne, Bunclody, Co. Wexford, granddaughter of Thomas Traynor for her contribution on her grandfather.

To Ms Betty Murphy for the use of James Lillis's verse and letter, and particularly to the late Bill Bolton, Killeshin, who entrusted to me the original Brigade Roll of Honour, on which this article is based.

OĠHLAIGH na h-EIREANN

General Headquarters
Portobello Barracks, Dublin

NOTICE

BY THE ARMY COUNCIL

- (1) Notice is hereby given to every person who has in his or her possession any of the following article or substances, viz....
- (1) Any bomb or article in the nature of a bomb;
 - (2) Any dynamite, gelignite, or or other explosive substance;
 - (3) Any revolver, rifle, gun or other firearm, lethal weapon, or any ammunition for any such firearm:
- To furnish forthwith, in writing, in duplicate, to the Officer in charge of the nearest Military Post, statement signed by him or her, specifying:-
- (a) The nature and description of any such article or substance in his or her possession
 - (b) The number of such articles or the quantity of such substance or substances
 - (c) The place where such articles or substance or substances are stored.
 - (d) The purposes for which such articles or substance or substances are held.
 - (e) The permit or authority under which such articles or substances are held.
- (2) Such statement must be furnished personally to the Officer in charge of the nearest Military Post.
- (3) Failure to comply with this Notice will render every person so failing to comply liable to be proceeded against before a Military Court.

Dated this 10th day of October, 1922.

Signed Upon Behalf of the Army Council.

RISTEARD UA MAOLCHATHA
General, Commander-in-Chief

The above notice taken from *The Nationalist and leinster Times* of 14th. October, 1922

Merciful Jesus, give him Eternal Rest.

Jesus, my God, I love Thee
above all things.
—50 days each time.



Sweet Heart of Jesus, be
—300 days each time.

In Loving Memory

(1)

Lieut. Sean Nolan,

Ballon, Co. Carlow,
E Coy. 3rd Batt. Carlow Brigade,
I.R.A.

WHO DIED

18th June, 1924,

After a tedious illness which he
contracted whilst a prisoner in
Newbridge Internment Camp.

Aged 29 Years. R.I.P.



Section of the door from Carlow Military Barracks on which James Lillis carved his name while incarcerated there.

*Courtesy:
Carlow County Museum and C.H.A.S.*

James Lillis
 R. Kearney St
 Bagnalstown
 Co Carlow greets to say
 Farewell to my little cell may never see you more
 for many a weary mile I done from the window
 to the door. By myself in me bare feet



*From the scrap book of
Denis Nolan*



*Fr. Albert Bibby O.F.M. Cap., with the children of
Thomas MacDonagh.*



*Taken from the The Capuchin Annual 1969, with
permission.*

January 3rd 1923

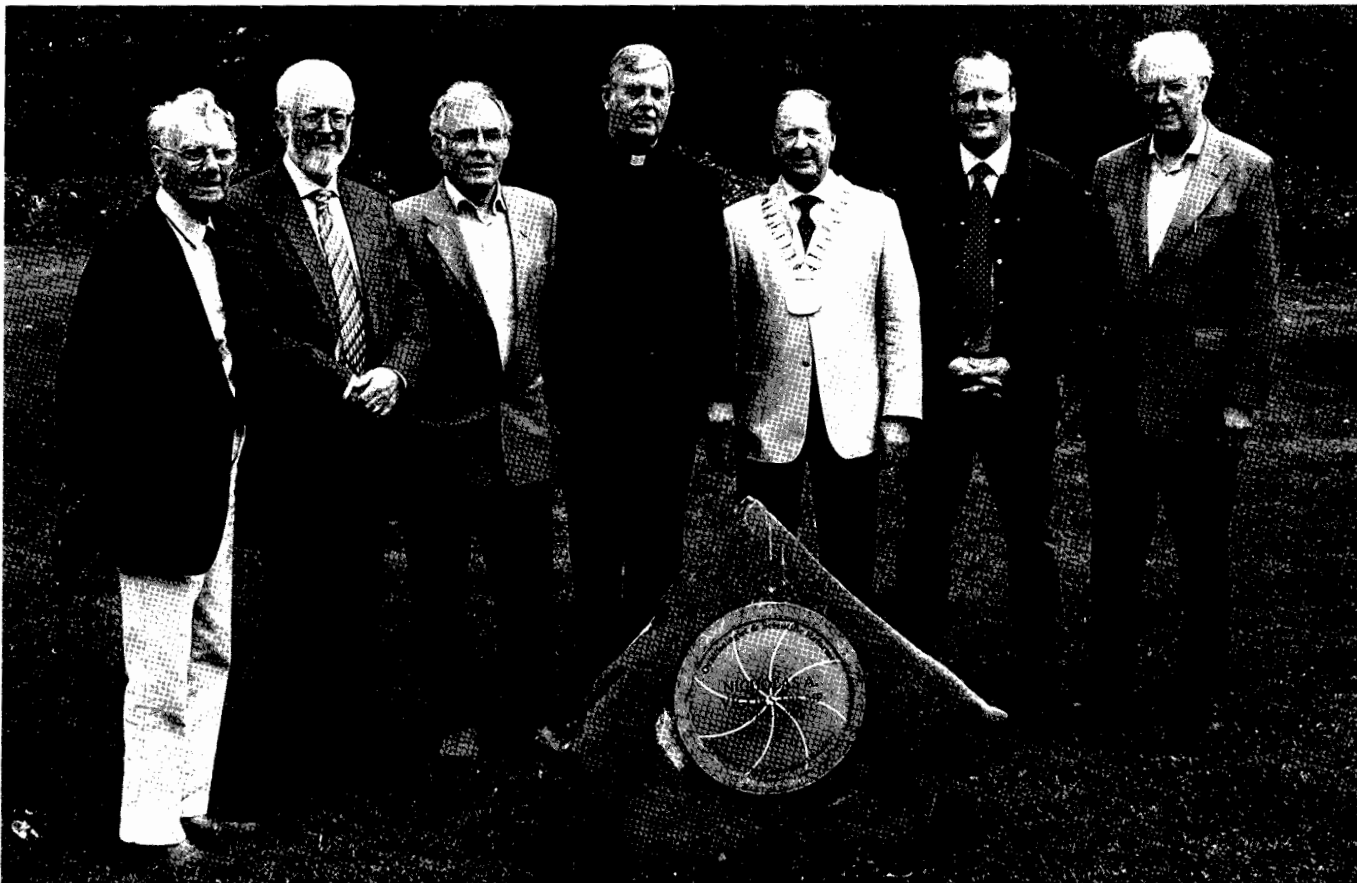
189 James Lillis
Kilmainham Prison
Dublin

Dear Thomas

Just a line in answer to your most kind and welcome letter so glad to see by it all is well as the Parting of this leaves me and my two companions - & at present I'm well Tom I was glad to see the old Pals didn't forget us also glad to see there is a sign of Peace it would be a blessing for everyone if it was over as regards myself I am getting as fat as that Blot you see on the Quaker Dubs Rose and for Dick Boborn a Real Fuzzy Timmons and Jimmie Pats the ten that on it Har a Book now Tom Remember me to all the lads I have nothing more strange at present my two Pals wishes to be remembered to all

I Still Remain one of
The Old Gods James Lillis

Plaque unveiled to honour Birdman of old Leighlin



Pictured at the unveiling of the plaque to Nicholas Alyward Vigors from Old Leighlin at the Garden of Remembrance, Leighlin were: from left: Dr. Bill Davis, T.C.D., Dr. Julian Reynolds, F.T.C.D., who unveiled the plaque, Mr. Martin Nevin, Carlow Historical and Archaeological Society, Rev. Ken Sherwood, Old Leighlin Cathedral, Councillor Denis Foley, Cathaoirlach Carlow County Council, Mr. Colin Guerin, Carlow Vocational Education Committee and Dr. Ron Cox, Research Fellow, Centre for Civil Engineering Heritage, T.C.D., who was MC for the unveiling.

Dr. Julian Reynolds, F.T.C.D. (Fellow of Trinity College Dublin) unveiled a commemorative plaque recently at the Garden of Remembrance Leighlinbridge to Nicholas Aylward Vigors (1785-1840) -scholar soldier, politician and native of Old Leighlin. Dr. Reynolds, having outlined the family lineage of Nicholas Vigors, said that at the age of 18 Nicholas matriculated from Trinity College, Oxford on November 16, 1803. At the age of 21, on November 14, 1806 he was admitted a student of Lincoln's Inn. "He Left Oxford at the age of 23 without taking

a degree and pursued an ensigncy of the Grenadier Guards, probably because he wanted to fight for Britain against Napoleon. Many of his family had army careers." Dr. Reynolds informed his audience that in 1811 Nicholas Vigors fought in the Peninsular Wars where he received a severe leg wound at the Battle of Barrosa on March 5 of that year. On his repatriation to England he resigned his commission and resumed his studies at Oxford, finally graduating with a B.A. in 1817 and an MA. the following year.

In London Vigors threw himself wholeheartedly into the study of zoology especially birds and insects and made extensive collections. He was elected a Fellow of the Linnean Society of London in 1819. Then in 1826, on the formation of the Zoological Society, which Vigors assisted Stamford Raffles (who founded Singapore) in establishing, he presented his collection to that body.

Nicholas was first secretary of the Zoological Society holding that office until 1833. The Zoological Society received its

Royal Charter in 1831, when Thomas Huxley was its President and also Charles Darwin was elected a Fellow.

Vigor's fellowships extended to the Society of Antiquaries, the Geological Society. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society on February 23, 1826 and was also a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and of the Geological and Historical Societies, as well as a member of the Royal Irish Academy (founded 1785) and the Royal Institution. The Geological
Cont. on P 47

DID HE OR DIDN'T HE?

CAPT. LEWIS EDWARD NOLAN

(KYLEBALLUHUE HOUSE, TINRYLAND)

AND THE CHARGE OF THE LIGHT BRIGADE

Martin J Lynch

A celebrated Carlow quartet

The almost forgotten but historically pivotal conflict that was the Crimean War witnessed four major 'investments' by Carlow-connected people; the only woman among them being also the only one whose noble bequest to us reverberates today in every hospital ward and operating theatre. In a later contribution I will tell the story of Sister Mary Stanislaus (b. Mary Aloysius Doyle) but herein I confine myself to one of the other three, each of whom played a part in the purely military annals of that first of 'modern wars'.

The other two were firstly Old Leighlin engineer William Thomas Doyne, head of the British Army Works Corps, who built the road from Balaclava to Sebastopol (see article *Carloviana* 1998, pages 20/21 by D.K. Horne) and thus a side player in my primary story. The second was Corporal John Lyons, 19th Regt. Foot (see brieflet page 26, *Carloviana* 1998), one of the original band of VC recipients of Queen Victoria's inauguration of that prestigious award in London's Hyde Park, June 26th 1857. More also of that same Corporal in a later contribution!

Ireland and the First World War

This most odd of wars had many exotic and strange causes with which this account will not tarry. Suffice to say its genesis was in a dispute over the control of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (shades of a similar Israel/Palestinian dispute recently) between Orthodox and Catholic monks!

Ultimately, the Russian Tsar Nicholas and the Ottoman Turkish Sultan had set about each other. France and Britain fearing Russian control over the Eastern Med., Africa and India, declared war on Russia on March 28th 1854. The fighting would spread to the Baltic, the Atlantic and even the Pacific thus became a world war. It was the first "industrialised" war, presaging the U.S. Civil War a couple of years later. It would also foreshadow the Western Front in the trenches around Sevastopol with much of both the same tactics and weaponry. It was



*Charge of Captain Nolan, by Thomas Jones Barker
(National Gallery of Ireland)*

undoubtedly "the crucible in which modern Europe was formed".

This war was the only one involving the Great Powers from Waterloo to the Great War. It utterly changed Russia and birthed its revolutionary stirrings. It destroyed a British government, reformed the medical and army establishment and left a power vacuum for Prussia to exploit by creating a unified Germany.

The first industrialised conflict, it was one of true innovation. It was the first to use railways, steamships, the telegraph, the first to have both war correspondents and war artists plus photographers, not to mention a fledgling nursing service and primitive medical corps. It also saw the first instance of women's active frontline involvement and their consequent ability to alter opinion at home.

Despite the Famine and the failed romantic 1848 Rebellion of the Young Irelanders being only a few years previous, Irish news-

papers were far from disinterested and war fever reached 1914 pitches. A Wexford-led regiment had even left for the East before war was declared! Irishmen constituted 30-35% of the British army of 1854 and an estimated 30,000 Gaels would fight in the Crimea. They would win 28 Victoria Crosses, an order instituted for all ranks after that war. Irish doctors, priests and even policemen would also volunteer. Hundreds of Irish women went as nurses, wives and washerwomen. Inevitably, Irish names would feature heavily in the 18,058 fatalities of the war. The scale proportionately of the Light Brigade's sacrifice of dead can be judged by remembering that only 1761 soldiers died from actual enemy action overall.

Carlow's crowning cavalry contribution(s)

Of the four mentioned above, it is a fact that the subject of this story was noteworthy in that he was renowned throughout Europe, in

all its armies, before ever he made his singular contribution to one of the British Army's most glorious defeats. Also, of all Carlow's most worthy and oft famous Nolans down through the centuries, he was a rare exemplar of the Anglo-Irish strain of that distinguished clan. It is quite remarkable also that Edward Nolan would be contemporaneous with that, nowadays, even more famous cavalryman, Myles Keogh, who 20 years on would also die in an uncannily like and celebrated proud cavalry defeat, half a world from 'The Valley of Death'.

It is even more remarkable that both such brave horsemen were from within 6 miles of each other (though Edward was born in Milan) and both were famous long before their famous deaths world-wide for skill and bravery in equal measure with pride and high temperament! They were, alas, never destined to actually meet.

Carlow connection

Lewis Edward Nolan was born around 1820, son of Major Babington Nolan, sometime of the 70th Foot and Kyleballuhue House, Carlow. His father would later be British Vice-Consul at Milan where Edward would be brought up. Two of his brothers like himself, would die in battle. Early in childhood, he displayed an extraordinary aptitude for riding. His father obtained a place for him in Milan's Military Academy and before turning fourteen, he became famous as a prodigy of horsemanship.

He now began to add to the aura of romance and glamour that surrounded him. One of the Austrian archdukes was impressed by his feats and at seventeen, Edward was given a commission in a crack Austro-Hungarian Hussar regiment, the most dashing of all cavalry units. He became a pupil of Col. Haas, instructor of the Austrian imperial cavalry, serving with his regiment in Hungary and on the Polish frontier.

Briton beckoning

He would become an accomplished soldier and swordsman. He spoke five European languages and several Indian dialects. Highly intelligent, charming and handsome but fanatically devoted, nonetheless, to his profession, he became a celebrity in military circles. British cavalry officers would make a point of visiting him and he was prevailed upon not to deprive his country of his talents. It was his duty to serve in the British cavalry and thus he purchased an ensignship initially in the 4th King's Own Foot on March 15th 1839. But by April 23rd of that year, he was transferred to the 15th King's Hussars,

where he was allowed to act as riding master, to break horses by his own unique method and to initiate several improvements.

He was then ordered to India, having again purchased a higher commission as Cornet, likewise he would buy a lieutenantcy 19th June 1841, and a troop commission 8th March 1850. Finally in 1852, he became a captain without purchase. In India he was aide-de-camp to Lieutenant General Sir Frederick Berkeley, C.O. Madras and likewise to the Governor, Sir Henry Pottinger.

Campaigner and correspondent

When the regiment was ordered home, he obtained permission in 1853 to study cavalry systems and to travel in Russia, France and Germany. He visited all the principal military stations and afterwards created a sensation in military circles by publishing two seminal books *Cavalry, Its History and Tactics* and Nolan's *System for Training Cavalry Horses*. In these, he declared his belief that, properly led, horse troops could do anything, even (incredible to post-Waterloo Britain) break an infantry square.

He then went on to outline the roots of his twin credo: (a) British cavalry was both badly led and badly trained, (b) the basis of his training for horses was kindness! "There must be sympathy between man and beast" and in less than two months, young horses would be ready for the field of battle!

Both books became the standard textbooks for cavalry training. Nolan's horse-training was even adopted by the American cavalry, shortly facing into the Civil War. Jeb Stuart and Bedford Forrest of the Confederacy and that wily Cavan man Phillip Sheridan, all acknowledged Nolan's contribution which also extended into the Indian Wars. So Myles Keogh, though they never met, would still have respected his philosophy.

Cavalry was the armoured columns of its day, though it had its limitations against well-disciplined infantry. Until the advent of the machine gun and the mud of Mons 60 years later it would reign supreme.

Nolan's enthusiasm, Irish charm and undoubted ability and intelligence unfortunately were matched by mounting impatience, head-strongness and volubility (i.e. he couldn't 'keep his mouth shut' when faced with what he would see as wrong and woolly thinking).

The Crimea and Calamita Bay

Nolan was sent to Turkey to form an advance reception for the cavalry and to buy up hors-

es. He landed in the Crimea's Calamita (an omen?) Bay as aide-de-camp to another rugged individualist of a similar background to himself i.e. in the Canadian Wilderness General Richard Airey. Thus at the young age of (in an army led by the old, which hadn't fought a pitched battle since 1815 and Waterloo), he found himself at the opening battle on the Alma.

I will not detain the reader here with the debacles that dogged the Allies, well-documented by the first war correspondents three of whom at least were Irish, including the greatest of them all William Howard Russell of London's 'Thunderer' The Times.

Suffice to say, that Nolan's conviction that cavalry could achieve great things was confounded again and again by what he saw as the bungling, wrangling and over-caution of the C.O.C. Lord Raglan, Lord Cardigan of the Light Brigade and the latter's superior Lord Lucan. Nolan oft lent fuel to these arguments and loudly told anyone who would listen, what was wrong. Much of the class-distinctions, hunt for vain glory and sheer bloodymindedness that would doom the 600 so soon was very well illustrated in Tony Richardson's elegiac film *The Charge of the Light Brigade*, although this drama contained some errors of fact.

"Theirs not to make reply"

As stated previously, the initial battle of the Alma saw Nolan as an increasingly enraged observer as he watched the Russians allowed to escape by the 1000 British cavalry ... within 10 minutes gallop of them. "It is too disgraceful, the generals ought to be damned", he raged in fellow Irish man William Howard Russell's tent. Arguments between Nolan and Lord Lucan (disparagingly labelled by him "Lord Look-on" as was Cardigan likewise designated "the Noble Yachtsman") added to the cavalry man's genuine chagrin. The horse soldier would think "Lucan a cautious ass and Cardigan a dangerous ass". Despite Nolan's subsequent impetuous blunder he proved uncannily right about Cardigan and his fellow Celt Lucan.

Such was the army's state of mind when on the 2 x 3 miles Plain of Balaclava, enclosed by mounds and hillocks, bisected by a hog's back ridge ambitiously termed the 'Causeway Heights', the Russians turned to give battle. There were two Valleys, the North and South either side of the 'heights' on which ran the British Army's only road back to its supply base at Balaclava. We need not detain ourselves with the general battle's tactics and strategies. The North Valley would be where the Light Brigade would prove Wellington's maxim (quoted in Lord George Paget's diary) "Next to a battle

lost, there is nothing so dreadful as a battle won".

The thin red line

The main preceding actions to the charge that have gone down in history were two attacks by alternate cavalry units. The first of which was a triumph for the Heavy Brigade. Sir Colin Campbell and his Highlanders stood against an overwhelming body of Russian Cavalry, helped by their bayonets and the then, unknown to the Russians modern Minie rifle accurate at 500 yards and destined to be a prominent contributor to our 1916 Volunteer arsenal.

The Highlanders, amazingly for infantry withstanding cavalry, especially in the open, did not even form into squares. But as William Howard Russell famously depicted it, forced the Russians to "dash towards that thin red streak tipped with steel". His "streak" quickly became the "thin red line" of which we have all heard.

As these 'Muscovites' were repulsed the main 2000 strong body of Russian cavalry descended into the South Valley toward the mere 600 of the Heavy Brigade below them. The battle "virgin" commanding officer of the British incredibly to the on looking Russians, turned his back and that of his officers to his enemy, as he formed his Scots Greys and Enniskillen Dragoons to charge uphill! All the British onlookers saw the Irish and the Scots being swamped: But helped by late arriving reinforcements the Heavy Brigade, destroyed the enemy in a mere 8 minutes! The Light Brigade had once again been onlookers!

"Forward the Light Brigade"

As the British C.O.C., Lord Raglan, military secretary to Wellington at Waterloo forty years before, looked on, he was informed the Russians were removing guns (naval) from the redoubts commanding the Valleys, captured that morning from the Allies.

Captured guns were the proof of victory so Raglan called Richard Airey, Nolan's boss to issue rapid instructions. General Airey scribbled an order in pencil on a piece of paper resting on his sabretache and read it back to Raglan.

This was the infamous "fourth order" issued to Lord Lucan on the day of Balaclava and it still exists. It would be a sentence of death and glory for the 600 for "theirs but to do and die". A Captain Leslie of Glaslough (the castle of Paul McCartney's recent wedding) was the duty aide-de-camp and Leslie had the order in his hand when the Tinryland man

intervened.

He was the superior Nolan asserted. The only road available from the heights to the plain, 600/700 ft. below, was a mere track down a precipice. With his consummate horsemanship, he could maintain the speed which was now so vital. Raglan gave way and Nolan disappeared over the verge at breakneck speed. He slithered, he stumbled, he scrambled as he spurred on, watched breathlessly both above and below.

"So far, the day had been a terrible one for Edward Nolan" (*The Reason Why*, pg 229), believing as he did in the superior efficiency of light over heavy horsemen. He blamed Lucan for this with all the passion of his excitable headstrong Irish-Italian temperament. He now arrived and with his blown horse, he handed the order to his nemesis".

Lucan thought the order obscure, which it was, as he, 600 ft below Raglan could not see the enemy's movements. In any case, Lucan had unaccountably failed to take even a basic reconnaissance! Lucan considered the order absurd i.e. artillery to be attacked by cavalry without infantry support would mean the annihilation of those cavalry.

"Theirs not to reason why"

He queried his fellow Irishman's theory but Nolan in these final moments of his life, cut Lucan short in a tone, unheard of for a mere aide to address a lieutenant-general. He informed Lucan that Raglan wanted "the cavalry to attack immediately". Were the so-called third and fourth orders to be read together? Raglan's subsequent death prevents clarification.

"Attack sir? Attack what? What guns, sir?" roared the Nolan-detested Lucan. As *the Reason Why* described it - "the crucial moment had arrived. Nolan threw back his head (and in total disrespect) flung out his arm, with a furious gesture, pointed not to the Causeway Heights and the redoubts with the captured British guns, but to the end of the North Valley, where the Russian cavalry ... were now established with their guns in front of them. "There, my Lord, is your enemy, there are your guns' ... with those words and that gesture, the doom of the Light Brigade was sealed".

"Forward the Light Brigade/charge for the guns"

Was Nolan's gesture a taunt? Did Lucan misread both the direction and the intention? The argument raged down the years till Cardigan and Lucan both died and it is still debated. But in those few short minutes before his death, Nolan's whole demeanour

seemed to imply he meant the attack to be down the North Valley, where as Cardigan would now "point out ... the Russians have a battery on our front and batteries and riflemen on both sides".

It seems Nolan either misread or misunderstood the order-half-off his head with impatience at previous lost opportunities. Raglan's vagueness and all the generals' dislike of each other and Nolan, helped ensure both absolute obedience and absolute disaster.

Anyhow, Nolan now rode over to his pal Capt. Morris of the 17th Lancers and asked to ride beside Morris in the charge. In these few minutes Nolan also led his friend Morris to believe the charge was to be in the fated North Valley. Morris, though wounded horribly in the Charge, survived and attested to this. So it seems fair to assume the Italo-Carlowman did, in effect, order the Light Brigade to destruction and glory. Was he to be Tennyson's "Someone had blundered"?

Cannons in front/volleyed and thundered

So as Cardigan muttered "Well, here goes the last of the Brudenells", the men put out their pipes and mounted "Into the Valley of Death/Rode the six hundred". They advanced 50 yards, guns crashing out.

Nolan thereupon performed in an inexplicable and extraordinary manner, as from Morris' side he kicked his horse forward and galloped diagonally across the front line. Morris, thinking it was excitement (with 1f mile to go), shouted "that won't do Nolan! We have a long way to go and must go steady". The Irish man ignored it and crossed the Brigade leader Cardigan (unforgivable military etiquette) and as he turned in his saddle, shouted and waved his sword. The guns noise drowned entirely his very brief verbalising. Had he suddenly realised they were going to certain death because of his impetuosity?

It will never be known because a Russian shell fragment tore into Nolan's breast and laid open his heart at that moment. His sword dropped from his hand, his right arm still erect, his body rigid in the saddle.

His horse wheeled and galloped back through the charging brigade. Now a strange and horrific cry, bloodcurdling and unearthly burst from the lifeless speeding corpse. As Nolan's apparition tore through the 4th Light Dragoons he finally fell from the saddle dead in a squadron interval of the 13th Dragoons. The charge now began in earnest, Russian guns making huge gaps in the ranks. Lord Paget with a cheroot clamped between his teeth would be one of a few officers who

CARLOVIANA

truly did his men and himself proud. With horses wounded and riderless, the troopers rode on.

"While all the World wondered"

On the heights, Russell and the other watchers' disbelief turned to admiration at such extraordinary heroism. The 30 Russian guns decimated them but some of them actually reached the batteries and, riding right through, came face-to-face with Russian cavalry. The sight of these madmen startled some of the Cossacks so they fled. The Russians regrouped and surrounded the survivors while the Russian gunners returning to their guns turned these weapons on friend and foe alike. The chances of a safe return Back from the Mouth of Hell for All that was left of them was somehow effected for a handful.

The final myths of Balaclava

The need to find a scapegoat would continue for decades but one of the ironies of the wild Charge they made is the exact "butcher's bill".

632 men charged, 110 were killed in the action (including 7 who died of their wounds), 196 were wounded, 57 taken prisoner, 362 horses died or had to be put down. Then they rode back, but not the six hundred in less than 20 minutes after they had begun!

Astonishingly, 276 men rode back down the valley with hardly a scratch. A "GPO 1916 I-was-there (i.e. the "rubber-walls") began a year later with 500 men claiming to have rid-

den in the charge!

But the truth is that one sixth of those engaged died, one full third were wounded, one twelfth surrendered. Slightly over a half (363 out of 632) became casualties of one sort or another. By the standards of the time, the Charge of the Light Brigade having contributed 10% of all the Crimea's actual battle - fatalities, it was far from unprecedented or a "slaughter". As an officer of the 46th Foot, Colin Frederick Campbell, later commented "The actual loss to the army of the Light Cavalry was not so important as has been imagined, as many of the horses would have died of starvation (in the following winter's siege of Sevastapol), if they had not been killed then. As for the men, we bury 3 times the number every week and think nothing of it".

Nonetheless, within 3 weeks (battle October 25th report November 14th) Russell would tell The Times and the world of a brilliant victory and a military 'blunder'. Alfred Lord Tennyson inspired by Russell's 'valley of death' penned his immortal *The Charge of the Light Brigade* for *The Examiner* in early December. So the myth was born and Nolan and his troopers entered both the mists of history and legend:

When can their glory fade?
... Honour the charge they made!
Honour the Light Brigade
Noble six hundred

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A Nolan Memorabilia on 10 distinguished family members.

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Cont. from p 43

Society was founded in 1807 as a Dining Club, but soon amassed scientific collections and developed into a Learned Society. It received its Royal Charter in 1825 and moved to Burlington Rouse.

Dr. Vigors was author of 40 papers, mostly on ornithological subjects, that appears in various scientific journals between 1825 and 1830, six being in conjunction with others. He contributed to the *Translations of the Linnean Society* and was principal editor of the *Zoological Journal*, Vols. Three and Four between 1827 and 1834.

Described as "one of the most eminent ornithologists of the day" Vigors wrote on the natural affini ties that connect the order and families of birds.'

Dr. Reynolds said the future of zoology appears not as bright as in Nicholas Vigors' day. "Museums in Europe have been shedding staff for several deãadèi and many of their world-famous expert rooms are empty or occupied only by amateurs, often retired though very skilled. Despite political lip-service to the important of biodiversity, politicians appear to be concluding that the future of much non-human life on the globe is disposable, and therefore its study is not of first

importance.

"As human populations continue to increase, currently diverting over half the global production to their own use, a species has to be needed to survive. But cattle and maize, although important, are not what the natural world should be all about.

"In Ireland's universities, many science and technical departments languish half empty The exception is zoology. But despite a strong current interest in zoology, fostered to some extent by brilliant TV programming, each year a lack of resources forces us to turn away many qualified and interested students, which I personally find

very difficult."

Dr Reynolds said he was ending on a downbeat note, commenting: "I am concerned about the future for science, with arbitrary cutbacks and increasing disinterest. It is in this light that we should remember, the achievements of Nicholas Vigors in the 19th. century"

It was particular pleasure, therefore, that he unveiled the plaque to Nicholas Vigors, "remembering his dedication to zoological science and hope we can try to rekindle some of his driving enthusiasm and influence."

COUNTY CARLOW

MISCELLANY

COMPILED BY WILLIAM ELLIS

According to a report in "The Nationalist and Leinster Times", May 16, 1985, the rath pictured right, at Kilcarrig, Bagenalstown, is the only one remaining of an original group of six at this site.

Photograph below is of a Motte-and-bailey site at Castlemore, Tullow. The wooden dwelling would have been on top of the mound, surrounded by a fence, the high ground to right of picture was a site of a D-shaped bailey, it too would have been surrounded by a fence.

A double cross-slab is now on top of the mound (bottom centre). See "Carloviana", No. 30, Page 31.

Photograph bottom right is a ring fort at Kilcruit, Bagenalstown.



CARLEVIANA



BAGENALSTOWN MEN WHO DIED IN THE GREAT WAR

John Kenna

*If I should die, think only this of me,
that in some foreign field there is a place
that is forever "Bagenalstown"*

Adapted from Rupert Brooks.

Overview

In a similar article in the 2001 issue of this Journal "Leighlin Men Who Died in the Great War", I outlined some of the causes for the outbreak of this conflict, what follows is a brief resume of the overview in that article.

1. Before 1914 the previous war on European soil was the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 in which Germany defeated France. As they marched triumphantly through Paris annexing the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, total casualties from this war were 31,000.

2. In 1912 a senior German military strategist, General Freidrich Von Bernhardi, completed a book "Germany and the Next War", in which he stressed the need for Germany to either make war or lose the struggle for world power. The race to catch up with other Imperial Powers was about to begin. Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany hoped to regress the balance of power disrupted by former Russian leaders Peter the Great and Catherine the Great.

Germany had expansion on its mind particularly in the East where it hoped to annex the Polish provinces and Lithuania, taking control to the Baltic coast. In 1882 Germany drew Italy into its orbit and created the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria/Hungary, Italy and in 1898 links were created with the Turkish Ottoman Empire. Although a Grandson of Queen Victoria the Kaiser somewhat envied the apparent ascendancy in the world of her son Edward VII and grandson George V, the King Emperors ruling the Indian subcontinent with its population of 400 million people.

3. The Hapsburg-ruled Austria-Hungarian Empire under Franz Joseph had formal and sentimental links to Germany with a common language and heritage. These allies

known as the Central Powers, had a growing irritant within the Balkans, Serbia, or so it seemed. While the Serbs who are of Russian origin had formed the first modern Slav state and looked to the Romanov Dynasty of Czar Nicholas II in Russia as its ally. A land-locked Serbia was foiled by Austria in 1908 when it tried to get access to the sea, as Austria annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina in breach of the 1878 Treaty of Berlin and used Bosnia as a base to launch attacks on Serbia. The minorities in Austria/Hungary such as Czechs, Slovenes and Croats were hoping for some autonomy even statehood. Even Poland hoped one day to shake off the Kaisers, Czars and Emperors who ruled had it for centuries.

4. Unhappy France was mourning since 1871 and for 40 years the loss of Alsace and Lorraine gnawed its soul. Since 1892 France and Russia had formal links and Britain had agreements with both. In 1904 Britain and France, although not allied by Treaty, had signed an Entente Cordiale and the 3 parties Britain, France and Russia were known as the Triple Entente. In 1907 Britain signed another agreement with Russia over disputes in Persia (Iran) and Afghanistan.

Preparing the people

5. By 1914 most Western European governments had developed some form of democracy, with political parties. In the case of Austria-Hungary all the minorities were represented but the people would have to be conditioned and shown the benefits of Military success. The Kaiser agreed that the newspapers must begin to "enlighten the German people" as to Germany's "great national interests" if war should break out between Austria and Serbia. Instructions from Admiral Muller to Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg proffered the idea that the people "be accustomed to war beforehand", while Count Von Molke Chief of Staff told his Austrian opposite number that a war "necessitates the readiness of the people to make sacrifices, and popular enthusiasm". The coming war was to be a war of Germans against Slavs and Austria began the process by pressurising Turkey to create

WILL YOU ANSWER THE CALL?



Recruiting poster 1914

an independent state of Albania. Greece ruled by a king who was married to the Kaiser's sister, annexed Thrace from Turkey and so Serbia was cut off from both the Adriatic and the Aegean Sea. Nations were feeling unsatisfied, endangered, or confident. Governments beat the drum of racism, patriotism and military prowess and of course the newspapers stimulated it.

6. In 1912 Serbia occupied Albania and at last she had a coast line but not for long. In Oct., 1913 Austria gave a 8 day ultimatum to which Serbia complied. The day after Serbia honoured Austria's ultimatum, the German Acting Foreign Minister, Dr Alfred Zimmermann told the British Ambassador to Berlin that "restraining advice at Vienna on the part of Germany was out of the question". With telegrams of congratulations from the Kaiser it was fairly obvious that instead of restraining Austria, Germany was in fact encouraging Austria. Germany was not going to stop Austria from war instead she would help and of course Serbia had only one ally to turn to, Russia. In the above words lay the seeds of war.

Tactless visit and Assassination

7. The heir to the Austrian throne was tactless in deciding to have a state visit to Sarajevo on the 28th June 1914. This was the most solemn day in Serbia, the anniversary of a humiliating defeat by Turkey at the Battle of Kosovo in 1389, it is the National day of Serbia and on the street that day a Bosnian Serb, Gavrilo Princip, had a pistol and with 6 others longed to see the day when Bosnia could shake off the yoke of Austria and become part of Serbia. That morning one of the accomplices had thrown a bomb at the Archduke's car but it had only bounced off the car injuring two officers. Later that day

Archduke Franz Ferdinand made an unscheduled journey to the Hospital and the car driven by Franz Urban had to slowly reverse down a sidestreet where Gavrilo Princip was standing. Stepping forward, he fired 2 shots which resulted in the death of the Archduke and his wife.

8. Following the assassinations, a lot of anti-Serbian feeling occurred with some rioting in Vienna. A world war did not seem imminent, although the Kaiser in Germany was in bellicose mood stating in a telegram to his Ambassador in Vienna "the Serbs must be disposed of and that right soon". Believing that Russia and France were not ready for war and offering Austria any assistance they needed, he departed for a 3 week holiday. The Austrian view was one of reducing Serbia in size but Count Tisza of Hungary urged caution fearing Russian involvement is Serbia was likely. The German Ambassador Count Tschirschky informed Count Tisza of Austria/Hungary that in Berlin "an action against Serbia is expected anything less would not be understood". The English were trying to keep the Russians calm and Edward Grey the Foreign Secretary warned the German Ambassador to England, Prince Lichnowsky, that if Austria took certain measures against Serbia the Russians would not "remain passive"

9. The Austrian ultimatum to Serbia on the 23rd July 1914 contained 15 demands. "The most formidable document that was ever addressed from one state to another" was Grey's description of it. When Serbia agreed to nearly all the points in it, except the point of Austrian participation in the Serbian judicial process which they asked to be referred to the International Tribunal at the Hague, it appeared that as the Kaiser himself later admitted "a great Moral victory for Vienna, but with it every reason for war is removed". Unfortunately it was only after the war that these comments came to light. By now the German High Command was pressing Austria to take military action against Serbia and at noon on the 28th July 1914 Austria declared war on Serbia.

10. Despite a flurry of diplomatic activity, a Russia call for negotiations with Austria was rejected by the Austrian Government. A British attempt to convene a conference with France, Germany, Austria was rejected as "not practicable" by Germany.

No, No, No.

11. On July 31st Germany asked Russia to "cease every war measure against us and Austria-Hungary within 12 hours" which the Russian's rejected with an emphatic **No** and Germany confident of victory against a clumsy Russian army declared war. France was then approached by Germany to state

categorically that she remain neutral in the event of war between Germany and Russia. France was allied to Russia since 1894 by Treaty, but again the answer was an emphatic **No** and she began to mobilise. Britain asked France and Germany if they would respect Belgian neutrality, guaranteed under the 1839 Treaty of London, this agreed that Belgium would form an Independent and Perpetually neutral state and this Treaty was signed by Britain, Austria, Prussia, France and Russia. However, while France agreed to honour the request Germany made a **No** reply. Ireland was getting closer to involvement. On the 2nd of August 1914 German patrols crossed the French border for the first time since 1871 and at 7am that morning Germany gave Belgium a 12 hour ultimatum allowing German troops free passage through Belgium to which Brussels replied that if it agreed to the German ultimatum "it would be sacrificing the nation's honour and betraying its engagements to Europe."

This small country would pay a terrible price for its refusal to cower, cities obliterated, mass executions, 700,000 men, woman and children deported to work camps and factories in Germany, thousands made homeless and even some refugees ending up in Carlow at the Old Derrig outside Carlow town.

As Germany prepared to invade Belgium, Bethmann-Hollweg told the Reichstag "The wrong - I speak openly- that we are committing we will endeavour to make good as soon as our military goal is reached". The British Government sent a ultimatum to Berlin - there must be no attack on Belgium as Belgium neutrality was guaranteed by Britain under the 1839 Treaty of London. It was to no avail. German troops entered Belgium and at 11 o'clock on the 4th August 1914 Britain declared war on Germany¹

Ireland

In 1914 Ireland was politically part of the United Kingdom and the political leader of the day was John Redmond of the Irish Parliamentary Party. He having had the success of seeing the Home Rule Bill passed in 1912, found it stalled as Ulster Unionist disagreed and began to mobilise 100,000 Volunteers to oppose it. These in turn were faced with about 140,000 Irish Volunteers from the South of Ireland and 40,000 in the North. This knife edge situation was alleviated when in August 1914 German troops invaded Belgium in breach of the 1839 Treaty of London, a treaty which had guaranteed Belgium neutrality. At a meeting in Woodenbridge, Co. Wicklow, Redmond called on the Irish Volunteers and the Irish people to volunteer and help the war effort. Carson was doing the same in Northern Ireland calling on the Ulster Volunteers to do likewise.

With the promise of Home Rule after the War (which would probably be over by Christmas!) the vast majority of the Irish Volunteers about 160,000 enlisted as did the Ulster Volunteers. However a rump (10-15,000) of the Irish Volunteers who were more hardline in their opposition to Britain remained and it was from these that the 1916 leaders arose².

Bagenalstown on the eve of the Great War.

In less than 60 years Bagenalstown grew from being a small hamlet then known as Washington Green, to become the 2nd town of Co. Carlow. The brainchild of Walter Bagenal of Dunleckney Manor who envisaged Bagenalstown as a place of splendour, a New Versailles. It grew and prospered even if it did not come up to French regal standard, its Courthouse standing out as you approach from Carlow. New churches were consecrated, St Andrew's Catholic in 1820, St Mary's Anglican in 1844, as the old medieval parishes of Dunleckney moved location. In 1803 the Methodist circuit first arrived although it was not until 1904 that they had their own building. Replaced after a fire in 1909 it operated until 1963 on the Royal Oak road as a joined place of worship with Presbyterian's on alternative weeks^{3, 4, 5}.

By the 1850s, the growing town had numerous bakeries, a tobacco factory but the vital spark was the arrival of the Railway in 1848 and the Dublin/Waterford line. The trains from Bagenalstown would transport many men in the years 1914-18. Bagenalstown grew while older towns like Leighlinbridge dependent on river transport, went into decline.

On the eve of the Great War the population was 1,873 with employment in bakeries, milling, forges, home industries while in the rural areas most men worked as agricultural labourers. The Military Barracks was on the Station road and the police station was in Kilree Street. The main population areas were Kilcarrig St, Kilree St, Barrett Street, the old Fairgreen, and the people who lived there were the ancestors of those who later lived in St Brigid's Crescent, Fairgreen, Pairc Mhuire, Conway Park. Areas such as Regent Street and Bachelors Walk were also densely inhabited, in the rural areas Fenagh contributed a number of men particularly from the Big Houses.

In terms of recruitment for the Great War all the men were Volunteers. There was no conscription in Ireland. Some were of course long term soldiers who were called up when the war broke out, but most men offered to go when called upon by political and church leaders. Week after week the *Carlow Nationalist* and the *Sentinel* carried advertisements seeking Volunteers. Occasionally

there would be a large recruitment rally such as the one addressed by Michael Molloy, Nationalist MP for Carlow, who called for Volunteers. Almost everyone from the town and surrounding areas was present, people were aware of a letter, read out at masses in every parish, in Bagenalstown by Fr. William Flanagan and Fr Michael Bolger, from the Bishop of Kildare & Leighlin Dr. Patrick Foley. This letter stated "it was the duty of the people as Christians and loyal citizens to come to the aid of the army" As he was born in Old Leighlin his letter was given an added impetus.

The band of the Dublin Fusiliers played music and the air was filled with excitement. Perhaps this was the moment when Elizabeth O'Brien of Barrett Street relented and allowed her Irish speaking son, William to enlist, when Coogan brothers decided to look for adventure, when Michael Joyce decided that enough was enough. It was time to go look for the man "who shot his brother John". Similarly in Eastwood, Brian Stewart Brown was thinking long and hard despite protestation from his parents, Frank and Jane, while William Jones and Paddy Appleby, both bakers in Connolly's may then have decided to "hook it" to England and join the Rifle Brigade. The exploits of James Kirby (Liverpool born, but baptised and living in Bagenalstown) must have electrified the town, how he had won a medal in Turkey, had he been killed he may have been awarded a V.C. Perhaps it was the moment when the remaining Frasers decided to enlist, the Frasers were always "out foreign" India or some other place. Peter was already in Australia but Thomas and Martin were at home and both of them enlisted in the Garrison Artillery. In all five brothers enlisted and two died. Hundreds from the area enlisted - the Cartons, Kinsellas, Clarkes, enough Doyles to form a company (seven killed), Byrnes, Nolan's, three Jimmy Murphys (who died), lock-keepers Nolan and McCormack and sets of brothers Joyce, Coogan, Doyle, Fraser, Hughes, (all died), Lar and Joe Leekes (Joe died) and a number of O' Briens.

There is one lasting legacy in Bagenalstown of the Great War, the Soldiers' houses of which a limited number were built in Kilree Street and are still owned in the main by the relations of some of those men who left almost 90 years ago for the front.

Why did they Join ?

In 1914 the Army was 'just the army', devoid of any political connotations (see Bishop Foley's letter) and there was a history of Irish participation. Many of the full time soldiers in Bagenalstown served in the Boer War 1899-1902 and along the North

West Frontier of India/Pakistan.

Although Bagenalstown was a thriving town, nevertheless a huge number 350-400 enlisted during the Great War. Many gave up jobs in bakeries, malthouses, "big houses", public services. It was the seasonality of some of the jobs and the higher rates of pay in the Army which attracted many men. For agricultural labourers work was seasonal and there was no alternative during idle times and no social welfare, yet still there were large families to feed.

When war broke out and Belgium was invaded there was a huge outcry from Church and political leaders as stories of atrocities against Belgian nuns, clerics and civilians emerged. Finally in the heady days of August, 1914, a new sense of adventure has arisen and with an army wage of 6 shillings a week, way above any other job, and a shilling for signing up, and with the high prices for the sale of beef, lamb and crops pouring into the farmer's pocket and helping to fuel a booming economy surely nothing would go wrong, or could it. ?

The men who died from the Bagenalstown Area

(chronological sequence) (ref. 6 & 7)

Their names liveth for ever more Ecclesiasticus

1914

1 -----

Thomas Doyle: Private No. 10882: Royal Irish Regiment, 2nd Battalion. 31st August, 1914. Kilcarrig Street, Bagenalstown.

Thomas Doyle was the first man from Bagenalstown to die in the Great War and was one of 7 men from Co. Carlow who died within the first week of the war after landing in France. The 2nd Battalions of the Royal Irish Regiment and Dublin Fusiliers were part of the first group of men to land in France, while the 1st Battalions of these Regiments were in India at the outbreak of the war arriving some weeks later at the front. He was born in Kilcarrig Street, the son of Thomas Doyle and his wife Mary Reddy, Myshall. Enlisting in Carlow he went to France with the Royal Irish Regiment as part of the BEF (British Expeditionary Force) and within a week of landing he was wounded. On Monday, 31st August Thomas Doyle died of wounds at Langemark and was buried in Cement House cemetery on a fortified farm on the Langemark-Boesinghe road. His nephew Tom Doyle was a barber in Cleary's hair saloon in Kilree Street for many years.

Commemorative Information:
Cement House Cemetery:

Langemark-Poelkapelle, West Vlaanderen, Belgium.

Grave: 1 A 2

2 -----

Charles George Pack-Beresford: Major: West Kent Regiment, 1st Battalion 10th September, 1914. Age 45 (Memorial Records list this date) Fenagh House, Fenagh

Charles George Pack-Beresford was the son of Denis William Pack-Beresford, Fenagh and his wife, Annette Caroline Browne of Browneshill House Carlow. He entered the army in 1889 and served on the north-west frontier of India where he was present at the action at Landakai, Bajaur and in the Mamund country. He was also in the attack and capture of the Tanga Pass and was awarded a Medal with Clasp. After this Indian campaign he took part in the Boer War in South Africa 1899-1902 in operations at the Orange River Colony and in the Transvaal. Mentioned in despatches he was awarded the Queen's Medal with Clasp. Very much a career soldier, he was appointed Major on the 21st March, 1908 and set out with the West Kent Regiment in August, 1914 as part of the British Expeditionary Force landing in France on the 22nd August. The small initial British force of 35,000 and an overwhelmed French Army who were left with about 100,000 men faced a huge German army of about 1,000,000 men. Every yard of ground became an intense struggle as the Allies 'dug in'. The French were already in retreat but the order came to bed down and hold until new forces arrived and every yard of ground became an intense struggle as the Allies consolidated. At Mons the allies eventually had to retreat. Charles Beresford was reported missing on Monday, 24th August, 1914 and was confirmed as killed in action on Thursday, 10th September, 1914 at the battle of Mons. Memorials to him are in Fenagh and Lorum Church of Ireland churches.

Commemorative Information:
La Ferte-Sous-Jouarre Memorial, Seine-et-Marne, France
Memorial: As above.

3 -----

James Murphy: Private No. 8156: Royal Irish Regiment, 2nd Battalion. 19th October, 1914. Bagenalstown.

James Murphy was born in Bagenalstown and enlisted in Carlow in the Royal Irish Regiment 2nd Battalion and like Thomas



CARLOVIANA

Doyle, was one of the first to arrive in France. He was killed in action on Monday, 19th October, 1914 and has no known grave. He was the first of three men who died with a similar name.

Commemorative Information:

Le Touret Memorial:

Pas de Calais, France

Memorial Panel: 11 and 12.

4 -----

James Murphy: Private No. 6177:

Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, 2nd Battalion.

1st. November, 1914.

Age 42

3, Philip Street, Bagenalstown.

James Murphy was born in 1872, the son of John and Catherine Murphy of Kilree Street. When he married his wife, Mary Rudkins they resided at No. 3, Philip Street. Enlisting in Carlow he served with the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers. James Murphy was killed in action in one of the many smaller battles which preceded the major confrontation at Ypres, on Sunday 1st November, 1914.

Commemorative Information:

Ploegsteert Memorial:

Warneton, Hainaut, Belgium.

Memorial Panel: 5

5 -----

Peter Salter: Private No. 3882:

Irish Guards, 1st Battalion.

1st November, 1914.

Age 23

Kildrenagh, Bagenalstown

Drive back the enemy wherever met

On the 20th October, 1914 the Irish Guards 1st Battalion passed through Ypres. The people of Ypres brought hot coffee to the Battalion and the men amused their hosts by dancing Irish Jigs on the pavements while refugees passed by. The Battalion was warned that the Germans might attack behind a screen of Belgian women and children. The storm clouds were gathering, an order was issued to *drive back the enemy wherever met*. It was the eve of the 1st. Battle of Ypres and the town and the Salient around it would experience death and destruction over the following 3 years on a scale never known before. There would be 3 major battles for Ypres, a town which was the gateway to Calais and the French port and the Allies would suffer horrendous loss of life in preventing the German armies from taking the town. Peter Salter was born in 1891, the son of Thomas Salter and Maria Kinsella of Kildrenagh. Living close to Hughes of Kildrenagh a milking parlour now stands where they use to reside. He enlisted in Dublin in the 1st Battalion of the Irish Guards another Irish Regiment which was

one of the first to arrive in France and as he marched on the Menin Road into the Salient around Ypres he was not to know that his name would be recorded on Page 307 in Rudyard Kipling's masterpiece *The Irish Guards in the Great War the First Battalion*⁸

On Sunday, 1st November, 1914 Peter Salter was killed in action in the 1st battle of Ypres, aged 23.

Commemorative Information:

Ypres (Menin Gate) Memorial:

Ieper, West Vlaanderen, Belgium.

Memorial Panel: 11

1914 ended with people puzzled, Christmas had come and gone and yet the war continued but any doubts about the morality of the war were soon vanquished as news of German atrocities in Belgium and Northern France reached Ireland. From summary execution of civilians, the forcible deportation of Belgium and French civilians (25,000 from Lille alone) to work in camps and factories in Germany, German Military policy dictated that no quarter must be given. Anything was acceptable if it helped achieve the overall objective, the liquidation of entire villages was to be regarded as a Glorious Honour to whatever Regiment was given the task. Similar sentiments would be expressed in WW 2 when the SS operated freely in Russia and shot 2 million civilians.

1915

6 -----

Sydney George Kidd:

Boy 1st Class: No. J/28053:

Royal Navy *HMS Viknor*

13th January, 1915.

Age 17

The Long Range, Bagenalstown.

When thou passeth through the waters I will be with thee. Isaiah 43.2

Sydney George Kidd was the youngest man from Bagenalstown and indeed one the youngest men from Co. Carlow to die in the 1st World War. Born the son of Frederick Kidd, Bagenalstown and his wife, Sarah Ann Tennant, Carribeg, the former a Veterinary Surgeon, they resided at Long Range, Bagenalstown. He joined the Navy at 16 years of age with the rank of Boy 1st Class, serving on board *HMS Viknor* and on Wednesday 13th January, 1915 the ship was sunk. Sydney Kidd was 16 years and 9 months old a plaque commemorates him in Bagenalstown Church of Ireland church.

Commemorative Information:

Portsmouth Naval Memorial:

Hampshire, England.

Memorial Panel: 8

7 -----

James Jacob: Private No. 10394:

Royal Irish Regiment, 1st Battalion.

13th February, 1915.

Age 23

Athlone, and 18, Kilcarrig Street, Bagenalstown.

James Jacob was born in Athlone, Co. Westmeath in 1892, the son of Philip Jacob and his wife Annie Noud. Enlisting in Carlow, as by now the family were resident at 18 Kilcarrig Street, he joined the 1st Battalion of the Royal Irish Regiment and was an early arrival in France. On Saturday the 13th February, 1915 he died from wounds receive in action near Ypres. He is buried in the Old Military cemetery at Neerplaatts Street, in Dickebush village just beyond the village church where a Commonwealth war grave headstone marks where he is laid.

Commemorative Information:

Dickebush Old Military Cemetery:

Ieper, West Vlaanderen, Belgium.

Grave Reference: C 8

8 -----

Michael Davis: Private No. 3350:

Leinster Regiment, 1st Battalion

"A" Coy 14th March, 1915.

Age 29

Leighlinbridge and Ballywilliamroe, Bagenalstown.

Michael Davis was born in 1886, the son of Michael Davis and Mary Watchorn. The family at first resided in Leighlinbridge where Ann Davis was born in 1884. They moved to Ballywilliamroe in Bagenalstown where other members of the family were born. Michael Davis enlisted as a private in Carlow in the 1st Btn. of the Leinster Regiment. Just before the outbreak of the massive confrontation at the 2nd Battle of Ypres (Ieper) which began in April 1915, Michael Davis was killed in action on Sunday 14th March 1915, age 29.

Commemorative Information:

Ypres (Menin Gate) Memorial:

Ieper, West Vlaanderen, Belgium.

Memorial Panel: 44

One of two brothers

9 -----

John Joyce: Private No. 6176:

Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, 2nd Battalion.

2nd April, 1915.

Age 20

Ballymoon, Bagenalstown.

John Joyce was one of two brothers who died in the Great War, his brother Michael died on the Somme in 1916. He was born in Ballymoon, the son of Patrick Joyce and his wife Brigid Murphy. He enlisted in Carlow

in the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers and his Battalion was part of the BEF. On Friday the 2nd April, 1915 John Joyce was killed in action near the village of Le Touret. His nephew Michael Joyce resides in Pairc Mhuire.

Commemorative Information:
Le Touret Memorial:
Pas de Calais, France
Memorial Panel: 16 and 17.

10 -----

Andrew O'Brien: Private:
South African Mounted Rifles,
5th Battalion.
5th April, 1915, Age 31
Paulstown, Leighlinbridge and The Parade,
Bagenalstown.

On the 27th January 1912 a parade passed down Heinrich Goeringstraase and reaching the castle of Klein Windhoek, a statue of the Unknown Soldier was unveiled for the birthday of Kaiser Wilhelm II and dedicated to the German soldiers who fell in battle against the Herero. This event took place, not in Berlin, but in Windhoek, capital city of South West Africa now the independent state of Namibia since 1990. There was not any Herero present as 65,000 of them were massacred under the German Governor, Heinrich Goering who was under orders from Bismarck to exterminate them completely. However, 15,000 of them crossed the Kalahari desert to safety under English protection in Bechuanaland now Botswana.⁹

Andrew O'Brien was born in 1883 the son of Patrick O'Brien and his wife, Mary O'Connor from Paulstown, (her family were tailors for at least 3 generations Ned, John, Frank) and was baptised in Leighlinbridge where her brother John O' Connor resided at Poes Hill. The O'Brien family settled at The Parade in Bagenalstown, where Andrew, joining a sister who was a nun in South Africa, enlisted in the 5th South African Mounted Rifles. Of all the casualties from Bagenalstown he ended up in the most remote area, seeing action in Namibia (formerly South West Africa) where another battle front in the Great War opened up. On Monday 5th April, 1915 Andrew O'Brien was killed in action in Windhoek. His nephew Frank O'Connor from Leighlinbridge worked as a tailor in Quinn's of Bagenalstown for many years.

Commemorative Information:
Windhoek Old Municipal Cemetery
Robert Mugabe Street/Lazarett Street Cross of Sacrifice
Grave Reference: At The Cross of Sacrifice.

Goose Feather Collector.

11 -----

Edward Hughes: Private No. 10287:

Royal Irish Regiment, 1st Battalion.
11th April, 1915. Age 21
School Lane/Chapel Lane, Bagenalstown.

Edward Hughes was born on the 27th July, 1893 the son of James Hughes and his wife Helen/Ellen Hickey at School Lane also known as Chapel Lane. He enlisted in Dublin in the Royal Irish Regiment 1st Battalion as a private and became a Lance Corporal during the war. The family had an unusual occupation, James Hughes was a goose feather collector and went to local farmers for his raw material which was exported to England for use in the shipbuilding industry. On 9th April, 1915 the 2nd Battle of Ypres commenced and went on through May with a huge death toll. Edward Hughes was wounded and brought to Poperinghe Casualty Clearing Station centre. He died of wounds on Sunday 11th April, 1915 and was buried in the town of Poperinghe in the Old Military Cemetery, age 21 years. His brother James was also killed.

Commemorative Information:
Poperinghe Old Military Cemetery:
Poperinghe, West Vlaanderen, Belgium.
Grave Reference: 11 N 45

12 -----

Robert O'Connell: Sergeant No. 9908:
Royal Dublin Fusiliers, 1st Battalion.
25th April, 1915.
Bagenalstown.

Robert O'Connell was born in Bagenalstown, his family were possibly woodturners. He enlisted in Carlow in the 1st Battalion of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers and rising through the ranks became a Sergeant, a full time soldier his Battalion 1st Dublin Fusiliers were in Madras, India and on arrival home were despatched to the Dardanelles where a new front was opening in Gallipoli in Turkey which also involved Australian and New Zealand troops. The main reason for this campaign was to force Turkey out of the war so as help could be given to Russia through the Dardanelles and Black Sea. On Sunday, 25th April, 1915 as the boats containing 3 companies of the 1st Dublin Fusiliers landed at "V Beach" Robert O'Connell was killed in action. He was one 45 men born and living in Ireland who died that day in this area of battle from this one Regiment, meanwhile in Belgium the 2nd Battle of Ypres was reaching a crescendo.

Commemorative Information:
V Beach Cemetery Turkey:
Seddel Bahr Village near Cape Helles,
Gallipoli
Memorial: Special Memorial B 73

13 -----

Christopher Dowling: Private No.

9859 Leinster Regiment, 1st Battalion.
5th May, 1915. Age 24
Bachelors Walk, Bagenalstown and 61,
Francis Street, Dublin.

Christopher Dowling was born on the 2nd December, 1891 in Bachelors Walk, the son of Edward Dowling and his wife, Alicia/Elizabeth Tobin and by the time of his enlistment in Dublin they resided at 61 Francis Street, Dublin. Enlisting in the 1st Battalion of the Leinster Regiment he was killed in action during the 2nd Battle of Ypres on Wednesday 5th May, 1915. He was 24 years old.

Commemorative Information:
Ypres (Menin Gate) Memorial:
Ieper, West Vlaanderen, Belgium.
Memorial Panel : 44

14 -----

Pierce McCormack: Private No. 7533:
Irish Guards, 2nd Battalion.
8th May, 1915.
Age 23
Ballon and 7 High Street, Bagenalstown.

Pierce McCormack was born in Ballon in 1892 into a farming family. His family were also lock-keeper inspectors at Rathellin lock for many years where his brother Edward and his wife Annie resided. His father, John, also resided at 7, High Street. Pierce McCormack enlisted as a private in the 2nd Battalion of the Irish Guards. He died on the 8th May, 1915, age 23 and was buried in Brompton, London. A relative of Pierce McCormack, Terry McCormack now resides in New Zealand.

Commemorative Information:
Brompton Cemetery,
London, England.
Grave Reference: N 173108

15 -----

Joseph Leakes: Private No. 10185:
Royal Irish Regiment, 1st Battalion.
10th May, 1915.
Age 24
Shankill Paulstown, and Kilree Street
Bagenalstown.

Joseph Leakes was born at Shankill, Paulstown or Whitehall as it was then known. He was the son of James and Maria Leakes and the family moved to Kilree Street. He enlisted in Kilkenny as a private in the 1st Battalion of the Royal Irish Regiment. On Monday the 10th May, 1915 James Leakes was killed in action during the 2nd battle of Ypres. His brother Lar survived the war, the family name of Leakes is also spelled Leekes/Lakes

Commemorative Information:
Ypres (Menin Gates) Memorial:
Ieper, West Vlaanderen, Belgium.

Memorial Panel: 33

16 -----

Arratoon William David Gausen:
Captain: Highland Light Infantry,
2nd Battalion.
17th May, 1915.
Age 39.
Upton, Fenagh



Arratoon William David Gausen was born on 24th July, 1875 and for many years was attached to Headquarters Staff in Dublin. Married to Margurite Kelly daughter of Judge Kelly, he saw much action on the North West Frontier of India, including the attack and capture of the Tanga Pass receiving the Medal with clasps. Later he was in the South African War (Boer War) receiving further honours and was appointed Captain on the 30th October 1901. The son of David Gausen at the time of his death his mother still lived at Upton House, Fenagh. Serving as a Captain in the Highland Light Infantry, he was killed in action near Richebourg L'Avoule, Belgium on Monday the 17th May, 1915 age almost 40. A Memorial to him is in Fenagh Church of Ireland church.

Commemorative Information:
Le Touret Memorial:
Pas de Calais, France
Memorial Panel: 37 to 39.

Black Monday for County Carlow.

The 24th May, 1915 was one of the most harrowing days during the Great War for County Carlow as ten men were killed in action. On that day Patrick Bolger, Borris age 22, Thomas Dermody age 21, and John Smullen, age 17 both from Leighlinbridge, Robert Kempston, Clonegal, Joseph Breen age 19, and Joseph Sallinger age 35, both from Tullow, Michael Kiernan Carlow, and the following three men from Bagenalstown were all killed in action. In all thirty six men from County Carlow were killed in May 1915, mainly at Ypres.

*What are you guarding Man-At-Arms ?
why do you watch and wait ?
"I guard the graves" said the Man-At-Arms,
"I guard the graves by Flanders Farms,
Where the dead will rise at my call to arms
And March to the Menin Gate".*
(Anon)

17 -----

Matthew Doyle: Private No. 5308:
Royal Dublin Fusiliers, 2nd Battalion. 24th
May, 1915. Age 21.
Kilcarrig Street and Fairgreen Bagenals-
town, Matthew Doyle was born on the 8th

April, 1894 and was the son of Matthew Doyle and his wife Anne Kane. Enlisting in Carlow, he joined the 2nd Battalion of the Dublin Fusiliers. On Monday the 24th May, 1915 Matthew Doyle was killed in action at Ypres. He was 21 years old and was one of three Bagenalstown men who died that day. For many years members of this family resided at the Fairgreen in Bagenalstown, (Christy, Ernie, Jim).

Commemorative Information:
Ypres (Menin Gate) Memorial:
Ieper, West Vlaanderen, Belgium.
Memorial Panel: 44 & 46

18 -----

James Murphy: Private No. 6699:
Royal Irish Regiment, 2nd Battalion.
24th May, 1915. Age 50.
5, Hotel Street, Bagenalstown,

James Murphy was the oldest man to die as he born in 1865, the son of Thomas Murphy and his wife, Margaret Morrissey. He resided with his wife, Mary Anne Brien at 5, Hotel Street where he worked as a jarvey in Ward's Hotel and on enlisting in Clonmel joined the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Irish Regiment as a private. On Monday, the 24th May, 1915 James Murphy was killed in action at Ypres age 50 years. Six children survived him.

Commemorative Information:
Ypres (Menin Gate) Memorial:
Ieper, West Vlaanderen, Belgium.
Memorial Panel: 33

19 -----

William Walsh: Private No. 6487:
Royal Irish Regiment, 2nd Battalion.
24th May, 1915. Age 20
Ballycormack, Bagenalstown.

William Walsh was the son of John and Margaret Walsh. Residing at Ballycormack he had a number of brothers and sisters one of whom, John Walsh, married Mary Carton. On Monday the 24th May, 1915, William Walsh was killed in action at Ypres, age 20 years. His nephew Bernard Walsh lives in St Brigid's Crescent.

Commemorative Information:
Ypres (Menin Gate) Memorial:
Ieper, West Vlaanderen, Belgium.

20 -----

Francis Mangan: Sapper No. 22503:
56th Field Coy, Royal Engineers.
16th June, 1915.
Age 20.
Arklow and Kilree Street Bagenalstown.

Francis Mangan was born in Arklow in 1895 and was the son of Michael and Mary Mangan. He had a sister Genevieve (married Nolan) and the family resided in Kilree Street and were bakers in a Bakery close to

where Lawler's Pub now stands. His mother died when he was 12 and by the time of the Great War he was in Manchester where he enlisted in the Royal Engineers 56th Company as a Sapper. On Wednesday 16th June, 1915 Francis Mangan was killed in action near Zillebeke village close to the town of Ypres. He was 20 years old and was buried in Bedford House Cemetery or Chateau Rosendal a little over a mile from Ypres.

Commemorative Information:
Bedford House Cemetery,
Ieper, West Vlaanderen, Belgium.
Grave Reference: Enclosure No. 2 IV B 4

1915 ended in disillusionment, too many men had died and progress was very slow. The Gallipoli Campaign had proved to be a disaster. The Ottoman Empire an ally of Germany and Austria /Hungary spent most of the year liquidating the Armenians who lived in Turkey killing 600,000 and causing the death of another 400,000 from disease and starvation on enforced deportation-marches to Syria and Iraq. Another 200,000 were forced to convert to the Islamic Faith.

1916

21 -----

Thomas Kennedy: Private No. 19914:
Royal Dublin Fusiliers, 1st Battalion.
4th January, 1916.
Age 22
Kilree Street, Bagenalstown

Thomas Kennedy was born in Bagenalstown on the 12th August, 1894 the son of Michael Kennedy and his wife Mary Murphy at New Street, Bagenalstown (formerly Keenan's offices). Michael Kennedy worked in the Malthouse on the Leighlinbridge road. Thomas enlisted in Carlow in the 1st Battalion of the Dublin Fusiliers and was sent to Gallipoli. On Tuesday, 4th January, 1916 he died at sea. He was 22 years old. A relative Mrs. Geoghegan resides in Paic Mhuire.

Commemorative Information:
Helles Memorial Turkey.
Gallipoli Peninsula.
Memorial Panel: 190 to 196

22 -----

Thomas Byrne: Private No. 23174:
Royal Dublin Fusiliers, 9th Battalion.
13th March 1916.
Bagenalstown

Thomas Byrne enlisted in Boolyvonane in the Bilbo area joining the 9th Battalion of the Dublin Fusiliers and was sent to France. Suffering from wounds he was moved to 33rd Casualty Clearing Station in Bethune a town in Northern France where on Monday, 13th March, 1916 he died and was buried in the town of Bethune. His enlistment details

do not state place of birth but states Bagenalstown as his residence.

Commemorative Information:

Bethune Town Cemetery:

Pas de Calais, France.

Grave Reference: V B 15

23 -----

Joseph Power: Rifleman No. 3928:

8th Company, London Post Office Rifles

21st May, 1916.

Bagenalstown.

Joseph Power does not state where he was born on his enlistment record. He enlisted in the London Regiment 8th Company, Post Office Rifles as a Rifleman and was sent to the Western Front. He was killed in action on Sunday 21st May, 1916 in Arras. His enlistment record states Bagenalstown as his place of residence.

Commemorative Information:

Arras Memorial:

Faubourg-d'Amiens Cemetery, Arras, Pas de Calais, France.

Memorial Reference: Bay 10

24 -----

Murlagh Francis Hennessy:

Gunner No. 12255:

HMS Lion: Royal Navy

Royal Marine Artillery.

31st May, 1916. Age 27

Augha Newtown, Bagenalstown, and Turbotstown, Coole, Co Westmeath.

Murlagh Francis Hennessy was the son of Arthur Hennessy and his wife Margeret Connors. He was born in Augha, Newtown in 1889 and enlisting in the Royal Navy as a Gunner in the Marine Artillery serving on board the ship H.M.S. "LION". On Wednesday 31st May, 1916, he was killed in action at sea. He was 27 years old. The Hennessy family moved away from Augha to Turbotstown Coole, Co Westmeath.

Commemorative Information:

Portsmouth Naval Memorial:

Hampshire, England.

Memorial Panel: 21

25 -----

Michael Reilly: Shoeing Smith No. 1849:

South Irish Horse: Household Cavalry

Cavalry of the Line.

29th June, 1916.

Age 34

32, Regent Street, Bagenalstown.

Michael Reilly was born in Bagenalstown in 1882 and most likely worked in a forge of which there a number in Bagenalstown. One of which was Kelly's in Kilcarrig Street. He enlisted in Carlow in the South Irish Horse as a Shoeing Smith. The South Irish Horse was part of the Household Cavalry/Cavalry

of the Line. The Cavalry units more or less became obsolete with the advancement of big gun and tank warfare, although, as the battlefields and roads became quagmires, only horses could move equipment from location to location. Michael O'Reilly died at Cahir from sickness on Thursday 29th June 1916, survived by his wife Agnes. He was buried in the Abbey Cemetery in Tullow.

Commemorative Information:

Tullow (The Abbey) Cemetery

Tullow, Co. Carlow.

Grave Reference: Close to the East Wall.

In Flanders field where the poppies grow

I spy the crosses row by row.

John McCrae Canadian Infantry

On the 1st July, 1916, supported by a French attack to the south, thirteen divisions of Commonwealth forces launched an offensive on a line from north of Gommecourt to Maricourt. Despite 7 days of prior bombardment - German defences were barely touched, the attack across the Somme met fierce resistance with huge losses. The only success that day was a breach by the Irish Division in the German Lines. The battle of the Somme continued until the 18th November, 1916 with the onset of winter. During that period 40 men from Co Carlow were killed, and 4 men from Bagenalstown died on the first day of this battle. There are 72,000 names on the Thiepval Memorial a Anglo-French Memorial, the following men from Bagenalstown are included.

26 -----

Edward Byrne: Private No. 8364:

East Lancashire Regiment, 1st Battalion

1st July, 1916

Bagenalstown and London

Edward Byrne was one of four men from Bagenalstown who died on the 1st July, 1916, the first day of the battle of the Somme. He enlisted in Portadown, Co. Armagh in the East Lancashire Regiment. By that stage he was living in London, Middlesex. On Saturday, 1st July, 1916 Edward Byrne was killed in action in the Battle of the Somme.

Commemorative Information:

Thiepval Memorial:

Somme, France (off the main Bapaume to Albert road on the D 73)

Memorial Reference: Pier and Face 6 C

27 -----

Michael Gill: Private No. 27/953

Northumberland Fusiliers:

27th Bn. Tyneside Irish

1st July, 1916. Age 36

Fenagh

Michael Gill was born in 1880 the son of William and Elizabeth Gill of Fenagh.

Enlisting as a private in the Northumberland Fusiliers, 27th Battalion (Tyneside Irish) in Sunderland, he was killed in action along with three other men from Bagenalstown on the 1st day of the battle of the Somme on Saturday, 1st July, 1916, age 36.

Commemorative Information:

Thiepval Memorial: Somme, France (off the main Bapaume to Albert road on the D 73)

Memorial Reference: Pier and Face 10 B 11 B & 12 B

28 -----

Michael McCormack: Private No. 17002:

Royal Dublin Fusiliers, 2nd Battalion.

1st July, 1916

Rathdrum and Phillip Street, Bagenalstown.

Michael McCormack was born in Rathdrum Co. Wicklow and enlisted as a private in Cork in the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers. His enlistment record states Bagenalstown as his residence and it is possible he resided in Philip St. On Wednesday 5th July, 1916 Michael McCormack was killed in action on the Somme.

Commemorative Information:

Thiepval Memorial: Somme, France (off the main Bapaume to Albert road on the D 73)

Memorial Reference: Pier and Face 16 C

29 -----

James Stapleton: Private No. 8921 :

Royal Irish Fusiliers, 1st Battalion.

1st July, 1916

Age 29

Long Range, Bagenalstown

James Stapleton was born on the 3rd of May, 1887 at the Long Range, Bagenalstown and was the son of Edward Stapleton and his wife Mary Ann Ward. He enlisted in Carlow in the 1st Battalion, Royal Irish Regiment and as part of the Irish Division he ended up on the Somme on Saturday, 1st July, 1916 where he was killed in action near the village of Colincamps and was buried in the Military Cemetery at Sucrerie near Colincamps. A resident of Bagenalstown he was 29 years old, some of this family emigrated to USA. although other relatives still reside in Garryhill.

Commemorative Information:

Sucrerie Military Cemetery:

Colincamps, Somme, France.

Grave Reference: 1. 1.77

30 -----

Patrick Nolan: Private No. 8541:

Irish Guards, 2nd Battalion.

2nd July, 1916 Age 20

Slyguff, Bagenalstown.

Patrick Nolan was the son of Thomas Nolan and his wife, Mary Maher of Slyguff and was born on the 26th November 1896. The family were lock-keepers and resided at

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Slyguff lock. He enlisted in Dublin in the 2nd Battalion of the Irish Guards and on Sunday 2nd July he was killed in action on the Somme. He was 20 years old. His name is on page 210 of Rudyard Kipling's book *The Irish Guards in the Great War, The Second Battalion*. His grandnephew Jim and grandniece reside in Slyguff.

Commemorative Information:
Poelcapelle British Cemetery
Langemark-Poelkapelle, West Vlaanderen, Belgium.
Grave Reference: V. A. 28

Two Brothers who died

31 -----

Hugh Coogan: Private No. 20073:
Royal Dublin Fusiliers, 8th Battalion.
6th July, 1916. Age 18
Kilcarrig, Bagenalstown.

Hugh Coogan was the first of two sons of Thomas Coogan and his wife, Kate Maye of Kilcarrig to lose their lives in the Great War, his brother Thomas dying in 1917. He was born on the 27th February 1898 and enlisted in Carlow in the 8th Battalion Dublin Fusiliers. On Thursday 6th July Hugh Coogan was killed in action on the Somme. He was 18 years old.



Hugh Coogan is still survived by his sister Kitty who is now in her 97th Year. She is one of only three people still living in Co. Carlow who had a brother who died in the Great War and her photo and that of Desmond Foley of Old Leighlin adorned the cover of the 2002 edition of *Carloviana*. It was taken when the Co Carlow Great War Memorial was unveiled in Leighlinbridge.

The 3rd surviving relative of a Great War casualty is William Burgess of Tobinstown Rathvilly, now 101 years old and whose brother Rupert Burgess a Private with the Australian Infantry Force, died 86 years ago in 1917. As I prepare this article all three of them are in excellent health. I am at the moment not aware of any other surviving relatives.

Hugh Coogan is buried in the Philosophe Cemetery between Bethune and Lens. Thomas Coogan is dealt with further on in this article.

Commemorative Information:
Philosophe British Cemetery:
Mazingarbe, Pas de Calais, France.
Grave Reference: 1 C 3

32 -----

Patrick Joseph Wilson: Private No. 28875:
Manchester Regiment, 17th Battalion.
30th July, 1916. Age 18
Barrett Street, Bagenalstown and Collyhurst Manchester.

Patrick Joseph Wilson was born in Barrett Street, Bagenalstown on the 14th March 1898, the son of Joseph Wilson and his wife Mary Ann Collins. The family emigrated and, settling in Manchester, resided at 46 Clare Street, Chorlton-on-Medlock, Collyhurst, Manchester. Enlisting in Manchester in "D" Coy, 17th Battalion, Manchester Regiment he ended up on the Somme where he was killed in action on Sunday, 30th July, 1916. He was 18 years old.

Commemorative Information:
Thiepval Memorial:
Somme, France (off the main Bapaume to Albert road on the D 73)
Memorial Reference: Pier and Face 13 A and 14 C.

33 -----

Charles McLoughlin: Rifleman No. R/10459
Kings Royal Rifle Corp: 2nd Battalion.
10th August, 1916.
Age 32
Nurney and Kilree Street, Bagenalstown

Charles McLoughlin was born in Nurney on the 6th June, 1884 the son of Charles McLoughlin from Co. Leitrim and his wife Catherine Power from Kilkenny. The family were an RIC (police) family although they also had a shop in Kilree Street, and another son Patrick later had a Turf Accountants office in Bagenalstown. Charles enlisted in London as a Rifleman in the King's Royal Rifle Corp, 2nd Battalion. The battles across the Somme continued until November, 1916, on Sunday, 10th August, 1916, Charles McLoughlin was killed in action, age 32.

Commemorative Information:
Thiepval Memorial:
Somme, France (off the main Bapaume to Albert road on the D 73)
Memorial Reference: Pier and Face 13 A and 13 B.

34 -----

James Hughes: Lance Corporal No. 9453:
Royal Irish Regiment, 2nd Battalion.
10th August, 1916.
Age 26.
School Lane/Chapel Lane, Bagenalstown.

James Hughes was born on the 10th July 1890 the son of James Hughes and his wife Helen/Ellen Hickey at School Lane also known as Chapel Lane and was a brother of Edward Hughes who died in 1915. He enlisted in Kilkenny in the Royal Irish Regiment 2nd Battalion and became a Sergeant. On Tuesday, 29th August, 1916

James Hughes was killed in action on the Somme. The remaining members of this family later moved to America.

Commemorative Information:
Thiepval Memorial: Somme, France (off the main Bapaume to Albert road on the D 73)
Memorial Reference: Pier and Face 3 A

35 -----

Joseph Doyle: Private No. 11846:
Royal Dublin Fusiliers, 8th Battalion.
9th September, 1916.
Bagenalstown

*Know that we fools, now with the foolish dead,
Died not for flag, nor King, nor Emperor,
But for a dream, born in a herdsman's shed,
And the secret Scripture of the poor.*

To my daughter, Betty, the gift of God
(poem to Elizabeth Kettle 1913-1997)

*Thomas Michael Kettle (1880-1916)
Professor of Economics UCD Irish
Nationalist, Barrister, Poet, Nationalist
MP for East Tyrone 1906-1916. Died on the
Somme 9th September, 1916.*

Because of the large number of Doyle families in Bagenalstown and the surrounding parish researching this name can be a haphazard venture. Of seven Doyles who died five were sourced back through the families, church records and clearly identified. Joseph Doyle is possibly from a Ballymoon family and if so was born on 23rd January, 1874 the son of Joseph Doyle and his wife, Bridget Lelis/Lillis. He enlisted in Carlow in the Dublin Fusiliers 8th Battalion and was killed in action at Guilmont. On the same day Tom Kettle was killed in action at Guilmont and is largely forgotten in Ireland.

Commemorative Information:
Serre Road Cemetery No. 2
Serre Village, Somme.
Grave Reference: X X V K 16

Get the man who shot John

36 -----

Michael Joyce: Private No. 9296:
Irish Guards, 2nd Battalion.
13th September, 1916.
Age 23
Ballymoon, Bagenalstown

Michael Joyce was born at Ballymoon on the 3rd December, 1893 the son of Patrick Joyce and his wife, Brigid Murphy. Hearing the news of the death of his brother, John Joyce, in 1915, he enlisted in Carlow in the 2nd Battalion of the Irish Guards and resolved to *get the man who shot John*. In his letters



home he speaks about leaving Catherham for the front, tells of a P Doyle from Bagenalstown, asks if the Barrys (of the Rock) or Coogans have left yet. Written almost 90 years ago. They are a poignant reminder of these young men who gave their lives and who were not interested in Empires or great statesmen, but rather looked for adventure and wondered about everyday things, getting boots mended, potatoes sowed, corn cut. On Wednesday 13th September, 1916 Michael Joyce was united with John Joyce when he was killed in action on the Somme. He was 23 years old. The man who shot his brother in 1915 probably did not survive for another 3 years.

Commemorative Information:

Thiepval Memorial :
Somme, France (off the main Bapaume to Albert road on the D 73)

Memorial Reference: Pier and Face 7 D

37 -----

Michael Brophy: Gunner No. 46212:
Horse Artillery: Royal Field Artillery
27th September, 1916
Age 35
Bagenalstown.

Michael Brophy was born 22nd May, 1881 the son of Michael Brophy and his wife Anne Lennan. He enlisted in Milston in the Royal Field Artillery, 12th Mortar Battery and had the rank of Gunner, at times a hazardous occupation. A mortar could often blow up in the breach. On Wednesday, 27th September, 1916 Michael Brophy died from wounds in the village of Gezaincourt, Somme, he was 35 years old and was buried in the village. He is also the only man who enlisted in Milston to die in the Great War.

Commemorative Information:

Gezaincourt Communal Cemetery Extension
Gezaincourt, Somme, France.
Grave Reference: 11 C 13

38 -----

Edward Murphy: Private No. 32589:
Cheshire Regiment: 13th Battalion.
Formally Private No. 8902 Irish Guards
26th October, 1916.
Bagenalstown

Edward Murphy was born in Bagenalstown and enlisted in the Irish Guards. He later re-enlisted in Stockport as a private in the 10th Battalion of the Cheshire Regiment. Wounded in action he was sent to Puchevilliers Casualty Clearing Stations where on Thursday, 26th October, 1916 he died and was buried in the same village.

Commemorative Information:

Puchevilliers British Cemetery:
Puchevilliers Village, Somme, France
Grave Reference: V. E. 14

39 -----

John Hughes: Private No. 16239:
Royal Dublin Fusiliers, 8th Battalion.
28th October, 1916.
Age 35
Bagenalstown and Goresbridge

John Hughes was born in Bagenalstown on the 12th September, 1881 the son of Eugene Hughes and his wife Elizabeth Knowles. Enlisting in Kilkenny as a private in the 8th Battalion of the Royal Irish Regiment, he subsequently moved to live in Goresbridge. In 1916, he was based in the town of Bailleul where he died on Saturday 28th October, 1916 and was buried in Bailleul Cemetery.

Commemorative Information: Bailleul
Communal Cemetery Extension (Nord)
Nord, France. (Near the Belgian Border)
Grave Reference: 111. A. 244

40 -----

William Moore: Private No. 10534:
Royal Irish Regiment, 1st Battalion.
21st November, 1916.
Age 23
Bride Street, Wexford and Bagenalstown.

William Moore was born in Bride Street, Wexford in 1893 the son of Laurence and Anastasia Moore. Enlisting in Wexford in the Royal Irish Regiment 1st Battalion he was part of the Salonika Force in Macedonia where on Tuesday 21st Nov., 1916 he was killed in action.

Commemorative Information:

Doiran Memorial Greece:
Doiran Village, Lake Doiran, Northern Greece.

Memorial Ref: Name on the Memorial.

All is changed, changed utterly, a terrible beauty is born.

William Butler Yeats

1916 ended with a huge loss of life, particularly, the Battle of the Somme, but the year 1916 was also the year of the Easter rising or the Sinn Fein rebellion as it was called and this event would contribute to a different perspective towards Irish men when they returned three years later from the Great War. The bands and cheering crowds that attended them when they left in 1914/5 were silent when they returned home in 1918/9. Initially the rising was poorly supported with only a couple of hundred participating, and indeed was very much criticised. Meanwhile about 160,000 men from Ireland were serving in the Great War.

The execution of the 1916 leaders and the subsequent rise of Sinn Fein marked a change in attitude.

1917

41 -----

Thomas Coogan: Private No. 16971:

Royal Inniskillings Fusiliers, 1st Battalion.
23rd April, 1917.
Age 21
Kilcarrig, Bagenalstown

Thomas Coogan was the second member of his family to be killed in action his brother Hugh having died on the 6th July, 1916 during the first week of the battle of the Somme. Thomas was born on the 14th August, 1895 the son of Thomas Coogan and his wife Kate Maye. He enlisted in Carlow in the 1st Battalion of the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers. He was killed in action during the Arras Offensive on Monday 23rd April, 1917 age 21. His sister, Kitty at 97 is the last living direct relative (sister or brother) of a great war casualty in the Bagenalstown area.



Commemorative Information:

Arras Memorial:
Faubourg-d'Amiens Cemetery, Arras, Pas de Calais, France.
Memorial Reference: Bay 6

42 -----

Charles George Fryer: Private No. 5086:
Australian Infantry Force, 49th Battalion.
4th May, 1917.
Age 27.
Fenagh and Springsure, Queensland Australia.

Charles George Fryer was born in Rockampton in 1889, the son of Charles and Rosina Fryer. He was educated at Springsure State School in Queensland, Australia. Although not born in Ireland his family had strong Fenagh links where W. F. Fryer was a medical doctor who resided at Clonburrin, Fenagh. He enlisted as a Private in the 49th Battalion, Australian Infantry Force. Arriving in Europe he was killed in action on Thursday 5th April, 1917 at Bretonneux, France. He is commemorated on the Australian National Memorial in France, and also in Fenagh Church of Ireland church.

Commemorative Information:

Villers-Bretonneux Memorial,
Villers-Bretonneux, Somme, France,
Memorial: As Above

43 -----

Patrick Tuite: Private No. 19747:
Royal Dublin Fusiliers, 1st Battalion.
15th July, 1917.
Age 36.
Rathellan and Kilcarrig Street, Bagenalstown

Patrick Tuite was born at Rathellan on the 31st January 1881, the son of John Tuite and his wife Bridgid Bryan. Enlisting in Carlow

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he joined the Dublin Fusiliers 1st Battalion. Married to Margaret Mangan they lived in Kilcarrig Street. In 1917 he found himself in Northern Ypres facing the German line across the Yser canal near the village of Boesinghe/Boezinghe. Close by was a bridge called Bard's Causeway and near here stood a house called Bard Cottage. Patrick Tuite was wounded in action and on Sunday 15th July, 1917 died from his wounds, age 36. He was buried in the cemetery close to Bard Cottage. The family reside to this day in Bagenalstown.

Commemorative Information:
Bard Cottage Cemetery: Ieper, West-Vlaanderen, Belgium.
Grave Reference: 111 B 24

44 -----

Patrick Doyle: Private No. 6959 :
Royal Irish Regiment, 2nd Battalion.
12th August, 1917.
Bagenalstown.

Patrick Doyle was born in Bagenalstown and he enlisted in Dublin in the Royal Irish Regiment 2nd Battalion. A probable long term soldier he was killed in action near Ypres on Sunday 12th August, 1917 and was buried in Aeroplane Cemetery so called because it was the site of a wrecked Aeroplane.

Commemorative Information:
Aeroplane Cemetery:
Ieper, West Vlaanderen, Belgium.
Grave Reference: 1A 6

45 -----

Edward Kearney: Private No. 6790:
Royal Irish Regiment, 2nd Battalion.
10th September, 1917.
Age 49.
Kilcarrig Street, Bagenalstown.

Edward Kearney was born on the 23rd August 1868 and was the son of Jacob/James Kearney and his wife Honor (Hanna) Kennedy of Kilcarrig Street close to where Barron's Garage stood. There were at least three other members of the family, his brothers Christy, Jim and a sister Christina. A probable long term soldier who was called up he enlisted in Dublin in the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Irish Regiment. On Monday 10th September, 1917 he was killed in action near Croiselles Village, one of the oldest men from the area to die, he was buried in the same village.

Commemorative Information:
Croisilles British Cemetery:
Croisilles Village, Pas De Calais, France.
Grave Reference: 1 E 30

46 -----

Alastair Duncan Stewart: Private No. 29762:
Royal Dublin Fusiliers, 1st Battalion.

4th October, 1917.
Age 38.
Middelsex and Kilgarron, Fenagh

Alastair Duncan Stewart was born in 1879 in Marylebone, Middelsex. His parents originated from Blair-Atholl in Perthshire. On his arrival in Ireland he settled at Kilgarron, Fenagh, where Bradley's now farm. By March, 1917 he was married and entered the Officer Training School at Trinity College. He does not appear to have completed this training course as he enlisted in Dublin as a Private in the 1st Battalion of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers. On Thursday, 4th October, 1917 he was killed in action at the Battle of Poelcappelle in Belgium. Age 38, he was survived by his wife and his mother, Lilly and is commemorated in Fenagh Church of Ireland church.

Commemorative Information:
Tyne Cot Memorial:
Zonnebeke, West Vlaanderen, Belgium.
Memorial Panel: 144 to 145.
Irish Speaker and member of the Gaelic League

47 -----

William O'Brien: Rifleman No. 371350:
8th Company London Post Office Rifles.
30th October, 1917. Age 19.
Fenagh, and Barrett Street,
Bagenalstown.

William O'Brien was another very young man who died in the Great War. Born in Fenagh, in 1898, the son of Thomas O'Brien and his wife, Elizabeth Kavanagh he resided in Barrett Street where his father worked as a postman and William worked in Telegraph Dept. of the Post Office in Bagenalstown. Enlisting in Bagenalstown in 1915 at age 17, he went to England to join the 8th Company Post Office Rifles, part of the London Regiment, a Pals Battalion (men of similar occupation enlisted in mass, Postmen, Lawyers/Barristers, Hearts Football Club in Scotland where every player enlisted the same day). A member of the Gaelic League and Conradh Na Gaelighe his letters and mementos to his mother display a love of Irish. A card memento woven by him with Gaelic Designs and addressed "To my dear mother" and also a postcard written from somewhere in France (specific place could not be stated). In a letter, written 10 miles from Calais, he mentions Mick Carton, he hopes his father is keeping well and anticipates leave in about 3 weeks as he is 6th in line. On Tuesday 30th October, 1917 William O'Brien was 20 miles from Calais when he was killed in action at Ypres age 19. He never did get home, his best friend Patrick Phelan was also killed. His brother Tom O'Brien worked for almost 40 years as



a Gardener in Beechers, Bagenalstown. House, and his niece Mrs. Betty Finnerty lives in Kilcarrig Street.

Commemorative Information:
Tyne Cot Memorial:
Zonnebeke, West Vlaanderen, Belgium.
Memorial Panel: 150 to 151

48 -----

Frederick Scanlon: Lance Corporal No. 41482: Royal Irish Fusiliers 9th Battalion. Formerly 1460 North Irish Horse. 23rd November, 1917.
Age 28.

Bohermore, Bagenalstown.



Frederick Scanlon was the son of James Scanlon of Bohermore and his wife, Sophia Collier of Killabban, Ballickmoyler. Born in 1889 he enlisted in the North Irish Horse in 1915 in Antrim and was attached to the 9th Battalion of the Royal Irish Fusiliers. Home on leave in early November, 1917, Fred Scanlon could not go by road from Bohermore to Bagenalstown to catch the train to begin his journey back to the front. The early winter of 1917 was so severe with snow that the roads were closed. Instead choosing to cross the fields, he managed to catch that train for the final time. Who would do it today? On Friday, November 23rd., 1917, Frederick Scanlon was killed in action at the battle of Cambrai near the small village of Louveral in Northern France. He is commemorated in Carlow Parish Church of Ireland, Haymarket, Carlow. His nephew, Fred Scanlon and family still reside at Bohermore.

Commemorative Information:
Cambrai Memorial :
Louveral Military Cemetery, South of Louveral village, Nord, France.
Memorial Panel: 10 (on Semi-circular wall within the Cemetery)

49 -----

James Doyle: Private No. 4891
Royal Dublin Fusiliers, 2nd Battalion.
30th November, 1917. Age 40
Bagenalstown and Bridewell Lane, Carlow.

James Doyle was one of two brothers who died in the Great War, his brother Patrick died in 1919 from wounds and illness. He enlisted in Naas as a private in the Dublin Fusiliers 2nd Battalion and moved to live in Bridewell Lane Carlow with his wife, Kate and children James, John, Dorah. On Friday 30th November 1917 James Doyle was killed in action in the Arras sector.

Commemorative Information:

Arras Memorial: Faubourg-d'Amiens Cemetery, Arras, Pas de Calais, France.
Memorial Reference: Bay 9

50 -----

William Edward Wilson: Private No. 25894: Royal Irish Regiment: 7th Battalion. Formerly No. 1968 South Irish Horse. 30th November, 1917. Age 19. Carlow and Fenagh, Bagenalstown.

William Edward Wilson was born in Carlow and enlisted in Carlow in the South Irish Horse before becoming attached to the Royal Irish Regiment. 7th Battalion. He was the son of William and Marion Wilson and had a sister Evelyn. The family moved to Fenagh where his father, William was appointed RIC Sergeant of Fenagh. On Friday 30th November, 1917 William Edward Wilson was killed in action at Croiselles, South East of Arras in France. He is buried in Croiselles Village. Memorial plaques in All Saints Church of Ireland Fenagh and Carlow Parish Church of Ireland, Haymarket, commemorate him.

Commemorative Information:

Croisilles British Cemetery:
Croiselles Village, Pas De Calais, France.
Grave Reference: 11. B 14

51 -----

Patrick Morgan: Private No. 1775: Royal Irish Regiment, 1st Battalion. 30th December, 1917. Kilcarrig and Slyguff, Bagenalstown

Patrick Morgan was born in Kilcarrig and was one of a family of four, two boys and two girls. Married to Catherine King they had twin daughters Mary (May) and Lil. He enlisted in Carlow in the 1st Battalion of the Royal Irish Regiment. In March 1915 the main base for the Mediterranean Expeditionary Force was transferred from Mudros to Alexandria in Egypt. The city became a camp and hospital centre for Commonwealth and French troops with many hospital ships entering the port, and these were a target for sinking. On Sunday 30th December, 1917 Patrick Morgan died at sea on board the HT *Aragon* which was torpedoed and sunk as it entered the port of Alexandria in Egypt. Patrick Morgan's daughter, Mrs Mary O'Neill of Slyguff died aged 89 during the preparation of this article. She was three years old when her father died. The next man in sequence also suffered the same fate.

Commemorative Information:

Chatby Memorial Egypt:
Chatby War Cemetery, Alexandria, Egypt.
Memorial: As Above

52 -----

Thomas Culleton: Lance Corporal No. 8675:

Royal Irish Regiment, 1st Battalion. 30th December, 1917. Age 20 Rathvinden Leighlinbridge, Hotel Street and The Long Range Bagenalstown.

Thomas Culleton was born in 1897 at Rathvinden, Leighlinbridge and was the son of John Culleton and his wife, Bridget Byrne and enlisted in Carlow in the 1st Battalion of the Royal Irish Regiment. In March, 1915 the main base for the Mediterranean Expeditionary Force was transferred from Mudros to Alexandria in Egypt. On Sunday 30th December, 1917 Thomas Culleton died at sea on board the HT *Aragon* which was torpedoed and sunk as it entered the port of Alexandria in Egypt. At 20 years old he was the younger brother of Danny Culleton of Long Range who was also born in Leighlinbridge. Other members of the family were James, Patrick, Brigid. Their father, John Culleton worked as a Jarvey in Wards Hotel.

Commemorative Information:

Chatby Memorial Egypt:
Chatby War Cemetery, Alexandria, Egypt.
Memorial: As Above

The year 1917 was no better than the year previous. However, a chink of light was starting to appear as the Americans decided to enter the war on the 6th April, 1917 and by June the AEF American Expeditionary Force under Major-General John J. Pershing had arrived at St. Nazaire in France. The reason America entered was because to many Americans were dying on passenger and merchant ships which the Germans were sinking.

The world was beginning to change as a revolution took place in Russia and after the execution of the Czar and his family, a new social order, Communism, would prevail. Bagenalstown would also see a good day as their Hurlers win the 1917 County Championship repeating their win of 1910 and ending a period of dominance by Tullow. This win was a forerunner of the dominance that Erin's Own would have in the 1920s and 1930s¹⁰

1918

53 -----

Patrick Fenlon: Private No. 4894: South Irish Horse, Royal Irish Regiment, 7th Battalion. 21st March, 1918. Bagenalstown.

Patrick Fenlon was another man to die during the German Hindenburg offensive. He enlisted in Carlow in the 7th Battalion Royal Irish Regiment and was attached to a company of the South Irish Horse. On Thursday 21st March, 1918, he was killed in action. He was not the only casualty from Bagenalstown that day.

Commemorative Information:

Poizieres Memorial: Poizieres Village, Somme, France.
Memorial Panel: Panel 30 & 31

54 -----

James Nolan: Private No. 11110: Royal Irish Regiment, 2nd Battalion. 21st March, 1918. Tomduff, Bagenalstown.

James Nolan enlisted in Kilkenny as a private in the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Irish Regiment. He was another casualty of the Hindenburg Offensive killed in action on Thursday 21st March, 1918. The family resided in Tomduff outside Bagenalstown.

Commemorative Information:

Poizieres Memorial: Poizieres Village, Somme, France.
Memorial Panel: Panel 30 & 31

55 -----

Patrick Phelan: Private No. 5879: Leinster Regiment, 2nd Battalion. Formally 299616 Royal Army Service Corp Motor Transport. 27th March, 1918. Age 22 Regent Street, Bagenalstown and Strawhall Carlow.

Patrick Phelan was born in 1896 in Regent Street, Bagenalstown the son of John Phelan and his wife Sarah Byrne. He enlisted in Carlow in "B" 2nd Battalion of the Leinster Regiment and prior to this was in the Army Service Corp, Motor Transport. By this stage the family resided at Strawhall in Carlow and his sister resided in College Street, Carlow. On Wednesday, 27th March, 1918 Patrick Phelan was killed in action during the Hindenburg Offensive. He was 22 years old and was a great friend of William O'Brien of Barret Street.

Commemorative Information:

Poizieres Memorial: Poizieres Village, Somme, France.
Memorial Panel: Panel 78

56 -----

William Jones: Rifleman No. B/201399: Rifle Brigade, 1st Battalion. 28th March, 1918. Age 25 Royal Oak Road and 46, Kilcarrig Street, Bagenalstown.

William Jones was the son of William Jones and Margaret McDonald of Tomduff. His father originated from Rathnageera, Myshall. He born on the 16th November, 1893 at the Royal Oak Road with the family later moving to 46, Kilcarrig Street. He worked as a baker in Connolly's Bakery and enlisting in Kilkenny with Paddy Appleby, went to England where he became a Rifleman in the Rifle Brigade 1st Battalion. On Thursday, 28th March, 1918 William Jones was killed in action. He was 25 years

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old. His nephew Michael Jones lives on the approach road from Leighlinbridge opposite the river Barrow just before you turn to go up the Parade. He remembers numerous families who once lived in Kilcarrig Street.

Commemorative Information:

Arras Memorial:

Faubourg-d'Amiens Cemetery, Arras, Pas de Calais, France.

Memorial Reference: Bay 9

57 -----

Richard Victor Murphy: A/Sergeant No. 14200: Royal Dublin Fusiliers, 1st Battalion. 29th March, 1918. Age 32 Ballinrea, Bagenalstown, and Gowran, Co Kilkenny.

Richard Victor Murphy was born in 1886 at Ballinrea just outside Bagenalstown the son of William Alexander Murphy and Sarah Murphy. He worked as Civil Servant in the offices of the Registry of Titles in Dublin. He enlisted in Dublin in the 7th Battalion of the Dublin Fusiliers. This Battalion was later merged into the 1st Battalion as losses decimated the old Army Battalions. Married to Alice Mary, he resided in Gowran by the time he was killed in action on Tuesday, 26th March, 1918 as the German Offensive swept across the battlefields of the Somme. He was 32 years old.

Commemorative Information:

Pozieres Memorial:

Pozieres Village, Somme, France.

Memorial Panel: Panel 79 and 80

58-----

Brian Stewart Brown: Private No.B/201487: Rifle Brigade, 1/28 Battalion. Formerly M/2/264388 Royal Army Service Corp. 5 April, 1918. Age 21 Eastwood, Bagenalstown

And Jacob was left alone and a man wrestled with him until the breaking of the day.

Genesis 31.24

Brian Stewart Brown was born at Eastwood in 1897 the son of Frank Beveridge Brown and his wife who was also named Brown, Jane Brown. The family were farmers and other relatives had a milling business Brown & Crosthwait and were significant benefactors of Bagenalstown Cricket Club. Enlisting in Dublin in the Royal Army Service Corp he later transferred to the Rifle Brigade in which a number of men from Bagenalstown served. From 1915 until 27th March, 1918 Hamel was under British occupation and supplied various services to



the front such as field ambulances. In March, 1918 Hamel came under German attack and perhaps it was at this stage that Brian Stewart Brown transferred to the Rifle Brigade in efforts to hold or take back the village. On Friday 5th April, 1918 he was killed in action at Hamel, age 21. He was buried in the village. A memorial commemorates him in Carlow parish Church of Ireland church.

Commemorative Information:

Hamel Military Cemetery:

Hamel Village, Beaumont-Hamel, Somme, France.

Grave Reference: 11 F 33/37

59 -----

Robert William Clarke: GunnerNo.L/27536: Royal Horse Artillery, Royal Field Artillery 6th April, 1918. High Street, Bagenalstown.

According to his enlistment records Robert William Clarke was born in "Bagnals Town", Carlow, and enlisted in Sheffield, Yorkshire, in "B" Battery, 277th Bde, Royal Field Artillery. He does not appear to belong to any of the current Clarke families who reside in Bagenalstown and who are interrelated and some of whom served in the Great War. He may have belonged to an RIC family who had a shop in High Street, now owned by Rose Kavanagh. During the Hindenburg Offensive in the spring of 1918 the Allied 5th Army was driven back by overwhelming numbers across the former Somme battlefields, a push which almost succeeded in breaking the Allies. Holding on, they eventually began their own advance in August 1918. On Friday 5th April, 1918 Robert William Clarke was killed in action as German forces swept across the Somme,

Commemorative Information:

Pozieres Memorial: Pozieres Village, Albert, Somme, France.

Memorial Reference: Panel 7 to 10

60 -----

Cecil Dennis: Private No. 2716:

Army Cyclist Corp

Formerly Private No. 11942 Somerset Light Infantry.

21st April, 1918.

Dunleckney, Bagenalstown.

Cecil Dennis was born at Dunleckney, and moving to England, enlisted in Taunton, Somerset in the Somerset Light Infantry before re-enlisting in the Army Cyclist Corps where he served with the 19th Corps Cyclist Battalion. On Sunday 21st April, 1918 he was killed in action and was buried in Premont Village.

Commemorative Information:

Premont British Cemetery: P r e m o n t , Aisne, France.

Grave Reference: IV B 15 :

61 -----

Daniel O'Brien: Private No.364525:

Labour Corps: 17th Coy

28th April, 1918.

Malahide & Kilcarrig Street, Bagenalstown.

Daniel O'Brien was born in Malahide, Co. Dublin and, moving to Bagenalstown, worked in the Minch Norton malthouse on the Leighlinbridge Road. His son, Ned O'Brien worked in Connolly's. Married to Mary Dargan from the Royal Oak Road, he enlisted in Dublin as a private in the 17th Coy Labour Corps. On Sunday, 28th April, he died of wounds at the Casualty Clearing Station in the village of Arneke, where he is buried.

Commemorative Information:

Arneke British Cemetery:

Arneke Village, Cassel, Nord, France.

Grave Reference: 11 A 4

A Remarkable Army Family

62 -----

Thomas Fraser: Gunner No. 14025:

Royal Garrison Artillery

Served as Thomas Dillon (Brother of Peter Fraser see 2001 Edition of *Carloviana*)

1st May, 1918. Age 22

74, Kilcarrig Street, Bagenalstown.

In Bagenalstown New Cemetery Catholic section there is a headstone to Jane Fraser, St. Brigid's Crescent, Bagenalstown, who died on 28 March, 1950, age 87. It is the only name on the headstone and at first glance this appears to be the grave of an old woman who had never married and had no family. But of course somebody erected the stone and the name Fraser is surely a Scottish name. Researching further I began to uncover a most remarkable, exotic, and of course part tragic story of this woman Jane Dillon of Kilcarrig and her husband Peter Fraser of Moy, Inverness, Invernesshire, Scotland, whose brother William Fraser, Pte 3/6189 Cameron Highlanders was killed in action on the 9th May, 1915 age 45. As a career soldier, Peter Fraser and his wife would travel the world to India, Egypt, Sudan with regular trips back to Bagenalstown on leave. In 1887 their son, James Fraser was born in London and baptised in St. Andrews Church Bagenalstown. He served for the whole of the war and survived. By 1893 they were in India where another son, Peter was born in the town of Quetta, Baluchistan, India. Arriving back in Ireland they were resident at the Royal Oak where Peter Fraser Snr. worked as a gardener in O'Grady's of Holleden and the baby was christened Peter in St. Lazerian's Church in Leighlinbridge on 19 Feb., 1893. He subsequently went to Australia to Horsham, Victoria, at 21, and enlisted as a Pte. in the Australian Infantry

Force. He arrived in Egypt in 1915 and having survived in the desert beneath the Pyramids, transferred to Europe where he was killed in action at Factory Corner, Bapaume on 19 Nov., 1916, age 23. As he was baptised in Leighlinbridge, he was covered in the 2001 addition of *Carloviana*. Another son, Martin, served in the Royal Garrison Artillery and was wounded and gassed in 1918. The family certainly travelled again as Alexander Fraser was born in London in the early 1900s and he was baptised in St. Andrew's Church in Bagenalstown. Other members were William and Donald.

Thomas Fraser was born at 74, Kilcarrig Street, on the 14th April, 1896 and was baptised in St Andrew's Church. Enlisting in Kilkenny as Thomas Dillon, (often men serve under an alias and he obviously used his mother's family name) he became a Gunner in the Royal Garrison Artillery. His brother Martin was in the same regiment. On Wednesday, the 1st May, 1918, during the German offensive Thomas Dillon/Fraser was killed in action in Lijssenthoek village. He was 22 years old and was one of at least five brothers who served, two of whom were killed in action.

Commemorative Information:

Lijssenthoek Military Cemetery, Poperinge, West Vlaanderen, Belgium.

63 -----

Edward Doyle: Corporal No. 19877: Royal Dublin Fusiliers, 1st Battalion. 28th September, 1918. Age 19. 31, Regent Street, Bagenalstown.

Edward Doyle was the son of Michael Doyle and his wife, Kate Murphy of 31 Regent Street. However, when he was born on the 19th January, 1899 the family resided in Pump Street where Thomas Connolly's Supervalue now stands. He enlisted in Carlow in the 1st Battalion of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers "X" Coy. On Saturday 28th September, 1918 he was killed in action in the Final Offensive as the Allies surrounded the German Armies. He was 19 years old. He is commemorated in that vast "silent city" which is Tyne Cot cemetery and the Tyne Cot Memorial.

Commemorative Information:

Tyne Cot Memorial: Zonnebeke, West Vlaanderen, Belgium.
Memorial Panel: 144 to 145.

Four brothers were medical Doctors

A brave unselfish and generous man

64 -----

King Elmes: Captain: Royal Army Medical Corp, Attd. 2nd/16Bn London Regiment Westminster Rifles 28th September, 1918. Age 25

Raheen, Fenagh, and Robinstown House, Palace East, New Ross, Co. Wexford.

I have included King Elmes in this article as he does not appear on a list of 504 men who died from Co. Wexford published in the Taghmon Historical Society Journal No. 3. 1999. Associated with Fenagh where the family had a home in Raheen, he is commemorated in the local Church of Ireland church. He was born in 1893 the son of Thomas Elmes and his wife, Mary Ruth Robinson of Robinstown House, New Ross.



He was one of four brothers who were medical doctors. Samuel, William, Eusaby were also doctors. Another brother Thomas farmed and he had a sister Sheila. Educated at Kilkenny College, he entered the Royal College of Surgeons and when qualified joined the B.E.F. and served in Egypt and Palestine. Home on leave in the Summer of 1918, he elected to go to France. On Saturday, 28th September, 1918 he was killed in action, age 25.

Colonel Gervie Pearson wrote of him He was a brave, unselfish and generous man; everyone loved him. It was noticed that everyone seemed anxious to attend his Funeral Service and pay their last respects to him whom all admired.

Commemorative Information:

Kandahar Farm Cemetery: Heuvelland, West-Vlaanderen, Belgium.
Grave Reference: 1 D 3

65 -----

Peter Joseph Ryan: Private No. 3775: Australian Infantry Force, 57th Battalion.. 01st October, 1918. Age 32 Oilgate, Co. Wexford and Killoughternane, Corries, Bagenalstown.

Peter Joseph Ryan was born at Oilgate, Co. Wexford and was the son of John Ryan and his wife, Catherine McCarthy. Some time after he was born the family moved to Corries and he was educated in Co. Carlow. Emigrating to Australia in 1912 with his brother John, they resided in Melbourne at Hobsenson Street. He enlisted in Melbourne as a Private in the 57th Battalion of the Australian Infantry Force. The Australian Infantry Force moved to the Western front after the end of the Gallipoli campaign. On Tuesday 1st October, 1918, Peter Ryan died at the Casualty Clearing Centre at Tincourt. He was 32 years old and was buried in the village of Tincourt.

Commemorative Information:

Tincourt New British Cemetery; Tincourt, Somme, France.
Grave Reference: V. F 34

Death of a Family

66 -----

Nathaniel James Fennel Hobson: Lieutenant: Kings Liverpool Regiment 5th Battalion Age 37.

67 -----

Civilian Elizabeth Hobson, Wife

68 -----

Civilian Richard Hobson, Youth 10th October, 1918. Drogheda Co Louth and Slyguff, Bagenalstown.

In Dunleckney Cemetery near Bagenalstown, there is a headstone and a railed grave erected to the Hobson family which more than likely has no corpse within the grave. On Kidd's farm in Glenahary Slyguff, where Ivan Kidd resides, there is an house which has a significant link to the same headstone, for here Kathleen Hobson resided and members of her family would visit her with her brother Nathaniel and family often living here during the summer months. Miss Hobson, as she was called was a music teacher in Bagenalstown and her brother was a Lieutenant in the 5th Battalion of the Liverpool Regiment during the war. On Thursday, 10th October, 1918 the Mail Boat *RMS Leinster* set sail from Kingstown now Dun Laoghaire for Liverpool. For most of that day a German Submarine UB 123 under Commander Robert Ramm was lurking in Irish waters, the *Ulster* had just escaped his path but at about 9pm the *Leinster*, not following a normal ziz-zag route, came into sight and was sunk with three torpedos, resulting in the loss of over 500 lives, many of them woman and children. This disaster remains the worst in Irish maritime history.¹¹ Included in the casualties were Lt, Nathaniel Hobson, Elizabeth Hobson, Richard Hobson. Miss Kathleen Hobson died in Bray Co. Wicklow over 20 years ago.

Commemorative Information:

Hollybrook Memorial Southampton: Hollybrook Cemetery, Chilworth Road, Shirley, Southampton, Hampshire.
Memorial: As Above

69 -----

Edward Nolan: Private No. 1231: Royal Dublin Fusiliers, 2nd Battalion. 18th October, 1918. Age 33 Fairgreen (old Section) Bagenalstown.

Edward Nolan was born in Bagenalstown in 1885 in the old Fairgreen houses (new houses were built about 60/70 years ago) the enlisted in Naas in the Dublin Fusiliers 2nd Battalion and saw lots of action particularly when the war on the Western Front entered its final phase in 1918. He was killed in action on Friday 18th October 1918 as the Allies finally took Le Cateau from the

German occupiers. Aged 33, he was buried in the Highland Cemetery in Le Cateau and was survived by his mother, Margaret.

Commemorative Information:

Highland Cemetery: Le Cateau, Nord, France.

Grave Reference: 111 C 11.

70 -----

Henry Bolton: Private No. 12336:

Royal Irish Regiment, 2nd Battalion.

Formerly 29096 Royal Dublin Fusiliers

13th November, 1918. Age 21

Kilgreaney, Slyguff, and Ballyellen, Bagenalstown.

Henry "Harry" Bolton was born at Kilgraney, Slyguff, on the 14th November, 1897 the son of Jacob Bolton and his wife Mary Ann Todd of Kilgreaney Slyguff. Other brothers included Patrick and Matthew. He was married to Mary (Mollie) Murphy of Clowater. He enlisted in Carlow in the Dublin Fusiliers before transferring to the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Irish Regiment. Wounded in action, he died 2 days after the war ended on Wednesday, 13th Nov., 1918, one day short of his 21st Birthday. Mollie Murphy married again to Mick Carton who also suffered a leg injury in the war. Mick served as post man in Leighlin for a number of years. Bolton families are still in Ballyellen and Ballinkillen.

Commemorative Information: Valenciennes

(St Roch) Communal Cemetery

Valenciennes, Nord, France.

Grave Reference: 1 C 33

The Great War finally ended at 11 am on the 11th November, 1918 as Germany could not continue. There was mutiny in the armies and in the shipyards.

In Ireland the General Election of 1918 resulted in Sinn Fein decimating the Irish Parliamentary Party ending 60 years of dominance.

Although the war officially ended on the 11th November 1918 many men would die in the following months and years from wounds and sickness. Others would carry the horrors of the war for the rest of their lives. The following men died in the early years that preceded the end of the war.

1919

71 -----

Patrick Doyle: Private No. 9990:

Royal Irish Regiment, 1st Battalion.

Transferred to No. 622526 1095 div. Employment Coy Labour Corps.

30th March, 1919. Age 37

Bagenalstown.

Patrick Doyle was the brother of James Doyle who was killed in action on the 30th

Nov., 1917. Born in Bagenalstown in 1882 he enlisted in Naas in the Royal Irish Regiment 1st Battalion before transferring to the Labour Corps. On Sunday, 30th March, 1919 he died of wounds and illness, age 37 and is buried in Kantara Cemetery Egypt.

Commemorative Information:

Kantara War Memorial Cemetery, Egypt

1920

72 -----

Arthur Ffolliott Garrett OBE: Major:

Royal Engineers,

28th March, 1920. Age 45

Kilgarron, Fenagh

Arthur Ffolliott Garrett, OBE was born in Kilgarron, Fenagh in 1875. He was the son of William R Garrett. He enlisted in the Royal Engineers and attained the rank of Major at Nagpur, India on 1st April, 1904. By this time he was living at "Courtlands", Haywards Heath, Sussex in England with his wife, Ida, surviving beyond armistice day 11th November, 1918. He died on Sunday 28th March, 1920 near Marseilles as a result of wounds and sickness.

Commemorative Information: Mazargues War Cemetery:

Mazargues, Marseilles, Bouches-du-Rhone, France.

Grave Reference: 111 C 13

73 -----

Patrick Appleby Rifleman, Rifle Brigade

6th November, 1922 Age 32

Kilcarrig, Bagenalstown.

Paddy Appleby worked as a baker in Connolly's. He enlisted in the Army with William Jones of Kilcarrig and both of them went to England and joined the Rifle Brigade. He was born on the 14th August, 1888 the son of Edward Appleby and his wife Alice Byrne. Although surviving the war he suffered the effects of Gas which the German Army deployed and on 6th Nov., 1922 he died, age 32. He was buried in Dunleckney Cemetery where a family headstone commemorates him.

Commemorative Information: Dunleckney Cemetery: Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow

They shall grow not old, as we that are left grow old,

Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn.

At the going down of the sun and in the morning

We will remember them.

Laurence Binyon "For the Fallen"

The following men with family links to Bagenalstown were included under Leighlin Men who died in the Great War in the 2001 issue of this Journal.

Michael Hawe, Chapel Street Leighlinbridge, Robert Hawe, Chapel Street Leighlinbridge, Stephen Purcell, Poes Hill Leighlinbridge and Barrett Street, Bagenalstown, John Townsend, Tomard, Monemore and Barrett Street, Bagenalstown. Peter Fraser Royal Oak and 74, Kilcarrig Street, Bagenalstown. John Daly Rathellan and Pump Lane Leighlinbridge. Arthur Walter Forbes, Rathwade, Thomas Dermody High Street, Leighlinbridge, and Harrow Cross; Laurence Lawler, Tullow and Augha.

County Carlow Great War Memorial

The County Carlow Great War Memorial was unveiled in Leighlinbridge Garden of Remembrance on 17th August, 2002 by Dr Michael Conroy, Chairman of the Carlow Historical and Archaeological Society.

The Memorial was funded by Carlow Leader and additional funding was received from two local business men, Philip Meaney, Stone Development, and James Kehoe, Lord Bagenal Inn.

Researched by the author of this article it lists the Name, Number, Btn, Regiment and date of death of nearly 500 men from Co. Carlow who died in the Great War and are listed under the various towns and villages where they came from.

References:

¹ Martin Gilbert, *First World War*, Harper-Collins Pub 1995.

² Various *History Ireland* Magazines also "16" The 16th Irish Division and 1916, Angus Mitchell, *Carloviana* 2002.

³ Various *Contact* Magazines (Bagenalstown Parish Magazine)

⁴ *A Compendium of Historical Snippets*, Reynolds Fieldcrest 1993, Books and Thing's Bagenalstown.

⁵ Dudley Livingstone Cooney *Asses Colts & Loving People*. The story of the people called Methodists on the Carlow Circuit Published by Carlow Methodist Church 1998.

⁶ The Commonwealth War Graves Commission, 2 Marlow Road, Maidenhead, Berkshire, England.

⁷ Ireland's Memorial Records, 1923.

⁸ *The Irish Guards in the Great War, 1st and 2nd Battalions*, Rudyard Kipling, Spellmount.

⁹ *Lost White Tribes, Journeys among the forgotten*, Riccardo Orizio, Secker & Warburg, 2000

¹⁰ GAA Annual for 1944.

¹¹ *Death in the Irish Sea, The Sinking of the RMS Leinster*, Roy Stokes, The Collins Press 1998

Acknowledgements:

The Bishop and staff of St Canice's

Cathedral Kilkenney (Leighlin, Ossory, Ferns). Rev. Pierce Murphy P.P. Bagenalstown and the staff of the Parochial Centre, especially Margaret and Eleanor Tuite. Michael Jones, Tommy Power, Annie Kidd, Michael Byrne, Larry Byrne, Fred Scanlon, Brigid Kelly, Jim Dillon, Bertie Walsh, John Clarke, Ned Byrne, Peter Connolly, Michael Joyce, Jim Nolan, Rose Elmes, Betty Finnerty, Sheila Milne, George Collier, Sheelagh Brown. Mary Ellen "Mellen" Pender, Bernie Brennan (Appleby) Brigid Geoghegan, Alice Peart, Kitty Coogan (age 97 last living contemporary relative of a Bagenalstown casualty)

About the Researcher

John Kenna is a native of Leighlinbridge and if any of our readers would like to contact him about the Great War he can emailed at

johnm100@msn.com



Patrick Morgan and his wife Catherine with their twin daughters, May and Lil (aged 3).
Photo taken shortly before he died at sea in 1917.
May became Mrs. May O'Neill of Slyguff and died recently aged 89.

FROM THE PRESIDENT

At the AGM this year I was elected to the



office of president. Being asked to follow in the foot steps of a long line of competent predecessors is a daunting task. However, I

am honoured to have the opportunity to work and promote the Carlow Historical and Archaeological Society during my term of office. With membership increasing the Society goes from strength to strength. The series of winter lectures are well attended.

For the first time in recent years the Annual Outing brought us outside of Ireland. The week-end trip to the Rhonda Valley and the city of Cardiff in Wales was enjoyed by all.

The Society is now looking forward to the new museum which will be part of the Library and Tourist Office complex in Carlow town.

As President, my aim will be to see that more young people become actively involved and delve into the yet unfolded history of county Carlow. Schools have an important part to play in encouraging students preserve and conserve the history and

heritage of their native heath.. I am delighted to see the introduction of the Heritage-in-Schools Scheme, a collaborative programme sponsored by the Heritage Council and administered by the Irish Teachers' Organisation (INTO). This partnership will greatly support the work that has been done and will continue to be done by the Carlow Historical and Archaeological Society.

During the past year valued members of the Society passed to their eternal reward. Veronica Crombie past Chairperson; Bishop Laurance Ryan, Patron; Margaret Hayden and Pat O'Mahony, members and contributors to *Carloviana* will be sadly missed.

Finally, I would like to thank the officers, committee and members who encouraged and helped me and I look forward to their continued support during the coming year.

Margaret Minchin

ORIGINS OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN CARLOW

WHEN YOU SIT IN THE SHADE REMEMBER WHO PLANTED THE TREE.

Dr. Norman McMillan

This contribution is based on material researched by Mr. J. Cooke, local Carlow material obtained from Mr. P. O'Mahony and interviews with Mr. A. Waldron, Mr. P. O'Mahony and Mr. A. Kinsella. Material has been supplied by Mr. M. White (Regional Manager of Enterprise Ireland, Shannon Region and by Mr. G. Holohan, son of the late Mr. B. Holohan.). This article forms the basis of a chapter in the forthcoming Centenary History of the Irish Vocational Education Committee.

ORIGINS OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN CARLOW

The origins of Irish technical and technological education can be traced through the developments from 1731 and the founding of the Dublin Society (from 1820 The Royal Dublin Society)¹. In the late 1820s the Mechanics' Institute Movement arose, but the movement rather rapidly lost momentum for various reasons that have been well examined.² The rural nature of Ireland and its backward economy vis-à-vis mainland Britain meant really the Mechanics' Institutes were rather inappropriate for the actual needs of the country.³ The movement revived in the mid-century period and was led at this time very much by middle-class elements which certainly was the case for the Carlow Mechanics' Institute. This was established in 1853⁴ and was non-denominational, like other Mechanics' Institutes in Ireland, as can be seen from two of the four patrons, namely the Right Rev. Dr. Haly, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, Braganza and the celebrated Samuel Haughton of Trinity College. The latter was one of the first invited lecturers and the treasurer was his relative Hancock Haughton. On the committee was another relative

Benjamin Haughton. The Director of the Asylum (now St. Dymphnas Hospital) Dr. Matthew Esmonde White M.D. was also a member of the committee. The reports of the meetings were carried enthusiastically for only a brief period in the *Carlow Sentinel*. The religious harmony obviously foundered within that year as there was a parting of the ways with the establishment of what was a Catholic Institute operating out of St. Patrick's College, Carlow and the continuation of what one assumes was essentially a Protestant Mechanics' Institute. In the interest of fairness the editor of the Protestant *Carlow Sentinel* decided, after of course reporting on the first meeting in St. Patrick's, not to give any further reports of the activities of either Institute! The history of technological education in Carlow is very much the poorer for this 'fair-minded' decision.

Carlow boasted perhaps the first, but certainly one of the earliest, National Schools in the country since in 1831 Bishop James of Kildare and Leighlin (JKL) succeeded in persuading the Westminster Government to establish the first state sponsored school system in the world.⁵ As so often in the history of British dominions, new innovations in the system were tried out first in Ireland. The National Schools at that time provided a superb technical education including mathematics, English, accountancy, surveying, general science and other useful arts. The importance of the local Carlow hedge teacher John Conwill is frequently noted in histories of Irish education⁶ but it was perhaps at his 'Catholic non-denominational school' in Ballinabranna, Co. Carlow, built in the very grounds of the church itself, that Conwill left his most

indelible mark on the history of technical education. John Tyndall⁷ left Conwill at the very advanced age of 19. The first notable achievement in his subsequent illustrious career, that took him from the banks of the Barrow to the banks of the Thames, was his role in the establishment of the first heuristic (learning-by-doing) course in engineering at what is believed to be the first ever purpose built college in Britain to teach practical science and engineering. At Queenwood College in Hampshire in 1847, he and his friend, the chemist Edward Frankland, established the first practical classes in science and engineering⁸ in either Britain or Ireland. Tyndall's contribution here was naturally based firmly on the Conwill model he had seen in action in Ballinabranna with emphasis on surveying skills. This experience in the context of British technical education, is amplified enormously by the fact that both Tyndall and Frankland became the first Examiners (they thus established the first syllabi and wrote the examinations) in the first State school examinations in respectively physics and chemistry. In addition, Tyndall also became the first Examiner in the military science examinations. Tyndall and Frankland were subsequently to the fore in the development of Imperial College, London and established the first training programmes for teachers in science.⁹ H.E. Armstrong,¹⁰ the disciple of Frankland, was even more celebrated in the history of technical education by work at Finsbury College.¹¹

The modern origins of technical education in Ireland are one that must be seen in the context of the political struggles of the nineteenth century which we should remember was the 'Age

of Imperialism'.¹² The Great Exhibition of 1851 was a key event in the history of British Empire for it allowed the Prince Regent to promote a national campaign for action to keep British manufactures abreast with that of Albert's native Germany. The event generated some hysteria over this failure of Britain in the face of developing imperial rivalry. The debate centred very much on the need for urgent improvements in technical training and education. The RDS was the premier 'improving society' in the British Isles. Indeed, the RDS was the prototype of the sister society the Society of Arts in London.¹³ The great success of the Society of Arts' 1851 Crystal Palace exhibition spurred the RDS into efforts to run an international exhibition of a similar size. Given their straightened circumstances, unfortunately for the RDS, who were a bastion of Unionism, they were reluctantly forced to turn to the wealthy railway magnate William Dargan¹⁴ for help. This nationalistic entrepreneur and philanthropist who built the majority of Ireland's railways was the only man with enough means to contemplate financing such an enormous project at this time. He eventually helped the RDS meet this obligation in holding the 1853 Great Dublin Exhibition. He made the offer that he would cover all losses, and if in some unlikely event the exhibition made a profit, the RDS could keep this surplus. The resulting magnificent Dargan temple of steel and glass was built on Leinster Lawns. The project was run entirely at his expense and duly made very considerable losses, despite being a sensational success when judged on any other criteria. As a torch carrier and inspiration for the Young Ireland movement. Dargan

apparently avoided being knighted by Victoria at the opening of the exhibition according to the legend. He hid in the crowd at the grand opening. The persistent monarch went out after the opening to Dargan's home at Mount Anneville, where according to the diaries of Albert, he there declined the Royal honour. He did politely offer the Royal couple a cup of tea. The nationalists established a patriotic fund after the 1853 exhibition to commemorate the magnificence of Dargan's contribution to national prestige. The aim of the fund, agreed with Dargan, was the securing for Ireland of a national Technical Institute. The fund unfortunately failed to reach the target and Dargan then agreed to the funds being dispensed for the building of the National Gallery on the Leinster Lawn, naturally on the site vacated by his exhibition. Dargan himself began the national collection by donations of works of art. Dargan's statue appropriately now stands outside the gallery, which is frequently referred to as 'the man with his hand in his pocket' for the very good reason of his incredible beneficence to the nation. Dargan, during the railway mania of the 1850s, attempted to establish in his hometown Carlow, as his main engineering works, but this ended up going to Dundalk because of the resistance of local landlords and the seven Bs.¹⁵ The Bs thereby also stymied a reason for establishing a national technician institute in the town!

In the event, the main development in technical education that arose directly from the Great Exhibition came about through the establishment of the Department of Science and Arts (DSA) that was setup following the Great exhibition under the Board of Trade. Tyndall in 1857, because he had completed his education in Germany under Bunsen, was appointed the first examiner for this DSA. Tyndall became through this pioneering work, the founder of the school Physics examinations.¹⁶ The DSA system established the utilitarian inspired 'payments by

results' and supported an extension of technical education through Parliamentary grants. G.B. Shaw, in a famous and archetypal 'put-down' to the teaching profession, observed demeaningly "Those that can, do: Those that can't, teach." The development of technical education was certainly a difficult process in the face of such entrenched utilitarian attitudes in the nineteenth century. Specifically, industrialists resolutely refused to see any reason for them supporting financially the development of technical education. On the other hand, in established universities including Trinity but not the then new Queen's Colleges, this advance was certainly achieved against the entrenched opposition of the ruling classes to science. However, in Trinity the Bagenalstownman Samuel Downing,¹⁷ the successor to the first professor of engineering in Trinity Sir John Macneill, working in the then new Museum Building in Trinity, helped overcome much of this prejudice. It was clear by Downing's retirement in 1873 that this School of Engineering had been successfully established. Most importantly he had succeeded in establishing engineering as a degree study against a view that the Diploma was the appropriate award for the lesser academic discipline of engineering. Working under Downing, was another Carlowman, the professor of geology Samuel Haughton.¹⁸ With his colleague James G. Galbraith, Haughton developed a major series of programmes for the military and civil engineers that were then urgently required for the military, civil service, and civil engineering work of the expanding British Empire.¹⁹ Trinity engineers found employment in the farthest reaches of the Empire, but made in particular important contributions in India.

A successful formula for the development of technical education eventually arose from series of political debates, struggles and experiments. In Ireland this emerging situation was of course made more complicated for

Westminster Governments to judge, as it was the time of developing nationalism and political struggle against landlordism. In addition, and perhaps more importantly, it was the time of the rise of Ultramontanism in the Roman Church, which proved a effective ideological weapon in the determined hands of Cardinal Cullen whose father was from Carlow. He was building up Catholic seminaries, schools, hospitals and other infrastructural supports to the Catholic hierarchies vision for a middle-class Ireland. They were soon to obtain control of important elements of the university system in the first years of the new century. In first and second level schools, the Roman Church favoured very strongly a classicist academic ethos and showed a definite hostility to technical education. At Cullen's elbow was the future first Cardinal of Australia Archbishop Moran,²⁰ who was a boy in Leighlinbridge with his future ideological enemy John Tyndall, the spokesman for evolution and who with his friend T.H. Huxley were both founders of the creed of agnosticism.²¹ Perhaps, both the above-mentioned factors of nationalism and religious politics, combined therefore to prevent the implementation of the Report of Royal Commission on Technical Instruction in 1884. This recommended the introduction of drawing, craftwork and agriculture in schools. It aimed to empower local authorities to establish and maintain technical and secondary schools, but it was unfortunately not framed in a way to allow it to impact in any way on Ireland. There was a strong feeling that the local authorities needed to be centrally involved in technical education to ensure a flexible system that could adapt to local conditions. The Technical Instruction Act of 1889 made just such provision for local councils to create technical schools from local taxation. This was the first parliamentary attempt to provide and administer technical instruction schemes and was formulated largely on the recommendations of the Royal Commission

on Technical Education (1884): The Act itself was again largely concerned with the need of the industrialized areas of England, but could not be applied to Ireland. Local government reform in Ireland, held back by the unresolved landlord question, unfortunately had not occurred. There was consequently no local government in Ireland. Interestingly, the 1889 Act made it explicitly clear that fundamental principles and theory, rather than the 'dreaded' practical work and skills were to be taught. *Laissez-faire* economic doctrines of utilitarianism still made it anathema to countenance the teaching of a trade or craft from public funds. In 1895 the Bryce Commission reported that despite these detrimental prejudices the department was "liberal rather than strict in its interpretation of what constitutes practical instruction". The development that let the genie, or rather whiskey, out of the bottle was the Local Taxation Act (Custom and Excise) of 1890. This enactment now allowed Ireland to benefit from the earlier legislation on technical education. It brought into the equation the local politicians who had a genuine interest in the progress of local industry, removing at a stroke, the stifling control of the aristocratic landlord system. The 1890 Act's unforeseen consequence was that it released 'whisky money'. The Act aimed against alcohol abuse, imposed additional duties on alcoholic beverages and reduced the number of public houses. However, the legislators refused to countenance compensation for the owners of these public houses and money was thereby released. The resulting government embarrassment was overcome however by the simple expedient of giving the extra money to local authorities to be used either for technical education or the reduction of rates. The Act then in less than a decade doubled the amount of money available locally for technical education. Although this was repealed with the introduction of the Education Act (1902), the money gained by the earlier legislation was retained. The

century closed thus with a flurry of legislative activity relating to technical education.

CARLOW TECHNICAL EDUCATION IS ESTABLISHED

The so called 'Recess Committee' sat from 1895-6, which had as its motive force the unlikely character the Unionist Sir Horace Plunkett, youngest son of Lord Dunsany. The committee held in the Mansion House, Dublin was so called because it met during the Parliamentary Recess to give its members an opportunity of attending the deliberations. The Committee was an attempt to combine the political and industrial/commercial forces for the development of the agricultural and industrial resources of Ireland. The Committee represented a very wide range of political and social interests in Ireland and went to investigate in continental Europe various educational models. Crucially, the Committee's report recommended a break with the centralizing control of the 'imperial' DSA in London²². Their final report recommended that control of technical education should be vested in a Government Department working to support a system of local control in the hands of a County Committee. This report dealt with post-primary, but also with the system to be established at levels above this. The French model of practical schools of agriculture, industry and commerce was adopted. This was supplemented with general education, modern languages and business skills (including shorthand and typing) operated with night schools. From this Recess Committee came the Commission on Manual Practical Instruction in Primary Schools (1897). This recommended for boys manual training, drawing, object lessons and elementary science, and for girls needlework, cookery and laundry work. A Commission of Intermediate Education was established in 1898 that sought to give science adequate recognition in an updated second level school curriculum. Then came a definitive break in 1899 with the act that established the

Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction (DATI). The Intermediate Education Board adopted the new Act's regulations from the 1901-2 session. The earliest details of the activities of the 'County Carlow Joint Committee of Technical Instruction' discovered was a Prospectus of Classes from the 1907-8 Session seen here. The members of the local committee were the Rev. Patrick Gorry (Chairman); Very Rev. Dean Finlay, Messrs. Michael Molly J.P., C.U.D.C., Michael Gorney Co. C; John Whelan Co.C.; Wm. Douglas U.D.C., B. Coleman, U.D.C.; M.O'Reilly, U.C.D.; M.O'Reilly, U.C.D.; Thomas Murphy, U.D.C. The programme of classes was modest to say the least for such an impressive committee with classes in Arithmetic, English, Woodwork and Technical Drawing, Shorthand and English Correspondence. There were two teachers Mr. D. Fenlon and Mr. Joseph Nicholson with a teacher to be appointed for the shorthand classes. The published DATI Minutes for 7 May 1901 states that the Urban and County Councils are cooperating to establish a Technical School for Girls. Architects plans had been approved and estimates stood at £950. The scheme for instruction of boys was not settled. Six teachers had been provided for in the budget for Laundry Work and Housekeeping, Needlework, Knitting and Dressmaking, Manual Instruction, Elementary Science, Drawing and Designing and Rural Industries (Lace and Crochet-work). Itinerant classes were planned for Bagenalstown, Tullow, Leighlinbridge and Rathvilly. Estimates of £725 were published with £225 of this coming from local sources.

A couple of years later published details gave an insight into the actual realities of the funding of these schemes in Carlow with the balance sheet published by the DATI on 4th February 1903. The County Council were bearing a quarter of the cost and the Department about half. An unexpected balance from the previous year contributed £160. The expenditure column showed a



Courtesy of the Carlow Historical and Archaeological Society

3:1 division between the manual male classes and those designed for the female students. The emphasis of the Itinerant Courses throughout the county can be seen in the £195 total in the estimates here allocated for traveling expenses, maintenance for these courses and the traveling equipment for the Manual Instructor. The scheme involved one Itinerant Instructor for manual classes, two Instructresses for Domestic Economy and another for Lacemaking. The latter skilled work was actually centred on Laois (Queen's County) where it had developed.²³ Surprisingly, we discover from this prospectus of classes that the very considerable sum of £360 had been allocated for the provision of equipment for the teaching of Experimental Science and Drawing in the Day Secondary School. A rebate could be obtained under Form S.4 provided that the amount

granted in any one instance did not exceed £60. The Technical Instruction Committee had to set out the claim under some detailed headings, which included the height of the room. Itinerant classes were in premises that were free of charge to the Committee except light and heat. In 1903 twelve competitive scholarships to the amount £150 were available for Carlow boys in the age range 12-15 years under the DATI. Five of these scholarships were for boys outside of the town in St. Mullin's Lower, St Mullin's Upper, Idrone, and one between the baronies of Carlow and Rathvilly. The examination was in June and the subjects were Arithmetic, English and Freehand Drawing. Problems existed because of the failure to secure a qualified teacher for Experimental Science and Drawing. Obviously, a plan to solve this problem was afoot,

with an idea that a teacher might be obtained and shared between schools with the expenses shared in proportion to the time he spent in each location. It appears that this plan foundered, as some twenty years later there was no such teacher in the county. The pace of inflation, or the generosity of these 1903 allocations, may be judged from the fact that Mr. A. Waldron in the first years of his tenure in the mid-1950s as CEO in County Carlow was working from a budget of a little over £1000!

The final stages of the complicated odyssey to the liberation of Ireland's technical education were certainly not straight forward. This was perhaps to be expected, given the complications of Irish history in the twentieth century. Among other things at this time there was the first world war, the 1916 revolutionary uprising, the War of Independence, the establishment of the Irish Free State, and then finally the civil war. All of these events preceded the passage of the Vocational Education Act in 1931. While the Local Government Act for Ireland of 1898 provided the legislation that could allow technical education to advance, it was a period of such great political flux in Carlow that things were of necessity difficult. The Irish language enthusiasts and the radicals that were seeking political independence from Britain were only on the periphery of the technical education movement. In Carlow, many of the revolutionaries would have been closely associated with the Carlow Workman's Club (CWC)²⁴ and as in mainland Britain, the Trades Councils and working class movement were strenuous advocates of technical education for mechanics and other artisans, as means to bettering the lot of the working classes. It should therefore be no surprise to discover that in Carlow, the founders of CWC and the closely associated Carlow Trades Council included Sinn Fein activists and of course prominent amongst these were Michael O'Hanrahan²⁵ who took part in the 1916 rising. These activists for the language and

leaders of the Gaelic Athletic Association were to some extent circulating in a different orbit from those more centrally concerned with technical education. Revolutionary situations often tend to combine groups in a common interest. Such extreme situations as these can therefore perhaps explain the inclusion of the Unionist Plunkett in the new revolutionary government!

Appropriately perhaps, technical education in Carlow today is centred on the old Carlow Workhouse.²⁶ Accurate local legend in Carlow has it that technical education began in the old Union Workhouse (see photo p. 36) on the Kilkenny Road, Carlow.²⁷ Technical Instruction Committee made good progress, but found themselves in difficulties because of war-time inflation. Many changes brought into play in the war to improve apprentice training and other advances impacted very little in Carlow, which was still largely a rural economy with a barracks town at its centre. The War of Independence made the situation even worse and the constitution of the DATI was of course shattered by Government of Ireland Act in 1921. The Civil War saw many changes, but Carlow was a reliable centre for the Free State, subsequently rewarded with the siting of the Sugar Factory in 1926.²⁸ Technical education then initially came formally in the early 1920 under the newly formed organs of the Free State. The courses were given mainly to adults, in halls of one kind or another throughout the county. The two courses provided initially were Domestic Economy (Cookery) and Manual training (Woodwork). These bygone days are associated in Carlow with the pioneering work of Miss May Mullally, and Mr. James Merne, who cycled in from Rathcrogue House 300 days and nights every year. He was by all accounts a superb craftsman in wood and his furniture still graces homes in the town. These classes were also held in the old workhouse. In Carlow as in other large towns, students above the school leaving age of 14 could attend one or more afternoon or evening class-



Photograph taken at the official opening of Carlow Technical School on 29 January, 1936 by Mr. Tom Derrig T.D Minister for Education

es per week.

Carlow made a submission to the 1926-7 Technical Instruction Commission along with the Carlow Committee of Agriculture. Neither were examined as witnesses and thus none of views of the Carlow people involved in technical education or agriculture are recorded in the evidence. The records describing the development of the scheme in Carlow appear to be lost but if ever traced would add enormously and authoritatively to the historical record.

CARLOW TECHNICAL SCHOOL ESTABLISHED

With the passing of the Vocational Education Act in 1930 the rather ad-hoc scheme operating in Carlow was put on a more firm footing, but the school lacked suitable accommodation. The importance then of the role of G. Bernard Shaw can be understood. The GBS episode in the transitional period of Carlow technical education is explained at length in a paper delivered by the C.E.O. of the Carlow Vocational Education Committee (VEC), Bernard 'Barney' O'Neill M.Sc. entitled

"The Old Assembly Rooms".²⁹ These buildings, that were later to become the Vocational School courtesy of a gift from Shaw to Carlow, were built in the last years of the 18th century. They eventually passed to Thomas Gurley the granduncle of Shaw and eventually thereby to Shaw. The Assembly Rooms were unfortunately not a paying proposition as is discovered from a letter to Most Rev. Dr. Foley, Chairperson of the Carlow VEC. Shaw wrote in typical style "If I assign them to a pauper, and leave them to be evicted by the head landlord for non-payment of rent, I shall gain from the transaction as far as the present state of affairs is concerned." He continues "The immediate holder is a Socialist whom you, as a Catholic, can challenge to act up to his principles by municipating the building; and if neither you nor the head landlords, can convert the head landlords, you can probably make a better bargain than anyone else can. I can't afford to spend any more money on the place; but if you want nothing for my interest in it except the discharge of my conscience in seeing some good public use is

made of it." Thus the "dilapidated" building with its little "façade that belongs to the best period of the Irish domestic architecture at the end of the XVIII century" was transferred to the Carlow Co. Council, because the then TIC had no power to own property. The premises however later passed to the C.C. VEC when this body succeeded the TIC. In 1934, when the reconstruction of the building was completed, O'Neill wrote and formally invited Shaw to the opening. The opening was recorded for posterity in a photograph taken which shows: Mr. Dillon, Manager of the National Bank; Fr. Dunny, Admin. Carlow; D of E official; B. O'Neill, C.E.O.; J. Burke, D of E Inspector; T. Derrig, Minister for Education; Fr. Miller, C.C. Carlow, D of E. official; W. Bennett; J.A. Kehoe; N. Carpenter; P. MacGabhna; J. Cuddy; D. Carbery, Contractor; Canon Ridgeway; M. Wall; Fr. Brennan; L. Nolan, Caretaker. The 80-year old GBS sent a photo on the request of O'Neill to hang in the school and concluded his reply "I look forward to the day when the pupils will knock down the entire town and reconstruct it as the Committee has reconstructed the old Assembly Rooms without spoiling any of its eighteenth century charm". The wonderful postscript to this episode came in a letter of GBS on the 24th May 1944 when he said that his uncle J. Gurley had never visited the Assembly Rooms, but said to him that they would make an excellent observatory. He wrote "The change from the ruinous condition to the present flourishing school of Arts and Crafts is one of which you may be justly proud and for which at least some of my sins as an absentee landlord may be forgiven. It may be of interest to you to know that it has been such a success that I am prepared to hand over the rest of my property in Carlow to the citizens if they undertake to make as good use of it." The full correspondence relating to the transfer of property can be seen in O'Shea's article.³⁰

Thus came into being the oldest co-educational school in the

country.³¹ The school then contained six class rooms:- kitchen, typewriting, woodwork, metalwork, science and general subjects. In addition it contained the office of the former C.E.O. At the time there were five teachers and 70 students. This development came largely through the work of Mr. B. O'Neill. Carlow was lucky to have such a man, so obviously inspired by the ideal of technological education, and who so ably ran the four county schools. In addition, Carlow was doubly fortunate, also to have the 'unlucky' services of Mr. O'Mahony. He came to Carlow³³ after being 13th in his class at the Ringsend Technical Institute, he made 13 applications before landing the Carlow job, there were 13 applicants at this interview, and the omens for Mr. O'Mahony were clearly excellent as these were held on 13th September. He succeeded the engineering teacher Mr. Bill Cleary who stayed for 1 week to ease him into the position. To his surprise, shortly after his arrival in Carlow Mr. Barney O'Neill requested him to call to his office and then to his amazement the avuncular C.E.O. gave forth expansively on his views on school routine, discipline, etc. "to then completely flabbergast" Mr. O'Mahony by ending his discourse with an invitation for to accompany him to the Ritz cinema. Mr. O'Mahony believed that "This simple gesture set the pattern of our relationship for the next twenty years until his retirement in 1956 and right up to his death several years later." As C.E.O., Mr. O'Neill also



A. J. Crotty & B. O'Neill

acted as Principal of the County Headquarters School. Mr. O'Mahony was assigned to workshop classes, which had at this time had the maximum of 16

places that were always fully subscribed.

Mr. O'Neill was forced to go on sick leave in 1941-2 with a breakdown. When he returned, Mr. A. J. (Andrew) Crotty took the position as Vice-Principal, until he was elected C.E.O. in Wicklow in 1951. Mr. O'Mahony then was appointed to this post, which he held in effect until his retirement in 1978. He was born in Cobh, then Queenstown, on 2nd May 1916. He had some limited engineering experience from 1934 working with Merrington Brothers, Wembley, Middlesex who manufactured bedroom furniture, but was forced a year later to inherit his family retail shop business on the death of his father. The business was located at No. 23 and 24 in Cobh where he struggled as "his own boss" through a couple of years in "the hungry '30s". He eventually abandoned his shopkeeper's career in 1938 to pursue two years in the Pembroke Technical Institute training as a teacher of Engineering and Allied Subjects to thereby realize a childhood ambition. After his appointment in Carlow he was able to build on the already impressive achievements of others. In his biographical notes Mr. O'Mahony summarises what was truly an incredible and unique development in Ireland thus "The enrolment in 1940 was about 50 girls and 25 boys in five classes. Teaching staff consisted of five whole-time teachers, two part-timers and a C.E.O. who, from choice, took about five classes per week. Years later when day enrolment topped 500, evening classes well over 1,000, staff: 36 whole-time and 45 part-time, the Department suddenly woke up and realized that they had a Technical College on their hands in all but name." The modern Vocational School was officially opened in 1971 and the wheel went full circle with a school standing on the site of the old Workhouse, on the Kilkenny Road. He had to protest long and hard to the Department of education that the V.P. title was misleading "as it was carried the same workload, responsibility

and remuneration as a Principal of any county school of the same size". After years of haggling and perhaps unparalleled achievement, he eventually managed to off-load for him the demeaning prefix of 'Vice'. The school's students were placed amongst the first three in public examinations conducted by the Department of Education technical instruction Branch, in an almost unbroken sequence from 1940. The CTS students represented Ireland in several International Apprentice Competitions against the cream in the world in the decades of the 1960s and 1970s which were held in Cork, Germany, Scotland, Spain, Portugal and Japan. Carlow students returned with silver and bronze awards. Students entered the professions, teaching, engineering, agriculture, public service, while literally thousands of them obtained apprenticeships. Some became substantial employers in Ireland, while all over the world others became captains of industry holding important positions in multinational and other industries.

THE WALDRON REVOLUTION

Mr. Austin Waldron was born in Ballyhaunis in 1924 and went to school there before transferring to Galway in 1937. He was the second oldest of six children with one older sister who was four years his senior. His father was Headmaster at Roscrea Vocational School and one of his early memories was to see the new school there and "he liked what he saw". He was educated at St. Mary's in Galway as a boarder and went to Cistercian College in Roscrea. He studied in UCG for two years Agricultural Science, taking most of the subjects through Irish, viz. chemistry (Practical), physics, mathematics and biology before transferring to do two further years in the Albert College in Dublin. Here he took a few lectures in the College of Science notably engineering, with most other lectures and the practical work being done in Glasnevin. He used the cycle to get between the two centres and found this no trouble being at the time very fit and actively

actively involved in Gaelic sport. James McDonagh, lecturer in agriculture was the best teacher he ever had. At the university he had to pass an examination in Irish this was the most difficult examination he ever took beginning at 2.15pm and continuing to 8.30pm. The examiner at this late hour turned to Course Director to ask him in Irish if he had any questions, to which the reply again in Irish was "I feel you have enough done". Mr. Waldron subsequently taught in both languages science when he first began teaching as he had native speakers in the class. He was appointed in his first position as Teacher-in-Charge at Belmullet Vocational School in 1947. He did not have the requisite two years teaching experience to be appointed Principal, but he duly later became Principal. Here he spent nine years teaching and building up the Vocational School and this was recognised as a success locally. There were only a eighteen students with five teachers when he began. He faced, however, an ultimatum on his appointment that unless numbers were increased, the school would close. He turned in a great performance and was counted an unqualified success. The school was a thriving operation with hundreds of students before he left. He also ran an extensive programme of night classes in Belmullet and used National Schools in other adjacent centres for these classes. Here once again the trusty bike came into play as he only had permission to get a Hackney Cab if the "weather was inclement". He played "any sport that was a going." He had got a Sigerson Cup Medal in Belfast in 1946-7 playing left-corner forward for UCG and was considered to be very good. The students in his school here took Department primary or first grade examinations, with Mr. Waldron teaching himself various science subjects. A few years into his teaching career he was made a tempting financial offer when a big car drove up to his school and a well groomed young man offered Mr. Waldron a job in his firm at twice his then salary. The negotiations eventually went to three

times the salary. The young entrepreneur was so well groomed it was impossible for Mr. Waldron to recognise the young lad he had taught just a few years earlier trade subjects that had made him his fortune in England.

Mr. Waldron came to Carlow in 1956 as a very young man. He applied for the job of C.E.O. not really expecting to obtain an appointment. He was merely putting in an application to gain experience in applying for these kind of positions. The interview he attended in Dublin was for two jobs, one in Cork and the other in Carlow. The interview was conducted by the Appointments Commission. There were both written and oral examinations in Irish at the interview. The chairman of the interview board luckily that day was General M.J. Costello, MD of the Irish Sugar Company. The interviews were held in Dublin. There was a very long interview and there was subsequently an even longer discussion to come to a decision on the selection. The General apparently thought Mr. Waldron was the man with ambition and ability and it seems he eventually persuaded the board to follow his recommendation, despite "fair opposition from the outgoing C.E.O". at the time who believed that Mr. Waldron was just too young. Laughing, while recalling these events, Mr. Waldron said, "Well I never thanked him anyway." He felt it was not appropriate that he should, despite meeting the General regularly for years afterwards. He added "By God, he did not want Cork!" He moved into 10, Frederick Avenue, Carlow which then was the last house erected on a new estate at the edge of the town and the family began to grow with his son, Philip being born shortly thereafter. His wife Eithne after moving to Carlow obtained employment in St. Dymphna's Hospital and they both settled into an active professional life in Carlow. The other two boys and a girl arriving at various intervals and were according to Mr. Waldron "what kept him in Carlow" because these had to be put through

school and then college. Only one of the children Eithne came to the Regional Technical College (RTC), where she obtained a National Diploma in Analytical Science and is presently employed in the High School Dublin at present

The apprentice course began initially in the old Vocational School on the Dublin Street. Carlow had a long history of apprentice training in the semi-state Sugar Company of fitters, turners, blacksmiths and welders. These training programmes soon assumed national importance given the absence of any other similar on-the-job training programmes in the country. Given this demand locally from the Sugar Company, An Fóras Talúntais (AFT) and elsewhere the number of courses proliferated until there were eventually 27 rooms rented by the VEC including rooms in Little Theatre, 2 rooms in the Forester's Hall, rooms in the old Protestant National School on Shamrock Square, John's Street, the Boat Club, Crofton Hotel (now the Seven Oaks), CYMS, College Street, and six rooms in the Christian Brothers School in College Street, accommodation subsequently enhanced by three pre-fabs on site. Mr. Waldron recalls that one St. Patrick's Day, a pre-fab was erected in a day. The cost was £1700. Mr Waldron recalled that "The workmen from first light drove nails". The VEC rented the new laboratory in the Mercy Convent in which Dr. Nuala Eades taught as a Part Time Teacher. She was highly regarded by the nuns and the VEC took good care of this new facility by covering the benches with protective material. There was a room also in the Sugar Factory in the Research Building. Roddy Murphy, to Mr. Waldron, the epitome of the brilliant, disorganized scientist, taught there. Later the VEC got rooms in the Presentation Convent. Given the scale of the operation developed in Carlow and despite pressure from Kilkenny who had the greater political pull in government, the RTC came to Carlow. The securing of the college for Carlow

almost certainly meant that Waterford also got an RTC. If Kilkenny had been successful in their lobbying of the Minister then Waterford would not have obtained their college. The only centre outside the capital to push technical education was Cork. Despite having the Crawford Institute their achievements were modest as they did not go so far as technician training. In Carlow by the 1960s the courses went to the level of 4th year apprentice.

The key to getting a third level institute for Carlow can be dated from the efforts made by Mr. Waldron to obtain for Carlow the Higher Technological and Technological salaries/grade appointments, which at the time were paid only to Dublin teachers. From the start of his time in Carlow, Mr. Waldron applied each year for such appointments and was just as regularly turned down. There was, according to Mr. Waldron, as consequence an annual long hard fight over the issue. In the 1960s, sanctions began to materialise. Such appointments were essential to provide the personnel capable of building up technician courses. Carlow began at this time to expand as a major centre of growth under the stern disciplinarian Mr. O'Mahony. He stood on the steps of the old Vocational School in Dublin Street and read out the daily timetable to all the boys who would gather at 9am for the details of their timetables, as they were to a large extent itinerant students being located in so many centres around the town. A new teacher, Mr. Michael Curran in coming to Carlow and who transferred later to the RTC, tells of being merely one minute late for a class and remembers to this day getting a severe dressing down for this gross misdemeanor. Michael told the story at his retirement in 2002 and said he naturally never again made this mistake in his entire career! Indeed, many teachers came out of Principal's office in tears and some of them were men! The principal would come into the staff room and send teachers to supervise classes as he said it was just as easy to correct copies

while supervising a class as to do the job in the staff room. His enthusiasms here meant in practice that most teachers went out as soon as the classes were finished to avoid the extra assignment of duties. Mr. O'Mahony was truly the hardest working principal you could wish to find and was never out of the school. His office light was on from first thing on Monday to last thing on Friday and he stayed at his desk to supervise the night classes, but he also worked on his multitude of local and charitable societies which numbered incredibly some 45, all listed in Mr. O'Mahony's own autobiography. With the diligence of the Principal and the support of a dedicated and hard working staff, the numbers of enrolments in the VEC system soared from under 100 on his arrival to 1067 in 1966-7. The staff consisted then of 25 whole-time and 24 part-time teachers. The Engineering & Allied Subjects Prospectus that year was headed up by the Principal and include 6 trade (Apprentice block release-carpentry and electrical, draughtsmanship, electrical engineering, mechanical engineering, motor car engineering and physics & chemistry) with 6 professional (Dip. Chem. Tech in chemistry, both A.M.I.Mech.E. and A.M.I.E.D. in mechanical engineering, both A.M.I.M.I. and A.M.I.R.T.E. in motor engineering), and a B.Sc. external London programme in Science. Mr. Kevin O'Regan, Vice-Principal, headed the Commerce & General Studies prospectus. There were numerous courses. One led to an Intermediate Certificate. Commercial and there were Secretarial Qualifications (Secretarial Certificate Technical Instruction Branch, the Royal Society of Arts and other examining bodies). The latter led to Professional Secretarial Qualifications (Irish Institute of Secretaries, the Corporation of Secretaries, and the Chartered Institute of Secretaries). Two Institute courses existed, one for the Institute of Cost and Works Accountants and a second for the Institute of Banking. There was a Diploma in Social and

Economic Science. In the Department of Management Studies there were the Certificate in Supervision and the Diploma in Local Administration and Marketing. The Irish Sugar Company also ran ten courses in the CTS 'Block and Day Release Courses' (Potential Supervisors, Sugar Technology Foremen, Food Factory Foremen and Supervisors, Appreciation in Food Hygiene, Store-keeping, Switchboard Operation, Management Course for Supervisors, Office Procedures and Systems, Public Speaking and Languages.). There were handicraft courses in art, crafts, cookery and needlework. In the Building & Science Prospectus headed up by Mr. Bob Holohan, the Assistant-Principal ran course in Common Intermediate Certificate, with both Junior and Senior Technical Courses leading to a Manual Training Day Group Certificate offered. The Senior Qualification prepared the student for the Department's Technological examinations in mechanical engineering, for the London University General Certificate and also the Entrance Scholarship for the Dublin Institution of Technology (DIT). There was a Senior Science Courses in Building Construction, Carpentry and Joinery, Cabinet Making, Woodwork, Draughtsmanship (including mechanical, building, machine, structural drawing and machine design), Physics and Chemistry.

The backbone of the teaching staff were Mr. Liam Hayden and Mr. Brian Fitzharris who taught engineering technology, drawing and practical workshop. Mr. Tom James an engineering graduate of Trinity, came in part-time to teach drawing. Mr. Holohan taught woodwork and this group was a far more cosmopolitan collection of students, as there was generally only one apprentice from the Sugar Company, while the remainder students came from all over Ireland to study in the Carlow VEC.

Mr. John Whitty transferred from Offaly VEC to join his colleague Mr. Eamon Moore in

Carlow on September 1966, to teach Woodwork and Technical Drawing to the second level students and Carpentry and Joinery to apprentice classes. John's wife Ann commenced teaching Business Studies in Carlow in November 1966 and subsequently transferred to the RTC in 1982 where she worked until her retirement in 1999. Twenty-eight hours contact was required by MemoV7 at this time, but this very heavy load was reduced to twenty-two hours in 1969 when overtime was paid for the first time. Mr. Waldron, mindful of the need to support the career prospects of staff, was able to offer certain members a transfer to the new RTC in 1970. A considerable uptake on this offer resulted from AnCO trades teachers with Construction (Moore), Electrical Trades (Mr. Len Cotter, Mr. Christy Lacey {he subsequently left the RTC to set up the very successful switch gear company Process Control and Automation Systems - PCAS on the Strawhall Industrial Estate}, Mr. Curran and Mr. John Costello). Mr. John Doyle who came to the RTC from the Wexford VEC set up automobile Maintenance. Some like Mr. Whitty declined transfers from the CTS feeling they wished to exploit the potential that then existed with the co-educational integration of the new Vocational School, established on the Kilkenny Road in 1972. Mr. Whitty later established remedial education for children with learning difficulties in CTS before accepting a position in the RTC in April 1982. He worked until his retirement in January 2003. Mr. Whitty was involved in the success of the 1972 All Ireland Football title winning team. On this celebrated team were Eddie Deane (Now proprietor of the shop in the Institute of Technology Carlow), Noel Fleming, John Geraghty, Thomas Cogan and Paddy Foley. The redoubtable Mr. O'Regan ran the girls school in the Presentation and he had Mr. Tony Darcy, who subsequently developed the architecture course in the RTC, teaching mathematics there while he studied for his professional qualifi-

cations. There were Saturday morning classes and classes held in both the day and evening in St. Patrick's College.

Mr. Moore, who after service in the army, came to Carlow as a Woodwork and Building Construction teacher in 1965 and recalls hearing about a "50 room Technical Institute" over a cup of tea during a class break. Space was at such a premium that a wag was heard to comment when a temporary timber building arrived on the back of a truck "if that's the new RTC they will be a few rooms short of 50!" However, in due course the RTC was constructed on the Kilkenny Road and the pilot courses in both Science and Crafts that had commenced in the Vocational School were transferred to the new building. Interviews began for staff and the first coterie of souls, some of whom survive in the system to this very day, entered the hallowed halls on the 1st October 1970.

Mr. Martin Nevin, later Chairman of the County Council, who himself was a Sugar Company apprentice, remembers Carlow being like a university town in that it drew in young men from all over the country. New teachers were required for apprentice classes some of them part-time teachers who taught at night. Many of those who studied in Carlow subsequently progressed to important positions around the country. Day classes ran from 9am-4pm, three nights a week classes were 4-6 pm while on the other two nights there were night classes from 7-9 pm. The mechanical apprentices in the Sugar Company studied turbines, diesels, maintenance, machines and drawing. For the apprentices from Thompson Ltd. training involved an emphasis on machine manufacturing technologies. There were in addition usually 1 or 2 apprentices from Keenan Ltd. who were 'drafting' trainees on this course. Advice on technician courses was according to Mr. Waldron, obtained from anywhere he could get it! Advice came, from among other places, Mr. John Kinsella on programmes in

England, the apprentice board and from the Sugar Company. Mr. Waldron said that "they were making it up as they went along!" The fruits of these trainees can be seen locally with businesses such as Delaney's on the Link Road, Carlow and Burnsides of Bagenalstown, leaders today in the hydraulic ram business worldwide.

In science, the students studied for a Department of Education Food Technology Diploma. This course had been specially established by 'Mickey Joe', as the workers referred to Lt. General M.J. Costello. The Sugar Company took in a very elite group of six or so trainee supervisors for their emerging food division. One of these was Mr. Michael White, Enterprise Ireland's Manager of Regional Technology and Innovation based in Limerick. In 1962 he studied with some notable success to obtain Part 2 of his Diploma which included examinations (Written and Practical) in Food Microbiology in a course run in the Research Centre of the Sugar Company by Mr. R. Murphy "who had petri dishes laid out for the students". Food and Nutritional (Written) was taught by Mrs. Piggot whose husband, later became the Chief Engineer in the Office of Public Works and who gave the occasional extra-curricular engineering lecture; Cookery for which Mr. White got a first class pass (a fact that still constantly continues to amaze his wife Geraldine!) that clearly was ably taught by Ms. Marie Byrne; Food Technology 1 and 2 was taught by Mr. Gordon Tucker whose reputation in developing freeze drying in the Sugar Company's R & D Division made him a star lecturer; Accountancy, Costing and finally Business Methods were taught brilliantly as usual by Mr. O'Regan. The class also received some supplementary lectures from the late Mr. Con Maloney on the subject of Human Resource Management. This lecturer later became General Manager of the Sugar Company at Carlow, but died tragically young in this job. The domestic science classes were held in

Dublin Street, the Food Technology in the Sugar Company, accountancy in the Presentation Convent (Now the County Library), while engineers taught Process Control and Instrumentation in the Boat Club. This prestige course produced buns, which were surplus to the nutritional needs of the students, and at times this surplus became the ammunition for the legendary Carlow 'bun fights' in the local cinema. This course was one that rivalled at least, the Diploma in Chemical Technology that the Crawford Institute ran in Cork. Many of the University College Cork graduates (including Con) in Dairy Science joined the Sugar Company and they added significantly to the quality of the unique educational environment in Carlow. On a footnote, Mr. White himself returned as a Lecturer Grade 3 in the new RTC after completing his studies in Leeds and working in Smithwicks in Kilkenny. He developed a Food Science Degree in 1973, which was at the time a unique course proposal. Unfortunately, this proposal was politically squashed by UCC and this led directly to Mr. White's decision to move from the RTC to take up the position as manager to Nash Ltd., Newcastle West, Limerick and to thereby subsequently to pursue his career in Enterprise Ireland.

The apprentice qualifications obtained in Carlow were simply handed out to the graduating students in a rather informal way. There was no ceremony involved. AnCO (later FÁS) and the Sugar Company were very helpful. From time to time, special course such as the one for Sewing Machine Skills for the Carlow Boot Factory would be accommodated. Various efforts to expand the teaching scope of the CTS were made. One story perhaps sums up the man very well in that humour can sometimes win the day when stubborn persistence fails. Mr. Waldron was frustrated repeatedly in his applications to get a part-time appointment confirmed for a German national who was married to a local bank manager. In

frustration at the repeated blocking of this request he finally decided not to respond to another request for information on her ability to teach and one question that he found 'ageist'. Waldon was phoned up seeking answers to three questions when he said 'tongue in cheek' to one question as to the relevance of her experience, that "He thought that given she was a married lady, her experience would be adequate!" at which reply his inquisitor burst out laughing and left it at that. Later the sanction arrived. The inspector who subsequently came down to do the necessary inspection of her language skills had only two words of German and Waldron said was "no better able to judge her language skills than I".

Teachers were "very scarce on the ground". Mr. Waldron went all over the country to interview and recruit teachers. He recalled on one occasion going to Galway to interview two teachers and both apparently made his long journey worthwhile by accepting the jobs on the spot. However, the very next day both phoned to inform him that unfortunately they were not taking up the appointments as they had got jobs in Galway, obviously an immediate response from the Galway VEC to the Carlow offers. On another occasion, someone from the North West was offered and accepted a position in Carlow, but after a week he had still not reported for work. Waldron phoned his home and managed to get his father, who told him "His son had indeed left for Carlow, but having got as far as Tullamore he got a job there!". Recruitment at this time was difficult, best illustrated by another story. Mr. Waldron went to interview a lady in a mental hospital. It occurred to him half way through the interview that the lady was a patient and not the teacher as he had erroneously supposed. He checked on the way out with the matron, "who was very slow indeed to give me an answer". His suspicions were confirmed. In due course he sent a kind letter, "trying hard not to exacerbate a difficult situation for this patient, to thank her for her for the job application and to hope that she was not too disappointed this time that she had



John Kinsella, Ballytimon, Fenagh, Co. Carlow

been unsuccessful in the application".

THE NEW EDUCATIONAL VISION FOR IRELAND

Mr. John Kinsella was born in Ballytimon, Fenagh in 1916 and attended school in Newtown and Muinebheag. He graduated with a Bachelor of Engineering degree from UCD and left to work in Napiers, the then thriving and famous aeronautical company to England. He worked on jet engine propulsion during the World War gaining knowledge that placed him at the forefront of this new engineering discipline. As a consequence, in the early 1950s he became Professor in the Jet Propulsion Department of Cranfield College of Aeronautics. However, he maintained his links with his home looking to exploit his engineering skills to develop industry in Ireland. During his time in Cranfield he began consultancy work with Keenans, the Bagenalstown company. He continued this work after his move back to Ireland in 1959. He had thus, through his very wide life experiences, garnered considerable insight into the needs of industry and society. His knowledge of these matters was unrivalled in Ireland at this time.

On their return, the family lived first in Bagenalstown, then moved to Dublin in 1960. He split his time between his Dublin employment and his farm in Wicklow until he sold this in 1965. From this time he worked for the Institution of Engineers

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of Ireland in Ballsbridge, Dublin. He is remembered for the merger of the older Civil Engineering Society with the Electro-Mechanical Society. He moved the headquarters from Clyde Road to a premises where Jury's Hotel now stands. Mr. Kinsella was centrally involved in the early 1960s in establishing the engineering casting company **Precision Alloys** in Ballyfermot. To his great disappointment this company failed. He worked for the Smith Group in Dublin for two years before 1970 settling in Cloydagh some three miles outside Carlow town.

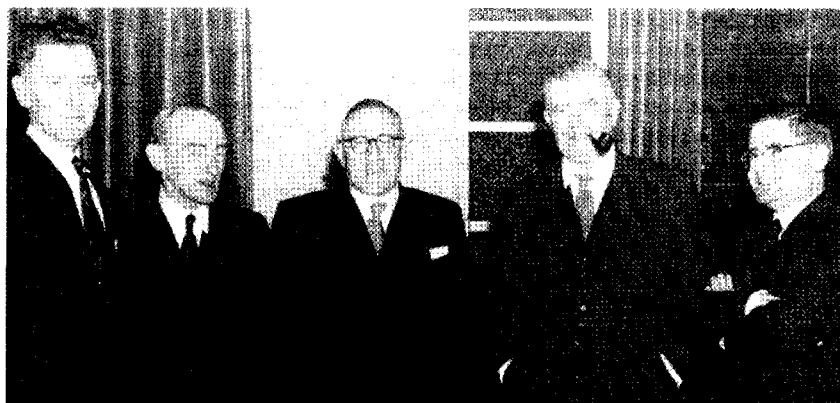
Mr. Kinsella's great contribution to Irish technological education surrounds what was indeed his epoch making lecture on Technical Education to the 1961 Bundoran Conference of the Irish Vocational Education Association (IVEA). He had been asked to give a paper at the IVEA because, according to Mr. Waldron they knew "nothing about technicians." Thus in 1960, he asked Mr. Kinsella to talk about the role, training and function of technician training. Mr. Waldron was "looking for information on this topic himself". Carlow VEC at the time, had a programme of apprentice training, but "had very little notion of where technicians fitted into the general scheme of things".

It was recognised that Mr. Kinsella "was obviously no limited narrow engineer". This fact, is testified in Kinsella's seminal contributions by his 1961 IVEA lecture. This lecture on technical education showed him to be really a philosopher and seer. In 1960 he delivered a lecture to the UCD Engineering Society on the topic. Mr. Waldron had first spotted Mr. Kinsella's potential and it was he who then persuaded him to duplicate his speech at the IVEA's Bundoran Conference. On the 9th June, he duly delivered what was to become a landmark speech³⁴ after traveling to the Northwest with Mr. Waldron. The importance of this speech entitled "Vocational Schools Science and the Future" requires this to be dealt with in some length here.

It put down a national marker for the entire future of Irish third-level education. He began with a brief review of developments on the continent and Britain. He set the tenor of his contribution when he noted that "Our engineering, scientific and technical background in this country

is very limited compared to countries like Germany and Britain. This is often raised as an objection to the possibility of industrial development here but my own view, based on my personal experience is that this lack of tradition need not necessarily be a handicap but can in fact be turned to an advantage".

He noted the rapid changes internationally in the form of industry in which highly skilled work was being de-skilled and that Ireland did not have any resistance to these new industrial realities and "the country should proceed to train men in the techniques of modern industry". The problem for him was to define the problem of the training/educational needs in "content of magnitude." He saw clearly before T.K. Whittaker, and probably almost uniquely for the time, that "we can to-day control our economic development". He warned against unplanned development, which would produce a "hotchpotch of industries without an adequate base to supply industries to support them". He wanted people trained in the country and not imported from abroad to support industrial development. His view was that we should "accept what the world has to offer in all spheres and to continue from there". This salient advice to start from the best practice and bypass traditional shortcomings of the more advanced nations was hammered home. He defined the grades of workers and the training they needed, the



Influential movers.

Left: Mr. Mulcahy, C.E.O. of Dublin County V.E.C.; Michael O'Flanagan, Chief Inspector Dept. of Education, Technical Instruction Branch; Sean O'Doherty, C.E.O. Galway, V.E.C.; General Michael Costello, C.E.O. Irish Sugar Company and Mr Austin Waldron, C.E.O, Carlow V.E.C.

operative, the craftsman, the technician, the technologist and the engineering scientists. Today this sounds old hat, but this was 1961 Ireland!

His advice on training marks him as a philosopher of the change from the old apprentice systems to the modern system pioneered by AnCO and subsequently by FÁS. He advocated positive intervention in training rather than the passive "serving your time" and discussed research results on training methods of whole (learning an entire job), isolation (learning in unconnected steps) and progressive part method (learning stepwise and building skills) that showed the experimental results on capstan lathe training. He did not favour the French system of taking apprentices completely out of industry or the use of this manpower as cheap labour. Mr. Kinsella had strong views on technical education noting that the school leaving age of fourteen was a severe problem for the development of the country as this led to the exclusion of talent from craftsman-training of those that could not get into these schemes. He thus advocated a broader entry to apprenticeships through night classes. He saw the limitations of the existing examination papers in which there was a "lack of co-ordination between some of the theoretical subjects and the practical requirements of the trade."

Mr. Kinsella's main contribution was undoubtedly in defining in a

very clear way the future course of 'technician education'. He began by stating boldly that there would be a clash of interests in the relative roles of the existing universities and any 'schools of higher technology' as he called what we see today as Institutes of Technology. It might be pointed out that at this time there were no schools of higher technological education outside of Dublin, Belfast and Cork. He explained that there were two different types of education needed in the third level sector. "For universities the teaching of fundamentals and then illustration by the rule and its exceptions". The other schools needed to approach an understanding of fundamentals through "an extensive observation of examples. In other words, this type of mind can build up rather than analyse. It occurs in by far the greater number of people".

The impressive point is that he anticipated that this sector, which was then, in truth in its infancy, should expand to cater for greater numbers, but in which "adequate provision must be made, however, for transferring suitable students to the universities at the appropriate time". He then went on to draw on his experience and knowledge of the British system looking at the options of Day-release, Evening Classes, Block Release and Sandwich course. He considered only the latter two options were practical for technician training. He noted that the interfacing of the professional bodies with the HNC (Higher National

Certificate), which granted some important exemptions on membership to professional bodies had repercussions all the way down the scale. The kernel of Kinsella's lecture was concerned with the organization and approach to technician education. He wrote with amazing prescience.

"In provincial areas it would, I think, be uneconomic at the moment to provide local technical institutes at which the requirements of technician and technologists would be met. For this reason I would advocate the setting up of regional colleges, initially to cater for students up to technician level, with the technological level being met by colleges already existing in the major cities (emphasis added). In this letter (sic) case, however, both the syllabus and examination requirements would have to cater for general industry and not be tailored to meet the specific needs of particular industries".

He pointed out that if full-time teachers could not be appointed to these regional colleges, part-time teachers could develop this need. He pointed out the vital need for the cooperation of the Department of Education, local VECs and local industries in this. He saw the problem of transfer in the system anticipating the severe problems that the very best RTC students would have in transferring into the university sector, because of what was really nothing short of an unjustifiable defense of their privileged position. Furthermore, he saw the necessity for the government of each vocational and technical school to be autonomous within the general legal and educational provision, with a governing body representative of the various local interests, religious, industrial, commercial, farming etc. In this way the precise local needs could be provided for and changing requirements anticipated.

For good measure, Mr. Kinsella added that the parents of future students should be made aware of the technical college's objectives. In so doing, he clearly anticipated the resistance of

many to a technical system that had for so long been heavily dominated at second level by a scholastic tradition. He saw the annual loss of some 7000 men from emigration, in part being the result of the technologists being degraded in Ireland to perform technician duties. He pointed to research that indicated a need for a ratio of some 6 technicians for every technologist, but he himself put the ratio at 3. He thus estimated the then current requirement of 680 technicians and 210 technologists. He importantly highlighted the very damaging failure of Leaving Certificate subjects to address science. He said it was a "source of wonder to me that we have managed to turn out so many engineers and scientists without any background to influence them."

Mr. Kinsella was a technological enthusiast whose mentors clearly are Comenius, Hartlib and Petty³⁵ in his enthusiasm for technological education, with the operative word here being enthusiasm. Kinsella called for the promotion of this vital commodity in the young and sadly added:

I note an almost total lack of faith in our own ability and belief in our own industrial future. We have unfortunately, many of the "Beal Bocht", who preach the doctrine of pessimism and an attitude of "we can't do it". My own experience is that we have good, and in many cases better, human material than any of the established industrialists in the world. I find that the youth, particularly from the country villages and towns, have considerable skill and respond very well to encouragement, and it is up to us in industry and to you the teachers to help them find that faith in themselves.

He pointed out that it was the teachers that faced this challenge. He added with feeling "It is, I consider, of paramount importance to fire that spark of enthusiasm and to kindle it by all possible means in literature,

radio or personal contact". Suggesting vocational schools should get involved in staff-student projects involving ingenuity to implement such as shortly thereafter perhaps provided by the Young Scientist Exhibition. He looked to Ireland's own resources to deliver these changes saying "All countries have their own programme of encouraging their own economic development." It was up to Ireland to take its destiny in its own hands and "do some fundamental thinking for ourselves." He had real experience of the hard taskmaster of engineering being a "slow and arduous task" which required enthusiasm in its practitioners to see them through to success. He concluded his actual speech thus:

Finally, I welcome the decision to set up a commission on higher education and would plead that we allow them to carry out their task coldly, dispassionately and scientifically to enable them to recommend an educational system geared for tomorrow's need.

After the profuse thanks of the Chairman and others for his paper and discussion Mr. Kinsella replied by saying "he had great hope for the future of Ireland and confidence that education will have a big role in shaping the destiny of the Nation". How right he was given the enormous contributions that the RTCs have made to the industrial development of Ireland!

AUSTIN WALDRON - THE FATHER OF THE RTC SCHEME

After Bundoran, Mr. Waldron was more determined than ever to see the development of a third level facility in Carlow, whether this was a national or regional institute was of no fundamental concern. Waldron had unfortunately only minimal help from various local politicians in his campaign for a technician institute. The names he recalls who were assistance were Mr. Brendan Little and Mr. Tom James. These were both active chairmen of the VEC and the lat-

ter was outstanding because of his engineering background and his important connections with Trinity, the Institution of Engineers of Ireland and of course through his network of many others who were involved in education in the Fine Gael Party. Of the clerical support he noted Father Tom Brophy. Mr. 'Johnny' Predergast³⁶ was on the Governing Body of UCD as a political appointment and through this position he was able to give comparative ideas on the running of both the older and younger institutes. He was close to 'Dev' and had indeed links with his party at all levels. Mr. Waldron's excellent relationship with the Department was however, so far as one can judge, far more important than any political support that was mustered for the cause. Mr. Waldron had to go eight successive years with submissions to the Department before at last he received sanction for the technician institute. The Department was "a dead hand" Mr. Waldron noted before adding "that to some extent it still is!". Everything slowed the progress of the great idea of his technical institute. The Department's *modus operandi* was to apply all sorts of rules, "some of which did not exist at all and only indeed existed in their own minds." These negative attributes were "sort of absorbed by new inspectors." Mr. Waldron found that "the first thing they said was NO to any request". As a consequence "the first thing you had to do was to break down the no, if you wanted to get anywhere." Clearly, Mr. Waldron was very good at this game of cat and mouse, and even surprisingly earned considerable respect in the Department for his efforts at subversion.

Mr. Waldron was not afraid to take on clerical opposition in his determination to see technical education developed in Ireland. He had two Chairmen who were clerics. The first Father Coughlan was a man who despite being very much under the influence of the most powerful local cleric, the redoubtable Monsignor James Conway of Bagenalstown, still was an enthusiastic and regular attendee

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of the IVEA Conferences. The Monsignor's nephew, Mr. Jim Conway still teaches in the Vocational School in Carlow. He was also involved in the winning 'All Ireland' V.S. football team. The second chair of the VEC was Father Crowley who was a more independent spirit according to Mr. Waldron. He eventually left Carlow to become Parish priest in Abbeyleix, Co. Laois. When the new priest, Father John Fingleton arrived in Carlow, Mr. Prendergast stood against him and the VEC obtained their first secular chair as Fr. Fingleton decided not to press the matter to a vote. Both his clerics Fr. Coughlan and Fr. Craowley were "very fair men" according to Mr. Waldron, but there were many in the church very strongly opposed to vocational education and "not too far from his back door!"

In the mid-1960s it was determined by the Department of Education that a two-room vocational school in Bagenalstown would be built on a site adjacent to the Fire Station. Mr. Waldron opposed this because he rightly believed this to be far too small. Monsignor Conway certainly was not an enthusiast of vocational education. In gauging public opinion for the proposed school, Mr. Waldron had a meeting with Mr. Tom Manning and Mr. Paddy Keenan who owned the two biggest businesses in the town. These two, the Monsignor and Mr. Waldron met and he argued the case for a larger school and was supported by the two businessmen. He subsequently was "to hold his counsel" when shown every small plot in the town by the Monsignor who "was enthusiastic over all these unsuitable sites". Mr. Waldron got in touch with Mr. Tom Nolan T.D. who went round Bagenalstown with him and soon found an ideal site of some three acres, where the school now stands. Drawings for a substantial school were duly sent to the Department and they gave approval for a modest four-room school on 1 acre! The Department could not be argued with over such matters, so in due course this building was erected. An inspector thought the

Principal's office was a luxury and only agreed after much argument to a much reduced room, the corridors were too wide and indeed economies were made all round. To his horror, Mr. Waldron, then discovered that he needed the permission of the Monsignor for a curate to come to the school to give religious instruction! He duly made an appointment with the Monsignor at 8am one morning only to find to his consternation that when he left, totally frustrated at 11.30am, the Monsignor had fended off all discussion of the topic. This was his result despite best efforts to raise the issue throughout the three and half hour interview. He, however, returned shortly thereafter for a second interview as he urgently needed to resolve this matter. Only at 11 am on the second visit did the ice start to crack. Mr. Waldron was told by the Monsignor that if his senior curate did not object to taking on these duties (Mr. Waldron of course also needed clearance from Monsignor Conway!), "He wouldn't object to one of the junior curates doing this teaching, if they agreed to these duties". Catch 22! In the end, despite everything, the Senior Curate agreed reluctantly to help and Mr. Waldron subsequently got the "energetic and enthusiastic" help of the Junior Curate, Father Doyle. He also got the help of the Rev. Roundtree of the Church of Ireland. "The only time the Monsignor was in the school was at the opening to see the crucifix erected in the main entrance", Mr. Waldron recalled. When an extension was sought to the inadequate Bagenalstown building, the Department granted an extra three rooms and agreed to the purchase of an additional quarter of an acre. However, the persistent Mr. Waldron, when the work was in progress, arranged for the funds to be made available to put a second story on the building. He thereby finally obtained a building of adequate dimensions that has now for more than thirty years served the community that was close in size to the original building he had planned.

The Department was another

problem for Mr. Waldron. They had appointed him in 1955, but the CEO Mr. O'Neill who was uneasy with the appointment hung on for more than a year and Waldron had thus been unable to start until 1956. He got a taste of the action that was to follow with an inspector who had thought it a good idea for Home Economics classes to use sticks for knives, forks and spoons to save expense. A set of cutlery was, however, purchased. He was however soon after challenged by a woman inspector who came to Carlow to enquire why he had purchased "without sanction" an electric kettle and also a set of plates for home economics classes. She arrived in the door of his office to enquire why he had done this, "Madam", he courteously replied, "while I am CEO here, we will never seek sanction for such basic class materials". He recalls here turning on her heels without another word and leaving the building. In another occasion about this time, an inspector had required him to return some steel planes and purchase some cheaper wood planes, as "these were adequate for the pupils needs". This reprimand went unanswered, and the steel planes remained. He was a man determined to make a mark and he was to learn the ropes well enough over the following years. His persistence became a legend according to many to whom the author has spoken, but he was acquiring a growing respect in Marlborough Street for both his independence and persistence.

As a result of continued pressure on the Department, about 1967

Mr. Waldron got sanction "out of the blue" to build a college in Carlow. He had of course earlier led a deputation to the Minister over eight years pressing for this sanction and furthermore had the foresight to have obtained a design for the proposed college building for Carlow from architects. After attending the opening of the Vocational School in Muinebheag, the then Minister Dr. Paddy Hillery, on the way home from the ceremony, asked "When are you going to start pouring concrete?" Mr. Waldron was ready to do just this as the architect's plans had gone through the Department. A Government reshuffle, unfortunately from a Carlow perspective at the time, brought in a new Minister and this was to scupper Mr. Waldron's plan. Mr. Donnacha O'Malley immediately started talking about a national system of Regional Colleges (it should be remembered that Mr. Kinsella had first suggested such a system in 1961). Mr. O'Malley got great credit for his role in the vision for this national system of RTCs, but one suspects that there was quite an element of the typical lobbying within Fianna Fail from local constituency interests that succeeded in broadening the plan to establish a national system of RTCs. Mr. Waldron, in having got sanction for Carlow to establish what was in effect a national technician-training institute, had undoubtedly stolen a march on other VECs. The Carlow plan was by this time so far advanced, and of such significance, with the sanction in place from the Department, "that things could



Bob Holohan, Austin Waldron & Pat O'Mahony

Courtesy of Ger Holohan

not be turned around". Carlow was ready to start building and the College and the plans could not then be blocked despite the anticipated strong lobbying from Kilkenny. It is well known to this day that Kilkenny has greatly resented the fact that they did not obtain an RTC. The Carlow initiative was then however rolled up in the new national proposal for RTCs, but the work in Carlow was so advanced that the Carlow RTC would then have to be the first of the colleges to be built. Mr. O'Malley was according to Mr. Waldron "confident from the out that he would get from the Dáil the money for this national system of RTCs" and in this he is indeed due much credit. In the bigger picture also it must be admitted here that the national system has historically been of inestimable value to Ireland, and is a far a better system than the original plan for one national institute in Carlow for technician training. A National Steering Committee was established, which included both Mr. Waldron and Mr. Kinsella.

When the Steering Committee reported this became a very important policy document that was to drive the development of the RTCs in the first phase of their development until the 1980s. Waldron was only a peripheral figure on this Committee and not at the core, which was the Design Sub-committee. His work had been hugely successful at the ground level devising through his drive and determination the actuality of technician education for the country.

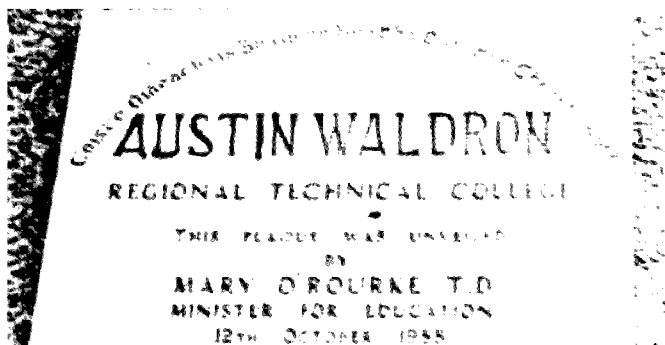
Summary

In summary then the courses of real national importance run by the Vocational School were as follows:- Mechanical Engineering Evening Classes 1940-71; Mechanical Engineering (Block Release) 1945; a Engineering Day release (1953-71); Motor Car (Day Release) 1955-71; Structural Engineering (Day Release) 1960-71; Food technician (Day Release) 1964-69; Laboratory technician (Block Release); 1966-70; Instrument



Minister for Education, Mary O'Rourke T.D. and Mr Austin Waldron at the unveiling ceremony to name the college in his honour.

Technician (Block Release) 1962-64; Electrical Apprentices (Block Release) 1965-71; of this magnitude can only come about through higher involvements. At the second level,



The plaque erected on the Institute in 1988

Building Apprentices (Block Release) 1966-71. The work done in the CTS led to the establishment of the Regional Technical Colleges nationally. All the staff and students which played their part in what was really an historic development should be acknowledged. One suspects that GBS would have been absolutely delighted that the small acorn he sowed by his generous contribution to his home town would have grown into such a massive oak towering above all others in the country outside of the capital city by 1970.

It is good for stories to have heroes and in this epoch making development of the foundation of the RTCs, which came about in the most part through the very determined work of Carlow based technical educationalist, there are of course many heroes. The lesser lights such as O'Regan, Holohan and those who worked at the chalk-face will no doubt happily acknowledge that political developments

O'Neill, Crotty and particularly O'Mahony laid the foundation through sterling work in the CTS and VECs, but here it is no doubt that the Minister for Education Mary O'Rourke TD was right in singling out Waldron as the key figure at the unveiling of the plaque at the long delayed official opening of the RTC on 12 October, 1988.

FROM MARY O'ROURKE THE THEN EDUCATION MINISTER

I am truly honoured to have been invited to contribute to the article on the Origins of Technical Education in Carlow and more specifically to the role played by Austin Waldron the then CEO of Carlow VEC in the forging of the College.

Austin Waldron was both a friend and colleague of mine for many years. Indeed in his usual persistent way he often made the journey to me in my home in Athlone where I

conducted a Clinic on Saturdays in order to press the case for more facilities and more finance for his fine RTC in Carlow. The strongest characteristic Austin always showed was the gentlemanly way he did his work and his lobbying. He was clever, persistent, bright and succinct all terrific qualities in a person in Education. Wisely the College decided to honour him by naming it then the Austin Waldron College and I was pleased to be part of that naming process.

This article shows clearly the various steps that were taken along the route of the origins of Technical Education in Carlow and Ireland. Carlow developed because there was the will for it to so develop and that will resided mainly in the man himself, Austin Waldron and the keen interest of his Committee.

There is no doubt that the system of Regional Colleges set up in Ireland paved the way for Ireland's technological development. Let us picture the scene if there had been no such plan. We would truly have been left behind in the onward race for technology, computers, plastics, polymers, sciences and the arts. Because we were so developed and because we as a nation insisted on pouring tax payers money into education we laid the seeds for the knowledge economy.

Historically Irish people have always been keen on education. Despite huge obstacles, we as a people encouraged and fostered education and culture. But in these decades the patina of modernity and new frontiers had to be added and these were done with great splendour and aplomb.

Austin Waldron contributed much more than his fair share to this onward march of a nation.



Teaching Staff of Carlow Vocational School (June 1976)

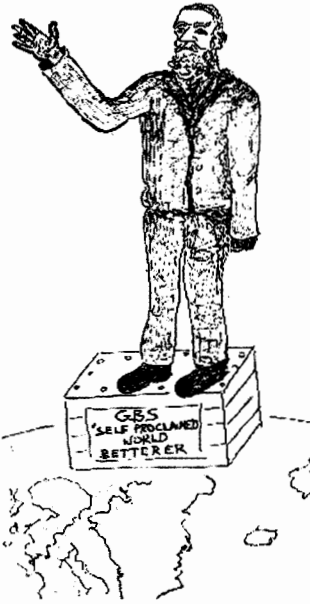
Back: J Conway, D. Murphy, B. Fitzharris, J. Behan, J. Whitty, R. Holohan, P. O'Mahony, P. Collins, M. Wall, M. Daly, M. McAneny, A. Kelly.

Centre: L. Hayden, J. Keenan, S. Maher, L. Dowling, M. McNamara, A. Whitty, P. Carr, M. Lynch, M. Madden, M. Kinsella, M. King, P.O'Connor.

Front: M. Scully, M.O'Grady, M. Sheridan, B. Murphy.

Waldron's team in the Athy Road was one that he acknowledged for their excellent work in handling many of the problems before they ever reached him, such as the admirable Liam O'Faolain who dealt with all routine enquiries in an expert way, only referring on the more difficult ones to the C.E.O. Many of the VEC staff who worked under Waldron indeed transferred in 1992 to take up positions in the Institute of Technology Carlow when the new RTC Act established this as an independent organization and in this way have continued to serve the

development of third level education in a more direct way. Waldron was "in fact quite content, indeed relieved, to see the RTC pass out of existence and move forward as an independent Institute". Others at the time who worked inside the Institute were very sorry indeed to see the loss of influence of their friends in the VEC, but the change was made and in the light of historical retrospection it was clearly a good decision as the new European game of economic development requires the Institutes of Technology to develop as centres of regional development.



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Back: Christy Collins (Tullow V.S); Eddie Ryan (do); John Molloy (do); Noel Fleming (Carlow V.S); Murt Cleere (do); Ned O'Leary (do); Mick Furlong (Tullow V.S); Barry Halligan (do); Fergus Garrettd (do); Pat Furlong (do); Alan Keating (Carlow V.S); Front: Ger Ralph (Carlow V.S); Tom Coogan (do); Paddy Foley (do); Eddie Deane (do); Johnny Geraghty (do); Pat Doyle (Tullow V.S); Charlie Byrne, capt. (Tullow V.S); Gerry Maher (do); Joe Doyle (do); John Kirwan (do)
Managerial Team: Paucic Ciannane, Jim Conway, John Whitty, Aiden Doherty and Sean McCarthy.

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DESIGNATION STATUS GRANTED TO CARLOW COUNTY MUSEUM



John O'Donoghue TD, Minister for Arts, Sports and Tourism; Dermot Mulligan, Curator of Carlow County Museum; Dr. Patrick Wallace, Director of the National Museum of Ireland and Joe Crockett, Carlow County Manager.

At a function in the National Museum of Ireland, Kildare Street in September John O'Donoghue T.D., Minister for Arts, Sports & Tourism and Dr. Patrick Wallace, Director of the National Museum of Ireland confirmed on Dermot Mulligan, Curator of Carlow County Museum the status of Designated Person for County Carlow.

The Designation Person status allows Dermot to collect archaeological artifacts from County Carlow on behalf of the National Museum. Under the National Monuments Act 1930 and its amendments all archaeological artifacts found with no known owner are the property of the Irish State. This function was until recently undertaken exclusively by the staff of the National Museum. Under the National Cultural Institutions Act 1997 the Director of the National Museum was given the

power to delegate the collection and display of archaeological material to County Museums which are operated by a Local Authority.

Currently there are twelve County Museums in Ireland with ten having previously been granted such powers with the two newest Carlow & Mayo receiving their Designation Status in September last.

As many members of the Society know Carlow Town Council and Carlow County Council in association with the Carlow Historical & Archaeological Society are developing Carlow County Museum. When the new Carlow County Museum building on College Street opens in late 2004 - early '05 archaeological artifacts found in Co. Carlow can be displayed. Significantly as part of the Designation Status the County Museum will be able to

request the return of archaeological artifacts previously sent to the National Museum. Since the National Museum has removed a number of artifacts from the county a study has begun to determine the amount and exact nature of the Carlow artifacts housed in the National Museum. This survey should be completed by February - March 2004 and is jointly funded by the Museum and a Heritage Council Grant secured through the County Carlow Heritage Plan.

Anybody wishing to report an archaeological find or discuss any matter relating to Carlow County Museum can contact Dermot Mulligan, Curator, Carlow County Museum, Carlow Town Council, Town Hall, Carlow. Telephone 059 9131759 or email dmulligan@carlowcoco.ie

OBITUARIES



The late Veronica Crombie

It is with regret that we record the death during the past year of one of the Old Carlow Society's former Chairpersons (1984-1989) very well known Mrs. Veronica Crombie, Pembroke, Carlow.

Veronica, originally from Ravensdale, County Louth was married to the late well known Barney Crombie who in 1972 was one of the founder members of An Taisce Carlow Association. Sadly Barney passed away in 1985. Veronica (a former farm home adviser) and Barney shared a common passion for agricultural science. They both went on many research trips to remote regions of the world. She supported her late husband in all ways as well as rearing a large family.

Veronica was consoled by their nine children, Brid, Bernadette, Veronica, Patricia, Nollaig, Blaithin, Brian, Dermot and Kieran, who loving and tendering helped her through the sadness of losing Barney- a wonderful friend, husband and father. Both will be remembered with love and appreciation by the memories they left behind.

Veronica, a founder member of the Carlow Senior Citizens Association, an active member of the Old Carlow Society and An Taisce and a member of the Royal Horticultural Society, was also an avid reader and shared her views on a wide range of books during many "Book Review" programmes on local radio. She will be always remember as a person who eared about preserving the past, while helping make the present a better place to live in.

Veronica is now enjoying her reunion with Barney.

May they both enjoy their Eternal Reward together.

"Heavens Gain is Carlow's Loss"

A P-B



The late Pat O'Mahony

A native of Cobh, Co. Cork, Pat arrived in Carlow in 1940, to teach engineering subjects in the Technical School, Dublin Street, later becoming Vice-Principal in 1952 and Principal in 1961. A position he held until his retirement in August 1978.

Early in life, Pat married well known Carlovian, the former Lil Flynn. They were blessed with a family of five sons. Sadly Pat was predeceased by two of his sons and his wife when he died on January 12th 2003 after devoting nearly 63 years of his life to his adopted town.

An educator, sportsman, community man and a voluntary worker in nearly every organisation in the County, Pat left his mark on the life of Carlow in many ways too numerous to mention in this obituary.

He will be especially remembered, along with Maura Murphy-Mahon, Pollerton Little, in founding the Carlow Active Retirement Group in the mid- nineties for people over "55".

He was also a founder member of the Holy Angels Day-Care Centre and on his retirement, became a voluntary driver for them.

Encouraged by the Carlow Heritage Society, Pat wrote a book entitled "Carlow Through the Eyes Of A Blow-In" some years before his death. A book well worth reading!

A long time supporter of C.H.A.S.-The Old Carlow Society-Pat never missed a lecture, or an outing organised by the Society, if he could help it.

He attended his last lecture in December 2002.

A man who lived life to the full, Pat will

never be forgotten by the many people whose lives he touched in so many different ways. Known as a very strict man, he was also known to be a very fair man! Both the writer of this obituary and the author of *Carloviana* had the honour of been taught by the late Pat, as well as been associated with him in later years in many voluntary organisations.

Many people had the privilege of knowing Pat and have cause to be grateful to him for his impact on Carlow over the past 60 years.

May Pat Enjoy His Eternal Reward. Amen

A P-B



The late Mgt. Hayden

Margaret of Moanduff, Old Leighlin, who passed away on Thursday, September 4 at St. Brigid's Nursing Home, Carlow was for many years a member of the Old Carlow Society.

Margaret will be missed by all who knew in the Society. Through her many contributions over the years to the Journal, *Carloviana* she helped to keep alive the folklore and customs of her native place.

Margaret filled a great void in the Leighlin district when taking over the weekly column of local notes from that great chronicler, Tommy Lynch of Old Leighlin, whose *Ogled Out in Old Leighlin* column in the *Nationalist* was read far, near and wide.

She was the recipient of the gold medal for her life-long membership of Leighlin Parish Pioneer Total Abstinence Association.

Margaret, who was aged 84, a woman of quiet, friendly disposition, hers was a long and fulfilled life.

The fourth in a family of nine, Margaret is survived by her brothers, Fr. John (President of Carlow GAA) Eamonn (Chicago), Kevin (Moanduff, Old Leighlin) and Ambrose (Tinryland), sisters Ms. May Hayden

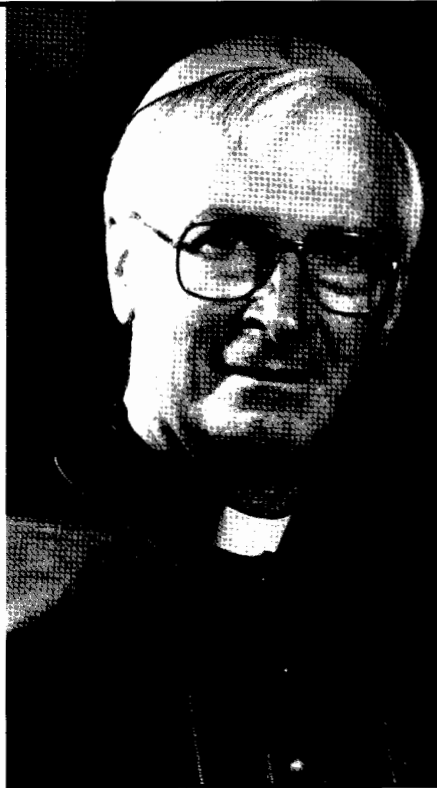
Cont. on p 57

(Dublin), Ms. Kitty Gaughan (Chicago), Ms. Theresa Rice (Dublin). She was predeceased by a brother Mr. Frank, Slieverue, Waterford.

She is also survived by nephews, nieces, brothers-in-law, sisters-in-law, other relatives, neighbours and her many friends.

Dr. Laurence Ryan, Bishop emeritus of the Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin passed to his eternal reward on Monday, 13 October, 2003. He had served the diocese as a priest for 31 years and as bishop from 1987 to his retirement in 2002.

Born in the townland of Ballycrinnigan in the southern-most parish of the diocese, St. Mullins, his early education was at Glynn primary school before moving to second-level studies at St. Mary's College, Knockbeg, Carlow. His calling to the priesthood brought him to St. Patrick's College, Maynooth where he was ordained in 1956. His recognised ability led him to further



Dr. Laurence Ryan

studies in Maynooth and he was conferred there with a Doctorate in Divinity in 1958. He was appointed to the teaching staff of St. Patrick's College, Carlow where he served as professor of Theology before his appointment as vice-president and later president.

His first pastoral duties were as parish priest of Naas, appointed in 1980, and in 1984 he became Coadjutor Bishop of the Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin.

Dr. Laurence Ryan succeeded Dr. Patrick Lennon in December 1987. As Bishop he fulfilled his mission in a gentle and humble way until his retirement due to ill health in August 2002.

Throughout his Bishopric he was patron of the Old Carlow Society now the Carlow Historical and Archaeological Society. He will be sadly missed by all in the Society.

Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam naofa.



CARLOW HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY COMMITTEE -2003

Back: Anne Parker-Byrne, Michell Doorley, Pat Doyle, Peadar Cullen, Dr. John Burke, Gemma Higgins, Seamus Murphy, Cathleen Delaney.

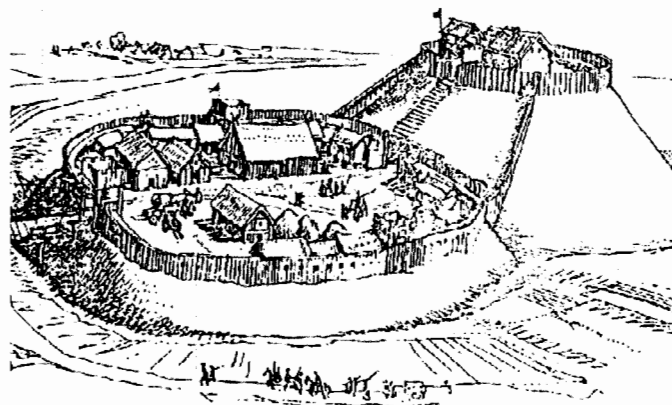
Front: Martin Nevin, Rev. Dermot McKenna, Margaret Byrne-Minchin, President; Dan Carbery and Eamonn Leahy.

CASTLEMORE

MOTTE &

BAILEY

Cathleen Delaney



Mitchell, Frank and Ryan, Michael, *Reading Time Irish Times*.
(Dublin 1998), p.312.

Castlemore motte and bailey are situated in a commanding position on the edge of a plateau overlooking the town of Tullow and the surrounding countryside. The motte is oval-shaped and has a summit diameter of 16.53 metres from north to south and 17.87 metres from east to west. The steep-sided slope measures 13.74 metres on the west side and the depth of the ditch on this side is 2.10 metres approximately. The basal measurement of the motte is impossible to determine due to the growth of trees. The sides and top of the 'moat' were already planted with fir-trees in 1839. (O.S. Carlow, 1839, 217). Some of these trees remain.

The bailey is almost square in area and measures 33.50 metres from north-west to south-east and 33.40 metres from north-east to south-west. It is situated to the north-west of the motte.

On the summit of the motte, lying near its eastern side, is a granite pillar with a cross, cut in relief, on it. The stone measures 1.98 metres in length, 58 centimetres in breadth and ranges in thickness from 38 to 20 centimetres. The pillar was taken from an adjoining field and was placed on the summit around the year 1800. (O.S. Carlow, 1839, 217). No visible trace of any buildings remain at Castlemore motte and bailey. It has not been excavated.

Mottes and Baileys in Ireland

The majority of earthwork castles were built by the invading Anglo-Normans throughout Ireland after 1169 and were constructed of earth and timber. At the end of the 12th century they were becoming rarer in Europe and only in troubled areas like Ireland and the English border with Wales were they still popular. (Mallory and McNeill 1991, 260). It is thought that there were about 476 mottes built in Ireland, one third of which had baileys. They were a feature brought over from England and were the means by which the Anglo-Normans took over and held areas. (O'Connor 1998, 17-18).

The motte was a steep-sided, artificial, flat-topped mound of earth, usually situated on a natural height, enclosed by a fosse and external bank. The earthwork was surmounted by palisades, wooden towers and other dwellings. They were cheap and easily built and provided a good defence for a lord and his family. (Mallory and McNeill 1991, 260).

The bailey was a low platform, usually rectangular in shape which may have been attached or unattached to the motte and it was usually raised and enclosed by a bank or fosse. The bailey was where most daily life went on and it was also used to house servants and animals. (Sweetman 1991, 183-5). The hall and chamber of the lord

were also found there as were the barns and sheds of the yard from which he ran the farming of his estates. (Mallory and McNeill 1991, 262)

Wherever the Anglo-Normans found good soil or strategic points worth defending, they erected either a motte or a ringwork castle and settled themselves into the surrounding countryside. (Mitchell and Ryan 1998, 309) The result is that mottes, with or without baileys are common in the north-east and east as well as in east Munster. Motte-like sites which lack baileys and a church association are more likely to be ring-forts which can be dated to well before the Anglo-Norman invasion. (Graham and Proudfoot 1993, 70). At Castlemore motte, there are the ruins of a small graveyard nearby and the church of Saints David and Mary is mentioned in 1201 and 1217, although its precise location is no longer known. (Brindley and Kilfeather 1993, 65).

Most motte castles were probably erected in either the late twelfth or very early thirteenth centuries, though some continued to be built beyond 1300. There is evidence from mottes that have been excavated in County Down that they were still occupied into the fourteenth century. (O'Connor 1998, 36-7)

Mottes were first identified as Norman castles by Goddard Orpen. In 1906, he identified Castlemore as Fotharta Fea in the territory of the Uí Núalláin, now the Barony of Forth in County Carlow. (Expugnatio, 339, n. 361) Strongbow granted the District of Fothered (Forth) to Raymond le Gros when he married Strongbow's sister, Basilia. A castle was built for Raymond le Gros at Fotharta Onolan. (Erectum est apud Fotheret Onolan primo castrum Raimundo) (Expugnatio, 194). Orpen has identified this as Castlemore Motte. According to John Ryan, it was built by Hugh de Lacy, the grantee of Meath, who also built a castle for Raymond's brother Griffin at Knocktopher. (Ryan 1833, 54). The date given for the building of Castlemore is 1181. (Brindley and Kilfeather 1993, 78)

Mottes were built to form a defensive screen along settlement borders which suggests that they may have also fulfilled a military function. In County Wexford, they were built in two continuous lines along the frontier separating the colonised south from the Gaelic-held north. (Aalen, Whelan and Stout 1997, 56-7) Motte possession was extended relatively far down the social scale. Large mottes were built by the initial invaders and smaller ones used to consolidate their position. (Sweetman 1991, 185) The sheer volume of their numbers in Antrim, Down, Louth, Meath and Westmeath surely reflects the

trickle-down to lower social groups over several generations. (O'Keeffe 1995, 3)

Very few mottes and baileys have been excavated in Ireland so our knowledge is largely limited to historical references and field survey. The most common features included the lord's house and a timber tower or bretasche which served as an observation post. The motte was usually approached from the bailey by a wooden gangway or steps cut into the mound.

The first motte to be excavated scientifically at Doonmore, County Antrim in the 1930s was found to have been slightly different from the norm. The palisade was of wickerwork and could not have been very strong, but the motte itself was built on a conspicuous rocky peak and a terrace at a lower level was bordered by a stone wall. There is evidence that it may have had a tower. It was probably built on a Gaelic ring-fort - most of the pottery found there was obviously not Norman. (Childe 1938, 128) At Lismahon, County Down, an almost square wooden house with a wooden tower attached to it was discovered on top of a mound. A platform ring-fort had been converted into a motte around the year 1200. (Sweetman 1991; 183; Aalen, Whelan and Stout 1997, 55) Neither mottes had baileys attached. Another common feature found on the summits of mottes are weapon pits around the periphery which were used as emplacements for archers. (Barry 1987, 42)

The only excavation of a motte castle in the Republic of Ireland took place at Lurgankeel, County Louth in 1964 but its findings were not published. However, it is known that the remains of a timber and earthen breastwork were found by Ó hEochaidh of the OPW during the excavation. (Barry 1987, 42) At Castlemore, historical evidence given in the year 1307, says that

'at Foth [Castlemore] there is a stone chamber covered with shingles and boards valued at nothingand a grange of ten principal beams.....and 368 acres of demesne landa decayed watermill with twelve acres of pasture adjoining'. (Cal. Justic. Rolls Ire., ii, 346)

Presumably, most of these buildings, with the exception of the watermill, lay inside the surrounds of the motte and bailey. (O'Connor 1998, 32).

Evidence also suggests that mottes and ringwork castles were built as permanent castles usually marking the capita of manors which were working farms. (O'Connor 1998, 33). When the Anglo-Normans came in the late twelfth century, they carved out estates in their new lands and kept demesnes for themselves. It was in the management of the land and the holding of it by peopling it with a reliable, dependent population that the Anglo-Normans made their most significant mark on the Irish landscape. Large farms units were given to supporters, linked to the lord by allegiance as well as by rent, to rent-paying farmers and to burgesses. The holders of larger units were not Gaelic. (Mitchell and Ryan 1998, 305-09) They came from England, Wales and Flanders and they were a part of a general peasant movement throughout Europe, notably by German-speaking people into lands east of the Elbe. (O'Connor 1998, 41). The origins of settlers who came into Leinster correlate with the estates held in England and Wales by Strongbow and William Marshall. (Graham and Proudfoot 1993, 73) Most were peasants and the inducements used to make them move from a relatively peaceful England to a potentially hostile country were various. First of all, a population explosion in Britain may have created unemployment at home. The move to Ireland brought a rise in their social status - an English villein could become a free tenant in Ireland. The labour services were far lighter on Irish manors than on English manors. On most Irish manors, labourers were paid in cash or in kind. (O'Connor 1998, 42)

The main income of the lord of the manor was derived from rent, agriculture and trade. His tenants were divided into classes. Small tenants holding a few acres formed the majority of the immigrant population. There were cottiers and labourers among them. At Castlemore in 1307, there were '29 cottagers who rendered for their cottages 13s 11fid'. (Cal. Justic. Rolls, Ire. 346). At Knocktopher, they inhabited hovels, owed labour services to the manor and did seasonal work on the lord's demesne. (Empey 1982, 337)

The creation of rural boroughs or the granting of burgess status to individuals also acted as an inducement to English tenants to come to Ireland. (O'Connor 1998, 42). The burgess community at manors held large amounts of burgage land, i.e. land set aside and held by special tenure. In 1307, the burgesses at the town of Castle Foth (Castlemore) held there 79 burgages and rendered for them 69/-. (Cal. Justic. Rolls, Ire, 346). Burgesses had a large measure of freedom not accorded other tenants. Not only did they hold burgage land at a very low fixed rent but they could also lease other lands from their lords, probably as tenants-at-will. (O'Connor 1998, 42). They could sell their land and leave the manor if they wished. They could marry without the lord's permission and they were protected from manorial officials. They had their own court - the hundred court - which was held once a week and it was separate from the manorial court. Judgement was passed by fellow burgesses so protection of their property was ensured and their independence maintained. (Empey 1983, 445).

As a result of the Anglo-Norman conquest, the native Irish lords were displaced but not their tenants. The majority of the population on an Irish manor was Gaelic Irish. They were known as betaghs and they were needed to ensure that there was a good supply of labour to work the lord's demesne. They also farmed the manor on their own account. They did not live at the manorial centre but in small clustered settlements and they farmed the land around them. The Gaelic Irish were a pastoral people and had few farming techniques. Their lifestyle was different from the English cottiers in that they worked the land in common. At the manor of Lisronagh in County Tipperary, records show that twelve cottiers held a total of 3 acres 22 perches. They show the name of the cottier, the size of his plot and the amount of his individual rent. By contrast, the names of the betaghs in each of the six communities are given but the rent and the acreage are listed according to the community. (Empey 1982, 339-40). This was the Irish system of landholding and it seems to have been retained by the new Anglo-Normans.

There is no remaining evidence that trade contributed to the lord's income at Castlemore, but there was a 'decayed watermill' located there in 1307, which excavation might unearth. (Cal. Justic. Rolls Ire. 346). Watermills - either vertical or horizontal - were a great source of income to the Anglo-Norman lord.

The castle was the centre for rural administration and justice throughout the medieval period. The manorial court, located in the motte and bailey, was held to deal with agricultural disputes between tenants and even when the motte had been deserted as a residence and farm centre, the court continued to function. Peasants came to the manorial court to have justice dispensed, although the peasant himself had no say in the outcome. A manorial court was held at Castlemore during the thirteenth century. (O'Connor 1998, 32-3).

Historical sources in Britain suggest that motte castles were still in use for up to 200 years after they were built. However, few continued to be built there after 1150, except in troubled areas like Wales and Scotland. In Ireland, there is evidence that they continued to be built during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. A number of motte castles in Leinster were built as a reaction to the Gaelic

Resurgence. During the late thirteenth century, Gaelic Ireland began to perfect its military tactics, helped by a group of competent leaders. The more immediate reason for the Resurgence may have been economic. (O'Connor 1998, 35-7). In Ireland, as in much of Europe, massive crop failures and animal murrains, resulting in famine, marked the years 1315 to 1317. In Ireland this was exacerbated by warfare among the Anglo-Norman lords themselves and by the Bruce Invasion. Added to that, the Black Death, from 1348 to 1350, killed up to a third of the population. These events were used by the Gaelic Irish to their own advantage and they gradually pushed back the Anglo-Norman frontiers to the area around Dublin and eastern Leinster. (Barry 1987, 68-9). Historical sources tell of the abandonment of lands and nucleated settlements especially those that had not defensive systems such as town walls. (O'Keeffe 1995, 3) Among their number was Castlemore. By 1307, the picture at Castlemore was one of decay, 'a stone chamber valued at nothing and no one will hire it, and a grange of ten principal beams, almost fallen, of no value except the beams'. (Cal. Justic. Rolls Ire., 346).

Where mottes and ringworks were situated in newly established towns Anglo-Norman towns, they were often replaced by masonry castles such as at Trim, Carrickfergus and Carlow. However, in most instances, mottes were allowed to fall into decay and were finally abandoned. (Sweetman 1991, 185). Quite a few mottes had tower houses located beside them, a fact which might indicate that the former were in use until they were replaced by the latter sometime in the fifteenth century. Many motte castles had no tower castles beside them so it is not known when they were abandoned. (O'Connor 1998, 38)

Conclusion

Until there is a comprehensive excavation of some mottes and baileys and castles in general, only historical sources can provide information on the numerous monuments which dot the Irish landscape. The excavation of a motte would provide information on the physical layout of an Anglo-Norman manorial centre, the nature and variety of its agricultural buildings and the economy and history of Anglo-Norman Ireland. What we do know is that mottes and baileys and ringworks were the first castles to be built by the invading Anglo-Normans. Although they were made from timber, they provided a well fortified residence and a centre of farm administration. It was to this centre that tenants brought their grievances and disputes to be solved by their lord. Most were built at the end of the twelfth

century and occupied into the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries until they were finally either replaced by masonry castles or abandoned.

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Members of the Society about to descend on a guided tour into the Lewis Merthyr Colliery to experience for themselves life in a working colliery in the 1950s during its outing to Wales in June.

EDWARD O'TOOLE

EDUCATOR

HISTORIAN

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ACTIVIST

E McG

1860-1943

The name Edward O'Toole would probably evoke no response if mentioned today on the national stage and little even at county level, except perhaps among local historians. However, in his native village of Rathvilly, the name still finds resonance among those who attended the male national school and more especially among those villagers aged in excess of three score years and ten. Tributes to him, published in two editions of *Carloviana* caught the writer's attention and initiated a search which was well rewarded in the discovery of a manuscript copy of his memoirs in Carlow County library.

Rathvilly has a well-documented history from the fifth century A.D. and Ryan and Comerford used early sources which told its story up to the mid-nineteenth century. Comerford suggests that the rath or fort from which the area partially derives its name, was erected prior to 1933 B.C. and the bile, a sacred tree, which once stood on the rath was possibly an ancient inaugural site and revered by the people as a symbol of authority and justice. In 1940, while in his eightieth year, O'Toole recognised that it was unlikely anyone in his area was in a position to record the events of the previous sixty momentous years and undertook to do so himself.

Aidan Murray, late national school teacher at Bishop Foley School, Carlow, in writing of Edward O'Toole in 1961 asked, was it 'too much to hope that in this memorable year that the many notes he has left should be published'? For whatever reasons, his hopes did not come to fruition until this year, the sixtieth anniversary of his death, when these memoirs, through the efforts of his granddaughter, Noreen O'Keeffe, have at last seen the light of day.

What follows gives a flavour of the man and his times with much reference to his 'Recollections':

Edward O'Toole, was born in Rathvilly, Co. Carlow, on 6 June 1860. His parents had lived through the famine and both had



Edward O'Toole sitting at his school desk

Courtesy: Noreen O'Keeffe

personal memories of their families being evicted. His eldest brother Jim, who was twenty one when O'Toole was born, was involved in the Fenian movement and was forced to flee to America in 1864 on account of his involvement in same. O'Toole was therefore politicised from a very early age because of his family background but also because he personally experienced incidents which made him aware that harsh laws were imposed on the people by a foreign power.

As a young man, assemblies of more than a few persons even for sporting fixtures were forbidden as was the singing of what might be considered seditious ballads. O'Toole recounts an instance when as a seven year old he was in the village with his mother and began singing one of Kickham's ballads, 'Rory of the Hill'. 'She clapped her hand upon my mouth and whispered in my ear 'whist for your life, that's treason'. He also witnessed the police dragging a female bal-

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lad seller out of the village on her knees en route to the local magistrate's house. Instances such as these further contributed to the deep rooted resentment which O'Toole harboured towards the occupying forces.

O'Toole's insights into the working of the national school system make for interesting reading and shed light on many perspectives such as student, monitor, schoolmaster, employee and union activist in the second half of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century. He was appointed monitor in Rathvilly male national school in 1874 and with the exception of eight years when he taught in Grange, Clonmore and Ballinagar, County Offaly and a year spent in St. Patrick's Training College, Drumcondra, he educated Rathvilly children until 1925.

O'Toole's intention on completion of his national school education was to leave Rathvilly and enter retail business or the civil service in Dublin, both of which occupations he recognised as affording much opportunity for advancement. However, parental pressure to remain at home and a firearms accident in early life put an end to those aspirations and he remained in education. Finding that this decision was thrust upon him, he was determined to train to the highest possible standard. He overcame many obstacles, including attending courses and sitting examinations as different classifications of teacher grades were introduced and upgraded by the Commissioners of National Education over the years, until he was finally classified as First Section of First Grade of national teachers in April 1915.

In the late nineteenth century, national school teachers had many grievances, among which was the fact that their meagre salaries were paid quarterly which led to the recipients being short of funds and regularly in debt. They had no security of tenure in that the school manager could dispense with their services by giving three months notice of dismissal or paying three months salary in lieu of notice. In the 1870s O'Toole was instrumental in founding the Tullow and Baltinglass branch of the Irish National Teachers' Organisation and was duly elected chairman where he worked diligently to improve working conditions and pay for teachers. He later became a member of the Carlow branch.

In the years before he was appointed principal of Rathvilly National School he taught for most of the time within ten miles of home and occupied his free time with a number of sporting activities, one of which was football. Rathvilly branch of the GAA was founded in February 1888 and O'Toole was captain of the first Rathvilly football team. He was also a member of the GAA County

Carlow committee. Descriptions of how the teams and supporters travelled to away fixtures and the hospitality they received demonstrate the part played by the GAA in the leisure activity of country people towards the end of the nineteenth century. Comments on these fixtures and results were usually published in local newspapers.

The bicycle for O'Toole was much more than a means of necessary transport to the neighbouring towns of Baltinglass, Tullow and Carlow. Cycle racing became a popular sport in the early 1890s and he enjoyed being a 'pacer' for the younger men in road races. He describes among others, outings with companions to Athy, Avoca and even a cross-country trip to Sligo, giving much detail of those they met and where they stopped to refresh themselves along the way. In later years he cycled throughout his locality while researching material for his publications on historical sites and archaeological artefacts.

In the early years of the twentieth century there was a drive by government to encourage local industry. The people of Rathvilly and neighbouring parishes undertook the setting up of the north Carlow Co-operative Poultry Society of which O'Toole was first honorary secretary and this project proved a real challenge for him and all involved. The Tullow Loan fund was another interesting undertaking with which he was still involved at the time of his death.

When the opportunity presented itself in 1912 he sought a place on the local Board of Guardians and was elected vice-chairman though this position was achieved in the face of strong opposition from the long-time clerk of Baltinglass No. 2 District Council. Besides wanting the opportunity to effect change in his local area, O'Toole was striking a blow for independence in a minor way by breaking into local government while still a serving national school teacher.

When the Gaelic League was founded in 1893, O'Toole was immediately interested in it and though he could neither read nor write Irish at that time he made every effort to learn and brought Irish teachers into his school at the earliest opportunity. In every possible way he forwarded the ideals of the movement and this involved him in many feiseanna large and small, the largest being Feis Cahair Mór, a three-day event in Tullow in June, 1915. At this feis the adjudicators in the Language, Literature and History section included many who would leave their marks on the pages of Irish history such as: Arthur Griffith; P.H. Pearse; Seán T. O'Kelly and The O'Rahilly.

When John Daly, later mayor of Limerick, came to Rathvilly in May 1879 with the intention of rekindling interest in the IRB it

was not surprising that the young O'Toole, who often found village life dull, enthusiastically joined the secret society. The stringent rules of the Commissioners of National Education forbade the attendance of its employees at fairs, markets, meetings and above all, political meetings, so O'Toole's membership of the IRB, had it come to the notice of the board, would certainly have meant instant dismissal. Nevertheless, he ignored the threat to his employment prospects and states: 'it was not long until I had several circles formed and in good working order'. He was in his late teens at this time and was very active behind the scenes in the orchestration of the Land League movement in the area.

He remained in contact with many members of Dublin circles for a number of years but seemed disinclined to continue his association with the movement after the Phoenix Park murders of 6 May 1882. However, he 'always had his ear to the ground' and had contacts in a number of nationalist bodies for the rest of his life. There is no doubt that he gave tacit if not open approval to operations undertaken in his area in the cause of national freedom. During the unrest of the 1920s O'Toole's house was raided a number of times and it was well known to the authorities that his sympathies did not lie with them.

The arrest, torture and execution of Kevin Barry in 1920 was an occasion of much personal sorrow as the young man had attended Rathvilly national school from 1911 to 1916. On hearing that he was sentenced to death, O'Toole telegraphed Joseph Devlin MP, whom he knew personally, asking him to use whatever influence he could to prevent the execution. A reply from Devlin on 29 October stated that: he and Mr. T.P. O'Connor, MP, waited on the prime minister, Mr. Lloyd George - a man to whom he had not spoken for ten years previously! He said that the Prime Minister seemed to be sympathetic and promised to bring the matter before a meeting of the Cabinet which was to be held on the Saturday.

History tells us that this intervention on behalf of Kevin Barry together with many other supplications from more high profile people than O'Toole, fell on deaf ears and the execution was carried out on Monday, 1 November 1920.

The local landlords through successive generations were the Lords Rathdonnell whose family name was McClintock Bunbury. Though the economy of the village depended in large measure on the employment provided by the landlords and there were undoubtedly occasions when landlord and tenant did not see eye to eye, O'Toole referred to their activities very seldom throughout his memoirs. They were usually



Edward O'Toole author of
'Whist for your life, that's treason'
Recolections of a long life
at the launch in St. Patrick's College, Carlow
on Friday, Sept. 12, 2003

mentioned with regard to transfers of land for building purposes such as when a site was required for a new Catholic church, the construction of which began in 1883 and later when O'Toole needed a site on which he wished to build a schooteacher's residence in 1898. Their agents, however, sometimes attracted unfavourable mention. It is noticeable that he rarely criticised any local and left a record of events that would not disturb relations between family and neighbours who remained in the village and surrounding area.

It is acknowledged that the 'Recollections' were written at some remove from the events chronicled and are but one man's view of how things were and as such are subjective. However, they are a treasure trove of local history and folklore for the Rathvilly area and beyond. O'Toole describes his village topographically and recounts many of Rathvilly's historically important occurrences from the baptism of King Crimthann and his family by St. Patrick in 450 A.D. to the civil war of 1922. He lived at a time of momentous change and recalled events in his life which personalise for us that period of history. The first-hand accounts of historic events such as details of his walks through Dublin city in Easter week 1916; meetings with high profile members of the IRB and other important personages such as Parnell; descriptions of journeys through surrounding counties and much further afield contribute hugely to the importance of the 'Recollections'.

An obituary by Peadar MacSuibhne in the *Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society* of 1945 states that 'to Edward O'Toole, Irish historical studies and local history and antiquities owe a good deal'. This is not to gild the lily in the least as the volume of work he produced in the

years following his retirement from national school teaching was considerable. He delivered lectures to the members of various societies and submitted articles to, among others, *Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society*; *Béaloides*; *The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*; *Nationalist and Leinster Times*; *Leinster Leader and Wicklow People*. He also contributed a substantial body of work to the Folklore Commission and booklets published were: *Leighlin Dioceses: its Ancient Boundaries and Divisions and Place Names of County Carlow*.

Edward O'Toole has done a tremendous service in preserving for the people of Rathvilly and Ireland a record of everyday and momentous events from the 1860s to 1922. It is hoped that among the number of local historians now living in the parish of Rathvilly that at least one will take up the torch which O'Toole laid down in 1942 and continue the story of their native place from 1922 to the present day.

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My thanks to Tom King, County Librarian for putting 'Recollections' at my disposal and to Noren O'Keefe for permission to use it.

The Last Woman to be Hanged Publicly in Carlow

Seamus Breathnach

The Criminological Context

Notwithstanding the enduring history of the death penalty and its continuation in one official form or another into the twenty-first century in practice the decline in the propensity to execute, since the Act of Union at any rate, was as dramatic as it was enduring.

The line of diminishing State vehemence stretches from the homogeneous religious racism of the middle ages, when Arian, Albigensian, Mohammedan and Gaelic heretics were sought out for destruction, to the martyrology of the religious wars of the 16th and 17th centuries, to the ensuing plantation settlements and risings and on to the judicial executions and agrarian crimes of the nineteenth century.

Up to the reforms of the 1830s, hangings were an everyday occurrence. In the early '30s we can still get a glimpse of judicial saturnalia in the hangings by threes, fours and tens of hapless defendants for crimes much less reprehensible than murder. It is only after the 1834 reforms that a lesser level of activity is arrived at and thereafter the annual execution rate vacillates downwards, varying generally with the felt incidence of political and agrarian outrage.

It has been estimated that between 1800 and 1964 at least 5,508 people were executed in the whole of the British Isles, including Ireland, up to 1923. The vast preponderance of these executions was carried out in the early nineteenth century and less than 5% of them were female.

Needless to say, most of these executions were male, for the very good reason that most of the murders in respect of which they received capital sentences were also male: and predominantly so. And this would make a reasonably simple picture were it not for the fact that when infanticides are brought into the equation, gender equality cannot be so demonstrably assured. On the contrary, there was always a strong gender bias against killing a woman, except during intensely religious periods.

How religious societies ever came to let go of the hanging sacrifice is lost in anthropological time, and now that people are more inclined to read Darwin than the Bible the emergence and development of mercy is

almost miraculous.

The impetus to mercy most probably came from the desire not to hang women, and the amelioration not to hang women came from the desire not to hang mothers, and the amelioration not to hang mothers came from the desire not to hang those amongst them who had recently conceived and recently killed their offspring, and the reason not to hang for infanticide came from the desire for life, this life, rather than from religion or any other former prompt to make the communal mind upright. Such changes could only occur in matured societies - societies which had already created the secular upright mind and which were confident enough to interpret in a secular way its own self-reflection. In other words a society capable of creating a history.

It would be a mistake to think that nineteenth century Ireland was 'soft on crime'. Far from it! But by any twentieth or twenty-first century standards, it appeared quite, quite harsh. What marked it out was the fact that it vacillated upwards in its tendency to be less harsh than the centuries that preceded it. And in this punctilious and gradual way mankind managed to progress from the very punitive instinct to burn and birch with biblical relief to a more secular and more morally responsible type of society. That the Irish were still handing down capital sentences in the 1980s says much for Ireland's capacity to punish. And that the last hanging took place in 1954 is more eloquent, one suspects, of its lack of conviction rather than any realistic view of itself as liberally avant-garde.

For the century and a half between 1800 and 1955, it can be calculated that no less than 248 females were hanged in the British Isles (including Ireland). Of these some 45 executions were Irish, 43 of them occurring in the nineteenth century and only two occurring in the twentieth! Between 1800 and 1835 we can see something of the diminution in female execution. There were 6 females executed in 1830, 4 in 1831 and one for each year thereafter including 1835, which fell to Lucinda Sly.

It is quite characteristic of female murder that they are invariably family related, meaning that when women kill they either kill their own babies or some other member of the family. The overall incidence of female murder is, of course, much less than that of the male.

Of the 43 cases of female execution in nineteenth century Ireland, at least nine of them were classifiable as husband murders, and needless to say, the case of Lucinda Sly bears all the recognisable marks of its type. These marks include her use of an assistant (Dempsey), with whom she is intimate. Whether the extra-marital intimacy precedes, or is preceded by, the loss of affection for the husband is never clear-cut; it is more likely to be in the nature of an inchoate movement to make a closure of past participation, even if homicide is its eventual end. And the fact that the assistant/lover is younger - considerably so in this case - and enjoys an inferior status, is quite significant. Perhaps what is of even greater significance in these cases is the fact that the wife quite often complains of having been assaulted by her husband, whether the assaults were on a continuous basis or occasionally! Finally, the wife, far from hiding her desire to be rid of her husband, quite frequently tells the world about it; as if, through her loose talk, she can somehow call upon an authority that can remedy the overall context. Of course, no such authorities exist; and as we can see in the case of Lucinda Sly most if not all of these attendant incidents attend typically upon the homicide.

Husband-murder was regarded as a form of petty treason and was met with capital punishment. The Christian Churches have always been attached to the notion of sacrifice and judicial hanging was never farremoved from it either. And even if Ireland only parted with it recently - and reluctantly - in practice Ireland ceased hanging its citizens in 1954, when the last judicial execution (of Michael Manning) took place. The last hanging of a female in Ireland occurred under the Free State in 1925 (Annie Walsh) and in Britain the last woman hanged was in 1955 (Ruth Ellis). Moreover, only 2 females were hanged in twentieth century Ireland whereas an estimated 18 were hanged in Britain.

The last woman to be hanged in Ireland was Annie Walsh (1925), the last woman to be hanged in nineteenth century Ireland was Margaret Shiel (1870), and the last woman to be hanged publicly in Carlow was Lucinda Sly (1835).

Before proceeding to deal with the trial of John Dempsey and Lucinda Sly, it might be well to acquaint the reader with a Kilkenny conundrum. On Wednesday April 8, 1835, the following notice appeared on page three of *The Kilkenny Journal*:

EXTRAORDINARY MURDER

On yesterday Wednesday a man killed his wife in Carlow under the following circumstances: -

The mother of his woman was Mrs Sly, who was hanged on the preceding day for the murder of her husband (an account of the execution will be found in our last pages) – and the husband of the daughter murdered his wife, lest she should follow her example by killing her husband! He has however put it out of her power, though it is probable she may prove the cause of his death.

The above notice requires to be studied, not least out of disbelief that

a) someone should express such a tragedy in terms of a conundrum or a joke, and

b) that the gender gap in 1835 created such distrust as to lead the son-in-law to imagine that because his mother-in-law had reason to kill someone, her daughter and his wife, whether genetically or emotionally, would follow suit and kill him, if he does not kill her first.

On Saturday - three days later - *The Carlow Sentinel* issued the following correction from their Tullow Street Offices.

ABSURD RUMOUR – MRS SLY

It has been rumoured last week, and such rumours have actually reached the Dublin Papers, that the son-in-law of the late Mrs Sly had murdered his wife, apprehensive that she would put an end to his life. We regret our Contemporaries should be so grossly imposed upon, for there is not one word of truth in the statement.

And what a relief it was to find that there wasn't 'one word of truth in the statement'. In some respects, however, the statement had been digested and the damage had been done; for in digesting it one was peculiarly compelled to make up one's mind about certain matters, not the least of which was a consideration of what people were likely to believe in 2003 as well as in 1835.

Was the first entry meant to test the credulity of the Leinster public? Was it a deliberate joke, meant to illicit untold responses? And what, if anything, did the accused persons make of it?

THE TRIAL OF LUCINDA SLY AND JOHN DEMPSEY

The Lenten Assizes of 1835 opened in Carlow on March 16th, when the Lord Chief Justice, accompanied by the High Sheriff, James Hardy Eustace, Esq., entered the Crown Court shortly after eleven o'clock.

The Clerk of the Crown, having read the Commission, commenced to swear in the gentlemen of the Grand Jury. The names were very familiar in Carlow and they rarely

changed for long periods throughout the century. Why we list the names of the Grand Jury as well as the Petty Jury (See Appendix A) is because such names, evocative of a harsh Protestant legal formalism, can still resonate in Carlow and, more than anything else, summon up a Carlow which to most Catholics, was, to say the least of it, hostile and uninviting.

There is also another reason for listing the names. Comparing the Grand with the petty Jury suggests a real basis in a differentiable class formation in Carlow, which was unfortunately built and disguised behind a prior and well-defined religious differentiation. Religion, beliefs, notions of science and administration, as well as class derive from the Catholic and Norman conquests of Ireland. Doubtless, because of the exigencies of the Christian churches, the religious aspect outweighed class-consciousness throughout the century and took precedence above and beyond any left-right wing European divide that might have arisen authentically – rather than imitatively – in Ireland.

In many ways the story of John Dempsey and Lucinda Sly defies that history. Directly, through the breach with family structure, gender role, and the commission of petty treason, they betrayed the religious and political fixities of primogeniture and Christian conquest. In this, the case should be seen in line with the witchcraft trial of Dame Alice Kyteler, 1324 (who was, after all, a serial-husband-murderer), and with the case of Mary Daly, 1903, where the religious roles were reversed, but the similarities remained uncannily alike.

How a 'simple' murder trial can come to represent a society's footprint in the sands of time – short of a thorough enquiry -- can only be imagined. Nothing of the sort is being claimed for the Dempsey/Sly case, even though it occurs at the nodal point of great penal reform, not to mention within an environment where tithe-war-Catholics-and-Protestants were at each others throats - - and not just in Graiguenamanagh and Carrickshock! Neither is it being claimed that this case was a romance inspired by either young infatuation or ennobled operatic longings. And, yet, while there is no identifiable Romeo or Juliet (unless the 60-year-old faded Lucinda may be considered so), there is a heresy of sexual passion between the protagonists that cannot be denied. Here in Carlow, in the cold foreboding climate of heresy and the tithe-war, where extra-marital sex was regarded as sin, mortal sin, as, indeed, was the pleasure principle itself; the passion between the couple is the only positive thing that prevailed. This passion is most peculiar. It was hewn no doubt out of the

harsh interactions of their own respective social realities, in a Carlow that is hardly imaginable to us, and yet it was freely entered into and, despite the absence of a Christian blessing was, as we know, binding unto death.

His Lordship's opening address to the Grand Jury was short and sweet, but it wasn't until the following day that the prisoners on being placed at the bar were 'greatly agitated' for a few moments. The press described Dempsey as a 'rather well looking man, about five feet ten inches in height, remarkably well proportioned, and about thirty years old'. He was also described as 'a smart, well-dressed young man, of rather mild aspect.' According to some he was 27 years old; according to others he was 30.

The female prisoner, on the other hand, was either 54 (the Kilkenny account) or 60 (the Carlow account) years of age. Some unkind people said she was twice her lover's age. She was the wife of the deceased, Walter Sly, and according to the press on being arraigned, she 'trembled excessively'.

The Clerk of the Crown told both of them that they might challenge such of the jury as they had an objection to and inquired if they would join in their challenges. The prisoners said no and the Clerk then informed them they might challenge twenty jurors each peremptorily (meaning that the challenge was enough to get such jurors off the panel) and as many more as they wished, so long as they showed cause for so doing.

The panel was then called over and each of the prisoners, 'trembling' or no challenged several of the jurors. The crown only challenged a few. Both were charged with having conspired, aided and assisted in the murder of Walter Sly, at the Ridge of Old Leighlin on the morning of the 9th of November past (1834). A considerable amount of time was occupied in calling over the panel, which was 'the most numerous and respectable we recollect' for many years. During the reading of the Indictment, which contained eight counts, the prisoners stood unmoved, and pleaded not guilty. The son of the female prisoner by a former marriage, a young man named Singleton who, we understand, is in the Police assisted throughout in the defence. Mr Job L. Campion, the agent for the defence, and Mr Seeds on the part of the Crown challenged the panel on both sides, when the petty Jury was sworn (See Appendix A).

Again we have an array of Carlow names and noticeable among them is Samuel Haughton, of the famous Haughton family, namesake to the man who scientifically studied the most efficient way to hang someone.

CARLOVIANA

In legal terms the case seemed simple enough, but depended upon the quality of the evidence given. Lucinda Sly was married and had issue by an earlier marriage. She then married Walter Sly and had no issue by her second marriage. Indeed, it was a lamentable fact that the second marriage was not a very harmonious one, each party, whether wittingly or unwittingly, made the other quite ill at ease about their home at Old Leighlin.

About a year before the incident Walter employed a servant, John Dempsey. And even though Dempsey was half the age of Lucinda Sly, it was alleged more than once that criminal intimacies had taken place between them. Not unusually it was also suspected that this criminal intercourse was the principal cause of the murder. If this was true then the suspected murder was probably the result of a conspiracy as well.

Before an overcrowded court, now silenced by the astounding revelations - probably in the Deighton Hall - the prosecution detailed that conspiracy between the couple, and the manner in which Walter was boldly shot outside his own home and left to stew in his own blood. The prisoners were defended by the Agent, Mr. Campion, whose Counsel were Messrs Walker, Murphy, and Darcy. For the Crown, Messrs, Martley, Arabin and Clerk, Agent, the Crown Solicitor.

The case opened with the evidence of Frances Campbell. The day before the murder - Saturday, the 8 November 1834 - there was a fair day in Carlow. She remembered it well, not least because she chanced to meet Walter Sly there. Walter was an acquaintance and, while at the fair, she only spent a few minutes in his company. About 5 o'clock in the evening, however, she decided to leave the fair and made her way home out by Graigue and up the steep incline past Bilboa and Slievemargy right into the heart of Leix (then Queen's County). Walter Sly and a companion named Ned Radwell, who was riding with him, overtook her, and they all rode together for some distance.

Walter had the appearance of someone who had some drink taken, but there was nothing unusual about that. Most people left a fair with a little drink on them - and there was nothing extraordinary about Walter's behaviour. When Radwell fell behind, Walter got talking again to Frances. It was small talk, such as passes between people going the same road.

He told her that he was on his way to dine at the police barracks in Bilboa with a young man named Thomas Singleton. Thomas Singleton was Lucinda Sly's son by a previous marriage and was therefore stepson to Walter. Singleton was a policeman stationed

at Bilboa and when the party reached Bilboa they joined Singleton in a public house and had a drink together.

They talked about various things, Frances Campbell stating later that she never noticed whether Singleton carried a gun or not. She bid her company goodnight, saddled her horse and headed for home in the hinterland of Slievemargy. It was, she said, the last time she would ever set eyes on Walter Sly.

When asked what kind of a man Walter was, she had no hesitation in replying that he was "a man of robustic temper". Such was the language of the times, used no doubt to describe what was, perhaps, an independent self-assertive - and probably an unhappy-man. As to whether Walter ever spoke of his fear of being shot, she couldn't venture an opinion, although he did once mention that his life was in danger. Persons named Brennan had some quarrel with him over land - and yes; he was a drinking man and yes; he was in the habit of carrying arms about his person.

Walter Sly rode home to Leighlin and spent the night there. What transpired after his arrival was a matter of speculation, which led on to the present trial.

According to Dr. Thomas Rawson, who examined the deceased's body the day after the Carlow fair, that is on Sunday November the 9th, he found that Walter had a gun shot wound on the right side of his head. "The ball entered on the right side of his jaw and came out on the left". He also had several contused wounds on his head, but he thought that the gunshot had decidedly caused his death.

What then about Walter's neighbours? Had they seen or noticed anything unusual?

There were a few houses neighbouring Walter Sly's holding. Ben Stacey was his nearest neighbour. Ben lived but a few perches from him. Apart from Mrs. Sly, Stacey was probably the first to see Walter's body. About 4 or 5 o'clock on Sunday morning, just before first light, Mrs Sly called on Stacey's home. He was in bed and she was on her own. She roused him and asked him to come urgently. He got up out of bed, threw some clothes on himself, and off they went across the fields over to Sly's place. Stacey recalled:

"I saw the body opposite the stable - about three yards from it and about four or five yards from the hall-door of his house. Mrs Sly told me that Walter was shot just after he came into the yard. She told me he rode by the door, she heard a shot and he fell. She then heard a second shot fired. She then said a third shot was fired through the hall door as if to keep

the family within. Mrs Sly was crying as she related these things"

The first thing that sprung to Ben Stacey's mind was to get help. He went and called another neighbour named, John Griffin, who strolled about a quarter of an hour later into Walter Sly's yard. Until Griffin came Ben Stacey was quite reluctant to go near the dead body. "I was much affected at seeing him," he told the court. "We searched him, and found neither watch nor money on his person. Mrs Sly told me he had it on going to the fair."

Before leaving the witness stand - and in response to questions put in cross-examination - Stacey made the following responses:

"His whiskers appeared to be singed, and the powder blackened part of the face.

Walter Sly was about fifty-four years of age. He was a comfortable farmer, and he dealt in horses.

I never saw a pistol in his house, and I never knew he carried any about him.

Sly was a passionate man and constantly quarrelsome; he had the character of being a party man.

Persons named Brennan held land under Sly and some time before that I heard that Sly had dispossessed them.

I never saw a pistol in Sly's house but I heard of Sly's mare being stabbed some time before his (Walter's) death."

To a Juror - Mrs Sly told me that Sly was shot about 11 o'clock.

To the Court - Mrs. Sly also said that the people who fired the shot through the door cried out to 'Keep Within', - and that was the reason she remained indoors until morning."

He also heard that some *Whitefeet* had paid Walter a visit at his home, since when he had cultivated the habit of returning home by an alternate road to the one by which he had left.

Another man who knew the Slys was John Griffin. He lived about 'eighty perches' from him. He recalled the night of the murder, although he only heard of the death about sunrise the following morning. "I heard it from a man named Ben Stacey," he said, and went on with his evidence:

"I was in bed at the time. I went down to Connor's house, and I went then to Sly's house. I saw Sly lying at the stable door dead. There was no person about. Mrs Sly told me to go with Stacey and try if

Mr Sly was robbed. I examined his left pocket and found it empty. He had not his watch. He heard Mrs Sly say:

"Oh Lord, is the watch gone?" In going from the close leading to his stable, Sly had to pass his own hall door."

Under cross-examination Griffin conceded that Walter Sly "was a hasty tempered man". He also confirmed that Walter drank occasionally, but added that he did not see him intoxicated - at least "not very often". He also knew that Walter "often left home on one road, and came back by another". This suggested that he had enemies and he employed this stratagem as a means of avoiding an ambush. But as far as a person named Brennan was concerned, he knew nothing of him: no more than he heard anything about anyone injuring Walter's corn or cattle.

Before leaving the stand Griffin was also asked about Mrs Sly's relationship with her husband. In the course of his replies he said with customary understatement, that there had been a 'misunderstanding' between Walter and Lucinda. He was careful to point out that it had been so 'a long time ago.' One man who knew the Slys and wasn't afraid to speak out was the Rev. John Doyne. When examined by the Crown he was quite forthright in his testimony. "I knew Sly about 12 years", he said, "and I knew his wife for the same time." He continued:

"About five years ago she complained to me of the ill-treatment she received from her husband. He was a man of a most violent temper. She told me that upon occasion she was turned out without any clothing at night, and beaten with a horsewhip."

Another of Walter's neighbours, Mr. Robert Phillips, Esq., was made executor of Walter's will. He testified that by will dated 16th of January 1827, Walter, with the exception of a small legacy to his nephew, left all his property to his wife, Lucinda. Mr Phillips also saw the deceased's body on the Sunday morning. He saw the pistol that was found the following Monday after. "It was locked up in Sly's chest", he said.

Referring to Lucinda, he said:

"I called for the key, and she replied she had no key to open it. She then said that Sly brought the key with him to the fair; I insisted on getting a key. I examined her person and found two keys, the first of which I took opened the chest freely. The keys now produced are the same as those found. Her son Thomas Singleton, produced a second key, which he said belonged to Sly. It opened the chest also. I found the pistol. Captain Battersby and the Police were present. I

examined the pistol; it was loaded as if a person were in a hurry or in confusion; the cartridge was not driven home. It was primed, and had the appearance of being recently discharged."

The condition of the muzzle and pistol pans gave the appearance of a discharged firearm. Moreover the ball taken from Walter's chest was of a size that answered the calibre of the pistol.

It wasn't until Catherine Landricken gave her evidence that the Crown's case began to take shape. She said she was in the house of the deceased, on the Sunday after he was killed. She knew all involved, including Dempsey, who was there at the time. She was asked to go to the field with Dempsey to fetch some potatoes - which she duly did. But to get out they had to go over a stile and go through the haggard, which accommodated 7 stacks of corn. Dempsey leaped quickly over the stile, and headed off. The witness was hard set to keep pace with him. He left her sight: "She not having been ever there before and did not know the way." She called out: "Where are you, John?" he said: "Here, Kitty" Witness proceeded directly towards the voice, and when she came up to him, she saw him *pull his hand out of a stack*, and settle the end of a sheaf.

This evidence on its own meant little or nothing, but when sub-constable Joseph Flanagan, came to search (on the 10/11 of November) for the missing watch, he searched both the house and haggard and miraculously found it in the very stack out of which Catherine Landricken saw Dempsey draw his hand. The watch had a speck of blood on it, and the corn stacks were served with a stepladder. Thomas Singleton, Lucinda Sly's son, who - understandably - had been excused from the search for obvious reasons, identified the watch as Walter Sly's. Indeed, he had previously given Walter Sly the key attached to the watch. The stack in which the watch was found happened to be farthest from the stile, far enough at any rate to give a nifty young man like Dempsey enough time to do the business before the unsuspecting Catherine Landricken could throw her leg over the stile, so to speak.

In response to some skilful cross-examination, however, it was revealed that at the time the watch was discovered a man named Tobin was sitting on the stack and another named Brennan was assisting him. Brennan at one time held a farm of his own but had been turned out of it by Walter Sly.

This indeed put a different complexion on the murder trial: and Joseph Flanagan wasn't finished his evidence. He said that he had been with Sly two days earlier; he cleaned

and fired his pistol for him; and before they parted, Walter Sly confided in him that he was afraid of being murdered by the Brennans.

There is no doubt but that the jury must have had their doubts about the case thus far: and that would assuredly include Samuel Haughton, a Quaker with the sharpest of minds and the most upright of characters. But that is not to cast any shadow on any of the other jurors! Far from it. The case was assuming difficult possibilities and without further evidence there was serious doubt as to who might have killed Walter Sly - his faithless wife and her young lover, or any one of a family of mortal enemies whom he had driven off their farm?

One thing is sure, Walter Sly was very popular with the police; for a couple of days before the murder another Sub-constable - John James - went out to Walter's place to help him kill a pig. Dempsey and Lucinda were there. James happened to be in the dairy when he saw 'some symptoms of intimacy between the prisoners'. Perhaps more significantly, he also 'saw her taking hold of his person'.

It became clear from the tenor of the evidence that sexual impropriety, however undesirable, was not going to successfully drive the murder charge to conviction. There would have to be more substantial evidence present about the actual murder itself. And the Crown sought that assistance from the next two witnesses, Mrs. Bridget M'Assey and old Michael Connors, who were expected to provide that extra help that the prosecution needed to clarify the case for the jury. Bridget M'Assey and her husband lived 'within two fields' of Sly's house and she claimed to have known both Walter and Lucinda Sly well. She recalled that the couple were very discontented 'some nine years previously' and Mrs Sly used to complain more recently to her.

"When the turf was cutting last season," she said, "Lucinda showed me the marks of a beating." She also knew Dempsey, who was servant to the Slys. He was hired because - at the time - there was no female servant available. As a married woman, Bridget also thought it most improper of Mrs Sly 'to go into a room with Dempsey and lock the door on herself'. She also saw her 'frequently with her hands about Dempsey's neck'. She also saw 'transactions' when she was getting the potatoes. The 'transactions' remained unspecified; but the court seemed to know what she meant.

She also claimed that Lucinda told her that when Dempsey saw her get money, he would take it from her to buy tobacco. Indeed, according to the witness, he used to sell milk

and butter for her behind Walter's back. This left Mrs. Sly short and witness used to give her some money.

On another occasion, around the time a man called Potts was killed in the colliery, she came to Bridget's house in the morning. She asked witness: 'Did you hear that Potts was killed?' and witness said she did. Then Mrs. Sly said: 'Bad luck to them they did not kill Sly for love, for money, or for God's sake that deserved to be killed'. And another morning she came so early into witness' house - looking for a girl to pick potatoes - that she caught witness in bed. While Bridget was getting up Mrs Sly noticed some poison near the bed - poison, which Bridget's husband had bought to kill rats. Mrs Sly asked her for some of the poison, but was she refused. Bridget M'Assey then asked her what she wanted the poison for, and Mrs Sly said: 'Why then the d-v-I take me but if I had it I would give it to Watty'. With that there was what the Sentinel described as a GREAT SENSATION in the courthouse. The prosecution had got what they were looking for.

Defence - What time was that?

Witness - About October last.

The witness then observed - almost as a lull in the proceedings - that the Slys had in recent times lived on good terms. Nevertheless, she added quite suggestively:

"On the night Sly was killed I went to the house (Sly's), and would not be allowed in. I rapped and got no answer. It was after nightfall and there was candle lighting on the table. Dempsey was within, and there was a pistol on the table. The shutters were closed except a very small part, as the shutters did not meet."

She could go no further with her evidence, but much of the damage was done. When cross-examined she grew quite indignant and, drawing great laughter from the court, said emphatically that she was not known as 'BIDDY the Tinker - except at times!' She said she never made up the story, but always told the truth. Neither did she know anything about stealing fowl. She said that part of her testimony had already been sworn to Captain Battersby on the occasion of the Inquest, but she conceded that she did not tell the whole story until she was sworn. And it was also true that her husband was in gaol; he was charged with Whitefootism - but he had never been convicted. And if she never mentioned a word about the pistol at the Inquest, it was because she was never asked about it.

To the court - I swore to the fact before Captain Battersby, when he took her information's in wiring.

Defence - According to your account

Mrs Sly told you she intended to kill her husband. Did you go and put that man on his guard?

Witness - I did not my Lord.

Defence - Gentlemen of the Jury on her examination she never told a word about the pistol which she saw the Saturday night before. I think it right therefore in giving chance to the prisoners to make this woman explain away these contradictions before she leaves the table, if not so far as her testimony is concerned - you must take it very scrupulously. She comes forward as the confidante and depository of a murderous secret, while she never divulges it to the man who became the victim.

However, comic Bridget M'Assey at times appeared, and whatever weight the jury assigned to her evidence, it was all too probable that the focus of guilt had swung back on the conspiracy theory. But the Crown had more to come.

Michael Connors actually worked with Mr Sly in the month of April past (1834). His testimony was that one evening when he had finished his work, he had a conversation with Mrs Sly 'at her own fireside'. It was about a will, and he was lighting his pipe, when she said:

"Mick, I have a thing in my breast which is burning me, and I don't know whether it is safe to tell you or not, and if you assist myself and my boy (Dempsey), you will be nothing the worse of it".

With Benthamite precision Mick, according to himself, responded:

"If it were any thing that's good, tell me; if anything that's bad, keep it to you".

Mrs Sly could hardly have felt too comfortable with such a reply. Nevertheless, she proceeded:

"This tyrant of a husband I have, if he have only a head-ache, is threatening to make another will. And there is one made this long time, which Mr Phillip holds: and all his property is willed to me, except about £10 to his son, Robert. He is going to Connaught one of these days for some horses, and if I could get him out of the way before he goes, it would be easier for me to hide money than horses. If you assist the boy (Dempsey) and me, I will give you an acre of land, and a house rent free while I live".

Connors replied:

"Oh Lord, woman! It is I to assist you in such a thing. If I had all the ground from

where you sit to Carlow, I would not assist you."

Three days later Connors saw Dempsey and Mrs Sly being intimate, and he went to see Mr Sly. He met him in a field and they got talking about Dempsey. Mr Sly confided in him that he did not like his boy, and asked witness 'to come live with him as cottier'. Mr. Sly said further that his own brother Archy and his mother were uneasy since Dempsey came to live with him. At this, Connors said with a touch of Saxon patois:

"I warn you on the same thing. That is the very business I had with you, and advises in the name of God to turn Dempsey away. I saw friendship between your wife and boy I don't like."

Other of the evidence went to show Dempsey's calculating and wretched character. On the 1st of August past, for example, he called upon Connors looking for Bill Murphy's house. According to Connors the following exchanges took place.

Connors: "I went part of the way with him, and told him my shoes were bad and could go no further".

Dempsey: "I don't pity you for having a bad cost and bad shoes, when you won't do what Lucy (Mrs Sly) desired you.

Connors: Go in God's name to some other farmer's house.

Dempsey: "You are a fool, and it is a good deed to see you in hardship. I would not be more afraid of doing it myself (killing Walter Sly), than to cross that little drain, (pointing it out). He (Walter Sly) never comes home but he is stupidly drunk, and I need do no more than have a wattle or a fork handle, and give him a blow on getting off his horse.

Witness then told Dempsey not to attempt the like, for many a blow of a Stick he would give him before it would take effect.

Dempsey said: 'I'm not without a pistol any hour that I please. I would only have to knock him down and then fire through his carcase'. Witness again said that if he did so, the almighty would not allow it to be hid.

Dempsey then said to witness that he would get the Brennans turned out of their house, and then the blame will be left on the Brennans or the Whitefeet. Connors then told Dempsey never to open his lips to him on the subject. Even when Sly was killed, he admitted that he did not tell what he swore that day until the Wednesday after.

Under cross-examination Connors informed the court that he could not read nor write,

and he could not tell who wrote a document presented to him in court. He said he was a resident of the County Carlow, since he was eight years of age. He was born in the County Wexford and had worked in Kilkenny, but he was never in a robbery, nor was he ever accused of a robbing Mr M'Creery or anyone else. He knows a man named John Byrne, an uncle of his, who lived at Coolcullen about fourteen years ago. Yes; he recollected his uncle being stabbed. He heard it was John Byrne's brother who did it.

To further questions he said: Yes; he had a few words of argument with Walter Sly, about April past (1834). It was about two shillings, and Sly charged him with telling stories about his boy and wife. That was all that occurred. He worked for both Mr and Mrs Sly at different times, and he never broke any confidence. Dempsey and he were not very great friends. But at the time he made the proposition to him to murder his master, they were on good terms, because he knew witness' private intimacy with Mrs Sly.

Court—Why did you not tell your wife of this proposal to murder Sly until three weeks before the murder?

Witness: Said he could assign no reason. It was for the sake of Dempsey that he advised him not to meddle with Sly. He was in gaol these three months.

Finally James Battersby Esq., a County magistrate gave his testimony. It recorded in that type of shorthand-journalese that jumps from sentiment to sentiment, and is here reproduced with some minor amendments:

"I know where the late Walter Sly lived, went to his house on Sunday the 9th of November. I saw the body of the deceased. The body was then removed, but the spot where the deceased was shot was pointed out to me. I saw a mark on the barn wall, which was at right angles with the stable; the mark was about five feet from the ground.

It appeared to be made with a bullet. I understand there was a ball found at the spot. I saw the wound - the ball appeared to have descended, as it came out at the neck, and the shot must have been fired very close, as there was powder on the whisker which was a little singed. I was present when a box was opened and a pistol was found in it. I made several inquiries for a key, and was told by Mrs Sly that Walter always kept his own key.

On examining the pistol, I remarked that the pistol was so much overcharged. If it were fired off, it would burst. It appeared however that the charge was not driven

home. I put my finger into the pistol and the powder came out damp, which is the case when arms are recently discharged. I remember when the watch was found. I was near the stable, and heard a general cry. It was found, and when the watch was found I looked at Dempsey and observed he was much agitated. He had changed colour. Almost immediately afterwards Dempsey said that if he came to him to the gaol he would tell him all about him.

I told Dempsey he was a wretched man, but whether before or after Dempsey? This he could not recollect. Dempsey then said that there was no occasion for throwing the corn about for the money was not in the haggard, he was at the time in custody of a policeman, he said at that time that he had neither hand, act or part in committing the murder.

I saw him in gaol on the Wednesday following. I held out no inducement to him in any way whatsoever. Dempsey then declared he did not commit the deed, but that on the night of the 8th before his master came home from the fair, he went out about 7 o'clock, and came in soon after. He was told by his mistress Mrs Sly not go out any more, as there was something to be done, and that after Sly was killed, Mrs Sly gave him some money to count. He counted the money, one three pound note, one thirty shilling note, three of one pound each, and one shilling and a half penny that he gave her the money and never saw it after.

I saw Dempsey in a few days after at the gaol with two other Magistrates. I then told him that perhaps he gave his information in a state of agitation, and begged to know whether he would persist in his statement, and he did so, but refused to have it set down in writing. Here the witness read a confession of his signed on that day, which was a complete contradiction of the last.'

The only other evidence against the defendants consisted of a pair of breeches, which Dempsey acknowledged to be his. There were marks on he breeches, which were thought to be blood, but which in a less scientific age than our own, could not be proved to be his. Nonetheless, Dempsey felt obliged to explain the blood and he did so by stating 'that there had been some persons beating his master at Leighlinbridge, and that in his defence the blood was occasioned on the breeches.'

That concluded the case for the Crown, and since there were no witnesses called for the defence. the court charged the jury (at great length by all accounts). After that the jury

retired, but at the request of the prisoners some prisoners were apparently recalled and re-examined.

Apparently three witnesses were examined in order to impeach the damaging testimony of old Connors. The effort, according to the Press, 'totally failed, being broken down on their examination' the Crown prosecutor, Mr.Martley.

The Jury again retired, and at ten minutes to twelve o'clock, returned a Verdict of GUILTY.

An eyewitness recalled:

" Nothing could equal the awful solemnity of the scene, at the hour of midnight the Court crowded to excess, and the intense anxiety of the assembly. The Chief Justice himself was greatly affected, and for a few moments after the delivery of the verdict, he held his handkerchief to his face apparently greatly affected. He sat from nearly ten o'clock in the morning to that hour, and seemed much exhausted. On putting on the black cap, the court presented a deadly silence. The prisoners appeared unmoved - Dempsey in particular who cried out in a firm tone of voice "for a long day."

A 'long day' was the prisoner's way of looking for time between the sentence and its execution.

The Chief Justice then pronounced judgement 'in a very impressive manner', and concluded by ordering them for execution on the following Monday.

According to the local press:

" Dempsey received his sentence without the slightest emotion, while the unfortunate woman sank into a corner of the dock in a state of insensibility. We have witnessed many such scenes in a Court to Justice, But never beheld any that appeared to have made so deep an impression upon all present, and as that which closed the mortal career of the hapless woman, Mrs Sly. The chief Justice who was much exhausted retired at half-past 12 o'clock at night."

THE EXECUTIONS

On Monday 30 March 1835, Lucinda Sly and John Dempsey were executed in front of Carlow Gaol. Four months had transpired since the murder of the 8 November 1834.

The Kilkenny Journal (8 April) briefly described the event as follows:

At half past two o'clock the culprits were brought to the fatal drop in white

linen dresses. A Protestant and Presbyterian Clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Hare and the Rev. Mr Flood attended Mrs. Sly. The female appeared almost lifeless, being with difficulty held in an erect posture by one of the Clergymen and the Governor of the Gaol, who were both obliged to assist the executioner in his part of the arrangements, otherwise she must have been strangled before she was turned off. —

The Rev. Mr. Hume and the Rev. Mr. Duggan, R.C. Clergyman, attended Dempsey. He came forward to the fatal drop, with a firm step, and great apparent composure. He made a motion as if to say something, but from the great noise of the multitude, which was congregated to witness the tragic scene, he, at the instance of the Clergyman, gave up his intention, and in an instant both were launched into eternity.

The wretched woman, as we are informed, previous to her execution evinced little or no symptoms of repentance, and appeared to be almost insensible to the awfulness of her situation, though the necessity of both was hourly impressed upon her by the Clergymen in attendance, and several humane ladies, who were in the habit of visiting the prison.

Dempsey, on the contrary, before and after his trial, manifested the strongest of making peace with his God. He spent several hours daily in prayer and other religious exercise. He seemed perfectly resigned to his fate; and we have no hesitation assaying he died perfectly penitent.

He was rather a well looking man, about five feet ten inches in height, remarkably well proportioned, and about thirty years old. Mrs Sly was probably double that age; it did not appear to be so much.

Prior to their execution the prisoners made the coveted admission of their guilt, and according to the *Leinster Independent*, the real circumstances of the murder occurred in the following manner: -

Sly, as appeared on the trial, was a man of very violent temper, and often beat his wife, without the slightest provocation. Dempsey lived as a servant with them, and had often to interfere between them. He generally succeeded in pacifying his master.

On the morning of the night on which Sly was murdered - previous to going to the fair - he beat his wife, and promised her, on his return - to use his own words - to make skillets of her skull. During the day Mrs Sly told

Dempsey she was sure her husband would murder her some time - which he had latterly become jealous of him; and would murder him also.

On Sly's return home he appeared rather in liquor, and before long commenced to beat his wife. Dempsey, as usual, had to interfere, and with difficulty succeeded in making peace. Sly then went to the fire, sat down, took off his leggings, and spurs, and fell asleep.

Mrs.Sly subsequently went to a chest or bin, brought from it a hatchet, and placed it beside Dempsey, who was sitting on a settle bed, saying, and "now is your time to settle him."

He at first objected to her proposal, but finally yielded, and taking up he hatchet, went over to where Sly was sleeping, but upon attempting to raise his arm, felt himself devoid of the power. He returned back to the place where Mrs Sly was standing, saying he could not do it. She reproached him with his cowardice - he went as second time, and found himself equally powerless. She then said" give me the hatchet; I will do it myself." -

He gave it to her, but she instantly returned, exclaiming in an under tone, she could not do it either, and that he was no man. Dempsey roused by this observation, took the hatchet, the third time, went back again to where Sly was sleeping, and, raising his arm, struck the deceased a dreadful blow on the head, which instantly killed him - They then put on his leggings and spurs, and carried him out, and threw him at the stable door. Dempsey then got the pistol, and fired a ball through his head, and another through the door, to make it appear that Sly was murdered in some other way.

Appendix A

The Grand Jury Carlow, March 1835

John Watson, Esq., Foreman
Sir Thomas Butler, Bart,

John S Rochfort
Thomas Bunbury

Wm. Bunbury
John D. Duckett,
Walter Newton
Robert C. Browne
James Eustace,
Philip Bagnal,
James John Bagott,

William Stewart
James Butler,
William Duckett,
John Whelan,
Robert Eustace,

Henry Faulkner,
John Alexander,
Pilsworth Whelan,
William Garrett,
John James Leckey,
Harmon Herring Cooper,
Samuel Elliott, Esqrs.

The Case of John Dempsey
And Lucinda Sly

The Petty Jury in the Trial of Lucinda Sly and John Dempsey, Carlow, March 1835

Richard Creighton
Samuel Haughton,
William. Young,
Thomas Watson,
Robert Browne,
Arthur Cullen,
Francis Moore,
John Salter,
John Lucas,
Samuel Norton,
Solomon Pierce, and
Richard Smith.

About the author, Seamus Breathnach

In the 1960s Seamus Breathnach served in the Irish Police (An Garda Siochana). In the seventies he worked as a journalist and graduated from University College Cork (B. Comm., 1974). The same year he wrote his first book, *The History of the Irish Police* (Anvil Books, 1974). Thereafter he studied Law at King's Inns and Trinity College, Dublin, and deferred his call to the Irish Bar until 1978, at which time he had also studied criminology at Sheffield University (M.A., 1978).

Since 1983 the author worked as lecturer and Course Director of a two year Postgraduate Diploma course in criminological studies, the only taught course on the subject in Ireland. Inaugurated under the auspices of the CDVEC (the City of Dublin Vocational Education Committee), the course lasted almost twenty years.

Academic Qualifications:

1974: B. Comm., UCC (University College, Cork);

1976: Qualified as Barrister-at-law (King's Inns and TCD), (Trinity College, Dublin), deferred call to the Irish Bar until 1978

1978: M.A. (Criminology) (University of Sheffield)

Author of:

The Irish Police (Anvil Books), 1974

ISBN 1581121547

Emile Durkheim on Crime and Punishment
<http://www.dissertation.com/library/1121547a.htm>

ISBN 1581125771

The Riddle of the Caswell Mutiny
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2003

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The Hon. Secretary's Report 2003

A.G.M.

Hon. Secretary's Report 2003

Annual General Meeting.

The Second A.G.M. of the Carlow Historical and Archaeological Society was held on May 16th 2003 in the Seven Oaks Hotel, Carlow.

The President of the Society, Dr Michael Conry who was not going forward again, welcomed everyone, and thanked the officers, and the committee for their work during the year. He expressed his gratitude to the outgoing Hon Treasurer, Mr Pat O'Neill, and to the P.R.O. Mrs Noreen Whelan, who were not seeking re-election.

The officers elected were as follows:

President: Mrs Margaret Byrne-Minchin.
 Vice-President: Mr Dan Carbery.
 Hon Secretary: The Rev. Dermot McKenna
 Hon Treasurer: Mr Eammon Leahy
 Hon Editors: Mr Martin Nevin & the Rev. Dermot McKenna
 Hon P.R.O. Ms Gemma Higgins

Winter Lectures:

October:

Dr Maurice Manning "The Life & Times of James Dillon.

November:

Dr Frances Finnegan "A Study of the Magdalen Asylums in Ireland"

December:

Dr Patrick J. O'Connor "Exploring the world of the Irish Palatines"

January:

Liam Kelly "The Salins-Tullow Railway Line".

February:

Dr Michael Ryan "Early Irish Monastic Settlements"

March:

Jonathan Shackleton "Shackleton from Kildare to Antarctic"

Summer Outing:

As usual, it took place in early June, and for a change the venue was Cardiff. It included a trip to the Welsh Folk Museum

D.W.McK.

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Presentation Convent, College Street the Museum will house
the many treasures from our past.**



Further information contact the Curator at 059/9131759

