

2011 Edition

Carloviana

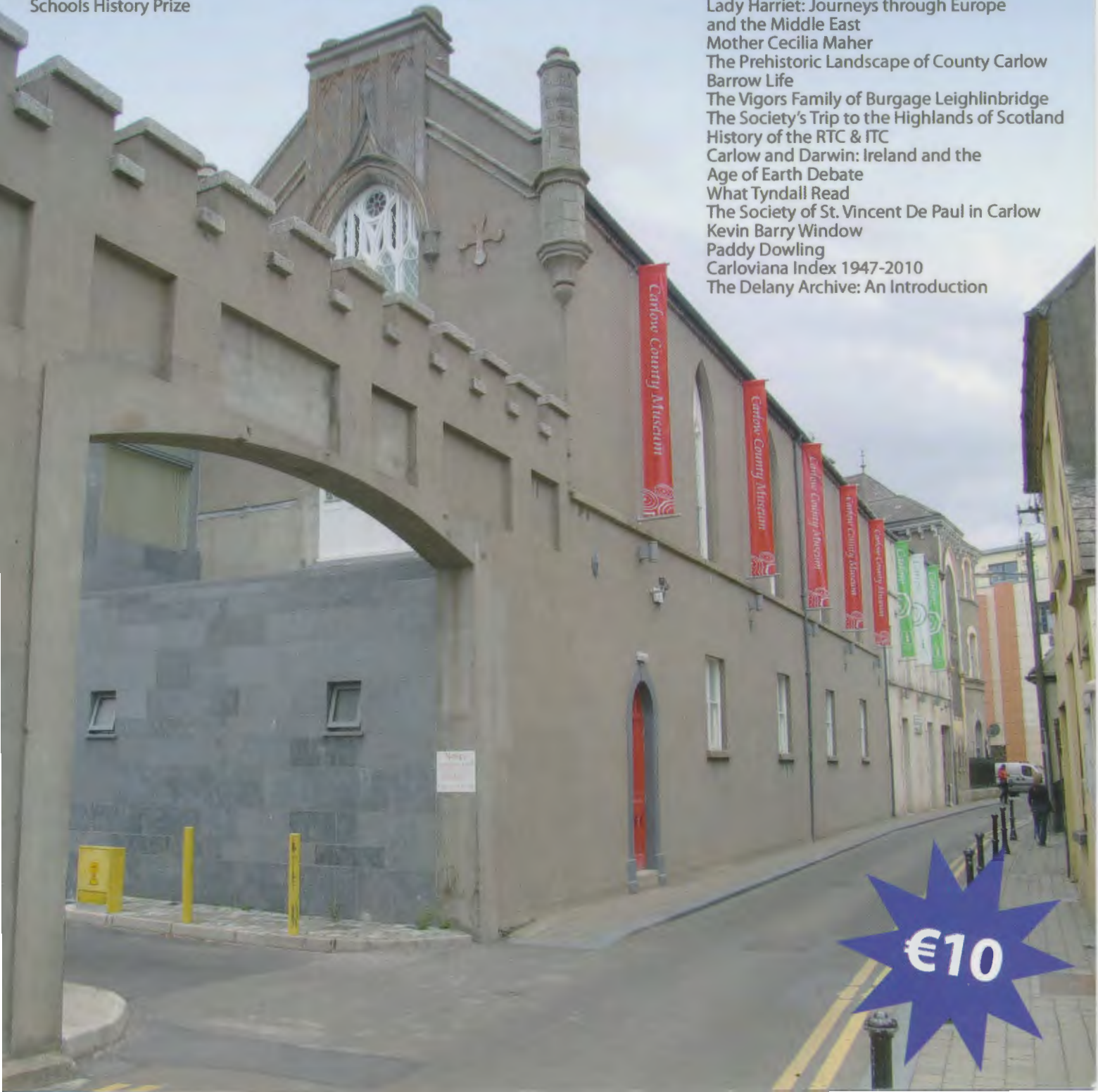
Carlow Historical and Archaeological Society

Cumann Staire agus Seandálaíochta Cheatharloch

Winter Lecture Series
Heritage Week 2011
Fortiarnan
Franz Schwatschke
GBS and Carlow
Do One Thing and Do It Well
Martin Byrne
Schools History Prize

The "Platform Spellbinder"
A Portrait of George Bernard Shaw
History of the Methodist Church in Carlow
Papal Infallibility and the possible Leighlin Nexus
Hacketstown and the 1641 Rebellion
The Borough Electoral List of 1832
The Town Walls of Carlow

Daniel Delany Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin
(1787-1814)
Lewis's Carlow
The Carlow Man who saved Hitler
The Temptations of Vice and Villainy
Tullow Fire Brigade
Hacketstown Brass Band
Lady Harriet: Journeys through Europe
and the Middle East
Mother Cecilia Maher
The Prehistoric Landscape of County Carlow
Barrow Life
The Vigors Family of Burgage Leighlinbridge
The Society's Trip to the Highlands of Scotland
History of the RTC & ITC
Carlow and Darwin: Ireland and the
Age of Earth Debate
What Tyndall Read
The Society of St. Vincent De Paul in Carlow
Kevin Barry Window
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Carloviana Index 1947-2010
The Delany Archive: An Introduction



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Dan Carbery
President

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CARLOW COUNTY MUSEUM



Ireland's newest County Museum will be opened in the former Presentation Convent, College Street by Carlow Town Council in association with the Carlow Historical & Archaeological Society.

For information contact the Museum: 059 9131759
or go to www.carlowcountymuseum.com



Carlow County Museum

CARLOVIANA

December 2011

No. 60

Joint Editors:
Martin Nevin
Pat O'Neill
James Shannon

Printed by: **CARLOW ADVERTISING & PRINTING**

I.S.S.N. 0790 - 0813

EDITORIAL

As we go to print we are assured that the long-awaited opening of the new County Museum is imminent.

For this Society the day of the opening will be the culmination of a long effort to provide such a facility. We are pleased and gratified that the work of many of our members since the late 1960s should at last result in the establishment of a permanent museum and we trust that the new museum will prove to be of real and lasting value to the people of the area.

It is heartening to see the partnership between our Society and the local authority thus bearing fruit, and it is to be hoped that continuing such co-operation will ensure that the new museum will be staffed and run to the highest professional standards, thus adding to the cultural landscape of Carlow a feature of which we can all be proud.

We are delighted to print in this edition the Index to Carloviana 1947-2010. This Index, we are confident, will be of immense benefit to researchers, making it a much simpler task to find in our back issues the information they want.

To compile this comprehensive Index was a time-consuming and challenging task. We are very grateful to Eileen O'Neill for undertaking it and for presenting to us the admirable result, which is truly a testimony to her professional skills and to her immense capacity for taking pains.

Our thanks are also due to all our other contributors. The Society is fortunate indeed to have each year so many willing contributors whose voluntary work enables us to publish an annual journal of a standard that bears comparison with the journal of any Historical Society in Ireland. Long may this happy state of affairs continue.



View of the museum from Presentation Place. The extension is clad in Carlow cut limestone as the majority of the original Convent building is made from limestone rubble.

FRONT COVER

Our new County Museum.

Photograph courtesy of Carlow County Museum.

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We acknowledge with grateful thanks the efforts of our contributors, written and photographic, and sponsors.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

This is the third year in succession that I have penned these notes. Next year you will have a new president.

The past year has been another good one for our society. The staple work of organising our annual series of six lectures and the publishing of this journal was accomplished. We have come to almost take these for granted but they would not be achieved without the large amount of work by the sub committees involved.

We also had three mini lectures in St Patrick's College in August, being our contribution to heritage week. This seems to be now a fixture.

A major six day trip to Scotland took place in August and was enjoyed by a party of seventeen. The only other trip I took to Scotland was a tour with Carlow rugby club in the sixties. That was a different affair. More information on the above events will appear elsewhere in the journal.

As in the last two issues I mention our new museum in the chapel of the former Presentation convent. The building

work of refurbishment and extension has been completed. Our committee members were recently shown through the building by the curator Dermot Mulligan and were most impressed. We now await the fitting out and official opening. Maybe this will have taken place before the launch of this journal.

Recently I browsed through the first issue of *Carloviana* dated January 1947. In it was an article by Edwin.C.Boake on "Burrin Street of Long Ago". This gave a detailed description of the street as it was one hundred years previously. As I was born and reared on Pembroke Road [a cul-de-sac] off Burrin Street I found it most interesting. I have no doubt that this current issue will be of equal interest when being read 64 years from now.

Finally I thank our general management committee and the various sub committees for their work during the year and congratulations to our new editor Jim Shannon and his assistants on another superb publication.

Dan Carbery.

TOMMY CLARKE

Pat O'Neill

The creeping hand of time claimed another stalwart of our society during the year when Tommy Clarke passed away in January. A member for decades his dedication to the society was recognized in 2001 when he was made an honorary life member.

A native of Carlow town, he had an encyclopaedic knowledge of both the town and county, but his particular interest, especially in recent years, was the medieval and early medieval periods of history. He was a prodigious researcher and was well known to the staff of the National Museum, the National Library of Ireland and the Royal Irish Academy as well as everyone who ever worked in the Carlow County Library.

He had a passionate commitment to the heritage of his native place, its buildings and artefacts, and was involved in many efforts to maintain and preserve them. His last campaign was to preserve the railings at the Carlow Courthouse. With his good friend, the late Billy Ellis, he

travelled all over the county investigating everything and anything of an historical or archaeological nature they could find.

He had a particular interest in, and a tremendous knowledge of the place names of County Carlow. At the time of his death he was working with a group of society members on the old lanes and streets of Carlow town, and this study will be finished so that his knowledge of the town and its environs will not be lost.

He contributed many articles to *Carloviana*. His first article appeared as far back as 1968, when he wrote on *Killerig and District*. By a strange coincidence his last, which appeared in 2007 (the year in which Billy Ellis died), was on *The Friarstown (Killerig) Font*.

Although he never served on the committee of the society - he preferred to be reading, researching or investigating - his influence was there, and his expertise available when needed.

Our sincere condolences are extended to his wife, Betty and his daughters Katherine and Mary.

17TH WINTER LECTURE SERIES

Apart from the month of December last we got through our planned schedule of winter lectures as planned. Three lectures stand out during the season. When Shane Kinsella's postponed lecture on The Alexanders of Milford went ahead to a crowded venue in Leighlinbridge, John Alexander attended, bringing for the attention of the meeting the famous Zulu spear brought from the Anglo-Zulu War by his ancestor John Alexander III.

In November a large attendance heard the twice postponed lecture delivered by the late Dr. Garrett Fitzgerald on Education & the Irish Language in the 18th & 19th Centuries. Energetic and fascinating to the end, we were left wondering if Goldsmith had him in mind when he wrote that "still the wonder grew, that one small head could carry all he knew".

Tim Pat Coogan's lecture on Collins & Dev drew the large attendance we thought it would and the listeners were not disappointed in Tim Pat's presentation, both of the lecture and during the question and answers afterwards.

Our sixty sixth series for 2011-12 kicks off on October 17th and we hope our lectures will continue to be supported by both our members and the public.

CARLOW HISTORICAL & ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

LECTURES

YEAR 2011-2012

| DATE | LECTURER | TOPIC | VENUE | TIME |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|--|---------------------------------|---------|
| 19th October 2011 | Dr. Norman McMillen | Carlow & Darwin | Parish Centre Leighlinbridge | 8.00 pm |
| 16th November 2011 | Tom Joyce | Lady Harriet Kavanagh: Journeys through Europe | Borris Vocational School | 8.00 pm |
| 14th December 2011 | Pat Comerford | Oak Park | Seven Oaks Hotel Carlow | 8.00 pm |
| 18th January 2011 | Diarmuid O'Donovan | The Cork Militia | Mount Wolesley Tullow | 8.00 pm |
| 15th February 2012 | Dr. Colman Etchingham | Haket de Riddlesford, Ballyhackett & Hacketstown; Norman Colonists in North East Carlow | Ramada Hotel Killerig | 8.00 pm |
| 21st March 2012 | Paul Maguire | The Origin & Future of the Co. Carlow Military Museum | Seven Oaks Hotel Carlow | 8.00 pm |

HERITAGE WEEK

2011

Saturday 20th to Sunday 28th of August

SATURDAY 20TH

Hidden History Story Telling: The People and Stories of Huntington Castle. Here the stories of Huntington Castle including the way of life, people and ghosts! Also garden tours, gift shop and tea room. 2.00pm—6.00pm, Adults €8.00, children under 7 free, family tickets and concessions available. Partial wheelchair access. Contact Alex Durdin-Robertson, tel. 053-9377160.

Irish Wildlife Trust (IWT) Wild Watch Walk: A River Runs Through It. Mary White will lead a walk to look at riverside vegetation and wildlife of the River Barrow. Meet at Ballytighlea Bridge, Borris, Co. Carlow, 2.00pm-3.30pm. Contact Joanne Pender at enquiries@iwt.ie, tel: 01-8602839. Free event but pre-booking is essential.

Re-enactment of life in Staplestown in the 17th Century. Local people will relive the lives of prominent and ordinary people who lived in Staplestown in the 17th Century. Meet at St. Mary's Church, Church Lane, Staplestown. 7.30pm-9.00pm. Full wheelchair access. Contact Nuala Kennedy 059-9141912 or 087-6246780

SUNDAY 21ST

Guided Tour: Altamont Gardens, Ballon/ Tullow. Widely regarded as the jewel in Ireland's gardening crown. The tour starts at 12.00 noon. Contact Pauline Dowling, Office of Public Works, Tel: 059-9159444. Partial wheelchair access.

Exhibition: Bishop Daniel Delany Museum, Tullow. Located in the grounds of the Bridigine Convent, Tullow, Co. Carlow. The focus of the displays is on Bishop Daniel Delany and the work of the Brigidine Sisters & the Patrician Brothers who were founded in the town. Open from 12noon-4.00pm.

Exhibition: County Carlow Military Museum, Old Church, St Dymphna's, Athy Road, Carlow Town. View the variety of displays that bring Carlow's proud military history to life. Open from 2.00–5.00pm. Admission Charge. Contact: Paul Maguire, tel: 087-6904242.

Weaving & Spinning, Weaver's Cottages, Clonegal. Mary O'Rourke, professional weaver will demonstrate weaving and spinning. Admission €2. 2.00pm-4.00pm. Contact John McCabe, tel: 053-9377575 or 087-9489342.

Tour of St. John's Cemetery, Athy. Assemble at St. John's Cemetery Gate, Athy at 2.00pm. Contact Margaret Walsh, tel: 059-8633075.

MONDAY 22ND

Song & Story Night, St. Brigid's Hall, Clonegal. Like the old style of dropping into a house for a chat, volunteers will tell a story, sing or play a tune. Presented by Clonegal Tidy Village. From 8.00pm. Contact John McCabe, tel: 053-9377575 or 087-9489342

TUESDAY 23RD

Introduction to the Local Studies Department. A chance for those interested in any aspect of Carlow Local Studies to check out the great range of facilities offered by Carlow County Library. Carlow County Library 7.00pm-8.00pm. Contact Carmel Flahavan tel: 059-9170094.

Tour of Dunleckney Graveyard. Dunleckney graveyard is an old graveyard 2-3 miles from Bagnelstown. A tour of the graveyard showing historic graves & inscriptions on tombstones will be given from 7.30pm-8.30pm. Full wheelchair access. Contact Anna Monaghan 087-9845024 or Trina Aughney, 059-9721831.

WEDNESDAY 24TH

3 Lectures on Local History: 1) Carlow Shopping between the Wars; 2) Carlow's Thoroughbred Racing Scene; 3) Landscape of Dranagh Mountain. Lectures by Carmel Flahaven, acting Co. Librarian; Jimmy O'Toole, Carlow Historian and Seamus Murphy Jnr., Archaeologist. 3 twenty minute talks on Carlow's history by the Carlow Historical & Archaeological Society in St. Patrick's College, College St. Carlow town. Starts: 8.00pm. Contact Noreen Whelan, tel: 059-9131597.

FRIDAY 26TH

Pleasures of Past & Present. Ecumenical ceremony at St. Finian's Ruined Site followed by Talk, Music & Exhibition of photos in Myshall Community Centre. Presented by the Myshall & Drumpeha Social History Group. Meeting Point at St. Finians Church Ruins at 7.00pm. Full wheelchair access. Contact Tommie Murphy tel: 087-6256028.

SATURDAY 27TH

Skill Demonstration and Taste Testing, Graiguecullen Country Market. Demonstration of handmade and homemade crafts and sampling some of our traditional

home cooking. Venue: Graiguecullen Country Market Church Hall (opposite Aldi) Portlaoisic Road, Graiguecullen, Carlow 10.00am-12 noon. Full wheelchair access. Contact Siobhan Dunne tel: 059-9131635.

Slí na Scéacha Workshop with Nature Storytelling Session including Dance at the Forge, Ballon. Nature interactive, walk, talk, around the new Slí na Scéacha. Traditional storytelling session with dance. Bring a picnic or eat in the Forge 12 noon-4.00pm. Donations may be made to the Carlow, Kilkenny Homecare Team. Partial Wheelchair access. Contact Máire George tel: 087-2424934.

SUNDAY 28TH

Bread & Butter Making, Weaver's Cottages Clonegal, demonstration of the tradition of butter making and sample home made bread. Admission €2. Also view the restored Weavers Cottages and the display of photographs, furniture and items from 1850-1950. From 2.00pm-4.00pm. Contact John McCabe, tel: 053-9377575 or 087-9489342

Exhibition: Bishop Daniel Delany Museum, Tullow.

Located in the grounds of the Brigidine Convent, Tullow. The focus of the displays is on Bishop Daniel Delany and the work of the Brigidine Sisters & the Patrician Brothers who were founded in the town. Open from 12noon-4.00pm. Contact Carlow County Museum, tel: 059-9172492.

Exhibition: County Carlow Military Museum, Old Church, St Dymrna's, Athy Road, Carlow Town. View the variety of displays that bring Carlow's proud military history to life. Open from 2.00-5.00pm. Admission Charge. Contact: Paul Maguire, tel: 087-6904242.

WEEK LONG EVENTS

St. Mullins Heritage Centre, St. Mullins, Co. Carlow. New exhibitions on St. Moling, the Pattern, local archaeology, 1798, MacMurrugh Kavanaghs, River Barrow and avail of their genealogy service. Open daily from 2.00pm-6.00pm. Contact Bridie Lawlor, 087-9977090. Admission Charge.

Rathgall Hillfort Guided Tours. Rathgall Hillfort, which dates back to 800BC, is set on the edge of a ridge with 4 concentric stone wall and extensive panoramic views. Take a shuttle bus from Rathwood Centre and enjoy a guided tour to learn about this magnificent ancient site 2.00pm-4.00pm. €5 per adult, €3 per child. Contact Trish Keogh, tel: 059-9156285.

Forest, Woodlands & Train Rides at Rathwood, Tullow, Co. Carlow. Enjoy a forest walk, view the wildlife, visit the Falconry & Birds of Prey Centre (admission charge). Why not enjoy a train ride through the forest (admission charge).

Free map & parking available at Rathwood Centre. Open Monday-Saturday 9.30am-6.00pm, Sunday 11.00am-6.00pm. Contact Patrick Keogh, tel: 059-9156285.

Carlow County Museum "Barrow Navigation Display" 2011 is the 220th anniversary of the Barrow Navigation Company. View a small display of some related objects in the reception of the Seven Oaks Hotel. All day. Contact Carlow County Museum, tel: 059-9172492

The River Barrow and It's Bounty, Goresbridge: An exhibition on aspects of the local communities history, with special emphasis on the River Barrow's impact of the years. Full wheelchair access. Ionad Dara Centre, Goresbridge, Co. Kilkenny. Open 20th, 23rd, 26th, 27th from 2.00pm-9.00pm. Open 21st, 22nd, 24th, 25th, 28th from 2.00pm-6.00pm. Admission: voluntary contribution. Contact Edward Moran, tel: 059-9775251.

Tullow Museum Open Week. Exhibitions presented by the Tullowphelim Historical Society. Tullow, Co. Carlow. Museum opened daily from 2.00pm-5.00pm & 7.00pm-9.00pm. Walking Tours of Tullow each evening at 7.00pm, meet at the Museum. Presentation of historic ONE flag to the Museum on Wednesday 24th at 7.30pm. For confirmation of above events contact: Mr. William Wright, tel: 087- 2383515.

Altamont Gardens, Tullow. Widely respected as the jewel in Ireland's gardening crown. Open daily from 9.00am-7.30pm. Contact Pauline Dowling, tel: 059-9159444.

Duckett's Grove & Walled Gardens: Visit the wonderfully restored walled gardens and view the stunning ruins of the estate house which is now in the ownership of Carlow County Council. Open from 8.00am – 9.00pm daily.

Oak Park Forest Park: Enjoy the beauty & tranquillity of this 120 acre mature woodland near Carlow Town. The Park has a picnic area, informal leisure areas and wheelchair accessible walkways. Open daily from 8.00am—9.00pm.

Tinryland Heritage Trail produced by the Tinryland Area Development Association. Visit over twenty sites from the stone age as well as the graveyard with Walt Disney's ancestors. Start at Trail Finder Map in Tinryland Village. Brochure at Deane's Shop, Tinryland. Self-Guided. Contact: James Deane, tel: 059-9143410.

FORTIARNAN

TRAILBLAZER OF THE IRISH SAINTS

Christopher P. McQuinn

He was one of the first Irish monks. His love of learning, and his contribution to ecclesiastical art, laid much of the foundations of early Irish Christian culture. **Christopher McQuinn** looks at the life and legacy of a remarkable pioneer.



Enamel by Anne Murphy - www.eala-enamels.com

He was of royal Irish and Welsh blood, a youthful convert to Christianity, and a pupil of St. Patrick and of Patrick's nephew, St. Loman. Reluctantly agreeing to succeed Loman as Abbot and Bishop, he resigned after just three days. A hermit, a scholar who founded one of Ireland's first monastic seats of learning, an academic who provides a link

between St. Patrick and St. Columba, an outstanding craftsman, the Patron Saint of Bell Founders, honoured by Latin, Orthodox and Coptic Churches, St. Fortiarnan, or - as he is known in English - St. Fortchern, has, over the centuries, been largely forgotten by the general public, and his importance in the story of the spread of Celtic Christianity has been overlooked.

The Early Years

Fortiarnan was born in Trim in the early fifth century. The name Fortiarnan means "overlord".

Known as the Prince of Trim, Fortiarnan was the son of a chieftain, Feidhlimid, son of Laoire, the Ard-Ri (High King), who was a son of Niall of the Nine Hostages.¹

Fortiarnan's mother was a Welsh princess, named Scothnach, daughter of King of the Britons. The Welsh name for Fortiarnan is Vortigern or Cwrtheyrn. Gwrtheyrion was a Welsh kingdom, in the Powys area, named after Cwrtheyrn, who may have been Fortiarnan, or one of his relatives.²

St. Patrick

St. Patrick embarked on his mission to evangelise the Irish in or around what was traditionally held to be 432 A.D. He and his followers first made an unsuccessful attempt to preach the Gospel after landing at Arklow. This setback was due to the opposition of the local king, Eanna who was called Chinseallaigh. The missionaries re-embarked and entered the mouth of the River Boyne. St. Patrick's nephew, St. Loman was left in charge of the boat, while Patrick and the other missionaries went on with their work of converting the local chieftains and people to the Gospel.



Mosaic depicting St. Patrick landing at Trim, Church of St. Patrick, Trim



River Boyne at Trim

After two months the boat made its way to Trim. There Fortiarnan, then a youth, found St. Loman reciting the Gospel aloud. He confronted St. Loman, and asked him about his preaching. Loman's response led to Fortiarnan enquiring further about the beliefs of Christianity, and eventually to his and his family's baptism. Loman remained with Fortiarnan at the ford of Trim "until Patrick came unto them, and built a church with them, the twenty-second year before Armagh was founded."³



*St. Patrick's Cathedral, Trim
- reputed site of St. Patrick's first church in Ireland*

Fortiarnan became a disciple of St. Patrick, and was known as the "foster-son" of St. Loman. Fortiarnan was eventually ordained priest. On his deathbed St. Loman nominated Fortiarnan to succeed him as Abbot and Bishop of Trim. Fortiarnan, protesting that it was not right to be Bishop of what had been his father's territory, reluctantly accepted the nomination. However Fortiarnan remained bishop for only three days, withdrawing to the kingdom of Ui Drona in South Leinster to lead the life of a hermit



Ruins of church in Killoughternane, dedicated to St. Fortiarnan

Killoughternane

This hermitage site became known as Killoughternane (Cill Fhortiarnain or Cill Uachtarnain), and is near Muinebeag (Bagenalstown). The remains of a church, dating from the 10th or 11th century mark this site.

Soon local chiefs and others sent their children to be educated in the new religion by St. Fortiarnan.

In a field across the road from the church ruins in Killoughternane is St. Fortchern's Holy Well, which was famous for its cures. In the nineteenth century a local woman, Mrs. Betty O'Hara, cleaning the well, found a chalice and paten. Underneath the foot of the chalice is the Latin inscription: "F. Joannes me fieri fecit cum licentia superiorem 1595, ora pro eo." This translates as: "Fr. John Lucar had me made with the permission of his superiors in 1595, pray for him." Fr. Lucar was a Franciscan priest from Waterford. These artefacts may have been hidden in penal times by a priest who was celebrating Mass nearby.⁴ Given St. Fortiarnan's fame as a maker of sacred vessels, it is remarkable that a chalice from Tudor times be discovered in his well.



St. Fortiarnan's Holy Well, Killoughternane



Killoughternane Chalice & Paten

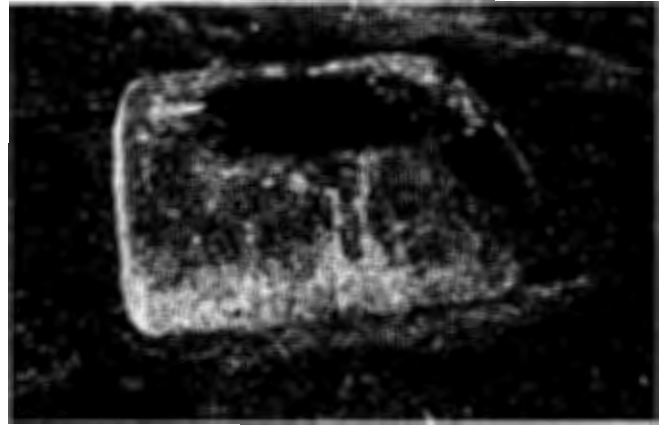
Tullow

St. Fortiarnan went on to establish a church and school at Tullow. The site he selected is reputed to be beside the River Slaney⁵, at Our Lady's Well on the Ballymurphy Road.⁶ No traces of this monastic school remain although the large granite cross base and font in the churchyard of the present St. Columba's Church of Ireland may be associated with the early monastery.⁷

The school became so famous that the area was known as Tulach Fhortiarnain. In later years the area was renamed Tulach O bhFeidhlim.



Font in St. Columba's Churchyard, Tullow



Base of Celtic cross, St. Columba's Churchyard, Tullow

St. Finian

One of Fortiarnan's greatest pupils was Finian, a native of Myshall. St. Finian was placed under the care of St. Fortiarnan, probably at Tullow, until he was aged 30 years.⁸ Doubtless due to St. Fortiarnan's Welsh family connections, Finian then spent several years in St. David's Monastery in Wales, where he studied under St. Cadoc and St. Gildas. On his return to Ireland Finian founded monasteries at Aghowle, Munny and Clonard.

Not far from Killoughternane is Templemoling Cemetery, Ballinree, an early church site associated with St. Moling. One can find here a stone reputed to show the footprint of St. Finian.⁹

Fortiarnan – a link between Patrick and Columba

Clonard became a great centre of learning, especially of Bible Studies. Finian was a renowned Biblical scholar. He is often called "the Teacher of the Irish Saints," and the "spiritual father of three thousand monks"¹⁰, which included the "twelve apostles of Ireland." A pupil of St. Finian in Clonard was St. Colmcille, also known as St. Columba (who was also a relative of St. Fortiarnan, both being descended from Niall of the Nine Hostages)¹¹. St. Columcille founded the monastery of Iona, and is one of Ireland's three patron saints, the others being St. Patrick and St. Brigid. Thus St. Fortiarnan provides a link between St. Patrick, the apostle to the Irish, and St. Colmcille, the first great Irish missionary.

Fortiarnan – Craftsman

St. Fortiarnan was known as the "smith of Patrick":

"His three smiths, expert at shaping,
Macecht, Laebhan, and Fortchern."¹²

The Laebhan mentioned here is identified as St. Loman.¹³ Fortiarnan was famous for his skill in metalwork, which he used in the making of sacred vessels, statues, crosses and bells. The art of casting bells for use in Christian churches started with the Coptic monks in Egypt long before 500 AD. Irish monks learned it from them. Before long the Irish had some distinguished bell-founders, the most prominent being St. Fortiarnan, who is the Patron Saint of bell-founders. It was only much later that the job of casting bells passed from

monks to professional bell-founders.¹⁴ The custom of ringing bells from specially built towers spread from the 6th Century on.

It was also Fortiarnan who fashioned the famous image of the Madonna which was enshrined for centuries in the Monastic Chapel at Trim¹⁵. In Tudor times the Reformers in Ireland “burned the celebrated image of Mary at Trim, which used to perform wonders and miracles.”¹⁶

Fortiarnan is depicted as a craftsman in the stained glass window of the Church of the Sacred Heart in Borris.



St. Fortiarnan, shown as craftsman, in the stained glass window in the Church of The Sacred Heart, Borris.

Note the sacred items on the bottom right.

St. Lassara

St. Fortiarnan had a niece, named Lassara, who also became a saint. Her name comes from the Old Irish word for flame. She was highly educated in scripture in Clonard by St. Finian, who placed her under the care of St. Kieran. St. Kieran later went on to found the famous monastic seat of learning at Clonmacnoise. The feast day of St. Lassara is the 29th March¹⁷.

Holy Wells

The sites of early Irish churches were generally near a well or stream of pure water, which might serve as a baptistery for the new congregation. These wells were first blessed by St. Patrick or his successors, as they might have been previously used as a sacred well by Druids. “Then the Catechumens, as they were ready, were brought in batches, made to stand up to their knees in the well or stream and the apostle and his assistant priests pouring the living stream on their heads, ransomed them from the powers of darkness, and made them heirs to the kingdom of light.”¹⁸

Patterns

Pattern days were historically religious occasions. People made a penitential pilgrimage to a holy well of a particular saint on the saint’s feast day. The word pattern is a standard corruption of the Irish *patrun*, meaning patron. Having lasted since earliest times, many patterns died out in the

early part of the nineteenth century. Killoughternane, however, still celebrates its Patron, St. Fortiarnan (Fortchern), on the evening of the last Friday of each July. The parish of Tullow had three pattern days: St. Torannan on the 12 June, St. Fortiarnan on 12 October, and the feast of the Assumption on 15 August.¹⁹ St. Torannan died in the year 634.²⁰ Tullow pattern days had an accompanying fair on the same day.

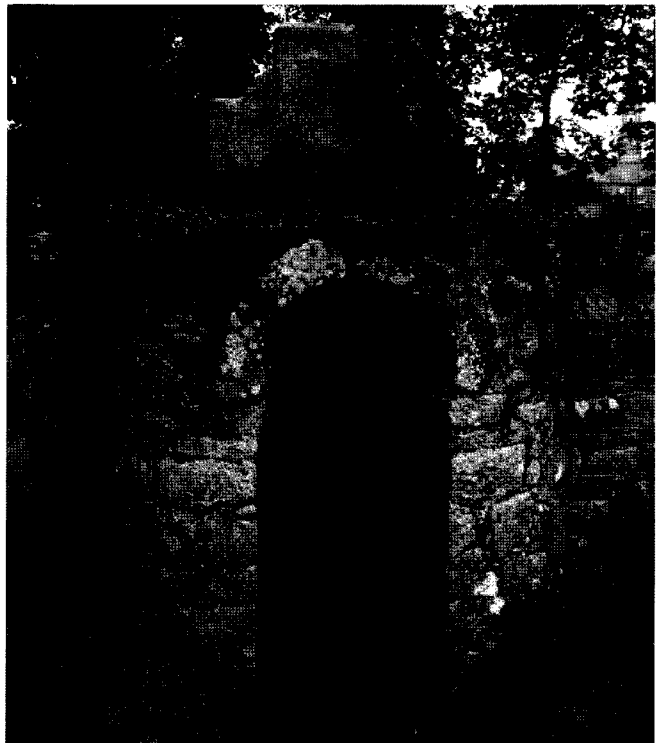
Our Lady’s Well at Tullow, one of three reputed holy wells,²¹ for long remained a site of such pilgrimage.



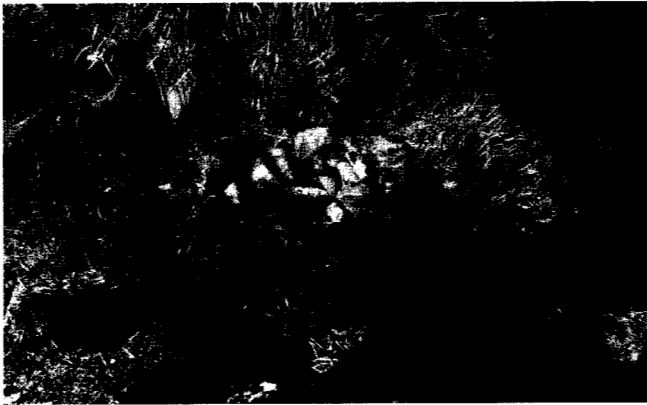
Our Lady's Well, Tullow

- reputed site of St. Fortiarnan's Monastic School

Comerford quotes from the Name Book; “Lady’s Well- Formerly the Patron Well of Tullow; two trees, one growing on each side thereof; the water of which is reputed to have been good for the cure of all diseases. The Patron has been discontinued and a fair held on 8th September, substituted in its place, called the Patron Fair.”²² The well was finally forgotten until it was excavated, and the present shrine erected in the 1920s by Bro. Leo Slattery and the boys of the National School with the help of some others.²³



Holy Well, St. Austin's Graveyard, Tullow



Joseph's Well, Hillbrook, Tullow

Fortiarnan's Death

When Fortiarnan resigned as Bishop of Trim, he said that he would never return there alive. After his death in 500 A.D. St. Fortiarnan's body was returned to be buried among his own people in Trim.

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- ² www.vortigernstudies.org.uk, August Hunt, *The Myth of the British Vortigern*
- ³ Book of Armagh, fol.16
- ⁴ www.myshalldrumphea.com Website of Myshall Drumphea Parish
- ⁵ E.A. Dalton. *History of Ireland, Vol.1.1*, p.58 states that monks generally settled near a river.
- ⁶ Bro. Linus Walker F.S.P. *Land of Saints*
- ⁷ Failte Ireland, Carlow – trails of the saints, p. 14
- ⁸ Rev. John Healy, *Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum or Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*, quoting *Loca Patriciana*, p. 152
- ⁹ Failte Ireland, Carlow – trails of the saints, p.32
- ¹⁰ John Colgan (1645, Leuven), *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 365
- ¹¹ Moore LT et al. p.334-8, in a 2006 TCD DNA study found that 21% of men in NW Ireland (seat of the Ui Neill), and 8.2% of men in the island of Ireland, belonged to R1b3 haplogroup, showing descent from a common ancestor, probably, Niall of the Nine Hostages
- ¹² Annals of the Four Masters, entry 448
- ¹³ www.vortigernstudies.org.uk Hunt op. cit.
- ¹⁴ www.vsl.co.at Website of Vienna Symphonic Library
- ¹⁵ Cunningham, *The Annals of the Four Masters*, p.116 states that accounts of miracles wrought by the image of the Virgin Mary in Trim are found in the Annals of the Four Masters, the Annals of Ulster and the Annals of Connacht.
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- ²² Michael Comerford, *op. cit.* p. 389
- ²³ Bro. Linus Walker, *op. cit.*

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THE "PLATFORM SPELLBINDER"

A PORTRAIT OF GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

Mary Stratton Ryan

In the Spring of 1892 from the 24th February to 31st March George Bernard Shaw was to be found sitting or more accurately standing for his portrait in the studio of artist Bertha Newcombe (1857-1947), at No 1 Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, London. The artist and author had been introduced to each other by mutual Fabian friends Beatrice and Sidney Webb. The result of this introduction was one of the finest and most characteristic of all Shaw portraits entitled "The Platform Spellbinder". Over his long lifetime Shaw sat to many artists and sculptors. Among them painter's Augustus John, Sir John Lavery, and The Hon. John Collier. Shaw's most admired sculptor was Auguste Rodin to whom he sat in 1906. In 1934 when Shaw was seventy seven Jacob Epstein produced a very energetic bronze head. Shaw gave the Russian sculptor Paul Troubetzkoy (1866-1938) twenty sittings for which he adopted his "Platform Pose" as an orator, the same striking pose he had taken for Bertha Newcombe's painting. Troubetzkoy's splendid life size bronze delighted Shaw and is now in the National Gallery of Ireland. Newcombe's portrait seems to have vanished.

The artist Bertha Newcombe was a well established portraitist and book illustrator. Born at Priory House Lower Clapton, daughter of Samuel Prout Newcombe and his wife Hannah. Following in her family tradition of artists Bertha was one of the first female students at the Slade in 1876. She was an active exhibitor at the Royal Academy, Royal Institute of Oil Painters, Royal Institute of Watercolour's, Society of Women Artists, Dudley Gallery, New English Art Club (member in 1888) and Society of British Artists, among others. She exhibited also in Scotland alongside Irish artists Egerton B. Coghill, and



Pencil sketch of Troubetzkoy's Sculpture in the N.G.I. by the author.

Walter Osborne (in March 1889); she was a friend of James McNeill Whistler and of the writer Thomas Hardy. She beautifully illustrated in watercolour several books including "The Mill on the Floss" by George Eliot (published by Ward, Lock and Co. Ltd London)

Of particular Carlovian interest is the fact that Bertha Newcombe was a life long friend of Mary Isabelle Bowes, Frank O'Meara's fiancée (see photograph taken in the forest of Fontainebleau) She spent almost a decade in the 1880s painting in the village of Grez sur Loing where she would paint for several months a year in the company of Belle Bowes and Frank O'Meara and she met other Irish Artists John Lavery, Katherine McCausland and Roderic O'Connor there.

The model whom Bertha Newcombe was engaged in painting in the Spring of 1892 was the third and youngest child and only son of George Carr Shaw and of Carlow born Lucinda Gurly.

George Bernard Shaw was born on 26th July 1856 at No 3 Upper Synge Street Dublin. Forced to leave school aged fifteen, Shaw was largely self educated. An avid reader he was interested in art and music. Like many a young person who grew up in an atmosphere of non-care and lack of affection, Shaw wove for himself a mantle of wit, and forged a suit of armour for protection, where in his imagination he dreamed of making a better world. As he later pointed out "Some men see things as they are and say why, I dream of things that never were and say why not".

By the time Shaw sat to Bertha Newcombe, he had plumed himself into a dazzling lecturer entralling his audiences with his vitality, his humour and retaliating

against heckles with amazing speed, catching their sallies in mid air like a conjurer and returning them. His duel with words was forever sword sharp and witty. If he sometimes appeared detached from the present, he was passionately involved in the "hypothetical future". Standing on the platform he was magnificent; his splendid bearing, superb elocution, and unexpected Irish brogue were admired by many writer's as well as his originality and independence of thinking.

From the beginning of his writing career Shaw was quick to see the importance of Henrik Ibsen, the Norwegian pioneering dramatist who used the theatre to expose social issues. One also feels that he was an admirer of Jonathan Swift, for his work is comparable in measures of wit and purpose.

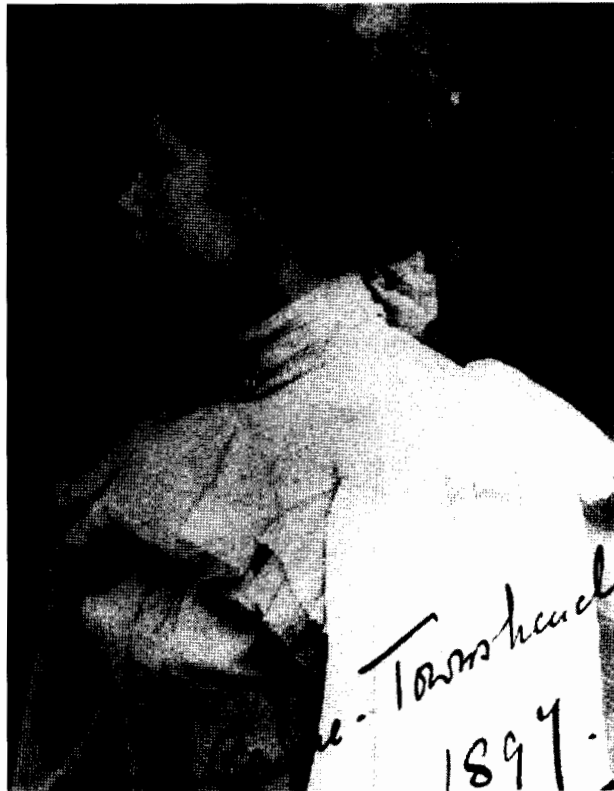
Throughout his long career, Shaw used his plays as a vehicle for his ideas, imbued with a characteristic "Shavian mix of witty irony and moral seriousness".

Shaw was responsible along with Fabian Society members, Sidney and Beatrice Webb and Graham Wallas in founding the London School of Economics and Political Science in 1895, with a bequest of £20,000 from a very generous private philanthropist, a lawyer named Henry Hunt Hutchinson; one of the Libraries there is named in honour of Shaw and contains collections of his papers and a very fine collection of photographs.

Fabian artist Bertha Newcombe painted Shaw as "The Platform Spellbinder" full length, hand on hip, his mouth slightly open as if uttering one of his formidable ripostes, his red-gold hair and Irish blue eyes adding to the impression of easy confidence. Beatrice Webb decided it was "A powerful picture" — in "which the love of the woman had given genius to the artist"

Newcombe had painted him as a Spellbinder and in the process of painting him she had quite fallen under his spell! This romantic relationship lasted for five years, with marriage being "debated" at length. While Shaw was writing "The Man of Destiny" lying in a green meadow with his fountain pen and a notebook Bertha Newcombe painted his portrait again this time entitled "A Snake in the Grass". He had not deceived her but he had bewitched her.

The same friends the Webbs, who had introduced them, also introduced Shaw to the lady he would later marry, Irish woman Charlotte Paynes Townshend.



Mrs G. Bernard Shaw

Charlotte had been born just outside Rosscarbery, Co Cork at a house called Derry, on the 20th January 1857. She was the eldest daughter of Horatio Townshend and Mary Susanna Kirby, of Glandore, Cork. Shaw and Charlotte married at the Strand Registry Office in June 1898. Charlotte was also an avid member of the Fabian Society and a writer; however, she was a very private person and left the limelight to Shaw, who thrived in it.

Although the present whereabouts of this wonderful portrait of Shaw by Bertha Newcombe is unknown, one is hopeful that one day it will come to light.

Shaw himself was very happy with it, and three quarters of the full length portrait was used to illustrate his book "Sixteen Self Sketches" in Chapter ten "How I

Became A Public Speaker" page fifty seven.

Shaw explains he was not always a platform speaker and when he first went with his friend James Lecky in the winter of 1879 to the Zetetical meeting he had never spoken in public.

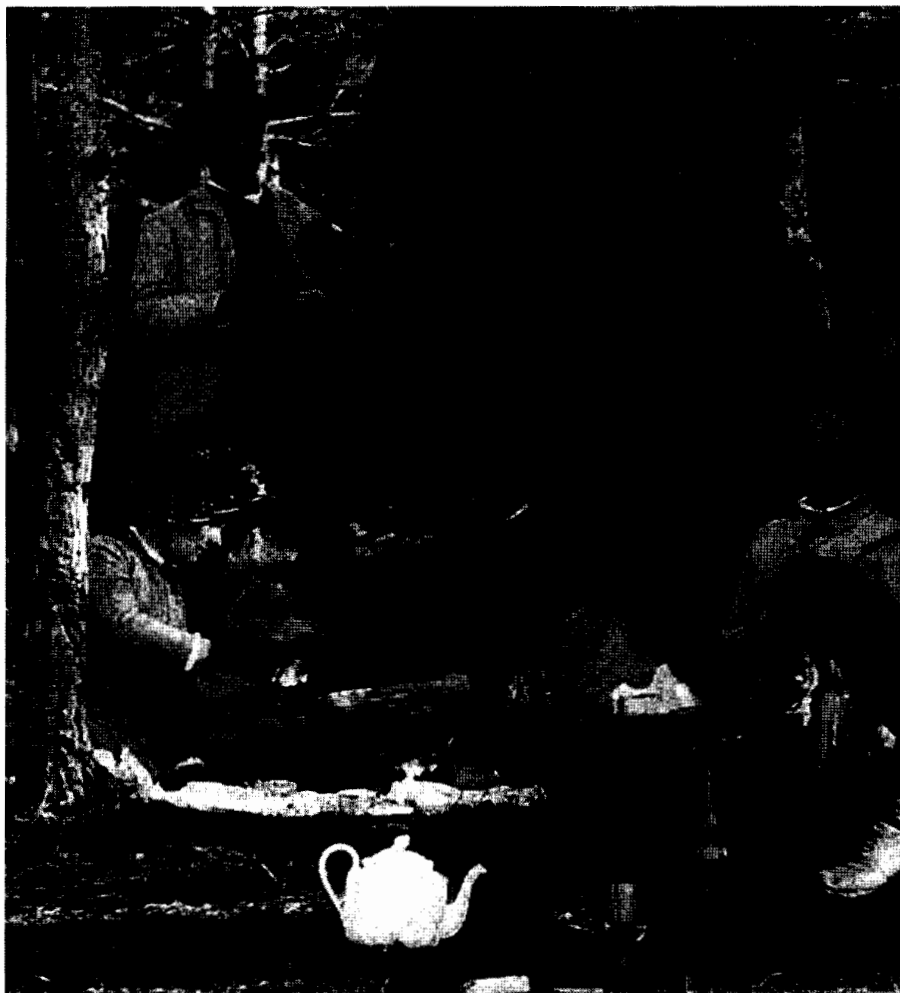
"I knew nothing about public meetings or their order. I had an air of impudence, but was really an arrant coward, nervous and self-conscious to a heartbreaking degree. Yet I could not hold my tongue. I started up and said something in the debate and then, feeling that I had made a fool of myself, as in fact I had, I was so ashamed that I vowed I would join the Society; go every week; speak in every debate; and become a speaker or perish in the attempt. I carried out this resolution. I suffered agonies that no one ever suspected. My heart used to beat painfully. I could not use notes; when I looked at the paper in my hand I could not collect myself enough to decipher a word. And of the four or five points that were my pretext for this ghastly practice I invariably forgot the best."

When Shaw was first asked to take the Society's chair he consented as offhandedly as "if I were the Speaker of the House of Commons; and the secretary probably got his first inkling of my hidden terror by seeing that my hand shook so that I could hardly sign the minutes of the previous meeting."

Shaw perservered doggedly, he haunted all the meetings in London where debates followed lectures. He spoke in the street's, in the parks, at demonstrations, anywhere and everywhere possible. This went on for twelve years. His



G. B. S., PLATFORM SPELLBINDER
Portrait by Bertha Newcombe, spellbound.



Photograph of a picnic in the forest of Fontainebleau taken by Frank Chadwick (American artist) which includes Frank O'Meara, Belle Bowes, her dog, Deckra, Marianne Bowes, Bertha Newcombe and Middleton Jameson (Scottish Artist) among others.

audiences varied from tens to thousands. He never took payment for speaking. Shaw further explains that his technique as a speaker was not acquired by practice alone." Practice only cured my nervousness, and accustomed me to speak to multitudes as well as to private persons." Shaw met Richard Deck and had lessons in elocution; perhaps during these lessons Shaw's idea for the story of Pygmalion was conceived.

Shaw wrote that he never forgot his acquired technique as a platform artist. It lasted until his final retirement from personal performances in 1941 in his eighty fifth year.

Shaw's legacy to Carlow.

George Bernard Shaw was the only person to be awarded both the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1925 and an Oscar in 1938. His connections with Carlow town and his generous gifts to

Carlovians have been greatly appreciated. His first gesture was his gift of the Old Assembly Rooms later to become the Carlow Technical School in Dublin Street. On the 13th May 1944 Shaw added to this gift the rents from his other properties in Carlow, which he had municipalized under a special Act of the Dail, introduced by the late Deputy James Hughes.

The fund is administered by the Carlow Urban District Council assisted by Carlow Arts Council.

Shaw had inherited these properties from his Mother's people the Gurleys. In 1944 in a letter he wrote;

"I can remember a day when my late Uncle Walter John Gurley from whom I inherited the Assembly Rooms, returning from a visit to them (the only one he ever paid) and saying they would make

an excellent Observatory as the movements of the heavenly bodies could be studied through the holes in the roof.'

On 13th May 1944 Shaw wrote a long letter (in his lifetime he wrote 250,000 letters) to Carlow Council from No 4 Whitehall Court, London offering his gift of rents from his Carlow properties and in true Shavian style ended his letter with the following;

"I should perhaps mention that if it is refused (ie. his gift) the property will pass after my death to the National Gallery of Ireland, to which in my boyhood in Dublin I owed much of my Art education, which enabled me to earn a living as critic before I made my mark as a playwright. It will therefore not be lost to Ireland in any case. But Carlow is clearly entitled to the first offer"

Faithfully G. Bernard Shaw.

Shaw did not forget the National Gallery of Ireland; he did provide a fund which dramatically increased its buying power to acquire works of art.

Today in Carlow we have the splendid Visual Centre for Contemporary Art and the George Bernard Shaw Theatre. July 2010 saw the introduction of the first George Bernard Shaw Summer School and Festival which encompassed and celebrated many aspects of Shaw's life and literary works, proving that the work of the "Platform Spellbinder" still has his audience "Spellbound".

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FRANZ SCHWATSCHKE

(1895-1987)

INVENTOR, PIONEER OF THE SUGAR INDUSTRY

John Schwatschke

On the back road between Naas and Kilcullen, I can still identify the country house where my father said he stopped to ask the way to Carlow in 1926. As a young Austro-Hungarian engineer, he did not speak English, but it led to English lessons with my Carlovian mother Charlotte Meredith. He had been sought out by Dr.M.Strohschneider, another of the founders of the sugar factory at Carlow, because of his technical knowledge and reputation for solving technical problems. As a Test Station Master with Siemens in Moravia, he had been sent to various power stations and Electro Plants commissioning works, and was known for his skills and knowledge in solving electrical and mechanical problems. He was especially interested in electric motors and generators, and had several inventions to his credit such as safety outcut switches, and new transformers. While the post at Carlow as chief electrical engineer did not offer scope for new inventions and rewards,it was a responsible one in charge of all motors and generators and smooth running of the factory. In the company house provided at Straw Hall, he had a hot line telephone installed so that he was permanently on call if problems arose, especially during the beet campaign when production was in full swing. On one such occasion during the campaign, a main generator failed and staff thought they would have to shut down the factory. In the drama, he organised a smaller generator to run parallel, to bring it up to speed, and so saved the day. There were many such stories, often too technical to follow, as he spoke to me as though I was fully qualified.



Franz Schwatschke c 1930

As it happened, he returned to his home in Moravia, probably due to the unsatisfactory situation, but was followed by telegrams offering him better conditions. Additionally, he received assurances from Minister Sean Lemass that he would be allowed to set up his own electrical manufacturing business here. However, he became imersed in the sugar company, often having new improvements made to machines, until his retirement in 1959 after 33 years, and only then did he start a small electric motor rewinding business, more as a hobby.

In 1930 my father bought a Triumph Scorpion car off the stand at The Olympia Show in London, in which my mother used to drive me to school. But he was more interested in the mechanics of the car than in the leather upholstery or snakeskin roof. After some 30 years of good service, which included trips to Killarney with our home-made collapsable caravan behind, the car was retired and eventually, with the bodywork removed,and a plough attached, served for cultivating potatoes at our home "The Chestnuts". My father added a second gearbox, so that it became a powerful machine with 8 gears, used for pulling tree trunks out of the ground. Additionally he installed a generator at the rear, for generating electricty when needed.

My father's work was his hobby, and when that happens, one is never bored. I have it myself in art and music. His free time was often spent playing the zither and singing opera in German, with family pets into the late summer evenings, by the illuminated fountain at home. He had played the zither since childhood, and when doing naval service on the Adriatic in World War I, he brought it along too. Whatever about bringing one's harp to the party or having to fight fellow men, the zither played an important part of their free time. In Moravian towns most people played an instrument, and in our village Anton Schindler lived. He was Beethoven's tutor and friend.

My father's creative and inventive background came from generatons of craftsmen. My grandfather centered his business around agricultural machinery and inventions, including the first farm potato washing machine around 1880. His father before him had a business making elaborately designed wrought iron gates for palaces, including nearby Lichtenstein estate, with brass flowers and gilded leaves. Records trace similar creative trades in the family to the first house in the village in 1536.



*Model of the first potato farm washing machine 1880
(Franz Schwatschke Snr 1849-1947, Morievia*

This largely agricultural area between Praha and Brno (now Czech Republic) changed from being Sudetenland when my father had built a new house for his parents. As my father became a naturalised Irish citizen in 1938, the property was protected by sending over the Irish flag. Eventually this allowed me to go behind the Iron Curtain and negotiate with the communist regime for the sale of the property.

At one time, my father and I worked on various inventions. One was a complicated machine of Perpetual Motion which almost worked on its own. Another of his was a pair of metal shoes with a propellor on the toe, which allowed one to walk on water...for a while. (I had flash thoughts of a large ecclesiastical order for them). Perhaps the most obvious was the paddle boat, invented by 2 others around the same time. My father's 1933 test model was tested off Montgomery Street, and the 1955 one off Graiguecullen bridge, using various paddels. Ice skating was also a hobby, and when skates could not be found, he made them from hard steel, with high Nun's ankle boots. My parents and Mr & Mrs Tinkle skated on the frozen lake behind the factory.



*"The First Waterbike" test model 1933
On the Barrow at the end of Mongomery St, Carlow*



*"The First Waterbike" 1955 test model at
Graiguecullen bridge.
(Inventor with Pomeraniam dog)*

In 1929 the post of "Teacher of Electrical Engineering" was advertised, which my father took as an extra position. This was in the Assembly Rooms, Dublin St. the first technical school. At his interview he presented his certificate⁴ and qualifications and had to sign a document swearing "allegiance to the Irish Free State and its Constitution". At a committee meeting (Nationalist 1929) P.MacGabhna said "I don't see why he should give his allegiance to two countries, Germany & Ireland (laughter). He owes allegiance only to his own country (mistaking him for German).

GBS and Carlow

John Schwatschke

It was my aunt Georgina Meredith who revived contact with George Bernard Shaw, who had already paid for her education at St.Leo's Convent of mercy, Carlow. Georgina's mother Charlotte Rogers of Carlow was a half sister of Shaw's mother. The connection can best be described from Thomas Gurley Snr (1880's) and his son Thomas Gurley Jnr, Belleville (opp. sugar factory) who bought the Assembly Rooms, Dublin St. at an early age. The latter's son Walter Bagenal Gurley inherited this property. It was W.B.Gurley's daughter who was Shaw's mother Lucinda Elizabeth Carr Shaw. Walter Bagenal's 2nd. wife Elizabeth had 6 daughters, one being Charlotte, Georgina's mother. Walter Bagenal's son Walter John Gurley MD inherited the Assembly Rooms and other indebted property in Carlow, which GBS inherited from him as well as dependent relatives as he said, including his step aunt Charlotte Rogers. So Georgina was able to ask GBS occasionally for favours such as a violin, a cello and a piano for her son



GB Shaw's piano which is still in the family

George. On delivery of the cello Shaw said "now I suppose you will want me to get you a cab to carry it around". GBS also sent Georgina and her husband Edward a wedding present of £100 to buy furniture, deducting £1 for postage. In return, my grandmother Grace Meredith thought they should send GBS a bit of the wedding cake, "a decent bit", which they did but got no reply. Then they began to worry and wrote to ask if he got it, and was he alright? A simple card came, typed "Aye, and I ate it too.GBS". Shaw left Georgina a small annuity in his will, and gave her the original manuscript of one of his plays.



The Shaw connection

Grace Merdith (my grandmother), Charlotte Rogers (GBS Step-aunt) and Franz Schwatschke(my father)



A self portrait

Everyone has a purpose in life I believe. If they don't know it, they should try to understand what it might be. It is certainly not doing anything, for everyone has some hidden skill or trait which can be developed. From my teens I thought mine would be music composition, which I enjoyed. In my father's home in Moravia there were many musicians, including Anton Schindler, Beethoven's tutor and friend. My father played the zither. But I was also interested in art, and both seemed to go together.

From an early age I became interested in the face, the contrasting expressions, and depths of shade, in classical portraiture. I discovered how to depict meaning and thought behind the face, and concentrated on the direct gaze of the sitter. In doing this, portraits became alive. These were real people emerging from the canvas, with thoughts of their own, and expression to match. They became my friends. I came to respect the character of people, which reflected in the face and its thought which absorbed my work, regardless of a sitter's background, religion or position. It became a genuine study, producing over 2,200 portraits of contrasting people, rich and poor, but each with individual character and expression.

My short time in the art and architecture classes of the Nat. College of Art, Kildare St, Dublin ended when my tutor

'DO ONE THING AND DO IT WELL'

By John Schwatschke
a Carlow portrait painter

rebuffed my plan for an obelisk which he called top heavy, despite steel reinforcement. Had I stayed, my art would have been influenced by others. Instead, it meant I now had my individual style of painting. Around then, my mentor in advising progress was Alfred N. Little of Everton House (where Mangan wrote "My Dark Rosaleen"). He was a retired director of The Barrow Mills nearby, and a knowledgeable art researcher who guided my work for many years.

My original introduction to formal portraiture began by accident. At boarding school The King's Hospital, Blackhall Place, Dublin (now The Law Soc), the boys lined up in turn after lunch to ask Headmaster for permission to go to town. I had to visit Dixon & Hempenstall for glasses, but the fellow before me asked to visit The President at Arus an Uachtaran. I quickly changed my mind and followed him, with further presidential visits over 2 years, getting to know Pres. de Valera. He would later advise me on my career, "Do one thing and do it well, and I believe that should be art". I valued advice from high office and immediately started cataloging my work. When artists die there is often confusion in locating works, but this led to a complete archive of my paintings and sculptures, recently donated to Carlow Town for future use by biographers, for the benefit of Carlow. Although I was born at the Elpis Nursing Home, Mount St, Dublin (where J M Synge died previously) I preferred to be known as a Carlow portrait painter, because it was our home for 50 years, and my mother's family. Inevitably I came to ask Pres. de Valera if he would sit for his portrait, which he couldn't do as President. However, he came up with the idea of painting him as Chancellor of The National University of Ireland, and telephoned the Provost Dr Wilmot to lend me the Chancellor's gown which was sent to my studio in Westland Row. The President was in his late years then, and quite blind, although we discussed his portrait by Lavery in his study, as though he could see it.

Shortly afterwards I came to paint Archbishop G.O. Simms for the church library in Rathgar, and he visited my home often to see progress. Sittings were at the library and at The See House, Dublin. Over years my interest in portraiture concentrated on portraits of those in high office. I think I had some fascination of realising, that despite their



Le Musee Schwatschke, Leighlin Road, Graiguecullen, Carlow

prominence, they were all ordinary people with similar depictable expressions and thoughts. And so I took on commissions to paint authors, Hollywood stars, actors, bishops, people of character and a journey which also led to Arus an Uachtaran, Monaco Royal Palace, Buckingham Palace and Al Hamra Royal Palace, Jeddah. Among the portraits acquired by Carlow Town Council in 1994 under The Shaw Trust, were the last portraits of Bernadette Greevy, Cyril Cusack and Noel Purcell, who sat for me in their Dublin homes. The portrait of Cyril Cusack was intended for some Dublin public collection, but as my art museum was being established at Carlow, he was pleased that his portrait should be part of the town acquisition. Our conversation at the sitting was all about Carlow, and GBS. It was at his Hatch St. home, and he wore morning wear with emerald green waistcoat.

It was in 1971 when I had my studio in Mougins, France where Le Musee Schwatschke was established with the approval of the Mayor of Valbonne and town council, as a cultural centre, to exhibit 200 of my works. My fiancée and I had rented an old mill house from French singer Serge Reggianni, where we were neighbours of Picasso in Mougins. His son was later interested in my paintings and showed me Picasso's archives. But Pablo would not see me or my paintings, and a note came back through a mutual friend "No Disturb". He died 1973.

My art museum was set up with the help of Peter Wilson (Chairman, Sotheby), Prof. Josef Lanthemann (Biographer

of Modigliani) and my famous Paris agent Iris Clert (who made the name of Yves Klein). Although we had the funds to build, it was not approved by the Minister, and it was the early days of the EEC market. It was then that Charles J. Haughey suggested it be built at Carlow near my home, where it emerged as a studio residence half the size of the French plan. It was opened 1981 by the Austrian Ambassador Dr Nestor with Suzanne Macdougald. It was here that the County Manager and colleagues visited and later bought paintings for the Town Hall Collection. This sparked the idea for a Carlow museum of art, the GBS Visual.

One of the more interesting portrait sittings was with Ingrid Bergman at The Palace Theatre, London. She was amused to meet me because I then had a remote resemblance to James Mason (often remarked), who played in a film *The Seven Veils* as a portrait painter opposite Ann Todd. She was sending me to paint Ann Todd, which I didn't pursue.

Other commissions included the Duke of Edinburgh at Buckingham Palace, for The American Club, London, Robt. Mitchum who was a neighbour in Montecito, S. Barbara when I lived there, and Harold Robbins whom I knew in Cannes. However, the more amusing caricature paintings are those more popular on the Irish and London art markets. Finally, as Pres. de Valera said, "at least when you paint a picture you have something left, rather than music, which may not be performed always." It was a deciding comment for me.

HISTORY OF THE METHODIST CHURCH IN CARLOW

Anne O'Hara

No one is sure of the exact date on which the Methodists came to Carlow. However, there was Methodism in the town before 1765.

The Methodist Church grew out of a religious society within the Church of England, from which it formally separated in 1791. Methodism is an evangelistic movement founded by Charles and John Wesley and George Whitefield and has a strong tradition of missionary work and concern with social welfare. It emphasises the believer's personal relationship with God.

Carlow was a garrison town at the edge of the Pale, and it is thought that junior officers stationed in the town may have brought Methodism with them. Equally, however, Carlow would have been regarded as an important administrative centre and John Wesley's early preachers may have chosen it for that reason. Initially, a preacher who came to the town was treated badly but a local businessman gave him shelter. No one is certain who this first minister was, nor the name of the businessman.

The first Methodists met in a small disused Huguenot church located at the end of a narrow passage from Tullow Street bounded at one end by Cockpit Lane. We know this happened prior to 1765. However, when John Wesley came to preach in Carlow on 23 July 1765, this building was too small and he preached in the courtyard of one of the leading ladies of the town. Wesley returned to Carlow in 1767, 1769, 1771 and 1787. In 1769, he preached in the Barrack field and this allowed Catholics to attend. In April 1787, he returned and was delighted with the increase in numbers. He said that he was "much refreshed with the hearty affection of our brethren who had not

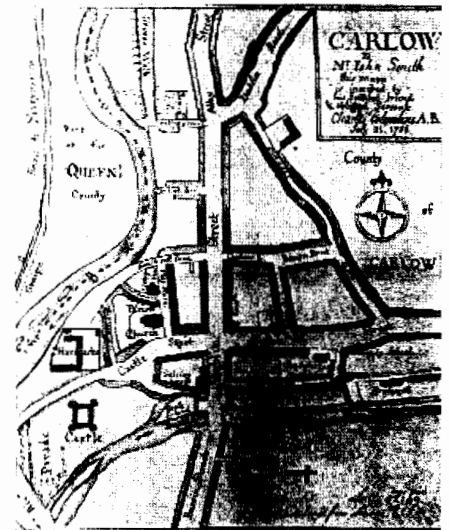
forgotten me, though I had not visited them for near sixteen years." During that visit, he preached in the Church of Ireland parish church and the rector, Dr Charles Doyne, visited him.

While Wesley was delighted with the improved enthusiasm of the Carlow Methodists, there was a problem with the old Huguenot church which was not sufficiently large for the increased number. Eventually, they found a suitable building in Meeting House Lane (Charlotte Street) where Walter Coleman now has his shop. His grandfather bought the building in 1909 and the former chapel windows, though boarded up, are still there. John Wesley was 86 when he made his last visit to Carlow in 1789. He preached in the new chapel.

In 1790, the Conference established the Carlow circuit with Thomas Barber and John Gillis as its first members. The circuit covered all of Co. Carlow, the greater part of Co. Kilkenny and part of Co. Tipperary.

Adam Averell paid his first visit to Carlow in 1795. He called the congregation to earnestness and the numbers increased. While the congregation in Carlow town was large, the county societies were more spiritually alive.

Gideon Ouseley and Arthur Noble came to the town in 1819. They added one hundred members to the circuit, which prepared the way for the circuit ministers. John Hadden and John Waugh were able to add twice as many in the weeks that followed. The division of Irish Methodism in 1817/18 did not directly affect the Carlow society, which remained in what was now called the Wesleyan fold.



Carlow Map, Charles Colmbine 1735

In 1849, the Wesleyans renewed the lease of the chapel ground in Meeting House Lane and the chapel windows were enlarged. These were all on one side of the building, the least accessible side, because of the hostility of earlier times. Though extra light was needed, it was cheaper to enlarge the existing windows than to create new ones in the other walls. The traditional backless benches that Wesley had encouraged were now replaced with pews.

By the second half of the 19th century, the Sunday School had 150 students but there was a problem about a minister's residence. In 1881, the leaders and stewards leased a house in Pembroke from a Miss Haughton of Burren House and eventually bought it.

However, the lease on the chapel had expired and could not be renewed satisfactorily. Eames Rogers wanted a site on the Athy Road. This had been used as a quarry but there was difficulty in finding who owned the site. After a great deal of trouble and many enquiries, it was discovered that a Lord Arthur Hill owned it. He

considered the Methodists a very kind people and donated the plot as a gift. Because it had been a quarry, the site needed to be filled. This was achieved by the use of rubble from old buildings that had been demolished in the town. It cost £5.00 to fill the site.

John Hill Martin was appointed to the Carlow circuit and he set about raising funds for the new building. Alexander Duncan of Athy gave £100. Richard Wright of Kilkea gave £50. The architect was J. J. Phillips of Belfast. There was a plan to build a manse beside the chapel but this was never added.



CARLOW METHODIST CHURCH, 1898 - 1998

In 1895, Andrew Knox was appointed to succeed Martin, who had died. Knox continued the raising of funds and, in the early months of 1897, building operations commenced. On 24th March 1897, the foundation stone was laid by Mrs Alexander Duncan of Fort Barrington, Athy, with appropriate prayers being said.

lunch at the Town Hall, the catering being carried out by the ladies of the congregation. The early years of the twentieth century saw the peak of the Methodist concern with temperance and total abstinence.

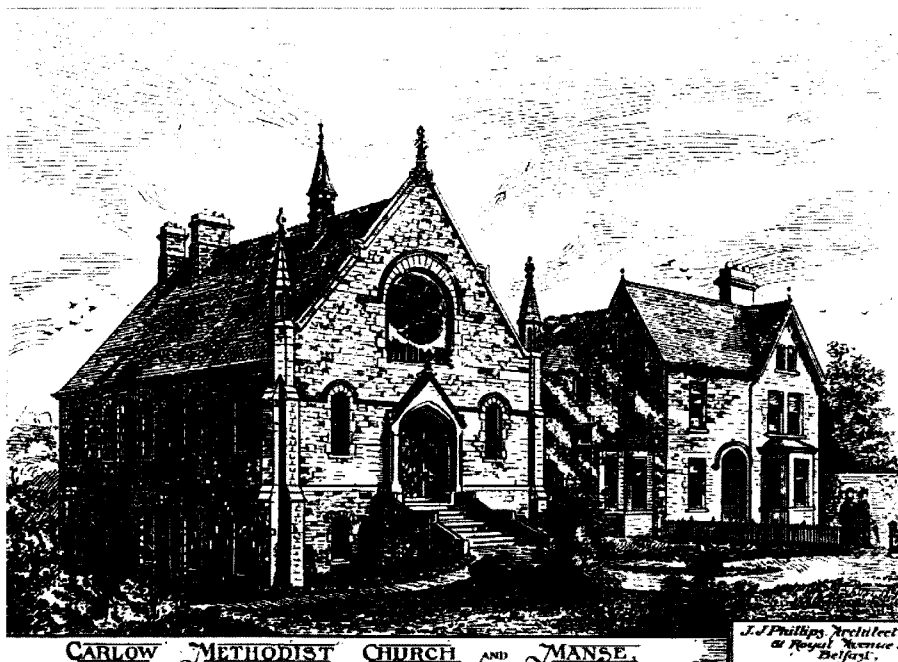
William Henry Hadden came to Carlow in 1909 to manage a family business. This began an important association between the Hadden family and Methodism in Carlow, which still continues. His sons, Victor and David, were both circuit stewards, as their father had been, and Victor's daughter, Avril Hogan, later held the office. At the time when David Hadden and his

wife, Bertha, emigrated to Canada in the early 1970s, he was circuit steward, a local preacher and an organist; his wife was also an organist, taught in the Sunday School, and organised a children's craft group on Wednesday afternoons. The organist who replaced them was Jean Bennett. She and her husband, Jack, were Presbyterians, but gave a great deal of time and energy to the Methodist cause in the town. The Hadden family are still involved in Methodist church activities and Avril Hogan (nee Hadden) is the present organist.

The building consisted of a chapel and adjoining lecture hall, a tea-room or Sunday School room, a store and a heating chamber. The external work was of "fine grey granite, finely axed and tooled." It had seating for 170 people. The opening services were held on April 15, 1898, when the building was dedicated by Dr Robertson. Over 200 people were entertained to

In the early 1920s, Samuel Shaw bought a shop in Athy, having inherited one in Mountmellick. In due course, he moved his family to Athy where his three sons eventually shared in the work of the business and inherited it. All four showed a remarkable flair for business and opened a shop in Carlow and other towns in the south of the country, as well as in Dublin, and adopted the slogan "Shaws - almost nationwide." The whole family played a major role in the Methodist society. One of Samuel Shaw's daughters, Betty, married a Methodist minister, Herbert Kelso.

Methodist concern with temperance education and the discouragement of gambling was served by the foundation of different groups. In 1928, the



Christian Endeavour Society was established.

A day school was conducted in the schoolroom for some years. This was the brainchild of William Hadden, whose children were among the first to be enrolled. Unfortunately, the registers and other records of the school are not preserved and only a few photographs remain.

Fond memories of this school are recounted in *Against the Odds*, a book written by John Stieber, a German-speaking Czech, whose father was appointed assistant manager at the Sugar Factory and lived at Strawhall. He went to the school in 1934 and enjoyed the friendly atmosphere which contrasted sharply with the impersonal regime of his school at Brunn. His teacher was Miss Dickson, "a kindly woman and a good teacher."

In 1939, the Christian Endeavour society closed, possibly because of war restrictions.

Jubilee Services were held in 1948 to celebrate the completion of fifty years of worship in the chapel.

Following the Second Vatican Council in the 1960s, a Pax Romana group was formed in Carlow. This group organised a short series of meetings and was attended by the clergy and laity of the Methodist, Presbyterian, Church of Ireland and Catholic churches. Out of these meetings came a considerable measure of co-operation between all the churches. In addition, a large public meeting was arranged in the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity.

During this period of inter-church co-operation the Methodists changed the residence of their minister, firstly to the Browneshill Road and then to Braganza estate on the Athy Road, where it presently remains.

From 1971 to 1974, the Superintendent was D. A. Levistone Cooney, whose book on the history of the Carlow Circuit, *Asses' Colts & Loving People*, has been an invaluable source of reference for me when writing this



Day School conducted in schoolroom to rear of Carlow Church

Back Row: *Enid Hannagen*, Kathleen Hooper, Baker girl.

Middle Row: Benny Coleman, Maureen Hadden, Doreen Hadden, Victor Hadden, Amy Ashmore, Gracie Good, *Harry Hannagen*

Front Row: Unknown, Maude Nelson, Victor Ashmore, George Good of the Bank, Anna Ashmore, Unknown, Peter Good of the Bank. (Names in italics are guessed)

article. He was instrumental in founding the Irish Wheelchair Association.

Robert Cooper became Superintendent in 1978 and ministered until 1983. His wife, Joy Cooper, was secretary of the Liturgy Centre in St Patrick's College, Carlow. This centre dealt with the changes taking place in liturgical practice and, although it was not seen as an official part of the Methodist programme, it helped to make a contribution to good relations between the Carlow churches.

When Robert Cooper moved to Cavan in 1983, there was a shortage of ministers to fill all the Irish circuits, so the work in Carlow was administered from Waterford. This was the first time since the formation of the circuit in 1790 that there was no minister resident in the town.

In 1985, Donald Hamblin, a minister of the United Methodist Church in the United States, asked to serve in Ireland for a year and he was appointed to Carlow. He was followed by Eric Duncan.

At this time, dry rot was discovered in the chapel and in the hall. The members

took the opportunity to enlarge a room at one end of the hall. Much of the work was done by three members of the congregation, Jack Bennett, John Leybourne and Geoffrey Oliver, and this reduced the cost quite considerably. Eric Duncan ran in the Dublin City Marathon and raised £3,560 towards the cost of the alterations. The Rank Trust gave a grant of £5,373. The total cost was £16,393. The money was raised by contributions from individuals and business concerns in the town, most of whom had no direct Methodist connection.

The refurbished building was re-opened in 1990 to the delight of the people of Carlow who were very glad to see the "Methodist Church" re-opened. This was in marked contrast to Methodism's first beginnings in Carlow town. At present, the Superintendent is Sahr Yambasu. It is a flourishing church which provides encouragement and fitting examples of Christian values.

Acknowledgements:

Dudley Levistone Cooney (from whose book "Asses' Colts & Loving People" most of the material of this article has been gleaned.) Walter Coleman, Carlow; Lorna Hadden, Carlow; Brendan Kealy, Carlow.

Papal Infallibility and the possible Leighlin Nexus

Cardinal Moran remembered on the 100th anniversary of his death.

Martin Nevin

Patrick Francis Moran had a relatively rich upbringing as a youth in the village of Leighlin where he spent the first twelve years of his life. When he was born in Bridge Street (now Main Street) his father, Patrick Moran was 55 years of age and his mother, Alicia 39. Patrick Moran was a merchant, malster, small land owner and Alicia came from farming stock; she was of the Cullen family of Craan, Leighlinbridge and half sister to Paul Cullen, the future first cardinal of Ireland. For Patrick and Alicia it was their second marriage. Both had family relationships with the Maher family of Donore and it was the famous Fr James Maher, then in his final days as Parish Priest of Leighlin who baptised the young Moran. In 1837 Maher was appointed Professor of Theology and Sacred Scripture at St Patrick's College, Carlow. Throughout his life he was a strong advocate of temperance.



The young Moran had four siblings, Mary, Sarah, John and Teresa; he was the youngest. At an early age the quality of family life changed; his mother died when he was fourteen months old and he was orphaned at 11. The Cullen family of Craan took Patrick, then known as Pat, in care and sent him to Ballinabranna national school where he was under the tutelage of the renowned teacher, John Conwill. A year later his mother's half brother, Rev. Paul Cullen then Rector of the Irish College in Rome was home on vacation and undertook his upbringing. Dr Birch in his book on St Kieran's College, Kilkenny states "At the age of 12, he was admitted to the Irish College in Rome."

Under Cullen's influence it was inevitable that the young Moran would chose a career in the Catholic Church. He

studied theology at the College of Propaganda Fida, was awarded a doctorate by acclamation at the age of 22 and was ordained one year later in 1853 by special dispensation. During his 24 years in Rome he became fluent in Italian, French, German, Spanish, Greek and Hebrew while serving as Vice-Rector and Rector of the Irish College, Professor of Hebrew at Propaganda and was the first to make use of the Rome archives for research. The ecclesiastical material gleaned formed the basis for the many volumes to leave his pen. During this period in Rome he wrote his "Memoirs of Oliver Plunkett", "Essays on the Origin of the Early Irish Church", History of the Catholic Archbishops of Dublin", "History Sketch of the Persecutions under Cromwell and the Puritans", other volumes were to follow.

Having distinguished himself both as a student and cleric, he returned to Ireland in 1866 as private secretary to his step-uncle, the newly appointed Cardinal Cullen, and was promoted monsignor. He was destined to spend another 18 years here during which time he would serve as Professor of Hebrew at Holy Cross College, Clonliffe Road, Dublin, become a member of staff of the Catholic University of Ireland before being appointed coadjutor bishop of Ossory and succeeding to the See in 1872 when Dr Walsh died.

The diocese of Ossory underwent sweeping changes during Moran's time as bishop. He also inherited the Fr Robert O'Keeffe saga who was then Parish priest of Callan.

Cullen depended very much on Moran; he was seen everywhere with him outside Dublin which included attendance at the first Vatican Council of 1869-1870 as his secretary. At



Moran premises on Main Street, Leighlinbridge marked with arrow. It now forms part of the Lord Bagenal Hotel.

this Council papal infallibility occupied the time and minds of the general congregation.

In his book *Prince of the Church Patrick Francis Moran, 1830-1911*, Phillip Ayres had this to say:

On 13 July 1870, in a general congregation, voting on the overall Schema de ecclesia, including the contentious subject, finally took place: 451 for, 150 opposed or partly opposed. This was not the final vote, which was taken in the session of 18 July presided over by the Pope. By then most of the objectors had



Copy of receipt which was given to the author some years ago.

left Rome, not wishing to embarrass the Church by further opposition. The final count was 535 to 2.

Although it was Cullen who publicly proposed the adopted formula, it is possible that it was Moran who devised it. Moran's future secretary, Dr Denis O'Haran, claimed to have been told in 1878 by the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, Alessandro Franchi—who, as a monsignor, had been one of the secretaries of the council—that Cullen had been asked by Pius IX to work closely with the secretaries in order to formulate the precise terms of the definition:

Here he is quoting from Dr Denis O'Haran's typescript memoir of Moran. O'Haran was Moran's closest friend and private secretary in Australia.

After an almost all-night sitting with Cardinal Cullen at the Irish College the experts failed to find a satisfactory formula. At that juncture Dr Moran, sitting apart, asked if the nexus to unite all parties might be found in directing infallibility on the lines of the Pope speaking ex-Cathedra, on matters of Faith and Morals, to be believed by all the Faithful. The formula was forthwith adopted. It was submitted to the Pope, and was accepted by Pius IX on the following morning. Before evening it received the assent of the Fathers assembled in public session presided over by His Holiness.

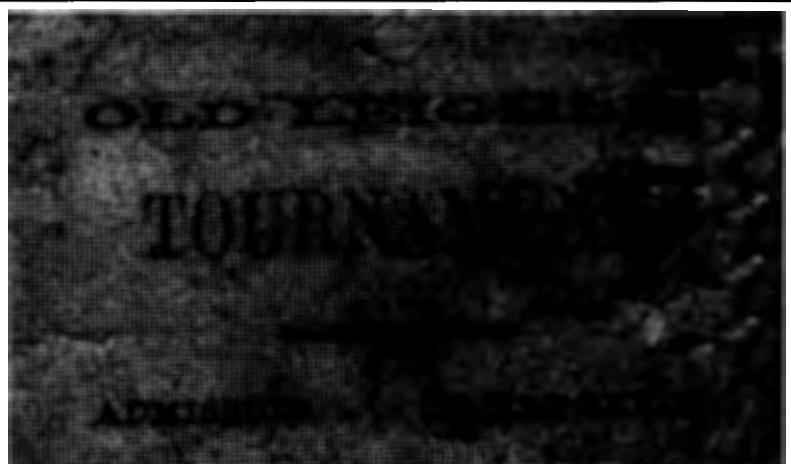
Phillip Ayres continues:

though O'Haran is not always a reliable source, this account may well be true, consistent as it is with Cullen's frequent reliance on his nephew. The scene seems credible enough: Franchi there in the room, agonising over the problem along with the others, then being impressed by the striking way the problem is resolved. If this happened, Moran was too modest to boast of it later, and he let Cullen take the credit.

Cardinal Franchi referred to the instance as a stroke of Irish genius on the part of Dr Moran.

100 YEARS AGO IN OLD LEIGHLIN

Courtesy of Martin Nevin



MARTIN BYRNE

Dermot and Brian Kavanagh

On March 21st 1892 Martin Byrne passed away in the town of Queanbeyan, New South Wales. Byrne was born in the year the Battle of Waterloo was fought. His place of birth was County Carlow. His father was Charles Byrne. His mother's name is not known, but she was probably a Hughes from the locality. He had a sister, Catherine, born in 1810.

In 1839 Byrne left Carlow and went to Australia. He left voluntarily and his fare was privately paid; he was not assisted by the colonial government as were so many free immigrants at the time. It is likely his passage was financed by his uncle, Jim Hughes.

Hughes had been sentenced to seven years transportation 20 years earlier at the summer session of the court in Carlow town. He had done his time in New South Wales and moved to what was then the frontier. There he cleared brushland, built an inn and ran a farm. He also involved himself in the civic affairs of the little town of Gundaroo nearby. He helped establish a primary school and his inn was used for Catholic worship as there was no church in the district. In 1839 the colony was undergoing an economic boom fuelled by demand for land from ever-increasing waves of new settlers and by the price of wool. Hughes turned 50 that year and sent for his nephew Martin Byrne to help out.

When Byrne arrived in Sydney -- immigrants never landed in Botany Bay south of Sydney -- he went straight to his uncle's Homestead near Gundaroo. It is on the Southern Table Lands of New South Wales about 250 km south west of Sydney and about 15 km from the present national capital of Canberra, then only a tiny village. Byrne was not favoured by the elements. He left Ireland in the year it had the nearest to a tropical cyclone ever experienced there, called the "Big Wind" and arrived in New South Wales in the middle of the worst drought it had experienced. That year clergymen of all denominations called for a national day of prayer for rain.

On arrival at his uncle's inn, now in what must have looked like semi desert, Byrne went to work labouring and doing the books on the farm expenses. He seemed to have had a sound basic education and his uncle, despite his interest in the local school, was probably illiterate.



Martin Byrne

By this time the frontier had moved onto the slopes of the Snowy Mountains. Hughes had purchased an out-farm in the valley of the Snowy River and sent Byrne to manage it. The Snowy River region was liveable in summer, autumn and spring, but in winter bitterly cold winds and snow made it extremely inhospitable. Even in late spring, with heavy rains and melting snow, floods 15 m deep could cause extensive damage. Byrne probably worked at fencing, protected sheep from attacks by wild dogs, supervised mustering and shearing, checked sheep for diseases such as blow flies, and scab and got bales of wool to the market.

In 1842 he married Sarah Nightingale. She lived near his uncle's inn in a large colonial-styled house called Nannima. She was an orphan and, descended from convicts. She lived with her uncle, Jack Jobbins, from London, who like Hughes had done his time as a prisoner and was now in business, another "pillar of the local community." Her maternal grandfather Mr Chamberlain, from London, came in chains on the Third Fleet in 1791. This made him one of the first Europeans to settle in Australia though it was not of his choosing. She was born in the colony -- "a colonial lass" -- as they were called then. The celebrant at the wedding, held in the Nannima homestead, was Reverend Lovat, probably an Anglican priest. Byrne was described as belonging to the "Roman Catholic communion" while no entry was made for Sarah's religion. Hughes was listed as a witness and best man. Byrne was then 27 years old and Sarah was 17. In 1843 a son, Charles James, was born at the Nannima home.

The drought had ended but so had the economic boom. In 1843 the bottom fell out of the wool market and depression set in. Many had borrowed to see them through the drought, to buy new land or to improve their farms. Now they faced bankruptcy. The local bank closed but the manager, Mr. John Sullivan, a son-in-law of the famous Michael Dwyer, went into business on his own as a banker to help local farmers. Another Irish man, Henry O'Brien, developed a cheap method of extracting tallow from sheep carcasses. There was a good market for this substance in the British Army. The invention saved many farmers from ruin.

In 1847 Byrne decided to quit farming and opened an inn in the town of Gundaroo. He called it "The Traveler's Rest." It was from this inn that a local man operated the first post office in the district. However Byrne seemed to see the limited future for the place -- today it is little more than a ghost town -- and in 1850 he left for a faster growing town called Queanbeyan about 25 km due south. Queanbeyan was at the entrance to the vast fertile plains of the Manneroo. In early summer (December) he left Gundaroo, taking his goods and family on drays. He had by this time four children, three boys and a girl, the youngest two months old.

In 1850 a small part of the colony of New South Wales were separated and made into a new colony in its own right. It was called Victoria with its capital city at Melbourne. It was an area about the size of Britain. The border with New South Wales ran about 100 km south of Queanbeyan. The population of this new colony grew rapidly until 20 years later it had surpassed that of New South Wales. Many heading to Melbourne and Victoria passed across the Table Lands bringing custom to the local retailers. Some never bothered to continue on but settled en route. Byrne had a hotel built in the centre of the town to take advantage of this passing trade.

The dry weather of 1850 continued into 1851 bringing drought conditions. There were widespread outbreaks of bushfires culminating in the disastrous fire in Victoria in February called the "Black Thursday Fire of '51."

That winter was cold and windy in the little town and Byrne experienced a tragedy which would be repeated many times in his family. His youngest child, William, died. St Gregory's Church had just been built and Byrne was to make his first visit to the Riverside Cemetery. He was to be a familiar visitor.

The town of Queanbeyan was planned on the old Roman style with streets at right angles to each other - the trellised pattern. His hotel was on the corner of the intersection of the Main Street and the second. The Main Street was called Monaro Street. The second at right angles was Crawford. The hotel in those days provided alcohol, meals and accommodation. It had stables for horses and some had a resident blacksmith and general store attached. Byrne's hotel was in a position to take full advantage of travelers, local farmers and the town's residents. He named it after himself rather than after an object or event as was common then. This may indicate his popularity, earned when he was an innkeeper in Gundaroo.

Byrne soon involved himself in the affairs of the town. In 1854 he became chairman of the local race committee. Horse sports were popular in bush towns whether tug-of-wars, often involving sums of money wagered, or ordinary racing. The picnic race was an important social event held each year. His hotel also became well known. In 1857 when the foundation of the town's bridge was being laid a contemporary report described how up to 400 people, including all the "notables" in the district, attended the ceremony and when completed, retired to Byrne's hotel where festivities continued "until the sun came up the following day."

In 1854 the Crimean War was raging and it dragged on much to the surprise of the British who had expected a quick and decisive victory. There were large supplies of wool and tallow required. This helped the Australian farmers.

The 1850s saw the beginning of the gold rushes. The whole country benefited from the increasing prosperity brought about by the sale of gold, mainly on the London market, and by the large numbers of people who came. Two large gold fields were within a day's ride from Queanbeyan and it is not known if Byrne took part in prospecting. He is likely to have remained in his hotel, which would have done a brisk business. His eldest sons may have gone to the local diggings as few able-bodied men remained in the town, save those who profited by the increase in business that was brought by gold. These included carriers, gold merchants and innkeepers.

In 1862 Byrne purchased a farm about 10 km north east of his inn. It was in a place called Woden Valley, which today is an inner suburb of Canberra. This was the first farm he worked on which had not been recently cleared from bush land. It had been owned by three of the region's foremost pioneers, including a Dr

Murray who had experimented in agriculture. Byrne continued doing business in town as a property developer. In 1866 he was made a Justice of the Peace and in 1868 he joined the Catholic Education Committee. The same year another child died. She was 14 years old.

In 1869 his wife passed away at their farmhouse in Woden Valley. She was 44 years old and in their 27 years of marriage she had 14 children. After her death Byrne moved back to the town of Queanbeyan and devoted himself to property development and social work.

His hotel had been hired out and in 1870 the word "Royal" was added to the name. It became "Byrne's Royal Hotel." It is not known why this change was made but it was probably for political reasons.

In 1871 death struck again. His daughter, Sarah Mary, was just 19 years old and had recently become a nun. The grim reaper called again in 1874 and took his eldest son and again in 1877 when another son departed.

During this period of family tragedy Byrne continued to buy property and rent it out. A main purchase was that of a site at the southern end of the town. The site consisted of 1 1/2 hectares (over three acres) and had a river frontage. A cottage had been built as a judge's residence but on the untimely death of the owner had passed to the Telegraph Committee. It had ceased to be used as a telegraph office in 1870. It still bears the name of the original owner – O'Callaghan's Cottage.

During this time there was a very active parish priest in the town. He was Father McAuliffe from County Cork. One of his main ambitions was the establishment of a school completely run and financed by the Church. Such a school had been set up in Braidwood about 100 km away. It had been a great success. There were in existence denominational schools similar to national schools in Ireland but they depended on state funding and the state controlled the curriculum and sent around inspectors.

Events during the previous decade gave rise to some apprehension in the Irish community in the colony and may have increased the desire for a private school. There had been an attempt on the life of a visiting English prince, Queen Victoria's son Alfred. An Irish immigrant O'Farrell had been found guilty. Some thought he was not acting alone but was part of an international conspiracy against the "mother country" which was Britain and that the Irish community supported it. There were those ready to exploit social

tensions. However, most of the activity against the Irish was verbal with very little violence. One of the last to see O'Farrell before he was executed was Father John Dwyer, a grandson of Michael Dwyer of '98. He was convinced O'Farrell acted alone. Gradually good relations between the communities were restored but some anxiety remained. State schools, after all, had to be financed by a largely non-Catholic government if they were to remain denominational. Government support in fact stopped a year after the private school opened in Queanbeyan.

Father McCullough and Martin Byrne were the organisers of the campaign for a school. Byrne donated his prime site, O'Callaghan's Cottage. The nuns arrived in February 1879 and were welcomed by a committee led by Martin Byrne. They would live in O'Callaghan's Cottage and teach in Dwyer's about 1 km away. They started in March that year. This was to be a temporary arrangement until a large school and residence could be built on Byrne's site. Death struck in September that year. Father McAuliffe died suddenly. He was 45. His death shocked the whole community, Catholic and non-Catholic alike.

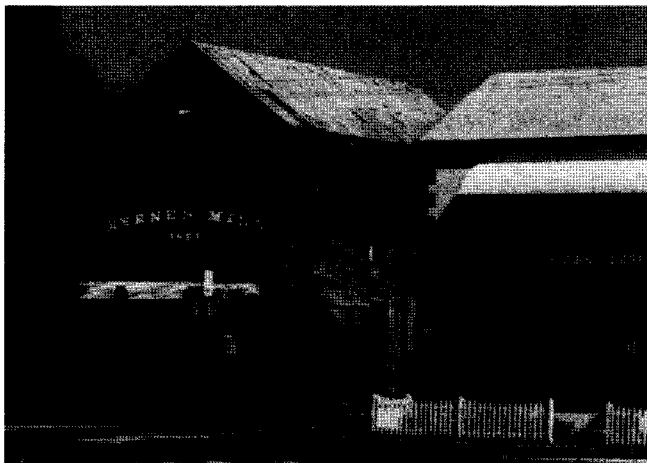
The campaign was now taken over by Martin Byrne. He was then 64 years old. The conflict between the government and the Church over denominational schools gave it urgency. Byrne put in £300 and John Dwyer left £50 in his will.

In 1881 Byrne's family again experienced a bereavement. A son died. This brought to seven the number of children who died and together with his wife it meant he had buried exactly half his family. His old friend John Dwyer died the following year. He was 81. That year the new school was completed. An important feature in the large brick building was an underground water tank with a storage capacity of 62,000 l. This could be built because of nearness to the river. It was an important facility in such a climate.

In 1883 at the age of 68 Byrne started on the most demanding career in his life, that of a steam miller. He had a large brick building, like the school, built near the river and beside it, also in redbrick, a colonial style town house where he would live out his life.

The following year he campaigned, along with his son Martin Jr, for the status of a city to be conferred on the town. This would bring privileges, which would include a town Hall, district Court, aldermen and mayoral offices and other administrative facilities.

In 1865 a census showed he owned 19 properties in



Byrne's Mill

the town centre. This made him probably the biggest property owner in town. He owned vacant lots, residences which he rented, shops, a hotel, the site of the main bank and that on which a brewery operated. In that year also he became chairman of the Volunteer Fire Brigade. To appreciate the importance of the Fire Brigade one has to remember the climate of the region. Every summer small fires broke out, which, if not quenched, could become devastating bushfires. In town many houses were of wooden construction. Death from house fires was common. Byrne was then, at the age of 70, a miller, a large property developer and engaged in quite demanding social work. He probably continued his involvement in education.

In 1886 he undertook his last public office, that of trustee of the burial ground. He probably had more of his family in it than had any other resident.

During the Eighties and Nineties Australia, now a modern wealthy country, suffered the worst economic depression in its history. There were widespread strikes; businesses went broke, leaving many unemployed. Thousands took to the road. They were called swagmen. During the depression Queanbeyan for the first time experienced a decline in population.

The late Eighties also saw the highest rainfall ever recorded. This would have adversely affected grain supplies to Byrne's Mill.

Both the depression and the rain must have cost Byrne dearly. A month after his death his will was read. His estate was valued at £3000. Though this was an enormous sum in those days it was much lower than would have been expected. Judging by the value placed on the school, which was £3000, Byrne, having much more property should have been worth more. He may have given some of it to his children before he

died to avoid death duties. The effect of the depression on land value and business must have been significant also.

Byrne's body was taken to the local church, St Gregory's, and thence to the Riverside Cemetery. A new grave was opened. A two-metre-high Roman Cross was erected. It was of pink granite on a grey granite base. These are some of the most common rocks in the Snowy Mountains and surrounding area. Beside his name two shamrocks were inscribed, in recognition of his Irish origin.

Byrne had spent 53 years in the district. He had been through six occupations; farmhand, ("jackaroo" in local language), shepherd, innkeeper, farm owner, property developer and miller. He had also been active throughout in the social life of the town. He had buried half his family including his wife. He came with nothing and died wealthy. He helped to make a new country.

After his death his youngest son, James, took over the mill. James's wife was a Monica Chapman, sister of Sir Austin Chapman, a member of Parliament. She died suddenly while on holidays in the Blue Mountains in 1902, a drought year. After her death James left town and set up as an accountant in Sydney. Martin Jr took over the licence of the hotel in 1890. He retired in 1925, the year the town experienced a severe flood. He was 69. The next year a new hotel was built on the site and named "the Royal Hotel." It is the largest hotel in the town today. It does not however have the longest continuous licence in the district. This distinction goes to the hotel established by John Dwyer in 1838.



Royal Hotel

Queanbeyan at present has a population of about 25,000. It is in most respects a suburb of the national capital city, being only 15 km from Canberra's centre. The school, mill and millhouse are 10 km from the house of the Federal Parliament. They are preserved as part of the national heritage.

HACKETSTOWN AND THE 1641 REBELLION

James P. Shannon

The modern street layout of Hacketstown dates from the early seventeenth century when a Lancashire man, Mr. Watson, secured a fifty-year lease of the area from the Earl of Ormonde and established a plantation there. For this lease he paid an initial fine of £500 and a yearly rental of £100. He then set about encouraging English settlers (of the Protestant religion) to settle there and pay him rent for the property they leased from him.

By the mid 1630s Mr. Watson's plantation had taken hold and a considerable settlement had been established. In July 1635 Sir William Brereton, in the course of an extended tour of the country, visited Hacketstown and recorded his (not very favourable) impressions as follows:ⁱ

"Upon Tuesday, July 14, I left Dublin and came to Hacquetts Town, about eleven hour at night. It is accounted twenty-seven miles, but it is as long as thirty-seven. After you pass four miles from Dublin, you travel through the mountains, which are dry land, and some of them good pasture for cattle that are young, and sheep, but these are not sufficiently stocked. Towards evening we passed through troublesome and dangerous ways and woods, and we had wandered all night had we not hired an Irish guide, by whose direction we arrived at eleven hour at Hacquetts Town, where we lodged in a little low, poor, thatched castle. Here Mr. Watson, a Lancashire man, hath a plantation

This town, called in Irish Haggerstown is built upon my lord of Ormonde's land, which he holds by lease for about fifty years; this is in the province of Leinster, and in the county of Catherloe. It is lately made a market townⁱⁱ (a poor one); it is most inconveniently situated among the mountains, a barren dry soil, and not easily improved and made rich. A branch of the river of the Slane runs below this town wherein are but a few straggling houses. Some land is here set by Mr. Watson at 2s and some at 3s 4d an acre, as to John Torkington and for thirty years. Here is good butter made, as in England, and they say good cheese, but I tasted none.... Here Mr. Watson hath erected a dainty new church, and maintains a good minister, Mr. Roote's wife's brother. He allows him 40l. pension per annum, and his house, and a competent provision of ground. He paid for the purchase of this lease above 500l. fine, and he pays also an 100l. rent. He hath already improved it unto more than 400l. per annum, and hath much prejudiced his plantation by insisting upon overhard conditions and demands. Here we were very courteously and kindly entertained all night by Mr. Needham, and [] who married Mr. Watson's sister. July 15. We went hence through Mr. Watson's woods, wherein is very little good timber, the most small, old, and decayed, and those trees which seem best are shaken and unsound at heart."

Mr. Watson's plantation was seriously upset by the outbreak

of the 1641 Rebellion. It was natural enough that the native Irish should resent the influx of foreigners to the lands that they claimed had belonged to them of old. The settlers were seen as interlopers, thieves who had no legitimate right to the lands they now occupied. On top of that there was the religious divide, and the plantation had been deliberately designed to settle in the area a community of followers of the state religion. It was not to be expected that the native Irish would regard with enthusiasm or even with tolerance the presence among them of such a body of outlanders. Indeed the very fact that the adherents of the new religion were also the occupiers of the former property of the natives ensured that the Anglican Church would be seen as the enemy of the people, and that it was regarded from the very start as an institution that was tainted by association with injustice. The authority of the government and of its local law enforcement officers might force the natives grudgingly to accept the new dispensation because they lacked the power to alter it, but they could not be made to like it, nor could their deep-seated resentment be lessened in any degree, at least for many years to come.

In the state of confusion that prevailed after the outbreak of the rebellion the natives saw their chance to do something about this situation. Suddenly the power of the authorities was at an end. English government in the country no longer functioned. The new settlers were thus deprived of the protection they had hitherto enjoyed. They were now an alien minority of a different race, religion, and country, outnumbered by their Irish neighbours who harboured a festering sense of grievance against them and who could now be expected to take every advantage of this opportunity to gain revenge for the wrongs that had been done them, and who could even convince themselves that in so doing they were upholding the religion of their ancestors and striking a blow for the faith, while at the same time possessing themselves of some of the wealth of the settlers by way of compensation for the injustices they had suffered. A Commission for Distressed Subjects was set up by the government in December 1641, and set out to gather evidence relating to what had happened to these distressed subjects by reason of the Rebellion. From the evidence given to the Commissioners we can get some idea of the state of the country in that time and of the upheaval and loss caused by the events of 1641 and subsequently. Since the Trinity College, Dublin 1641 Project has now published online the text of the evidence given to the Commissioners (known as the 1641 Depositions) it has become much easier to access this material. What follows in this article is an attempt, using this evidence, to present a picture of what happened to the settlers on Mr. Watson's plantation and to some of their neighbours in those eventful times. [Note: in quoting from these Depositions the original spelling is

retained.] It needs to be borne in mind that each individual Deposition tells only one side of the story. The Commissioners took down what the witness told them and there was no cross-examination to detect exaggeration or downright falsehood. Furthermore some of the evidence given is manifestly of the hearsay variety (e. g. "this deponent is credibly informed ...etc.) We cannot expect then to get a totally accurate picture of these events. Nevertheless from an examination of the many Depositions made by people from the Hacketstown area we can learn a great deal about the extent of Mr. Watson's settlement, about the degree of success it had enjoyed up to that time, and about the real and extensive hardship that followed the Rebellion for many of the previously prosperous settlers.

Early in November 1641 the precariousness of their situation was brought home to these settlers when the first attacks on them and their property took place. On the 7th of the month one John Slater, a tailor of Hacketstown was "threatened by the Rebels in those parts" and decided to flee towards Dublin. The following day his "house, goodes and chattells" to the value of £83 were taken over by "Cahir Duffe, Richard Kelly and Morris Birne" of Hacketstown, who were themselves put out of the house by Edmund Lalor of Hacketstown, who "did fynd out the goodes of this deponent and tooke them to his owne use."ⁱⁱⁱ Slater further deposed that one William Baily of Hacketstown "whoe formerly was an English protestant, is nowe revolted and gone to Masse."

Around the same date Richard Woodward of Clonmore, "a Brittish Protestant", fled with his wife and thereby lost all his possessions, which he valued at £23 – 9s – 8d.^{iv}

On November 8th Edward Briscoe, a farmer, was forcibly expelled from his farm at Coolmanagh by "one Murtoغه Cavenaghe late procter to Mr. How the minister" and soldiers "under the command of Captain Bagnall." He and his heavily pregnant wife with their nine children were "stript and robbed (all but his wife) stark naked." They escaped and made their way to the protection of Carlow castle, but then that castle was besieged by the rebels from Christmas until the Wednesday before Easter. By the time English forces came to the relief of the Carlow garrison the inhabitants of the castle had suffered great deprivation, so much so that seven of Briscoe's children "died by want of necessaries."^v When Briscoe made his deposition on June 27th 1643 he was still lacking his farm and other property, which he regarded as utterly lost, and on which he placed a total value of £276 – 5s.

John Watson, "of the towne and parish of Hacketstowne in the County of Catherlagh Clerke," was at even greater pecuniary loss. He lost "certaine lands with one Tucke mill & certayne under tenancies and tenements in the said Towne of Hacketstown",^{vi} together with 534 acres of land in Killalongford, tithes worth £50 per annum, cattle, horses, household goods, and books worth £140. Also he had before the rebellion an income from "Church meanes" of £90 per annum. Adding all his losses he calculated that he was the poorer by £1690 as a result of this rebellion. Rev. Mr. Watson went on to say that "the sons of Walter Ashpoole of

Rathvilla, gent, and the servants and tenants of Thomas Moore of Walterstown, fermaer," had taken his sheep, swine, cows, cattle and horses as they were being driven towards Dublin by his servant Will. Reilly on November 20th, and that his house was rifled and his goods taken on November 21st by "Piers Grace of Bordkill," and by "Edmund o Donnell, Patrick Birne [Morris] and some others of Hacketstowne formerly protestants but now relapsed to Masse." Furthermore he alleged that his books were then at Castle Sallagh, Co. Wicklow, in the house and custody of Sir Robert Talbotte, knight, and that much of his household goods were then at the house of Edmund Birne of Portrushin, gent.

Another Mr. Watson, Thomas of that ilk, was, according to his deposition, at even greater loss. He had fled for his life, he said, on hearing that rebels intended shortly to attack Hacketstown and Clonmore. He gathered what goods and cattle he could in haste and fled to Castledermot, abandoning livestock worth £712 by his estimate and his lands at Clonmore, Ballycleah, Kilnecortan [Kilmacart], and Tombeigh which he held "at the yearlie rate of two hundred and threescore pounds rent per Annum payable to Captain Abraham Rickesys of Dublin & the milke yearly of twenty English Cowes paiaible to Philip Watson of Dublin, Alderman." At Castledermot he left £14 worth of household goods in the keeping of an innkeeper, Thomas Deane. Fearing that he would be unable to get his cows, horses and cattle, which he valued at £110, safely to Dublin, he sent them to Waterford but rebels in Co. Wexford took them.

When Mr. Watson's wife ten days later tried to collect his household goods from the innkeeper Deane she had no success. Indeed, while she was actually in Mr. Deane's house the goods were taken by "one Peirs fitz Gerald of Ballysonan in the County of Kildare, Captaine of certaine souldiers there who are since in open Rebellion."^{vii}

Nor was that the end of the Watsons' misfortunes. Mrs. Watson, on her way from Castledermot to Dublin, was waylaid by unknown rebels, stripped by them, her horse taken from her and she was "by her guide carried back to Castle Dermott." When her husband, three months later, was making his deposition he still had heard no further news of her and he feared she was dead.

Thomas Watson went on to charge that Peter Wickham of Talbotstowne, high sheriff of Co. Wicklow, Arthur mc Cahir Birne of Ballyconnell, gent, and Edmond Birne of Portrushin, gent, had part of his goods. He put his total losses at £1810 – 1s – 10d.

Finally Thomas Watson referred to Thomas James and his son fardinando of Dromgnoine [Drumquin], who had lost their farm and cattle worth £100, and to Jonathan Lynne of Coolmanagh, who had lost his farm and twelve cows and a bull to the value of £30, all tenants of Philip Watson of Dublin. Thomas Watson was fearful that these neighbours might also have lost their lives as none of them had come to Dublin.

Thomas James, his wife and his son Fardinando had not come to Dublin because they had been held as prisoners at Killerig and Russellstown for the space of sixteen months.

In his deposition, given on April 21st 1643, Thomas James named their captors as “the Rebels Walter Birne of Russellstowne and Hugh Birne the Colonell.” His wife and son, he said, had “been stript stark naked & threatened often to be killed yet in that posture were turned out & had nothing to cover their nakedness but strawe. And the misery cold and hardiment that they indured in their nakedness and as they were driven 14 myles to prison in frost and snow is vnspeakable.”^{viii}

The James family eventually managed to reach Dublin on a pass signed by “Serjeant Major Theobald Butler a great Rebel,” which they secured through the good offices of Turlough mc Brian of Killerig who had been a servant to one Sir William Reeves. They thus lost their farm and all their goods. Mr. James, described in his deposition as a yeoman, and obviously a well-to-do one, calculated his total losses at £264 – 2s – 6d, observing that he still owed Mr. Philip Watson £90 for some of the cattle that the rebels had taken.

Mr. James also referred to events of which he had heard while being held prisoner. Some of the rebels at Killerig had reported, he said, that “there were killed of men women and Children protestantes at or nere the Castle of Catherlaghe the number of three score and eight.” An Irish gentlewoman had told him that she turned away an English servant of hers who had a child, and “before the poore woman and child were gone halfe a myle off divers Irish women slewe them with stones.” His son-in-law, John Dowlan, had told him of an Englishman who escaped from the castle of Carnew and was caught by Irish rebels “nere to the lodge of Cashaw: & was by them then and there hangd vp to death in a tree.” It was commonly reported, he said, that the Irish women were “still more cruell fierce & merciless than the Irish men.”

Thomas ffranck of Tombay, yeoman, and his wife Katherin deposed that they had been robbed of their goods and chattels worth over forty pounds by Cahir Birne of Portrushin, gent, Tirlagh Bawne of Cashaw in the county Wicklow, and “divers other Rebels of the name and sept of the Birnes & other merciless souldjers.”^{ix} Then as they were coming towards Dublin they were robbed again, this time by soldiers of the English army who took from them among other things a bill on one George Haggess of Saint Thomas Street Dublin in the amount of £3 – 15s. They “complained of that owtrage: yet they could not bee redressed because they neither knew nor could afterwards fynd out the soldjers that did it.”

The deposition of Ann Hill, wife of Arthur Hill, late of Hacketstown, tells an even more harrowing story. She was robbed of three cows worth £6 by Peirs Grace of Bordkillmore and Maurice Bane alias Birne and others under the command of Luke Birne. She had seen Maurice Bane and Piers Grace “rifeling the houses of Protestantes” and she said that Maurice was at the robbing of the house of John Watson, Archdeacon of Leighlin. These rebels robbed her of household stuff and provisions worth £129, and drove her with four small children from her house. On their way to Dublin they were assaulted at Bordkillmore by Murtagh mcEwn of Hacketstown and William of Kilclouagh in the parish of Kiltegan “commonly called William the

Plaixsterer” accompanied by about ten more men who “pulled of her backe a young child of about a year & a quarter ould, threwe it on the ground, trod on it that it dyed, and stripped herselfe and her fower small children naked threatening to kill this Deponent and drowne her children. And through the could they gott contracted by such vsage her other three Children are since dead.”^x Furthermore the rebels robbed her of bills and bonds worth £334, and conveyances to her husband and his heirs of “landes in the town of Oxnall in the County of Gloster in the Realme of England worth £50 per Annum.”

Another woman bereaved by the actions of the rebels was Elizabeth Davies, widow of John Davies, yeoman, of Hacketstown. In her deposition, made on April 26th 1642, she claimed that Brian Birne of Ballyankard, County Carlow and others had robbed and despoiled her of “Cowes, Horses, Hoggs, Butter and Cheese, with and also seuerall household goodes and wearing apparel, all of which amounteth to the value of sixtie poundes ster.”^{xi} Mrs. Davies went on to claim that her husband “about allhollowtide last” when riding after some of his cattle with the intention of driving them to Dublin was attacked by rebels, struck from his horse and so wounded in the head and other parts of his body that he died within eight days. The unfortunate widow was further bereaved by the death of six of her children “through hunger and could.”

Anne Lister, wife of Edmund Lister of Hacketstown, deposed that she and her husband and four small children had been robbed of their land, cattle and goods to the total value of £64 4s. They had been driven from their home. She named the rebels who robbed and banished them as John mc Donnogh of Hacketstown, Lyshagh Byrne and Owen Byrne of Raheen, and Marcus Wickham of Talbotstown, the brother of Peter Wickham, high Sheriff of County Wicklow. Mrs. Lister also named a number of English Protestants who, she said, had “gone to Masse.” Among these were Timothy Pate of Hacketstown (after he was robbed, which indicates maybe that he was being coerced into this), Roger Conway and his wife of Hacketstown, Christopher Acton of Mullins, Co. Wicklow and Thomas Frank and his wife of Tombeigh. She further named Edmund o Donnell, Henry Martin, Murtagh mc away, Brian o curren, Charles Macguire, William Morris, John o Cullen and cahir Birne of Hacketstown as former Irish Protestants who had now relapsed and “gone to masse.”

William Bailie of Hacketstown, merchant, in his deposition given on July 16th 1645 told a most doleful tale of his experiences. About November 17th 1641 he was robbed of some of his goods at Hacketstown. Within a week of that he fled towards Dublin “for safety of the residue & of himself.” He left some of his goods, mostly silk, at Castledermot and returned to Hacketstown to collect the rest. He was prevented from doing this by “Edmund Birne alias mc doolin of in the county of Wickloe a Captain of Rebels & Patrick Keogh Birne of hacketstowne a notorious robber, Morris Bawne who lived about Bourghallmoore nere Hacketstowne aforesaid, formerly a Cowhird, but then turned by his Robberys & pillageing to be a famous & rich Rebel & a Comander of Rebels, Garrett Birne of

Hacketstowne, servant to Mr. Tho: Watson & Robert Walsh of Hackettstowne bogg, Chapman: & Garrett Walsh his father of the same, yeoman, one Cahir a sneezing man and divers others.”^{xii} These men cut down the door of his house with an axe and robbed his goods “consisting of dying stuffe, grocery, kerseys, yarne, woll, iron, tallow & other thinges of good value.”

On his way back to Castledermot some other rebels whom he did not know forcibly took from him his hat and 16s in money.

When the unfortunate Mr. Bailie reached Castledermot he met with Mr. Samuel East, a Justice of the Peace of County Wicklow, whom he regarded as his special friend. Mr. East “being then as it seemeth revolted to papistry & turned rebell,” asked him what goods he had stored at Castledermot. Mr. Bailie replied that he had “silk, fine threed, lace, buttons, sinamon, Cloves, Mace, Nutmeggs, ribands, fine Incles, hempe & cotton tapes.”^{xiii} Mr. East then forcibly took these goods and the hapless merchant, together with his guide, Martin Bealing, was kept prisoner all that night, threatened with hanging by the soldiers of Fitzgerald of Ballishannon, and “had much a doe to escape from them with his life & be deprived of and there loose the Remainder and last of his goods.” His total losses he calculated at “three hundred threescore & nyne Poundes fowre shillings ster.”

One wonders if this William Bailie was the same person as the William Baily mentioned in John Slater’s deposition of April 4th 1642. If he was there is a clear conflict of evidence since Mr. Bailie’s deposition depicts him as very much a victim of the rebels, whereas John Slater states definitely that William Baily “is now revolted and gone to masse.”

The deposition given by Robert Dodson, late of Hacketstown, on March 23rd 1641 (1642), describes him only as “A Brittish Protestant,” but the list of goods robbed from him gives us a clue as to his trade. His losses include corn worth £20, hay (£2), salted hides (£27), tanned leather and shoes (£8), cattle (£40), lease of lands and a house at Hacketstown (£22) and debts due to him (£15). And “hee further saith that some part of the deponentes goods were taken away by James mc R Kena of Craniscah James Birne of Rahin & Tirlogh Birine of Killecarty Cahir Birne of Portrushin in the said County a notorious rogue, & many other rebellious rogues whose names the deponent knoweth not.”^{xiv}

Robert Dunster described himself as “Curate minister of the town & parish of Hackets Town” and he swore that on the night of 14th December 1641 he was robbed of books worth £20, household goods (£63 –10s), and stipend (£40). He was also threatened to be run through with a sword. He did not know any of the rebels but he was “Credibbely informed that the Chieffest of them wear thes Morish Baune, Turlagh Burn of Killycarty, Coole mc Garrald of Burkill, Patrick Reagh of Hackettstown, Patrick Moore of the same, Carpenter, Edmund mc Daniell of the same, Mr. Butler’s sonn and Daughter of Killalongford, Edmund Burn of Port Rusheen, his sonn and kinsman and Turlagh Burn of Raheen.”^{xv}

Rev.Mr. Dunster said he was assaulted many times on his

way to Dublin, “but most Cheifly about Balting glass which was by the falsehood & trechery of Lodowick Pontin of the same place Justice of the peace and his adherents wher I lost my gown and mony which I had formerly escaped with.”

John Torkington’s deposition describes him as a cooper. He listed his losses, which amounted to a total of £47. These included timber and implements for his trade, goods fit for sale, debts owed to him, the lease of his house in Hacketstown and one acre of ground together with cattle and household goods and provisions. He was unable to say who took his property because he “was forced to fly towards Dublin for safeguard of his Life being threatened onely hee heard death.”^{xvi}

A weaver, Edmund Arley, of Coolmanagh told in his deposition of a litany of misfortunes that befell him as a result of the rebellion. He and some of his neighbours decided to flee to Dublin for safety leaving behind him “Hey and Come in Haggard worth £15 – 10s, household goods, loomes, garden stuffe, poultry and fuell worth eight pounds.”^{xvii} On his way to Dublin with his wife and children and what goods he was able to carry with him he left butter and cheese worth fifty shillings with “Thomas Moore of Walterstowne in the county of Catherlagh, farmer: since gone into rebellion.” Then, on the land of Lodowick Ponten, some of Ponten’s tenants violently took from him “fower horses worth eight pounds and chests and Clouths worth three pounds.” After that he had young cattle worth three pounds taken from him “neer Baltinglasse and Rossallogh in the County of Wicklow.” Nevertheless he managed to reach Simmonscourt near Dublin with cattle worth five pounds, but he there lost these to servants of Mr. Ashpoole of Powerscourt, together with other goods worth forty shillings.

Mr. Arley also reported that “the wife of Thomas Moore of Walterstowne aforesaid tould this deponent that they had directions from the priests (meaning the Romish priests) for the first eight dayes to burne Dublin and pillage all the English and after that eight dayes they should kill all the English but what went to masse whoe should have their goods agayne.”^{xviii} He went on to say that one John Rowles of Ladystowne “was first robbed by the Rebels and after turned to masse, had his goods agayne restored him and went with them whom he saw at the said Moore’s house.” A brief deposition by Jeffery Bound of “Haggats Towne” records losses to the rebels of cows, cattle, horses, hogs, and provisions, amounting altogether to £83 as well as £14 in ready money. The amount of ready money seems high. Judging by the values given for cattle in other depositions this would have been the price of seven cows, which seems a great deal of money to have in ready cash. Either Mr. Bound was exaggerating his losses or he was a very prosperous farmer.

Another deponent reporting a significant loss in ready money was George Morres of Clonmore, a shepherd, who was driven from his home by Tirlagh Birne of Killalongford, gent, and his followers on November 11th 1641, leaving behind him much of his possessions. Mr. Morres fled for safety to Baltinglass, intending to go on to Dublin. At Baltinglass Lodowick Ponton and his soldiers

stripped him and took from him £10 in ready money, butter worth £6 – 16s, cheese worth £7 – 10s, and two boxes of linen clothes worth 40s. Later a mare worth £2 – 10s was stolen from him at Crumlin, so that his total losses by reason of the rebellion came to £62 – 16s – 6d.

Mr. Morres, if he was not exaggerating his losses, would appear to have been a very successful and thrifty shepherd, and one who happened to have a very considerable amount of ready cash on hand.

Ffrancis Waringe “of the towne and parish of Hacketston,” blacksmith, did not report the loss of any ready money, but he was driven from his home by “the Birnes neere wickloe and their adherents,”^{xix} and lost all his household goods and provisions, valued at £23 or thereabouts. He would not appear to have been as well off as Morres or Bound, but with possessions of that value he was probably earning a comfortable living.

Thomas Johnes of Hacketstown deposed that everything he owned had been taken from him on the morning of November 10th 1641. The culprits were Art mc o Boy, Moris o Bane, Brian mc Owen and Turlough Byrne; all inhabitants of Hacketstown, together with his own tenants Patrick Byrne, Patrick ffinn, and Edmund mc Donell, who broke his door and robbed and despoiled all that he had. This included four horses, hay, household goods and provisions, and the lease of his farm, which he held from Mr. Anthony Beck of Athy, all amounting to £212.^{xx}

Henry Storer of Haroldstown, gent, deposed that Cahir o Mehan, Tirlagh Bane, one of the Byrns of Killcolman and Balliconnell and about forty others, who “termed them selves the Queens soldiers,”^{xxi} had robbed him of corn, cattle and household stuff to the total value of £300 around the end of November 1641.

Constance Crawley, wife of Valentine Crawley, of Ballyduff deposed that her husband had suffered losses of cattle (£55), corn (£34 – 6s – 8d), and household goods (£6), taken by the rebel James Birne of Raheen and his servants. Mrs. Crawley also deposed that “Margaret wife to Gerat Comerford of the sayd Towne tould this deponent that the Queenes priest was hanged and therfor they (meaning the Irish) would be revenged, and that she this deponent should see such times as she never saw nor heard of.”^{xxii}

John Davies of Killalongford, husbandman, deposed that he suffered robbery on several occasions. Tirlough Birne, son-in-law to James Butler of Killalongford robbed him at his own home of household goods and garden fruits worth £10, of 15 calves worth £10, and of four swine worth £1. At Baltinglass he lost two cows, a bull and four heifers, worth £9, to the followers of Luke Birne. Finally Cahir Birne of Portrushin deprived him, at Hacketstown, of butter and cheese worth £3, of two horses worth £5, and of his wearing apparel worth thirty shillings. Not only was he left destitute and naked but “severall Irish men who now are in rebellion were indebted vnto him in the some of fortie and one shillings which hee is out of expectation to receive.”^{xxiii}

Nicholas Wilkins of Cloniscarph, Clonmore, [Cronaskeagh?] was also left destitute by the rebels James O Knae, John McOwen and Patrick Corkeran, all his neighbours, who violently took from him leather skins and

wool worth £15, household goods, firing and garden stuff to the value of £35, and a horse worth 50s. He was also at the loss in debts due to him of £100, “the debtors being Robed and spoyled and gon not able any way to mak satisfaction.” His deposition describes him as “whittawer (saddler) and now Souldier vnder the Comand of Captain Thomas Armstrong,”^{xxiv} so it appears likely that he was utterly ruined by his losses and forced to take up soldiering to earn a living.

John Anthony of Kilnecartan (Kilmacart), Hacketstown claimed in his deposition to have suffered losses totalling at least £1520. He would seem to have been a very well-to-do landholder, having lands at Kilnecartan (Kilmacart), Ballicullen (Ballikillane) and Constable Hill. On the outbreak of the Rebellion, hearing that some of his neighbours had been robbed, the prudent Mr. Anthony fled to Dublin with some of his goods, leaving his wife and servants in charge of the rest. Mrs. Anthony then did what many of their neighbours were doing; she deposited much of their goods in Clonmore Castle for safekeeping. On November 23rd 1641 “Tirloghe Bane alias Birne of Towrby and Coole Mc Gerrald of Bordkill, and Morrice Dune alias Nolan of Killeclonah in the County of Wickloe and Tirloghe Birne of Kilnecartan” with their followers took the castle by force.^{xxv} The same rebels then came to Mr. Anthony’s house and took more of his property from his wife to the value of £52 – 10s. Tirloghe Birne of Kilmacart was still in possession of Mr. Anthony’s house, malthouse and other property at the time of the making of this deposition.

Mrs. Anthony then tried to bring 100 head of cattle to Dublin but Cahir Birne and the sons of Edmund Birne of Portrushin forcibly took these cattle from her servants. Mr. Anthony believed on the evidence of some of his servants that some at least of his cattle were now in the possession of Peter Wickham of Talbotstown.

On top of all that a further 150 head of cattle, cows, horses and swine which had been left on his lands were now missing and he was unable to tell who had taken them. Even then his losses were not at an end because on Christmas Eve four stud mares that he had managed to get to Dublin were there stolen from him by parties unknown.

The losses suffered by John Peerson of Clonmore, “a brittish protestant,”^{xxvi} were on a far smaller scale, amounting only to £15 – 10s. On the other hand they were even more devastating in their impact because this modest sum represented everything in the world that he and his wife owned with the exception of the clothes on their backs. They fled along with their child in early November 1641 when they heard reports of some of their neighbours in Co. Wicklow having been robbed by “levke birne and his company.” These victims were “Thomas leaset of sandeyford and peter a scoteshman of ahhanaganey and John kadd and John Jonsons men ware Robed vpon the hey way and lost thare horses and all thair monies.”^{xxvii}

A group of three depositions made within a few months of the outbreak of the rebellion gives a good insight into the considerable degree of prosperity that some of the more substantial planters in the area had achieved and of the sizeable investment they had made in improving their

holdings. Richard Gibson of Williamstown, a justice of the peace for Carlow, held nearly a thousand acres of land in Williamstown and Lisneveagh by lease from the earl and countess of Ormond. He had paid for this lease a fine of £423 12s some years earlier and the lease at the time of the rebellion still had twenty six years to run and he was to hold the land rent-free for that period. He had “built vpp and repaired a decayed Castle & made a large stone howse adjoyneing to it, a large garden & orchard all palled quicksett and double ditched.”^{xxxviii} He estimated that he had spent on these improvements and others at least £540, and he calculated that his interest in the holding was worth £1200.

Mr. Gibson, although greatly alarmed by the rebellion, and in very poor health, nevertheless stayed in Williamstown for some time after many of his neighbours had left. Indeed he claims in his deposition “all the English howseholders of Hacketstowne being next Market towne were fled away.”^{xxxix} Finally on November 14th 1641, having heard that rebel forces were approaching his house, he fled to Dublin, where he arrived after four days. He was still in Dublin and still suffering from the same illness when he made his deposition on January 15th.

Shortly after Mr. Gibson’s departure rebels unknown came to his house and forcibly took away some of his household goods. Soon after that Mr. Gibson’s own servant and footman, Donnell Ryan, “with a great company of other rebels” ransacked the house and took all his goods and chattels, stripping the place bare of “oxen, Cowes, yong beastes, horses, mares, geldings, Colts, swine, sheepe, powltrie, Come, hay, 4 muskettes and a fowling peece, all the deponentes bookes, household goods, provition and other goodes & chattels.”^{xxxix} Mr. Gibson put the value of all these goods at £640 –10s – 4d.

Furthermore the rebels stripped Mr. Gibson’s children and some of his servants “of their apparel and victuals soe that if godes providence had not prevented it they had benee all starved.”

Mr. Gibson’s evidence was backed up by his servant of many years William Isacke of Williamstown who, in his own deposition of January 18th, corroborated all that his employer had said and added that he had seen some of the goods being carried away by “Tirlogh Birne of Killecart gent, Robert Duddin of Williamstowne husbandman & Shane o Barr of the same & all of the same County of Catherlagh and Tho More of Waterstowne in the same County gent.”^{xxxix}

Mr. Gibson did not long survive the making of his deposition. At the end of that deposition there is a note to the effect that his wife Mary Gibson “sworne and examined saith that the examinacion of Richard Gibson her husband is in all thinges true as she is verily perswaded: and that to her further great losse and greefe her husband is since dead.”^{xxxix} Three years later, on March 20th 1645, the widow made another deposition, in which she stated that since the death of her husband “certeine Rebels and pirates whose names she knoweth not”^{xxxix} had robbed her of goods to the value of thirty pounds. She also said that she was still deprived of her “farmes and meanes in the Countie of Catherlagh worth

£200 per annum.” She claimed that her losses since her husband’s death amounted to £840, so that the total losses suffered by her husband and herself came to £2780.

George Allibond of Hacketstown made two depositions. In the first, made before Sir William Ryves on Christmas Eve 1641 he stated that “being warned by one William O Neale this deponentes servant to depart and secure himself”^{xxxiv} he brought his most valuable goods into the castle of Hacketstown on November 22nd. That very night sixty rebels led by Maurice Nolan, Tirlagh Birne and Coole mc Garrald Birne attacked the castle. Having failed to break down the gate with “axes and other ingens” they gained entry over a “stack or reeke of turf, that was made against the said castle” and so opened the gates and carried away all Mr. Allibond’s goods. On the following day Mr. Allibond started for Dublin with a herd of one hundred cows and heifers and three bulls. Near Baltinglass John Aspoll of Tuckmill and one Maynewaring with their followers took these cattle from him together with his sword and pistol, “which,” continues Mr. Allibond, “being soe done they raised the Cry and the whole Cuntrie arose and followed this examinant whoe by horse escaped them.” One feels he was lucky that his assailants had left him the horse.

Mr. Allibond went on to say that he was informed by his servants and neighbours that “Edmond Birne of Portrishae, Brian mc Owen Birne of the same and Donogh mc Connell and others in theire Companie carried away all the goodes he this examinant hadd left in his howse”. Furthermore he was missing ten mares and colts, ten cows and fifty calves as well as swine and other cattle. His total losses amounted to at least £600.

Mr. Allibond’s second deposition, made before John Watson and Roger Puttock on the following March 1st, went into greater detail as to his lost possessions. They included a farm at Hacketstown, another at Killalongford, and the Mill of Hacketstown “upon which mill he is informed that Peter Wickham of Talbotstowne in the County of Wicklow Esquire hath entred and therein placed a Miller.”^{xxxv} In this deposition he valued his losses at £660.

From the above evidence it seems clear that by the time the Rebellion broke out Mr. Watson’s plantation in northeast Carlow was doing quite well. A considerable number of settlers had been attracted to it and they had achieved a high degree of prosperity for themselves if their evidence regarding property lost as a consequence of the Rebellion is to be believed. As well as farmers there were skilled tradesmen and successful merchants dealing not just in the everyday items like foodstuffs and clothing but also in luxury goods such as silk, spices, etc. Both the livestock numbers and the amount of provisions taken from the settlers’ houses indicate that the settlers were very well off before this calamity hit them. On the next page the following table illustrates that point (spellings as in the original depositions).

HACKETSTOWN AND THE 1641 REBELLION

| NAME OF DEPONENT | PROPERTY LOST/ DAMAGED | VALUE |
|--|---|-----------------|
| Crawly, Constance, wife of Valentine Crawly | Cattle (£55), Corne (£34 6s-8d), household goods (£6) | £45 6s 8d |
| Dodson, Robert, a Brittish Protestant | corne (£20), tanned leather and shooes (£8), hay (40s), salted hides (£27), cattle (£40), household goods (£13), lease of lands and a house (£22), debts (£15) | £137 |
| Dunster, Robert, curate minister | Bookes (£20), household goods (£63 - 10s), stipend (£40) | £123- 10s |
| Johnes, Thomas | Four horses (£10), hay (£20), househould stuffe garden- ing &fyreing (£40), household provision (£20), debts (£22), lease of farm (£100) | £212 |
| Allibond, George | Most of his goods taken from Hacketstown castle | At least £600 |
| Ditto | 100cows and heifers of 3 years old, 3 bulls. | |
| James, Thomas | Ready money, butter, cheese, household stuff, apparel, corn, hay, beasts, cattle, horses, profits of gardens, provisions. | £262 - 2s-6d. |
| Hill, Ann | Three cows worth £6, Household stuff worth £80, 20s in money, house worth £30, hay worth 30s, bills an bonds worth £200, conveyances to lands in Gloster worth £50 p.a. | |
| Davies, Elizabeth, widow of John Davies, yeoman | Cows, horses, hoggs, butter and cheese, household goods, wearing apparel | £60 |
| Bailie, William, merchant | Ready money, horses, wares, merchandize, debtes and other goods and chattells. | £369 - 4s. |
| Do. | Dying stuffe, grocery, kerseys, yarne, wool, iron, tallow | |
| Do. | silk, fine threed, silk lace, buttons, sinamon, Cloves, Mace, Nutmeggs, ribbands, fine incles, hempe and cot- ton tapes (at Castledermot) | |
| Watson, Thomas | Town and lands of Clonmore, townlands of Kilnecortan and Tombeigh, part of townland of Ballycleah, stock, all left behind when he fled to Dublin via Castledermot. Household stuff worth £14 left with Thomas Deane in Castledermot. | £1810 -1s -10d. |
| Watson, John, Clerke. | Lands, Tucke mill, under tenancies and tenements in Hacketstowne, dwelling house in Hacketstowne, 534 acres in Killalongford, tithes worth £50 p.a., corn and hay (£40), fewell (£8), household goods (£75), cattle (£166), horses (£34), bookes (£140), etc. | £1690 |
| Slater, John, Taylor | House, goodes and chattells | £83 |
| Anthony, John | House, malt house, corne, hay, malt, fewell, utensils, 100 head of cattle, stud mares, 150 cattle debts due (£90), crops | £1520 |
| Isacke, William, yeoman, servant to Richard Gibson | Mr. Gibson lost household goods (£40), cowes, horses, corne, sheep, wool, hay, turf, (£667), farm and stock worth £200 p.a. | |
| Gibson, Richard, Esquire, Justice of the peace | Nearly 1000 acres in Williamstowne and Lisnevaghe leased from James, Earl of Ormond. Large stone house and repaired castle. His interest worth £1200. All his goods and chattels worth £640 - 10s -4d. | £1880 |
| Morres, George, sheppard | household goods hay and fuel (£5), profit of large gar- den (£4), butter and cheese (£5), beastes and cattle (£16), sheep (40s) | |
| Do. | Ready mony (£10), butter (£6 16s), cheese (£7 - 10s), lynnenn clothes (40s) | £62 - 16s - 6d |
| Davies, John, husbandman | Household goods and garden fruites (£10), fifteen calves (£10), four swine (20s), two cowes one bull & four heifers (£9), butter and cheese (30s), wearing apparrell ((30s), two horses (£5), debts owed him (41s) | £40 -1s |

| NAME OF DEPONENT | PROPERTY LOST/ DAMAGED | VALUE |
|--|---|--|
| Peerson, John, british protestant | 1 yeearding calf (£1), a garden (£3 - 12s), 1 saw and 2 sithes (10s), 2 cheste I box and beefe and 16 hors showes and nayles (£1), 1 hundred of plates in oymn and steell (£! - 8s), trees and fewill for fier (£1), tolles (£2 - 10s), 2 Caddowes a pailll of bvttter (10s). | £60 - 10s. |
| Storer, Henry, gent | Corne, cattle and household stuff to the value of £300. | £300 |
| Woodward, Richard, British Protestant | whole estate consisting of house, garden and household goods | £23 -9s -8d |
| Gibson, Mary, relict of Richard Gibson | As well as losses mentioned in her husband's deposition she has lost £200 per annum in profits and rents of her farms. Lynnen provision pillaged and robbed several times (£10) | £840 as well as her husband's losses - total £2780 |
| Arley, Edmund, Weaver | Hay and corne (£15 - 10s), loomes, garden stuff, household goods, poultry and fuell (£8). Butter and cheese left with Thomas Moore of Walterstowne (50s), | |
| Do | Fower horses (£8), Chests and Clouths (£3). Cattle worth £3 near Baltinglass and later at Simonscourt near Dublin cattle worth £5 and goods worth 40s. | £47 |
| Bownd, Jeffery | 16 cows, 19 young cattle, 3 horses, 5 hogs, butter, beef, bacon, cheese and other provision, Lining and all their household stuff. £14 in ready money | £97 |
| Waring, ffrancis, Blacksmyth | Lease of a house, goods and household stuff | £23 |
| Torkington, John, Cooper | cattle, timber for his trade& other ware fit for sale (£22), household goods and provision & implemtes for his trade (5), garden fruites (£5), lease of house & acre of ground (£5), debts (£5) | £47 |
| Briscoe, Edward, farmer | Cattle horses corne hay household stuff provision apparrell debts and the improvement of his farme. | £226 |
| ffranck, Catherine, wife of Thomas ffranck, yeoman | Goods and chattells | £40 |
| Wilkins, Nicholas, whittawer and now souldier | leather skins and wooll (£15), household goods, parrell, firing, garden stufte (£35), one horse (50s), debts (£100) | £142 -10s |
| Hall, Margaret, widow of Joseph Hall | Seaven Englishe Cowes, thirteen English hoggs, ffive English Steeres and heifers, one Mare, stack of haye, brasse, pewter, bedding, lynnen, brewing and deary vessels | £50 at least |
| Leason, Thomas, mason | Household goods (£20), cattle (£60), bills and bonds by which several persons were indebted to him (£60) | £140 |
| Ryley, James, a british protestant | Chattles (£10), household goods (£7-10s), debts (£5 12S), a sow (18s), | £24 |
| Pate, Timothy, gent | household goods and sixteen cows (£246), 137 oxen and horses of English breed (£500), 300 sheep, 60 swine, 100 poultry, 60 bls of potatoes, all worth £142, corn (£20), improvements to farm £100 | £1218 |

It is equally obvious that the events of 1641 and following years had a major adverse impact on the prosperity and the growth of Mr. Watson's plantation. Making every possible allowance for exaggeration on the part of the deponents (and we may well suspect that they would have made their losses out to be as great as they possibly could, in the hope of receiving some sort of compensation) it is still very obvious that severe losses had been suffered and that more than a few settlers had fled Hacketstown in fear of their lives. How many of them ever returned to take up their old lives we have no way of knowing, but it is a safe bet that some at least had left for ever. The village itself however

remained and was to become a garrison town of some little significance in the following century.

Apart from the losses of property there were the even more serious claims of violent assaults, physical abuse and even homicide suffered by the settlers. The next table shows the claims along these lines made by the Hacketstown deponents.

HACKETSTOWN AND THE 1641 REBELLION

| NAME OF DEPONENT | ALLEGED OUTRAGE |
|---|--|
| James, Thomas | Imprisoned along with his wife and son Fardinando for 16 months at Killerick and Russellstowne by Colonel Hugh Birne, Walter Birne and their company. All 3 stripped naked and driven 14 miles to prison in frost and snow. |
| Hill, Ann | As she was coming to Dublin she was assaulted at Bordkillmore by Murtoogh mcEwn of Hacketstown and William of Killclouagh, commonly called William the Plaixsterer and nine or ten more who pulled off her back a child of about a year and trod it to death, stripped herself and her fower small children naked. And through the could they gott contracted by such vsage her other three children are since dead. |
| Davies, Elizabeth, widow of John Davies, yeoman | Around allhallowtide last her husband riding after his cattle to bring them to Dublin was struck from his horse and wounded in his head and other parts of his body. He died eight days later and six of her children have since died through hunger and cold. |
| Watson, Thomas | His wife, coming to Dublin from Castledermot, was stripped by rebels, her horse taken from her, and she by her guide carried back to Castledermot. He does not know whether she is alive or dead. |
| Gibson, Richard, Esquire, Justice of the peace | Gibson fled to Dublin on 14/11/1641, when "all the English howseholders of Hacketstowne being next market town were fled away." The rebels "robbed and stript this deponentes children & some of his servants of their apparell & victualls soe that if godes providence had not prevented it they had beene all starved. |
| Briscoe, Edward, farmer | He, his wiffe great with child & nine children were stript and robbed (all but his wiffe) stark naked. Escaped and got into the castle of Carlow. Seven of his children died by want of necessaries. |
| Leason, Thomas, mason | The rebels aforesaid followed him to Hacketstowne and there rifeled him (bills and bonds). He and his wife fled towards Dublin for refuge. Before they had gone three miles Morris Birne, Edmond o Dowling and Owny Birne overtook them, rifeled and stripped them to their naked skins. |
| Ryley, James, a brittish protestant | Luke Burne told him he should have his goods restored if he would "joine in action goe to Masse with him". His wife "being great with child was striped of all her cloaths" when fleeing to Wicklow town. |
| Pate, Timothy, gent | Brian Mc Cahire Burne ordered his head to be taken off. One Bolgar of Knockloe, Co. Wicklow, labourer, struck two blows at his neck with a broad axe, which were deflected by his wife. Bolger struck her in the belly with the axe, she being great with child (which putt her into much paine & affrightes: & after shee was brought a bedd the child died.) |

According to this evidence there were seven different instances of people being stripped naked (in mid winter!), seventeen children dead as a result of the hardships they suffered (including the deliberate murder of Ann Hill's baby), one adult dead from wounds received in an attack, and one unborn baby dead as a result of a brutal assault on its mother.

Even if we rule out some of these allegations on the grounds that the deponent was not actually present at the scene, and then make large allowance for exaggeration, there is still enough here to make it certain that some very cruel and inhuman actions were perpetrated and that there was a great deal of suffering. It was obviously a terrifying time for the settlers. The willingness of so many of them to abandon most of their possessions (and in some cases their wives and children) and flee to safety with whatever they could quickly gather speaks for itself. Certainly those settlers who had been through this harrowing experience must have been slow to return and resume their interrupted lives when peace returned. For the natives of course the ultimate consequence of all this was going to be even worse. For them the Rising would eventually lead to the Cromwellian invasion, the devastation of the country, and the Cromwellian Plantation.

Oliver Cromwell would exact a terrible revenge for the events of the Rebellion and the evidence contained in the 1641 Depositions would be used to provide justification for that blood-soaked tyrant's treatment of the Irish.

References

- ¹ William Brereton, "Travels of Sir William Brereton in Ireland 1635," in Litton Falkiner (ed.) *Illustrations of Irish History and Topography* (Dublin, 1904)
- ² A patent for a market for Hacketstown was granted to the Earl of Ormonde in 1635.
- ⁱⁱⁱ 1641 Depositions, fol.38v, fol.39r
- ^{iv} 1641 Depositions, fol.83r
- ^v 1641 Depositions, fol.42r
- ^{vi} 1641 Depositions, fol.86r
- ^{vii} 1641 Depositions, fol.68r
- ^{viii} 1641 Depositions, fol.45v
- ^{ix} 1641 Depositions, fol.11r
- ^x 1641 Depositions, fol.62r
- ^{xi} 1641 Depositions, fol.79r
- ^{xii} 1641 Depositions, fol.26r
- ^{xiii} 1641 Depositions, fol.8r
- ^{xiv} 1641 Depositions, fol.33v
- ^{xv} *ibid.*
- ^{xvi} *ibid.*
- ^{xvii} 1641 Depositions, fol.18r
- ^{xviii} 1641 Depositions, fol.48r
- ^{xix} 1641 Depositions, fol.16r
- ^{xx} 1641 Depositions, fol.44r
- ^{xxi} 1641 Depositions, fol.41r, fol.41v
- ^{xxii} 1641 Depositions, fol.89r
- ^{xxiii} 1641 Depositions, fol.76r
- ^{xxiv} 1641 Depositions, fol.45r
- ^{xxv} 1641 Depositions, fol.9r
- ^{xxvi} 1641 Depositions, fol.82r
- ^{xxvii} *ibid.*
- ^{xxviii} 1641 Depositions, fol.17r
- ^{xxix} 1641 Depositions, fol.7r
- ^{xxx} 1641 Depositions, fol.92r
- ^{xxxi} 1641 Depositions, fol.24r
- ^{xxxii} 1641 Depositions, fol.14r
- ^{xxxiii} 1641 Depositions, fol.14v
- ^{xxxiv} 1641 Depositions, fol.14v
- ^{xxxv} 1641 Depositions, fol.149r

THE BOROUGH ELECTORAL LIST OF 1832

Sean O'Shea

The passing of Hobert's Catholic Relief Act 1793 conceded to Catholics the right of forty - shilling freeholders to vote in the counties and in the open Boroughs, to act as grand Jurors and to become members of corporations. Catholics had been disfranchised entirely from 1728 until that time. However, Catholics were still debarred from Parliament from 1691, because they would not take the oath of Abjuration and declare against Catholic Doctrine and so remained until the Catholic emancipation act 1829.

The Irish parliament (referred to as Grattan's parliament) in 1793 was entirely a Protestant parliament comprising three hundred members with approximately two thirds representing Borough constituencies. Many members were returned by closed Boroughs (also known as Rotten Boroughs) with seats frequently bought and sold, and were simply seats in the gift of the members and Patron of the Borough. Though Grattan's parliament claimed to be independent, it was distinguished by its unrepresentative and corrupt nature.

Carlow Town Borough (a closed Borough) enjoyed and exercised the right to elect two members to the Irish parliament. The Borough retained this franchise in 1793 as a closed Borough controlled by the Patron Lord Charville.

The County of Carlow was one of twelve districts formed into shire ground by King John and among the privileges conferred by such an incorporation would have been the right to return two members to parliament. Carlow County retained that privilege, with the addition of Catholic freeholders of forty — shillings having the right to vote.

A Borough also existed at Old Leighlin in 1793 which was controlled and managed by the Bishop of the Diocese (known as a Bishop's Borough), which returned two members to parliament. This privilege was retained at that time.

Thus six members were returned to the Irish parliament from the county of Carlow in 1793.

The insurrection of 1798 precipitated the passing of the Act

of Union of 1800 which abolished the Irish parliament from 1801. The Irish parliament was henceforth represented in the British House of Commons with a reduced membership of one hundred, resulting in Carlow Borough reduced to electing one member to the new parliament and the Borough of Old Leighlin was disfranchised. Carlow County retained the right to send two members to parliament, thus reducing the parliamentary representation for the county to three.

In 1828 Daniel O' Connell was successful in a By-Election in County Clare, defeating Fitzgerald, a protestant land lord, by 2057 votes to 982. However, he could not take his seat in parliament until the Catholic Emancipation Act was passed on the 13th April 1829 (following much opposition and hostility). To accommodate the Emancipation Act, the Catholic Association which supported O' Connell was required to dissolve and the forty - shilling freeholders were disfranchised by raising the franchise to ten pounds, but the way was now clear for Catholics to enter parliament.

In 1831 a parliamentary reform bill was introduced in the British House of Parliament by the Liberal Party and was fiercely opposed by the Tories, but after much deliberation it was passed. Under the Act (the Reform Act 1832) parliamentary seats were redistributed and closed Boroughs lost their right to elect members to parliament, consequently the political usefulness of corporations diminished sharply. Politicians seeking to represent Carlow Town in parliament were now dependent for election on the mainly middle income class vote of ten pound free holders.

The first parliamentary election following the Reform Act was held in Carlow Town on the 14th and 15th of December 1832. Many years of agitation for the right of the middle class to vote in parliamentary elections had come at last. The successful candidate was N. A. Vigors.

The following is the Borough List taken from the Carlow Morning Post of the 3rd of that month, which names those entitled to vote, giving their residence, occupation, religion, and political affiliation.

THE BOROUGH LIST

Carlow was a Rotten Borough.-The Reform Bill opened it. Under that Act were 724 notices of registry. The registry occupied six days. viz. 29th, 30th and 31st October, and 5th, 6th, and 7th November - at close there were 277 electors registered - one has since died. leaving at present 276.

| NAMES | RESIDENCE | OCCUPATION | RELIGION | POLITICS |
|-------------------|----------------|------------------------------------|------------|--------------|
| Abbot Luke | Graigue | Policeman | Protestant | Conservative |
| Abbot William | Tullow St. | Pensioner | do | do |
| Alexander John | Milford | Miller | do | do |
| Anderson Geo. W | Tullow St. | Corn Dealer | Dissenter | do |
| Anderson Robert | Dublin St. | Chandler | do | do |
| Bacon John | Charlotte St. | Eatinghouse Keeper | Catholic | Liberal |
| Barrington Michl. | Dublin St. | Cabinet Maker | do | do |
| Barry Pat | Tullow St. | Leather Seller | do | do |
| Battersby James | Dublin St. | Chief Constable | Protestant | Conservative |
| Bellew John | Tullow St. | Hatter | Catholic | Liberal |
| Birkett Henry | Tullow St. | Grocer | Quaker | Conservative |
| Blake William | Chapel Lane | Blacksmith | Catholic | |
| Boake William | Burrin St. | Woolen Draper | Protestant | Conservative |
| Bogard Henry | Castle St. | Grocer & Wine Mercht. | Catholic | Liberal |
| Bolger Edward | Tullow St | Publican | do | do |
| Bolger Patrick | Dublin St | Proprietor of the Carlow M Post | do | do |
| Bolger William | Coal Market | Boat Owner | do | do |
| Booth Thomas | Graigue | Coal Dealer | Protestant | Conservative |
| Brennan John | Tullow St. | Saddler | do | do |
| Brenan Timothy | Dublin St. | Farmer | Catholic | |
| Brown John | Granby Row | Farmer | do | Liberal |
| Brown R. C. | Browne's Hill | A Burgess | Protestant | Conservative |
| Brown William | Browne's Hill | A Burgess | do | do |
| Budds Joshua | Dublin St. | Town Sergeant | do | do |
| Burbridge John | Tullow St. | Confectioner | Catholic | |
| Burgess William | Bridewell Lane | An ex-tithe proctor | Protestant | Conservative |
| Burroughs George | John St. | Corn Dealer | do | do |
| Butler Edward | Athy St | A Burgess | do | do |
| Butler Henry | Dublin St. | Attorney & sub-sheriff | do | do |
| Butler James | Tullow St | Woolen Draper | Catholic | do |
| Butler Thomas | Roseville | Attorney | Protestant | do |
| Byrne James | Tullow St. | Eating-house Keeper | Catholic | Liberal |
| Byrne James | Castle St. | Baker | do | do |
| Byrne Michl. | Centaur St. | Publican | do | |
| Byrne Michl. | Tullow St. | Pensioner | do | do |
| Byrne Nicholas | Dublin St | Apothecary | Protestant | Conservative |
| Byrne Patrick | Quarries | Publican | Catholic | Liberal |
| Byrne Terence | Tullow St. | Publican | do | do |
| Campton Job L | Mongomery St. | Attorney | Protestant | |
| Canavan John | Tullow St. | Pensioner | Catholic | do |
| Carpenter John | Dublin St. | Eating-house Keeper | do | |
| Carey Henry | Athy St. | Agent to Colonel Bruen | Protestant | Conservative |
| Carey William | Beavor Lodge | Adjutant to Carlow staff | do | do |
| Clark Somon | Burrin St. | Miller | do | do |
| Coffey John | Dublin St. | Grocer & Wine Mercht. | Catholic | Liberal |
| Coleman Michl. | Tullow St. | Printer & glazier | do | do |
| Coleman Thomas | Barrack St. | Farmer | do | do |
| Comerford James | Tullow St. | Chandler | do | do |
| Connors Charles | Tullow St | Farmer | do | do |
| Conway Thomas | Castle St. | Shoemaker | do | do |

| Names | Residence | Occupation | Religion | Politics |
|---------------------|-------------------|---|------------|---------------|
| Cooper James | Castle St. | Parish Sexton & Tailor | Protestant | Conservative |
| Corcoran Thomas | Castle Hill | Grocer | Catholic | Liberal |
| Cox Thomas | Barrow Cottage | Gentleman | Dissenter | do |
| Coyle Thomas | Tullow St. | Grocer & Wine Mercht. | Catholic | do |
| Crawley Thomas | Browne St. | Discounter | Protestant | Conservative |
| Crosswaithe Henry | Browne St. | Wine Mercht. | Protestant | do |
| Daniel Crotty | Dublin St. | General Dealer | Catholic | Liberal |
| Cullen James | Dublin St. | Hotel-keeper | do | |
| Cullen John | Tullow St. | Publican | do | |
| Cullen Michl | Tullow St. | Painter & Glazier | do | Liberal |
| Paul Cullen | Dublin St. | Apothecary and ? | do | do |
| Curren John | Dublin St. | Baker | do | Conservative |
| Darcy Arthur | Bridewell Lane | Brewer | do | do |
| Richard Davis | Tullow St. | Shoemaker | Protestant | |
| Davis Robert | Dublin St. | Baker | Protestant | Liberal |
| Dillon Robert | Church Lane | Pawnbroker | Catholic | |
| Dooley Andrew | Tullow St. | Shoemaker | do | Liberal |
| Doran Michael | Dublin St. | Painter & Glazier | do | |
| Doyle John | Dublin Road | Smith | do | Liberal |
| Doyle Michl. | Tullow St. | Woolen Merchant | do | do |
| Doyle Nunn | Bridewell Lane | Yeoman | Protestant | Conservative |
| Dowling Edward | Coal Market | Leather Seller & proprietor of <i>Sentinel</i> | Catholic | Conservative |
| Dowling John | Dublin St. | Leather Seller | Catholic | Conservative |
| Dunne John | John St. | Cooper | do | Liberal |
| Dunne Thomas | Dublin St. | Publican | do | do |
| Dunne William | Tullow St. | Dealer | do | do |
| Dunne William | Wellington Bridge | Grocer & Malster | do | do |
| Dwyer James | Pollerton Road | Farmer | do | do |
| Dwyer Thomas | Castle St. | Woolen Draper | do | do |
| Dyer Henry | Tullow St. | Watch Maker | Protestant | Conservative |
| Egan William | Chapel Lane | Music Master | Catholic | Liberal |
| Ebbs Thomas | Montgomery St. | Superan. Revenue Officer | Protestant | Conservative |
| Edwards George | Graigue | Distiller | Dissenter | Liberal |
| Ellis George | Tullow St | Grocer | Catholic | do |
| Eunis John | Tullow St. | Dealer | do | do |
| Evans Richard | Centaur St. | Veterinary Surgeon | Protestant | |
| Eves Samuel | Burrin St. | Gentleman | Quaker | Liberal |
| Faircloth George | Tullow St. | Painter & Glazier | Dissenter | Conservative |
| Farley Thomas | Burrin St. | Watch Maker | Catholic | Liberal |
| Feighrey James | Tullow St. | Pensioner | do | do |
| Fenlon Thomas | Castle Hill | Painter | do | |
| Farrell Patrick | Castle St. | Publican | do | do |
| Farrell Robert | Fruit Hill Q. C. | Brewer | do | do |
| Finn Patrick | Browne St. | Gentleman | do | Conservative |
| Fishbourne Wm. | Tullow St. | A Burgess & Sovereign | Protestant | do |
| Fishboure W. jr. | Tullow St. | Tullow St. | do | do |
| Fisher James | Green Lane | Green Lane | Catholic | |
| Fisher Joseph | Tullow St | Tullow St. | do | LiberalConser |
| Fisher Thomas | Castle St. | Castle St. | do | vative |
| Fitzgerald V Rev. A | College St. | President of C.C. | do | Liberal |
| Fitzgerald Edward | Browne St. | Pawnbroker | do | do |
| Fitzmaurice John | Dublin St. | Gentleman | Protestant | Liberal |
| Fitzsimons Wm. | Tullow St. | Grocer & Tobacconist | Catholic | do |
| Flanagan Mathew | Castle St. | White Smith | do | |
| Flemming Pat | Athy St. | Medical Doctor | Protestant | Conservative |
| Fletcher Joseph | Dublin St. | Saddler | do | do |
| Flood John | Graigue | Boat Wright | Catholic | Liberal |

THE BOROUGH ELECTORAL LIST OF 1832

| Names | Residence | Occupation | Religion | Politics |
|-------------------|------------------|------------------------|------------|--------------|
| Flood Thomas | Centaur St. | Boat Owner. | Catholic | Liberal |
| Foley Michael | Graigue | Larourer | do | do |
| Foster Benjamin | Brown St. | Pensioner | do | Conservative |
| Foster Joseph | Tullow St. | Watch maker | Protestant | do |
| Furlong Edward | Burrin St. | Gentleman | do | Liberal |
| Gaffney John | Tullow St. | Smith | Catholic | |
| Galbally Pat | Coal Market | Farmer | do | Liberal |
| Galbraith William | Dublin St. | Tailor | Protestant | Conservative |
| Gardner Hamilton | Tullow St. | Staffman & Baker | do | do |
| Garrett John | Dublin St. | Tutor | Catholic | Liberal |
| Graham William | Tullow St. | Shoemaker | Protestant | Conservative |
| Hammill Pat | Brown St. | Dealer (Lemmons & C.) | Catholic | Liberal |
| Hanlon Thomas | Burrin St. | Innkeeper | Do | do |
| Haughton Thomas | Kelvin Grove | Distiller | Quaker | do |
| Hetherington J. | Bridewell Lane | Yeoman | Protestant | |
| Hendricken Thomas | Castle Hill | Carrier | Catholic | |
| Heydon John | Graigue | Surveyor | do | |
| Hill Dudley | Athy St. | Attorney | Protestant | Conservative |
| Hobourne Richard | Dublin St. | Lodging House Keeper | Catholic | Liberal |
| Holmes Thomas | Bridewell lane | Staffman | Protestant | Conservative |
| Holmes Thomas | Burrin St. | Confectioner | do | Liberal |
| Howard Scott | Brown St. | Wire Worker | Dissenter | Conservative |
| Huband Edward | Chapel Lane | Farmer | Catholic | do |
| Hughes Thomas | Dublin St. | Grocer & Wine Merchant | do | Liberal |
| Irwin John | Dublin St. | Post Office pensioner | Protestant | Conservative |
| Ivers Laurence | Staplestown Road | Plasterer & C. | Catholic | |
| Ivers Robert | Tullow St | Grocer | do | Liberal |
| Jackson William | Graigue | Tanner | Protestant | Conservative |
| Jackson William | Tullow St. | Shopkeeper | Catholic | Liberal |
| Jameson Rev. J | Fairy Lane | Curate | Protestant | Conservative |
| Johnston Stanley | Dublin St. | Baker | Protestant | Conservative |
| Kain Clement | Montgomery St. | Malster | Catholic | Liberal |
| Kavanagh John | Bridewell Lane | Book-keeper | do | do |
| Kavanagh Michl. | Graigue | Coal Merchant | do | do |
| Keating Maurice | Green Lane | Farmer | do | do |
| Keating Michael | Bridewell Lane | Butcher | do | Conservative |
| Keough Pat | Chapel lane | Corn Dealer | do | Liberal |
| Kelly Pierce | Centaur St. | Farmer | do | Conservative |
| kelly Robert | Coal Market | Meal ? | do | Liberal |
| Kennedy John | Dublin St. | Provision Dealer | do | Conservative |
| King James | Dublin St. | Shoemaker | Protestant | Conservative |
| King Richard | Dublin St. | Leather Dealer | do | do |
| Kinsella Edward | Graigue | Slater | Catholic | Liberal |
| Kinsella Peter | Tullow St. | Corn Buyer | do | do |
| Kinsella William | Tullow St. | Gentleman | do | do |
| Kirwan Michael | Wellington Sq. | Pawnbroker | do | do |
| Lacy Patrick | New Market | Butcher | do | |
| Lacy Thomas | Bridewell Lane | Butcher | do | |
| Labee Charles | Wellington Sq. | Grocer | Protestant | Liberal |
| Lanigan John | Dublin St. | Servant | Catholic | |
| Lawler James | Dublin St | Grocer | do | Liberal |
| Lawler John | Tullow St. | Buxter | do | do |
| Lawler Michael | Tullow St. | Cooper | do | do |
| Lawler Robert | Tullow St. | Grocer | do | do |
| Leakes William | Tullow St | Baker | Protestant | Conservative |
| Leech George | Tullow St. | Shopkeeper | do | do |
| Leech Michael | Coal Market | Dealer | Catholic | Liberal |
| Lennon Pat | Coal Market | Victualler | do | Liberal |

| Names | Residence | Occupation | Religion | Politics |
|--------------------|------------------|-----------------------|------------|--------------|
| Leonard John | Tullow St | Shoemaker | Protestant | Conservative |
| Little Thomas | Tullow St. | Saddler | do | do |
| Lowry Pat | Tullow St. | Baker | Catholic | Liberal |
| Lynch Joseph | Quarries | Carpenter | do | do |
| Macasey Thomas | Tullow St. | Publican | Protestant | do |
| McAuliff James | Tullow St. | Teacher | Catholic | Conservative |
| Maccabe Owen | Brown St. | Fruiterer | do | Liberal |
| McCann Henry | Graigue | Mealman | Protestant | |
| McCarthy Philip | Castle St. | Chandler | Catholic | Liberal |
| McClellan William | Coal Market | Tinker | Protestant | Conservative |
| McCormack James | Dublin St. | Victualler | Catholic | Liberal |
| McDaniel John | Tullow St. | Dealer | do | do |
| McDarby John | Burrin St. | Farmer | do | do |
| McDermot John | Staplestown Road | Huxter | Protestant | |
| McGuinness Denis | Burrin St. | Carpenter | Catholic | Liberal |
| McGuinness John | Tullow St. | Carpenter | Protestant | Conservative |
| McGuinness Michael | Staplestown Road | Stonemason | Catholic | Liberal |
| McGuinness Thomas | Tullow St. | Shoemaker | Protestant | |
| McWey John | Pollerton Road | Malster | Catholic | Liberal |
| Maher John | Burrin St. | Publican | do | do |
| Maher Thomas | Centaur St. | Merchant | do | Liberal |
| Malcomson Henry | Tullow St. | Apothecary | Protestant | Conservative |
| Malone James | Paupish | Poundkeeper | Catholic | |
| Mangan Martin | Coal Market | Boat Owner | do | Liberal |
| Mangan William | Coal Market | Malster | do | do |
| Mara Patrick | Staplestown Road | Cooper | do | do |
| Matthews John | Burrin St. | Shoemaker | Protestant | do |
| Maxwell Martin | Burrin St. | Ropemaker | Catholic | do |
| Mayler John | Quay | Malster | Protestant | do |
| Mollineux John | Barrack St. | Staffman | do | Conservative |
| Molloy James | Burrin St. | Publican | Catholic | Liberal |
| Montgomery Fran. | Tullow St. | Apothecary | Dissenter | do |
| Moore Howard | Athy St. | Gentleman | Protestant | do |
| Moore James | John St. | Carpenter | Catholic | do |
| Morris John | Graigue | Coal Merchant | Quaker | do |
| Muldowney Danl. | Tullow St. | Chandler | Catholic | do |
| Murphy Bernard | New Market | Cabinet Maker | do | do |
| Francis Murphy | Potato Market | Bacon Dealer | do | do |
| Murphy Jeremiah | Tullow St. | Huxter | do | do |
| Murphy John | Green Lane | Farmer | do | do |
| Murphy John | Tullow St | Locksmith | do | do |
| Murphy Murtha | Bridewell Lane | Bacon Dealer | do | do |
| Murphy Nicholas | Castle St. | Confectioner | do | do |
| Murphy Patrick | Bridewell Lane | Bacon Dealer | do | do |
| Murray John | Tullow St. | Hatter | do | |
| Murrow Edmund | Tullow St. | Shoemaker | do | Conservative |
| Nolan John | Dublin St. | Tailor | do | Liberal |
| Nolan Patrick | Dublin St. | Medical Doctor | do | do |
| Nolan Peter | Dublin St. | Cabinet Maker | do | do |
| Norton Michael | Burrin St. | Publican | do | do |
| Nowlan Constant | Tullow St. | Servant of Miss Bruen | do | |
| Nowlan James P. | Athy St. | Malster | do | Liberal |
| Nowlan James | Tullow St. | Huxter | do | do |
| Nowlan Matthew | Quarries | Publican | do | do |
| Nowlan Michael | Tullow St. | Merchant | do | do |
| Nowlan Miles | Tullow St | Grocer | do | do |
| Nowlan Philip | Tullow St. | Baker | do | do |

THE BOROUGH ELECTORAL LIST OF 1832

| Names | Residence | Occupation | Religion | Politics |
|-------------------|------------------|----------------|------------|--------------|
| Nowlan Timothy | Tullow St. | Book Seller | Catholic | Liberal |
| O'Brien Edward | Castle Hill | Huxter | do | do |
| O'Brien Thomas | Tullow St. | Baker | do | do |
| O'Brien William | Dublin St. | Grocer | do | do |
| O'Farrell George | Tullow St. | Baker | do | do |
| O'Meara Daniel | Centaur St. | Weighmaster | do | Conservative |
| O'Meara Michael | Staplestown Road | Cooper | do | |
| O'Meara Thomas | Staplestown Road | Cooper | do | Liberal |
| O'Neill Bryan | Graigie | Publican | do | do |
| O'Neill Laurence | Tullow St. | Publican | do | do |
| Paul Richard | Tullow St. | Malster | do | do |
| Prendergast Mich. | Wellington Sq. | Publican | Protestant | do |
| Pender William | Bridewell | Cabinet Maker | do | do |
| Percival W.B. | Graigie | Gentleman | Catholic | Conservative |
| Plunket Gerald | Tullow St. | Dealer | do | Liberal |
| Ponsonby Lau. | Charlotte St. | Writing Clerk | do | |
| Prout Daniel | Castle Hill | Smith | do | Liberal |
| Quinlan Thomas | Tullow St. | Shoemaker | Protestant | Conservative |
| Rourke Charles | Burrin St. | Huxter | Catholic | |
| Ryan John | Tullow St. | Merchant | do | Liberal |
| Ryan William | Tullow St. | Huxter | do | do |
| Saunders James | Tullow St. | Leather Seller | do | do |
| Scraggs Matthew | Athy St. | Teacher | Protestant | Conservative |
| Silk Patrick | Staplestown Road | Dealer | Catholic | Liberal |
| Smith James | Castle Hill | Malster | Protestant | Conservative |
| Smith William | Coal market | Cooper | Catholic | Liberal |
| Spencer Benjamin | Castle St. | Dealer | do | do |
| Stewart Francis | Barrack St. | Yeoman | Protestant | Conservative |
| Stone Meatle N. | Burrin St. | M.D. | do | do |
| Story Matthew | Castle St. | Carpenter | Catholic | Liberal |
| Thompson John | John St. | Merchant | Quaker | conservative |
| Timmon Pat | Burrin St. | Grocer | Catholic | Liberal |
| Timmons Francis | Graigie | Carpenter | do | do |
| Tracey Rev. R.T. | Brown St. | Gentleman | Dissenter | do |
| Trench Rev. F.S. | Kellistown | A Burgess | Protestant | Conservative |
| Tully Patrick | Hanover Bridge | Labourer | Catholic | Liberal |
| Tynan John | Burrin St. | Mealman | do | do |
| Tynan Joseph | Tullow St | Seedsman | do | do |
| Tynan Patrick | Castle St. | Dealer | do | do |
| Vernon Rev. G.F. | Athy St. | Rector | Protestant | Conservative |
| Wall Edward | Cox's Lane | Boat Owner | Catholic | Liberal |
| Wall Patrick | Tullow St. | Dealer | do | do |
| Walsh Dan | Graigie | Brogue Maker | do | do |
| Warren John | Quay | Malster | do | do |
| Warren John | Barrack St. | Shoemaker | Protestant | Conservative |
| Watson John | Castle Hill | Coach Maker | Catholic | Liberal |
| Whelan Daniel | Tullow St. | Huxter | do | do |
| White Ambrose | Charlotte St. | Staffman | do | Conservative |
| Williams David | Burrin St. | Weaver | Protestant | Conservative |
| Williams E. N. | Tullow St. | Confectioner | do | do |
| Wilson George | Graigie | Tanner | do | do |
| Wilson James | Graigie | Farmer | do | do |
| Weight Richard | Coal Market | Publican | do | do |
| Young James | Graigie | Farmer | do | do |

ANALYSIS OF BOROUGH LIST

Religion and Clergy - Catholic, 1; Protestant, 3; Dissenters, 4;
Laity -- Catholics, 180; Dissenters, 6; Protestants, 80;
Quakers, 5;

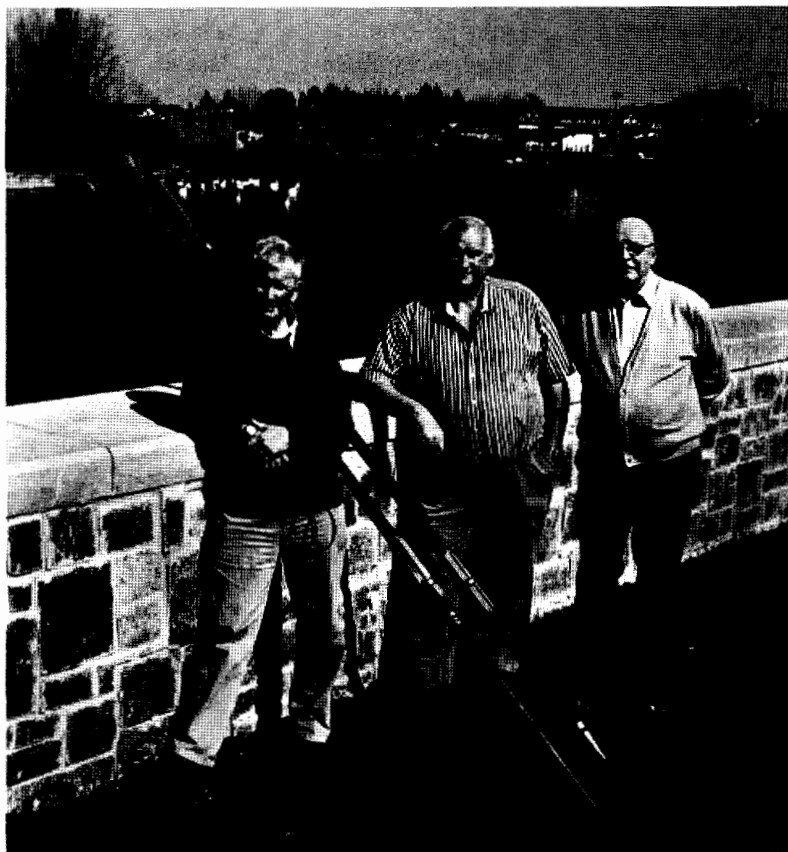
Politics - Conservative, 85; Doubtful, 30; Liberals, 161.

Trades, Professions, &c. - Apothecaries, 4; Attorneys 4;
Boatowners, 4; Booksellers, 2; Brewers, 6; Burgesses, 6;
Butchers, 3; Carpenters, 6; Chandlers, 4; Clerks, 2; Coal
Merchants and Dealers, 3; Confectioners, 3; Coopers 6;
Dealers, 13; Disstillers, 2; Eating-house keepers, 4;
Farmers, 14; Fruiterers, 2; Grocers and Wine-merchants, 15;
Hatters, 2; Hotel-keepers, 2; Huxters, 7; Leather-sellers, 4;

Malsters, 9; Medical Doctors, 3; Millers, and Corn Dealers,
5; Newspaper Proprietors, 2; Painters and Glaziers, 3;
Pawnbrokers, 3; Policemen, Pensioners, Staffmen, and
Yeomen, 11; Publicans, 14; Saddlers, 3; Servants, 2;
Shoemakers, 10; Slaters, 1; Smiths, 6; Tailors, 2; Tanners, 2;
Victuallers, 2; Watchmakers, 3; Woolen-drapers, 4; There is
one of each of the following trades &c: Boat-wrights,
Brogue-makers, Carries, Glovers, Music-masters,
Pound-keepers, Ragmen, Plasterers, Seedsman,
Stonemason, Surveyor, Tinker, Vet. Surgeons, Weighmaster,
and Wireworker.

Streets - Number of electors in each- Athy Street, 9; Barrack
Street, 5; Bridewell Lane, 13; Browne Street, 9; Burren Street,
15; Castle Hill, 7; Castle Street, 13; Centaur Street, 7; Chapel
Lane, 5; Charlotte Street, 3; Church Lane, 2; Coal Market, 13;
Cox's Lane, 2; Dublin Street, 35; Graigue, 19; Granby Row, 1;
John Street, 4; Kilkenny Road, 4; Montgomery Street, 3;
Newmarket, 2; Pollerton Road, 3; quarries, 5; Quay, 3;
Staplestown Road, 8; Tullow Street, 74; Wellington Sq, 3; and
Green Lane, 3.

The Year of the Barrow in photographs



Photographer
Willie McCann

*Carlow Rowing Club and the River
Barrow have been part of our
lives for over 50 years.
Those 50 years have brought
us memories, enjoyment, a
sense of belonging and above
all loyal and lasting friendships.*

Paul M Lyons

Thomas O'Leary

Joseph A. Bolger

Schools' History Prize

Each year the Society runs a History Project Competition for National School pupils of County Carlow. The pupils are invited to submit a project on the history of a Carlow person, place or event.

This year's prizewinners were presented with their prizes by Tim Pat Coogan in the Seven Oaks Hotel after the March lecture.

The winners were as follows:

First Prize (€100) – Orla Kenny, Ballon N.S.

Second Prize (€50) – Kevin O'Mara, St. Brigid's N.S., Bagenalstown

Third Prize (€50) – Ciara Brennan, Ballon N.S.

Congratulations to the three prizewinners and to the many other pupils who submitted excellent work. Many thanks to the teachers who encouraged and helped their students to reach such high standards. Below we publish the winning entry.



Orla Kenny, Ballon N.S.



Kevin O'Mara, St. Brigid's N.S., Bagenalstown

GRAIGUENASPIDOGUE NATIONAL SCHOOL 1824 – 1918

Orla Kenny

Graiguenaspidogue National School or as it is now known the Old School House is adjacent to Glynn's Garage on the main Carlow-Wexford road just 200 metres from my house and it is clearly visible today. The school is now in the possession of the Glynn family whose ancestors attended the school.

Records show that this school dates from 1824 up until 1918. If records are correct it spanned 94 years covering an important period in Irish history. It was described in "Schools in Kildare and Leighlin" in 1835 as a cabin with 77 on the roll, 75 which were listed as Roman Catholics and two as Established Church. The original school on site may have been a mud cabin and was replaced by the current building, which was built by Lady Faulkner who lived in the nearby Castletown Castle. It was built for the convenience of children of the area.

From the rolls it is shown that the school was Roman Catholic in the early period, but rolls changed by 1883 when most of the pupils were Established Church and only two Roman Catholics were on the roll. Also records show that in 1883 the school was the property of the parish at Staplestown. Rent was free on the premises and the teacher's name was Mr. Thomas Hynes who was 21 years old and earned a salary of £35.

A look at the earliest roll book for 1883 shows many of the names on that roll are still in the area – Rose, Ruddock, Reddy, Glynn and Shirley. I noted the beautiful handwriting in the roll book. Other popular names in the roll books were Nolan, Bermingham and

Ryan. The school continued to be a centre of education up until 1918 when historical, political and logistical matters saw the final demise and closure of Graiguenaspidogue National School.

The year before the school closed only three pupils enrolled – William Ruddock, Sarah Jane Ruddock and Jane Elizabeth Clarke. Going through the roll books is very interesting. One in particular shows a number of pupils who attended whose parents were gentry such as the Pikes of Kilnock, Leckys of Ballykealy and the Watsons of Fenagh. Another interesting one was in the roll book of 1888; two twenty-year-olds attended the school – Thomas Harvey and William Hynes. The politician John A. Trimble enrolled in the school in 1907 aged 8. It's thought his father may have been a groom in the area.

Mr. John Frazer was the first teacher at the school. His children also attended the school. The salary for teachers in 1855 was £7. 10s per quarter while by 1904 the salary had increased to £14 per quarter. Pupils were paid in those days once they attended at least 100 days.

The beautiful garden around the school was much talked about, especially the smell of the roses in the months of June and July.

Ann Mullin was the final teacher at the school in October 1915. I also noticed her sister Lily Mullin began school in November of that year. Ann Mullin had the distinction of being the last teacher at Graiguenaspidogue National School when she closed the door for the last time on January 1st 1918.

DANIEL DELANY,

BISHOP OF KILDARE AND LEIGHLIN (1787-1814) AND THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE VETO CONTROVERSY IN IRELAND

Ann Power

On 2 July 1799 the Act of Union received the royal assent, the Irish parliament closed on 2 August and Union with Britain came into being 1 January 1800.¹ The terms of the Act appeared to the Irish Catholic hierarchy, and to the key, moderate corpus of educated lay Catholics, as Oliver MacDonagh argues, 'to promise immediately and with no dangerous violence, their prime objective, political and civil emancipation'.² But Union did not bring with it the hoped for Catholic emancipation. Moreover the new Irish Lord Chancellor, Lord Redesdale (1802) proved in the aftermath of Robert Emmet's rising to be a virulent bigot and racist and would have liked to have had the Catholic Church suppressed.³ Writing in 1805, Thomas Wyse bemoaned the fact that 'the Catholic still stooped; he had not acquired the habit of walking upright'.⁴ Putting pen to paper in February 1807, Bishop Daniel Delaney declared that he was 'utterly dead to all hope of success in the attainments of our pursuits'.⁵ It is within this atmosphere of unresolved 'Catholic toleration' that the British government's attempt in 1808 to intervene in the election of Irish Catholic bishops raised a storm of protest despite the fact that the matter of a veto had been mentioned in parliament at the presentation of the Catholic relief petition in 1805 and it had also been discussed in pamphlets and in the press where it received little public attention.⁶ From the government's point of view, as Patrick Geoghegan cogently argues, 'religious securities' like a veto in the appointment of bishops were a basic necessity and safeguard before emancipation could even be contemplated.⁷ This was because Catholics were seen to owe their allegiance to a foreign power, the pope, and therefore could never be trusted.⁸

Moreover, the question of 'religious securities' or the veto controversy as this dispute about the rightness and legitimacy of state involvement in ecclesiastical affairs became known, played a significant role as C.D.A. Leighton points out in the development of the nineteenth-century relationship between the Irish Catholic church and, on the one hand, the British state and, on the other, the Irish Catholic community.⁹

Bishop Daniel Delany

The life and episcopate of Bishop Daniel Delany of Kildare and Leighlin (1787-1814), co-founder of Carlow College with Bishop Keeffe and founder of two teaching orders, the Brigidine sisters and the Patrician brothers, was influenced not only by the displacement caused by the Cromwellian settlement but particularly by his own and Catholic Ireland's experience of the severe strictures of the Penal Laws. Moreover although the Delanys ranked among the oldest of Queen's County (Laois) families, and were described by Carrigan as the chiefs of the tribe of Ui-Foircheallain at the time of Delany's birth in January 1747 his family were reduced to the state of tenant farmers on the Coote estate at Paddock, in the ancient parish of Offerlane (Upperwoods), Queen's County.¹⁰ His parents Daniel and Elizabeth Delany were said to be fairly wealthy. First educated at Briosclaigh hedge school, Delany was forced to go to France to receive his seminary training (c.1761) as it was impossible under the penal laws to become a priest in Ireland. He returned to Ireland in 1777 first as curate to Bishop James Keeffe until his appointment as his coadjutor in 1783 succeeding to the episcopate in 1787. Delany with his fellow episcopal colleagues 'were and

remained essentially products of the ancien regime in their deference to British authority'.¹¹ This can be seen in Delany's stance during the 1798 Rebellion where in his support for the institutions of the state he stood steadfastly against the rebels or as he described them, 'unhappy miscreants'.¹² He was prepared to die to uphold Catholic doctrine and the bishops' declaration against the rebellion. In the aftermath of the Union, though 'loyal to king and constitution' Delany was incensed by the vexed question of the government's 1808 veto on episcopal appointments despite the fact, as Oliver P. Rafferty points out, that such 'a principle was conceded to every government in Europe'.¹³

Veto controversy 1808

In July 1807 Delany played host to a meeting of bishops in Tullow.¹⁴ Also in attendance was Edward Hay, the newly appointed secretary of the Catholic Committee of which all the Catholic bishops were members 'in perpetuity'.¹⁵ The 'radical French educated' Hay was considered by Delany as a dear old friend, this despite his 'compromised background'.¹⁶ He was imprisoned for his activities during 1798 and narrowly escaped hanging. In this he was more fortunate than his brother John who was hung in 1798.¹⁷ The bishops present included Archbishop Bray of Cashel, Bishops Moylan of Cork and John Milner, the latter, vicar apostolic of the midlands district of England, on his first visit to Ireland. He was promoting acceptance of a royal veto in the appointment of Catholic bishops in return for a state pension. This was also being mooted by the English Catholic Committee for the English hierarchy. Milner, who had the confidence of Archbishop Troy of Dublin and Moylan, was officially

appointed the Irish hierarchy's agent in England that same month. However, the bishops' confidence in Milner was misplaced. As Vincent McNally details, neither Troy nor Moylan saw Milner as the power hungry, self-interested, arrogant, meddling intemperate person that he was.¹⁸

In the politics of the time bishops' meetings often came under Dublin Castle observation. Thus it was no surprise that with former insurgent Edward Hay present - his movements regularly drew government surveillance - the meeting was formally denounced by local officials to Dublin Castle as 'a traitorous meeting'.¹⁹ For Delany it was neither Hay's former activities nor that of the Catholics but the 'Castle informants' who were the 'pernicious enemies of the state'.²⁰ In what he called a 'barefaced unparalleled calumny' it was alleged that the bishops planned to put the 'Corsican tyrant' on the British throne. However, although Pius VII had signed a concordat with Napoleon re-establishing the French Catholic church (1801) when the latter unilaterally altered the concordat, the pope refused an alliance with Napoleon against England.²¹

It was nearly nine months from that meeting that the veto question came into general public awareness with William Grenville's declaration to parliament in the spring of 1808 that as an earnest of their good faith Irish Catholics were willing to give the crown a limited veto on episcopal appointments.²² This declaration and that of Henry Grattan and George Ponsonby on 25 May 1808 were made on the understanding given by Milner that the Irish hierarchy would 'cheerfully subscribe to the plan'.²³ Ponsonby, a 'leading Irish member and supporter of the Catholic cause', put on record the bishops' secret 1799 negotiations. These negotiations took place in the wake of the 1798 Rebellion when the bishops faced increased anti-Catholic feeling and were in fear of losing their state subsidy for the newly established Maynooth College. It is in the light of this circumstance and in the belief that Union between the two countries would speedily be followed by further Catholic relief, that Delany and nine other of his fellow

trustee bishops of Maynooth College, including the four archbishops, responded favourably to Pitt's offer of 'an independent provision' for the Irish clergy at their Maynooth meeting (17-19 January 1799).²⁴ These proposals lapsed when catholic emancipation did not follow on the union. However, the bishops 1799 negotiations in reality bore no similarity to Ponsonby's own proposal which 'transformed the former proposed veto from a negative into a positive power', that is, it gave the government 'both a limited right of selection and an unlimited right of rejection'.²⁵ He also stated to the House that a consequence of the proposal would be to make the king 'virtually the head of the Catholics'.²⁶ There was a public outcry made all the more bitter with the 1799 negotiations now in the public arena.²⁷ In one attack by John O'Connell, son of the Liberator, they were scornfully but rather unfairly described as 'the surreptitiously published resolves of a terrified little coterie of Irish prelates'.²⁸ In part this bitterness and contention grew out of the growing consciousness among many lay Catholics that since the Union the church's freedom from state interference was a powerful symbol of Ireland's growing national aspirations hence, as a consequence, the veto was seen as the final desertion of their 'Irish Catholicism that helped to define them as nation and a people'.²⁹

The veto and whether Delany would vote against it or not was a topic of conversation at Gowran Castle between the former 1798 active rebel Thomas Cloney, now a Catholic Committee member, and the Protestant Lord Clifden, 2nd viscount (1761-1836), nephew to Charles Agar, Protestant archbishop of Dublin.³⁰ The Agars on a personal level were open-minded on 'popery' issues as A.P.W. Malcomson affirms and we know from Cloney's correspondence that Delany would 'take a bottle' with both men at Gowran Castle.³¹ At a later stage Clifden voted for Catholic Emancipation in 1829 and wrote to Bishop Doyle that he doubted 'if there is one Catholic who rejoices more truly and entirely than I do in this great act of justice and wisdom'.³² With ducal

connections, Clifden was married to the Duke of Marlborough's eldest daughter; such was Delany's opinion of Clifden that he took umbrage that unknown to him the English 'crusading journalist and radical reformer' William Cobbet's name was linked with that of Clifden's in the vote of thanks included in the Carlow Catholic Relief petition (1810) to be presented in London with twelve others by Hay.³³ He was so 'outrageously angry' that he did 'everything in his power to have the resolution rescinded' believing as he did that the inclusion of 'Cobbet was highly improper and reprehensible to an eminent degree' (Delany's emphasis).³⁴ Yet Bishop McCarthy, coadjutor of Cork believed that Cobbet's papers of December 1809 had 'powerfully and convincingly pleaded the cause of emancipation'.³⁵

With a lack of unanimity among the hierarchy in dealing with the veto question, Delany was among a group of ten bishops, including the archbishops of Dublin and Cashel and Milner, who used the solemn blessing of Cork's St Mary's Cathedral on 28 August 1808 to discuss the question.³⁶ Archbishop Bray and bishops Coppinger and Young were noted anti-vetoists while Delany appears to have been in the pro-veto camp in that Archbishop Troy claimed in a letter to Grenville 10 June 1808 that his three suffragans were in favour of the veto and pension.³⁷ Of the three, Caulfield was seen as 'a faithful and timid acolyte' of Troy, Lanigan was regarded as 'a pious bishop' while Delany had left affairs in Troy's hands from the beginning of his episcopacy.³⁸ The Cork meeting may have been of help in clarifying and resolving the situation as little over a fortnight later at the general meeting of bishops in Dublin (14-16 September 1808) the proposal was rejected though a number remained sympathetic to the idea of a clerical emolument. One such was Troy who was unhappy with part of the wording of their resolution. He declared to Bray 'I cannot but regret that either the word "now" or "in the present circumstances" was not prefixed to inexpedient in the resolution and again to an unknown correspondent he wrote that neither he nor many of the other bishops intended that the

resolution should be taken to 'reject the veto as inadmissible and to preclude any future discussion on it'.³⁹ Notwithstanding Troy's views 'public opinion', Leighton points out, was quick to interpret the statement as 'a decisive lead' against the veto.⁴⁰ That Delany was in agreement with the stand taken can be taken from his letter to the pro-veto Moylan of 15 November 1808. His change of heart could have been the result of the arguments put forward by the anti-vetoists at the August meeting.⁴¹ Delany intimated to Moylan that had the veto been passed that 'because the *Salingne* law was not in force in Britain' that the church might on a future day be again subjected to the Pettycoat Government of a Pope Joan (Delany's stress) on ye other side of the Channel. "Little did I dream of the chance we ran of seeing one start up here at home among us at our own firesides. Too bad, too bad this!"⁴² He wearied at the length the bishops had been brought to by: "our politics, our petitions, our addresses, our Diplomatchis and Aristocratchis, our conversations, our aggregate meetings, parliamentary negotiations, our Boards, secular discussions and our Emancipations, Emancipations, Emancipations and the deuce knows what!!! Good Heavens, where will it end, or whither finally lead us?"⁴³ For bishops like Delany, unlike the rising socially ambitious middle classes in quest of high office, Catholic emancipation as an instrument in the democratic process could have, as Rafferty points out, 'no allurements conditioned as they were [...] to regard democracy and the political rights of peoples as a dangerous element in French revolutionary thinking'.⁴⁴ Little over a month later in another letter to Moylan he returned to the same theme and emphasised the need to return to spiritual values: "it was high time for us bishops [Delany's emphasis] at least to adopt some other degree of tactics in conducting the spiritual welfare in which we are engaged. To the deuce I say with these secular manoeuvres. This modern Anglo-Irish political system of supporting and extending the kingdom of our Divine master which is not, He tells, of this world. Away, away

with politics! [...] Talk of the once boasted liberties of the Gallican Church, forsooth! Pshaw! Give me the far more rare privilege of our own little dear Hyberno-Anglican conventicle."⁴⁵ Despite his wish to be finished with politics and the divisive veto issue, Delany and his fellow bishops had also to consider the reaction and 'censure' of their resolution by the 'so-called aristocracy' of Lord Fingall and his friends who had commended the veto proposal to parliamentarians such as Grattan.⁴⁶ Many of the Catholic nobility would have liked to have the power of nomination for themselves. Delany stated to Moylan that he 'started back as if at the sight of a serpent' and protested at any censure of their decision by his Protestant guest James Bagot.⁴⁷ The latter's suggestion that the nobility should have a right in electing bishops to vacant sees was greeted with amusement by Delany and in particular he regarded the insinuation that the Stuart claim was now possessed by Lord Taffe as 'truly laughable and funny'.⁴⁸ In answer to Moylan's query whether he approved of the noblemen's criticisms Delany rather disdainfully dismissed their interference and that of the increasingly clamorous and for the most part theologically uninformed Catholic middle class 'as an audacious innovation of the laity, great or small, intus aut foris, profanely – I shall not say sacrilegiously – intermeddling with the Divine Constitution of our hierarchy'.⁴⁹ Similarly in his reply to Moylan, Bishop Coppinger considered that 'the discontent of the Catholic aristocracy' proved that they were more interested in 'their own individual aggrandisement' than 'in the existence of Catholicity in Ireland'.⁵⁰ Not only were the bishops concerned by the attitude of the Catholic laity but as Delany's remarks show they were also exercised by the reporting of newspapers such as 'Giffard's Orange Journal', (Faulkner's Dublin Journal) which Delany saw as implementing the role of public tribunals where 'primates and ordinary prelates could be cited'.⁵¹ The question of the veto and the state subsidisation of the clergy went into abeyance, seemingly resolved by the bishops' declaration of September; however it resurfaced in 1810. This

was as a consequence of Sir John Cox Hippisley's proposal to (1809) parliament that the government should not only have the right to approve of 'candidates for election' before they were nominated to Rome but also to approve the appointment of the parochial clergy.⁵² Delany, as his letter to Hay shows, was conscious of, and indignant at, the threat that the reactivated veto would facilitate the extension, both nationally and particularly locally, of an often hostile Protestant ascendancy's interference into an area of Irish Catholic clerical appointments which the Irish hierarchy was determined to keep free from it.⁵³ In Delany's judgement it was the 'most absolute unlimited and unqualified veto' calculated 'to inflame and alienate' to such an extent that he held that the country people, 'men, women and children would be 'absolutely frantic at the idea'.⁵⁴ Regarding the veto as an 'awful crisis' and probably in exasperation with 'the attitude of the principal parliamentary supporters of the Catholic cause' or as he called them 'empty puffers' and 'speechifying pretenders' he rather colourfully claimed to Hay that 'never for my part, did I once dream that we ever possessed a single friend to our religion in that assembly ... Away! Away! With our soi-disant advocates!⁵⁵ Such sentiments point to the 'uneasy relationship' that existed between the Irish Catholics and their Protestant parliamentary friends. In the same letter the psychological effects of 1798 and the repression which followed in its aftermath resonate in Delany's thinking. On the local level he compared the veto to confiding the safety of the poor sheep and lambs (his people) to such devouring wolves as Archy Jacob and Hunter Gowan. Both men, along with Boyd and White, were 'notorious magistrates' against whom the rebels had issued a proclamation.⁵⁶ Gowan was also a captain of a corps of yeomen and in Catholic eyes terrorised Gorey during the rebellion while similarly Archibold Jacob 'protected' Enniscorthy.⁵⁷ He is also said to have had his own executioner with his troop of yeomen. Delany's remarks must also have been influenced by the increase in Orange outrages against Catholics, particularly by the Orangemen's attack

(1808) on his Mountrath administrator Fr Duane from which he subsequently died.⁵⁸ Delany was personally reassured by James Bagot that the Castle would not let Duane's attackers go unpunished or 'at least' it would prevent further 'atrocities'.⁵⁹ In the same town some years earlier (1793) a conference of his priests was attacked by yeomanry who alleged the priests had assembled for unlawful purposes.⁶⁰ He was aghast that such 'men and others like them', and not the king, would be the 'sole returning officers' as to who would be 'fittest candidates for mitres'.⁶¹ It was in his eyes a 'truly d-m-g [damning] act' that meant Catholic annihilation, a consequence which even the 'most unlettered peasant in his parish' could see.⁶² He was convinced that its consequences would be far more damaging than ever the penal laws had been. The latter, he declared were 'a mere fleabite to that of the rattle snake, or [...] on the present occasion, the flooded serpent!' (Henry Flood) In another imaginative analogy he suggested the effect of the veto would be similar to 'Messrs Tallyrand and company being vested with the power of naming the British Admiral and appointing the inferior officers destined for blocking the fleet off Brest harbour'.

Delany was not alone in his reservations. Archbishop Bray was 'distressed that the ministry had not given up on its plan of subsidising the clergy' while younger bishops such as Patrick Ryan, Coadjutor of Ferns was convinced that Milner, Troy and Reilly would never give up on the pension scheme. At a meeting with Delany in Tullow he begged Dr Lanigan of Kilkenny to appeal to Troy which he promised to do at a meeting in Maynooth.⁶³ The distance that had grown between the pro and anti-veto bishops is obvious in Ryan's suggestion to Catholic writer James Clinch, that Milner 'had some courtly object in view and that Troy and Reilly appeared to him to be more occupied with the idea of their dignity and importance than with any veneration for the hierarchy which they would allow to fall if they themselves as individuals could rise'.⁶⁴ Delany too was distancing himself from Milner. In a letter to Hay, Milner complained that

'[he] was seriously angry with [their] friend Dr Delany, neither good words nor bad words, neither favours nor injuries can induce him to write a line to me'.⁶⁵

The situation was further inflamed when, concerned that Irish anger would wreck their prospect of achieving emancipation, the English Catholic Committee published their resolutions on 1 February 1810. Otherwise known as the Fifth Resolution, it was to all intents and purposes an acceptance of the government's veto on episcopal appointments - they declared that they would agree to any 'arrangement founded on ... mutual satisfaction and security, and extending to them the full enjoyment of the civil constitution of their country'.⁶⁶ A day later Hay was in London with the Catholic petitions including Carlow's against the veto. Delany had given him his 'avuncular blessing' on his 'mission in partibus infidelibus' (the land of the unbelievers).⁶⁷ The Irish hierarchy's reaction to the Fifth Resolution was swift and in February's letter to the clergy and laity they restated their own resolution of 14 September 1808. Delany comparing the veto 'to a home thrust of a stiletto under the short ribs' believed that the veto would be vested in their 'deadly sworn and avowed foes', their 'orange and bigoted implacable opponents' such as 'Duigenan and Giffard'.⁶⁸ Although the former had a Catholic wife, such was his reputation for anti-Catholicism that for Delany the 'abominated name' Duigenan 'grated on his ear'. This is not surprising given, for example, that when Grattan brought the question of Catholic Emancipation before the Irish parliament on 17 February 1797, Duigenan as reported by Plowden, 'launched into a diffuse and infuriated philippic against Popery and abused all his Catholic countrymen collectively'.⁶⁹ In another incident he advised a friend not to purchase land in Wicklow as it was 'a very savage county' whose inhabitants were to the fore 'committing dreadful murders and ravages during the rebellion'.⁷⁰ Delany's other particular 'bigoted opponent', John Giffard (1745-1819) was not only a 'controversial ultra-protestant radical' but a revenue official, High Sheriff of Dublin (1793),

editor of the Dublin Castle sponsored Faulkner's Dublin Journal, leading Orangeman on Dublin Corporation as well as being a protégé of Archbishop Agar.⁷¹ During the 1798 Rebellion his son William was killed in the rebel attack on Kildare town on the night of 23 May 1798 by the insurgents. But his death did not go unavenged as John Giffard's own troops left:

500 rebels bleaching on the Curragh of Kildare ... that Curragh was strewed [sic] with the vile carcasses of popish rebels and the accursed town of Kildare was reduced to a heap of ashes by our hands.⁷²

On the question of dependence on the Protestant ascendancy for preferment, Delany was horrified that such men would be given 'the exclusive patronage of bishopricks and parishes' (Delany's stress). In one of his amusing but effective analogies he compared the proposed veto to footpads, shoplifters, highwaymen or housebreakers being exclusively charged with appointing divisional magistrates. Thus in Delany's eyes it was 'a baleful mischief' through which they bartered their faith for 'that worthless geegaw emancipation'.⁷³

Delany's disparagement of emancipation, as noted earlier, was not remarkable given that the bishops' priority was not emancipation but the well-being and concerns of the Catholic Church.⁷⁴ This consideration was acknowledged by a somewhat bitter Hay, correspondent to so many bishops, when he tellingly pointed out to Sir Edward Jerningham, chairperson of the English Catholic Committee that he 'did not admire the conduct of the Irish prelates'.⁷⁵ He feared that they had been and would be the greatest bar to final emancipation. Rather cuttingly and with a great deal of truth he declared that 'they all were unionists, the majority vetoists, and that the majority would have carried the measure but for the voice of the people'.⁷⁶ That Delany and his fellow bishops were favourable to the Union was in part due to their experience of Irish Protestantism but particularly by the French revolution and its 'campaign of de-Christianisation'. The contagion of 'the French disease' as Malone observes 'left the public face of the Catholic Church changed forever'.⁷⁷ Nevertheless for Delany his church was

'the Irish National Church' and in this he was sympathetic to the public mood which saw as Bartlett argues that for Catholics their 'church was the only national institution available to them'.⁷⁸ Though there were further hierarchical meetings on this subject from 1810 onwards Delany was disinclined to travel to meetings not only on account of his growing ill-health but because of 'lack of interest'.⁷⁹ On 26 May 1813 the Irish bishops rejected the proposal of the Catholic relief bill which was also defeated in parliament. Chief Secretary Robert Peel questioned this rejection stating that Irish Catholics wished to deny their government 'that which every despotic sovereign in Europe has by the concession of the pope himself'.⁸⁰ Almost three months before Delany's death on 9 July 1814 the vice-prefect of Propaganda, Monsignor Quarantotti's rescript (April, 1814) gave Roman approval to the terms of the relief bill of 1813 which had been submitted to him by an agent of the English and Scottish bishops.⁸¹ It was met with hostility in Ireland. Daniel O'Connell declared that he 'would as soon take my politics from Constantinople as from Rome'.⁸² The Irish hierarchy was equally adamant in its opposition to the rescript and in a meeting in May 1814 declared it not mandatory. This they could do as Quarantotti acted on his own initiative as the pope remained Napoleon's prisoner. Daniel Murray, Troy's young coadjutor was sent to Rome to present their objections as well as new proposals for domestic nominations. The Quarantotti rescript was quietly dropped. Although neither Delany nor Hay (d.1826) lived to see it, there was an alignment of Catholic Church interests with that of Irish nationalism under the increasingly influential leadership of Daniel O'Connell and, with this new advocate of the Catholic cause, came the loss of confidence in the Anglo-Irish, the traditional champions of Catholic relief and, as S.J. Connolly observes, the 'transfer of power from the Catholic landed gentry to a more militant and aggressive section of the Catholic professional and business classes'.⁸³ This effective alignment saw the final resolution of the veto question in 1828. The form of domestic nomination of bishops

arrived at, Kerr writes, excluded royal intervention and determined the structure of the church, externally as regards relations with the government and internally as between bishops, priests and laity.⁸⁴ Gradually Catholic episcopal power increased to such an extent that from the 1850s onwards such was its impact as Donal H. Akenson contends 'that what cabinet members were to England, the Irish Roman Catholic bishops were to Ireland'.

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⁵⁶ Kevin Whelan, 'The Wexford Priests in 1798', Liam Swords, ed., *Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter* (Dublin, 1997), p.180.

⁵⁷ See Patrick Kavanagh, *A popular history of the Insurrection of 1798* (Dublin, 1920), pp 87-163; Edward Hay, *History of the Insurrection of the County Wexford 1798* (Dublin, 1803), pp 69-74.

⁵⁸ M. Comerford, *Collections relating to the Dioceses of Kildare and Leighlin*, iii, (Dublin, 1883-1886), p.301.

⁵⁹ Delany to Moylan, Tullow, 15 Nov.1808 in Bolster, 'The Moylan Correspondence' part 2, p.82.

⁶⁰ Comerford, *Collections*, iii, p.301.

⁶¹ This was a reference to Sir John Cox Hippisley's 1809 proposal to give the government the right to approve 'of candidates for election' before they were nominated by the local church. See McNally, *Reform, Revolution and Reaction*, p.173.

⁶² Delany to Hay, 29 Jan.1810, Tullow, DDA, Catholic Board Papers, 390/1/xiii/62.

⁶³ Dr Ryan to J.B.Clinch 23/10/1809, DDA, Troy Papers, Green File 29/12/3.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Milner to Hay 1 April 1810 DDA, Catholic Board Papers, 390/1/xiii/65.

⁶⁶ McNally, *Reform, Revolution and Reaction*, p.175; Bolster, *A History of the Diocese of Cork*, p.203.

⁶⁷ Delany to Hay, 22 Jan. 1810, Tullow, DDA, Catholic Board Papers, 390/1/xiii/60.

⁶⁸ Delany to Hay, 29 Jan., 1810, Tullow, DDA, Catholic Board Papers, DDA, 390/1/xiii/62.

⁶⁹ W.J. Fitzpatrick, *Life, Times and Contemporaries of Lord Cloncurry*, (Dublin, 1855), p.118.

⁷⁰ Patrick Duigenan, London to Thomas Cruise 28 Feb.1806, NAI, Box ref. 2/465/24, no.25 in book 206.

⁷¹ Malcomson, *Archbishop Charles Agar*, p.254; S.C. Arndt, *John Giffard: Politics and his Reputation* <http://www.tcd.ie/history/pls/pdf/John%20Giffard-%20politics%20and%20his%reputation.pdf> 2 May 2011; Bartlett, *The Fall and Rise of the Irish nation* p.290.

⁷² Bartlett, *The Fall and Rise of the Irish nation* p.236.

⁷³ Delany to Hay, 29 Jan., 1810, Tullow, DDA, Catholic Board Papers, 390/1/xiii/62.

⁷⁴ Rafferty, *The Catholic Church and the Protestant State*, p.15.

⁷⁵ Hay to Jerningham, 11 February 1811, DDA, Catholic Board Papers, 390/1/xvi/17.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Malone, *Women and Christianity*, p.182.

⁷⁸ Delany to Moylan, 25 June 1810, Tullow, DDA, Troy Papers 1809-1811, Green File, no.5, Troy Papers, 29/12, no.25; Bartlett, *The Fall and Rise of the Irish nation* p. 294.

⁷⁹ Delany to Hay, Tullow, 29 Jan., 1810, DDA, Catholic Board Papers, 390/1/xiii/62.

⁸⁰ Connolly, 'Union government, 1812-23', p.53.

⁸¹ Leighton, 'Gallicanism and the veto controversy', p.156; Geoghegan, *King Dan*, p.141; Connolly, 'Union government, 1812-23', p.52.

⁸² Quoted in O'Faoláin, *King of the beggars*, p.192 in Geoghegan, *King Dan*, p.141.

⁸³ O'Brien, 'The Beginning of the Veto Controversy in Ireland', pp 80 & 94; Connolly, 'Union government, 1812-23', p.53.

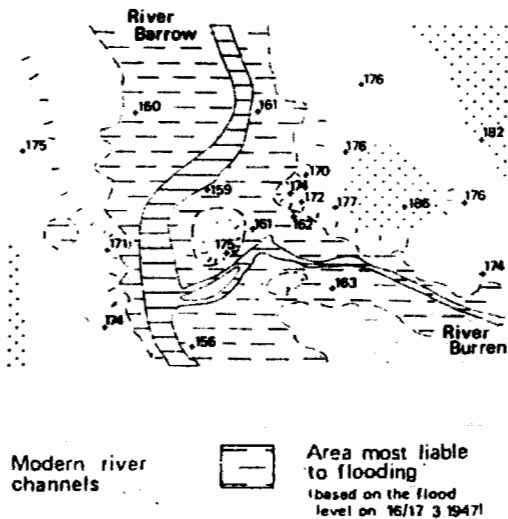
⁸⁴ Bolster, *A History of the Diocese of Cork*, p.80; Donal Kerr, 'Dublin's forgotten Archbishop Daniel Murray, 1768-1852' in James Kelly and Dáire Keogh, eds., *History of the Catholic Diocese of Dublin* (Dublin, 2000), p.254.

⁸⁵ Donald H. Akenson, *The Irish Education Experiment The National System of Education in the Nineteenth Century* (London & Toronto, 1970), p.2

The Town Walls of Carlow

Sean O'Shea

The Location of Carlow Town was influenced by the physical features of the area. Its highest point, in what is now the Tullow Street Area, proved suitable for habitation, overlooking a lake or four lakes, which formed at the confluence of the rivers Barrow and Burren, giving rise to the placename Catherlough. Examination of the high flooding in Carlow which occurred in March, 1947 gives some indication of the landscape as it existed in the past. The Barrow at that time rose above its normal level by four to five feet, and it was estimated that no less than 110 acres were submerged.



From the foregoing it is reasonable to assume that a considerable portion of the landscape surrounding and adjoining Carlow town, consisted of water in the past, particularly with the river banks not built up and maintained as they are to-day, with the Burren and Barrow giving natural defenses to the southern and western approaches to the town.

Very little is known about Carlow prior to the Norman Invasion. Tradition states that Croine, a recluse, established her cell in the area in the sixth century and St. Comghall later built a church on the site. An abbey was founded near

by in the following century. The Parish Church that preceded the Dublin Road (Quarries) church was also situated in the area.

When the Normans arrived in the late twelfth century, the area possibly consisted of a hamlet, with a few thatched timber houses adjacent to the Abbey and lakes.

The Normans chose an eminence overlooking the Barrow and Burren Rivers surrounded by water (or water and marsh) to erect their castle. From its position on the border of the Pale it became a place of military importance and scene of conflict between the native chieftains and the invaders. Access to the Castle was by way of a wooden bridge across the marsh and fosse of the Castle from the area of present day Castle Street. For protection the followers of the Normans centered their dwellings about the Castle, thus forming the original area of the town around the Castle. With the progression of time, the emergence of Tullow Street and Dublin Street formed the new part of the town and eventually the town itself. Gross in his *Antiquities of Ireland* (1794) states Carlow "owes its beginnings to the Castle erected there in A.D. 1180"

The town itself remained restricted, containing only the two streets mentioned, which were not large thoroughfares, as to-day, but much more circumscribed. The erection of the castle, with a military presence, and the use of the Barrow for trading (which allowed flat bottom boats to navigate the river to New Ross), helped to increase the population of the area.

When Lionel, Duke of Clarence, son of King Edward 111 came to Ireland in 1361 as Lord Justice, he moved the Exchequer to Carlow and expended a sum of £500 on enclosing the town with walls.

The earliest records, concerning the extent of the town date from the seventeenth century. The Irish Patent Rolls (1604).

THE TOWN WALLS OF CARLOW



An old drawing of Carlow, probably showing the Haymarket area.

(Part 2) James I states Carlow "22 Messuages and arable 84 great Measure, parcel of Manor with 31 cottages there" According to the census of 1659 a figure of 560 was returned for the Borough. The Pet-worth Collection (Manor Estate Papers) circa this period states the area of the town of Carlow and village of Graigue consisted of forty five plantation acres, of tenements and gardens. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that when the walls were erected some 300 years earlier, Carlow Town comprised a small area.

The task of establishing the location of the town walls, would be greatly enhanced, if the situation of the Town gates could be defined. Some information can be gleaned, in this respect from old Leases relating to the Town. Also helpful is a survey carried out in 1681 by Thomas Spaight, on behalf of the Earl of Thomond, which gives limited details of Leases at that time.

Leases refer to three gates i.e. Dublin Gate, Tullow Gate and Castle Gate. Not only was Dublin Gate the principal gate, being on the main road (Dublin to the south of Ireland) but also the most protected, as it was built on level ground. Tullow Gate was erected on rising ground, as were the Walls which were at least 20 ft high. These Gates would have been square towers, pierced by a Circular Archway (as was the custom of the period) and occupied by Guards and a Gate Keeper. Dublin Gate, as the main Gate would have apartments for the Gate Keeper and Guards, a cell for Prisoners, room for arms and possibly an area for collection of taxes. The Walls would have been banked up with earth

or wooden platforms, to be manned for defensive purposes, with access by laneways adjoining. Ryan writes "the works erected by Lionel such as the wall around the town proved totally useless". Anyway it appears that the walls failed to repel the Irish as some 30 years later we learn from a "roll of the proceeding of the Kings Council of Ireland 1392.93", an appeal was made to the exchequer by "the commons of the town of Catharlagh for funds to rebuild the town which was burned, wasted and destroyed by McMurrough O'Karroll, and give orders that the gates and barriers of the town be repaired". Some two hundred years after the erection of the walls of Carlow, Sir Henry Sydney recorded the walls were in ruin and down in many places. Having outlived their usefulness they were allowed to fall into decay, thereby making their location that much more difficult to establish.

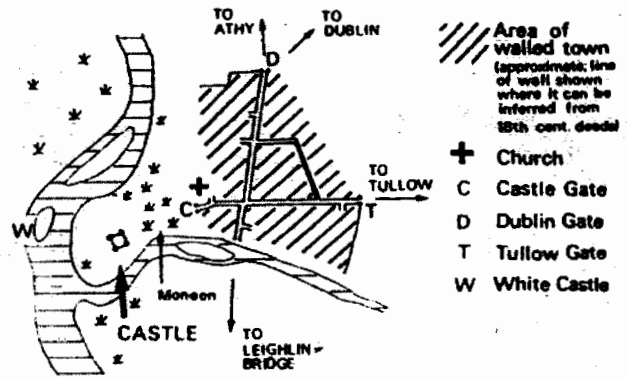
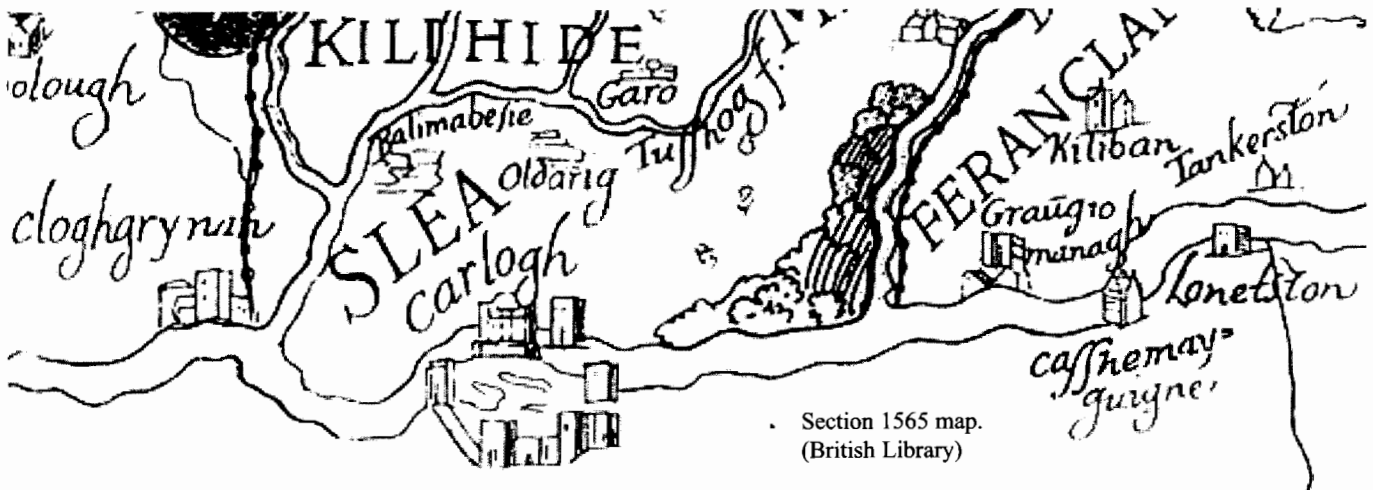


Diagram showing area of walled town — A. A. Horner

An Article on "Two Eighteenth — Centurys Maps of Carlow" by A. A. Horner, presented to the Royal Irish Academy in (1978) includes a diagram of late medaeval Carlow, suggesting the approximate line of the town walls. Horners premise is principally based on the comments of earlier writers; the Eighteenth Century Maps and evidence found in memorials of eighteenth century deeds. His submission can be taken to reflect a reasonably accurate indication of the Town Walls and Gates.



Section 1565 map. (British Library)

Using Horner's Hypothesis as a guide, other evidence available can be examined to help indicate the probable position of Carlow's Town Gates and Walls.

An ancient map of Ireland c. 1565 in The British Museum (Library) is also helpful. The detail of the interior of the country contained in the map is unique for such an early period.

Tullow Gate

Spaight survey records that Robert Newton had a house and plot in Tullow St., with a frontage of 103 feet. A laneway (Charlotte St) bordered his property on the west, with John Brown's house and plot on the east. (1). Brown's property adjoined Tullow Gate with a street frontage of 102 feet within the gate and 157 feet outside the Gate. (2), thus placing Tullow Gate some 205 feet from Charlotte Street corner (opposite the former Garda Barracks), with the town walls running south and north therefrom.

Spaight survey further informs us that Charles Walsh had a house and plot (formerly Finnegans) on the opposite side of Tullow Street, with a frontage of 63 feet. This property was bordered on the west by a lane leading to the River Burrin (Potato Market), on the east by the town wall and William Scooley's plot on the south (3). Scooley's plot was also bounded on the east by the town wall, as recorded in a Memorial of lease dated 26th day of September 1712, (Earl of Thomond to Richard Scooley). (4). The wall then continued southwards through Bridewell Lane ending at the River Burrin, as stated in a Memorial of a Lease dated the 30th June 1753 (James Hammon to Florence Leonard). (5).

An interesting Indenture of free-farm grant dated 18th June 1868 relating to the former Garda Barracks in Tullow Street corroborates Spaight's survey by mentioning the town wall on the west of the property (6).

The existence of the wall in the area is further confirmed in Carloviana 1960, which states — "when the Governor's House of Carlow Gaol was moved to the Potato Market end in 1840, during the reconstruction work part of the old wall was discovered."

As already mentioned the wall ran in a northerly direction towards Dublin Gate, dividing Brown's property. Part of Tullow Street, all of College Street and the lower part of Brown Street were outside the wall.

Castle Gate

While it is possible to say with some accuracy where Tullow Gate was situated, the same cannot be said regarding Castle Gate. Historians accept that a Gate existed at Castle Street which was basically for control of movement between the Town and the Castle. However, due to the non-availability of old Leases or Deeds, defining its location becomes complex.

Marlborough Douglass in an article in the 1913 Feis Programme states "the Castle Gate stood near where Castle Street and Dublin Street meet". Mary Teresa Kelly in the 1954 Carloviana tells us that "The Castle Gate stood at the corner of Dublin Street and Castle Street". Unfortunately neither of these writers suggests their authority for these statements.

However, a Gate House is mentioned in one of Thomas Spaight's leases which appear to concur with these writers: -A lease for lives of Richard Jones, Sarah Jones, Thomas Bridge, Dwelling House, Brew House and Gate House in Dublin Street in ye front East 36.5 foot fronting, also Castle Street South 21.5 foot. 23/06/1677 (Brambleys).

Other writers such as Rev. S. Cunnane, Avril Thomas, Feeley and Sheehan are of opinion that Castle Gate was situated nearer the then water edge close to the present junction of Castle Street and Kennedy Street.

While it can be accepted that a Gate existed at Castle Street, the existence of a West Wall may be questioned.

The Map from the British Museum (Library) which dates from about 1565 just two hundred years after the erection of the Walls shows no Wall to the West.

The British Museum advises that "This Particular Map has always been regarded as trust worthy as to what it shows."

A Correspondent to the *Sentinel* in September, 1854, writing on an Ancient Register (1669) relating to the Town of Carlow says "The River Burrin formed the Boundary of the South side and the Barrow on the West", which appears to suggest that the Barrow like the Burren at the time of the erection of the Town Walls gave sufficient protection to the Town and did not require Walls in these areas. The correspondent also mentioned that "The Boundary of the Town on the Tullow Street side ran outside the Mansion House, which was formerly occupied by the Ancestors of R. Clayton Brown.

The Bradly/King Urban Archaeology Survey of 1990 suggests "it is possible there was no wall on the West where the Barrow and Moneen would have provided Natural Defenses". This is based on Horner's Work with the Dashed Lines showing a Conjectural Course.

As far as I am aware there is also no reference to a West Wall mentioned in any of Spaight's Leases.

On the other hand local Historians share a different view, claiming that a Western Wall did exist.

An Article in the *Nationalist and Leinster Times* in November, 1901 informs us that during the building of the New Provincial Bank (T. Kehoe's) Dublin Street "An interesting discovery was made in the old premises which occupied the site. It was found that one of the Party Walls of the House was composed of portion of the Old Town Wall of

Carlow - the last bit of it left standing. It is between 7 and 8 feet in thickness and is surmounted by a stone chimney- an immense Block containing several flues all built of Stone". The Article indicated that photographs of the Old Wall were taken at the time to be presented to the Museum.

Marlborough Douglass and Mary Teresa Kelly refer to this wall on the Western side of Dublin Street as does Harry Fennel in *Carloviana* 1986/87 stating "Portion of the Town Wall was unearthed when digging foundations for the Provincial Bank. It ran from some where near St. Brigids Hospital to the River Burren."

However, it was known prior to 1901 that portion of a wall existed in this area, as writing in the *Nationalist and Leinster Times* on the 24th November 1888, on sites and associations of Old Carlow Market Places, Michael Brophy informs us that "two houses now in the occupation of Messers Leveret and Frye on one hand and that of Mrs. Morton , (T. Kehoe's) on the other fronted the Market (Market between Dublin Street and Church Street). The house in the occupation of the Morton family claims special notice." "There is a strong possibility that it stands on a fragment of the site of a feudal stronghold - it will be apparent on a scrutiny of the construction of the house that the massive walls of the stronghold were left standing and utilised in the erection of the modern residence. The walls are in some portions of the house seven feet thick and of solid masonry, and the whole architecture is strange. There is also an old stone chimney top at the back of the house which bears unmistakable resemblance to those of old castles." "There is another theory, but I would scarcely consider it tenable. It is that the seven feet thick walls might have formed some part of the wall and fortifications that Lionel Duke of Clarence caused to be built around the town."

Sir Henry Sydney, who is understood to have laid the foundation stone for a bridge in Carlow in 1569, some few years later than the British Museum Map, informs us that the Town Walls were in ruin and down in many places. It is reasonable to assume all the walls were thus affected, and that if the West Wall existed in any form it would have been shown on the Museum Map. It is unlikely that the Wall had been removed in its entirety. The Lakes if they existed at the time and particularly the Moneen (marshes) seem not to have been included in the Map Maker's remit.

It is possible some type of Rampart existed adjoining the water edge, to the south and west of the town and this together with the expanse of water and marsh, and the Castle nearby, was considered adequate to repel any aggressor. This system was not unusual as the town of Gowran, County Kilkenny had one side of the Town protected by a Town Wall and the other by a Rampart (Survey 1710/11).

Other hypotheses which I have not mentioned also exist as to the location of the West Wall i.e. Cunnane, Thomas, Feeley and Sheehan etc. However, respecting all theories,

cognisance has to be taken of the correlation between the museum map, Horner's Study of the Town (1978) and Bradley/King Urban Archaeology Survey (1990) would suggest the non-existence of a Western Wall.

Also taking into account the flooding of approximately 110 acres around the town in 1947, helps in some way to comprehend the extensive area covered by water nearly six hundred years earlier. This water mass together with the Moneen must have been considered at the time to provide sufficient defense on the west and south of the town. It would also make sense not to place a town wall between the town and the castle for defense purposes.

Dublin Gate

It appears from the British Library map already mentioned, that the Dublin Gate including apartments etc., formed the greater part of the Dublin wall, and would have occupied a considerable area between the outer and inner perimeters. To ascertain where the wall was located, it is possibly more prudent to examine its situation from without rather than within, due to the considerable space occupied by its width, and as an open area was probably used for parking and trading within the wall at this point. The course of the wall also seems to be in conformity with Horner's diagram, with the wall/gate veering partly to the south prior to continuing on its original direction to the Barrow.

Following examination of deeds dating from 1677, it can be concluded that the outer perimeter of Dublin gate/wall was situated on the site adjoining the area now occupied by the former St. Brigid's Hospital. In arriving at this hypothesis, a lease dated the 25th March 1677(Spaight) states:- "A lease for ye lives of John Seix, Edward Seix, James Seix, a plot called Widow Grey's plot without Dublin Gate, with two small plots adjoining, also one called Heritage plot", can be associated with later deeds relating to the same property.

The plot subsequently became the property of Thomas Conyers on the 26th September 1712, by way of lease from the Earl of Thomond,(7). From the lease it is noted that the plot adjoined the town wall, and also indicated that the Dublin wall ran from Dublin Street to the river Barrow :- "nearing on the south with the town wall, on the west with the river Barrow, on the north with the lane leading from the Dublin gate to the Barrow, and on the east with the town street".

The lease notes that the plot was assigned forever to Thomas Conyers and his heirs, at a rent of three pounds and six pence per annum. The plot was subsequently leased by Thomas Conyers to Charles Bernard in 1719, and Robert Napple in 1722

On the 28th September 1743, Edward Conyers, son of Thomas, by way of indenture, disposed of all interest, rights and title forever in the plot, together with other property to Sir Charles Burton , for the sum of thirteen hundred pounds. Shortly after the purchase, the Burton family had financial

difficulties, due to their involvement in banking, and the site was subsequently sold to Henry Bruen, Walter Newton and William Duckett.

In 1832, according to the local newspaper "The Sentinel", the property was described as a hotel, named the "Club House", then occupied by Samuel Whitmore. Griffith's valuation lists 1852, name Henry Bruen, Walter Newton and William Duckett as immediate lessors of the holding. The premises continued to be classified as a hotel until the early 1900s. In 1936 the Community of Blue Sisters are listed as the occupiers.

Difficulties arise in ascertaining the actual meeting place of the Dublin wall with the Tullow wall, but during minor excavations in the late 1960s, at the back of the Bank House which adjoins The Irishman's, the remnants of a buttress was discovered, which was considered by Aidan Murray, a local historian, to be part of these walls. Feeley and Sheehan in their report on "Carlow as a Walled Town", show the walls meeting in this area, so it is plausible to assume that the Dublin and Tullow walls met at this point .

In relation to the area inside the Dublin wall, a schedule based on information contained in the Thomond leases, (King — *Carlow the Manor and Town*), describes the nearest holding to Dublin gate on the western side of Dublin Street, to be in the ownership of "Masters".

Malcomson, writing on "Merchant's tokens, struck in the towns of Carlow, Bagenalstown and Tullow", referring to John Masters, "fancied his habitation (within ye gate), can be identified as having existed on or near the spot now occupied by the house and concerns of Dr. O'Meara". (Southern Auctioneers). Accepting this information as being factual, it is apparent that sufficient space existed between the outside of this wall, bounding St. Brigid's property and Masters's property, to facilitate the width of the wall/gate, and an open area for parking, trading and defense purposes.

Summary

To summarise, it is respectfully suggested, that Carlow town wall, commenced and ran from the Burrin river (then probably a lake or exceptionally wide) in a direct line to the Tullow Street gate , and divided properties once owned by Finnegan's licensed premises and the former Garda Station. The wall then continued from Tullow Street, by way of the rear of College Street properties to the Bank House yard. It then veered to the west and formed the Dublin wall/gate, which skirted the former St. Brigid's Hospital, and continued to the Barrow, (then probably also a lake). The banks of the Barrow and Burrin rivers were possibly bounded with ramparts at the water's edge adjoining the walls, and with the Moneen would have afforded adequate natural defense on the south and west side of the town. The castle nearby and the castle gate, would have also been used for defense purposes.

Another means of defense was discovered during

development and excavation works at Brown Street in 2003, when a ditch outside the area of the Town Wall was uncovered. Archaeologist Patrick Neary monitored the development and excavations.

However, from the beginning, Carlow walls were considered to be defensively weak, and were breached on occasions by enemies from without. Consequently, their decline into disrepair at an early stage, contributes to the difficulty of ascertaining their exact location. Perhaps in the future, further research will successfully establish the precise situation of Carlow walls.

(1) Spaight:

A lease for ye lives of Robert Newton, Elizabeth Newton, Katherine Newton, House and plot in Tullow St. in front South 103 foot, Mr. Browns Garden on East and North and lane leading to Masters Plot on West.

5/7/1677

(2) Spaight

A lease for ye lives of John Browne, William Browne, Robert Browne. A house and Plot and Garden near Tullow Gate in front south 102 foot within the gate and 157 foot without the gate, Moseleys Plot only North, Newtons only west and leading to Dublin Gate East.

18/6/1677

(3) Spaight

A lease for ye lives of Charles Walsh, Richard Walsh, Henry Walsh Tenement and Plot in Tullagh Street inye front north 63 foot. Ye lane leading to Ye Burrin on Ye West, The Town Wall on Ye East, William Scooley's Plot on ye South

25/3/1677

(4)

"Memorial of an Indenture of Free Farm Grant bearing date and perfected on the twenty sixth day of September one thousand seven hundred and twelve made between the honorable Henry, Earl of Thomond of the Kingdom of Ireland on the one part and Richard Scooley of Catherloch in the County of Catherloch Gent on the other part whereby the said Henry Earl of Thomond by virtue of an Act of Parliament therein recited and in consideration of seven pounds seven shillings did grant, bargain, sell release and confirm unto the said Richard Scooley and his heirs all that tenement and plot of ground wherein William Scooley formerly dwelt in the town of Catherloch in front one hundred and forty one foot and situated in the lane leading to the Burrin and fronting and bounding with the said lane on the west with Mr. Masters Plot and Malt House on the South, with the Town Wall on the East and with Mr. Walsh's plot on the North" etc.

(5)

"A Memorial of an Indented Deed of Lease bearing date the thirtyeth day of June one thousand seven hundred and fifty three made between John Hammon of the Town and county of Catherlough Gent of the one part and Florence Leonard of the same Glue Boiler of the other part whereby the said

John Hammon for the Considerations therein mentioned did demise and set unto the said Florence Leonard his Heirs and assigns all them and those the dwelling house and gardens to them belonging together with the old Walls next unto the river Burrin and in like manner the house where Garret Hynes lately dwelth, the house where William Manyfold lately dwelth and the yards or Bachsides unto them belonging now in the tenure occupation and actual possession of him the said Florence Leonard situated lying and being in Briewell Lane in the town of Catherlough aforesaid, mearing and bounding as followeth (that is to say) on the West with James Lahy's Holding on the South with the River Burrin and at the North and East frontward with the said Lane"etc.

(unto (Archaic) to).

(6)

Indenture of Free Farm Grant dated 8th June 1868 from Alice Spencer Hamilton to William Fishbourne: "Tenement or plot situated on the South Side of Tullagh Street, in the Town of Catherlough, in the County of Catherlough, mearing and bounding on the East, with the Tenement formerly in the possession of John Smyth, on the south with the the holding formerly of Fr. Francis H. Banks on the West with a Town Wall and on the North with the said Street, and containing in front of the said street 53 feet or thereabouts and now bounded on the East and South with Tenements and Holdings in the possession of James Cullen, on the West with the Holdings of William J. Maher and two small houses in Potato Market and on the North with the said street and containing in front of the said street 53 feet or

thereabouts and in front to rere 280 feet or thereabouts, be the same more or less" etc

(7)

A memorial of an indenture of lease bearing date 26th September 1712 made between the RT.Hon. Henry, Earl of Thomond in the Kingdom of Ireland of the one part and Thomas Conyers of the Towne of Catherlogh in the county of Catherlogh, merchant, of the other part, whereby the said Earl by virtue of an Act of Parliament made in Great Britain in the ninth year of her Majesties reign, instituted an act to enable the Earl of Thomond to make leases for three lives, with the covenant renewable thereof forever and grants in Fee Farm of the Lands and Hereditaments in the said Kingdom of Ireland comprised in his marriage settlement and in pursuance of the power therein given him and of all other powers which the said Earl of Thomond had in that behalf did for several considerations therein mentioned grant, bargain, sell release and confirm unto the said Thomas Conyers plot of ground without Dublin gate in the Towne of Catherlogh aforesaid adjoyneing to the Towne Wall commonly called the Widow Gray's Plot, also two other small plots next adjoining to the said former plots, also one other plot called Heritage plot nearing on the south with the Towne wall, on the west with the river Barrow, on the north with the lane leading from the Dublin gate to the Barrow, and on the east by the Towne Street together with all gardens thereunto belonging (except as therein expected) to hold to the said Thomas Conyers his heirs and assigns forever in the rent of three pounds above taxes together with six pence etc.

The Year of the Barrow in photographs



Busy water rushing by.
The sun up in the sky.
were sitting in the barrow.
Waiting to see a sparrow.

Adam

ROSS

James Bradley

Samuel Lewis was the editor and publisher of Topographical dictionaries and maps of the United Kingdom and Ireland. The aim of the texts was to give in 'a condensed form', a faithful and impartial description of each place. The firm of Samuel Lewis and Co. was based in London. Samuel Lewis died in 1865.

A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland was first published in 1837 in two volumes, with an accompanying atlas; it marked a new and significantly higher standard in such accounts of Ireland. The first edition is available online. A second edition was published in 1842.

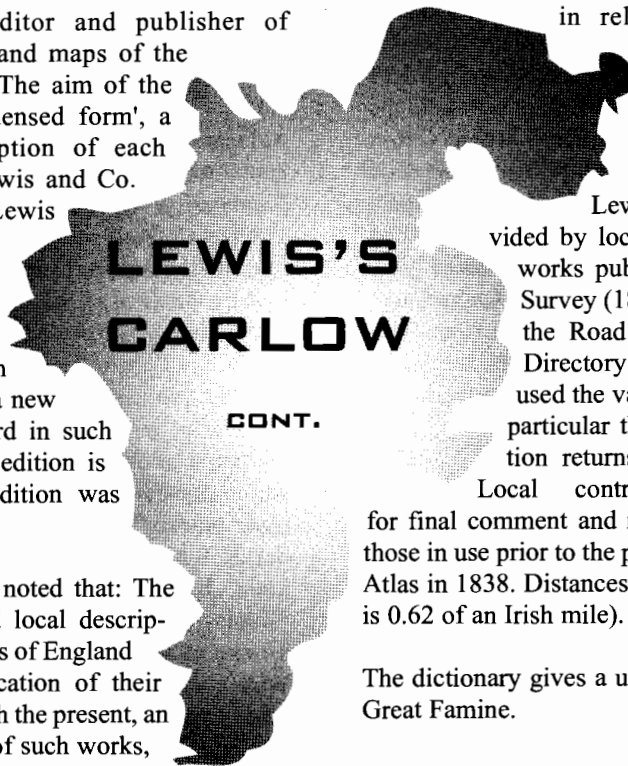
In the 1837 preface, the editor noted that: The numerous county histories, and local descriptions of cities, towns, and districts of England and Wales, rendered the publication of their former works, in comparison with the present, an easy task. The extreme paucity of such works,

in relation to Ireland, imposed the necessity of greater assiduity in the personal survey, and proportionately increased the expense.

Lewis relied on the information provided by local contributors and on the earlier works published such as Coote's Statistical Survey (1801), Taylor and Skinner's Maps of the Road of Ireland (1777), Pigot's Trade Directory (1824) and other sources. He also used the various parliamentary reports and in particular the census of 1831 and the education returns of the 1820s and early 1830s.

Local contributors were given the proof sheets for final comment and revision. The names of places are those in use prior to the publication of the Ordnance Survey Atlas in 1838. Distances are in Irish miles (the statute mile is 0.62 of an Irish mile).

The dictionary gives a unique picture of Ireland before the Great Famine.



MYSHALL, NURNEY, OLD LEIGHLIN, PAINSTOWN, PALATINE, RAHILL OR BROUGHSTOWN, RATHMORE,

RATHVILLY, ROYAL OAK, SLYBUFF, ST MULLINS, STRABOE

Myshall

a parish, partly in the barony of Idrone East, but chiefly in that of Forth, county of Carlow, and province of Leinster, 8 miles (E.S.E.) from Leighlin-Bridge, on the road from Newtown-Barry to Bagenalstown, and on the north side of the river Burrin; containing 2874 inhabitants, of which number, 123 are in the village. The parish comprises 9220 statute acres, as apportioned under the tithe act, and valued at £4744 per annum.

There is a great deal of waste mountain land, and much bog; but agriculture is improving. There are quarries that yield stone for building. The village consists of 19 houses; it has a penny-post to Leighlin-Bridge, and is a constabulary police station; petty sessions are held on alternate Wednesdays, and road sessions four times in the year. Fairs are held on May 10th and Sept. 14th, for cattle, sheep and pigs. Myshall Lodge is the residence of J Brody, Esq., and Holly-brook, of A Bloomfield Feltus, Esq. The living is a rectory and vicarage, in the diocese of Leighlin, and in the patronage of the bishop: the tithes amount to £400. There are six statute acres of glebe, on which stands the glebe-house. The church is a plain building, towards the repairs of which the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have recently granted £203; it was built in 1811, by aid of a gift of £800 from the late Board of First Fruits. In the R.C. divisions the parish is the head of a union or district, comprising of the parishes of Myshall and Fennagh, in each of which is a chapel; that of Myshall is a neat building, kept in excellent order. There is a school at Shangarry, of which

Lewis's Topographical Dictionary is now out of copyright. So it is the intention of the Carlow Historical and Archaeological Society to publish the full extent of the text relating to Carlow over a number of issues of its journal, Carloviana, under the title 'Lewis's Carlow'

the house, a good stone building, was erected at an expense of £200, partly by government and partly by subscription; and one at Myshall, in which are about 150 children. There is also a private school of about 130 children. The ruins of the old church, overgrown with ivy, are situated on the townland of Myshall, and have a burial-ground annexed; there is also a burial-ground on the townland of Ballaghmore. At Knockrimagh is a chalybeate spa.

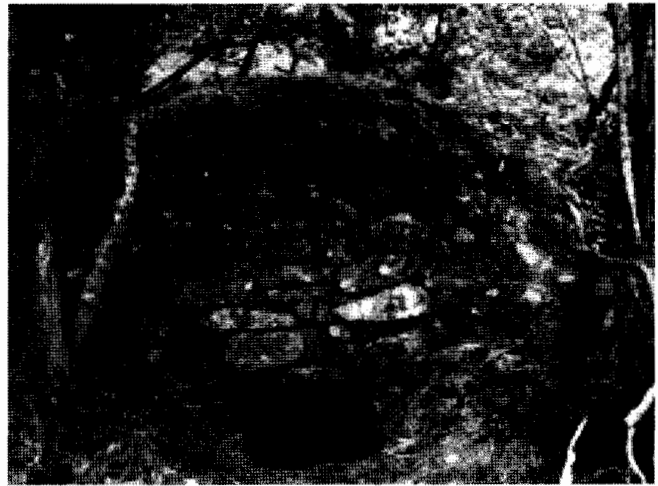
Nurney

a parish, partly in the barony of Carlow, and partly in that of Forth, but chiefly in the barony of Idrone East, county of Carlow, and province of Leinster, 2 miles (N.E.) from Leighlin-Bridge on the road to Tullow; containing 975 inhabitants, of which number 284 are in the village. This parish comprises 2758 statute acres, as apportioned under the tithe act, and valued at £2215 per annum. There is no bog; agriculture is in a good state. Here are granite quarries for building, and limestone for burning; and the Barrow navigation affords the means of conveying goods to Waterford. The village, consisting of about 50 houses, stands at the junction of several roads; it is a constabulary police station, and has a patent for a fair on May 6th, which is not held. The living is a rectory and a vicarage, in the diocese of Leighlin, forming the corps of the precentorship thereof, in the patronage of the Bishop: the tithes amount to £230. 15. 4½. The church is a small neat building of hewn stone, erected in 1788, by aid of a gift of £500 from the late

Board of First Fruits, and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have recently granted £217 for its repair: the steeple was thrown down by lightning some years since. In the R.C. divisions the parish forms part of the union or district of Dunleckney. The parochial school, in which about 30 girls and 40 boys are taught, is under the patronage of Col. Bruen, M.P., who erected the school-house at an expence of £400. From the churchyard a noble view of the western part of the county is procured, with the windings of the river Barrow: in it is part of a rude stone cross, and without its boundary stands a perfect cross, six feet high.

Old Leighlin

a parish, the seat of a diocese, and formerly a parliamentary borough, in the barony of Idrone West, county of Carlow, and province of Leinster, $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles (S.S.W.) from Leighlin- Bridge, on the road to Castlecomer; containing 3530 inhabitants. This place has from a remote period has been distinguished for its religious establishments, of which the earliest was a priory for Canons Regular, founded by St. Gobhan about the close of the 6th. or commencement of the 7th. Century. A grand synod was held here in 630 to deliberate on the proper time for celebrating the festival of Easter, which was attended by St. Laserian, who had been consecrated Bishop by Pope Honorius and sent as legate from the Holy See. In 632, St. Gobhan built a cell for himself and brethren at another place, and relinquished the abbey to St. Laserian, who made it the head of an episcopal see, over which he presided till his death in 638; and so greatly did the monastery flourish that, during the prelacy of St. Laserian, there were at one time not less than 1500 monks in the establishment. The priory was plundered in 916, 978, and 982, and in 1060 it was destroyed by fire. Among its subsequent benefactors was Burchard, son of Gurmond, a Norwegian, who either founded or endowed the priory of St. Stephen, which being situated in a depopulated and wasted country, had frequently afforded refuge and assistance to the English, in acknowledgment of which Edw.III. granted to the prior a concordatum in 1372. This priory was dissolved by Pope Eugene IV., in 1432, and its possessions annexed to the deanery of Leighlin. The town appears to have derived all its importance and all its privileges from the see. Bishop Harlewin, who governed it from 1201 till 1216, granted the inhabitants their Burgage-Houses, with all franchises enjoyed by Bristol, at a yearly rent of 12d. out of every burgage, which grant was confirmed by his successor; and in 1310, Edw. II. Granted to Ade Le Bretown certain customs to build a tower for the defence of the town, and to maintain two hobblers, to protect the inhabitants from attacks of the native Irish. During the prelacy of Richard Rocomb, who succeeded in 1399, there were 86 burgesses in the town, but it was so frequently plundered and desolated by successive hostilities, that it was reduced to an insignificant village. The inhabitants received a charter of incorporation from Jas. II. In the 4th. Of his reign, the preamble of which recites that the town had been a free borough, and returned two members to Irish parliament, which it continued to do till the Union, when it was disfranchised, and the £15,000 awarded in compensation was paid to the late Board of First Fruits, to be applied



Sweat House at Bannagagole, Old Leighlin

in promoting the residence of the clergy. Since the Union the corporation has become extinct; there are only 20 thatched cottages and about 100 inhabitants in the village.

Painstown

a parish, partly in the barony of Kilkea and Moone, county of Kildare, but chiefly in the barony and county of Carlow, and province of Leinster, $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile (N.) from Carlow, on the road to Dublin and Athy, and on the river Barrow; containing 177 inhabitants. The parish comprises 2232 statute acres, under a highly improved system of agriculture; there is no bog. The Barrow navigation affords great facility for the transmission of goods to Waterford and Dublin. Oak Park, the seat of Col. Bruen, is more particularly noticed in the article on the town of Carlow. The living is an impropriate cure, in the diocese of Leighlin, and in the patronage of the Bishop: the rectory is appropriate to the dean and chapter of Leighlin. The tithes amount to £89. 0. 0½. is payable to the dean and chapter, and £29. 13. 4½. to the impropriate curate. Divine service is performed in a private house licensed for the purpose. In the R.C. divisions the parish forms part of the union or district of Carlow. Here is a school, supported by Col. Bruen. There are ruins of a church and a burial-ground, on the townland of Painstown; and the ruins of a church at Duganstown.

Palatinetown

a hamlet, in the parish of Urglin, barony and county of Carlow, and province of Leinster, $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles (N.E.) from Carlow, on the road to Castledermot; containing 88 inhabitants. It is said to derive its name from a colony of German refugees, who were driven from their native country, and settled here, in the reign of Louis XIV. The Rt. Hon. B Burton obtained a patent for four fairs, of which that on the 26th March is the only one at present held. A constabulary police force is stationed in the village.

Rahill

or Broughstown

a parish, in the barony of Rathvilly, county of Carlow, and province of Leinster, 2 miles (S.) from Baltinglass; containing 269 inhabitants. This parish is situated at the

northern extremity of the county, on the confines of Wicklow, and is bounded on the east by the river Slaney: it comprises 2636 statute acres, as apportioned under the tithe act, about four-fifths of which consists of meadow and pasture, and the remainder of arable land, with a few acres of bog. It is a rectory and impropriate cure, in the diocese of Leighlin; the rectory is appropriate to the dean and chapter, and the curacy forms part of the union of Rathvilly; the tithes amount to £184. 12. 3½. In the R.C. divisions also it is included in the union of Rathvilly. On the townland of Rahill are the ruins of the old church, with a burial-ground attached; the surrounding scenery is of a pleasing character, embracing the mountains of Cadeen and Lugnaquilla, in the adjoining county of Wicklow.

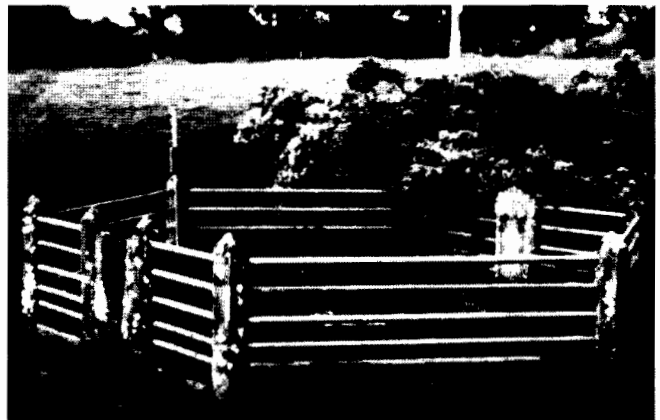
Rathmore

a parish, in the barony of RATHVILLY, county of CARLOW, and province of LEINSTER, 7 miles (S.W.) from Baltinglass, on the road from Tullow to Castle-Dermot; containing 225 inhabitants. This parish is situated on the confines of the county of Kildare, by which it is bounded on the north-west, and on the river Slaney, which forms its south-eastern boundary. As apportioned under the tithe act, it comprises 2374 statute acres, the greater part of which is in meadow and pasture, and the remainder in tillage; there is a very small portion of woodland and bog. Rathmore is a station of the constabulary police. It is a rectory, in the diocese of Leighlin, forming part of the union of Rathvilly: the tithes amount to £160, and there is a glebe of 13 acres. In the R. C. divisions also it is part of the union or district of Rathvilly. About 120 children are educated in a school endowed by the late Mr. D'Israeli, who bequeathed £3000 for its establishment and support: the school-house is a handsome building, consisting of a centre and two wings the former being appropriated as a residence for the master and mistress, who receive £30 per ann. each, and have the use of five acres of ground rent-free.

Rathvilly

a parish, in the barony of RATHVILLY, county of CARLOW, and province of LEINSTER, 5 miles (N.E.) from Tullow, on the road to Baltinglass, and on the rivers Slaney and Derreen; containing 3187 inhabitants, of which number, 305 are in the village. This parish comprises 9103 statute acres, as apportioned under the tithe act, three-fourths being meadow and pasture, and the remainder, excepting some bog, arable land. Within its limits, close on the confines of Wicklow county, is the townland of Ladytown, belonging to Baltinglass parish in that county. Granite exists here, but is not much used. The village of Rathvilly is on the eastern side of the Slaney, and consists of 58 houses. Fairs are held on Jan. 1st, March 25th, June 24th, Aug. 1st, and Nov. 12th, for general farming stock. Lisnova was lately the residence of the Bunbury family. The living is a rectory, in the diocese of Leighlin, episcopally united, since 1683, to the rectories of Rathmore and Straboe, and the impropriate cure of Rahill, and in the patronage of the Crown, by agreement with the bishop. The tithes amount to £784. 12.3., and the entire tithes of the benefice to £1060.2. 5. The glebe comprises 12 acres, on which is the glebe-house. The

church, built in 1751, though small, is a pretty structure with a handsome spire lately added; it has been lately repaired by a grant of £315 from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. In the R.C. divisions the parish is the head of a union or district, comprising this parish and that of Rathmore, and parts of Straboe, Kiltegan, and Kilranala; and containing three chapels, of which two are in Rathvilly; that at Tynock was built about five years since, and has a belfry; that in the village of Rathvilly is a large old slated building, in which a national school is held. There is also a national school at Knockleshan: these schools afford instruction to about 550 children, and about 50 are taught in a private school. On the townland of Tobinstown there is a large cromlech; at the west end are two pillar stones, eight feet high; the table stone is twenty-three feet long, and at the west end eight feet broad, but at the other, which rests on small stones elevated about a foot from the ground. it is only six. The thickness at the upper end is four feet, at the lower two; the under surface is plain and even, but the upper is convex. Along the sides are several upright stones, from three to six feet, rendering the space underneath an enclosed room, entered between the two tall uprights. From this entrance is a sort of avenue, forty yards long, formed by small irregular artificial hillocks the whole is in a low plain field, near a rivulet, on the road from Tullow to Hacketstown. On the townland of Waterstown is a rude stone cross, seven feet high, where the church is supposed to have originally stood. Near the village is an old rath, from which the name of the place appears to have been taken. Here are the remains of a religious house called Erchorn there is also a ruin of a church called Clough Afaile.



St Patrick's Well, Rathvilly

Royal Oak

a village, in the parish of Killinane, barony of Idrone West, county of Carlow, and province of Leinster, 1 mile (S.W.) from Bagenalstown, on the road from Dublin to Carlow; containing 82 houses and 428 inhabitants. This place is situated on the River Barrow, which is here crossed by a bridge, and derives its name from that of an old and well known inn in its vicinity, which was established previously to the erection of the village.

Slyguff

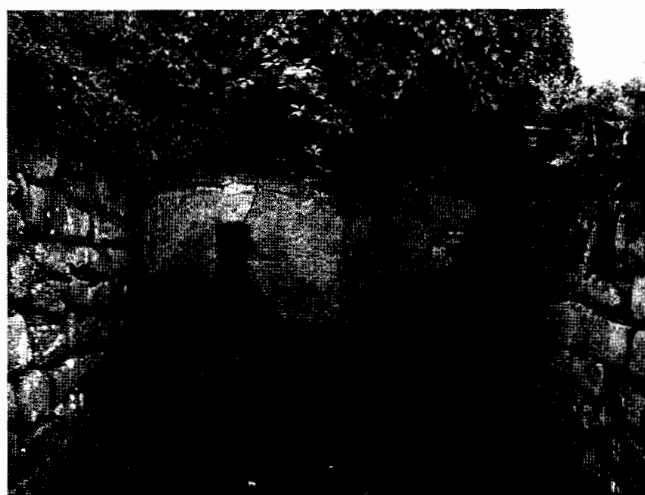
a parish, in the barony of Idrone East, County Carlow, and province of Leinster, 3 miles (S. by E.) from Leighlinbridge,

on the road from Goresbridge to Bagenalstown, and on the river Barrow; containing 2092 inhabitants. This parish comprises 6381 statute acres, as apportioned under the tithe act, and extends from the eastern bank of the river Barrow to the summit of Mount Leinster, a distance of seven miles; there is a considerable quantity of bog. Fairs are held Feb. 12th and Nov. 1st for general farming stock. It is a vicarage, in the diocese of Leighlin, forming part of the union of Lorum; the rectory is appropriate to the Dean and Chapter of Leighlin. The tithes amount to £319. 12. 3½, of which £221. 9. 10¼, is payable to the dean and chapter, and £98. 1. 6½ to the vicar. Divine service is performed every Sunday in school-house in the parish. In the R.C. divisions it is part of the unions or districts of Borris and Dunleckney. At Killoughternane is a national school, and at Ballinree is a school endowed by Miss Newtown, in both which are about 150 children. The ruins of the ancient church within a burial-ground stand beautifully above the the course of the river Barrow. Here are also the ruins of Ballylaughan castle, formerly belonging to the Kavanaghs, from whom it passed to other proprietors about the close of the sixteenth century. It is a picturesque pile, and, though now roofless, is about 50ft. high, with projecting round towers in front flanking the gateway, which is arched with hewn stone. The walls are about five feet thick, and the second floor, supported by an arch, still remains, and is gained by a flight of steps. It is now the property of Col. Bruen, who intends to restore it. About eighteen yards distant is another ruin, 30 feet square and 20 high, with walls of equal thickness; and beyond is a third. of smaller dimensions. Near them is a large old dwelling house of the Beauchamp family. In 1806 was found an ancient cloak-clasp of gold, weighing 4ozs., and beautifully carved, which was purchased by the Dublin Royal Society for £20.

St Mullins

a parish, partly in the barony of Bantry, county of Wexford, but chiefly in that of St. Mullins, county of Carlow, and province of Leinster, 2½ miles (E.) from Graigue, on the road to Enniscorthy, and on the river Barrow; containing 5895 inhabitants. Its name is derived from the ancient monastery founded here by St. Moling, or Mullin, at a place called Aghacainid, subsequently Teighmolin, or 'St. Mullin's House' about the year 632, or according to some historians, in the middle of the 7th century. St. Moling, being a native of this part of the island and of the royal race of Leinster, was afterwards made bishop of Ferns. In 951, the church was plundered by the Danes, and the abbey was destroyed by fire in 1138. The remains of the ancient edifices and the present parish church, occupy a beautiful situation on the eastern bank of the river Barrow, at a spot where its banks are finely elevated, on the opposite side well wooded, and where a small stream merges into it from a deep defile that extends to the church from the village of Glynn, presenting some picturesque scenes. The parish comprises 13,174 statute acres, of which 998 are common, 423 woodland, 671 waste, 1475 bog, and the remainder arable; it derives considerable facility for the transit of its produce from the Barrow navigation. Road sessions are held in Glascany; and fairs at St. Mullins on June 17th and

July 25th for the sale of general farming stock. It is an inappropriate cure, in the diocese of Leighlin, and in the patronage of Caesar Colclough, Esq., in whom the rectory is inappropriate. The tithes amount to £600, entirely payable to the impropriator, who allows the curate £32. 6. 1¼. per annum. The glebe-house was built by a gift of £380, and a loan of £450, from the late Board of First Fruits; the glebe comprises 57 acres. The church is a plain building, erected in 1811 by aid of a gift of £600 from the same Board, and has recently been repaired by aid of a grant of £185 from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; it contains some elegant monuments to the Kavanagh family. In the R.C. divisions the parish is partly in the union or division of Borris, and partly a district in itself, containing chapels at Glinn and Drummond. There are three national schools, in which about 790 children are taught; and two private schools, in which are about 120 children. The remains of the ancient buildings consist of the ruins of five small plain structures in the churchyard, extending from east to west, with two walls, once forming part of a sixth, and the broken walls of a seventh outside the enclosure: there is little worthy of notice in these ruins: at east of the largest is the remains of a stone cross and a small roofless building, with two steps descending into it. Numerous memorial exists of the Kavanaghs and other ancient Irish families; and a holy well is enclosed by a stone wall, round which country people do penance.



St. Moling's Well

Straboe

a parish, in the barony of Rathvilly, county of Carlow, and province of Leinster, 3 miles (W.) from Tullow: containing 195 inhabitants. It is situated on the north side of the county, and on the confines of county Kildare; and comprises about 500 statute acres. It is a rectory, in the diocese of Leighlin, forming part of the union of Rathvilly: the tithes amount to £115. 10. 2½. In the R.C. divisions also it is part of the union or district of Rathvilly

MANY INTERESTING stories have emerged about Irishmen who fought in foreign armies and became known as the 'wild geese', but few can have been as fascinating as that of Carlow native Michael Keogh. Born into a small farming family in Tullow in 1891, he won a County Council scholarship to the seminary school of St. Patrick's Convent in 1905, joined the Gaelic League in 1906, and later was recruited to the IRB while still a teenager.

Keogh emigrated to New York in 1907, and remained active in the Gaelic League and was active in Clann na Gael in that city and also in Denver.

He worked as a mining engineer in Texas, but being of adventurous spirit, he joined the US National Guard in 1910, being stationed at Fort Riley base in Kentucky and claims to have fought on the American side against Mexico in the Huerlo rebellion of 1911.

He worked for a period on the Panama Canal construction

In 1913 he returned to Ireland and Michael joined the British army at the age of 22.

Soon after joining, he was punished for sedition, and sentenced to 28 days in the cells. But he proved his gallantry in France in 1914, being awarded the George's Cross for his role in the battle of Mons, one of the bloodiest battles of the initial stages of the conflict.

WITHIN A MONTH of his arrival in France, however, he was captured by the Germans and sent to a POW camp.

In 1916 he volunteered for Roger Casement's Irish Brigade, which intended to recruit Irish POWs within the British army to fight on the German side. Casement's recruitment drive was a failure, with Keogh being part of a group of little more than 50 to join the German Army. He was assigned to the same unit as a young and unknown Lance-Corporal called Adolf Hitler, at Ligny, on the French Border.

By the end of the war, Michael had won the Iron Cross, the

highest German military award for bravery, and been promoted to captain. He remained in the army throughout 1919, and while stationed in Munich had cause to save Hitler's life.

Hitler and another supporter of the infant Nazi party were speaking to soldiers in the military gymnasium, trying to recruit the soldiers to their cause. During the course of Hitler's speech a riot started and Hitler and his colleague were attacked and being kicked to death when Keogh, as Commanding Officer, intervened by firing into the air to disperse the men and save the future German Chancellor.

THE CARLOW MAN WHO SAVED HITLER

MICHAEL KEOGH FOUGHT FOR
IRELAND, ENGLAND AND
GERMANY DURING AN EVENTFUL
LIFE BY
DAVID THORPE



Michael Keogh in the uniform of the Irish Army (left) and in the uniform of the Irish Brigade of the German army, raised from among British army prisoners of War by Roger Casement .

This article was first printed in "Ireland's Own" (November 5, 2010, No: 5261 p43) and is reprinted here with permission of the editor and author.

Keogh later wrote, "the crowd were not happy, they were bay-ing for blood, the two men we had saved were cut and bloodied and badly in need of a doctor.

"The next time I saw Hitler he was not in need of any guards to provide him with safety; I was in Nuremberg for a rally, where I saw the young lance corporal I had known in 1918 making a speech".

MICHAEL WAS discharged from the German army in the middle of 1919, and on his return to Ireland in 1920, became active in the war of Independence as a gunrunner for the Volunteers, transporting weapons from Germany to Ireland.

He records that he met Micheal Collins at the Spa Hotel in Lucan to arrange for this activity, and over the following months several ships of weapons set sail from Germany

bound for Ireland. He also spent several months active as a Guerilla commander in the Kilkenny area, taking part in the famous battle of Mount Leinster; he was training a number of volunteers on the mountainside when a party of Black and Tans came upon them and a gun battle ensued.

Michael took no part in the Civil War and returned to Germany to work as an engineer in the early 1920's. and remained living there for many decades. In 1932, he accompanied Roger Casement's brother to Pentonville Prison in London to retrieve a bone fragment from

Casement's grave. Casement was buried in quicklime but this fragment remained and is the only surviving relic of Casement.

Michael had written a letter to Goebbels, a high ranking member of the Nazi party, complaining that a Hitler youth gang had attacked a group of Catholic boy scouts, with Michael's son Roger suffering a broken arm. Goebbels did not respond but the letter was also published in several German newspapers.

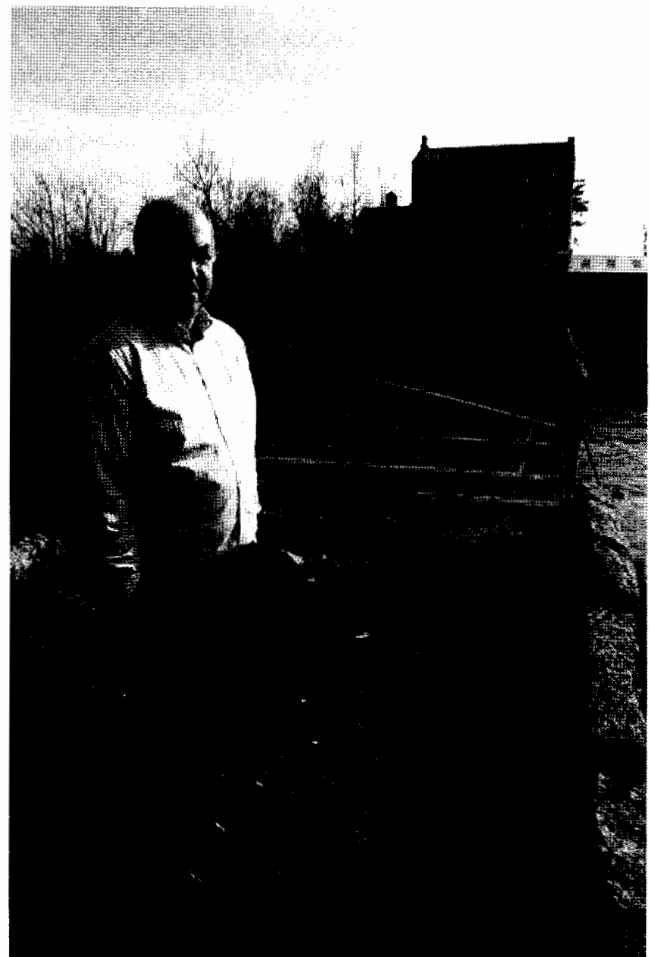
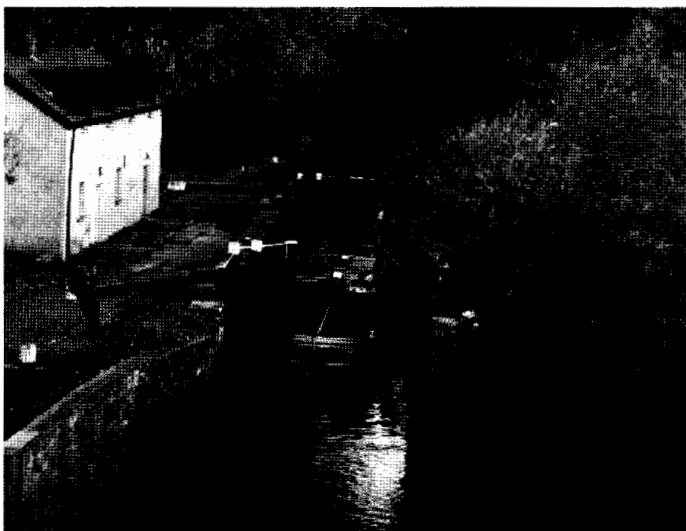
Keogh was apparently lucky to escape with his life during the infamous 'night of the long knives' when a café which he and other German veterans frequented was attacked by

the SS. Michael believed that his letter was the motivation for this attack.

HE RETURNED to Ireland in 1936, and initially worked for the Sugar Company in Carlow, while living in Dublin, but the family would subsequently move around Ireland a lot, living in Laois, Clare and Dublin.

Michael Keogh spent more than thirty years of his life preparing his memoirs, but they were lost shortly before his death and have only recently been rediscovered by the archivists in the UCD library, and the story of one of the most unique of Ireland's Wild Geese will soon be published in book form

*The Year
of the
Barrow
in photographs*



Photographer
Bridget Somers

*I crossed this bridge every day
for 13 years on my way to school
in Bagenalstown.
Deanna James.*

THE TEMPTATIONS OF VICE AND VILLAINY

A Carlowman at the Old Bailey in 1763

Donal Murphy

In 1763 the Rev. Stephen Roe, Ordinary (or Chaplain) of Newgate prison in London, published a booklet entitled "The Ordinary of Newgate's Account of the Behaviour, Confession & Dying Words of Five Malefactors, viz. Emanuel Mountain for Murder, Executed on Monday January the 17th; Morris Delany and John Collins For a Robbery on the High-Way, and William Champ for Horse-Stealing, Executed on Wednesday February the 9th; and Daniel Blake for Murder, Executed on Saturday February the 26th, 1763. Being The Second and Third Executions in the Mayoralty of the Rt. Hon. William Beckford, Esq. Lord-Mayor of the City of London."¹ As Chaplain at Newgate, the Ordinary had the duty of providing spiritual solace to the condemned. One of the perks of the post was the right to publish for sale an account of the crimes of condemned prisoners along with their last words as they awaited the gallows at Tyburn. Put on sale at a modest price of 3d. or 6d., a prurient public ensured sales of thousands for these slim volumes. An Ordinary of Newgate's Account was published after each hanging-day and could earn the Chaplain up to £200 per annum, a not inconsiderable sum in the eighteenth century. Apart from being a nice little earner for the incumbent Ordinary, the avowed purpose of the publications was a moral one – they were meant as a warning to the public to avoid the slippery slope of crime and vice which led to the gallows.

One person who failed to heed such good advice was Morris Delany. Delany was about 30 years of age and 'was born in the county of Carlow in Ireland.' He had left Carlow about ten years previously and gone to sea for about seven years. After this he found employment loading and unloading ships on the river Thames in London. He also, we are told, worked in the west-end of London 'as a partner in carrying a sedan chair; for which his robust frame and size bespoke him well adapted.' Given that the Rev. Roe was writing, as he states, 'for the caution of honest and well-meaning people, and the warning of daring criminals', he says of Delany: [h]appy, if he had never betaken himself to any worse employment! But not being content with an honest, laborious course of life, he gave way to the temptations of vice and villainy; to which he is now fallen a prey in the

prime of his years.'

Delany had been indicted along with an accomplice named John Collins (from Bristol, the name was believed to be an alias) for holding up a coach carrying William Toulmin, 'putting him in corporal fear and danger of his life, and violently taking from his person one silver salve-box value 27s., one guinea, one 18s. piece, one quarter guinea, and three shillings in money' on the 31st of December the previous year. Delany and Collins had been watching ('dog'd') the coach as it awaited its passenger. They had sent a young boy to ask the seemingly innocent question of the coachman as to where he was going and who was his fare. They then waylaid the coach to rob Toulmin.

They were put on trial in the Old Bailey on the 14th of January 1763. The transcript of the trial gives the victim's dramatic first hand account of what happened.² Toulmin testified: 'I observed a fellow running on the left hand side [of the coach] with a pistol in his hand, I conceived it was a foot-pad, I prepared to give him my money. He came and opened the coach-door, and demanded my money; I gave it him directly. There were some halfpence which covered the gold and silver; he said, 'you gave me nothing but copper', and threatened to blow my brains out, if I did not give him gold; I said, I had given him all I had. He threatened me thus four or five minutes. Then the other door of the coach was opened, and Delany appeared and put a pistol to my wife's breast, and threatened her and me too.' Toulmin claimed he could identify Delany after his arrest because the moonlight had clearly shown his face.

William Witworth, the coachman, testified as to how he had answered the boy's questions as he waited at Toulmin's door at Old Gravel Lane. He also agreed with the previous witness that it 'was light enough to see them both to know them; it was very moon-light, as light as ever I saw the moon shine in my life.' He recounted how he went in pursuit of the robbers the following morning, along with a companion. Having gone through some of the neighbouring streets they came upon a mob near Whitechapel church who 'said they had got a highwayman, and they had found a box

upon him with Mr Toulmin's name on it.' Witworth identified Delany. Having heard later that two others were arrested on the night of New Year's Day, he went to the prison where he identified Collins.

This was not Delany's first brush with the law – his trial heard that 'in the last Mayoralty' he had been tried for burglary. However, he seems to have been a very inept criminal. He was arrested on the night of the coach robbery having sought lodgings at the house of a man named John Seward at a quarter past midnight. In Seward's presence, Delany 'drop't a powder horn, and endeavoured to conceal it under a chair; as soon as he was gone to bed, which was about 2 o'clock, I took it up; I supposed him to be a foot pad all the time he was sitting there, having seen a pistol under his arm.' Despite the late hour Delany had supper with Seward before he retired. He was showing off the silver salve box and claiming to be a doctor. As Seward rather dryly told the trial: 'we had some meat for supper, he was going to put some salve upon it, made me think he was no doctor.' Seward summoned 'the constable of the night and 2 watchmen' to arrest Delany. A loaded pistol was found under the bed.

Delany's only defence was to claim he had found the items which were in his possession when arrested. Collins made no defence except to call a character witness. He had previously admitted everything when being questioned in prison and asked to be transported rather than executed. However, at this time the English courts gave no credit for a guilty plea in passing sentence. Both were found guilty and sentenced to death.

When Delany arrived at Newgate to await execution he was visited in his cell by the Ordinary who invited him to come to chapel. Delany agreed to do so 'but being quickly after visited by a priest of his own persuasion, viz. of the church of Rome, he never came to chapel.' As part of his prison duties the Rev. Roe continued to visit him to get him to confess publicly to any other crimes he had committed. Delany insisted he was innocent of the burglary he had previously been tried for, though the Ordinary says another prisoner implicated him in another robbery of a shop. The harsh conditions suffered by the prisoners in Newgate in the depths of winter are hinted at by the Ordinary stating that though Delany did not attend his chapel, the Rev. Roe included him in the distribution of relief 'which the severity of the season excited many good people to contribute to the prisoners in this distress, with an abundant charity, proportioned to their necessity.'

Delany's co-accused, Collins, told the Chaplain he had called to an inn called the Cooper's Arms near the Tower of London on the fateful day. He fell into the company of a drunken sailor. After some time Morris Delany arrived and began drinking with them. It was then that the plan to rob

the coach was conceived. Collins claimed he had rejected the inscribed silver salve box and that Delany had taken it unknown to him. This led the Ordinary to rather poetically summarise the case as follows: 'that the moon-light betrayed them; the salve-box discovered them, and their own pistols were turned against them: for each of these were means to detect and convict them... How little did these blind and hardened transgressors consider, that while they were lying in wait for their prey, they were lurking privily for their own blood; and pulling down on their own heads that swift vengeance which, before the next setting sun, overtook them.'

There was one final twist to the tale. On the night before the day appointed for the executions, one of the prisoners, a foreigner named Autenreith, was reprieved. When the Turnkeys went to tell him of his good fortune 'they found him hard at work, burning thro' the door of his cell.' Autenreith claimed it was a scheme concocted among the prisoners whereby he would in turn free the others from their cells and all would try to escape from Newgate. Delany, 'being in a distant cell, and one story (sic.) higher than these, did not seem to be privy to it.' Nor did Autenreith or Collins allege that he was.

With this last plot foiled, the prisoners were taken to the gallows the next day. Following prayers, 'the cart was driven from under them, which was exactly at eleven o'clock. In three or four minutes they were all motionless.' The Ordinary tells us that Morris Delany professed to die in peace and charity with all men.

References:

1. The Ordinary of Newgate's Account... , (Printed and sold by M. Lewis, at the Bible and Dove, in Paternoster-Row, near Cheapside, for the Author. Also sold by J. Hinxman, at the Globe, in Paternoster-Row). [Price Sixpence].
2. See www.oldbaileyonline.org. Delany's trial is found at Reference No. t17630114-2.

Obituaries

Since our last issue the following long serving members of our society have passed away:

- Michael Brennan, Paupish, Carlow
- Joan Brennan, Paupish, Carlow
- Thomas Clarke, Graiguecullen, Carlow
- Timothy Whelan, Rathnapish, Carlow

TULLOW FIRE BRIGADE

Tom Dunne

At some time in the history of mankind fire fighting became a necessity just like defending himself against wild animals or putting a roof overhead to keep out the rain. Man had learned to tame fire for his own benefit, for cooking, lighting and heating and at the same time developed an awareness of the danger that it might spread beyond the hearth or naked torch. Wherever communities existed the problem of fire fighting was one that concerned everybody, because fire would not stop at having burnt down one house but would spread to the entire village. Thus, fire fighting became one of the first social services.

The Romans, technically minded and efficient organisers that they were, introduced fire fighting as one of the essential duties for every citizen. The danger of a conflagration was greatest in Rome, the houses of the poor being mainly of straw roofs and timber walls forming narrow and tortuously inaccessible lanes. Another common hazard was the keeping of fires continuously burning on house altars. Hundreds of young Romans were trained in fire fighting and organised in cohorts or companies; they were known as *Vigiles* ("watchmen of the city").

Emperor Caesar Augustus set up the first government fire department known in history. It was composed of seven companies, each numbering about 1000 *vigiles* and commanded by a Chief Fire Officer. In an emergency they could call on the help of thousands of slaves. Under orders from their masters these slaves had to carry buckets of water from river, canal or pond to refill empty firefighting water bags. These Roman firemen were well equipped with hand pumps and leather hoses, hammers, salt, mattocks, water bags, buckets, ladders and even large pillows to break the fall of trapped victims who had to jump out of upper windows. But the duties of the *vigiles* were not confined only to dealing with the fire itself. As in any big town, there were criminals who not only used the confusion of a fire to steal what they could, but often started fires deliberately so as to create an opportunity for looting. Such criminals were brought before a special police officer and after severe interrogation usually accompanied by a great deal of torture confessions were generally forthcoming and severe punishment sentences were handed down.

"The Great Fire of London"

From excavations at Greta Bridge and Chester we may conclude that the Romans introduced their fire-fighting organisation to England, but it was not to survive beyond the fall of Roman occupation. As with so many other attributes of ancient civilisations, fire fighting and fire prevention were partly forgotten throughout the Middle Ages and terrible conflagrations destroyed many cities and towns, notably Vienna and Constantinople.

A feeble effort at reducing fire danger was introduced in England when, in the year 1200, it was decreed that fire resistant building materials should be used and the roofing of new houses with straw, reeds or rushes was banned. Also water was to be kept close at hand in case of fire outbreak.

Only in Queen Elizabeth's time did people seem to become more aware of the necessity to prepare and plan fire control procedures.

For this indifference towards fire risk London was to pay a very heavy price. When the Great Fire broke out in 1666 the inhabitants were practically helpless. There was no fire fighting service in evidence, no pumps and no disciplined organisation. People were running hither and thither in panic, trying to save their possessions. Pepys, the great 17th-century diarist, records that, "with one's face to the wind you were almost burned with a shower of fire drops."

The fire cost London countless lives, a number of them lost in the four prisons burnt down together with the ancient Cathedral of St Pauls, 36 other churches, several hospitals and the Royal Exchange. As well as this, 13,200 houses covering an area of 436 acres and amounting to 12 million pounds worth of property were all destroyed and lost in the fire.

This severe lesson impressed upon the people of London the necessity for a proper prevention led firefighting system with the introduction of fire spotting. "The Fire Spotter" "The Sentinel" was posted on top of the highest steeple, where he could look all over the town; if he spots any smoke, fire or danger he presently sounds his trumpet and hangs out a bloody flag towards that part of the town or city where the fire is located." One year after the Great Fire the first insurance office called the "Fire Office" was established. Those who took out fire insurance policies thought they had done enough to protect themselves, but as the memory of the catastrophe faded the people of London lapsed back into their former apathy and fires continued to occur, but nothing on the scale of the 1666 one.

Tullow Fire Brigade

In 1951 Tullow Fire Brigade was recruited and started training in foot drill, ladder drill, pump drill and the general use of all firefighting equipment. Training was under the supervision of Mr John Creed, BE., an army captain from County Cork and Chief Fire Officer for Carlow/ Kildare. From humble beginnings, with only a trailer pump and no means of transport, the Brigade improved, as more money was made available from the annual Fire and Rescue Services budget. Annual fire fighting competitions among the Carlow/Kildare Brigades helped to improve skills and at the same time built up a greater sense of camaraderie within and between the crews. Tullow won this competition in 1954/55 and 1955/56 and were presented with the Joseph O'Doherty (County Manager's) cup and medals. This competition ceased due to increasing call-outs at all stations and absence was restricted to call-out duty only.

Tragedy at Tankardstown

On the 8th Apr 1973 I received a phone call from Garda P. J. Black, Tullow at 1:03 a.m. Garda Black informed me of a fire at the dwelling house of Mrs Elizabeth F. Reid-Smith of Tankardstown, about two miles outside Tullow. As the fire tender got within sight of the residence I could see the blaze going through the roof, which was partially collapsed. On arrival, 10 minutes after the call, at 1.13, we were informed by Mrs Reid-Smith that her daughter, Jean, was trapped in her bedroom on the first floor of the two-storey residence. On opening the door to her bedroom, using the first aid hose, we discovered that the roof of the building had collapsed on her bed and there was also an electric fire with the open bars still switched on.

After some time digging out the debris, bed and furniture, we first discovered the body of a dog (a sheepdog it transpired later) and fearing the worst the ambulance from Carlow was called. Shortly afterwards we came on the body of Jean Reid-Smith. Both bodies were so badly burned and so indistinguishable that the ambulance crew first loaded the remains of the dog, but quickly righted matters when the body of Jean Reid-Smith was uncovered from the debris. Her remains were removed to the Morgue in Carlow for identification and post-mortem examination.

Cause of the fire

It was suggested by many at the scene that the sheepdog might have started the fire by switching his tail into the open electric heater, catching fire and then running in under the bed. An alternative theory was that a short circuit in the wiring could have been the cause.

Whatever the cause a young life was tragically lost on that cold bitter and frosty night.

It took 1575 feet of delivery hose to connect the engine to the river Derreen so as to ensure an ample supply of water to extinguish the fire completely.

When we returned to the station it was 8 a.m.

Fire at Castlemore House

On the 16th of August 1975, at 4:25 a.m., I received the call informing me that Castlemore House was on fire. This old mansion, where as a young man I watched many a hunt ball in progress, was now occupied by one aged man, Colonel O. H. Eustace Duckett.

When we arrived on the scene, at 4.32 a.m., my first sight was of this man sitting on the stone steps at the hall door entrance; it was a tragic sight with his living room in flames. This was the house which once rang out with music, song, dancing and entertainment on the occasion of the annual Hunt Ball. Typical of the period, all the gentry assembled on such occasions and regaled each other with stories from the hunting field over the past year.

Our job was to stop the fire spreading. Firstly we used the first-aid tank of water (400 gallons) and the flames cooled down considerably, while the trailer pump was being connected to a well at the front door of the residence. This well provided sufficient water to completely extinguish the fire. We then examined the whole building for any other traces of fire in all the rooms and nothing was found. The Gardai then took custody of the scene and we returned to the station at 7:55 a.m.

A malicious injury claim for £550,000, entered by Mrs Kathleen Carvill (daughter of Mr Eustace Duckett) was heard at the Circuit Court Carlow, starting at 11a.m. on the 19th of April 1977. I was summoned to appear as first witness and having entered the damages figure of £15,000 in my report to the Chief Fire Officer I was not feeling too happy. After two days in the court giving evidence along with other witnesses as to the actual damages caused, on the third day the judge made an award of £40,000.

After an appeal by Carlow County Council this figure was further reduced to £20,000. No doubt, I felt relieved and justified when all was over.

The remains of this old mansion still stand as a reminder of past glories and the destructive nature of fire. Mr Eustace Duckett never lived in the house afterwards; he went to live with the second daughter, Mrs Olivia Lambert, in Wexford, where he ended his days far removed from his beloved Castlemore.

After exhaustive inquiries by Gardaí the culprits responsible were apprehended, convicted of arson and given a prison sentence, a fitting punishment for an act of thuggery on the way home from the annual Tullow Show Dance (15th August).

On his death, Colonel O. H. Eustace Duckett's remains were brought back to Tullow and interred in St Columba's Cemetery amongst generations of his own family.

Some near misses

On the fourth July 1976 at 9:36p.m. I received a call from Altamont House, Kilbride, stating that a portion of the top storey was on fire and stressing that Mrs Lecky-. Watson and her pet dog were trapped in her bedroom. With six other members of Tullow Fire Brigade we arrived in Altamont at 9.51. Mrs North (daughter) directed us to the eastern end of the house where the blazing fire was lapping against the top gable window.

I immediately got two crew members with breathing apparatus to go upstairs and investigate the situation. By this time the fire had spread to the roof and into the passageways; the two crewmen were beaten back by the flames and could not get near Mrs Lecky-Watson's bedroom. We then tried to enter by the gable window. Our extension ladder just reached the top of the gable window and fire man Tommy Rooney climbed the ladder with instructions to break the window with his fire axe. Unfortunately, the ladder being too close to the window, he found it impossible to wield his axe. As he descended the ladder hope of a successful outcome seemed to be slipping away from us. In a final effort, I decided on lowering the ladder by about three rungs to the middle of the gable window and with one crew man standing on the bottom of the ladder the rest of us slapped the top portion as hard as possible against the window. With the first slap a shower of glass rained down on us and the second opened a good hole in the window. With the ladder readjusted Tommy Rooney, armed with delivery hose, was able to quell the flames around the window and get a foothold to enter the building. We were now able to bring the fire under control, with additional water supplied by our trailer pump set up on the banks of the adjoining river Slaney. Happily, Mrs Lecky-

Watson, then in her late 90s, together with her pet dog were rescued without harm or injury and brought downstairs to safety.

With our job completed we arrived back in the station at 12:35 a.m.

Later Mrs Diana Curtis (daughter of above Mrs Lecky-Watson), on returning from Spain, expressed her gratitude for the above services in a very nice letter (transcript included below) to the County Manager's office. Mrs Curtis had been in Spain to attend the post-mortem inquiry into her late husband's death; he was accidentally killed, when a motorcyclist mounted the footpath where he happened to be walking while holidaying in Spain.

From; Lt.Col. & Mrs. A.G.N. Curtis,
Altamont'
Kilbride,
Carlow.
!2th July 76
(Date-stamped "received County Manager's Office, 14th July 76)

Dear Sir,

On behalf of my mother, Mrs Lecky-Watson, my sister, Mrs North and myself, I am writing to express our very great appreciation of the Tullow Fire Brigade.

Had it not been for their speed, efficiency, thoroughness and care our home, a very old and large house would have been burnt to the ground, instead of the fire having been confined to part of one wing.

Their help, kindness and consideration to us during and after those terrible and terrifying hours was wonderful, specially that of the Chief Fire Officer Tom Dunne. Our most grateful thanks to them and to Carlow County Council for providing such an efficient service; and we just cannot praise too highly that well trained and courageous team.

Yours truly,
Diana Curtis

Tragedy at Myshall

On a beautiful May morning, Sunday the eighth 1977, I got a phone call from PJ Walsh, Ullard, Myshall, at 7:12 a.m. He asked if we had been called to a house fire which he had just spotted from his own home. When I told him that we had got no call he quickly informed me that Michael Kavanagh's dwelling house at Knockbrack was on fire. He had just got up to get ready for eight o'clock mass in Myshall when he spotted the flames going through the roof and instinctively rang for the Fire Brigade. At that point he couldn't see if there were other Fire Brigades at the scene, but he could see the whole house on fire.

Along with other crew members we left Tullow Fire Station at 7.17 and arrived at Kavanagh's house at 7.34. By this time the roof of the two-storey dwelling had collapsed together with the first floor. All the fire was now on the ground, except for burning bits of timber remnants around the windows and along the wall plate area. Immediately we emptied the contents of our 400-gallon water tank on to the ground floor and this quelled the blaze, while I sent the

driver to refill at the nearest hydrant.

Meanwhile a man informed me that two of the Kavanagh children were buried underneath the debris. I spoke to Michael Kavanagh, who was deeply distressed, but did confirm that two of his children were trapped inside the building. At this stage we could not see the bodies of the children because smoke and steam clouded out the interior shell of the dwelling. After spraying on the second tank of water we located the bodies of Celia and Gerard Kavanagh.

Shortly after 8a.m. we cleared all the debris from around the dead bodies and they were taken by ambulance to the Morgue at Carlow at 12.55. By this time the scene had been visited by local clergy, Doctor, Garda Superintendents and the Chief Fire Officer.

It is worth noting that Michael Kavanagh's house, located on the side of the hill, overlooks PJ Walsh's house, at approximately half a mile distance.

The house was completely gutted; all the contents were lost; but above all two irreplaceable young children perished in the fire.

How did it happen?

Mr Kavanagh's house was fitted with a solid fuel Aga cooker. Apparently the children's clothes were placed around the cooker to be aired for Sunday morning. Experience with this type of cooker indicated that it could become exceptionally overheated in windy conditions. There was a strong breeze blowing on that dreadful night and maybe the overheated cooker ignited the clothes nearest to it.

Celia Kavanagh's bedroom was located over the cooker on the first floor. She was the first to discover the fire; at that stage it was burning around the Aga cooker. Immediately she roused the rest of the family who were all asleep at the time and they made their way to the open yard outside the house. At this point it was discovered that Gerard was missing and the father shouted at Celia to go back and call him again. She immediately ran back and perhaps left the front door open.

At this point it is very likely that the mixture of inflammable gases from the burning materials became charged with enough oxygen to cause a "flashover"; this phenomenon is equal to an explosion. It would seem reasonable to conclude this, as the first floor and the roof appeared to be lifted up out of position and collapsed on the ground floor with both children trapped beneath the debris.

It was one of the most serious and tragic occasions that I had to deal with in my 30 years as Station Officer in Tullow. Needless to say, the Kavanagh family were devastated at this never to be forgotten tragedy. The funeral Mass and burials bore testimony to the sadness felt by the whole parish of Myshall and the surrounding areas at the tragic loss of the two children and the memory of the brave girl, Celia, who knew no danger.

HACKETSTOWN BRASS BAND

1875 - CIRCA 1895

Patrick M. Byrne



Hacketstown Brass Band (Mr. O'Connor in centre with bowler hat)

On a fine sunny Sunday morning in early June 1875 a cavalcade of horse-drawn open carriages, men on horseback and horse-drawn carts passed through the still sleeping village of Hacketstown shortly after first light and were observed by five or six hardy locals who were up and about at that hour.

Two of the carriages contained what looked like piles of shining gold treasure, but were in fact the shining brass instruments and drums of the Tullow Brass Band who were on their way to Glendalough for a day of music and marching in the national interest. That same evening as the Angelus was ringing in Hacketstown the band on their way back were coming in through Rathnafishogue and they arrived on the square in the village around 6.20 p.m. to be greeted by a crowd of excited locals and their Priest, Rev. Fr. Delaney, and of course it was

suggested that maybe the band would like to play a few national airs, which they did; it is said that in fact they played for about two hours and aroused great interest and were loudly cheered by the local inhabitants. After the Tullow men had left for home, and before the crowd had moved away, Rev. Fr. Delaney took the opportunity to address the assembly now standing before him in high spirits; he spoke for about ten minutes and at the end of the speech he put to them the question, "Should we try to form a Brass Band of our own here in Hacketstown?" and some of the people shouted back, "God bless you, Father, you're the man for the job" and all those assembled approved of the suggestion.

At all Masses on the following Sunday Rev. Fr. Delaney announced that he was calling a meeting to discuss the formation of a Brass Band and he invited all those interested to come

along and air their views on the subject, and it was said that he also invited the ladies to come along and give their opinion as well. There is no record of where this meeting was held, but we know that approval was given and a committee was formed to oversee the raising of funds for the project.

The committee members were as follows: Rev. Fr. Delaney, Pierce Butler, Edward McDonald, Edward Kealy, Nicholas O'Toole and last but not least was the only female member, Mrs. Garrett O'Reilly.

The committee had to decide how to extract money from the hard pressed locals so that the musical instruments and drums could be purchased in Dublin. They decided to try the simplest method of getting money quickly and that was to hold a local collection. This collection was held over a four week period and they

collected the mighty sum for those days of £155 – 10 – 3 ½. It was made up of donations of £5 – 0 – 0 from a few local farmers and businessmen, and the shillings and pence of the local workmen, right down to the old man who gave a halfpenny.

The brass instruments were now purchased. They arrived in Hacketstown towards the end of August 1875 and 15 trainee bandmen were soon practising three nights a week, as well as marching practice every fine Sunday after Mass. They cut quite a dash, dressed in green sashes and French-style green kepis (caps), as they paraded round and round the village. The names of the original fifteen bandmen were as follows: Dinny Kehoe, J. Carroll, Hugh Kenny, J. Byrne, Ed. Whelan, T. Shannon, Jim Hutton, John Lyons, J. Kenny, T. Donnolly, Andy Kavanagh, Joe Hutton, J. O'Brien, Mick Reilly and P. Kenny. The committee and band members now decided that the band should have a name and after several meetings to debate the issue they agreed to call it "The St. Laurence O'Toole Brass Band" and the pennant that was carried in front of the band was green and bore the initials "S.L.O.T.B.B." in gold embroidery.

The band members were now giving very good renditions of the many tunes they had learned and practised, and as Autumn and Winter turned to Spring they would assemble on the village square on fine Sunday evenings to entertain the local inhabitants, and their playing was very much appreciated by all those who heard them. It was round about this time that the letters of the pennant began to attract the attention of the local characters and "Quare Fellas" who of course put the letters together and they spelled SLOT. Now in the local dialect of the time, e.g. a door was pronounced "dure," so SLOT became "SLUT" and so they acquired the unfortunate nickname of the "Hacketstown Sluts" Brass Band. The nickname however was dropped quite quickly after it was roundly condemned by the priest from the altar on two successive Sundays, and it would only come to surface occasionally when some of the local

wideboys were mingling with the crowd e.g. after Mass on Sundays.

The man from God knows where is now about to enter the scene and he did so on a dull Sunday afternoon as the band members were drawn up in front of the sundial on the village square and about to perform their usual recital; this quaint looking individual wearing a top hat, cravat and swallow-tailed coat, and walking in his bare feet came strolling in the Baltinglass road with a stick across his shoulder and a bundle on the end of it. He enquired from some women he met in Bridge Lane if this was Hacketstown and was there a newly formed brass band here. The women answered, "Yes" to both questions and told him that the band was about to start playing on the town square. His next question was "who was in charge of the band?" and the women told him that when he got to the square he should ask for Andy Kavanagh or John Lyons.

When he reached the town square the band was already in full tune, so he kept his distance until they finished. He then asked a man named Jack Disney would he be good enough to point out John Lyons or Andy Kavanagh to him and so Jack Disney showed him where Andy Kavanagh was standing. The stranger introduced himself to both Andy Kavanagh and John Lyons and told them he was a bandmaster and could read and compose music, that his name was O'Connor, and if given a chance he could prove his worth in less than a month. John Lyons asked him how he found out about the Hacketstown band and he replied that a tramp ballad singer at Dunlavin Fair spoke about them. John Lyons and Andy Kavanagh told Mr. O'Connor that they would discuss the matter with their committee the following evening and they would give him its decision on Tuesday.

On Monday evening the band committee met and after a prolonged discussion they decided to give Mr. O'Connor a chance to sharpen up the band by teaching the bandmen how to read music and to march in step. This was to be the start of an almost twenty year association between Mr.

O'Connor and the St. Laurence O'Toole Brass Band in Hacketstown.

It appears the band now went from strength to strength and was in big demand in the surrounding towns and villages and always accompanied by Mr. O'Connor in his bare feet and wearing his trademark top hat and tails and carrying in his right hand his conductor's baton.

The Bandmaster was always addressed as "Mr. O'Connor" when people spoke to him personally, but when he was talked about among themselves he was affectionately known as "Aould O'Connor", and on fine Sundays after Mass when a large crowd would have gathered and the priest had gone home some of the wide boys in the crowd would shout out, "Where's Aould O'Connor today?" and their friends would chant back, "He's off playing with the Sluts again" and a ripple of laughter would move through the crowd. Now as everyone knows there were always Go-Boys out for a laugh at somebody else's expense, but by this stage Mr. O'Connor had become a well-respected member of the local community on account of his work with the band.

The sundial was located on the square in Hacketstown about two paces out from a narrow clay footpath that passed in front of what is now the Pharmacy and it was here that the band always formed up to play for the townspeople. Dinny Kehoe the big drummer was the man that always ended up with his back to the sundial and if the day was warm he would remove his cap and hang it up (as he would say himself) on "Cromwell's Nose," which was of course the brass shadow-casting device called a gnomon on the dial. Mr. O'Connor would now take his place on top of a small wooden porter barrel and give his instructions to the band, wave his baton and the music would start to the loud cheering of the assembled crowd.

In every village and every town in any year or century you care to pick you are sure to find a drunk looking for trouble and one night after band practice such a man approached Mr. O'Connor and

said, "What brought you here to be the boss of the band, and you not knowing music from slop water, and only I'm a decent man I'd tell you where to go." Mr. O'Connor fixed him in his gaze and replied, "A decent man did you say, sir? Why, in the short length of time that I have been here I have quickly come to the conclusion that you, my good man, are as free from decency as a frog is from feathers." Needless to say that drunk never bothered him again.

There were two Euphonium players in the band and while one of them lived in the town, the other lived in the country approximately 1 ¼ miles out. Now this man had no transport of any kind and so he went everywhere on foot. Each bandsman was responsible for his own instrument and so they took them home with them after each session. Our country friend was getting a bit fed up of carrying his euphonium 2 ½ miles to and from every event and so he devised a plan; he resurrected an old rickety wooden wheelbarrow with a solid wooden wheel and into this he placed an armful of straw and on top of this, in regal splendour, sat the euphonium, all ready for its journey into town. Shortly afterwards the local cornerboys christened its owner "Buglebarra" as he arrived at every band event, even if there were dignitaries present, pushing the barrow containing his beloved euphonium.

In 1880 the Parish Priest of the time was Rev. Fr. Patrick McDonnell and he decided to put a clock in the church tower and retire the sundial, and so he asked the band if they would be willing to help him to raise some funds towards this worthy cause, which they willingly did on numerous occasions. There is no record of how much they collected for this project, but the word was that it amounted to a tidy sum and the clock was installed in 1881. There was an old man living in the town at the time and every time the new clock struck the hour he would take off his hat and say, "God bless Fr. McDonnell and the band, only for them we wouldn't know the night from the day."

The band's Nationalistic attitude, choice of music, and attire did not go down very well with a small number of

Church of Ireland people who had to pass by them on their way to evening service and so we find the following:

George Thomas Watson, incumbent of Hacketstown, wrote a letter to the office of the Chief Secretary of Ireland on April 22nd 1878, giving his address as "The Glebe, Hacketstown." He complained that, "A band of persons dressed with green scarves and green caps paraded the streets of the town playing discordant music to the great annoyance of those who were on their way to evening service." A police report signed by Constable George Redding is attached to the file in the National Archives in Dublin; this report stated that ten or twelve members of the band had played in Main Street between 4 and 5 o'clock, then proceeded to a moat at a distance of one mile. They caused no obstruction; they did not go near the Church and no complaint had been made to the Police.

On Sunday September 28th 1879, Parnell visited Hacketstown and after lunching with the Parish Priest Rev. Fr. McDonnell he addressed the people in the Main Street. He was on his way to a monster Land League meeting in Tullow. The Carlow Independent on October 4th reported, "The Hacketstown Brass Band, headed by their efficient committee, met Mr. Parnell a short distance outside the town and after cheering lustily they played a very choice selection of airs." Although not mentioned in this report, the band is said to have led a procession of over 1,000 farmers to this monster meeting in Tullow and became quite famous as a result.

January 28th 1881

Sixteen people were prosecuted at Hacketstown Petty Sessions for "groaning" Colonel Dennis, a local magistrate, who had been hearing a case in which Thomas Byrne was being charged with taking forcible possession of a property from which he had been evicted. The case against the sixteen people was adjourned for a month and the Carlow Independent of January 29th reported, "a brass band, which was surrounded by a large and enthusiastic crowd, played outside the Parish Priest's house and the defendants were cheered, as were also

those who took part in the defence."

March 28th 1884

John Lyons of Ballykillane and Nicholas O'Toole of Scotland, Hacketstown were re-elected to the Shillelagh Board of Guardians and came home that night to a great celebration of victory in Hacketstown. "The Brass Band followed by an immense crowd bearing oil barrels marched through the streets playing National Airs." (Nationalist, March 29th 1884)

Seven years now pass by before the band is mentioned in the papers again and many of the older bandsmen have retired and have been replaced by younger, fitter men, who are better able for a day's marching.

July 2nd 1891

Parnell came to Hacketstown from Carlow, campaigning for his candidate in the Carlow By-election, Mr. Kettle. "Mr. Edward Harrington, M.P., and the local band received the Member for Cork outside the town and a large assemblage accompanied the party to the town square, where after an interval for luncheon, the meeting was held." (Carlow Sentinel, July 4th 1891)

Somewhere between 1891 and 1895 a difference of opinion occurred between the younger and older members of the band with the result that the younger members and their supporters took charge. However it only lasted about two years after that before they disbanded. Mr. O'Connor had now lost the love of his life and they say he left Hacketstown shortly afterwards, heart-broken, by the same road he had first come in. I suppose we can imagine that he was hoping to find another fledgling brass band on which he could lavish his expertise. As he walked off into the sunset the band he loved and spent so much of his time with was soon to be rapidly forgotten; he himself is barely remembered in a rhyme composed by some local scribe who put pen to paper and wrote the following:

The Hacketstown Band
Has got so grand
They wouldn't come out to play;
They sold their brass
To buy a Jackass
To draw Aould O'Connor away.

This research project began as a result of reading a book, *The Incredible Mr. Kavanagh* by Donald McCormick¹, about Mr Arthur McMorrough Kavanagh. Arthur Kavanagh was born in 1831 to a wealthy, landowner family in Borris Co. Carlow. He was the grandson of the 17th Earl of Ormonde on his father's side and of the 2nd Earl of Clancarty, one of most skilful diplomats of the period, on his mother's side.² He was born limbless but overcame all obstacles to lead a full and remarkable life. While the subject of the book was indeed a very interesting and remarkable man, equally fascinating, was what drove this man to succeed so spectacularly in a world, which because of his infirmity may have been closed to him. His impressive spirit and courage can perhaps be attributed to his equally remarkable mother, Lady Harriet Margaret Le Poer Trench Kavanagh. An example of her strength and almost bloody mindedness was her comment on being shown her helpless son for the first time: "Thank God he was born to me and not to anyone else".³ One of her many impressive attributes was her devotion and indeed almost addiction to travel. Harriet Kavanagh was wealthy, educated and had all the requirements for a comfortable and easy life in Ireland. She chose instead to traverse Europe, Africa and the Middle East, by train, carriage, boat, horse, donkey, camel and often by foot. Harriet Kavanagh overcame all difficulties with a determination and fortitude that marks her out as one of the most interesting adventurers of her time.

Two primary sources were used in this research project. The first is a diary that Lady Harriet kept on two journeys across Europe. This is stored in the Public Records Office of Northern Ireland Belfast.⁴ It details the first journey through France, Switzerland and Italy between 1835 and 1836 with her husband Thomas and also Susan, Grace and Walter Kavanagh, who were children from Thomas' first marriage.⁵ The second journey in 1839 was carried out through Holland, Germany, France, Switzerland, and again to Italy.

*Lady Harriet:
Journeys
through
Europe
and the
Middle East
1835-1850*

Tom Joyce

She was accompanied on this second trip by her mother and her own children, Arthur and Harriet (Hoddy). The second primary source used was another diary which she recorded during a journey from 1846-1847 through England, France, Malta, Egypt and from there through the Holy Land, which had been one of her most cherished projects.⁶ Included in this diary is also another short trip to Albania in 1850. This is part of the Kavanagh Papers, donated by Andrew Kavanagh of Borris House, Carlow to the National Library of Ireland.⁷ Both diaries are hand-written and difficult to read; indeed in places they are indecipherable. Lady Harriet also had the habit of writing both landscape and portrait, which added to the difficulty. There are also several secondary sources in the form of four books written about her son Arthur that refer in some detail to Lady Harriet. There are also articles relating to Lady Harriet, which deal with her establishing Borris Lace. This was a cottage industry that she set-up in Borris to enable the local women to earn a wage from their own homes.⁸



Lady Harriet

While the diaries of Lady Harriet are the primary source material of this research project, as mentioned above, four books relating to Lady Kavanagh's son Arthur were also used. Of these two proved problematic. The first and most at issue is the most recent. *This is Kavanagh MP An Inspirational Story* by David Cohen.⁹ The problem is that it is factually inaccurate in a number of areas. The first inaccuracy comes in the very first line of chapter one, which states that Thomas Kavanagh, Lady Harriet's husband, had two children from his first marriage.¹⁰ This is incorrect, as Thomas had ten children by his first marriage.¹¹ These factual errors continue through the book. Unfortunately this book had to be discounted. The second problematic book is *The Right Honourable Arthur MacMurrough Kavanagh* by Sarah Steele.¹² This is written by Arthur Kavanagh's cousin and is unashamedly uncritical of her cousin. It is factual however and gives some relevant information. A distant cousin, Kenneth Kavanagh also penned another book *Born Without Limbs*, written about Arthur Kavanagh.¹³ This proved very useful with good references and substantiated facts. The last book, *The Incredible Mr Kavanagh* by Donald McCormick, written about Arthur Kavanagh is also quite good and again is well referenced and proved very useful.¹⁴

The first thing that differentiates Lady Kavanagh from other female travellers and explorers of the time is that she chose to travel with children where possible, which

was unusual for women travellers of this period. Intrepid travellers such as Harriet Martineau, Mary Wollstonecraft, Mary Berry and many others may have travelled with an entourage at times but not with children as a rule. Lady Kavanagh did at times travel alone,¹⁵ but when her children were old enough to allow them to travel, she brought them with him.¹⁶ She also travelled with her stepchildren.¹⁷ Another important aspect is that, in deciding to bring Arthur with her she was travelling with a child with no arms or legs. This detail did not seem to deter her in the slightest. Resisting the temptation to leave such a travel companion at home, she took him and her other children on extremely difficult trips across the globe. Another interesting aspect of Lady Harriet's travel was that she travelled with her husband when he was free of other duties.¹⁸ Many of the female Victorian travellers were either unmarried, travelled without their husbands or did not travel until they were widowed.¹⁹ Lady Harriet was not a picky traveller. She toured at various times, alone, with her husband and her stepchildren and also with her mother and her own children. She was following in a proud tradition of strong intelligent women who chose travel as a means of self-expression. Visiting new lands and viewing sights that she had read about and dreamed about was her great pleasure. She was passionate about travel and saw it as a way to continue her children's education and expand her own knowledge.²⁰

Harriet De Poer Trench was born on the 13th Oct 1799. She was the daughter of Richard Le Poer Trench 2nd Earl of Clancarty and Henrietta Margaret Staples. Her father was a very successful politician and diplomat as well as being a landlord of note in Galway. He held the position of Commissioner of Indian Affairs between 1804 and 1806. He was twice ambassador to the Netherlands between the years of 1813 and 1823.²¹ He attended the Congress of Vienna in 1814 and was accompanied there by his daughter Harriet. Clancarty was a senior plenipotentiary of the new treaty agreed at Vienna. He was commended by no less a diplomat than Talleyrand for his zeal, firmness and uprightness.²² It may have been as a result of her father's overseas appointments that she developed her love of travel. As can be seen from correspondence that he sent home to his wife, he travelled much of

Europe during this period and it seems that he took his daughter with him.²³ Her siblings were also fond of travel as can be seen from correspondence between the families.²⁴ Lady De Poer Trench married Thomas Kavanagh The McMorrough, on the 28th of February 1825. Thomas was approaching sixty in 1825, with ten children from his previous marriage. Lady Kavanagh had four children with Thomas Kavanagh, Thomas, Charles, Harriet and Arthur. The latter was obviously the most exceptional as he was born without arms or legs. His mother would have a huge influence in his life and without her help he might never have achieved all he did. Her husband Thomas died in 1837 at the age of 69 and her father died later that same year. Lady Harriet was still only thirty-eight years old.²⁵

Lady Harriet like other famous women travellers before her such as Lady Mary Coke had been married off to a much older man.²⁶ Unlike Lady Coke's husband, however, Thomas Kavanagh was a fair man, sharp and self-confident.²⁷ There is no evidence to suggest that he treated her with anything but respect and kindness during their marriage. She at no point in her diaries speaks ill of her husband and in one section thanks God for giving good health to her dearest husband.²⁸ In his book, *Ladies of the Grand Tour*, Brian Dolan states that many of the Victorian women travelled as a result of a bad experience with a male. That male could be a husband or father who physically or psychologically abused them, as in the cases of Lady Webster nee Vassal and Mary Wollstonecraft. Other noted women travellers such as Mary Berry were cheated out of an inheritance by a male relative, which left her in poor financial circumstances.²⁹ Although Lady Harriet was married off to a much older man, she did not seem to harbour any bad feeling towards her father. As stated above she certainly did not write of any ill will towards either of the significant men in her life, and indeed travelled Europe with Thomas Kavanagh when she got the chance.³⁰ Male influence would prove to be a negative in a lot of the women's lives detailed in *Ladies of The Grand Tour*. With Lady Kavanagh however the opposite would seem to be the case and it was certainly not a reason behind her journeys abroad.

Among the reasons usually given by

researchers as to why women choose to travel are education, independence, health and culture and fashion.³¹ Of these, certainly Lady Kavanagh's interest would tend towards education and culture. She was already an independent woman before she chose to travel. She had no health problems, at least none are mentioned, and as evidenced from her diaries, she did not seem to be the slightest bit interested in fashion. When we look at culture there are aspects that really did interest her more than others. She had a very great love of architecture and history, descriptions of which fill the pages of her writings.³² She was a member of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland and a member of The Kilkenny Archaeological Society.³³ On every trip and in almost every town or city that she visited, it was always the first thing on the agenda. She would visit churches, cathedrals, palaces, tombs, ruins and in Egypt the pyramids.³⁴ She was fascinated with buildings and would climb to the top of mountains or ride on a donkey for days to get to a particular site in which she was interested.³⁵ This aspect seems to be one of her main motives for travel. It was not to the salons of Europe that Lady Kavanagh travelled but to inaccessible and difficult terrain of the Sinai desert and up the Nile on a rat infested boat.³⁶ Even when she did visit cities, it was their architecture and their historical sights rather than the social milieu that attracted her.

Lady Harriet was an enthusiastic European, having spent much of her youth at the Dutch court while her father was ambassador there. At fifteen she had danced at one of the most famous balls in history on the eve of the battle of Waterloo.³⁷ She was already a much-travelled young lady as a result of her father's trips around Europe.³⁸ In 1835 she travelled with her husband and his children following a bitter election in Carlow that had seen Thomas elected, then on foot of a petition suspended, before he won on appeal.³⁹ This win would entail Thomas Kavanagh travelling to parliament in London and spending lengthy amounts of time away from home. It seems to have been expected that his wife would accompany him. During this election fifty of the freeholders of whose votes Kavanagh was unsure were effectively interned or cooped at Borris house.⁴⁰ There was also the death of a local priest that had resulted in a trial in which a supporter of

Thomas Kavanagh's was eventually found innocent.⁴¹ Lady Harriet was happy with her husband's win, but in her diaries she seemed under huge stress.⁴² This stress was not evident when she was away travelling, no matter how difficult or extreme the journey. If her interest had been solely to get away from Borris, then the prospect of spending time in London should have appealed to Lady Harriet. On the contrary, she did not want to leave her children at Borris and prayed regularly, as the diaries show that God would give her the strength to go and do her duty while committing her home and children to the 'lord's care'.⁴³ She did spend some months in London following the election with her husband but was most unhappy.⁴⁴ What this shows is that while she was a committed traveller, she was unhappy to leave her children. The comforts of London did not hold the same interest as climbing a snow-covered mountain in Switzerland. When the opportunity arose she was more than happy however to travel through Europe with her family.

Lady Harriet viewed travel as a means of education and development of character. This is displayed when she was confronted with how to deal with her son Arthur, as he expressed clearly that he wished to go out in the world and make his mark. She as usual took the initiative. In a letter to a friend she wrote,

*Arthur is so full of energy and life that he will only wither away if he stays indefinitely in Borris. The sole answer is for him to travel as far afield as possible and to continue his education while doing so, not merely by diligent study, but by the special opportunities of observation and reflection which foreign travel will give him.*⁴⁵

It is clear that she valued travel and saw it not only as recreation, but also as character building and self-development that conventional study could not give. It is also clear that she at first wished to see her children receive a proper education before embarking on travel. This can be seen from letters written by Arthur to his mother who was abroad with his elder brothers.⁴⁶ As soon as Arthur was old enough he was taken to St Germain-en-Laye to learn French and later to Rome.⁴⁷ She also seemed anxious to inform herself of travel on the continent. Her name can be found as

a subscriber to *Letters from the bye-ways of Italy*, in 1845.⁴⁸ This was a book of letters from people who had travelled and toured Italy at the time. It is obvious that Lady Kavanagh had a great interest in travel and Italy was certainly a favourite of hers. Indeed at this stage she could quite easily have been a contributor, rather than a subscriber to the book. She travelled frequently to Florence and Rome following her husband's death in 1837.⁴⁹ Again in 1846 she took Arthur to Florence and then on to Rome for an intensely happy stay.⁵⁰ The freedom to travel was an opportunity she took enthusiastically.

There were no journals available in the archives that tell of her journeys to Corfu. There is no doubt that she did travel there however, perhaps when the children were at school. It was probably soon after her husband died, as an article by Nellie O Cleirigh states, that before the great famine Lady Kavanagh brought back specimens of lace from Corfu.⁵¹ She used this lace as a prototype to set-up a lace industry in Borris. She designed her own lace based on the sample she had brought from Corfu and also later samples that she brought back from Milan, Venice and Genoa.⁵² She employed about twenty women in Borris who were in need of money and taught them to make the lace herself. It was still going in 1907 as reports indicate that fourteen workers were still employed in its production. By 1960 the workers were down to three and there are no more records further than that. There are still some samples in the ownership of the Kavanaghs of Borris and also a sample in the National Museum of Ireland.⁵³

The first trip recorded in the Belfast diary was through Europe and commenced in September 1835 with her husband Thomas and his two daughters and son from his first marriage. It consisted of travelling through England, France, Switzerland and down through Italy. They stopped at such towns and cities as London, Paris, Basel, Trent, Milan, Parma, Florence, Rome, Naples and Turin.⁵⁴ They visited churches, palaces, cathedrals, ruins, and galleries along the way. They also saw such sites as Pompeii and Mount Vesuvius which had erupted just three years earlier and was still emitting smoke in March 1836 when the Kavanaghs visited.⁵⁵ In Milan they stopped to see the Last Supper by Leonardo da Vinci.⁵⁶ Lady Kavanagh comments that things

immediately felt different away from Ireland. The stress of the election is very evident in her diaries and she seemed glad to get away. Her husband was suffering badly with gout and she was also concerned about him. Italy was in turmoil at the time and the Kavanagh's seemed to have trouble negotiating safe passage from one region to another. Even with her husband for company it seemed to be Lady Harriet who organised these safe passages.⁵⁷ She also visited three Egyptian museums along the way that may have influenced another trip later on. She was delighted that her husband seemed to enjoy himself but at this stage he was being carried around due to problems with gout. At Mount Vesuvius, she had her husband hoisted in a chair up the mountain to see the volcano and to accompany her.⁵⁸ It is an interesting character trait that she chose to travel with her husband and her stepchildren. She seemed to enjoy spending time with them and spoke warmly of them in her diaries. In her diary before they set out on the trip, she appeals to God for help. This is a regular occurrence in her diaries and only during these 'conversations' with God does she reveal her innermost feelings. In this case she was appealing for help to enable her to be kind and affectionate and forgiving to her husband and his children.⁵⁹ It shows that despite her formidable exterior she was struggling with the fact that she had ten stepchildren to look after as well as her own four young children and it weighed heavily on her mind.

The second trip recorded in the Belfast diary is one carried out in 1839.⁶⁰ At this stage her husband Thomas had passed away in 1837 from effects of gout. Walter, the only son from Thomas' first marriage had also died suddenly in 1836.⁶¹ On the 1839 trip the company consisted of Lady Harriet and her mother, and Lady Harriet's children Arthur, Tom and Hoddy and her stepdaughters Susan and Grace. Again they travelled through England and this time across to Rotterdam. They travelled through Holland and Belgium and then on to Germany. They were now travelling through countries that Lady Harriet's father had helped create through negotiations at the congress of Vienna some twenty years previously. This was also an area that Lady Kavanagh had spent her youth in while her father was ambassador to the Netherlands. She indicates that her mind was in a very bad state during this trip and she was

troubled with very bad thoughts.⁶² She does not elaborate on this but only indicates that she was concerned about the boys. This could possibly be concern for her limbless son and his future prospects or perhaps her other son Charles who was prone to what sounded like epileptic fits and never travelled on any of her trips.⁶³ At many points in this trip she appeals to God for help with her sinful thoughts but these are not clarified and no more is discovered about them. They move from Germany down through Switzerland and once again in to Italy. At every opportunity they stopped at any historical or archaeological site of interest. Again she seemed to enjoy the time spent with all the children and her mother. Both these trips were formidable journeys and were amazing considering the era and extent of the travel involved.

The diaries in the National Archives Dublin begin with the journey to Egypt and on to the Holy Land commencing in 1846. This was a trip that Lady Harriet had long wished for.⁶⁴ The expedition was to travel via Marseilles to Alexandria, on to Cairo and up the Nile River and then to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. It was an astoundingly ambitious plan for any adventurer. To attempt this with three children, one of them limbless, was even more staggering. Charles the second son again did not accompany them on the trip. This was going to be a tough trip from a physical point of view but also from other aspects, such as language, accommodation, border crossing and weather variants. David Murphy in his book *The Arctic Fox Francis Leopold McClintock*, described how prior to Lady Kavanagh's crossing of the Sinai Desert in 36 days, it would have been considered preposterous to imagine any adventurer attempting such a thing, never mind with young children in tow.⁶⁵ It is these feats that make Lady Kavanagh so amazing. At no time in her diaries did she consider what she was doing anything out of the ordinary. Crossing the Sinai was just another part of a trip that had to be planned and prepared for. A good example of this occurred half way across the Sinai Desert, when she herself collapsed after a particularly gruelling day's ride on a camel. She describes herself as *deadly sick- had to be lifted to bed, next day only dislike I felt for stopping made me go on*. After attempting to continue by camel she got sick from the motion of riding so she proceeded herself by

foot, leading the camel. After two hours walk she felt better and climbed back on the camel again.⁶⁶ There was no self-pity and no self-analysis. It was completely matter of fact and as far as she was concerned and all part of the travails of travel.

There are many aspects of her character that shine through during this trip. Her complete refusal to be deterred from her journey is almost comical at certain points. During the trip up the Nile, the boat that she was travelling on became infested with rats. To overcome the problem she pulled the boats in to a little town, walked into the centre and bought some cats, which she believed would rid her of the rats. They were not very successful and she mentions that at night the rats were very loud and she had trouble sleeping. She then decided as no other boats were available, to sink the boat and, after presumably the rats had drowned or exited, to re-float it. This was carried out and after the decks were cleaned and scrubbed she again continued on her journey.⁶⁷ At Wady El Sheik in Egypt they stopped at a convent where monks put them up for a couple of days. One of the young monks, who apparently was having difficulties with his calling, pleads with her to be allowed to join their caravan. She exclaims, "what could I do with a Greek monk, I declined the offer".⁶⁸ At Akabar, the governor, who later returns and tries to extort money for his gifts, presented her with a sheep and a tame gazelle. He fails to intimidate her and she declares herself most unimpressed with his attitude. Her strength of character during this trip is clearly revealed but there are also negative sides to her, which emerge.

This trip took place between October 1846 and May 1848. During that time Ireland suffered the worst effects of the famine. She did receive news from back home, which informed her of the devastation in Ireland.⁶⁹ She did not choose to return. It is impossible to accurately predict what response her husband Thomas would have had to such news. However he did seem to have stronger ties to his tenants than Lady Harriet or her son Thomas, who took over the estate for a short time, ever had. Her son Arthur who later took on the running of the estate would also seem to have had a bond with his tenants and it is difficult to believe that he or his father would have chosen to stay away. To Lady Kavanagh's credit, she

did write to Doyne, her agent, and ask that he give more aid.⁷¹ She did seem genuinely concerned for the tenants, but seemed bewildered as to how a famine could be taking place at all. She is also criticised in many of the books for not returning on hearing of the death of her mother during the trip. This criticism is somewhat unfair. Lady Harriet writes of receiving many letters during the trip telling of how her mother was sick and poorly.⁷² She also however received just as many letters telling how she was improving and getting better.⁷³ When she finally got the letter telling of her mother's demise she was completely devastated with the news. Her mother died in December 1847 but news only reached Lady Harriet in early 1848. She was back home in May 1848, which under the prevalent travelling circumstances was a relatively speedy return.

There is one other trip recorded in the National Archive diary. This was to Albania and was carried out in 1850. She travelled this time with her daughter Hoddy, two of her stepdaughters; and two male companions.⁷⁴ These may have been friends of her daughter or her stepdaughters, it is not confirmed. Although the area seemed to be quite dangerous she recounts setting out early one morning on her own up hills to get a view of the surrounding district.⁷⁵ She seemed completely oblivious to the dangers that surrounded her on all her trips. She records during this trip that the men carried pistols due to potential danger of robbery. During the trip one of the men, a Mr. Penroch, accidentally shot himself in the leg with a pistol. She immediately puts him on a donkey and sends him back to the nearest town to be looked after. Within three sentences she was describing how beautiful the scenery was.⁷⁶ This type of incident occurred on the Egyptian trip also. M. Wood the boys' tutor developed dysentery in Egypt, and almost dead, they send him back by steamer to Cairo.⁷⁷ There was never a suggestion of stopping the trip regardless of the incidents that occurred. She enjoyed Albania greatly describing it, "of great historical interest – left great impression on my mind".

Lady Harriet has been characterised as cold and uncaring in some accounts and in

particular her decision to send her sons, Tom and Arthur with their tutor M Wood on the epic trip starting in Kingstown, passing through Norway, Sweden, Russia, Persia, and India.⁷⁸ This trip was effectively an exile for Arthur who was associating with girls of whom his mother did not approve. This trip led to the death of her son Tom and also the death of Rev. Wood. Arthur her other son barely survived.⁷⁹ She would certainly have known of the dangers of travel, having carried out many arduous journeys herself. If these deaths had not occurred it would no doubt be seen as character defining and a positive decision. Some see her treatment of her cripple son as cold and uncaring. Lady Kavanagh sharply rebuked anyone who pampered Arthur and insisted that neither she nor others in the house were to regard her son as a hopeless cripple doomed to perpetual misery.⁸⁰ She is the one that always takes the initiative during the travels. It is Lady Harriet who organises the hiring of boats, the payment of bills; the decisions of the journey were made by her alone. She did not tolerate nonsense by either her own entourage or by anybody she encountered. She was not easily impressed and was more inclined to be enchanted with beautiful architecture than with beautiful people. She certainly does not come across as cold or uncaring in her diaries. She does come across as determined and unbending.

She was also a woman of contradictions. She was a devout Protestant and rigidly observed Sunday as the Lord's day on her travels.⁸¹ She loved a good sermon and throughout the journeys she would extol or disparage the local preacher for his efforts.⁸² Despite this devoutness she had built a chapel in Ballyragget in Kilkenny but refused to consecrate it, declaring "if anyone has anything good to say, let him come and say it here". It was used by all denominations in the area.⁸³ She also was an advocate of temperance tents at many of the markets and fairs in the area of Carlow.⁸⁴ Yet on her trip in 1835 she describes how her carriage broke and although delayed for two hours that she dined well and the champagne was good. In another instance on the same trip, she went looking for her husband Thomas in Paris but "found the Tuileries Gardens – had veno till bedtime".⁸⁵ Although she banished her son Arthur for liaisons with girls, she was an enthusiastic harem visitor on her trips.⁸⁶ She was a fascinating character, complex

and difficult at times. She was also kind hearted and generous and despite many difficulties in her life she approached every day with such enthusiasm that it is hard not to admire her. An example of her generosity is how she looked after her stepchildren even after the death of her husband. It would have been easy to send them away to school and not look after them personally. She choose instead to take them with her on her travels and treated them as her own children. Travel was one large part in her life but there are many other aspects that could be examined and maybe in time they will. She died in July 1885 in Ballyragget and was brought back to Borris House, the old home, for one night on her journey to St. Mullins where she was interred in the family vault.

¹ Donald McCormick, *The Incredible Mr Kavanagh* (London, 1960).

² Kenneth Kavanagh, *Born without limbs a biography of achievement* (Exeter, Great Briton, 1989), Author's Note.

³ McCormick, *The Incredible Mr Kavanagh*, p.18.

⁴ Diary of Lady Harriet Kavanagh, Borris, County Carlow, which makes a number of references to the elections in County Carlow, c1835-1839 (PRONI, D/3235, 3617), (hereafter referred to as Belfast Diary).

⁵ Sir Bernard Burke, *A genealogical history of the dormant, abeyant, forfeited and extinct peerages of the British empire*. (London, 1866), p. 303.

⁶ McCormick, *The incredible Mr. Kavanagh*, p.59.

⁷ Journal on loose leaves of a tour to the Middle East, including Palestine by Lady Harriet Kavanagh, Oct 1846-6th May 1847 (NLI, Kavanagh Papers, N.6315, P.7156), (hereafter referred to as NLI Dublin Diary).

⁸ Nellie O'Cleirigh, 'Borris Lace', in *Irish Arts Review*, x (1994), pp. 140-142.

⁹ David Cohen, *Kavanagh MP an inspirational story* (London, 2005)

¹⁰ Ibid, p.3.

¹¹ Burke, *A genealogical history British empire*, p. 303; McCormick, *The Incredible Mr Kavanagh*, p. 14, ; Kavanagh, *Born without limbs*, p.1. ; P J Kavanagh, 'Thomas Kavanagh M.P., 1767-1837 and his Political Contemporaries', in *Carloviana*. (1978), pp 4-6. ; Sarah Steele, *The right honourable Arthur MacMurrough Kavanagh* (London, 1891), p.5. ; James Hughes, 'The fall of the clan Kavanagh', in

The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland, Fourth Series, ii, no. 2 (1873), pp. 282-305.

¹² Sarah Steele, *The right honourable Arthur MacMurrough Kavanagh* (London, 1891).

¹³ Kenneth Kavanagh, *Born without limbs a biography of achievement* (Exeter, Great Briton, 1989).

¹⁴ Donald McCormick, *The Incredible Mr Kavanagh* (London, 1960).

¹⁵ Kavanagh, *Born without limbs*, p. 18.

¹⁶ McCormick, *The Incredible Mr Kavanagh*, p.59 ; Belfast Diary.

¹⁷ Belfast Diary; NLI Dublin Diary.

¹⁸ Belfast Diary.

¹⁹ Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour*, pp 289-96.

²⁰ McCormick, *The Incredible Mr Kavanagh*, p.59, p.36, p.83.

²¹ thepeerage.com, A genealogical survey

of the peerage of Britain as well as the royal families of Europe, person page 4867, available at

<http://thepeerage.com/p4867.htm> - i48663

; Kavanagh, *Born without limbs*, pp5-6.

Accessed on 21st April 2010.

²² Kavanagh, *Born without Limbs*, p.6.

²³ Aideen Ireland, 'Clancarthy Correspondence 1785-1861', in *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, xlvi (Galway, 1994), pp. 197- 202

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ McCormick, *The Incredible Mr Kavanagh*, p.14, p.36. ; Burke, *A genealogical history British empire*, p.303. ; Kavanagh, *Born without Limbs*, p.7. ; Hughes, 'The fall of the clan Kavanagh', pp. 282-305.

²⁶ Dolan, *Ladies of the grand tour*, pp 76-77.

²⁷ Kavanagh, *Born without Limbs*, p.1. ; McCormick, *The Incredible Mr Kavanagh*, pp 13-16.

²⁸ Belfast Diary, June 22nd.

²⁹ Dolan, *Ladies of the grand tour*, pp 57-66.

³⁰ Belfast Diary.

³¹ Dolan, *Ladies of the grand tour*, pp 15-201.

³² Belfast Diary; NLI Dublin Diary. There are many so many instances of Lady Harriet visiting historical and archaeological sites on all four trips that it would take up too much room to reference them all here.

³³ Kilkenny Archaeological Society, Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society for the year 1852, ii, (Dublin, 1853), p.3 ; *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, iii (Dublin, 1856), p.3.

- ³⁴ NLI Dublin Diary, Egypt Pyramids Feb 11th 1846; Egypt Palace at Valetta Oct 20th 1845; Belfast Diary, Switzerland-Trent, site where council of Trent occurred Oct 12th 1835, Italy Milan Palace Nov 17th 1835; Just some of the many example available throughout these diaries.
- ³⁵ Belfast Diary, The Devils Bridge on St. Gotthard Mountain in Switzerland, Oct 13th 1835.
- ³⁶ NLI Dublin Diary, Oct-Nov 1846.
- ³⁷ Kavanagh, *Born without limbs*, pp 19-20.
- ³⁸ Ireland, Clancarthy Correspondence, pp 197-202.
- ³⁹ Belfast Diary, July 2nd–Sept 10th 1835. ; Kavanagh, *Born without limbs*, pp 15-16.
- ⁴⁰ Belfast Diary, July 10th 1835 ; Kavanagh, *Born without limbs*, p.15.
- ⁴¹ Elizebeth Malcolm, 'The Reign of Terror in Carlow': The Politics of Policing Ireland in the Late 1830s', in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxii, no. 125 (May, 2000), p. 65; Kavanagh, *Born without limbs*, p.15.
- ⁴² Belfast Diary, Lady Harriet Kavanagh prays, *Thou knowest all the sinful vain thoughts which fill my heart" also "many sinful thoughts to confess, my heart remains cold and dead and my affection and thoughts and anxiety are all conquered by the world oh lord.* July 1835
- ⁴³ Belfast Diary, Lady Harriet Kavanagh, *If duty calls me to London may we go trusting all our concerns to thee* Aug 3rd 1835. ; *As leaving home approaches I find now need for prayers to enable us cheerfully to acquiesce in gods will that we should go,* July 4th 1835.
- ⁴⁴ Belfast Diary, Lady Harriet Kavanagh, *2 months spent in London.....Returned home last April 24th found all my children ill but soon saw them recover* 1835.
- ⁴⁵ Donald McCormick, *The Incredible Mr Kavanagh*, p. 59.
- ⁴⁶ Kavanagh, *Born without limbs*, p. 25. ; McCormick, *The Incredible Mr Kavanagh*, pp 39-43.
- ⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 59.
- ⁴⁸ Henry Stisted, *Letters from the bye-ways of Italy* (London, 1845), p. vii.
- ⁴⁹ Kavanagh, *Born without limbs*, p.20.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid, p.34.
- ⁵¹ Nellie O'Cleirigh, 'Borris Lace', in *Irish Arts Review*, vol. 10 (1994), pp 140-142.
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- ⁵³ O'Cleirigh, 'Borris Lace', pp 140-142.
- ⁵⁴ Belfast Diary.
- ⁵⁵ Ibid, March 15th – 25th March 1836.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid October 26th 1835.
- ⁵⁷ Ibid, Milan, October 26th 1835. ;Modena, November 2nd 1835.
- ⁵⁸ Ibid, *WK in a chair was hoisted on six mens shoulders, so we commenced ascending, first by bad roads then over fields of lava* 24th March 1836.
- ⁵⁹ Ibid, *Lord keep my head on this thy holy day from being conquered in worldly concern,* 12th July 1835. ; *my husbands children are returned, I make new to them oh lord as I ought to be kind affectionate, and forgiving* June 22nd 1835.
- ⁶⁰ Belfast Diary.
- ⁶¹ Kavanagh, *Born without limbs*, p. 16.
- ⁶² Belfast Diary, July 3rd 1839.
- ⁶³ The Zoist: a journal of cerebral physiology & mesmerism and their application to human welfare, Letter by Lady Harriet Kavanagh concerning her sons health issues also letter by Charles Kavanagh's doctor Falconer Miles, (London, 1855), pp 211-2.
- ⁶⁴ McCormick, *The Incredible Mr Kavanagh*, p.59.
- ⁶⁵ David Murphy, *The Artic Fox Francis Leopold McClintock* (Cork, 2004) p viii.
- ⁶⁶ NLI Dublin Diary, March 1st 1846.
- ⁶⁷ NLI Dublin Diary, Lady Harriet Kavanagh, *The rats had become so exceedingly troublesome that it had become necessary to get rid of them – to sink our boat. We began early to make preparations for the operation. Took breakfast on shore – afterwards mounted donkeys and horses rode through Luxor,* Dec 12th 1845.
- ⁶⁸ NLI Dublin Diary, Lady Harriet Kavanagh, 6th March 1846.
- ⁶⁹ Ibid, March 15th 1846.
- ⁷⁰ Ibid, Feb 15th 1846, Feb 22nd 1846.
- ⁷¹ Ibid, Feb 22nd 1846.
- ⁷² Ibid, Feb 15th 1846.
- ⁷³ Ibid Nov 6th 1846.
- ⁷⁴ Ibid, 2nd June – 16th June 1850.
- ⁷⁵ Ibid, June 8th 1850.
- ⁷⁶ Ibid, June 5th 1850.
- ⁷⁷ Ibid Nov 24th – Dec 8th 1845.
- ⁷⁸ Kavanagh, *Born without limbs*, p.49. ; McCormick, *The Incredible Mr Kavanagh*, p.80.
- ⁷⁹ McCormick, *The Incredible Mr Kavanagh*, pp 85-150. ; Kavanagh, *Born without limbs*, pp 50-72.
- ⁸⁰ McCormick, *The Incredible Mr Kavanagh*, p.32.
- ⁸¹ Belfast Diary, Oct 25th, Nov 1st, Nov 8th, 1835.
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- ⁸³ McCormick, *The Incredible Mr Kavanagh*, p.13.
- ⁸⁴ Elizabeth Malcolm, *Ireland sober, Ireland free: drink and temperance in nineteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 1986), p. 78.
- ⁸⁵ Belfast Diary, Sept 23rd, Oct 3rd 1835.
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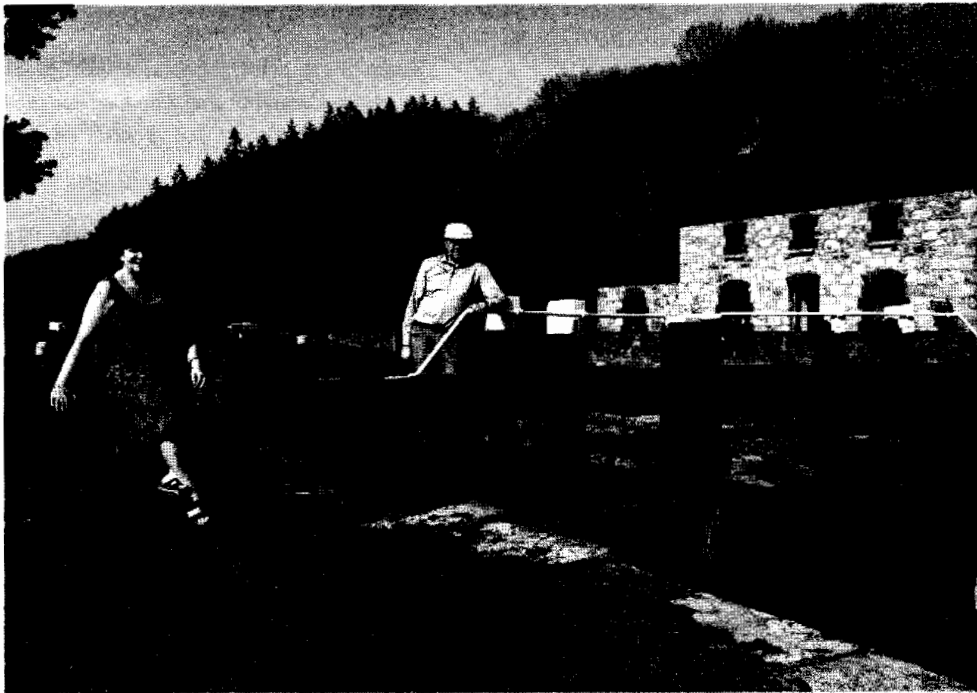
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The Year of the Barrow in photographs

This is a photo of
our original home
where our family grew
up. It has meant alot
to us and is still in
our family to-day.
Lorray Butler & Family
live here.

Anne Butler

[Signature]

MOTHER CECILIA MAHER AND THE ST. LEO'S MISSION TO NEW ZEALAND

Marcienne D. Kirk RSM

"No one could undertake such a journey but for God"

So wrote Mother Cecilia Maher to her Sisters at St. Leo's Convent, Carlow, after her arrival in Auckland, New Zealand, 9 April, 1850. It was a journey undertaken at the request of Bishop Jean Baptiste Pompallier, Vicar Apostolic of Oceania. He had worked as a missionary for some years in New Zealand and came to St. Leo's asking for Sisters to help him evangelise his Maori people. The community at St. Leo's Convent received him graciously and in response to his plea spent time in prayer and reflection, and like their Superior, Mother Cecilia Maher, all were very impressed by the noble bishop.

WHO WAS MOTHER CECILIA MAHER?

Ellen Maher was born in Freshford, Co. Kilkenny in September 1799. Her father, John Maher, was a prosperous farmer of the district. Her mother, Alicia or Adelaide, died young and there is little information about her.

Early in life Ellen felt God's call to be a religious Sister, but she remained with her father after her mother's death. When John Maher remarried Ellen sacrificed any longings in order to help bring up the five children of this marriage, so that she was 39 years old by the time she felt free to enter Religion. Her family loved her deeply, especially as their mother was extremely strict with them. Later her sister, Jane, who became Sister M. Pauline, described Ellen as a mother to them. (Four of her step-sisters later became Sisters of Mercy: Fanny and Jane went to America: Ellen and her half-sister Eliza entered St. Leo's Convent of Mercy, Carlow, on September 8, 1838.) The Superior and Novice Mistress there was Mother Frances Xavier Warde, their cousin; she was to have a strong influence on Cecilia especially in her spiritual formation. Mother Frances was probably the person closest to Mother Catherine McAuley, Foundress of the Sisters of Mercy, and is clearly the link between Mother Catherine and Ellen Maher.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

Ellen Maher, now Sister Mary Cecilia, took her religious vows on 8 January 1840, and such was her maturity – she was 41 years old – that Mother Frances appointed her Novice Mistress in 1842, and in the following year Cecilia



*Mother Mary Cecilia Maher, 1799 - 1878
Foundress of the Sisters of Mercy, Auckland. 9 April 1850
Courtesy Mercy Missions*

succeeded Frances as Superior of the Carlow Community. While in this office Mother Cecilia led a foundation in Cheadle, a small town in Staffordshire, but she did not stay there long. After having been approached by Bishop Pompallier Cecilia had felt a call to go on this mission.

After much prayer and consideration she volunteered. At first she encountered the opposition of both Bishop Haly and her community; but both were overcome and Cecilia with six others formed the group to leave Carlow on 8 August 1849. They were joined by a postulant in Dublin and another in Sydney, so that nine Sisters of Mercy eventually arrived in Auckland in April 1850. Their epic voyage on the ship "Oceanie" is described in the diary kept by Sister Philomena Dwyer. She recorded the times of danger and hardship as the little sailing ship encountered storms on the eight months' journey. Lying in her uncomfortably pitching bunk one night, Sister Philomena clutched her rosary: "I was determined that if a shark should eat me, he should eat my beads too!"

EARLY BEGINNINGS

Pompallier's appeal to the Sisters of Mercy had been very much on behalf of the Maori people of his diocese, and from the first, Mother Cecilia and her Sisters related well to them, especially as some of the Sisters could speak Maori, which Pompallier had taught them on the voyage out.

European settlers were also numerous and the Sisters entered immediately into teaching, religious instruction, caring for orphans and visitation of the sick and prisoners. In the years that followed Mother Cecilia took a full part in all of these, as well as holding the offices of Superior and Novice Mistress for much of the time. She was kind, compassionate and firm, leading the way herself and never asking of others what she had not herself undertaken. In terms of the times she was an elderly woman when she came to Auckland, but she laboured as consistently as the younger members until her health started to decline. She had the ability to inspire others to carry out enterprises of great difficulty and personal challenge. She was a good businesswoman and enjoyed good relationships with the officials of the colony, as well as most of the clerics. She was responsible, as time went on, for the building of St. Mary's Convent in Ponsonby, to be the Mother House of the

Sisters of Mercy in Auckland. She founded the school on the same site, St. Mary's College, sent out new branches, convents and schools to Parnell, Onehunga, Otahuhu and Thames, and began a tradition of cultural excellence in these schools, which had some influence in the development of the colony.

She established a refuge where Maori women could stay when they came to the city, and accepted Maori girls and orphans to live in the Convent. She frequently expressed her admiration for their intelligence, prayerfulness and courage and was full of hope that they would become fervent and dedicated to their faith. The outbreak of war in the 1860s drove most of the Maori away from the centres of European settlement, and the Sisters consequently had much less contact with them. At the same time their commitment to the European settlers steadily increased.

Mother Cecilia's relationships with the Sisters were characterised by great warmth and affection. Her heart was wrung by the early deaths of so many of them and by the frailty of others. She nursed them herself and stayed at their bedside until death claimed them. She could be firm and demanding of her young companions, but never harsh or condemnatory. She helped them make the most of the poor little Convents they lived in, of the hard unrelenting works they undertook, and never ceased to raise their spirits by her own example and by the reminder of why they were Sisters of Mercy. Often there were few resources, either of personnel or finance, but she maintained an extraordinary level of faith in God, a cheerfulness and optimism that are remarkable.

Her relationships with Bishop Pompallier and his successor Bishop Croke were professional yet warm. Both appreciated her talents and respected her as a leader, who could yet be guided by the expertise of others. She missed Pompallier deeply after his resignation in 1869, but she accepted Croke with sincere good will and his letters to her, like Pompallier's, reveal bonds of true and mutual respect.

LEADERSHIP IN THE CONGREGATION

As a superior, Mother Cecilia was the chief decision-maker for the Auckland Congregation. She was in office from 1850 to 1867, and again from 1870 to 1877. This long stretch of office was not her choice but was virtually forced on her by the paucity of experienced professed Sisters and by the chronic illness of Philomena Dwyer, who had been designated as Cecilia's assistant and eventual successor. Two others who could have taken the Superiorship successfully were Sister Gertrude Casey and Mother Bernard Dickson. Gertrude was highly efficient as a Bursar but suffered from excruciating headaches, so was not under consideration as a Superior. Bernard Dickson, who came to Auckland in 1857, was sent three years later to begin a Mercy foundation in Wellington, and did not return to Auckland until 1876. The young Sister who held office from 1867 to 1870 was Mother Joseph Grey. Under the circumstances Mother Cecilia Maher remained the constant, formative element in the Congregation, but her letters reveal that she would have most willingly relinquished her position.

Mother Cecilia's health declined noticeably during her last term of office. She became very stooped and her eyesight



Bishop J.B. Pompallier (now Bishop of Auckland) Photographed about 1863. ANZ

Courtesy Mercy Missions

began to fail. Her final illness was aggravated by her determination not to disappoint the Sisters and children by failing to appear at an end of school year pageant. She enjoyed the production but caught a severe chill, which led to her death. On 25 November 1878 she died in St. Mary's Convent community room surrounded by her Sisters, most of them her spiritual "children". "Each of us," writes Borgia Tyrell, one of her former novices, "had the happiness of receiving a parting word of advice."

In a letter Cecilia wrote to her community at Carlow before she left for New Zealand she had said, "Though separated entirely, our hearts will be united, and after this dream of life we shall, please God, meet – from Pittsburg, Ireland, New Zealand – we shall be together, please God, in Heaven."

Mother Cecilia's "dream of life" ended far from her Irish home, but she fulfilled a greater dream; in her life and works in Auckland she had made a major contribution to the development of her adopted country, to the universal Church, and to her beloved Congregation of the Sisters of Mercy.

[Sister Marcienne D. Kirk is the Archivist in charge of the Mercy Archives at St. Mary's Convent, Ponsonby, Auckland, and the author of "Remembering Your Mercy – Mother Mary Cecilia Maher & the First Sisters of Mercy in New Zealand 1850-1880." (Sisters of Mercy, Auckland, 1998)].

The Prehistoric Landscape of County Carlow

Deirdre Kearney

Summary

This is a report outlining prehistory in County Carlow. It will give an overview of prehistoric activity throughout the county from the Mesolithic to the Iron Age. Archaeology is often viewed as individual monuments within a landscape but the objective of this article is to show the wealth of the archaeological resource within the county and demonstrate that archaeology is not confined to visible monuments and can be viewed in an overall landscape context.

Introduction

Prehistory is the period before recorded history in which there is no written account about the daily life or development of a particular group of people. In Ireland the prehistoric period spans 8,000-10,000 years. This is a significant period of time which sees the development of cultures, technology and beliefs. Due to the large time scale involved prehistory is divided into three eras; the Stone Age, the Bronze Age and the Iron Age which are in turn sub-divided again:

The Stone Age is sub-divided into:

- Palaeolithic (Old Stone)
- Mesolithic (Middle Stone)
- Neolithic (New Stone)

The Bronze Age is sub-divided into:

- Early Bronze Age
- Middle Bronze Age
- Late Bronze¹

The Iron Age succeeds the Bronze Age which in turn is succeeded by the Early Medieval period, the beginning of the historic era and the written record.

By the close examination of a landscape it is possible to see the lives, work, culture and rituals of thousands of years of civilisation. All across the country there are many examples of how past peoples and cultures have shaped and changed the landscape they have lived in and County Carlow is no different. In this report I am going to look at the different stages of prehistory in Ireland and how each of these stages impacted on the landscape of the county.

From the earliest settlers of the Mesolithic period with their hunting and gathering along the Barrow, Burren and Slaney Valleys - the landscape has not been altered in any

significant way. They have however left behind small traces of their existence which continued into the Neolithic and the era of the first farmers. This period shows the first settlements, land clearance and the construction of megalithic tombs that now make such an impact on the modern landscape. With the transition of the Stone Age into the Bronze Age there is a significant development in the manufacture of tools, weapons and jewellery. This can be followed in the archival and artefact record of both the Carlow County Museum and the National Museum of Ireland both with specific emphasis on County Carlow. The Bronze Age also saw the development of a new kind of burial tradition, which may not have had such a visual impact as the megalithic tombs of the Neolithic in the landscape but are in their own right impressive. While the burial rituals of the Bronze Age became less visual, other ritual monuments began to appear in the landscape that were just as impressive; stone circles and standing stones. The impact of the Bronze Age on today's landscape can also be seen in the prolific number of burnt mound (or fulachta fia) sites around the county that have been dated to this period.

Finally the Iron Age; the last period of prehistory. The visual impact on the landscape between this and the previous periods is almost indistinguishable with only a gradual change in metal working processes. There are many hilltop forts that may have been built during the Bronze Age and used into the Iron Age or built in the Iron Age and used into the Early Medieval Period. Whether or not the Iron Age sites are a continued use of Bronze Age sites or are specific to the Iron Age it is important to view them as vital sites in the struggle for dominance in a time when society was changing dramatically as we moved into the Early Medieval Period, out of prehistory and into history.

County Carlow

County Carlow is the second smallest county in Ireland. It covers 896 sq. km which is 1.25% of the total area of the state². It is situated in the south-east of Ireland and is an inland county, bounded on the south and south-east by Co. Wexford, on the east and north-east by Co. Wicklow, on

the north by Co Kildare and on the west by Counties Kilkenny and Laois. The principal towns within the county are Carlow, Leighlinbridge, Muine Bheag and Borris, which are situated on the banks of the River Barrow and Tullow which is on the banks of the River Slaney. Smaller communities include Rathvilly, Clonegal, Kildavin, Fennagh, Myshall, Old Leighlin and Saint Mullins³.

Topographically the county is divided into five main physiographic regions:

1. Barrow Valley: low-lying region-flattish topography. This area occurs on both sides of the River Barrow and extends from the Kildare boundary in the north down as far as Goresbridge.
2. Intermediate Region: undulating to rolling topography. Almost the entire portion of the county has these landscape features.
3. Nurney Ridge: rolling topography. This relatively elevated ridge runs in a north by north-easterly direction through the centre of the county.
4. Castlecomer Plateau: undulating topography with some moderately steep slopes. This area occurs in the extreme west of the county. The topography varies from undulating on top of the plateau to moderately steep on the eastern slopes.
5. Elevated Region: The Blackstairs Mountains-moderately to steep sloping topography. This area occurs in the south-east of the county and is characterised by considerable elevations such as Mount Leinster (2,610 ft), Blackstairs (1,499 ft), Knockroe (1,777 ft) and Kilbrannish (1,338 ft)⁴.

The geology of the county is comprised mainly of granite, but other important formations are also represented giving a varied landscape. The granite forms steep mountains, cut through by several deep narrow valleys in the south of the county but in the north it forms a low-lying rolling plain. The solid rock formations are all of Palaeozoic Age and as such are old in geological time. These geological formations are for the most part overlain by a drift mantle comprised mainly of deposits of the Great Ice Age⁵. Most of the important soils of the county are derived from these deposits and not from the solid geological formations. During the Ice Age, which embraces the last million years of the Earth's history, Ireland was overrun by a succession of vast ice-sheets. Evidence of the route of the invading ice is seen in the north-south ice scratches on the bedrock formations of the Castlecomer Plateau and in the boulders borne southwards from County Kildare⁶. The softer rocks of the Castlecomer Plateau were incorporated into the ice so that here the glacial till is composed of local shales and sandstone with only a little limestone. On the east side of Carlow a glacier filling the Clody Valley dammed the melt-waters from the Derry glacier, the only one of the more extensive glaciers descending from the Wicklow Mountains to penetrate the Carlow boundary at Kiltegan, depositing thick terraces of granite and schist outwash along the Derreen River, north of Hacketstown⁷. The post-glacial period finally set in shortly before 8,000 B.C. and most of the fertile soils of County Carlow are derived from glacial deposits⁸.

The topography, geology and soil patterns of the county are varied due to the location of the two main rivers in the county and glacial activity over an extended period of time. Each of these factors contributes to the settlement and ritual practices of prehistoric civilisations.

Prehistoric Carlow

There has been no discovery of Palaeolithic activity in Ireland. When the Palaeolithic period was progressing in Great Britain and Europe Ireland was still in an Ice Age (the Midlandian Ice Age)⁹ and it was only when the glaciers began to retreat that people began to move across to Ireland either by boat or a possible land bridge. It wasn't until the end of the last Ice Age and the progression of sea-going vessels that Ireland became inhabited¹⁰. At this stage the Mesolithic had already begun throughout Europe.

Mesolithic

Ireland is thought to have been settled about 9000 years ago, during the Mesolithic period, which is defined, archaeologically, by the widespread use of small stone tools known as microliths¹¹. The Mesolithic people were hunter-gatherers, they lived off fish, game birds, wild pig, berries and nuts; at this time there were very few large mammals living in the woodlands of Ireland¹². Throughout the country there has been relatively little evidence of Mesolithic activity, with only a small number of actual sites known. The most famous of these sites are Mt. Sandel on the River Bann in Co. Derry and Lough Boora Co. Offaly. There are other smaller sites and these all date between 10,000 and 7,000 BC. The majority of known sites have been identified in the north-east with a few isolated sites across the remainder of the country¹³. This is because, generally, these are the only areas that have been investigated for Mesolithic activity.

This is changing and as far back as the early 1990s field walking studies have been carried out in the Barrow and Burrin Valleys. The Bally Lough Archaeological Project carried out the first of these surveys and up until 1990 concentrated on the lower reaches of the River Barrow and its estuary, Waterford Harbour. After 1990 the project was extended further north to include Carlow and up as far as Monasterevin¹⁴. An off-shoot of the Bally Lough Archaeological Project was the Burrin River Project carried out in 1990-1991 whose aim was to survey in detail a smaller tributary valley and map the distribution of surface scatter and therefore gain an insight into the overall patterns of prehistoric land use¹⁵. More than ten years later Thomas Kador (UCD) carried out a project titled 'Ireland's prehistoric communication networks: exploring the movements of the early prehistoric inhabitants of the Barrow Valley'¹⁶. The aim of this project was to extend on the Bally Lough Project to gain a better understanding of how people made and used the artefacts as part of their daily movement across the landscape.

The results of each of these projects have shown that there was significant Mesolithic activity along the Barrow and Burrin Valleys as seen in the collection of stone tools and flint scatters collected mainly by the Bally Lough Project and the Burrin River Project, some of which are believed to be 'imported' flint from Co. Antrim¹⁷. These projects and surveys have also raised the probability that the River

Barrow was used as a communication network and a means of trading as far back as the Mesolithic period¹⁸.

The end of the Mesolithic period and the beginning of the Neolithic period is identified by the change from a hunter-gatherer society to farming, which is believed to have happened about 4000 BC.

Neolithic

The Neolithic period in Ireland was a time of great change both socially and environmentally. The introduction of farming to Ireland is thought to have come from Great Britain and Europe at a time when sea levels were lower¹⁹. This transition from hunter-gatherer to farming brought about large scale changes to both the physical landscape and the socio-economic landscape of Ireland. The physical landscape witnessed land clearance for the purposes of tillage and construction of megalithic monuments; and the socio-economic landscape witnessed an increase of the type, size and production of stone tools, domestic equipment and growth of cereal grains²⁰.

Across Ireland there are four types of megalithic tombs: passage tombs, court tombs, portal tombs and wedge tombs and another type of burial is the Neolithic single burial. Only two types of these burials have been found in County Carlow; Portal Tombs and Neolithic single burials²¹.

The Neolithic period in Carlow has always been visible in the megalithic tombs scattered across the county. The visual impact of these monuments across the Carlow landscape is impressive and while there are eight known sites and four possible sites listed in the Recorded Monuments for County Carlow, the two most accessible and impressive sites are the Kernanstown or Brownseshill (CW 007-10) portal tomb and the Haroldstown portal tombs (CW 009-008)²².

These portal tombs belong to a group extending from Dublin to Waterford to the west of the Wicklow and



*West facing: Brownseshill Dolmen. CW 10-007.
Carlow County Museum Collection.*

Wexford mountains and may have belonged to a larger group within this area²³. This is significant in that portal tombs are concentrated in the northern part of the country

and this group and one other in Clare/Galway are the only other noteworthy groups²⁴. It is possible that there were many more portal tombs in the south-east but extensive farming over the last few thousand years has removed many of them, while in the north, especially in the north-west such extensive farming did not occur.

Another type of Neolithic burial is the Linkardstown-type cist. While this burial type does not have such a visual impact on the landscape as the portal tombs it is a very important burial type especially in the context of County Carlow. The Linkardstown-type cist (CW 012-017) was first discovered in 1944²⁵ and is named after the townland the first one was discovered in- Linkardstown, Co. Carlow. These burials usually consist of a large box-like stone cist set in the centre of a long low mound called a tumulus and contain a single disarticulated inhumation with grave goods²⁶. The Carlow Linkardstown cist was covered by a low mound. The cist had multiple side stones and two capstones and contained a disarticulated inhumation of an adult, sherds of three necked vessels and a polished stone axe. Only one other Linkardstown-type cist has been excavated in County Carlow.

Baunogenasraid (CW 008-03102) is a multi-phase burial mound with the first phase constructed in the Neolithic. Baunogenasraid (known locally as Baunoge) was first discovered in 1969 and excavations were carried out in 1972 and 1973 by Prof. Barry Raftery of U.C.D.²⁷. The cist was constructed with 6 large boulders; five granite, one limestone which formed the chamber. Inside the chamber were disarticulated remains of an individual, a decorated round-bottomed pot, a small perforated toggle-like object and a worked piece of animal bone, which had been pointed and polished. The chamber was covered with a circular cairn-like setting of stones and this was sealed by a mound of sods 2m high which created the tumulus²⁸.

While these two sites are the only two Linkardstown-type cist sites that have been discovered in County Carlow there are thirteen tumuli listed in the Archaeological Inventory of County Carlow which may contain Neolithic single burials²⁹. These burials are significant. Linkardstown-type cists have only been found in the south of the country and mainly in a north-east/south-west line from County Dublin to County Kilkenny. This may suggest a regional tradition of burial.

Until recently Neolithic burial tombs have been the only evidence of human activity from this period in County Carlow. It had always been assumed that with the construction of such large burial chambers that there must have been settlement in the vicinity but it had never been discovered.

In 2006 the NRA funded the construction of the Carlow by-pass and Headland Archaeology Ltd were contracted to carry out the archaeological excavations prior to the construction. During the excavations two Neolithic houses were discovered at Russellstown and Busherstown³⁰. Russellstown is located approximately 5km north-east of Carlow town and Busherstown is located 4km south of Russellstown. Both sites are located within 3.5km from the Kernanstown Portal Tomb and 5km from the

Baunogenasraid tumulus. It is very easy to imagine that the people who lived in these houses were involved in building either one or both of these two burial tombs.

The presence of a hearth, internal walls, hazelnut shells, cereal grains and sherds of pottery in these houses give certainty that these structures were domestically used³¹. The finds from the rest of the site as well as the finds from the actual houses date the sites quite accurately, such as a flint concave scraper, a granite hammerstone and a number of sherds of Early Neolithic Carinated Bowl pottery³².

Russellstown, unlike Busherstown, seems to have been a multi-phase site. It was first constructed in the Early Neolithic and then abandoned then re-used in the Later Neolithic/Early Bronze then again in the Bronze Age and later again in the Medieval period³³.

The evidence for farming in County Carlow is not as obvious as in other parts of Ireland, such as the Céide Fields in Mayo, but with the presence of the Neolithic burials and the two Neolithic houses in Russellstown and Busherstown it can be suggested that some degree of farming may have taken place³⁴.

Along with associated developments such as land clearance and introduction of domesticated animals, the once heavily forested landscape of County Carlow began to change dramatically. The Neolithic period was extensive and lasted a relatively long period, almost 2,000 years, and by the time it came to an end the landscape of Ireland had changed substantially from that of the Mesolithic.

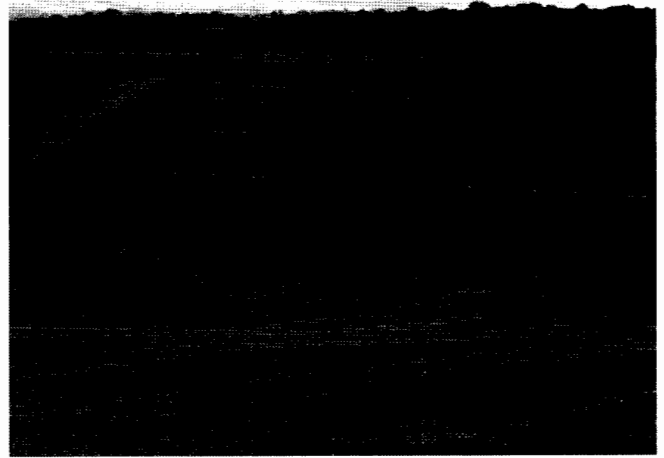
Early Bronze Age

The end of the Neolithic period and the beginning of the Bronze Age is defined by the introduction of metal objects. These objects seem to have been first introduced in the Late Neolithic and would most likely have been imported from Europe³⁵ and may have been seen as curiosities and not actually used. It's not until mining and actual production of these metal objects in Ireland that the Early Bronze Age is considered to have begun. The transition from the Neolithic into the Bronze Age was gradual and many of the practices from the Neolithic survived into the Early Bronze Age with some small additions, such as the construction of Wedge Tombs and the continuation of farming practices³⁶. The Wedge Tombs of the Neolithic can be differentiated from the Bronze Age by the addition of Beaker pottery and metal objects. Beaker pottery is thought to have been introduced by a group of people who have become known as the 'Beaker Folk'³⁷ who migrated from Europe and brought with them the knowledge of copper working.

There are Early Bronze Age sites recorded in Carlow prior to the excavations on the Carlow by-pass in 2006 but with these excavations many more sites have come to light. A combination of these previously known and recently discovered sites give a better overall view of Bronze Age activity in Carlow. There are the above mentioned sites from the Neolithic (Russellstown and Busherstown) that were re-used in this period; Baunogenasraid and Strawhall Early Bronze Age Cemetery (CW 002-004)³⁸. The construction of Wedge tombs seems to have never developed in Carlow, therefore the burial practices in the county of the Early Bronze Age peoples looks to have been a mixture of cist burials, cremation burials and flat

cemeteries, which can be seen at Baunogenasraid and Strawhall. Out of the ten Early Bronze Age burials in Baunogenasraid five were cremations and five were inhumations³⁹. Furthermore, during the excavations on the by-pass at Ballybannon five ring-barrows were uncovered some containing cremations⁴⁰. Scattered around the ring-ditches were more cremations, one with a complete pottery vessel and other cremations were found at Busherstown, Russellstown, Ballyhade, Moyle Big, Ballybar Upper and Ballybar Lower⁴¹.

Another significant prehistoric site in County Carlow is Ballon Hill (CW 013 065).

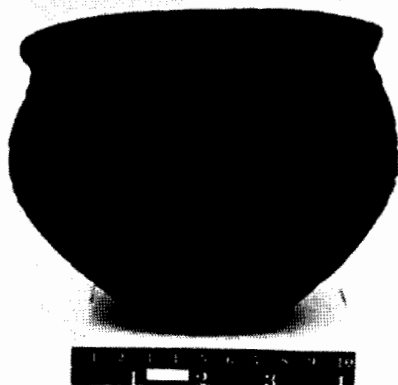


*Carlow County Museum Collection:
North-West View from the top of Ballon Hill*

This site is being included in the Early Bronze Age here but it is worth noting that Ballon Hill was most likely a multi-phase site starting in the Neolithic period and used continuously into the Late Bronze Age and possibly Iron Age. There has also been references made to the existence of earthworks and entrenchments which suggest there was a hilltop ringfort which would date to the Iron Age but there is now no visible trace of it⁴².

The level of damage done while quarrying prior to excavation and the excavations carried out by amateur archaeologists during the years 1853-1855 has resulted in the loss of extremely important information from the site. From the articles written in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* in 1853⁴³ and more recent publications it seems that the cemetery could have originally been a tumulus with a linkardstown-type cist. As with other burial sites of the Neolithic, it was re-used in the Bronze Age with cremation burials and crouched inhumations, many of which included grave goods⁴⁴. The list of finds from Ballon Hill includes highly decorated food vessels, cinerary urns, bronze axes, bronze spearheads and iron axes⁴⁵ some of which are now in the Carlow County Museum and the British Museum.

Many more food vessels and urns were destroyed before excavation and it is possible that many more finds never made it to the National Museum. An example of this is the package received by the Old Carlow Society in 1997. It was



*Pottery Bipartite Vase, Found at Ballon Hill ©
Trustees of the British Museum*

a presentation box containing a bronze spearhead and two polished stones from Ballon Hill discovered in 1853⁴⁶.

During the Bronze Age a new monument type began to appear: burnt mounds, known also as cooking sites or *Fulachta Fia*. These are large horse-shoe shaped mounds of burnt stone material and generally have a trough beneath them, sometimes wood or stone lined⁴⁷. These monuments are generally thought to have been cooking sites and are almost always located close to a water source or in a wetland area⁴⁸. The trough would be filled with water and hot stones thrown in to boil the water and then food cooked in the trough. Afterwards the burnt/cracked stones are thrown out and the trough re-used. After frequent re-use the mound of burnt stones can become considerable. There have been other theories forwarded for the use of these monuments; the most interesting, made by the Moore Group in Galway, is that these burnt mounds were the sites of the earliest breweries and were used to make a primitive form of wheat beer⁴⁹.

While many of these monuments have been destroyed through agricultural activity a large number have survived or the remains of them can still be found beneath the topsoil. In the Recorded Monuments of County Carlow there are 15 sites⁵⁰ listed but this number has grown considerably since the excavation of the Carlow By-pass in 2006.

Of the many burnt mounds excavated on the Carlow By-pass some were of notable interest. A burnt mound at Ballyburn Lower had a large funnel-shaped depression and a double ring of stake-holes along the slope⁵¹. This suggested that the site was roofed and gives evidence to another theory for the use of these monuments-that they were sweat houses or saunas⁵². A burnt mound site at Ballybar Lower had a sluice feature to regulate the water flow and it is thought to have been used in medieval times⁵³. Finally at Busherstown, in one quarter of the burnt mound there was also a large funnel-shaped depression, as at Ballyburn Lower. In the depression there was a wooden platform supported by wooden stakes, possibly for easy access to the water⁵⁴.

Another Early Bronze Age monument type visible in County Carlow are standing stones (monoliths). These monuments are difficult to date and their representation is

unclear but the general consensus is that they date to the Early Bronze Age⁵⁵. These monuments are stand alone and may have been associated with burial ritual or could simply be land markers⁵⁶. The standing stones in County Carlow haven't been excavated so it is impossible to give them an exact date. The locations of the majority of standing stones in Carlow are in lowland areas though at least four are found on the Blackstairs Mountains. The majority of the standing stones are granite and are standing upright on a granite underlay⁵⁷. The most visibly impressive standing stones in the county are the grooved standing stone in Ardristan (CW 013 013) and the pair of standing stones in Rathglass (CW 013 018)⁵⁸.

The presence of Rock Art in County Carlow is more evidence of prehistoric activity in the area. It possibly dates from the Neolithic, however it is generally thought to belong to the Bronze Age but it is impossible to definitively date these monuments⁵⁹. Many of them seem to be isolated in the landscape but as can be seen with the rock art discovered recently at Knockmore, Ballymurphy it is not always isolated. It is in sight of other rock art locations, Rathgeran (CW 023 013) and Crannagh (CW 023 027)⁶⁰. Chris Corlett of the National Monuments Section, Department of Heritage, Environment & Local Government, carried out a survey of rock art in South Leinster which shows that approximately half of the known rock art in the surveyed area is found in County Carlow⁶¹. There are nineteen examples listed in the Recorded Monuments of County Carlow with more found since the list has been updated. These monuments are enigmatic. Their function is unknown and it is difficult to make assumptions because many of the stones are no longer in their original locations, although at least eight of the rock art locations have commanding views of the landscape. It is thought that they formed a part of a sacred landscape high above the secular land below⁶².

The activity in the Early Bronze Age in County Carlow was prolific. The presence of numerous burial sites, houses, burnt mounds, standing stones and rock art illustrate an existence of a highly active society in the area.

Late Bronze Age

The Late Bronze Age is difficult to differentiate from the Early Bronze Age in terms of monuments and burials. The settlements changed from rectangular houses in the Neolithic/Early Bronze Age to round houses but the most significant difference is the development in metallurgy. As the Bronze Age progressed so did the skills of the metal workers and the quality of production and design of the metal tools and jewellery increased.

There has been four Bronze Age round houses found in Carlow during the excavations on the Carlow by-pass⁶³. Two were uncovered in Rathcroogue and two in Tinryland. These houses would have been wood structures and are represented in the archaeological record by stake and post holes in the ground⁶⁴. This evidence is only possible to see once the topsoil has been stripped and it is therefore possible that there are many more as yet undiscovered in Carlow.

The most important Bronze Age site in the area isn't in Carlow but Wicklow. Rathgall (WI 037-016)⁶⁵ is just on the border of Carlow and Wicklow, 3 miles east of Tullow, Co. Carlow. This multi-period site is an impressive multi-vallate ringfort and is a multi-period site having been in use from the Neolithic period and subsequently into the medieval and post-medieval periods. However its main period of use was in the middle-late Bronze Age⁶⁶. The Neolithic phase of Rathgall is unclear as most of the artefacts used to date the period were out of context because of the disturbance from the later periods of activity. However fine ceramic vessels, flint artefacts and ground stone axes found dated to the Neolithic⁶⁷. The Bronze Age period of use was extensive and there is evidence for the production, use and importation of high status items of bronze, glass, gold and amber as well as substantial quantities of Late Bronze Age coarseware pottery⁶⁸. It wasn't possible to definitely identify a house structure on the summit of the hill-fort, possibly due to disturbance from later periods of activity but there were shelters found, some of them protecting hearths⁶⁹. Other features excavated related to funerary and industrial activity. Also on the slopes of the fourth rampart, a small round house was excavated along with two ring-ditches and a possible cremation burial⁷⁰.

The artefacts found at Rathgall provide an overview of the importance of the site as a place of intensive industry and a high status site as shown by a penannular gold ring found in the cremated burial of an infant, one of the two found on the site. Moulds for making metal tools, which comprise the largest collection in Ireland, provide evidence for the production of artefacts such as spearheads, palstaves, rapiers and swords as well as pins and other small items⁷¹. Also 88 glass beads were found, including a unique gold mounted one possibly imported into Ireland. These beads represent the earliest assemblage of Bronze Age beads from the country and one of the largest collections of such early beads in Europe⁷². Other artefacts found were a mercury-gilt bronze mount, amber, jet or lignite bracelets, quern stones and whetstones⁷³. All of these features and finds illustrate Rathgall as an exceptionally high-status site and must have had an effect on its surrounding landscape. It is possible that future study and excavation may discover more Bronze Age settlement in the area.

The Bronze Age left less visual impact on the landscape than the preceding Neolithic period. The Neolithic people built imposing megalithic structures that survived for thousands of years and clearly identified its surrounding landscape as Neolithic even into modern times. The tradition of building such huge structures declined it has become more difficult to identify a landscape as Bronze Age, with the exception of Rathgall. Their burial practices became less obvious and as in the Neolithic their settlements did not survive beyond occupancy. Now the settlements of prehistory are becoming more substantial and are surviving longer. These are seen in the ringforts, hill top enclosures and cashels of the Iron Age.

Iron Age

The Iron Age is known as the Dark Age in Irish

archaeology. Very little is known about this time in prehistory and the little that is known is uncertain. This is not any different in County Carlow. The best datable monuments are hillforts and even then without excavation it is uncertain if they were constructed in the Late Bronze Age, the Iron Age or the Early Medieval Period.

There are two hillforts recorded in the Recorded Monuments of County Carlow, Knockscur (CW 019 065) and Ballinkillin (CW 019 027)⁷⁴. These sites were discovered while analysing aerial photography during the course of compiling a sites and monuments record. Knockscur Hillfort is a simple univallate site. The enclosure is dissected by two modern field fences and a section of the rampart is destroyed.

Ballinkillin Hillfort is sub-circular, located above the 400ft contour and its ramparts consist of a double bank with intervening ditch⁷⁵. There is no surface evidence in either hillfort to suggest a settlement but this may have been removed through agricultural activity.

There are two metal working areas listed in the Recorded Monuments: Craanlusky (CW 012 021) and Eaglehill (CW 004 051, 052)⁷⁶. These are concentrations of slag, not associated with any known monuments. These sites may not belong to the Iron Age but as the areas haven't been excavated it can't be ruled out.

There are many other monument types that may be Iron Age: earthworks, enclosures, ringforts and cashels but again it can't be known definitively unless they are excavated. Rathgall, Co. Wicklow is thought to have been used in the Iron Age and this is seen in some of the artefacts found there during excavation⁷⁷ but as already stated the main period of activity was in the Early Bronze Age.

There were many other enclosure sites in Carlow that have been destroyed through agricultural practices but many of these sites can be seen through aerial photography as crop marks. Dr. Gillian Barrett carried out a survey and published a report "The Archaeology of County Carlow: An Aerial Perspective" which shows the extent of unknown archaeology in the county⁷⁸.

The Iron Age in County Carlow is difficult to pinpoint. This is mainly due to the lack of excavation and research in the county and also because of the continuity and re-use of sites from the Bronze Age and into the Early Christian Period. However the presence of the metal working areas and such a high number of possible enclosures, hillforts and ringforts would indicate that the Iron Age in County Carlow was no less active than previous periods.

Discussion

The prehistoric landscape of County Carlow is immense. The evidence of land use since the earliest known human habitation is extensive and the continuity of use of many of the sites around the county demonstrates the importance of their landscape despite the changes in settlements, traditions and rituals.

The impact of prehistoric settlement on the landscape of County Carlow can be clearly seen. Deforestation in the

Neolithic period would have caused a major impact, both visually and environmentally to the landscape and the beginning of farming, which is now normal practice, would then have been revolutionary. Land clearance and farming are now not exceptional in the landscape but the other legacy left behind by the Neolithic people is their burial tombs. The portal tombs in County Carlow are visually striking, maybe more so now than then considering that the land around the monuments may not have been cleared at the time.

The Bronze Age would have continued the practice of land clearance and it is thought that by the Iron Age a large percentage of the landscape was cleared and used for farming. The burial practices of this time did not leave behind as great a visual impact as the Neolithic but the standing stones and rock art of this time have created mystery and added significance to their landscapes.

The Iron Age landscape is more difficult to describe visually. There are many monuments that may belong to this period and their impact on the landscape is immense. The monuments that are still visible on ground level are almost as impressive as the megalithic tombs of the Neolithic and while it is uncertain if these sites belong to the Iron Age the visual impact of them is no less impressive.

Extensive farming in the south-east has caused the destruction of many archaeological monuments. Some of these monuments are completely gone from the landscape, some can be seen as crop marks from aerial photography and some are discovered through excavation. The remaining archaeological features in County Carlow are extensive but only reflect a fraction of the activity of the pre historic period.

Conclusion

The prehistoric landscape of County Carlow is as impressive as any landscape in Ireland. There is a palimpsest of activity that is clearly seen right from the beginnings of known human activity in Ireland. Across the county it is possible to strip away each era of society and see the separate layers of activity beneath and it is possible to see that certain areas of the county were favoured again and again throughout prehistory despite the differences in traditions and rituals. The landscapes of the Barrow Valley, Ballon Hill, Russellstown, Banogenasraid and Rathgall are among the sites that represent the continued habitation of County Carlow throughout prehistory.

The impact of technology and development on the landscape today is significant and the importance of recognising archaeological landscapes and providing sustainable management policies for them is vital in order to enable future generations to view and understand the archaeological resource. The first step in this is viewing whole areas in reference to the archaeological resource rather than archaeological monuments in isolation.

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“BARROW LIFE”

An Exhibition of Portraits focusing on the past and present life of the River Barrow

Nuala Grogan

It had for some time been the intention of the members of Carlow Photographic Society to document the River Barrow, to photograph it in a way that relates only to that river, to not only consider the landscape, flora and fauna but to dig deeper into its life and to consider how the river impacted on people's lives. With this in mind and also the 220th anniversary of the navigation of the River Barrow, which is being celebrated this year, twenty seven members of Carlow Photographic Society began the project.

The members decided that portraits would be made of people who live beside or who have a strong association with the River Barrow. We engaged with our chosen people and organisations. Locations beside the river were chosen and portraits were made. Each person photographed was asked to make a personal statement on their thoughts or their connection to the river.

Special thanks to those we photographed and for the personal statements: John Alexander, Joseph Bolger, Micheál Bolton, Gemma Bracken, M Brennan, Larry &

Anne Butler, Olly (Racey) Byrne, Ronnie Byrne, Padraig Cahill, PL Curran, Anthony Dooley, Stefan Doyle, John Duffy, Mary Foster, Jim Gill, Deirdre & Simon Grant, Mary Hoare Walsh, Thomas James, John Lawlor, Paddy Looney, Paul Lyons, Elizabeth Maher, Fae McCullough, Joe McDonald, Simon McDonald, Adam & Ross McMonagle, John McNally, Gerry McStraw, Seamus Meally, Nicholas Murphy, Martin Nevin, Sean O’Gorman and his friend Tom, Tony O’Hanlon, Olivia O’Leary, Beth O’Loughlin, John O’Neill, Alex Rodriguez Corcoran, Richard Smyth, Seamus Somers, Dick Warner, Norbert Norbi Wojewodzki.

Photographs by: Barbara Allen, Liam Beattie, Mike Blade, Cepta Burke, Charley Callinan, PL Curran, Rafal Garbaciak, Christy Glancy, Nuala Grogan, Tony Hunt, Mary Hutton, Roger Jones, Nora Kavanagh, Austin Kinsella, Michael Kinsella, David Lawlor, Pat Lohan, Willie McCann, Jenny McCullough, Angela Murphy, Ursula Murphy, Linda Nolan, Mary Nolan, Paul Redmond, Richard Smyth, Bridget Somers, Joan Wall.

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THE BARROW IS
THE ARTERY OF
LEINSTER

Dick Warner

Carlow Historical and Archaeological Society are grateful to the Photographic Society for permission to use a selection of photographs from its recent exhibition



Photographer
Liam Beattie

This river runs in my veins.

Oliver O'Leary



Photographer
Christy Glancy

*Looking north with the famous
Dun Rish near Leighlinbridge
in the back ground.*

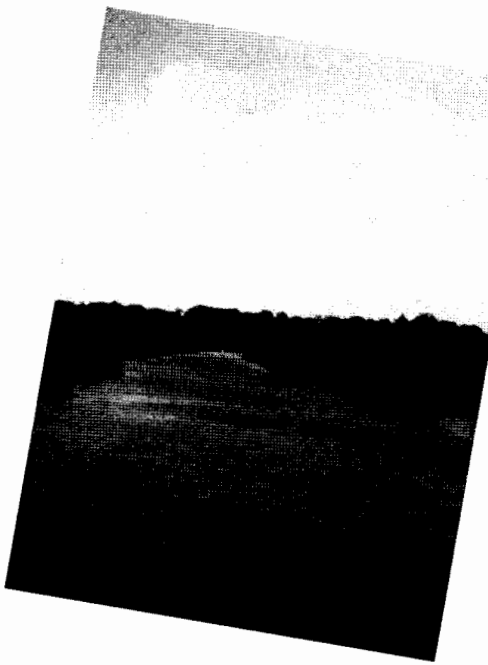
Mathew Newin



*The Year of the Barrow
in photographs*

**HYDRO ELECTRIC
DEVELOPER**

Photographer
Austin Kinsella



Photographer
Christy Glancy

This is where I made canoe's
and small boats in 1979.
IT WAS AN OLD SUMMER HOUSE
KNOWN AS "THE TIN SHED"
John McRally



Beneath a quiet country road, the motorway of the
19th Century flows even more slowly deep. *John McRally*



Photographer
Nuala Grogan

ESCAPING
LIFE'S STRESSES
ON THE RIVER BARRON
E. McRally

The Year of the Barrow
in photographs



*I Train lifeguards
Promote Swimming & Safety for Riders Barrow*

Mary Kater

Photographer
John Lohan



THE VIGORS FAMILY

OF

BURGAGE

Author: Victor Connolly
the present owner of
Burgage

LEIGHLINBRIDGE

The Vigors family have been in the parish of Leighlin for over 300 years. Predominantly they pursued careers in the Church, the Army and the Colonial Service. Burgage House was built in the latter part of the 18th Century - probably 1770 - when the Vigors family were at the peak of their powers. At this time they owned almost the entire old civil parish of Old Leighlin and part of Wells parish - about 4,247 acres in all.

The various branches of the Vigors family lived at Burgage, Church Place, Old Leighlin and at Holloden near the Royal Oak. Traditional first names of the Vigors males were John, Cliffe and Nicholas with Cliffe dominating as the middle name. Jane and Anne appear regularly as female names. Through marriage, various generations of the family added additional surnames to their own - Tench of Staplestown, Cliffe of New Ross, Mercer of Killinane, and Alyward of Shankill, Co.Kilkenny. The influence of the Vigors family in the locality is very evident in St.Laserian's Cathedral in Old Leighlin, Co.Carlow where there are 32 memorials, varying in size and splendour, commemorating various individual family members many of whom were born, lived or died at Burgage.

Rev. Louis Vigors

The earliest known ancestor of the Vigors family was Rev. Louis Vigors (1578-1642) who came to Cork from Holloden in North Devon in 1615. He had matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford in May 1598. He was vicar of Kilfaughnabeg and Kilcoe, Co.Cork until 1634. When he died aged 64 in 1642 he had returned to Devon. Apparently, being a Huguenot family the Vigors had been forced from their estate

near Caen in Normandy. His son Rev. Urban Vigors was vicar of Kilworth and Kilcrump from 1635-39. He died intestate in 1652. He had four sons, two of whom were notable, Urban and Bartholomew.

Urban Vigors

His eldest son Urban Vigors (1636-1716) moved to Ferns in Co.Wexford. He then came to Old Leighlin after his marriage to Bridget Tench. She was the daughter of Allen Tench of Staplestown, Co.Carlow who came to Ireland from Cheshire about 1645. He was granted large estates in Counties Carlow and Wexford during the reign of Charles II (1661-1685). Urban Vigors' estate in Old Leighlin was confiscated during the four year reign of James II but his property was restored during the reign of William III (1689-1702). He is the first Vigors named in local history. In Old Leighlin Cathedral, a floor monument dated 1718 is dedicated to "Urban Vigors, High Sherrif, Co.Carlow".

Bartholomew Vigors

Urban's brother Bartholomew (1643-1721) was the first bishop of the family. He succeeded Dr. Narcissus Marsh as Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns. He was educated in the University of Dublin and thence appointed Rector of St. Mary's in Wexford. Subsequently, he was promoted Dean of Armagh in June 1681. When Dr. Marsh was moved to the see of Cashel, Bartholomew was promoted to the bishopric of Leighlin and Ferns and was consecrated in Christ Church Cathedral on March 8th, 1691

He resided at Memsal Lodge which was situated on the road to Old Leighlin from Leighlinbridge and possessed about 40 acres around the lodge. He died in 1721 aged 76 and was buried in St.Patrick's Cathedral in the Earl of Cork's tomb. He had six children but left sizeable benefactions to both his dioceses in his will. He left lands valued at £548 to his successor to the see of Leighlin together with £300 to build a mansion suitable for the



*The Royal Society of Antiquaries at Burgage House
for the Society's 160th anniversary celebrations,
4th April, 2009*

person and office. He left £10 each to the poor of Leighlin and a large sum of £900 to the widows' almhouse in Enniscorthy. Bartholomew had two sons, neither of whom had family.

Rev. Edward Vigors

The person who built the house at Burgage about 1770 was the Rev. Edward Vigors. He was born in 1747 and was the youngest son of Capt. Thomas Vigors (1684-1750) who in turn was the younger son of the aforementioned Urban Vigors who had originally come to this area. The Rev. Edward was educated in Trinity College Dublin, married Mary Low from Co. Westmeath in December 1773 and became Rector of Shankill in 1781. He was Curate of Old Leighlin Cathedral from 1774 until his death in 1797 aged 50 years.

Rev. Thomas Vigors

His only son, Rev. Thomas Mercer Vigors (1775-1850) succeeded his father as owner of Burgage. Educated at Trinity College and ordained in 1797, he succeeded his father as Curate of Old Leighlin from 1797 to 1816. In 1810 he married Anne Cliffe, a daughter of the Rev. John Cliffe of New Ross, Co. Wexford.

Philip Doyne Vigors

On December 23rd, 1825, their seventh son, Philip Doyne Vigors was born at Burgage. Rather than follow his father into the Church, Philip Doyne chose a military career. He served in the 11th Devonshire and 19th Princess of Wales Own regiments and served abroad in Australia, Burma, India and Canada. Wherever he went he collected antiquities. In 1870 he was promoted to Major.

In January 1881 he retired on full pay aged 55 with the rank of Colonel. He married Margaret Woodhead from Sussex the following year and settled down near Bagenalstown which was close to where he was brought up at Burgage. He bought a property overlooking the River Barrow which was called Malcomville. It was built by a Mr. Mullhallen around the same time as Burgage. It is two storeys over basement. Col. Vigors changed the name to Holloden, after the old Devon home of his ancestors. The hall had an impressive display of exotic animal

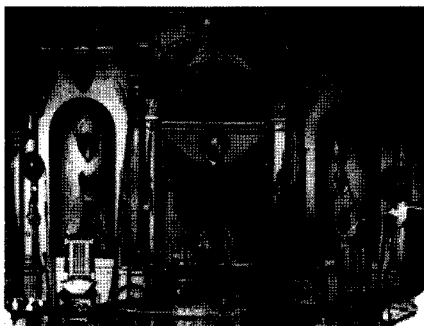
trophies and weapons collected by Vigors on his travels.

He soon became very involved in local affairs and used his considerable ability and energy to great purpose. He became a Justice of the Peace in Carlow, a member of the County Council and the Rural District Council. In 1894 he became High Sheriff of Carlow. As a magistrate, he was a familiar figure on the bench at Bagenalstown, where he was held in the highest regard.

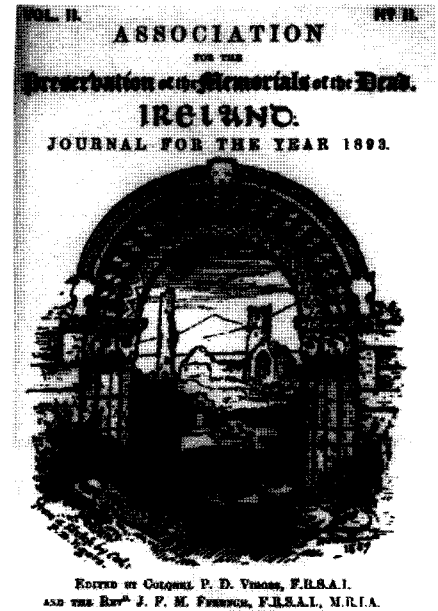


Colonel P. D. Vigors

Colonel Philip had always been interested in the study of Irish archaeology. He was a founder member of the Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead (Ireland) which commenced operations in 1888. The purpose of this association was to record and document details of fading tombstone inscriptions found in graveyards all around Ireland. Colonel Vigors was greatly concerned that many burial grounds were in varying stages of neglect and decay and wished to preserve their information.



Entrance to Holloden displaying exotic animal trophies



Journal cover design by the famous William Wakeman from a sketch by Vigors himself

Many forgotten graveyards were subject to animal trespass and misuse of tombstones was not uncommon; a case records one being used in the construction of a pig-sty.

He arranged an impressive network of secretaries across the country that collected local information and then passed this on to a dedicated committee that Vigors chaired. His organizational flair no doubt stemmed from his army training. He enjoyed the support of bishops and clergy of all denominations. He galvanised all classes and much information came from farmers and labourers. The Association's journal was illustrated with drawings, rubbings and photographs of mediaeval slabs and tombs which were found scattered in every corner of Ireland. For 15 years Vigors worked unceasingly in his quest to record and preserve graveyard monuments. His published Annual Reports are to-day sought after by family researchers as a valuable link with the past.

Colonel Vigors was elected a member of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland in 1885 and again became very involved in its work. He was a frequent contributor to the Society Journal. As a local secretary he reported on relevant events in Carlow. One of his contributions discussed the collapse of the Black Castle at Leighlinbridge together with recommendations for its preservation. In 1895 he was honoured

by being elected vice-president of the Society.

Another great work for which Colonel Vigors had collected a vast amount of material related to Irish Church Plate, belonging to all denominations. This work, profusely illustrated with photographs of the older chalices was to have appeared in two volumes but its author's untimely end halted its progress.

On the 30th December, 1903, at the age of 78, Colonel Vigors passed away from the scene of the work he cherished so much and which, up to the last, occupied his thoughts. His body was laid to rest in the family vault in the Old Leighlin Cathedral, a building which he loved so well and possessed a most accurate acquaintance of its chequered history. He is remembered in Old Leighlin Cathedral by a fine carved black oak Episcopal chair that his widow and daughter presented to the Cathedral two years after his death in 1906. This chair originally belonged to his ancestor, the aforementioned Bishop Bartholomew Vigors. His wife Margaret became head of the house. She died in October 1922. The 1911 Census records the inhabitants of Holloden as Margaret Vigors aged 58 and her daughter Esther Alice Vigors aged 26. A staff of 3 comprised of Julia Purcell, cook, aged 46, Annie Doyle, parlour maid, aged 22 and Sarah Cane, maid, aged 19.

Ester Alice Vigors

Colonel Vigors' only child, Esther Alice was born in 1884 and died aged 86 in 1970. She married Lt.Col. Standish de Courcy O'Grady on June 7th, 1911. The family of O'Grady is one of the most famous in Munster. They had three children at Holloden. Gerald Vigors de Courcy O'Grady was born in 1912, succeeded the title of "The O'Grady" and moved to the family seat at Kilballyowen, Bruff, Co. Limerick. Philip Henry Vigors de Courcy was born in 1916 and followed an army life. Through marriage he acquired the lands at Inchirourke, Askeaton, Co. Limerick where he presently lives. Col. Vigors' daughter, Faith O'Grady was born in 1913, lived all her life at Holloden and died in 1980. She did not marry and the property was sold out of the family and has remained unoccupied ever since. The grandeur of this once fine residence is gradually disappearing as

Nature slowly takes it back.

Nicholas Aylward Vigors

The Vigors were never particularly involved in politics. But one member of this family was elected to Parliament on three occasions. This was Nicholas Aylward Vigors who was born in 1785. He was son of Nicholas Aylward Snr., the great grandnephew of the Bishop Bartholomew Vigors. Nicholas Jr. entered Trinity College, Oxford in 1803. He was also admitted as a student to Lincoln's Inn in 1806. He was a Captain in the Foot Guards and served in the Peninsular War. He was severely wounded in the Battle of Barossa in March 1811 and was invalided home to London. He left the army and continued his studies, graduating with a BA in 1817.



*Nicholas Aylward Vigors
(1786-1840)
Old Leighlin*

As a gentleman of independent means he was able to pursue his interest in a scientific career. He became an eminent Zoologist and specialised in Ornithology—the study of birds. He was a co-founder of the London Zoological Society in 1826 and was its first secretary until 1833. He donated his collection of preserved birds to the society and bought collections at auction.

Ornithologist

Vigors was highly respected in his field of expertise and was author of over 40

papers mostly on the study of birds and insects. He overhauled the classification of birds and introduced new species. His gifts as a reforming administrator and his organizational flair were considerable. He provided the text for John Goolds' book "A Century of Birds from the Himalaya Mountains" published in 1831. A copy of this book was sold for £10,000 at Christies in June 2009. As a footnote, the Zoological Society of Dublin was formed in 1830 and the Zoological Gardens of Dublin, the third oldest in Europe, opened on September 1st 1830 with a wild boar the first animal housed.

In 1828, following the death of his father, Vigors inherited the large family estate in Old Leighlin which extended to over 3,000 acres. Even though he continued to live in London, he soon became interested in local Carlow politics. He was considered a good landlord and was popular with his tenants. When Daniel O'Connell won Emancipation in 1829, it awakened hope among Irish Catholics of political equality. This Act allowed Catholics to be elected to parliament with O'Connell being the first Catholic in modern history to take his seat in the House of Commons.

Irish Protestants were unconcerned however as they were comfortably protected by an inbuilt Protestant majority at Westminster. Towards the end of 1831, O'Connell began to advocate Repeal of the Union and this spread fear among the Irish Protestant community. Catholics, ably led by their priests, were all for a parliament that would suit their interests. The Protestant landlords had no intention of handing over their power to ignorant Catholic peasants.

O'Connell launched a campaign to break the stranglehold of Protestant and Tory control of Irish parliamentary seats. He encouraged Vigors to run. Vigors was an extreme Liberal and broke ranks with the vast majority of his fellow landlords who supported the Tories. The funding of a closely fought election then, as now, was a costly affair and Vigors could comfortably afford the prospect.

Politician

Nicholas Aylward's parliamentary career started with his return for the

town of Carlow for the Liberals in the 1832 general election. This success marked the beginning of a bitter decade in parliamentary politics in Carlow. In the December 1832 election, Vigors defeated Francis Bruen by 145 to 120 votes and this success broke the Tory domination in Carlow borough dating back to 1695. Francis Bruen was a brother of Colonel Henry Bruen of the vast Oak Park Estate in Carlow which is now an important agricultural research centre.

But in the January election of 1835, Henry Bruen (and his running mate, father-in-law Thomas Kavanagh of Borris) defeated Vigors by 150 votes to 134. However, Vigors accused Bruen of threatening his tenants with eviction by way of his agent. A lengthy sworn enquiry was held on May 29th in which many of the tenants gave evidence against Bruen. Subsequently a committee of the House of Commons decided to declare Bruen's return as void. A new election was ordered and took place in June 1835 and Nicholas Aylward Vigors was returned. The triumphant return of Vigors as representative for Carlow was hailed with delight throughout the county.

However, in August, a new petition was presented against this return by the defeated Tory candidates and after another expensive enquiry Vigors and his running mate Alexander Raphael (an English Catholic) were unseated. 104 persons were named in the appeal as not being properly registered to vote and were struck off the list of those who voted Liberal. Strangely many of these were easily recognisable as Vigors tenants. Bruen was returned.

Key election issues were the abolition of tithes (taxes paid to Protestant clergy), the Repeal of the Union with Britain, an extension of the voting franchise and most importantly voting by secret ballot. Voting at that time was conducted in open and tenants who supported the wishes of their landlords frequently had to face the wrath of their fellow Catholics. It was often a dilemma for the Catholic tenant farmer because they could not risk their landlord's vengeance and threat of eviction either. One of the most vociferous advocates of withholding the payment of tithes was Fr. James Maher who was parish priest of Leighlinbridge 1827-30 and a vigorous defender of the poor. He said "In the midst of a starving population,

tithes collection is wholesale robbery and make no mistake about it"

An important ally in Vigors campaign came from the support of Bishop James Doyle (JKL) coupled with the major influence exercised by the Catholic clergy. For instance, on Sunday, June 15th, 1835, the Rev. Patrick Kehoe delivered a sermon from the altar of the chapel at Leighlinbridge which amounted to a volatile condemnation of the Tory campaign in Carlow. In contrast, he described Vigors as "an honest man". The volatile atmosphere of the 1830's ensured that passions ran high at election time. Extra police had to be drafted to deal with abduction of voters, intimidation on both sides and post election violence.

Following the death of Thomas Kavanagh, the sitting Conservative Carlow MP, a by-election was held in July 1837. Vigors was returned to represent the borough of Carlow for the third time, retaining the seat until his own death. Again the unsuccessful candidates (Col. Henry Bruen & Thomas Bunbury) appealed against the return but failed to overturn the democratic result. At that time it was commonplace for results of elections to be appealed.

Vigors was a diligent and efficient member of committees though he rarely spoke in the House. In his manners he was courteous and kind. He died in London, aged 55, on October 26th, 1840 and lies buried in the nave of Old Leighlin Cathedral. He was unmarried but was survived by a son Ferdinand Vigors (b.1814) who also graduated from Oxford and showed much of his father's talent. In the subsequent Carlow by-election Henry Bruen took back the seat for the Tories and thus ended the era of hope for the Liberals in Carlow county politics.

John Cliffe Vigors

Colonel Doyne Vigors' elder brother John Cliffe (1814-1881) inherited Burgage following the death of their father Rev. Thomas Mercer in 1850. John Cliffe was educated at Trinity College. He subsequently became a Justice of the Peace for Carlow and was a Major in the Carlow Rifles. He died at Burgage on January 9th, 1881 aged 67. He was unmarried. He bequeathed his estates to his brother Thomas (1819-1881) for his lifetime

and after his death to their nephew. His brother Thomas had found fame as a railway engineer in India. As it turned out both brothers died at Burgage in that same year with the estate's new owner dying on September 7th, 1881.

Thomas Mercer Cliffe Vigors

And so Burgage transferred to his 28-year-old nephew, Thomas Mercer Cliffe. His father, Bartholomew was born at Burgage in 1817, graduated with a BA from Trinity College, Dublin in 1839 and moved to Australia. When he died at Perth, Western Australia in 1854 he was acting Advocate-General of the colony. His son had been born in that city in 1853. This latest inhabitant of Burgage certainly brought colour and certain notoriety to the untarnished Vigors name. Thomas Mercer married Mary Louisa Handcock at St. Stephen's Church, Dublin, April 4th, 1877.

A suitable description of this couple comes from their grandson Wilfred Thesiger in his 1987 autobiography "The life of my choice". To quote, "Kathleen Mary, my mother, was a Vigors from County Carlow where her family had long been established at Burgage, their ancestral home. She was the second of four children, two boys and two girls. When she was seven her parents separated and her mother took the children to England. My maternal grandmother was an undemonstrative and rather prudish woman, whereas my grandfather was rather a rake, a confirmed gambler and obviously excellent company. My mother remembered him with affection all her life." An amusing anecdote refers to Thomas Mercer being caught in bed with a maid by his wife to which he attempted to justify his actions "If one is going to appreciate Chateau Lafitte, my dear, one must occasionally have a glass of vin ordinaire"

Gambling was always a favourite hobby of the gentry and Thomas Mercer developed a great liking for it. It was a pastime that was to cost him dearly.

He owned several racehorses and in particular owned a horse named 'The Baron' trained by the famous Matt Dawson at Newmarket. This horse became odds-on favourite for the 1887 Epsom Derby. Such was Vigors' belief in the ability of 'The Baron' that he backed his horse with much of the

Burgage estate. Unfortunately, 'The Baron' was well beaten by 'Merry Hampton' and Thomas Mercer lost a great part of Burgage and his marriage. His finances hit such a low level that the house at Burgage was let to a certain Dr. Johnson. Unfortunately, this man was drowned while fishing from his boat just in front of the house.

The increasingly strained relationship between Thomas and Mary Louisa deteriorated until a separation in 1888 became inevitable. Mrs. Vigors took her four children to England where they divided their time between Roe Green House in Hertfordshire and the Vigors' London flat, 18 Buckingham Palace Mansions. The children continued to visit their relations in Ireland, including their father.

They had two sons, Edward Cliffe and Ludlow Ashmead Cliffe and two daughters Kathleen Mary and Eileen Esmee. Edward Cliffe was born on October 9th, 1878 and inherited the estate in January 1908 following the death of his gambling father who was aged 54. The boys had attended Eton and Edward was an exceptionally brilliant academic. He filled the post of High Sheriff in Carlow in 1916 and later became Examiner of Standing Orders House of Lords and House of Commons and Principle Clerk to the House of Lords. He lived at Burgage and commuted via boat to Liverpool and train to London. Edward married Mary Selena Dyneley of Canterbury in 1914. Most of the garden landscaping and the establishment of a rock garden by the river were carried out by Mary Selena and her husband.

Apart from being an intellectual man, Edward was quite an eccentric. Even though he was a stern individual, he was a good conversationalist. He had a thorough dislike of horses, particularly racehorses, no doubt derived from the bitter memory of 'The Baron'. He never tilled the land except for the garden and kept a herd of pedigree cattle. He kept a large library which included many books of good quality fiction. However Edward and his wife were well respected by the people of the neighbourhood. They were especially generous to the impoverished of Leighlinbridge, particularly at Christmas.

The Vigors family had always been generous benefactors to the Cathedral in Old Leighlin and in the 1930s

Edward paid for the stained glass window depicting St. Lazerian. Edward Cliffe died of a heart attack aged 77 on the lawn at Burgage on March 6th, 1945 and was the last of the Vigors family to be laid in the family crypt under the east gable of the Old Leighlin Cathedral. This crypt was then closed permanently. His wife retired to live in Co. Kerry.

In his last will of 1929, Edward Cliffe left his wines and liquors to his wife, his signet ring and gold watch to his brother. To his sisters he left his christening mug and bowl together with £20 as a keepsake. He left £5 to his butler and valet, £5 to his gardener and £20 to his farm steward for his loyal and faithful friendship and service.

Eileen Esmee Vigors

Edward's sister, Eileen Esmee Vigors was born at Burgage on May 15th, 1881. In 1909, she married Rev. Arthur Evelyn Ward, Canon of Rochester. It was their son, Stephen Ward, who was a key figure in the Profumo scandal that rocked the Conservative Government of Harold MacMillan in 1963. Fortunately Ward's mother did not have to endure this public shame having died in 1955.



Stephen Ward

Stephen Ward was born in 1912 and was educated in Highgate School in London. After denying his father's wishes that he go to university, Ward found various employment ranging from carpet salesman to work as a translator in the German branch of Shell to selling chests of Indian tea. In 1934 his mother persuaded him to study osteopathy in Missouri, North America. In 1940 he set up as an osteopath in Torquay where his father had moved as vicar.

The following year he joined the army

and was subsequently posted to India in 1944 where he treated Gandhi's neck in a chance encounter. Ward was impressed by Gandhi "Although much of his policy was opposed to that of my country, I knew that when I was with him I was in the presence of greatness and my encounter with him was certainly the most important meeting of my life".

After the war his reputation as an osteopath grew and he set up a clinic on the fringe of Harley Street. He used his social skills and his job as an osteopath to meet rich and powerful people that included Sir Winston Churchill, Ava Gardner, Douglas Fairbanks Jr. and notably Lord Astor who allowed Ward use of a cottage on his palatial Cliveden Estate where the scandal was to eventually take place. Ward also had ability as a portrait artist and had members of the Royal family sit for him. In July 1949, Ward married Patricia Mary Baines, a fashion model. This relationship was not a success and after six weeks she moved out of his flat.

Ward was attracted to pretty young girls from lower-income backgrounds and introduced these attractive young women to the rich and famous in British establishment in the 1950s and early 1960s. Ward was described as a society osteopath but was more accurately a society procurer. In 1959 Stephen Ward met Christine Keeler who was a hostess at Murray's Cabaret Club in Soho. Keeler was a call girl whose family home has been a pair of converted railway carriages in Berkshire. She fell under Ward's spell and became a willing participant in the liaisons that Ward organized.

In July 1961 Ward held a pool party at Cliveden and introduced the married British MP and cabinet minister John Profumo to the 19-y-o Christine Keeler. Profumo began an affair with Keeler unaware that she was having sexual relations with Captain Yevgeny Ivanov, a spy based at the Russian Embassy under diplomatic cover as a naval attaché. The affair only lasted a few weeks with Profumo ending it by letter.

Profumo had unwittingly placed himself in a politically delicate position with the Cold War tensions at their height. Rumours about Profumo's relationship eventually became public

in 1962. Keeler's life was that colourful sort whose details were difficult to keep under wraps. She was also under pressure to extract nuclear secrets from Profumo although Yevgeny later said that Keeler would have been incapable of remembering such detail even if she had been told.

After an initial statement of denial to the House of Commons in March 1963, Profumo was forced to admit he had lied and had no alternative but to resign in June 1963, both from Government and as an MP. In the fallout of the scandal, Ward was arrested and charged with running a vice-ring for politicians and diplomats. Ward committed suicide by overdosing on sleeping tablets on the night before the last day of his trial at the Old Bailey. He fell into a coma and died a few days later. The trial was formally closed with no sentence pronounced. Prime Minister Harold Macmillan resigned a few months later. As usual, conspiracy theories abounded. "Honeytrap", published in 1987, speculated that M15 had decided that Ward had to die as he was working for them and his information was sensitive. So it was suggested that his sleeping tablet overdose was suitably arranged.

Christine Keeler never prospered from her fame. She was twice divorced along with a string of failed relationships. Now in her late sixties she lives quietly as a virtual recluse outside London. John Profumo died in 2006 aged 91 having redeemed himself with a lifetime's devotion to charity work in London's East End. He was awarded a CBE for this work in 1975. He never spoke publicly about the affair that destroyed his political life and reputation.

Kathleen Mary Vigors

Edward Cliffe Vigors' other sister Kathleen Mary was born at Burgage on February 4th, 1880. She married the Hon. Wilfred Thesiger in 1909. Their son was the famous British explorer Sir Wilfred Thesiger. He was renowned for his travels through some of the most inaccessible places on earth. David Attenborough reflected that Thesiger was "one of the very few people who in our time could be put on the pedestal of the great explorers of the 18th and 19th centuries".

Sir Wilfred Thesiger

Wilfred Thesiger was born in 1910 in

Addis Ababa where his father was a diligent, hard working British Ambassador to Abyssinia, the present day Ethiopia. The family returned to Britain in 1919. As their house had been requisitioned by the Navy, they lived at Burgage for a while. Thesiger's father had a weak heart and was advised to rest before his next posting as Consul-General in New York. It was not to be as he dropped dead shaving on January 31st, 1920. His father's sudden demise was the third crisis that young Thesiger had to endure inside one year. He had just left behind his beloved Abyssinia and had been recently sent to a harsh and regimental preparatory school, St. Aubyn's.

Thesiger and his three brothers were educated at Eton and Oxford thanks to a generous uncle. Wilfred was considered odd at Eton and having spent his first nine years in the colonial life of Abyssinia, he did not make friends easily in the alien British culture. Thesiger was a fine but feared boxer and won three Blues at Oxford. Even at this stage his legendary stamina and resistance to physical pain became obvious. His overriding interest was always in travel and Africa was his goal.



*Kathleen Mary Vigors, Burgage
(1880-1973)
Married Capt. Hon. Wilfred Gilbert
Thesiger in 1909*

At the age of 23 he made his first expedition and chose to discover where the Awash River ended in the notoriously violent Danakil controlled

area in Abyssinia. This forbidding part of the country was unmapped. Others had tried in the past but had failed and paid with their lives. This was a murderous place where a man's status in Danakil tribe depended on the number of men he had killed and castrated. Thesiger was quietly given a 1 in 10 chance of success by his peers. Despite the many obstacles, Thesiger planned his trip well and after six months of travel, diplomacy and some near misses his trip proved a success. He had achieved his ambition and whetted his appetite for further adventure. This trip had cost £1500 and was funded mainly by the Royal Geographical Society and family members with the Natural History Museum agreeing to buy any new specimens he found.



Sir Wilfred Thesiger

Thesiger's belief in politicians was destroyed in 1935 with the savage Mussolini-led Italian invasion of his much loved Abyssinia. The illegal and widespread use of poison gas assured the Italians of victory and brutal massacres followed. Haile Selassie, the Emperor of Abyssinia personally addressed the League of Nations pleading for help against the aggressors. This was met with a stony silence especially from the British government. It was just the encouragement that Hitler needed as he planned his takeover of Europe. Many years later Thesiger expressed his frustration. "Even those who talk of spreading peace to Africa are busy

selling corrupt governments arms behind the scenes; this spells death and starvation for the people of innocent tribes”.

In 1934 he joined the Sudan Political Service. His first appointment was to a remote region in Northern Darfur where he was able to indulge his love of travel in desolate areas. During the Second World War he fought his detested Italians in Abyssinia and this gave him particular satisfaction. He was awarded the DSO for his outstanding leadership in capturing an occupied Italian fort and taking 2,500 prisoners. He later joined the newly formed SAS where he fought daringly behind German lines in North Africa using newly discovered guerrilla tactics. Thesiger made lightning fast killing raids on German camps by night and laying up by day. His knowledge of the desert proved invaluable. In late 1944 Thesiger agreed to take a position as political adviser working for Haile Selassie in Ethiopia. He left after a year as he found the work frustrating and unfulfilling.

By the end of the war Thesiger undertook a post which required him to locate the outbreak centres of locust swarms in the deserts of Saudi Arabia. This gave him the opportunity to travel by camel across what is known as The Empty Quarter, a vast uninhabitable and unexplored sand desert spanning a quarter of a million square miles. He spent 5 years exploring this region, crossing and re-crossing many times. He invariably suffered from the stifling heat, incessant hunger, the dearth of water and the threat from the many warring tribes.

Asked why he was attracted to such dangerous journeys in forbidding lands “it was the very hardness of the life in the desert which drew me back... the same pull which takes men to polar ice, high mountains and to the sea”. All the time he was collecting plants, insects and reptiles for the Natural History Museum as well as reporting to the Locust Research Centre.

This experience led to his first travel book, *Arabian Sands* (written 1956-59) which also describes the vanishing way of life of the Bedouin tribe. This magnificent book was an immense and immediate success, surprising its austere author who now understood he had a latent talent. Thesiger always

kept travel diaries, rough notebooks or detailed logbooks on his expeditions. *Arabian Sands* was partly written in a room “at the end of a long corridor” at Holloden whilst Thesiger was staying with his cousin Faith O’Grady.

Wilfred Thesiger later lived for several periods between 1951 and 1958 with the Ma’dan, the indigenous people of the unexploited marshlands of southern Iraq. This was an enormous contrast to life in the desert. This again was the inspiration for another famous book, *The Marsh Arabs* (1961-64), which describes the fascination that the marshes and its primitive people held for him. Thesiger later lamented that over 90% of these marshes were drained and the ancient and irreplaceable way of life was all but destroyed.

Interspersed with his trips to the Iraqi marshes, Thesiger’s interest in the spectacular mountains of Nuristan, Pakistan and Afghanistan was awoken and he made several trips to this region between 1952 and 1965. This resulted in another fascinating book “*Among the Mountains – Travels through Asia*” which brilliantly illustrates the hardships, dangers and rewards of mountain travel. He tells of how he encountered people of many different races and origins. They varied greatly in their customs, the clothes they wore, the lives they led. But they were all Muslims and this gave him a basic understanding of their behaviour.

In his later years in 1968 he made his home with the Samburu tribe in remote northern Kenya where he planned to end his days. But the death of his closest Samburu friends, the increased lawlessness of the region and failing eyesight necessitated the return to his flat at Chelsea in 1994 aged 84. He was knighted by the Prince of Wales in 1995 following the awarding of a CBE in 1968. He received many awards for his numerous travel books. Thesiger’s popular fame increased dramatically since the 1970s as his books have been translated into over a dozen languages. He has been an inspiration to generations of younger people.

Thesiger was a most unusual, old-fashioned eccentric. He did not have a regular job or income for the last 50 years of his life. He owned no property and sought no publicity. He wandered about for almost 40 years by foot or animal in places that most

westerners would find intolerable for more than a day. He was a passionate advocate of the world’s tribes people. He never wished to change the minds or the lives of these people. It upset him that westernising influences would ruin their fine ideals and customs.

He wrote with impeccable prose and described places and events with great clarity. He was an accurate observer with a sharp eye for detail. Thesiger was a prolific letter writer to his mother and these letters contain much detail of his travels. On his journeys he wore what his companions wore and yet back in England he comfortably settled back into his 3-piece tweed suits, favourite London clubs and was every inch the English country gentleman.

Thesiger was greatly saddened that the old life of the desert was beginning to disappear mainly due to the impact of newly found oil revenues in the 1950s. But behind the perfect old-world manners Thesiger was the original environmentalist and was a fierce anti-globalist. He was against the rapidly changing western world culture and all it stood for. He never visited America and had no desire to do so.

In an interview in 2002, he said “The long-term effects of US culture as it spreads to every nook and cranny in every desert and every mountain valley will be the end of mankind. Our extraordinary greed for material possessions, the ways we go about nurturing that greed, the lack of balance in our lives and our cultural arrogance will kill us off within a century unless we learn to stop and think. It may be too late”. Wilfred Thesiger was a remarkable person who was always true to his ideals. In the same interview he states, “*Homo sapiens* is a young and clever creature but not particularly wise; the species has had a phenomenal rise, but, by being so destructive, is heading for a fall”.

His mother, Kathleen Mary Vigors who died in 1973, was an intrepid lady and accompanied Wilfred on many of his travels. Such trips included visits to Syria, Palestine, Turkey, Greece and several to North Africa. Her last trip with her son was to Morocco when she was aged 89 and suffering from a bad hip. Thesiger was devoted to his mother and missed her desperately. She had been the centre of his world. She

was an emotional support in times of crisis and yet she enthusiastically encouraged him on even his most perilous missions.

Having coped valiantly with the effects of old age, Sir Wilfred Thesiger died peacefully on August 24th, 2003 in a nursing home in Surrey. He was unmarried and claimed that "sex was of no great consequence... and the celibacy of the desert life left me untroubled". He was a superb photographer and took large numbers of pictures during his travels. These photographs proved an excellent method of recording his journeys. His priceless collection of 38,000 negatives was donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford.

As Edward Vigors and his wife had no children, the Burgage estate passed on in 1946 to his nephew Terence Cliffe Vigors, the eldest son of Edward's brother, Ludlow Ashmead.



Tim Vigors

Terence, also known as Tel, was born in 1919 and was brought up near Melton Mowbray in Leicestershire. His father was born at Burgage in 1884, fought in World War I and became a partner in the London stockbroking firm of Cazenove & Akroyd. Terence was educated at Eton and served as a Wing Commander in World War II. His intention had been to come back to Ireland to buy a property after the war ended. But then he learnt that he would inherit Burgage from his late uncle Edward.

His plan was to establish a stud farm and this he did when he moved here in

1946. He developed this stud from an ordinary working farm and over the years he achieved great success with his stallions. The most famous was Sovereign Path who retired to stud at Burgage in 1961 and became an influential sire until his death in 1977. He was Champion European-based Sire in 1970. Terence was also Senior Steward of the Irish Turf Club in 1966 and was a leading figure in Irish racing circles.

He married Rosemary Alida (Edwards-Heathcote) on March 24th, 1944. They had two children, Nicholas (born 1947) and a daughter Gillian (born 1945). The children were educated in England and have since settled and married there. Nicholas was next in line to inherit Burgage but as he was training horses in Lambourn he did not wish to return.

Therefore Terence decided to sell Burgage in November 1978 and move back to Berkshire in England where he purchased Kingwood Stud and lived in retirement. He and his wife died peacefully on the same day, June 23rd, 1998 and his ashes are scattered by the River Barrow at Burgage. To-day their grandsons continue the family name in England. Charlie Vigors is a noted sales consignor of flat-bred yearlings and Tom George (son of Gillian) is a successful National Hunt trainer.

Terence's younger brother Tim was a fighter pilot in World War II. He was later owner of the famous Coolmore Stud in Co. Tipperary before he sold it to its present owners in 1974. Tim was a larger-than-life character who lived his life to the full. His autobiography 'Life's Too Short to Cry' is a lively read and testifies to his zest for life in the fast lane.

This book is mainly concerned with Tim Vigors' experiences as a fighter pilot in The Battle of Britain and the reader gets a pilot's front row seat. He portrays himself as a devil-may-care-Eton educated Irishman who joined the RAF simply because he wanted to learn how to fly without paying and fought the Luftwaffe as if he were hunting foxes. Even though he spent much of his youth in England he never lost his sense of Irishness. He must have cut a dashing figure as he flew his Spitfire at speeds of up to 400mph with the Irish tricolour painted on its nose and its eight machine guns primed to open fire.

Vigors related the story of how on June 19th, 1940 he returned to his base from a night out somewhat worse for wear from drink and retired to bed. When a Tannoy message called for a volunteer to intercept a German aircraft which had crossed the coast, Vigors took to the air wearing his pyjamas under his dressing gown and promptly shot down the enemy Heinkel III.

In February 1940 he joined 222 Squadron at Duxford, flying Spitfires under the famous Sir Douglas Bader's flight command. Between June 20th and November 2nd, 1940, Vigors was instrumental in destroying or damaging 16 German aircraft and had won a DFC. He was 19 years old. He describes how his "extreme fear" during his first experience of being attacked by a Messerschmitt 109 over the beaches of Dunkirk was "quickly replaced by an overwhelming desire for self-preservation". However the harsh reality was that World War II fighter pilots had a very short expected life span and the majority of Vigors' best friends were killed in action. An RAF Bomber had a worse chance of survival even than that of an infantry officer in the trenches of the First World War. In 1941 Tim Vigors was posted to Malaya where finally his luck ran out. Shot down, wounded and badly burned, he was forced to bale out and although repeatedly attacked by Japanese aircraft as he swung below his parachute he landed in the mountains near Penang. He was found by two Malays who carried him to safety and eventually evacuated to India.

Retiring from the RAF as a Wing Commander in 1946, Tim Vigors quickly settled into civilian life. He set up a photographic agency then joined the bloodstock auctioneers Goffs. He also set up an aviation company near Oxford leasing Piper aircraft in the late 1950's. When it was taken over he returned to bloodstock. In 1951 he set up his own bloodstock agency and quickly established a reputation for flamboyance. He quickly recognised the sport's international possibilities and he was one of the first European bloodstock agents to buy American-breds in Kentucky to race in England. He was a considerable player in the bloodstock market and paid many record prices on behalf of international syndicates in the 1960's.



Mrs. Frances Alexander

Shortly before the war, Tim Vigors' father returned to Ireland buying a farm in Co. Tipperary as a result of his success on the stock exchange. The farm was called Coolmore where he trained racehorses. In 1968, Tim Vigors, aged 47, inherited Coolmore from his late father. With his typical flair and energy, Tim Vigors rapidly started to build Coolmore into an important stud farm through the purchase of some high profile stallion prospects such as Prix de l'Arc winner "Rheingold". The trainer Vincent O'Brien was an old acquaintance and in 1974 Vigors sold Coolmore to a partnership consisting of Robert



The view from the Drawing Room, The heather covered Mount Leinster in the background and the river Barrow running by underneath.

Sangster, Vincent O'Brien and John Magnier.

He continued to work in the bloodstock business and later became racing adviser to Cartier. He also managed the hugely successful stallion "Indian Ridge" who stood at the Irish National Stud. Consistent with his sense of adventure, Vigors married four times. When he was 72 he described his ideal night out as "a Lloyd Webber musical, dinner at San Lorenzo and a bop with the lovely wife at Annabel's". He died aged 82 in Cambridge on November 14th, 2003 and is survived by his wife Diana Bryan whom he married in Las Vegas in 1982. Tim Vigors is remembered by a plaque in Old Leighlin Cathedral.

The Vigors era at Burgage thus ended. It is interesting to note that the Vigors family and house survived when many Anglo-Irish landowners were intimidated and driven out by the land agitators of the 1870's and during 'The Troubles' in 1921 when many important houses were randomly burned down. It is testimony as to how well the Vigors family were respected and liked. The famous hymn "All Things Bright

and Beautiful" was written from the Drawing Room window at Burgage in the summer of 1848. Its author was the famous hymn writer Cecil Frances Alexander (1818-1895). Her inspiration was no doubt drawn from the spectacular view over the River Barrow to Mount Leinster. However the fifth verse has been mostly omitted due to its perception as an endorsement of the class system.

The rich man in his castle
The poor man at his gate
God made them, high and lowly
And order'd their estate

The hymn was first published in 1848 in Alexander's "Hymns for Little Children" which helped fund a school for deaf and dumb children in Strabane. Another well known composition is the popular Christmas hymn "Once in Royal David's City".



*Holloden
Sketch by P.D Vigors*

Fanny Humphreys was born in Dublin and her family moved to Strabane in 1833. She married Anglican clergyman William Alexander in 1850 and



Victor Connolly speaking with members of the RSAI at Burgage House



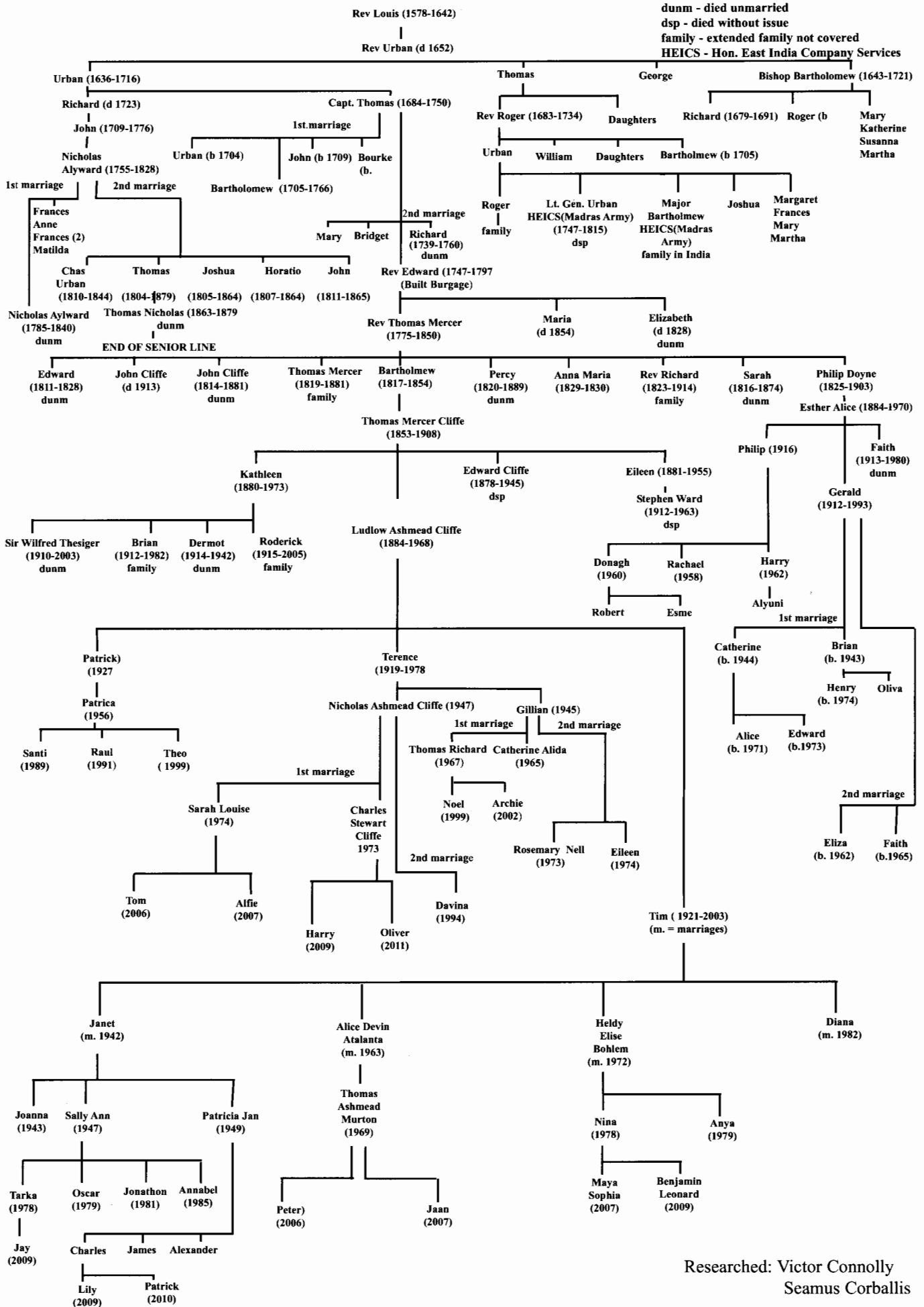
Members of the RSAI at Dinn Righ during the 160th anniversary celebrations. This famous site, dating from at least the 11th cent. is on the lands of Burgage.

they moved to Derry. He was appointed Protestant Bishop of Derry and Raphoe in 1867. Later he became Primate of All Ireland.

Finally, the motto on the Vigors family crest is Spectemur Agendo –

'Let us be judged by our actions'

Vigors Family Tree



Researched: Victor Connolly
 Seamus Corballis

The Society's Trip to the Highlands of Scotland

August 22-27, 2011

Bertie Watchorn & Martin Nevin

Once again the Society organised a very successful trip, this time to the highlands of Scotland. Starting on Monday, 22nd by bus from Carlow to Larne where we mounted the ferry for Cairnryan and from there to Stirling, the Golden Lion Hotel providing a base for a four day tour of historical and tourist attractions. Arriving at the hotel at 6.30pm there was just time to freshen up before being seated to a very welcome and enjoyable evening meal. The evening was brought to a conclusion with a walk about town.

Tuesday 23rd

Joined by Cathrina Robertson, our guide for the four days, it was an early trip to the city of Edinburgh. We were given a very informative bus tour of the important sites within the precincts. And with a couple of hours to spare the freedom of the city was ours to explore. No doubt, the Golden Mile and Princes Streets were shopping attractions. But most were interested in seeing the £1,000,000 all together in £20 notes in a glass container at The Mound Mus£um.

Wednesday 24th

The trip to Loch Lomond "the Gateway to The Highlands" was much looked forward to. After a short cruise on the River Leven, Loch Lomond was entered which is the largest expanse of water in Great Britain, 23 miles long(37km), 5 miles wide (8km) and is Scotland's third deepest loch and has been used as a controlled fresh water reservoir since 1971. It was a most enjoyable cruise.

On the way back through the Trossachs we visited Glengoyne Distillery where we were given a guided tour describing the manufacture of whiskey.

Thursday 25th

Fort William was our destination, a few hours drive from Stirling. On the way we passed through some charming places and stunning scenery before taking the gondolas up Ben Nevis. We spent some time near the summit, had lunch and then descended.

Friday 26th

This morning we set off quite early so that the day's schedule could be accommodated. It started with a visit to



*The Golden Lion Hotel, the Society's base
while in Scotland*



Ready to board the Astina for the cruise on Loch Lomond

Scotland's most exciting example of 21st Century engineering, the Falkirk Wheel. It is the World's first rotating boatlift.

As the wheel turns, water and boats contained in its two gondolas - are transferred between an aqueduct linked to the upper Union Canal and a basin feeding to the adjacent



*The Falkirk Wheel
Scotland's most recognisable Monument to the future*



A stop at the 'Three Sisters' on the way to Fort William

Forth and Clyde Canal, 25 metres below. After a 70 year lapse it reconnects the country's two principle Lowland Canals.

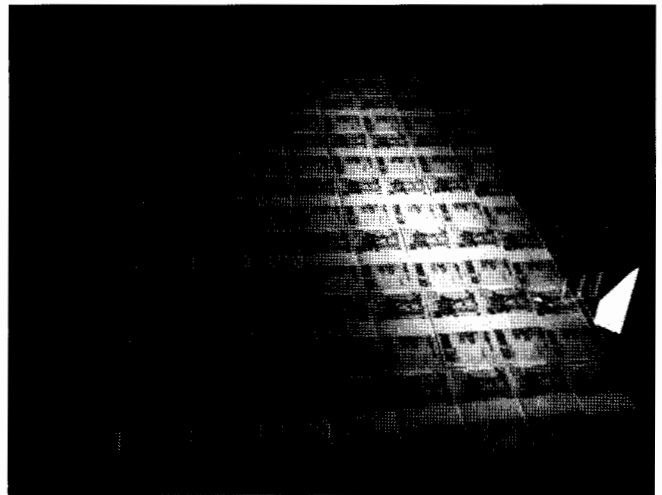
The site of the Battle of Bannockburn was next on the agenda. It was here that Robert The Bruce, reigning King of Scots (1306-1329) defeated Edward II of England and his 17,000 soldiers.

On our way back to Stirling to conclude the day's schedule we went out of our way slightly to pass through Plane, the site one of the largest deep shaft mines in Scotland through

out the 1800s and for a considerable period of the 1900s. Now redundant the debris was levelled, totally decontaminated and made into a childrens' playground.

The remainder of the afternoon was taken up with a visit to Stirling Castle. It was James V who had the magnificent Palace built in 1540s.

Here Stewarts once
In glory reign'd. And laws
for Scotland's weal ordain'd;



*The stunning £1000,000 in £20 notes at the
Mound Muzeum*



*Attentively listening to the history
of Stirling Castle*

Saturday 27th

It was an early rise for some of us who still had a little shopping to do before setting out for Cairnryan on the first stage of our journey home. It was a very pleasant crossing to Larne and we arrived back in Carlow about 8pm.

This is part 7 of the 'Carlow Regional Technical College - Institute of Technology Carlow History' with previous material published since 2003 in *Carloviana*. The material in this and previous parts of this series are those of the various named authors or interviewees and do not constitute official view of the Institute.

HISTORY OF THE RTC & ITC CONTINUED (PART 7)

Edited by Norman McMillan & Martin Nevin

Regional Technical College Staff Association – The Early Years

Norman McMillan and Des Carbery

The first meeting of the RTC Staff Association 1971 (hereafter SA but S.A. in extracts from the minutes) was short and worth recording in full here.

A meeting of the Staff Association was held on Monday, Feb 1st at 5pm.

*Present were: T. Barry,
M. Leonard, P. O'Faoláin,
R. Roche, C. Lacy,
O. McManus, M. Curran,
C. O'Boyle, A. Lamki,
B. Laffan, Fr. Carbery,
L. Barret, P. O'Connor,
P. Kinsella, J. McGillicuddy,
E. O'Dea, N. Eades,
L. Traynor, K. Fingleton,
L. Cotter.*

Chair was A. Lamki

The following were nominated to the various subcommittees

*Canteen: K. Fingleton
Sports: H. Leonard, R. Roche,
C. O'Boyle
Library: T. Barry,
P. O'Connor, F. Dawe
Shop: J. Scott, D. Hogan,
L. Traynor, R. Roche.*

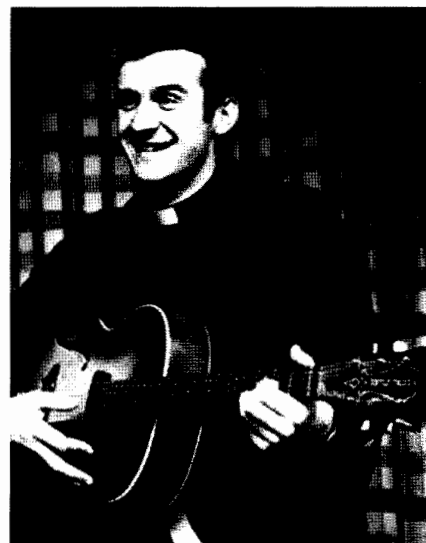
A membership fee of £1 was adopted. A lengthy discussion on the formation of the Student's S.R.C. followed

A 'Woolworth' red hard back student notebook was used for the handwritten record of the SA meeting. There are fifteen meetings recorded up to 18th September 1973. The growth of the staff complement was quite spectacular at this time. We know that on the 1st September 1970 there were just seven staff plus the Principal Mr JJ. Gallagher. The growth in numbers attending the SA meetings however was certainly in excess of 33 from the SA meeting attendance recorded and for the meeting on the

23rd Feb 1972.

The second minutes for the meeting on March 22nd 1971 were dominated by discussions on students' behaviour. Mr Gallagher was to be asked "to address both the students and staff on these points (rules that were backed by the Heads of Department) after the Easter holidays." A proposal was also passed that the SA should elect their own representative on the V.T.A. (Eds. note *Vocational Teacher's Association*). The SA was on the way to transforming into the VTA because of the large number of academic staff involved as opposed to those from the support staff. To underline this point the position of the temporary teachers was to be brought up with Mr Gallagher." The SA was however not the VTA but a staff association. On May 3rd 1971 a meeting was held explicitly to discuss the application for membership of the SA by the Clerical and Caretaking staff. Eamonn Moore and Pat O'Faoláin proposed a motion "That all members of the College Staff as employees of the V.E.C. to the College, be entitled to full membership of the Staff Association". This was carried by 14 votes with 2 abstentions. A second motion was necessary proposed by John McGillicuddy and seconded by Pat O'Connor that reminded the meeting that a membership fee was required for membership of the SA! The Secretary was instructed to inform the Clerical, Caretaking and Laboratory Staff of this decision. Subsequent meetings record the involvement of Gordon Molloy, Pat Mannion and Jim Williamson (Caretakers) and Mary Sheehy Office Staff. The record shows no evidence of other categories of staff.

The next meeting on the 24th May 1971 was concerned with various motions reformulating the constitution to take account of the new situation of



*Brendan Carbery at Glenart,
Carlow circa 1972*

'wholtime and other staff' not just teachers. Dr Abdul Lamki was in the Chair and in AOB attempted to get a motion passed "That the SA be empowered to discuss and be given access to all VTA documents".



*Charlie O'Boyle,
Killeshin Road, Carlow.
It was Charlie who taught the first
class of apprentices in Carlow RTC*

Members of the VTA pointed out that only VTA members were entitled to see VTA documents and this motion proposed by Paul Kinsella and seconded by Mary Leonard was defeated 9 votes to 5. Dr Lamki then resigned the Chair that was assumed by John McGillicuddy at the next meeting.

The SA role was however clearly an important one and seen as functionally different by most members from that of the VTA. The VTA shortly thereafter became **The Teachers' Union of Ireland**. On the 4th October 1971 Dr Lamki a physicist from Egypt had left the RTC employment and went on to have a stellar career in the oil industry in Saudi becoming Chief Executive of the Anglo-Saudi Oil Company. The SA was to appoint Dick Roche to run Gaelic Football, Seamus McCormack to run hurling (This may have been a mistake in the records as Dick certainly ran hurling for many years), Treasa Barry and Paul McKeivitt to run Volleyball, and the triumvirate of Pat O'Connor, Pat Walsh and Paul Kinsella to run soccer. In AOB the decision was taken to organise an Annual Dance and the first mention of what was to become a chestnut over library facilities was raised with a decision to lobby the Principal. There was apparently no library at the time. The unavailability of Mr Gallagher was raised but the meeting accepted the mitigating factor of 'overwork' with so many interviews and other set-up problems in the new RTC. Paul Kinsella was the new Chair at this meeting.

By the November 1971 meeting of the SA we learn that while there was by then an RTC library, there was much criticism of the fact that it lacked chairs and tables. Pat O'Faoláin Head of Business pointed out these had been ordered. The then crucial 'social conditions of work' issue of asking teaching staff to teach 4-nights a week timetabled up to 10pm was believed by the SA to be too much, especially as timetables began at 9am on Monday and ended for most staff at 5pm on Friday. The campaign on this issue was led in the SA by the chemist Dr David Grant and mathematician Pat Walsh, both of whom worked in the Science Department. It was in this Department where the problem of '4 -night' was

most felt. Mr Frank Quinn from Business proposed if a timetable was to be for more than 2-nights a week the staff member would get an afternoon off. As was typical Mr Mike Baker of the Electronics Department was able to come in with a compromise proposal that was voted nem con (unanimous) in requesting Mr Gallagher to end more than 2-nights a week in the New Year. This matter was to become a key issue that galvanised staff in the RTC and shortly strengthened the new TUI very considerably. In December this '3-nights' issue was parked and the meeting was taken up entirely with the proposed building of houses on the land adjacent to the college. A letter from the SA protesting this development was sent to both the Carlow V.E.C. and the County Manager.

A very interesting and informative report was presented by Owen McManus, then Secretary of SA to the A.G.M. in January 1972. By the date of this A.G.M. there had been 7 general meetings and 31 meetings of the Executive. Mr Gallagher had met the SA monthly. At the meeting Brendan Laffan assumed the Chair, Paul Kinsella the Vice-Chair and N. O'Callaghan was Secretary. The financial responsibilities of the SA were assumed by Seamus McCormack. Two very dark clouds arose at this AGM. The first was the Sports Meeting in Athlone RTC was mentioned and Dick Roche and L. Stanley given "full powers to represent the College". The second was a motion on 'Bloody Sunday' with an emergency motion narrowly passed 18 votes to 15 which read "The members of the Staff Association make a contribution to the aid of the relatives of the innocent victims of the Derry Shooting on Sunday, the money to be sent to Fr Daly." Brendan Laffan signed the minutes on 23rd February, 1972.

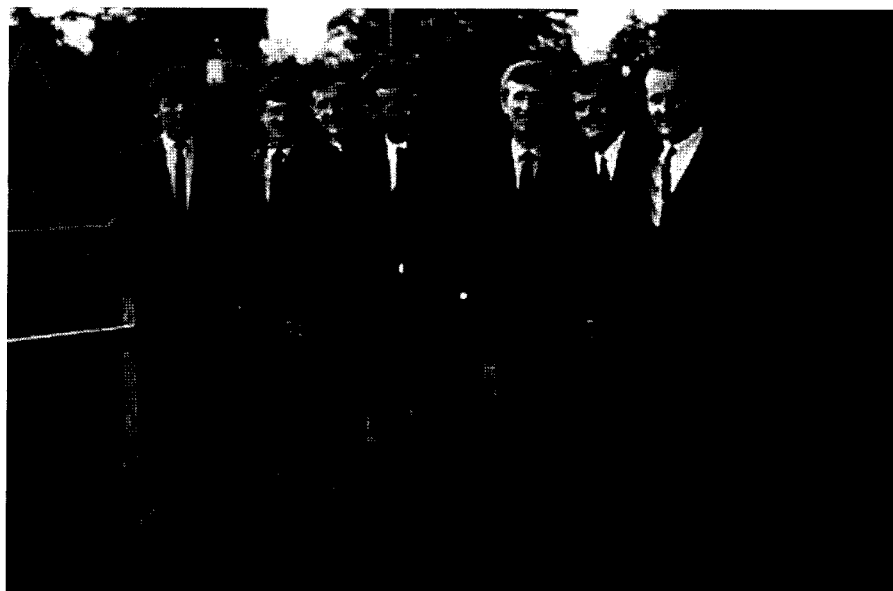
A meeting held on the 23rd February, 1972 asked the Executive to take a stand on the use of land for sports rather than housing; queuing in the canteen; a motion from Dr Cawley condemning the Derry Shootings that was withdrawn by the proposer on the ruling of the Chair that this was political. A motion by Mr Steve McManus that a collection be made for

the relatives of the Aldershot bombings was narrowly defeated by 9 votes to 8. At the next meeting on 15th March, 1972 a letter was read sent to Fr Daly and another from Students' Representative Council on the housing development. The RTCs were at this point being given the right to award 'College Diplomas' which was a matter of crucial importance as staff felt these were not appropriate and something along the lines of National Certificates and Diplomas' were what the SA felt was needed. A letter was read addressed to Dr O'Callaghan in the Department of Education on the topic of awards. A meeting on 23rd March was called to discuss specifically this strategically important matter. The meeting was poorly recorded with just the salient motion "*That an Action to organise opposition to the above mentioned plans, and to put questions to Dr O'Callaghan when he addresses the S.A. on 12th April 1972.*"

The results of this action are not recorded and are now lost.

The concern of the staff is explained in minutes for the meeting 15th March 1973 "*Documentary evidence was read to the meeting and it was clear that nowhere was Diploma referred to as a CNEA Diploma. The words 'College Diploma' were, however, used. It was suggested that we should reject certificates out of hand and we should get other RTCs to do likewise. There still remains the moral responsibility towards students already in the college who believe they will receive Diplomas after 2 years.*" There was a proposal also to get a motion on this matter to the VTA Congress. This meeting reconvened the meeting as there was still much to debate. The meeting however on the 23rd March 1972 was only attended by seven, the Chair Brendan Laffan and Secretary N.O'Callaghan plus Joe Meehan, Frank Dawe, Gerry Hughes, Des Hogan and Frank Quinn. From the meeting an Action Committee was established. The records of the SA from here become less ordered and the fundamental question arose as to whether a SA was cutting across the role of the VTA. John Scott was Chair and Paul Kinsella took over as Secretary. Very soon after that date Dr McMillan took over as Secretary of the

VTA College Branch that separated from the County Branch. He was very concerned that SA should not involve itself in the legitimate union business of the VTA. He did work however closely with the SA in the campaign over the retention of the grounds adjacent to the RTC with a subcommittee of the SA including Charlie O'Boyle, John Doyle and Fr Brendan Carbery.



Carbery Brothers in the early 70s

Left - right: Eugene, Brian, Brendan, Maurice, Des, Michael and Dan Connections with RTC & ITC: Eugene lecturer & Head of Dep; Brendan, Chaplin; Des, Lecturer a Ph.D grad; Michael, Extern Examiner and Dan, Board of Management member

A new development soon brought matters to a head when Mr Gallagher decided to ban all private phone calls made through the college for academic staff. The minutes of the meeting attended by a very large percentage of academic staff numbering 25 members, held on 19th September 1973 record the details "The meeting opened with the Chairman informing the meeting of the Staff Association that since the Association would not accept responsibility for payments of private phone calls made through switchboard Mr Gallagher had decided to allow no further private phone calls. The Chairman then proceeded to give a short history of the S.A. in opening the discussion on the 'Role of the Staff Association'. A proposal to "disband all SA subcommittees 'indefinitely'" was proposed and withdrawn. Dr Charlie O'Hara suggested a change to the constitution to achieve the same thing but this had to be withdrawn as such motions needed one weeks notice. Dr David Grant proposed the disbandment of the shop committee (Eds Note This ran on a voluntary basis the shop for students) in January if "individual members will not be responsible for bills". This motion was passed 17 votes to 0. The Library Committee and Sports Committee were then disbanded on proposal from Pat O'Faolain again with a vote nem con. Mr Scott in the Chair asked for motions in writing on changes in the SA Constitution. He closed the meeting then with good wishes to Jim Williamson (Eds Note Perhaps unwell) who was a caretaker member of the SA.

A meeting that is badly minuted was held on 28th September 1972 dealing with changes in constitution which ended in an election of a Social Committee with Fr Carbery and Mary O'Brien. The next minutes were a continuation of this meeting. Charlie

O'Hara's motion was passed and summed up the role of the SA thus "To bring members together and to facilitate better understanding amongst them by co-ordinating social and sporting activities." The vote in favour 26-2. By January Paul Kinsella was Chair of the AGM held on 16th January 1973 at 5 p.m., but the minutes were not signed or dated. This meeting was the last to deal with normal business and marks the end of what might be called the first phase of the SA. Later a new second phase SA became an important organiser of social events in the RTC and on into the Institute of Technology. John Doyle was elected at this meeting to the SA Chair, Des Carbery the Secretary and Seamus McCormack reappointed as Treasurer. The decision to wind up the Shop Committee was confirmed. The SA Newsletter has been in operation for about a year and was to continue under the editorial board of Paul Kinsella, John Scott and Steve McManus. The sub was reduced from £1 to 50p. The issue of a staffroom was left to the chairman to discuss with the Principal. Finally a time limit of 1 hour was put on meetings.

The end of what was to be the first phase of the SA came to a definitive end with the tragic death of Mr Charlie O'Boyle and Fr. Brendan Carbery who suffered fatal injuries on a foggy morning on a journey to Athlone RTC

for the Sports Meeting that was for all RTC to coordinate their sports activities. Condolences were given by Mr Doyle in the Chair to the bereaved family. Some appropriate means of remembering Fr Brendan was agreed with decisions on this deferred to a later date. The immediate concern was finding means of giving "support to Mrs. O'Boyle in a practical way". Serious efforts were made by the staff to give support with collections, monthly deductions, the entire proceeds of the then recent Planxty Concert in the RTC along with the entire existing SA funds. A last meeting held on 18th September reported no action on staffroom, financial details of the winding up of the shop £20 in bank, £40 owed and stock of £100 of books that were hard to sell. A subcommittee including Tom D'Arcy, Paul Kinsella, Seamus McCormack and Jim Doyle was set up to pursue the issue of the land adjoining the RTC. A report was given on fund raising for the O'Boyle family. The RTC staff had contributed as had the VTA School's County Branch. The meeting concluded with the Chairman reporting on formation of a private company for purchasing from a central purchasing list and very much reflecting the consumer concerns of the time, details of progress on a deep freeze scheme for TUI members was given. A small post-script, McMillan had met Fr Carbery and Mr O'Boyle as they headed out of

the RTC for the trip to Athlone as he was going home at about 6.45 p.m. He made a strong plea to them not to travel on a night when the conditions were so bad. There was in addition to a heavy frost a fog developing. The two were determined to go despite the dangers of travel and explained to him the importance of the meeting for the students. McMillan thought that this was the pair's last contact before the accident, but Mrs O'Boyle has explained, that Charlie and Brendan returned to the O'Boyle house before setting out for Athlone. It appears, however, the accident happened in the early hours of the morning according to Des Carbery's memory. Obviously, no history of the RTC-ITC would be complete without dealing with these events which were the most tragic in the whole history of the institution.

These actual meetings of the SA are made very much more interesting by the array of characters who were involved in the new RTC. Pat O'Faoláin had a career after graduation in South America because he was a Republican and was a fluent Spanish speaker. His brother was arrested in 1973 when the ship *Claudia* was intercepted by Irish police in Waterford Bay with guns obtained from Libya³. Pat never took expenses from the V.E.C. as he felt this compromised his Republican principles and these were unclaimed and quite a considerable sum after his untimely death in a road accident in Athy in 1975 as he was attending schools meetings in Dublin and doing V.E.C. business elsewhere in his role of Head of Business. Steve McManus's sister-in-law was the former Minister Liz McManus T.D. and his political trajectory brought him from the Workers Party in the 1970s into the Labour Party. He has been very successful in his career and was Registrar in Dundalk Institute of Technology. Dick Roche is by his own admission a traditionalist and Republican and came from UCG where he imbibed the ethos of the 1950s. John Scott was the brother of Theresa (Scott) Ahearn TD (1951-2000)⁴ and was always at the very centre of political discussions at tea breaks in the RTC and ITC. Mike Baker was a leader of the Civil Rights Movement in Queens' University when a SU Representative. Fr Carbery's and Des

Carbery's father established the largest building contractors company in Carlow and gave a unique Carlow view to proceedings. Eamonn Moore began his career in the army and was civil engineer with an interest in drama and founded and then ran DramSoc in the RTC at this time. Liam Traynor was a musician whose friends were the Chieftains and other famous traditional musicians. Gerry Hughes established nationally the tourist courses and transferred to Galway where he became Head of Tourism which led to the Tourist Management programmes in GMT⁵. John McGillicuddy gave a County Dublin view to meetings and was always a fountain of good sense. Dave Phillip's grandfather had been executed in 1916, but his views are coloured by the poor treatment of his grandmother and his own very remarkable mother in the new Free State. Frank Dawe, an Englishman and Head of Engineering had a career in the British Merchant Navy and then in education with a period as a lecturer in Reading Technical College. Paddy O'Reilly is a character who left behind him a legion of stories from his various exploits (potholing in Clare but many others that added richly to the folklore of the RTC) when he left the RTC to take up an appointment in the IIRS (now Enterprise Ireland) in Dublin in 1976. Dr Sean Cawley came from a background in Mayo of which he was intensely proud that gave him a determined streak. Seamus McCormack owner of the 'Three Jolly Pigeons'⁶, Lissoy, Athlone, Westmeath is a close friend and political supporter of the former Minister and Senator Mary O'Rourke and one of the founders of the Goldsmith Summer School. With these and others to make up a politically diverse cast of characters for SA meetings, things were never going to be boring!

Finally, it should perhaps be noted that Charlie O'Boyle and Father Brendan Carbery made a major contribution to the social life of students and staff through sport. Brendan of course further set up links with the local community such as organising visits to the Sacred Heart Home in Barrack Street. Students would chat to individuals and sing along with residents at this home. Paul McKevitt and others have continued to

organise the annual Xmas Party for these senior citizens. In such tangible ways the two lecturers' memory is retained.

**The spelling of names in extracts is as in the recorded minute.*

¹ The meeting actually discussed CNEA awards (Council for National Academic Awards) as used in UK.

² The accident occurred on 17th January 1973 in which the RTC lecturers were involved in a collision with an oncoming truck on the Protlaoise Mountmellick road. It was a foggy morning and visibility was drastically reduced at this point by smoke from a dump field. Both lecturers were brought to Portlaoise Hospital. Charlie regained consciousness but died on the 19th January. Brendan never regained consciousness and was transferred to the Richmond Hospital, Dublin where he also died on the 19th January.

³ The Teachers Union of Ireland voted support of the campaign for Mr O'Faoláin who was dismissed from his position of Principal of School in Waterford.

⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theresa_Ahearn

⁵ <http://www.gmit.ie/thehotelschool/level7-programmes/bbs-tourism-mgt.html>

⁶ http://www.discoverireland.com/gb/ireland/things-to-see-and-do/listings/product/?fid=FI_47357

Early Accreditation Success with Engineers Ireland

John Bentley

Editor's Introduction

The first serious thinking about the nature of technician education in Ireland came from Carlow's Mr John Kinsella then the Secretary of the Institution of Engineers Ireland (now Engineers Ireland) whose paper laid down the template for the entire Regional Technical Colleges (hereafter RTCs) system. The importance of accreditation of courses has been highlighted by the recent success of the School of Engineering in gaining formal Engineers Ireland accreditation for their courses. The following details are provided by a personal account by Mr John Bentley in chronological recollections on the first accreditation of our courses. The situation described relates to a world which was very different to that of the modern Institute of Technology today with its world class building and sports facilities.

In September 1970 the Mechanical Engineering Department opened its doors and introduced two courses (i) Junior and Senior Trades for apprentice fitters (ii) National Certificate in Mechanical Engineering for technician engineers. In September 1973 Carlow RTC awarded the first ever Mechanical Diploma in the entire RTC sector. Mechanical Engineering Certificate graduates within the RTC sector, if they achieved an overall score of 70% or higher in the National Certificate could apply for entry to the new Diploma in mechanical Engineering. The Principal Mr J.J. Gallagher in a nationwide distribution of National Diploma courses in all the academic areas had opted for this specialisation in Carlow of mechanical engineering. Perhaps basing his decision here on the long experience of national training of mechanical engineering personnel conducted out of the Carlow Sugar Company. In the period 1974 to 1980 there was a continual stream of well qualified people coming out of the RTC but none of the established universities Trinity, National University or initially indeed those in the North were prepared to accept any of the Carlow Diploma graduates for admission to B.Sc. or B.Eng (Hons) programmes, irrespective of final achievements in the Diploma examinations, on the basis that very few students had taken mathematics at the Higher Level on the leaving Certificate paper.

In 1983 Queen's University in Belfast however were the first to recognise the value of recruiting the excellent graduates from the RTC programmes. The Admissions Officer Dr Skelton of the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, took a more sympathetic view and agreed that he would admit our National Diploma graduates into the second year of their B.Eng. (Hons) programme provided the student had achieved a distinction. Dr Skelton proudly informed Mr Bentley several years later that the scheme was a great success despite the regulation for Exemption from the Institution of Engineers of Ireland (hereafter I.E.I.) being unhelpful. The National Diploma taken in the U.K. had been recognised as granting exemption from Part 1 of the appropriate engineering discipline giving direct entry to part 2 examinations. In naivety, I requested

that the I.E.I. grant the RTC Diploma graduates exemption from the Part 1 examination; the response was immediate, the I.E.I. required our students to take Mathematics and another subject at Part 1 before they could register to take Part 2 examinations.

The story unfolds from this impasse with Mrs B.E. Millicent who was the education officer of the Engineering Council in the U.K. It was my great fortune, to meet and have numerous discussions with this lady who was indeed a legend in her own time; nothing moved within the Council without her say and approval. I explained our problem with the I.E.I. vis-à-vis exemption for our National Diploma graduates from Part 1 of the C.E.I. professional examinations. Three months later on the 25th February 1984 I received the letter from her advising us that (i) Carlow RTC may be used as a Centre for Council examinations (ii) Holders of a National Diploma in an appropriate engineering discipline awarded by the National Council for Educational Awards (hereafter NCEA) are accepted for direct entry to the Part 2 examination. The efforts of this lady paved the way for many of our Diploma graduates to transcend from the status of being members of the Engineering Technician register to being registered as professional Chartered Engineers (C.Eng.) of the respective Engineering Institution.

In 1984 Carlow graduates registered by the Institution of Production Engineering (I Prod E) following receipt of the exemption letter from the Engineering Council should have been able to register for Part 2 examinations. I spoke personally to the Education Secretary of the I.Prod.E. for this permission but the response was "No way". I explained politely that the Engineering Council had already granted our students exemption from part 1 examinations and as such they were in my view entitled to enter the I.Prod.E. final Part 2 examination. There was a sting however here as the Education Secretary haughtily informed me "that the Engineering Council did not tell the I.Prod.E. what to do", and indeed went on to say that "he would grant the same exemptions as the I.E.I.

and that our students would have to take mathematics and another subject at Part 1 level prior to being admitted to Part 2 examinations". My careful political response was that I was not aware that the I.E.I. was a constituent member of the CEI and I was concerned that a foreign Institution was dictating policy to the CEI. I further informed him that the conversation was being recorded and I would fly the following week to England to meet with the Chairman of the CEI regarding interference from an outside body. There was a long pause and I realised the point was taken and it would be politically sensible to meet the I.Prod.E. halfway. I suggested a compromise, that Diploma students who obtained a Credit grade or above would be exempt from taking Part 1 examinations and would register to take Part 2 examination. My friend and colleague Mr Des Carbery four weeks later negotiated with his Institution the I.Mech.E., and obtained full exemptions for his students; subject to passing the national Diploma examinations. Shortly after the Electrical Engineering Department in the RTC gained equivalent exemptions from the I.E.E. for their students.

In 1984 the ice with the I.E.I. melted. Shortly after the C.E.I and Engineering Council exempted our graduates from the Part 1 examinations, a senior member of the I.E.I. invited the late and much missed Mr John Peters and myself to lunch in a local Carlow hotel. The purpose of this gentleman's visit was to explain the rationale of the I.E.I. on exemptions in that they were requiring the Carlow graduates to "take mathematics and another subject in order to protect academic standards." He was surprised to hear from us that the RTC staff in Engineering were all very firm on the absolute need to protect academic standards. It was pointed out to him "that C.E.I. examination papers unlike those of the universities or indeed the RTCs were externally set, marked to an objective standard approved by the Engineering Council and respective Institutes." He was aware that the I.E.I. did not set their own examinations but used the same C.E.I. papers with an I.E.I. cover for their own students. The proof of the pudding here was in the eating; when Carlow students passed the Part 2 technological examinations they demonstrated that they satisfied the

minimum standards required and those that failed would not.

The Conclusion to this episode was that in September 1984 a new one-year Post Diploma course was initiated with the purpose of preparing Mechanical Engineering Diploma graduates for the six part 2 examinations papers and the Part 3 management paper. Over the next five years seventy graduates successfully passed these examinations and are now practicing as professional Chartered Engineers. Many of these successful young engineers had arrived in the RTC with low Leaving Certificate points and few had taken mathematics at the Higher Level. This record of achievement is a tribute to their commitment to study but also to my fellow colleagues who taught and inspired them, namely those shown in the photograph of the RTC's Engineering staff from 1985.

The Early Construction Course

Anthony Gerard D'Arcy B ARCH (UCD) MRIAI

Born and reared in Tullow Street and being a Carlow man and having worked in London for many years I was anxious to return to my home town. I started in the Institute of Technology Carlow, formerly known as the Carlow Regional Technical College in September 1972 working with Eamonn Moore and Michael Barrett (RIP) in setting up the Construction Studies Technician Course. The College was very much apprentice oriented at the time. I seem to remember that we had under 10 students per class in the early years.

The original course was known as the Architectural, Surveying, Construction, Engineering Technician (ASCE) course and was national in nature. As Course Organiser I remember going to meetings in Dublin to the Department of Education building off Pearse Street where I met other Course Organisers from around the country.

This developed into a Construction Studies Certificate course which was Carlow College based and with Eamonn Moore and Michael Barrett we developed it into a National Certificate. Eamonn and myself also lectured on the early Art and Design Course.



Tony D'Arcy

Our Externs for the Construction Course were Dan Kelly and Kevin Murnane from Bolton Street who pointed out that in Bolton Street they had tens of lecturers looking after a course that we were running with 3 lecturers. Jim Mc Cotter (RIP) Structural Engineer joined the staff in 1978. Aidan Feeney (RIP), Civil Engineer joined the staff in 1976.

The Architectural Technology Course

In 1984 a one year Architectural Draughtsmanship course was started by Tom Cowper, Architect, and he, as Course Director together with myself, developed this into a 2 year College

Certificate Course in 1987 and then a National Certificate Course in Architectural Graphics in 1992 with Denis Doran specialising as Modelmaker and John Whitty heading up Computer Aided Draughting with Paul McKeivitt and Yvonne Finn, Mechanical and Elec Engineer, specialising in Services. Paddy O'Brien and Michael Glynn Civil Engineers who joined the College in approx 1980 (Michael later became Head of Department of the Built Environment) together with Don Sexton, Civil Engineer, who joined in 1986 headed up the Structural and Civil subjects.

In 1995 Eleanor Heylin Kelly, Architect, joined the staff. Eleanor and myself as Course Director established a three year National Diploma in Architectural Technology in 2001. Ann Berney, Architect, joined the staff in the same year. The student numbers at this time were approx 60 in year 1, 50 in year 2 and 40 in year 3 with 6 classes in all. A three year Ordinary Degree was established in 2006 and a new four year Honours Degree was established in 2010, headed up by Allan Read, specialising in Conservation. The Leaving Certificate points level at this time was approx 430 to 300 with an average of 357 points.

Site visits abroad to European Cities and to Building sites in Dublin and elsewhere around Ireland formed an



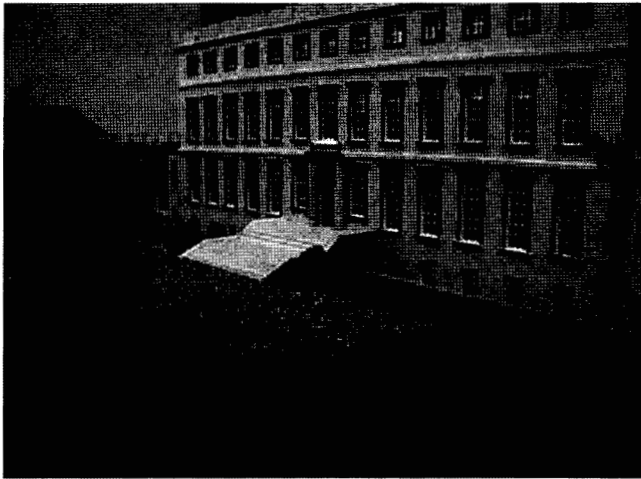
Engineering Staff in 1985

Back row: Martin Meehan, (Civil Tech) Martin Fox, (Motor Tech) Roddy Cummins, (Mech Tech) Andy Ffrench, (Mech Tech) John Sharp, John Keogh, (Mech Tech) Paddy Kelly, Pat Buckeridge, John Whitty, Des Carbery, Martin Nevin, Robert Corrigan, Eugene Kernan, Pat O'Brien.

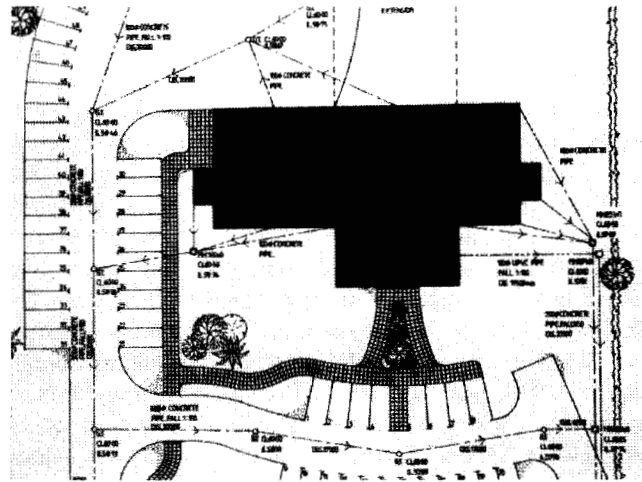
Middle Row: Tom Whitney, John Bentley, Tom Cowper, Keith Weightman, John Peters RIP, John Joe Kelly, (Mech Tech) Michael Doran, Con Doran, John Whelan, John Moran RIP, Michael Doheny, Tony D'Arcy, Michael Barrett RIP, Don Sexton, Denis Doran,

Seated: Jim McCotter RIP, Eamonn Moore, Allen McLoughlin, John Doyle, Frank Dawe, Paul McKeivitt, Joe Feeley and Rev Dermot McKenna.

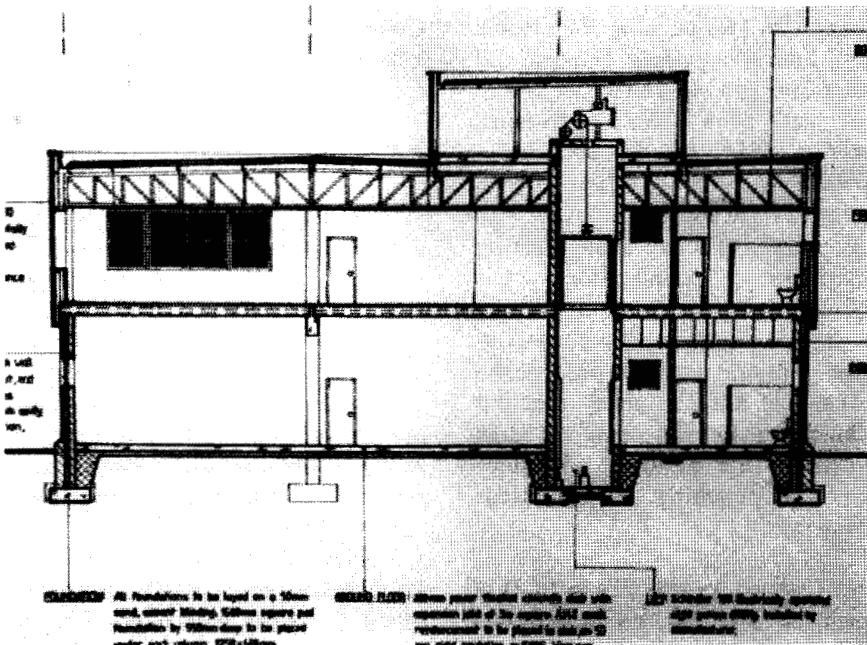
IN CARLOW, WE TRY TO SIMULATE THE WORK DONE IN AN ARCHITECTS OFFICE OR INDUSTRIAL ENVIRONMENT:
HERE ARE SOME EXAMPLES OF PAST STUDENT'S WORK:



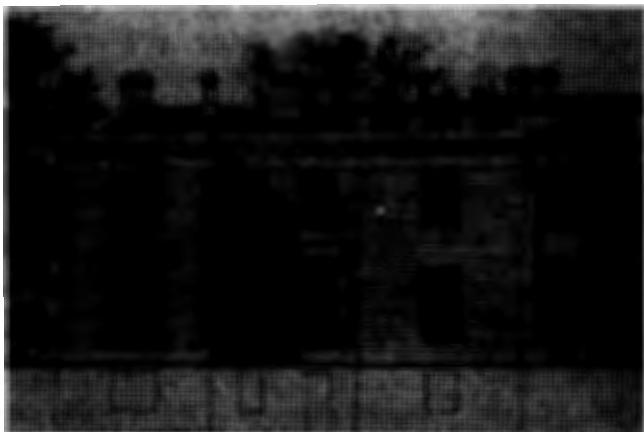
Former student's model of an Irish Historic building



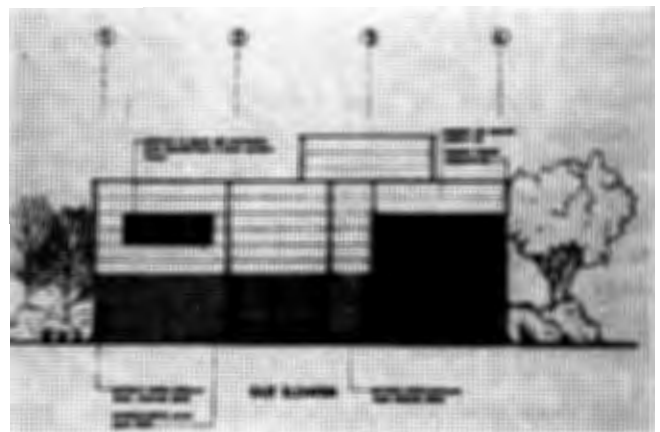
Student's working drawing of a factory site layout plan.



This is a typical example of a student's working drawing of a factory section.



Student's presentation drawing of a Manor house elevation which was measured by the student.



Student's working drawing of a factory elevation.

important part of the Architectural Technology Education for the students. These were organised with help from Denis Doran, Martin Meehan and Andrew French.

Tom Cowper, retired about the year 2001 and since that year the course expanded with more staff joining. The staff in 2005, including Sujana Sudhir, an Indian Architect, and Allan Read, an English Architect, both providing an International flavour to the course. Allan had headed up the Architecture Department in Halham University of Sheffield. Noel Dunne, specialist in 2D and 3D Autocad joined the staff in approx 1998 and Dan O Sullivan, Architect, with Margaret Doyle Hughes and Paul Lawrence, both Architectural Technologists joined the staff in 2005 (Margaret is a past pupil of the course).

About this time the Architectural Course in the Wexford Campus started up using our course as a Model with Mark Duffy, Architect, as Director (a past Architectural student of Carlow) with Richard Cleary and John Carton, Architects, and Edmund Joyce, Architectural Technologist. The Course in Wexford was originally started by Aoife Kealy, Architectural Technologist.

In General (see accompanying photos of drawings and models)

The Architectural Technology students on the programme are educated in the process of building detailing from concepts to completion. The purpose of the Programme is also to prepare students for careers in the Architectural profession and the construction industry.

Broadly speaking, a good level of Education was achieved in Carlow with many of our students having progressed on to further education in Bolton Street and also to Welsh, Scottish and English Universities, with many becoming Professional Architectural Technologists and Professional Architects.

Great cross fertilization between the Construction Studies Course, the Civil Engineering Course and the Architectural Technology Course was a

feature facilitated by Frank Dawe Head of School and John Doyle Head of Department, who together sped across the College grounds in 1976 at high speed in my 20ft long Hovercraft, providing entertainment for the onlookers!

Other Engineering staff who provided support to the Architectural course that should also be mentioned in no particular order include Martin O'Neill, Quantity Surveyor, (A past pupil of the construction course), Gerry Gallagher, Shane Murray, Michael Doran, Con Doran, Tommy Whitney, Keith Weightman, Pat and Mary O Connor, Johnny Moran (RIP), John Sharpe, Michael Doheny, Jer Keohane, Emer McGann, Fiona Dawson, Anthony Dempsey, Martin Nevin, Martin Fox, Paddy Kelly, Roddy Cummins, John Bentley, Des Carbery, Eugene Kernan, Joe Feeley, Reverend Tom Dillon, Reverend Dermot McKenna, Alan McLoughlin, John Peters (RIP), John Keogh, John Hayden, and Robert Corrigan together with a host of other staff from other departments that provided cross fertilization of knowledge.

The very efficient Engineering Department Administrators, Liz McEvoy, Betty Kelly and Deirdre Doorley provided all our correspondence support needs while Martin Meehan and Andrew French were our Technical support. There were 4 large printers in the building laboratory each day punching out hundreds of drawings!

When I started Architecture in UCD in September 1964, watercolour drawings of the Custom House were still being produced with black/blue prints just coming into use. Negatives were stored in huge steel cabinets. The standard and quality of drawings by means of computers and photography has so improved since September 1964, it is hard to believe the progress.

In 1988 I provided the Architectural Design for the Computer Integrated Manufacturing Centre on the College Campus. Funds for this were provided by Digital of Galway and obtained by Brendan Laffan, Head of the Electrical/Electronic Department. In 1990 the adjoining Innovation Centre, funded by the College Industrial

Liaison Officer, Jim McEntee, and designed by me, was built.

I always tried to involve myself in professional practice as I believe that it is only through Practical Experience that a lecturer can impart useful applied current knowledge to students intending to work in Industry.

I retired last Christmas and I would like to thank Ruairi Neavyn and all who attended my retirement evening in Ewings, particularly those who organised it including Martin O'Neill, Gerry Gallagher and Michael Glynn, together with Betty Kelly and Deirdre Doorley. I expressed my appreciation to all that night to my former colleagues and indeed wish the IT Carlow all the best in the future.

Pioneering Electronics, Computing, Networking and International Course and Programmes

Mike Baker, Retired Head of Computing and Networking Department

Editor's Introduction

Mike Baker has enjoyed the most diverse of careers in the RTC and later the Institute. He brings a unique insight here to issues that are of real educational importance from the 'chalk-face' and from various positions in management. Two of the developments he discusses are worth short comments from the editors because of their early introduction in Carlow certainly before any other colleges in Ireland.

I studied electronic engineering at Queen's University, Belfast graduating in 1971. After graduation, I taught mathematics for a short period. Later, I worked with two other Queen's graduates in setting up a company which manufactured electronic monitoring and control equipment for industry particularly in the area of energy management. These products were highly original at the time, and, in association with one of customers won an Institute of Industrial Research and Standards (now Enterprise Ireland) national award.

I came to Carlow RTC in 1973 to teach general electronics. This was only the second year the course had run. I worked with two UCD graduates Brendan Laffan and Frank Delaney.

Frank Dawe was Head of Department. There was only the one course and we were all involved. Pat O'Connor and later Mary O'Brien taught mathematics. Dick Roche did the physics and was shortly replaced by Steve McManus. Brendan and Frank both had electrical backgrounds, so I was left in large part to teach the electronics. It was a national course with externally set examinations. Brendan was course director and, when the College developed its own course, played the leading role in the drafting of the new submission. He had an interest in establishing the course based on 'Aims and Objective'. This was an innovative approach at the time and the Electronics course was one of the first in the RTC to implement such a programme. It was this type of approach that ultimately led to the current method of programme development based on defining the Learning Outcomes. (*Editors' Note: The development of such courses certainly had not been implemented in the Republic although they were being developed in several third-level institutes in the UK*)

The National course was very traditional with such things as semiconductor physics which was not really relevant to an electronic technician course. What we had to do was to teach the technicians how to read a datasheet and make devices work. Once you adopt that approach to electronics, a new device is just a new datasheet. Our students learned to work on their own. This more pragmatic approach was certainly quite different to that adopted by the universities at the time. Thus Carlow gained a good reputation for educating useful graduates with the skills industry actually wanted. This was maintained by keeping a wide-ranging contact with industry, always trying to anticipate as precisely as possible the knowledge and skills that would be demanded.

George Twinem, who arrived shortly after I did, was, at first the only electronics technician. Laz Murphy and Fergal Flanagan who joined him subsequently were graduates from our own courses.

The course grew rapidly. The first class I taught in the early 1970s was just 4 students but by the 1980s we had

a first year intake of five classes of about 36 to 40 each. When the Diploma was established in 1986 there were 130 Diploma students. Staff were recruited roughly on basis of current student numbers, and so because of the time delay in making appointments and the rapidly increasing numbers we were constantly short of staff. The input of course boards and indeed even the Head of Department was minimal into what kind of staff was needed. Appointments were in the hands of the Board of Management. Around this time in Carlow the apprentice courses were being run down and a lot of the apprentice teachers were transferring into the electronics technician courses. They had to effectively re-train themselves. Many of them did this with great success, and with very little help from management.

The Head of Department Brendan Laffan was released on a half-time basis in order to gain experience in industry and I was appointed half-time Head of Department. Later, Brendan became head of the industrial unit in the RTC for a few years working with Eugene Carbery and others in that unit. I became acting Head of Department.

At about the same time as Brendan returned to his position as Head of Electronics a vacancy arose in Science as Joe Chester was seconded to the RTC-Net project for two years. I was simply just moved across by Mr Gallagher, becoming acting Head of Computing, Physics and Mathematics

in 1989. At that time the computing section ran a National Certificate and a National Diploma in programming. The Add on Software Engineering degree had been accepted by the NCEA but had not yet been delivered. The Physics section ran National Certificate and a National Diploma in Physics.

The first task was to get the Software degree up and running. Given the enthusiasm of the computing staff to deliver their first degree programme, this was easily accomplished. The Degree programme was immediately successful, and has remained so ever since.

We did a survey of the computer industry to discover what everyone now knows, but did not know at this time. Many, indeed most, of the programming graduates were not working in programming; they were working more in systems support and management. Carlow, and every other third level institute in the country, had been producing computer programmers. We decided that it was time for a dedicated Systems Management Course. Applicants from second level were not really able to make the distinction between the two areas so we offered a common first year to give them time to determine their aptitudes and area of interest. Although initially the programming stream acquired a more prestigious reputation, being undoubtedly more demanding, the systems management



Mike Baker, Joe Kehoe, and Donal McAlister, visiting Shaolin Temple, China, January 2003

stream steadily grew, ultimately becoming the larger of the two.

During this period of rapid growth we experienced the same constant shortages of staff that I had experienced in Electronics. Managing this shortage was, undoubtedly, the single most difficult part of being Head of Department. European exchange programmes were being promoted quite strongly at this time and the Computing section was always keen to accept exchange students. These students joined the existing courses in second, third and fourth years, coming primarily from France and Germany. They were generally very good students, often stronger than the local students in areas like mathematics, and they tended to enhance the overall quality of the programmes in which they were involved. However this was a totally one-way 'exchange', the Irish students on our courses did not have the language skills to study in French or German institutions.



*Mike Baker assessing student
in Rawalpindi, Pakistan,
April 2003*

It was decided, therefore, to establish new National Diploma courses in Computing with French and Computing with German and to specifically recruit students who would have the motivation and skills able to participate in such a programme. Because of the links we had with Institutes in France and Germany who sent their students to us, it was not difficult to find places into which we could place these students. Our industry surveys had already told us that there was a great demand for graduates of this type. Ireland was the base for many multinational companies, primarily American based, who wished to sell software into Europe. For this they required skilled programmers fluent in the language.

Unfortunately, due to a failure to communicate this accurately to the schools most of those who applied thought they were coming to learn a bit of French or a bit of German and would only require fairly low level IT skills. The students on these courses were required to spend their second year abroad on French or German computing courses and they found this very, very difficult so the courses only lasted a couple of years. (*Editors' Note: These programmes were truly pioneering attempts and came from rather unique collaborations between computing and language academics in Carlow.*)

The Computer Networking and Optical Communications (CNOC) course was the result of collaboration between the computing staff and the physics staff. The number of Physics students had steadily declined and although the quality of the students and the course were high, as proved by the high academic achievements of so many of the graduates, none the less the courses were becoming less viable. There was a shortage of networking technicians at this time and the course was successful in producing highly employable graduates.

Later a Networking degree was developed. Aidan McDonald and Austin Kinsella were the primary drivers of this course. This was the first *ab initio* course in the college. *Ab initio* degrees are now much more common but to achieve this at this time was extremely difficult. There were degrees before but they were all add-ons and this was seen as something different. In practice this was significant because it meant that Carlow was appearing on the CAO degree list as opposed to being just on the certificate and diploma lists. Unfortunately, despite this achievement the course was poorly resourced but still managed to attract a high calibre of student and produced many very capable graduates.

The next *ab initio* degree course was the computer games degree, mainly led by Ross Palmer, but with many others contributing on syllabus development work. This course was based on an extensive survey and skill analysis. The resulting course was certainly

challenging but for those with the ability and perseverance it offered and continues to offer considerable rewards.

Promotion for the computer courses was conducted in China, South Korea, Pakistan and India, organised by the Non-EU International Office. I was always enthusiastic about recruitment of Asian students, and gradually became more involved. I believed then, as now, that the cultural diversity it brings to our college is to everyone's benefit. It is undoubtedly in our National interest to have a network of upwardly mobile graduates in the Far East who have good memories of, and links with, Ireland. On a more pragmatic note, there was a period when having students coming in from abroad prevented some courses from becoming unviable. For a number of reasons therefore, we were not generally trying to recruit students for year one, but rather for year two, three or four.

The first course we set up was with a private college in Dalian, China. It was a programme whereby the first year of a two-year National Certificate was delivered in Dalian with the second in Carlow. Ken Power went out to China for a year to teach on the course. It was one of the first of such courses between Ireland and China. This course did not last for too long as it was overly dependent on one or two individuals within the private college. It was none the less a useful exercise; we learnt a lot and did get some very able students.

On our second collaborative programme with China, some two years later, we worked with Henan University in Zhengzhou, and that course is still running. Henan is the second most populated province of China and Zhengzhou is its capital. The course is run to ordinary degree level and the students have the opportunity to come to Carlow for their honours degree year. The International office, essentially Jim McEntee and Donal McAlister, made the contacts and checked all the credentials. My part was to follow up and deal with the academic and quality assurance issues. The courses are taught primarily by Chinese lecturers in years one and two with much greater involvement by

Carlow in the third year. Several Carlow staff have been involved in delivering elements of the course in China, including Marion Murphy, Ken Power, Aine Byrne and Yvonne Kavanagh. *(Editors' comment: These developments are of some educational importance being very much at the crest of a wave of similar developments. Some greater detail on these international programmes were in Part 5 of the RTC-ITC History 2009)* The staff of Henan University, like many others, recognise that there is much to be learned from the approach to education in Ireland, particularly in the area of computing. None the less, it has been challenging not to mention both exciting and rewarding, to deal with all the many cultural and logistical complications in making this programme work.



Colm Kelly

In 2002 a vacancy arose as Acting Registrar after Brian Bennett took over as Acting Director while John Gallagher was on medical leave. I was appointed to this position and remained in this role for just under a year. The period was too short to put any personal mark on the position but during it I established good working relations with many Course Directors, and was able to facilitate the establishment of several new courses.

I also had the opportunity to serve as Acting Head of School, two terms as Chairman of the TUI and many, many committees. I have found it exciting, frustrating, thought-provoking and sometimes downright infuriating but rarely dull.

A Brief History of Business & Humanities

Colm Kelly, Department Head

Early Impressions

In the 1970s, as a Maths lecturer in the School of Science, I taught hours in all three Schools of the then Regional College. Over the years, my hours in the Business School gradually increased to the point where in 1985 all of my hours were in that School. In 1985, Frank Quinn was Head of School with Chris Fingleton and Hamilton Delargy as heads of department. It was apparent to me as a relative outsider that there were a number of key

influential lecturers who along with the management team, were shaping the direction of the School. These included Kevin O'Regan, Michael Hayes R.I.P. (Marketing), Owen Doyle (Marketing), John Scott (Communications), Owen McManus (Languages), Treasa Barry R.I.P. (Office Systems), Seamus McCormack (Purchasing and Marketing), Des Hogan R.I.P. (Business) and John McQueen (Design).

Under the management team, these lecturers were leaders who brought innovation into a School that under the leadership of Padraig O'Faolain R.I.P., had handled with distinction the initial challenge of getting certificate courses up and running. Now, in the mid 1980s, the changing educational landscape demanded more variety and greater opportunities for students. The School was not found wanting in responding to these changes. Sandra Kirwan as School secretary was the hub around which all these developments revolved.

From the early 1980s, I had gradually moved from Maths into the Information Technology area. However in common with all organisations at the time, without an overall guiding policy, a plethora of different microcomputers and software appeared on the desks of interested staff members. The Institute was lucky to have a Principal who saw both the potential of computers as well as the

necessity of applying controls on the purchase of computer technology so that their potential could be maximised.

The School of Business was lucky that both Chris Fingleton and Hamilton Delargy also saw the potential of computers. The School became the first School to acquire a working network of 30 microcomputers. The task of managing this fell to me. While the college was putting together a more coherent and college-wide approach to computing, the School of Business provided students with computing experience that was unique to Carlow and gave our students a competitive edge over other Business Schools that were slower off the mark.

Clash of Classes

Around this time, timetabling was done on department by department basis. This meant that each department had to be allocated resources such as rooms and this made it difficult if not impossible to share resources. Where rooms were shared, it was common to have clashes as each department did its own timetabling. The school of Business was the first to integrate its timetabling which made for greater efficiency. It also had the unexpected effect of creating greater synergies between departments and disciplines. Prior to this, academic staff could receive a timetable from two or more departments. In one particular year, I personally had timetables from six different departments! The joke among staff in such situations, was to ask not how many classes one had but how many "clashes".

Apart from the elimination of such clashes, staff were now much more willing to reach across disciplines knowing that they would receive a single coherent timetable. This, I believe was an important part of the development of the School and once again allowed the School to steal a march on rivals in other colleges. Later, when Brian Bennett arrived as Registrar, one of the first things that he did was to ensure that a college-wide timetabling system was purchased and implemented. This brought many benefits to the college in terms of efficient use of resources as well as

facilitating cross-departmental initiatives.

New Kids on the Block

The School recruited a number of people in key areas during the 1980s such as Martin Meagher and Richard Connolly (Accounting), Myles Kelly (IT and Accounting), Mary Lawlor, Laura Cuddihy (both Marketing), Micheal O Fearghail (Purchasing). Perhaps the key change that took place over the next five years was the development for the first time of degree programmes which was facilitated by the RTC Act. The first degree developed in the School was in Services Marketing which reflected the college's long-standing national dominance in Marketing. Over the next few years, degree programmes in Accounting, Supply Chain Management and Design were developed.

One area that the College failed to recruit despite advertising on several occasions was in Management Science. In 1989, John Gallagher approached me to see if I would go back to college to get a qualification in this area. He had identified a masters programme in the then U.C.D. Despite the workload which also involved lecturing duties, I was grateful for the opportunity and so embarked on a year of role reversal where I became the student. I found the experience very rewarding as it changed my approach to teaching thereafter as a result of seeing both good and bad examples of lecture delivery. In due course, I obtained a masters degree in Management Science in 1990. Over the next decade, a more comprehensive system of on-going staff development evolved for the Institute with many staff acquiring new qualifications in emerging disciplines.

I Stepped Out and He Stepped in Again...

On foot of acquiring this qualification, it was logical that I should move permanently to the Business School. This I did in 1990. In 1991, Chris Fingleton took a few years sabbatical to work for CONCERN in Africa and was replaced by Steve McManus (an erstwhile colleague of mine in the Science department) as acting Head of



Pictured at the presentation of the annual Harney Nolan Perpetual Trophy at IT Carlow

from left; James Nolan, Partner Harney Nolan; Fintan Walsh and Aishling O'Regan, BA (Hons) in Accounting award winners; Suzanne Corcoran, Harney Nolan; Maebh Maher, Head of the School of Business and Humanities; Susan Brennan, Programme Director and Martin Meagher, Head of the Department of Business and Communications

Department. Maebh Maher (Law) was appointed in the acting position of Head of Department in Science to replace Jimmy Parkes who went on a research sabbatical. Thus, we had the unusual situation of a scientist managing a business department while a business person managed a science department! However, in my experience, the best managers weren't necessarily the ones with impressive qualifications in their areas of expertise. It is more important that a manager possess that most rare of qualities – common sense.

In due course, Steve McManus was appointed as Registrar to Dundalk Institute of Technology and he was replaced as acting head of department by Martin Meagher (Accountancy). Around this time Hamilton Delargy retired and for an entire year Martin Meagher acted as de facto head of two departments. Martin Meagher over the next 10 years was to engage in a kind of Lanigans Ball as he successively (and successfully) acted twice as head of department and once as head of School. In a short two year period he

and I were lecturing colleagues, then he was my boss as acting head of department, then I was his boss as acting head of department, then he was my boss as acting head of school, then I was his boss as he returned to lecturing and finally in 2003 we were working colleagues as heads of department. Lucky we didn't fall out over this time or things could have become complicated (no irony intended!).

Faraway Hills

The School was always an outward-looking entity and through the work of John Scott and Chris Fingleton, many international links were forged with colleges in France and Germany. The first such link arranged by Chris Fingleton was with Schaux near Paris when three students from Carlow went for three months. This modest beginning was the first of many exchange programs initiated over the ensuing years and allowed many Carlow students to avail of the invaluable experience of studying abroad. Today, the Institute has a thriving International Office with links

to many countries throughout the world giving the Institute a strong multicultural flavour. However, the seeds for this development were sown in the School of Business and Humanities. It also resulted in the development of a degree in the very successful degree in International Business.

Another outward-looking development took place in the late 1980s. Carlow developed two out-reach centres in Kilkenny and Wexford. Chris Fingleton on his return from Africa, among other responsibilities, managed these centres in the early years of their existence. Ultimately, in 1997 a political decision at national level was taken that resulted in Kilkenny being administered by Maynooth N.U.I. while Wexford stayed under the control of Carlow.

The School has always performed well in educational competitions winning awards in a number of areas, most notably in Design. Carlow's Design students have regularly scooped national prizes. Recent successes include Design student Noel Joyce's invention of a new braking system for wheelchairs which won the Dyson Award in Ireland. Another Design student, Tara Fox, Industrial Design at IT Carlow won the esteemed Vaseline 2006 Graphic Design Competition. These successes reflect the dedication of the staff in Design who guided these and many other students throughout these projects. The Design team of Peter Curran, Michael O'Grady, Bryan Leech, Emmet Sexton, Colin Deevy, Adam Deeyto, Hilary Dempsey and Carmel Maher continue the tradition of enterprise and innovation started by John McQueen and Ken Broderick.

Man in His Time Plays Many Parts

...

In 1994, Chris Fingleton returned as Head of Business and Management and Martin Meagher returned to lecturing. With the return of Jimmy Parkes from sabbatical, Maebh Maher returned from Science and was appointed in a permanent capacity as Head of Humanities and Design. In 2002, Frank Quinn retired and Maebh Maher was appointed as Head of School. Meanwhile, Director John Gallagher also retired. The process of appointing a new Director had begun and the

board of Governors decided to defer permanent appointments of management positions to allow the new Director to make these key appointments. As a consequence, in the one year period prior to the appointment of Ruaidhri Nevin as Director/President, one could be forgiven for thinking that the Institute had become a repertory company so great was the number of acting positions in existence!

In 2002, Chris Fingleton left to take over his family business. I was appointed in an acting capacity as Head of Business and Management. On the retirement of John Gallagher, Brian Bennett was appointed as acting Director. Michael Baker (then head of Computing) was appointed as acting Registrar. After a short spell as acting Director, Brian Bennett returned to his job as Registrar and Maebh Maher was appointed Acting Director. Martin Meagher was appointed acting head of the School of Business and Humanities. Declan Doyle (Marketing) was appointed acting head of Humanities and Design. Meanwhile both Science and Engineering also had acting heads. All the world's a stage..!

The Red King

Over the years, the name of top job in the Institution mutated from Principal to Director and finally to President. Now we had a Red King! As Ruaidhri Nevin explained to a slightly bewildered visiting Chinese delegation, the literal meaning of Ruaidhri is Red King. With the appointment of the "Red King", the acting roles quickly disappeared. I was appointed Head of Business and Management. Martin Meagher was appointed Head of Humanities and Design – his first permanent appointment after many acting roles. Declan Doyle was appointed Head of the Wexford Campus.

Under Maebh Maher as Head of School and with the arrival of the "Red King", there began an unprecedented review of existing programmes and the development of new ones. In each area of the School, new programmes emerged which reflected the changing needs of prospective students. The traditionally strong areas of

Accounting, Marketing, Management, International Business and Design were now complemented by new developments in Law, Early Childhood Studies, Communications and Public Relations, Management and Sports.

Key staff, both existing and newly recruited, helped drive these developments and included Paul Goodwin, Mark Attridge, Una Grant, Rita Byrne (Marketing), Allison Kenneally, Ivan Sheerin (both Law), Anne Carpenter (Early Childhood Studies), Richard Connolly, Susan Brennan, Mary Meehan, Tracy Byrne, Mairead Bohan (Accounting), Gina Noonan (International Business), Micheal O Fearghaill and Graham Heaslip (both Supply Chain Management – Graham is a brother of Irish rugby international Jamie Heaslip), John Scott, Bernadette Scott, Irene McCormack and Pauline Madigan (Communications), Peter Curran (Design), Joan McCahill, Ralf Burbach (Human Resource Management).

All of these developments shared the requirement of common disciplines such as Maths, Information Technology and Languages. Again the School was lucky to have excellent lecturers in these areas including Damien Raftery, Sharon McDonald, Esther Brett (Maths, Information Technology), Dara McHugh (German and Information Technology), Claus Derenda (German), Anne O'Connor (German and International Culture). These developments also required top class back up in administration and the School was extremely fortunate to have Yvonne Scully and Marian Egan to coordinate and manage the detailed documentation that accompanied these developments. As result of all this, the School today is scarcely recognisable today from the one I joined all those years ago. The dedication of all staff over the past forty years has built a culture in which the student is at the centre of all considerations.

CARLOW AND DARWIN: IRELAND AND THE AGE OF THE EARTH DEBATE

N.D. McMillan,
M Nevin
M. De Arce

Carlow Cast in the 'Battle for the Origin'



Patrick Francis Moran (1830 - 1911),
by unknown photographer,
courtesy of Herald & Weekly Times
Portrait
Collection, State Library of Victoria.
H38849/3056.

Abstract

This paper published in two parts (Carloviana 2011 and 2012) represents an integration of much of the material accumulated over four decades of pioneering research by the authors on Tyndall, Haughton, Moran and other important figures who were either born or connected by family to Carlow. The recent RIA-EPA conference September 2011 to commemorate Tyndall's landmark paper on Climate Change was opened by Richard Somerville of University of California with a paper 'From Carlow to here: 150 years of climate change research' and marks the experimental discovery of the greenhouse effect by the Leighlinman. The organisation by the Carlow Tyndall Committee of the International Tyndall School in Carlow, Leighlinbridge and Ballinabranra in 1993 was specifically run to mark Tyndall's achievement of the 1861 papers on climate change and

his foundation of the modern science of atmospheric monitoring. The Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research perhaps was established from ITS given that the Universities of Manchester, Southampton and East Anglia were all in attendance and returned shortly thereafter to establish this centre based on all three universities. Tyndall's major work, including this greenhouse effect discovery, was conducted in his role as 'the physicist' in the X Club that developed researches to support the theory of evolution. These contributions are explained in detail as are his relationships with other Darwinians. His role here cannot however be documented for a Carlow readership without properly elaborating the work of two men, Samuel Haughton and Patrick Francis Moran, who also made internationally significant contributions to this debate but who opposed the Darwinian Theory. The details of

the various personal contributions of these three Carlowmen and others from Carlow who played roles in related events are detailed. The significance of the various Carlow contributions are assessed for the first time. Perhaps Darwin scholars have failed to recognise either this remarkable parochial coincidence or explore the inter-relationships between the various men. It is these local connections which to some extent explains how such a Carlow fulcrum could exist in what was truly an international debate.

KEY WORDS: Darwin; Tyndall; Haughton; Moran; Cullen, Delany; Carlow; Evolution; Age of the Earth; X Club; Carlow



Charles Darwin

1. The Age of the Earth Debate Background

The Age of the Earth (hereafter 'The Age') debate has a long lineage in Ireland with the earliest notable and widely celebrated contribution being Bishop Ussher's Biblical chronology. By the nineteenth century, studies on the age of the earth had become an established and indeed a national research theme. The publication by Charles Robert Darwin (1809 – 1882) of his book the 'Origin of Species' (hereafter *The Origin*) in 1859 was unsurprisingly to become both a scientific and social watershed, and given this Irish geo-chronology research tradition, to lead directly to both significant scientific research and cultural developments. Importantly, Carlow's Samuel Haughton (1820-1897) contemporaneously with the publication of *The Origin* applied the principle of 'least action' to modeling planetary systems, animal mechanics, and the optics of geological rock sections. The principle of least action is explained below. From this platform, developed important geological and geographical studies that informed on *The Age* with the Haughton solar system models at the turn of the century led to the work of George Darwin (1845-1921) on the earth-moon system that became of real geochronological importance. From Haughton tidal researches John Joly (1857-1933) developed important studies on sedimentary estimates of the age of the earth to obtain improved estimates on *The Age*. In the context of estimating *The Age*, Haughton inadvertently made the first discovery of 'alpha emitting' radioactive salts in discovering pleochroic haloes through his microscopic examination of granite from the Blackstairs. Subsequent, Joly developed important radiochemistry studies that contributed to the modern estimate of *The Age*. The Haughton research involvement and contributions to this Debate, was important. These can be put in some context by the Figure 1. This reworked diagram, is taken from one that appeared in Scientific American August 1989, p.92. It is also perhaps useful at this point to state that the current age of the earth estimate is that the oldest rocks on earth are 3.9-4 billion years old.

The work of Haughton is important in its own right here¹, but while he did not contribute a landmark geological estimate of *The Age*, it should be remembered that he was one of the most important lieutenants of William Thomson (1824-1907) known today as Kelvin because of his title 1st Baron Kelvin. Bowler² explained that the injection of the theory of evolution from Darwin, then a respected establishment naturalist, was certain to precipitate major cultural and scientific reaction given the earlier blacklisting of Lamarckism, the anticipatory evolutionary work of the later X Club member Herbert Spencer, and secondly, the Carlowman was the formative influence on the researches of John Joly (1857-1933). Both Kelvin and Joly feature however on this Geochronology chart. Darwin published *The Origin* at a time society was primed ready to react to this radical theoretical formulation of the sketched scheme for God-governed evolution in Robert Chamber's *Vestiges*.

Evolution, as a debate soon fused in Ireland with the widely celebrated, with the older and the fundamentally wider *The Age* Debate. Physics no doubt to the frustration of the 'Evolutionists' would become the arbiter in this great debate, as many of the fundamental theoretical issues that would determine the disputed matters were solar and atmospheric science, thermodynamic processes related to the earth, and even Newtonian physics of the earth moon system. Kelvin was the gatekeeper here as the unchallenged leader of these fields. Kelvin had been from his youth a supporter of Paley's theory of benevolent design³ because he saw overpoweringly strong proofs of intelligent and benevolent design all around us. David Wilson traces Kelvin's linking of science to faith to his education at Glasgow and then in Cambridge⁴. Kelvin indeed began his 1871 BAAS presidential address with the revealing comments "I feel profoundly convinced that the argument of design has been greatly too much lost sight of in recent zoological speculations." He

drew in this lecture on his entropic 'arrow of time' ideas in saying that life without a creator was as about as likely as time running backwards⁵.

James Ussher (1581-1656), the Anglican Archbishop of Armagh produced the celebrated Ussher chronology providing a history of the world formulated from a literal reading of the Bible. His work is associated with Young Earth Creationism, which holds that the universe was created only a few thousand years ago.

Ussher's work, more properly known as the *Annales veteris testamenti, a prima mundi origine deducti* (Annals of the Old Testament, deduced from the first origins of the world), was his contribution to the long-running theological debate on the age of the Earth. Ussher's work has become a major concern of many Christian scholars over the centuries⁶. Ussher's proposed date of 4004 BC differed little from other Biblically-based estimates, such as those of Bede (3952 BC), Ussher's near-contemporary, Scaliger (3949 BC), Johannes Kepler (3992 BC) or Sir Isaac Newton (c. 4000 BC).

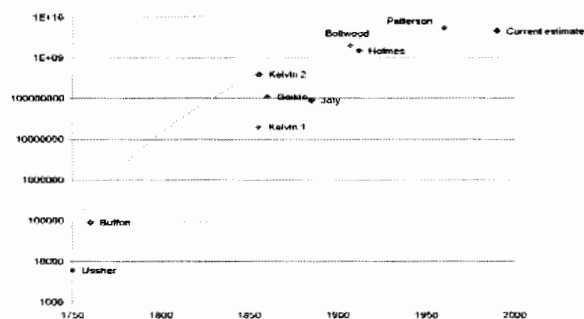


Figure 1: Chronology of 'Age of the Earth' in years with landmark contributions to the evolving debate

In historical events, certain geographic locations have acquired special significance and remarkable coincidence of birth or family connection unites many of the Irish players in this story to Carlow and its environs with Vigors, Tyndall, Haughton, Cullen, Moran and Delaney. Perhaps even more surprisingly, the nucleus of the players came from the small Carlow village of Leighlinbridge which also was the family home of the Dargan family whose scion William was to become

the hero of The Young Ireland Movement and arguably was the inspiration of the modern Irish Republic with his amazing industrial enterprise and canal/railway construction. Dargan's two uncles from the village had been executed in 1798 and lie in the Croppies Grave in Graiguecullen just outside the town boundary with the other 764 Croppy Boys⁷, who appear from existing records to be mainly comprised of dissenting Protestants that died in the tragic events in the May 1798 'Battle of Carlow' which thus was the most important uprising of the United Irishmen. In this article the various roles of these men will be touched on to illuminate a complex story that is of importance to Carlow.

2. Towards Evaluating Haughton's Establishment Contribution

The work of Darwin's collaborator Charles Lyell (1797-1875) firmly established the uniformitarian context of the 19th century debate in geology, building on the work of William Smith, Hutton and others⁸; uniformitarianism became by 1859 the accepted doctrine that scientific issues were to be debated in the strict context of 'uniform action of natural causes.' Lyell had entered Exeter College, Oxford in 1816 and attended Buckland's catastrophist (or diluvial) lectures in geology. William Buckland (1784-1856) was font of all geological knowledge in the 'Golden Age of Geology' with Sedgwick, Phillips, Lyell and Murchison all his pupils, Agassiz his coadjutor and Conybeare his closest friend and collaborator⁹. This is briefly the context of the appointment of first David Phillips (1800-1874) as the first professor of geology in Trinity College Dublin (hereafter TCD) in 1840. Phillips had undertaken pioneering studies on Secondary and Tertiary formation in the period 1829-36 to support the work of George Cuvier (1768-1832) in 1813¹⁰ and Buckland in 1820¹¹. Phillips stayed in this Dublin position for just a short time before leaving for a position in Oxford in 1856 to succeed Buckland. Phillips made two major contributions to geological education¹² that was greatly to influence the thinking of later TCD geologists on these profound questions. A review of all

these questions of the age of the earth by W.J. Sollas¹³ from the Oxbridge perspective is important for Ireland given the long and intimate relationship of TCD with her two sister universities, and furthermore, this book provides relevant perspective for the work of Phillips and Dublin geologists at a strategic time for the discussion of Darwinism at the start of the 20th century. Phillips delivered a 'Read Lecture' before the University of Cambridge shortly before the Darwin watershed in 1859 and published his *Succession of Life on the Earth* in 1860. He was very much a person whose opinion was to be reckoned with. Darwin wrote a persuasive letter to Phillips shortly after the publication of *The Origin* and according to Darwin, Phillips was "Dead against" the theory of evolution, a view formed from a letter he had received from Phillips that unfortunately has not been preserved. We know of these views because Darwin wrote a reply that survives from Ilkley Wells House, Otley, Yorkshire on 26th November, 1859.

Phillips was succeeded in the Chair of Geology in Trinity by a home grown prodigy Samuel Haughton whose anti-evolutionary views were probably moulded by Phillips and Kelvin. Haughton became the leader of the opposition to Darwin in Ireland. Probably his parochial education and academic position in the provincial university made this opposition to the theory of Natural Selection probable. Samuel attended a large Church of Ireland school in the Carlow parish and was there inspired by Mr. Emerson, a gifted scholar and naturalist. The boy was from the earliest age trained as a naturalist from long nature walks on the side of the River Barrow and the adjacent bog lands with his schoolmaster. The pair also apparently ventured into the neighbouring hills where the boy acquired a lifetime's interest in geology which provided the platform for his later major contributions to the age of the earth debate. In the McMillan's treatment of the biography of Haughton the importance of his relationship with his energetic reforming uncle James Haughton (1795-1873) is conjectured¹⁴. James was a Young Irelander, temperance crusader, anti-

slaver and Unitarian and played an important role in the 1820s in concert with Bishop Doyle in Carlow Catholic Emancipation Movement. In a development of this study the author deals more specifically with Haughton's role in the age of the earth controversy¹⁵. Haughton's family were prosperous Quakers who operated a large milling business in Carlow town with silos on the River Barrow that were demolished only recently and a family home¹⁶ on the River Burrin that still stands with adjacent grain stores that are still extant. Haughton although taking Holy Orders and playing a leading role in the affairs of the Church of Ireland, was buried in an unmarked grave in traditional Quaker style.

If the musculo-skeletal structure of animals is optimised to perform with minimum mechanical work (Principle of Least Action), it follows from Haughton's argument that evolution cannot perfect or advance a specific animal to give a more advantageous structure. The recently elected Provost of TCD Patrick Prendergast has done some very impressive research analyzing the contribution of Haughton in three studies to date. The first of these studies *On a wing and a prayer: The biomechanics of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Haughton (1821-1897)*¹⁷ deals with two of Haughton's most significant contributions in animal mechanics, namely his application of least action applied to the heart and for the bird's wing (albatross). Historically, this latter analysis applying physics to the problem is of enormous importance because it supported Richard Owen's classic work *On the nature of limbs* published in 1849 and which gave support to a unity of forms in nature from the arm of a man, to the paddle of a dolphin, to the wing of a bat. This teleological vision came initially from William Buckland's 1837 *Bridgewater Treatise* that first proposed through a comprehensive study of the fossil record based on Catastrophism¹⁸, that each species being an example of divine workmanship and importantly was 'perfectly' adapted to the lifestyle of this animal and the conditions that prevailed in the environment at this time. This view can be seen clearly in both the classic work here of Haughton

and Owen who believed this research provided clear indication of the Creator's wisdom and that nature was not just a random conglomeration of forms produced by Darwinian accidental causes. In the conclusion of this book, Owen hinted at the possibility of 'secondary causes' being "responsible for the unfolding of the archetype's various manifestations in the course of geological time."¹⁹ The importance of this work is clearly established by the fact that Darwin devoted enormous efforts in the 1850s to trying to ensure that his theory would explain this kind of pattern²⁰.

As a postscript here, it is worth noting that Houghton sent a copy of his classic book *Principles of animal mechanics* to the great man in Down House and received only the most peremptory reply from the celebrated letter writer. Darwin wrote "I grieve that our theoretical views about the organic world differ so widely"²¹. This must have been galling for Houghton, as his book was based on more than a decade of the most laborious dissection of numerous animals that he obtained from the Dublin Zoological Gardens. This reaction from Darwin could not have come as much of a surprise given he had famously written such a scathing review of *The origin*, accusing Darwin of 'drawing large conclusions from slender premises'. Houghton was perhaps unfortunately too late in publishing his *Opus* to make any crucial impact on the key evolutionary debate between the X Club member Thomas Henry Huxley (1825-1895) and Sir Richard Owen (1804-1892) which had occurred a decade earlier (The issue that was at the storm centre of the debate had by the 1870s moved forward to be concerned with bacteriological rather than human genesis). Houghton did however eventually publish 31 papers on animal mechanics. Houghton's *modus operandi* was in this period to publish in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy and then communicate the most important results to the Royal Society of London as a series of Discourses. He points out six major conclusions at the end of the book *Animal mechanics*, and in Point 5, he claims to have shown the permanence of each species which on the

principles laid down by Mr. Darwin are 'absolutely secured'. In short, he claimed to have confounded the Darwinian Theory by making the valid point that if an animal is perfectly adapted for an environment, it cannot 'evolve'.

Today, biologists take it very much for granted that evolution is a process driven by the demands of local adaptation, that the process is open ended and divergent with no driving mechanism to higher levels of development. It is worth here pointing out that Houghton was very much in step with the general consensus in his science when he died. Darwinism then was not accepted and indeed only supported by an ever decreasing group of neo-Darwinists. Bowler wrote "*The Origin* converted the world to evolutionism, but it did so despite Darwin's failure to convince his contemporaries that natural selection was an adequate mechanism to explain the process".²² Houghton was part of a powerful group of establishment scientists who saw that in his day Darwin's open-ended and non-progressive theory was not accepted. We can so easily forget today that Mendelian genetics, initially looked as if it would destroy Darwinism. During the early decades of the last century a careful process of eliminating all the viable alternatives occurred using genetics as the yardstick, to paradoxically eliminate all other theories. This crucial evaluation delivered an acceptance of the theory of Natural Selection. Darwin's radical, indeed revolutionary theory, was only taken seriously by the establishment of biology in the twentieth century being left as the 'last man standing'.

3. Contributions of Tyndall in Biology

Tyndall's enemies were no less than the scientific establishment linked powerfully to the Anglican Church and as the 'mathematical power-brokers in science' they effectively controlled the government of science up to the middle of the 19th century and all its major institutions²³. At their head was Kelvin and Peter Guthrie Tait (1831-1901) bolstered by a formidable array of some of the most gifted scientists of that day²⁴. This powerful Established

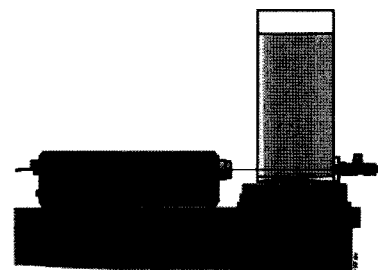


Figure 2: Side view of experiment set-up.

Church faction has been named 'The Gentlemen of Science'. This group centred on the British universities, profoundly mistrusted experimentalists and especially the new professional class of scientists who were wedded to this heuristical/observational methodology of Faraday and Darwin. The professional scientists Huxley, Tyndall and Frankland from the Royal Institution of GB (hereafter RI) organised a group to defend the theory of their leader Charles Darwin²⁵, who was too retiring to attend their X Club meetings. Battle was thus joined with 'The Gentlemen' over Natural Selection after the publication of the *The Origin*. The membership of the X Club was with the exception of Lubbock, Busk and Spottiswoode, were professional scientists. Its members were however all devoted to science, pure and free and untrammelled by religious dogmas.²⁶ The X Club members, had epithets viz. Xccentric, Xalted, Xpert, Xperienced, Xquisite, Xemplary, Xhaustive, Xtravagant and Xcellent respectively for Tyndall, Huxley, Frankland, J. Hooker, G. Busk, H. Spencer, T. Hirst and W. Spottiswoode²⁷. Amongst these men the brash professionals had of course, taken to themselves, the role of spokesmen for the theory of evolution after the 1859 watershed of the publication of *The Origin*. Worse, from the point of view of 'The Gentlemen', Tyndall, Huxley and other Xs wrote widely 'popular scientific articles and books' taking the opportunity where possible to disparage the views and theories of 'The Gentlemen'. The activities of this group, particularly in the popular journals of that time, were consciously aimed at diminishing in the public's eyes, the gravitas of the Gentlemen's pronouncements who had worked assiduously for decades to set themselves up as arbiters of scientific truth

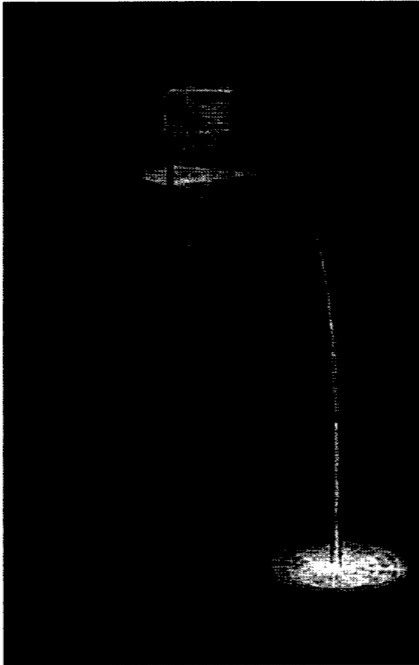


Fig. 3. John Tyndall's "light Guiding" experiment (recreation from Daniel Colladon, "La Fontaine Colla, p325)don" *La nature* 2nd half year 1884

when they gave forth pronouncements on science at large public gatherings of the British Association or indeed elsewhere. The professional men of science led by the Xs had to a certain extent taken the Gentlemen's high ground with their own professional pronouncements interpreting the discoveries of science and naturally, with never a thought for 'The Gentlemen's' imprimatur. The Xs specifically set out to establish 'their heuristical' science as a new source of authority in Britain and later extended this ambition internationally with their tours in the USA and through their published popular works. For the Xs the crusade for Darwin's theory was also to develop into an international secularizing campaign.

Darwinians believed themselves to be a distinct scientific group. They pledged allegiance to what they took to be 'Darwinism', but more importantly they were accepted as a member of this small elite group because they resolved to contribute research as open supporters of Darwin²⁸. Huxley defined precisely what was the crux in 1864 of 'Darwinism' in an attempt to put away heresies by explaining "Darwinism supposes that cats exist because they

catch mice well",²⁹ not that, "cats exist in order to catch mice well". It is beginning in modern times to be understood that Darwinism should be interpreted as a "historic entity" and it is clear "Darwinism was not evolution"³⁰. The Xs came into existence in 3rd November 1864, at a meeting held in the St George's Hotel, Albemarle Street in London's West End to keep up old friendships³¹ and fend off Christian conspiracies, but had another more important agenda, namely to plot an aggressive campaign to place these scientists at the head of British culture³². Eight Xs Bust, Hirst, Hooker, Frankland, Lubbock, Spencer, Tyndall and Huxley met that night. The ninth member Spottiswoode made up the eventual full-complement of active Xs with Darwin seen as the Xth Member³³.

The debate over evolution was between the Xs and what Moore called a "Y Club". Haughton was the organiser and leading member of this establishment (Anglican) Y Club member in Ireland. The 'enemy' so far as the X Club was concerned were grouped in the "Y Club" whose leader was the redoubtable Kelvin. Tyndall, despite being a leading X, did not really have any personal relationship with Darwin as pointed out in this edition of *Carloviana* by the authors in a related paper entitled 'What Tyndall Read' with only 30 rather formal letters between the two men extant.

Tyndall's philosophical position was always very extreme in his day, but it is obvious that Darwin's supporters had been under extreme pressure from 1859 and the publication of *The Origin*. Tyndall in Belfast established himself as a founder of British scientific naturalism and made his philosophical contributions aimed explicitly at purging science of the remnants of metaphysics and he also contributed fundamentally to the professionalisation, naturalisation and secularisation of science³⁵. However, real frustration perhaps could be seen in 1874 in *The Belfast Address* that could be traced back to the very foundation of the X Club, if not some years before. The Darwinians strategically needed a jour-

nal of their own to combat the restrictions placed on them by the Gentlemen of Science. DeArce documented the serious effort of T.H. Huxley in relaunching the *Natural History Review* in 1860 as a Darwinian journal³⁶, moving it away from its former conservative base by revamping the editorial board. This Dublin journal had been edited from its inception by a Trinity College undergraduate Edward Percival Wright (1834-1910) and remarkably was just twenty when he established the journal. The NHR failed in 1865 despite serious efforts by Huxley and other supporters of Darwin to breathe life into this journal. With the failure of the NHR, the importance of the control of a journal for the Darwinians was obviously in the forefront of minds of the London professionals as we learn at the first X Club minutes where the "The re-organisation of *The Reader* was discussed". This was a second journal the Darwinians had attempted to control so as to give them an academic publishing platform. However, *The Reader* also failed, but finally the new journal *Nature* was a success. The journal was named to show explicitly the promoter's commitment to the theory of evolution. Meadows³⁷ gave the first account of the founding of this world famous journal founded by these oppositionists in an attempt to remove the Gentlemen of Science's monopoly in scientific publishing. *Nature* was a success probably because it was established with editorial competence under the professional editor Norman Lockyer and with an enlightened publisher Alexander MacMillan. This new Darwinian leaning journal³⁸ however firmly put an end to vituperative articles in which Huxley and Tyndall specialized.

4. Contribution of Tyndall to Darwinian Project

The Carlowman Tyndall is a main player in the Darwinian story. He was according to Foster³⁹ in the best Victorian fashion, a whole culture to himself. Significantly, he was educated with his fellow X Edward Frankland (1825-1899) and his best friend the geometer Tom Archer Hirst (1830-1892) in Marburg, then an acknowledged centre of materialism in mid-cen-

tury Germany. Tyndall here studied chemistry under the illustrious Robert W.E. Bunsen (1811-1899), whose own research interests in spectroscopy were to fire and probably shape much of Tyndall's later research ambition. His first research after Marburg was collaboration with C.H.E. 'Heinrich' Knoblauch (1801-1865) on what was then the current hot research topic of diamagnetism. He later spent several months in Gustav Magnus's laboratory in Berlin working on the topic where he produced his first independent memoir in which he precociously felt able to disagree with the scientific giants Michael Faraday (1811-1867) and Julius Plücker (1801-1868), both senior eminent Victorian scientists. His research period in Berlin cemented what were to be life-long ties to the elite of Germany's scientific community including Magnus, Poggendorff, Heinrich Dove, Emil de Bois-Reymond and Rudolf Clausius; Tyndall subsequently translated or arranged for the translation of many of these illustrious leaders of German science landmark research papers for the Royal Society. Here he imbibed his main philosophical materialistic influences and he with his fellow "shop-steward" of the X Club T.H. Huxley saw clericalism of all denominations as a "deadly enemy of science".⁴⁰

Tyndall's own research on radiation through gases and vapours from 1860 had provided the essential experimental basis for the science of meteorology, which was obviously absolutely central to the scientific arguments on life on earth. His book *Contributions to molecular physics in the domain of radiant heat* appeared in 1872, marshalling an array of new observations supporting the theory of evolution. He had come upon this virgin field in 1860 through an invention. By improving the Melloni differential thermopile, he devised a new system to measure and compare thermal radiation from two different sources. Tyndall in fact invented the double-beam null balance detector, which was a null-balance optoelectronic instrument. He systematically proceeded to measure both the absorptions and emissions of all known gases and vapours. Tyndall in his researches soon disproved Melloni's contention that infra-red radiation was a different form of energy to visible rays.

Melloni with Tyndall must both be considered to be the founders of optoelectronics, and fathers of both infrared analysis and spectroscopy; the Carlowman's provided exhaustive heat, ultraviolet and visible studies over the next decade on all the known constituents of the atmosphere⁴¹. The significant paper that first identified the atmospheric green-house effect was published in 1861⁴². This extended programme of research undertaken directly to support the theory of evolution formed the basis of three Royal Society Baconian lectures on the subject (1861, 1864 and 1881) in which Tyndall formulated a quantitative understanding of atmospheric physics and dealt with related issues such as nephelometry and floating matter in the air. Furthermore, his paper 'A new series of chemical reactions produced by light' published in the Proceedings of the Royal Society in 1869 was groundbreaking work in photochemistry following the earlier work of Draper in 1843.

That Tyndall made major contributions to biology is worth elucidating as this has not been explained perhaps in this detail elsewhere. His initial interest in this area of biological sciences arose perhaps from his determined campaign on behalf of the German Julius Von Mayer (1814-1878) for the Royal Society's Copley Medal. The Copley Medal was at the time the most prestigious award in the behest of the Society and perhaps equivalent to today's Nobel Prize. Mayer was a physician who is accepted today as one of the founders of the science of thermodynamics and is best known for enunciating during 1841 the most famous statements of the conservation of energy known as the first law of thermodynamics "Energy can neither be created nor destroyed". Tyndall's campaign of behalf of the German was detailed at some length in his biography⁴³, but the biological significance of Mayer's work was explained many years later in Tyndall's biographical outline in his *Fragments of Science*⁴⁴ and then later in his Presidential Address 'Science and Man' delivered October 1st, 1877 and a piece that was included in *New Fragments*⁴⁵. Tyndall perhaps saw this campaign for the recognition of Mayer as part of his X

Club duties to advance the evolutionists' physics platform. For him, perhaps the most impressive contributions over the researches into conservation related to this work of this medical man who had grasped a very significant fact that had been overlooked by physicists; "It is known that a definite amount of air, in rising one degree in temperature, can take up two different amounts of heat. If its volume is kept constant, it takes one amount: if its pressure is kept constant it takes a different amount. The two amounts are called specific heat under constant volume and constant pressure. The ratio of the first to the second is 1: 1.421. No man, to my knowledge, prior to Dr. Mayer, penetrated the significance of the two numbers. He first saw the excess 0.421 was not, as then universally supposed, heat lodged in the gas, but heat which had actually been consumed by the gas in expanding against the pressure. The amount of work here performed was accurately known, and from these data Mayer determined the mechanical equivalent of heat"⁴⁶. Tyndall went on in this Copley Medalist fragment to explain the impressive universal scope of Mayer's understanding of his principle that was applied from his initial insight at the heating of the ocean by waves in a storm, to explaining the processes; in the steam engines; in burning of fuel; in the growth processes of plants; in the enormous cosmological importance of comet impacts; and most importantly in nutrition and vitally identifying the muscle as the means of which conversion of force is effected by the supply of blood which he calls of life' which is sacrificed to produce animal motion." Tyndall's view was "It was in complete opposition to the scientific conclusions of the time; but eminent investigators have since verified it"⁴⁷. He really was risking national opprobrium in championing the foreigner against the claims of Joule whose recognition was supported by the Royal Society on this fundamental principle of 'mechanical equivalent of heat'. Tyndall acknowledged this explicitly by writing a piece entitled 'The Copley Medalist of 1870'⁴⁸ that was included in his *Fragments of Science*. Tyndall however was pushing water up hill, to use a very apt expression for this dispute

with Joule. Mayer was certainly aware of the fundamental importance of his discovery, but his inability to express himself scientifically led to strong resistance to his claims from the scientific establishment in Britain and somewhat surprisingly also Germany. Kelvin championed Helmholtz so he could not be tarred with any nationalistic short-sightedness. Helmholtz somewhat unkindly challenged Mayer's qualifications in physical questions, and a bitter triangular dispute over priority developed with the two Germans and Joule. It should be noted however that Mayer's first attempt at stating the conservation of energy was a paper he sent to Johann Christian Poggendorff's *Annalen der Physik*, in which he postulated a conservation of force (*Erhaltungssatz der Kraft*) led to problems. The water was undoubtedly muddied by Mayer's initial attempt as this paper contained some fundamental mistakes and this communication was not indeed published.

Undoubtedly, Tyndall's fluency in German enabled him to understand the nuances in the work of Mayer and have a natural sympathy for the outsider, but nevertheless, he obviously had his work cut out taking forward this campaign. This most fundamental law of physics was however definitively stated by Helmholtz in his book *Über die Erhaltung der Kraft* (*On the Conservation of Force*, 1847). Bowler and Morus have recently dealt with this issue more fully⁴⁹ giving full attention to Irish issues. Kelvin later collaborated with Helmholtz on fluid flow researches and supported his claim for recognition in this work which Whitaker perceptively notes "He owed much to early recognition by Kelvin, and the two remained on close terms. One might suspect, though, that this relationship was conditional on Kelvin's part to Helmholtz refraining from over-asserting his own claims".⁵⁰ Tyndall for his part was passionate about this for as he said "The matter of the human body is the same as that of the world about us: and here we find the forces of the human body identical with those of inorganic nature"⁵¹. Obviously, it is apparent from this statement that this Mayer campaign had fused into contemporary attempts

to erect an evolutionary theoretical edifice.

Tyndall later contributed most notably again to biology destroying the spontaneous generation theory of Henry Charlton Bastain (1837-1915), in collaboration with Louis Pasteur (1822-1895). The dispute was resolved by the end of the 1870s and the Irishman was looking forward to a well-earned retirement. Details of his contributions here have appeared in earlier editions of *Carloviana*⁵² and will not therefore be described here. In this work, Tyndall also used his mountaineering skills to leave his infusion flasks at various heights on mountains to demonstrate that bacteria did not survive at high altitudes. These flasks for sterile media were thin-necked test tubes that could be broken to allow in any bacteria which would if present grow in the media (Tyndall often used his own urine which the author hoped would be in one of these flasks recovered from Tyndall's climbing hut in Bel Alp. It was subsequently tested in 1993 as part of the Carlow Tyndall Centenary events for opiates, and testing in Dublin showed that the flask definitely was not one containing Tyndall's urine!). Lister went on to greater fame after being hotheaded by his two older friends and mentors Huxley and Tyndall. He was a qualified medical man and the Xs used him to take the fight to the medical establishment, learning no doubt from Pasteur's own hard experience facing down the French medical establishment who nearly destroyed his career. Both Xs also saw this as their final evolutionary frontier, being an essential defence of the theory of evolution. 'Life comes from life' is an essential tenet of evolutionary theory that definitively ruled out any possibility of spontaneous generation.

5. New Insights to the Belfast Address

Before however coming to the vexed question of evolution in his *Belfast Address*, Tyndall brought the work of the Cambridge don William Whewell (1794-1866) into his discourse. This was perhaps the most revealing facet of this talk. A new insight has come from

the work of Raffaella Santi⁵³. Santi, in her paper entitled *Historiography and the unity of philosophy and of science: Hegel and Whewell* perhaps opened up an interesting conjecture. The most well-known interpretation of Tyndall's review of the history of science incorporated into the Belfast Address is that given by Foster in his paper in *Recoveries*, namely Tyndall was rerunning the sectarian views of A.D. White⁵⁴ in his *The warfare of science* and especially drawing heavily on the then recently published book by J.W. Draper⁵⁵ *History of conflict between religion and science*. Santi's work offers a possible new view of Tyndall's historic efforts in reworking the material in these books. She points out the accepted fact that Whewell was in his history of science, deliberately attempting to repeat what Hegel had achieved in his acclaimed *Lectures on the history of philosophy*. She wrote: "Whewell was influenced by Hegel's historical approach, and by the philosophical-histographical theory; and the two thinkers share the conviction that the fundamental task of historiography is to exhibit the unity of philosophy (for Hegel) and the unity of science (for Whewell) by 'rationalising' (providing a rational account of) their historical development."

Santi points out that Whewell had studied as a young man in Germany and produced some compelling arguments connecting Whewell's work with that of the German. This understanding of Whewell's objective in writing his classic book on inductive sciences could perhaps illuminate the motives of Tyndall in part in the structure of his *Belfast Address*, which in this context looks like an attempt to achieve just such a unity in appending his historical introduction. Whewell, certainly aimed to achieve with his *magnus opus* on the history of science, what Hegel had achieved with the history of philosophy, but using his own British inspired epistemology and metaphysics as the basis for this work⁵⁶. It cannot be seriously disputed that Tyndall wanted badly to put down a philosophical marker in his *Belfast Address*. Whewell's aim in his work was in his historiography, to "reveal itself as a

philosophy of science intended to serve as the basis for the philosophy of science⁵⁷ and this for Tyndall must have been at the minimum an inspiration to his 1874 efforts. This issue of whether Tyndall was indeed attempting to develop a philosophical position consistent with the scientific view and process proposed by the Cambridge man is an interesting question deserving of some real work as there is some supporting evidence that can be seen in his *Belfast Address* for just such a theory of Whewell "epochs" of scientific discovery. The answer probably lies in Tyndall's diaries⁵⁸ which need to be mined to see if these provide clarity on this matter.

Having cut through the preliminaries in the *Belfast Address*, Tyndall now got down to the real substantive arguments for the theory of evolution. He discussed the fossil records in the various geological strata. He traced the first formulation of the theory of natural selection by Dr Wells in an 1813 Royal Society paper. He explained the chronology of the publication of the book *The Origin*. He explained the mechanism by which nature can select so that "Natural Selection" acts by preservation and accumulation of small inherited modifications. He set forth then some examples of the scholarship contained in his book by Darwin on the design of orchids and work of bees that support his theory and explain how this attention to detail had eventually won over the Christian professor of Zoology and Geology in Harvard Jean L.R. Agassiz to the Darwinian Theory. He linked this generalisation with that of the conservation of energy and digressed on the then recently updated contribution of Herbert Spencer in psychology. He debated the research findings into the development of the senses in evolving species and then moved to discuss inherited organisation of such things as new born chicks on which Spencer had worked. He then described some aspects of the application of Spencer's theory.

So what did Tyndall achieve with his *Belfast Address*? It can perhaps be argued that he established an updated paradigm (methodology used in research) in the history of science sug-

gested through his epochists presentation, moving from the great Greek atomist Democritus, on to Newton, and then his friends Faraday and controversially Darwin. The latter two according to Tyndall could connect up "facts" and "ideas" to give support to his own sceptical heuristical relative world outlook. Great men are subtly identified in Hegel's scheme from recognising "preludes" and the real icing on this Hegelian cake would be that the greatness of these men is copper fastened in this identification of greatness through associated "sequels". This kind of detail is missing from Tyndall's analysis, but we know that in preparing for this talk Tyndall had wide ranging discussions with other Xs and Huxley especially warned him on going too far⁵⁹. Did he step back from going this extra mile? In his preparation, Tyndall was presented with some new research material in this discipline of history of science gratis from newly published books by White and Draper; Tyndall had made detailed study of the historical based model of philosophy from Whewell giving him an insight into how to adapt or perhaps even transform German philosophy to align the presentation in Britain with the empirical British philosophical tradition. The question here is, can a detailed analysis of the material Tyndall presented in Belfast when put up against the original by White and Draper, within a framework of Whewell, show he had such intent in Belfast? Given Huxley's major efforts in the field of philosophy at this very time, it is quite probable his highly competitive friend and fellow leader of the Xs would indeed make just such an effort. This Hegelian cyclic view of a process was essential to Whewell⁶⁰, it is an open question as to whether this view was essential to Tyndall. Whewell's views on Lyell are known today⁶¹ as was his "dismissal with contempt" of the idea of natural selection made before Darwin's book was published in the 1830s and 1840s⁶².

Divorced from matter Tyndall asks "Where is life?" He took a fundamental position and "rejected the notion of a creative power" and referred the "choices material of the teleologists" to natural causes. He had essentially com-

mended his evolutionary collaborator and friend Herbert Spencer's theory of *consciousness being a mere symbol* of the outside entity we know as the world. The evolution of the senses and intelligence are ascribed to the interaction of the organism with the environment can be studied, "but the real nature of which we can never know". His sophistry on this point did not, of course, impress the gatekeepers of religion who saw the reverse side of the coin. One indeed in the Pall Mall Gazette of 28 Oct. 1874 sought the Home Secretary to charge Tyndall with blasphemy and reminded him of Napoleon's dictum that you cannot argue with people who deny the existence of God, the only way is to shoot them. A frightening position that finds an echo in our own times given the recent rise of modern fundamentalism.

Tyndall's Feuerbachian position was clear in his later 1877 lecture before the Birmingham and Midland Institute in which he sought to demolish the "hypothesis of a human soul". For him in his essay *Science and man* the soul was "a poetic rendering of a phenomenon which refuses the yoke of ordinary physical laws". As an agnostic for anyone to claim to know it by any other name was mere pretension and he was damning in his denunciation of the intellectual whoredom of Spiritualism.

6. Carlow 'Apology' declares war on Irish Roman Hierarchy

A Pastoral Letter condemning this *Belfast Address* was issued by the ultra-



Cardinal Cullen



William J Delany S.J.

montane primate Archbishop Paul Cullen (1803-1887)⁶³, working perhaps directly here with his nephew Patrick Francis Moran (1830-1911), who was the editor of *Cullen's Writings and Addresses*⁶⁴. The Pastoral Letter mentions Tyndall indirectly "The assault is led, in the one case by the Professors of Materialism, who have lately, under the name of Science, obtruded blasphemy upon the Catholic nation...". The Irish Hierarchy were the most ardent supporters of the ultramontane movement in the Catholic Church and led the moves on Papal infallibility and surely could not pass up this golden opportunity to further advance the Roman Church's campaign for an independent Irish education section. It is an interesting historical fact that Moran grew up in the same street as Tyndall in Leighlinbridge, and quite remarkably also the Jesuit Fr. William Delaney S.J. (1835-1924)⁶⁵. In part 2 of this article Delany comes centrally into this story through his notable work in education that contributed to the establishment of University College Dublin.

More importantly, both Tyndall and Moran were students of the remarkable teacher John Conwill (1802-1880)⁶⁶ who is buried in Ballinabranna Churchyard. National schools were of course established to be non-denominational, but the school in

Ballinabranna stood in the actual grounds of the Catholic Church and this was the context for the brave decision by Tyndall's father, an ardent Protestant, to send his son to study under Conwill. This episode has become a matter of local legend⁶⁷. This national school building was important as it was one of the earliest ever built⁶⁸ that were actually opened in Ireland and only then subsequently in the other British dominions⁶⁹. In retrospect, it can be argued that *The Belfast Address* became a major factor in preparing the ground for UCD taking over the Royal College of Science⁷⁰ following the establishment of the Free State. Some insights into the RCS at this time are given by Paddy Dowling in this edition of *Carloviana*. One thing is certain, Tyndall's characteristic intransigence and truculence in this episode played very much into the astute hands of Moran and Cullen and this *Address* undoubtedly clarified the Hierarchy's thinking on the necessity of extinguishing this secular institution developed on the principles of the Privy Councillor and arch-Darwinian T.H. Huxley.

Tyndall it must be said, however, made serious efforts in Belfast to be conciliatory to the Victorian ethos in crafting his *Address* as will be explained now. He began by drawing on Hume to posit safely his 'British' views based on no less than the founder of the British philosophical scepticism. He progressed rapidly to then discussing some views of Lange on the credibility of Democritus, who he took the opportunity to reassure his audience was "the non-materialist author of *History of Materialism*". From there, he ventured forward on further safe ground by quoting Bacon's views on Democritus using the authority of Tyndall's own personal friend James Spedding (1808-1881), who was the much respected editor and biographer of Bacon⁷¹. He also sought the company in his discourse at this point of Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881), who was also a close personal friend. This was a good ploy for Tyndall because in discussing issues related to the validity of Christian belief, Carlyle's own crisis of belief was well known and indeed celebrated and the Scot's own religious turmoil

had been raised almost into a national obsession. Only then, did Tyndall feel the ground was safe enough to expound in some length Democritus' atomic theory, moving very carefully then to Epicurus and the Lucretius. Tyndall perhaps believed that he had taken out a further insurance policy as the Roman's observations in his famous poem *On the Nature of Things* linked with his own researches. Only at this point, did Tyndall cross the threshold in his historical review to enter into the then modern times by invoking the then recent work of Draper.

One thing Tyndall did achieve with his *Belfast Address* was controversy so he made the best of it and issued an *Apology for the Belfast Address*⁷², mischievously using the word "Apology" in its original sense, as signifying "Vindication". Beginning in typical style

"The world has been frequently informed of late that I have raised up against myself a host of enemies; and considering, with few exceptions, the deliverances of the press, and more particularly of the religious Press, I am forced to admit that the statement is only too true." He was attempting to combat the allegation that "These minor and more purely personal matters at an end, the weightier allegations remains, that at Belfast I misused my position by quitting the domain of science, and making an unjustifiable raid into the domain of theology. This I fail to see. Laying aside abuse, I hope my accusers will consent to reason with me. Is it not lawful for a scientific man to speculate on the antecedents of the solar system?"

Tyndall goes on to use the precedent of Kant, Laplace, Herschel to defend this right and then continues

"I could by no means regard this as the final and sufficient concession of theology: and, at Belfast, I thought it not only my right, but my duty to state that, as regards the organic world, we must enjoy the freedom which we have already won in the inorganic."⁷³

He pointed out the hypocrisy of attacks on him when previous past presidents of the BAAS who were religious men

and who had made similar discourses into areas claimed by theology had not been censored. He explained that in physics the "experiential incessantly leads to the ultra-experiential" and he justified himself thus "Passing the boundary of experience, therefore does not, in the abstract, constitute a sufficient ground for censure. There must have been something in my particular mode of crossing in which provoked this tremendous "chorus of dissent"⁷⁴.

He then concentrated on the issues of Catholic education in Ireland. In the middle of this stricture, he noted in a very oblique way the recent memorial by seventy students in the Catholic University in Dublin dated November 1873 addressed to the Episcopal Board of the University that "unaccountably had vanished from public view" and "setting forth the extraordinary fact that the lecture list for the faculty of Science, published a month before they wrote, did not contain the name of a single Professor of the Physical Science of Natural Science". This will be discussed elsewhere in this paper, but it made this *Apology for the Belfast Address* a very personal issue for the Irish Hierarchy⁷⁵. He championed these students' rights and noted they believed that the poor regard for science by the Hierarchy had obvious consequences. He wrote "The memorialists point with bitterness to the fact that 'the name of no Irish Catholic is known in connection with the physical and natural sciences'."⁷⁶ Tyndall added "But this they ought to know, is the complaint of free and cultivated minds wherever a Priesthood exercises dominant power. Precisely the same complaint has been made with respect to the Catholics in Germany." He had here crossed the Rubicon with Catholics and laid down battle lines the Hierarchy would not ignore. He had mentioned this memorial obliquely in his Belfast Address but by making this explicit now he had thrown down the gauntlet. He said "As, far as I am aware, not one of my assailants has attempted to answer it (Belfast Address)"⁷⁷. The rejoinder was not of course long coming from Archbishop Cullen's ultramontane troops and to up the ante Tyndall finished with a flourish by recommending Dr Draper's anti-

Catholic work *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science* the significance of which will be discussed here later. The memorial was apparently an important Irish precursor to the events in Belfast that raised a fundamental issue for both Tyndall and the Irish Hierarchy. This document it has been claimed⁷⁸ very much shaped Tyndall's thoughts prior to his Presidential Address and as an Irishman determined him to raise this issue in his lecture and then more explicitly in his *Apology*.

The social repercussions of *The Age Debate* in a pre-revolutionary Ireland with Catholic Nationalism growing under the leadership of the ultramontane hierarchy was considerable. Cullen consciously exploited this situation to gain greater control of public education and welfare and skillfully exploited the Irishness and Unionism of Tyndall to advance this agenda. On the other side of the religious divide, the establishment Protestants were in crisis intellectually and furthermore politically on the back foot after the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland. The non-establishment dissenting Protestants were badly divided along both class and national lines and no faction in this church offered support for Tyndall's consistent rationalist base for the theory of evolution and materialism. The political and religious divide between Catholic and Protestants that developed in the later part of the nineteenth century sundered the country into administratively separate entities. The 1874 controversy was thus just a small part of the larger Irish story, although a significant episode in a vital international scientific debate that continues to this very day.

7. Circling the Wagons in Defence to Religious and Political Responses to The Origin

Darwinians apart from the scientific opposition of course faced serious religious and political opposition. The Jewish Benjamin Disraeli, leader of the Tories, in his improbable role as the defender of the Church of England, stood before the Oxford Diocesan Society, to pronounce himself "on the

side of the angels". Within weeks, Pius IX issued an encyclical *Quanta cura* and simultaneously the *Syllabus of Errors*. The two documents were unrelated, although both were controversial, but certainly the *Syllabus* gave most offence to liberal opinion, "condemning as it did many of the principles applied by scientists, social scientists, and non-Catholic biblical scholars."⁷⁹ These documents that were published in 1864 gravely damaged the liberals in the church and correspondingly strengthened the ultramontane movement. O'Leary wrote of this ultraconservative movement, "In matters of doctrine they were narrow-minded, intolerant, and aggressive. They made extravagant claims for papal authority and denounced other Catholics whose views they regarded as insufficiently papalist."⁸⁰ The *Syllabus of Errors* declared war on progress, liberalism and modern civilization according to Huxley in a seizing on the opportunity in a 'slashing piece' for the last *Reader*, which according to some destroyed everything in its path, including the *Reader*!

Tyndall's approach in his *Belfast Address* without acknowledgement drew heavily on Galileo's fifth principle in his *Letters to the Grand Duchess Christina* (1615), which provided his views on how science should influence the interpretation of scripture. Tyndall in his controversial discourse in fact developed the Galilean *Principle of Independence* which proposed that science and religion belong to two distinct domains of knowledge. The former concerned the factual domain concerned with natural phenomena. The latter was concerned with faith and the supernatural. Tyndall's career as a controversialist in large part arose from his now widely accepted insistence on law-given scientific understanding and an absolute opposition to all arbitrariness and frivolous laws; his position here is best illustrated by his engagement with the issue of the Sabbath⁸¹. Tyndall's method by partitioning science from theology adopted this tactical ploy in his *Belfast Address*, and importantly, this partitioning is that used by the liberal theologian Cardinal Newman (1801-1890) in his defence of the church against damage by the speculation of scientists in his day. Perhaps

more specifically, Newman's concern was with 'Natural Theologians' who sought to combine physics, chemistry, biology and geology with Christianity, rather than the professional scientists such as Tyndall. Famously Newman proposed an "Illative Sense" which provided the ability to make conclusions based on inference, as opposed to hard facts and proof and that was for him the sense which allows faith to work. Catholic reaction in Britain and Ireland to Darwin was less hectic than in the Protestant churches according to Foster, because the Roman Church "as a whole saw Darwinism as just another in a millennia-long line of enemies to be seen off the premises" and only because of contemporary issues in Ireland did the church see fit "to restate Newman's own partitionist agenda for cordial relations between science and religion."⁸²

The whole question of reconciling Aristotle with Church teaching had a long pedigree since the Greek philosophy had been challenged by the theologians at the great universities since the medieval period. The church was not entirely happy about the encroachment of the new 'natural philosophy' onto theology, and the church consequently kept wielding its muscle to ensure the two domains of knowledge were separated. Hannon argues that religious censorship actually assisted scientific enquiry by this partitioning freeing it from the domination of Aristotelian thought⁸³. Newman in the second half of the 19th century was thus only restating a long established strategic position of the church on this matter of faith and science. The fact that there existed in Rome a comfort zone can be seen from Bishop Hedley's anonymous article entitled *Evolution and faith* published in the *Dublin Review* (July, 1871) that pointed out that the church had its own science and that the thorough-going evolutionist will end up as Tyndall did in Belfast in metaphysics.

The fact that the *Belfast Address* thus directly touched a nerve for the Irish Hierarchy led to the need for them to respond effectively and without delay. What was really at issue here with what might be referred to as the Tyndall-Moran controversy is more complex

than has perhaps been understood heretofore given this parochial context. What was at issue for Bishop Moran was the control of university education over which there was absolutely no question that there existed a very real Roman Church-British Empire conflict. In the intellectual debate over these issues it is also interesting to note the division here between Newman and Tyndall: the Catholic and agnostic; Irish and London based foreigners; the university educated and self-made man. The divisions between the two intellectually were perhaps not very sharp until you consider the issue of education. The Englishman in Ireland was working to create a Catholic University, the Irishman at the centre of the Empire was failing on all counts to understand the politics of the game afoot in Ireland in which he was being cast to the role of a bogeyman and unthinkingly it seems Tyndall rose to the provocation to further help the cause of his opponents. The English administration in Ireland had, one should remember, moved the centre of Ireland's Catholic education from Carlow College to Maynooth after 1798 because this location was closer to their centre of power in Dublin Castle. The ambitions of the Carlow-based Bishop James Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin (1786-1834) for extending the control of the Catholic Hierarchy to establishing a university for Catholics was however never lost⁸⁴. Tyndall worked with the Unionist vision of promoting a new ideology to support the growth of the British Empire and was a professor in Imperial College, London that directly controlled the Royal College of Sciences; Moran worked assiduously on the more practical objective to take from the Imperial bureaucrats in London control of Catholic education in Ireland and thereafter Australia.

Tyndall has been described as a pantheist by Knight⁸⁶ 1986 and Barton⁸⁷ and it has been suggested that given his love for Wordsworth, Carlyle and German idealist poets he was at heart a Romantic idealist⁸⁸. Tyndall confided to his friend Tom Hirst then an idealistic young man in the thrall of Carlyle and other thinkers "that words lie as thinly over the great thoughts as moss

upon rocks. This is what delights me; there is such a terrible reality under every sentence"⁸⁹. In time, the Carlowman's own contributions added enormously to the terrible reality of a new scientific and combative world outlook for those of religious bent. Tyndall was not of course living in a vacuum and unsurprisingly his enthusiasms and energy were merely typical of the age and a new social awareness was abroad. A large number of remarkable individuals similarly inspired in the Roman Church work that added enormously in practical ways to a growing and strengthening church around the world. These men founded new orders and organisations, establishing of schools, hospitals and much more. Specifically, this practical transformation of the reality of life for Catholics strengthened the ultramontane movement and importantly for this discussion, did so in both Britain and Ireland.

Catholic Response to Belfast Address

Tyndall's Address despite perhaps being useful for the Hierarchy's political objectives nevertheless deeply troubled the Catholic Church. With controversy surrounding papal infallibility from about 1870, centralisation of Roman power and thus relegation of bishops to the status of papal regional officials, Cullen must have felt it was essential to answer such a trenchant critique of his church's philosophical-theological position. The bishops were however divided on this issue; Cullen was a leading infallibilist; McHale apparently an "inopportunist"; Moriarty and Leahy of Dromore were against; Leahy of Cashel and Gillooly for. Moran was 'Cullen's bulldog' doing the ground work for the Primate. After the First Vatican Council in 1870, the supremacy of ultramontanism was unassailable but events were still in flux. The ultramontane movement were setting about to stifle liberal Catholics generally to cease "their efforts to reconcile the church to the new scientific and *political* ideas of the age."⁹⁰ The First Vatican Council had made it clear that evolutionary theory of humankind's origins was evil and incompatible with human dignity. If there was any residual doubt on this score Pius IX in 1877 praised and

indeed went so far as to contribute words to Constantin James's book *Du Darwinisme, ou l'homme-singe* and this work was an unreserved, forthright attack on Darwin and other evolutionists. The Belfast Address being historically almost coincidental with the Synod of Maynooth in 1875 provided a context for the deliberation of the bishops who in a joint pastoral signed by them all enforced the definition of infallibility as an article of Catholic faith. In the 1890s, the ascendancy of the conservatives was complete and the old Pope Leo XIII was not of a mind to restrain the ultra-conservative faction of the curia from hardening their attitude to evolution.⁹² The dispute by this time was not even seen perhaps in the first instance as confronting the theory of evolution, but rather as Leo made clear in his encyclical *Sapientiae Christianae* (1890), confounding Tyndall and other likeminded scientists who had "become possessed with so arrogant a sense of their own powers, as already considered themselves able to banish from social life the authority and empire of God.....from nature, they maintain, we must seek the principle and rule of truth..."⁹³ Tyndall earlier in 1875 had been used by the bishops as a means of drawing together on the issue of the fight against materialism given the opposition of some of their number, especially Bishop McHale to support papal infallibility⁹⁴.

The most substantive Catholic response to Darwin in science was that formulated by St. George Jackson Mivart (1827-1900) and significantly, for this present study, Mivart was before mounting his challenge to Darwin's theory, a trusted member of the Darwinian inner circle. Mivart was surprisingly a protégé of Huxley. Mivart's hypothesis has been fully and impressively researched by O'Leary⁹⁵ from an Irish context, even though this author claims to have taken a universal viewpoint in his study. Mivart's hypothesis put forward in his book *On the Genesis of Species* published in 1871, was to propose a *via media* between the notion of Darwin's blind evolutionary process and a literal reading of scripture⁹⁶. Mivart, like many other eminent Anglo-catholic intellectuals who published work on this

thorny question of evolution theory in the period up to 1870, was a convert. Perhaps, as a consequence his missionary horizons extended well beyond the Catholic community. His efforts here initially were useful to Rome as he was a research insider; Mivart set out to demonstrate that the church was committed to the pursuit of truth and could take in its stride any issues raised by the discoveries of 'modern science'. Mivart's work certainly reached the necessary level of professional scholarship not seen to such a level by other writers who were members of the Roman Church and significantly forced a strategic response from Huxley⁹⁷; Huxley challenged the legitimacy of Mivart's position as a Catholic. Mivart's objections to Darwin were put forward under six distinct headings⁹⁸, all of which were substantive arguments against Darwin's theory⁹⁹. His book received a favourable review in the *Dublin Review* and notably also in the ultramontane periodical *Tablets*.

In entering this progressively deepening epistemological dispute Mivart as a Catholic liberal was facing an extreme theological danger from conservatives within the church. He was of course going forward from initial sponsorship from Rome, but he undoubtedly failed to realise the importance of being driven by Huxley¹⁰⁰ to trespass by what the church eventually decreed as unfounded heretical speculation beyond absolute circumscribed limits of the church's doctrines. Huxley had an interest and respect for Catholics in an adversarial sense. Indeed he had visited Maynooth in about 1873 to debate "like outpost of opposing armies during a truce-as friendly enemies".¹⁰¹ Mivart suffered his first 'excommunication' according to O'Leary when he wrote a scathing review in the *Quarterly Review* of an article by George Darwin on eugenics in July 1874¹⁰². Mivart eventually was excommunicated from the Catholic Church and this could probably be represented as game, set and match for Huxley's theologically inspired counter to Mivart. His transgressions arose specifically with Rome over his criticism of the writings of an Irish priest

Fr. Murphy on evolution¹⁰³. Mivart's developing dispute with the Church was played out in several popular journals notable amongst which were the *Dublin Review*, but he came to grief in an debate with Bishop Hedley, who was the unofficial spokesman for the Hierarchy and finally in December 1892 Mivart's three articles in *Nineteenth Century* entitled "Happiness in Hell" led to a hardening of the Catholic position when Pope Leo XIII issued a *Providentissimus Deus* in November 1893 and Mivart's three articles were put on the Index of Forbidden Books. In truth, this action in Rome put paid to any last chance of a real debate between the evolutionists and Rome that could have for the church been 'educationally helpful'. Mivart had however behind the scenes suffered irrevocable professional damage to his career as Huxley and the Xs organised to vigorously oppose him and indeed any others who "were motivated to use science for religious purposes to gain ecclesiastical approval. If this was tolerated, then, from their point of view, the rightful autonomy of science was compromised."¹⁰⁴

In addition, there is the real possibility that at this time anti-Catholic sentiment may have helped isolate Mivart, but it seems likely that his support base became too narrow to develop a successful maverick role in science. The water here had been damaged by the clear anti-Catholic views expressed in the 1870s by John William Draper, White, Tyndall and Huxley that served to reinforce and cement reactionary attitudes in the ultramontane dominated Church. Draper's book was placed on the Vatican's Index of Forbidden Books as early as 1876, perhaps because of its explicit attack on Pope Pius IX. These issues played out in London, important though they were, with a different resonance to those in Ireland as the bishops were monitoring developments in the Empire and Europe. "The Irish bishops relied on the Dogmatic Constitution of the Catholic Faith for theological guidance, referring to it as the 'Charter of Catholic Science'. This document enunciated the fundamental principle that it is not possible for conflict to arise between religion and science-

when both are properly understood."¹⁰⁵ This is the context for the Catholic reaction to the *Belfast Address* the bishops moved rapidly to issue a pastoral letter written, it is believed locally in Carlow, by Moran, then bishop of Ossory on 14th October 1874. This pastoral letter has some international importance; historically it was an early shot-across-the-bows to science indicating Rome's determination to ensure biblical criticism and natural science would not be allowed to combine and threaten the future of the church. Rome became highly intolerant of evolution and this originated from Pope Leo XIII and an influential group of ultraconservative Jesuits¹⁰⁷. Several liberal theologians suffered censure and excommunication from Pius IX who was also very much under the thrall of Jesuits. Indeed, Jesuits played a pivotal role in the censorship of a number of eminent Catholic scholars over several decades¹⁰⁸.

To conclude this discussion of the politics of religion and evolution, a short comment on the events that led Huxley to introduce the term 'agnosticism' perhaps would be useful. This word clarified his philosophical position in his efforts to defend natural selection. In 1868, in the middle of a torrid time with many attacks being orchestrated against evolution from both inside and outside of the Darwinians, there was an urgent need to extricate the Xs from ontological controversies and hostile world views. Moore explains "Darwinism was making enemies and friends on the basis of metaphysical interpretations that actually hindered further acceptance of the general doctrines for which the word had stood in the first years of the controversy. In 1868, Hooker had made a one-off bid for semantic control by using 'Darwinism' to refer directly to the theory of natural selection. A few months later Huxley introduced the word agnostic in an effort to spare himself and Darwinism from ontological controversy. Neither of these ploys quite worked."¹⁰⁹ Tyndall immediately declared that he had been an agnostic before Huxley had invented the word. Huxley told the Cambridge Young Men's Christian Association some months later that what he could legiti-

mately speak on as a scientist were "neither Christian nor Unchristian, but ...Extra-christian."¹¹⁰

9. Summary to Part 1

It is explained above that the 'Darwinists' were in their day led internationally by a small fringe London-based group including Tyndall. The X members were concerned with furthering their own careers as much perhaps as fighting for the theory of Natural Selection. Undoubtedly, they were both brash and brave in outspoken defense of the theory of evolution and of course no one was more brash or outspoken than the Carlowman in their midst. The Xs went head-to-head with a well-established group who had their hands on the levers of scientific power in the Royal Society, BAAS and indeed regional societies such as at this time the RIA. They also took on opposition from representatives of the churches, but it is argued here with major negative consequences for themselves when tackling the Irish Hierarchy that will be detailed further in the second part of this study. It has been pointed out that the real importance of the X's campaign for Darwin was collectively their own original research work which expanded significantly the base of evolution study. In this respect, Tyndall's work is today seen to be of earth shaking importance with the issues of climate change and Kyoto, the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, Mary Robinson Foundation – Climate Change Justice and so much more. The Carlowman was actually spurred by a number of separate but highly competitive scientific races. He delivered here in the face of the highest quality opposition work. This camp contained the triumvirate of Irishmen Kelvin, Stokes and the Carlowman Haughton. While Haughton's work is beginning to be recognised by the opening of Trinity's Haughton Building, Haughton Lecture and in some other tangible ways, this reappraisal has only just begun. Haughton's multitude of contributions, like those of Tyndall, are up for serious historic reappraisal that will raise Haughton's status in the pantheon of science. The lonely work of the authors in fighting locally for recognition of these two Carlowmen has now been

overtaken with a stream of historians and scientists from all over the world joining to add to this tide of scholarship.

It is, however, important to remember that Darwin was not the first to propose the idea of evolution and it is now openly said that his now famous book was not a publishing sensation¹¹¹. Patrick Matthew published the *The natural law of selection* in 1831 before even Darwin departed on the Beagle putting forward explicitly the idea made famous later by Darwin and Wallace, and Robert Chambers' book *Vestiges of the natural history of creation* in 1844 **was the publishing sensation** on this topic. What was unique to the X's campaign on behalf of the theory of evolution, was these men worked as a team under the intellectual leadership of Darwin. They accepted specified delegated roles and responsibilities. So far as Carlow and Ireland are concerned, Tyndall's work is a national treasure and of enormous and continuing value in his studies on atmospheric solar physics, photochemistry, light scattering, filtration, microbiology and physics education. He is the father of modern metrological sciences, nephelometry and microbiology. Tyndall is no longer completely overshadowed by Darwin or his X Club friends including Huxley. He was however but a team player in a great collaborative project.

Haughton was a founder of physical anatomy; he was a pioneer of earth modelling for both the internal motion of the molten core and the meteorological issues relating to solar radiation and significantly he entered the field before Kelvin; he was the world authority on tidal theory and the geochronology of tidal sedimentation; he was a pioneer of tidal friction theories; he made many notable microscopic and other geological discoveries; he was a significant anti-evolutionist polemicist; he was a great educational innovator in scientific subjects; he was a master of administrative reform in both medical education and practice; he was an active participant in both the contemporary national and scientific political movements; but above all he was a Dublin University man to the last, with great courage and conviction who stood for both Home

Rule and reform when these issues were very unpopular with a vociferous majority in Trinity. Haughton today is beginning to emerge from the shadow of Kelvin and Stokes and like Tyndall may soon feel some of the sun of international recognition on his back. This can only happen if there is a full understanding of Haughton's contributions in the round to the Age of the Earth debate.

There is currently so much interest in the climate change, the Darwin Bicentenary, the creationist-rationalist debate and various matters Tyndall that it is easy to get carried away. It is worth remembering that much of the recent 'good copy' made by those writing about this Darwinian conflict (much of it in the Darwin Bicentenary publications) detailing the conflict between the evolutionists and 'the establishment' has distorted to some extent the true impact of these historic events. There is also the danger of the unwary, reading the works of the Darwinians themselves who were of course excellent propagandists. Interpreting their writings from today's standpoint, taking them too much on face value, is fraught with danger. It is dangerous waters for those wishing to provide objective assessments. Publishing is also not without such distortions and to illustrate this here, a friend of the authors Joe Burchfield was for commercial reasons prevailed on to include Kelvin in the title of his book *Lord Kelvin and the Age of the Earth* to increase sales. He privately told McMillan and Nevin the book "was just as much, if not more about Haughton".

The question is where from here will this study go? The Carlow dimension to these international developments will be explored in the second part of this paper along with identifying some significant national consequences that flow from this history. Larkin¹¹² pointed out in his *Historical Dimension of Irish Catholicism* (1984) that through the Cullen-Moran leadership Irish Catholicism became a world-wide phenomenon with the Roman Church in England and Scotland becoming essentially Irish, but also those in the USA, Canada, South Africa, New Zealand and particularly Australia

became to a great extent outposts of Dublin and Maynooth. The importance of Cullen sending a steady stream of ultramontane priests to serve in English speaking countries and beyond should be evaluated in the context of this philosophical battle over *The Origin*. The objective scientific basis of this philosophical study must be the geological debate. Attention also has to be paid to Protestant reaction to *Belfast* and to close out the study for Part 2 some greater attention will be given to Carlow issues and the role of Delany in particular in the establishment of UCD and the details of its adsorption of Huxley's Royal College of Science. This was perhaps the key outcome of the Belfast Address episode. The old adage "Be careful what you wish for" is something to be remembered here, as it is certain in Ireland in the short-term, Tyndall and Huxley's efforts to tackle Irish clericalism were trumped when the Free State was set up and the Royal College of Science in Dublin cut free.

To finish with a light hearted joke that nevertheless contains a serious message, there is still so much to be explored in Part 2, especially if we are brave enough to venture forth with Tyndall on his Alpine adventures that helped open up the understanding of climate change!

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⁶⁶ McMillan N.D. (1980) *John Tyndall, Xemplar of Scientific Technological Education*. Dublin, p. 15.

⁶⁷ Tyndall's father said he would send him to the school even if Conwill taught him on the steps of the altar.

⁶⁸ The former hedge-school teacher Conwill taught in a school built by JKL. It was consequently one of the most important educational structures and Nevin in 1976 sat in front of bulldozers brought in on Stephen's Day in an attempt to demolish this school and to avoid protest as this was being done against the wishes of the locals who used this building for local activities. The reason for this attempt was certainly that a plaque to John Tyndall had been placed on the building to celebrate both Tyndall and Conwill. The plaque had been unveiled by ETS Walton. This event was reported in *Nationalist and Leinster Times*, 2 May 1980. The authorities let the building get into bad repair and eventually it was demolished only to be replaced with a building of exactly the same dimensions. The Tyndall-Conwill plaque on the front of the old building was placed on the side of the building in a position where it could not be seen as it was blocked by the wall of the building. A Conwill plaque was placed on the front of the new building. After a number of years the old plaque was replaced on the adjacent wall to the building so it could be once again viewed.

⁶⁹ One of the author's father attended a National School in Owen Sound, Canada that was also a one room building based on the Irish design but with more insulation as it is 30 below in winter!

⁷⁰ Jarrell, R.J. (2000) *Technical education and colonialism*. In *Prometheus's Fire* eds McMillan, N.D. McMillan, D.D.G. and J. Cooke, Tyndall Publications Carlow pp. 170-188.

⁷¹ Spedding, J. (1878) *An Account of the Life and Times of Francis Bacon*, 2 vols. London.

⁷² Tyndall, J., Apology for Belfast Address Association specialized in and which Yeats said robbed him in his youth of his religion.

⁷³ Note 72, p. 45.

⁷⁴ Note 72, p.46.

⁷⁵ Note 72, p. 47.

⁷⁶ Note 72, p. 48.

⁷⁷ Note 72, p. 52.

⁷⁸ op. cit. Foster.

⁷⁹ O'Leary, D. (2006) *Roman Catholicism and Modern Science: A History, Continuum*, New York and London, 2006.

⁸⁰ Note 79. O'Leary, p.45.

⁸¹ Kim, p. 163.

⁸² op. cit. Foster, p. 14.

⁸³ Hannam, J. (2009) *God's philosopher: How the Medieval world laid the foundations of modern science*. Icon Publications.

⁸⁴ McGrath, T. (2007) *Politics, Interdenominational Relations and Education in the Public Ministry of Bishop James Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin, 1786-1834*. Four Courts Press, Dublin in two volumes.

⁸⁵ O'Fearghail, F. (2009) *Cardinal Patrick Moran of Leighlinbridge 1830-1911*. In McGrath, T. "Carlow: History and Society" Geography Publications, Dublin, pp. 641-662. This book significantly contains no article on Tyndall, Haughton or Vigors. The content perhaps represents a modern statement of the views of academic Catholics who are still not prepared to give recognition to the Protestant community.

⁸⁶ Knight, D. *The age of science: the scientific world view in the nineteenth century*, (Oxford, 1986).

⁸⁷ Barton, R. (1987) *John Tyndall, pantheist: A rereading of the Belfast Address*, Osiris, 2nd. Series. pp. 111-134.

⁸⁸ Note. Foster, p. 17.

⁸⁹ W.H. Brock, Tyndall-Hirst Correspondence 31/B3 (29 May 1847).

⁹⁰ D. O'Leary, *Roman Catholicism and Modern Science, Continuum*, New York and London, 2006, p. 79.

⁹¹ O'Leary ref 42.

⁹² *ibid*, Chapter 5.

⁹³ O'Leary ref 56.

⁹⁴ op. cit. Foster, p.44.

⁹⁵ op. cit. O'Leary, pp.78-93.

⁹⁶ op. cit O'Leary, p.78.

⁹⁷ T.H. Huxley, REF 32 O'Leary

⁹⁸ (i) The inability of natural selection to account for the incipient stages of useful structures (ii) The independent origin of similar structures (iii) The importance of saltations/macrochanges in evolution (iv) The development of useless organs (v) Specific stability and orthogenetic tendencies (vi) The unity of organisms.

⁹⁹ J. W. Gruber, *Biography of Mivart*, pp. 53-56.

¹⁰⁰ T.H. Huxley, *Mr. Darwin's Critics*, *Contemporary Review*, give reference. According to O'Leary Huxley was compromised in his attempts to use Catholic theology to undermine Mivart and furthermore failed to answer his scientific criticisms. This attack by Huxley raised the ante. o. cit. O'Leary p. 17 Reference 45 in this book.

¹⁰¹ op. cit. O'Leary p. 25.

¹⁰² op. cit. O'Leary p.85.

¹⁰³ op. cit. O'Leary pp 86-93.

¹⁰⁴ op. cit. O'Leary p. 84.

¹⁰⁵ op. cit. O'Leary p. 35 and this issue is dealt with on pages 602-604.

¹⁰⁶ op. cit. P. Ayres, p. ?

¹⁰⁷ op. Cit. O'Leary p.96.

¹⁰⁸ op. cit. O'Leary p.48.

¹⁰⁹ Moore, p. 395.

¹¹⁰ A discussion of the significance of this Huxley address is given in A.W. Brown, *The Metaphysical Society: Victorian Minds in Crisis 1869-1880*. (New York: Columbia University press, 1947), p.50-56.

¹¹¹ H. Canton, *Getting our history right*, *Evolutionary Psychology*, 2007, 5(1), pp. 52-69.

¹¹² Larkin, L. (1984) *The Historical Dimensions of Irish Catholicism*. Washington D.C. The Catholic University of America Press: Four Courts press, Dublin, p.9.

WHAT TYNDALL READ: PROVENANCE, CONTENTS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROBY BEQUEST IN THE CARLOW COUNTY COUNCIL LIBRARY

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⁴ Acting County Librarian, Carlow County Council, Carlow, Ireland.

Summary

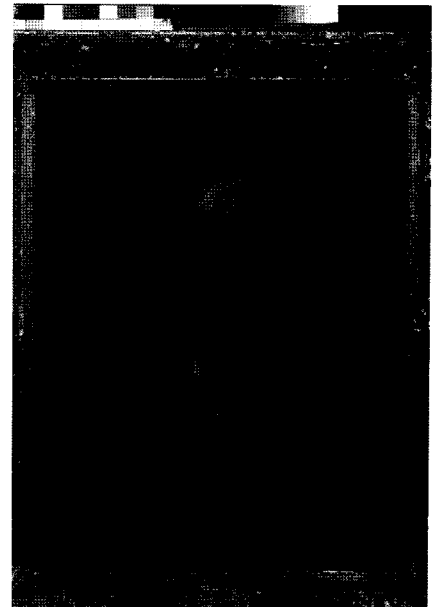
We give a preliminary description of the provenance and contents of the library that the Tyndalls kept in Hind Head House, in Surrey, and the path it followed to end up in the Carlow County Council Library. For the provenance we draw from unpublished personal accounts and from public aspects of the Tyndall family history, specially from Louisa's side. The contents of the library comprise about 143 items, between books and pamphlets, which we mention individually, giving in some cases details of the connection between Tyndall and the authors of the book. With regard to the significance of the library, we observe that most of the books were British or American editions of Tyndall's own work, or gifts to Tyndall from other authors who followed on his work, specially with regard to applications of his microbiological findings. We conclude that perhaps Tyndall's library had more the character of a trophy display-case than a working resource. This would contribute to an explanation of the prominent absences in the library-texts from Darwin, or Lucretius, which influenced him profoundly. Buying academic books, when he had them readily available in numerous institutions, might not have been one of Tyndall's strongest habits, but a look at his home library is nonetheless revealing of Tyndall's inquisitive and sensitive mind, and of the roots of his personal thinking.

Introduction

The Carlow County Council Library houses in the office area in the first floor a simple modern bookcase full of nineteenth century science and other books, many of which are editions of John Tyndall's works. The shelves are rather labelled 'Proby Bequest', and an etching of Tyndall in the shape of a postcard-size woodcut inside the press tells us that this is related in some way to the great Victorian Carlow physicist. Details of this and other items were first reported in the *Carlow Nationalist*.¹ In this paper we trace the provenance of the 'Proby Bequest', catalogue its contents and relate the selection of books found therein to ideas, works and events in Tyndall's life.

Jocelyn Proby (1900-1993)

The donor whose name the bequest bears was Jocelyn Campbell Patrick Proby, well known in the professional world of osteopathy.² He was the fifth child of Colonel Douglas James Proby (1856-1931) and Lady Margaret Frances Hely Hutchinson (d. 1937).³ Jocelyn had four siblings; Granby Proby (1883-1947), Claude Richard Hamilton (1885-1901), Betty Alice Adeline Proby, and Richard George Proby (baronet). Jocelyn's father was born Douglas James Hamilton, but for reasons of inheritance had changed his family name. Douglas's parents were Claud Hamilton (1813-1884) and Elizabeth Emma Proby (d. 1900), who married on 7 August 1844, and in addition to Claud they had Louisa Charlotte Hamilton (1845-1940), Emma Frances Hamilton (d. 1924) and Mary Stuart Hamilton (d. 1939).



John Tyndall

Louisa Charlotte was the wife of John Tyndall, and this establishes the connection between Jocelyn Proby, donor of the bequest, and John Tyndall. They were related through John's wife Louisa Charlotte. It also suggests a reason for the change of surname, from Hamilton to Proby, perhaps in order to preserve the name and titles of his father-in-law, if they were inherited through the male line. Louisa was 25 years younger than John, who was 56 years of age when he married. They had no children; John died accidentally, and Louisa outlived him remaining a widow for 47 years.⁴

Provenance

Having established who Proby was, and his connection to Tyndall, we will now explain the physical journey of the books; where were they initially stored, when and how the donation to Carlow Library was arranged. In the first place, that the books and other items at Hind Head House (often written Hindhead House), in Haslemere, Surrey - Tyndall's last home-legitimately belonged to Mr. Proby, who had it in his power to dispose of them at will. We know that in 1976 he donated to the Royal Society of London (hereafter RS) three oil canvases; a portrait of Tyndall in his old age, by John McClure Hamilton (1893-1894), another Tyndall portrait, this time from 1877, by V. Zypponfeld, and another portrait of Mrs. Tyndall by the same artist, also dated 1877.⁵ We have also

found in the Library of the RS 43 books donated by Jocelyn Proby.

Two of the authors of this paper, McMillan and Nevin, were principals in obtaining this collection for Carlow, appealing to Mr. Proby's generosity. In addition, they also secured a donation of the books recovered from Tyndall's climbing lodge in Bel Alp, Switzerland, by the late Mr. Eric Wiseman, who was a great friend and Tyndall enthusiast. Other material and artefacts were also recovered from the Royal Institution of Great Britain where Tyndall worked, and locally from family and friends of Tyndall's family.⁶

The Eric Wiseman Donation.

The books from Tyndall's Alpine home in Switzerland were recovered by Mr. Eric Wiseman⁷ who travelled there specifically for the purpose of obtaining material from the house when it was being sold. He was unable to physically transport more

Tyndall as a legendary mountain man took baths on the freezing water. The books gathered by Mr. Wiseman form part of the collection in Carlow Library and are clearly distinguished from the other books by the hand-written inscription they bear behind the front cover, as follows;

This book formerly the property of Professor John Tyndall was recovered from the Tyndall's summer home Alp Lusgen, above Bel Alp, Canton Valais, Switzerland, in 1963 by Eric Wiseman.

Wiseman was in a long correspondence with McMillan in the 1970s and eventually made his contribution in September 1978.⁷ Mr. Wiseman came to Carlow to deliver a lecture on his adventures in Alp Lusgen in 1963, which was later delivered in other locations around the county,⁸ and he contributed a chapter to the Royal Dublin Society's (RDS) 250th

Life in the Alps'. The background to Wiseman's retrieval of this material was therein explained which came from Sir Richard Proby, Bart., father of Jocelyn Proby.

The 'Proby Bequest': Recovery mission

Louisa Tyndall died at her home in Hind Head,¹⁰ aged 95, and we do not know any details of the fate of the contents of the house until the 1970s, when the Tyndall Committee in Carlow (Nevin and McMillan led this aspect of the Committee's work) who were in correspondence with Mr. Jocelyn Proby, discovered very late that he was retiring from his Osteopath practice in Arklow, Co. Wicklow to move to Warmington House, Warmington, Peterborough, Cambridgeshire. A trip to Arklow was necessary that very night as McMillan and Nevin found that Proby was leaving the next day for England. Travelling after work, they arrived to Arklow at about 8pm, to find from Mr. Proby that a librarian/representative from the Royal Society of London (RS) had been there the day previous. Mr. Proby was upset that the RS had cherry-picked the books taking the most valuable, inscribed by Darwin, Carlyle, Huxley and others that had been presented to Tyndall by his personal friends. Proby told McMillan and Nevin, that had he known Carlow would have kept the collection together he would have donated them to Tyndall's home county. The books he explained were all labelled by Mrs Tyndall herself and the Hind Head library had been carefully kept in the same order as when left by John Tyndall after his death in 1893. As a member of the family of Mrs. Tyndall, that night Mr. Proby spoke of the accidental poisoning of Tyndall and said that serious police investigations had ascertained this was indeed a tragic accident. The police enquiry was routine in a case of accidental death where there are reasonably large sums of money involved, and Tyndall had died accidentally leaving behind more than £15,000 and two houses. John was alive after the poisoning and explained the circumstances of the mixing up of the medicine and embrocation by his wife. Jocelyn's own father was there to transcribe statements of the event used



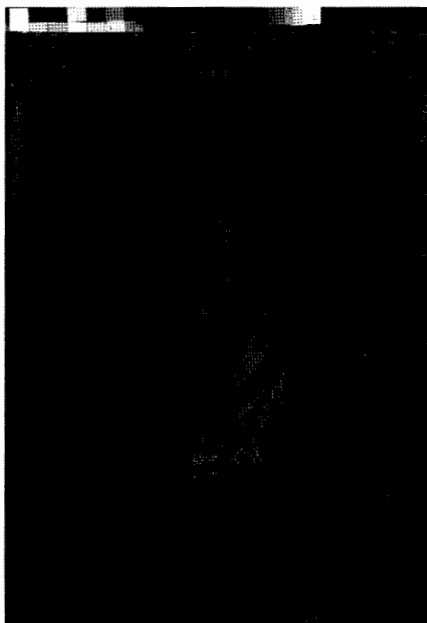
John Tyndall

than the books, a series of 'infusion tubes' and some meteorological equipment. Mr. Wiseman left behind in the lodge Tyndall's climbing equipment; boots, ropes and other climbing essentials such as his Alpenstock. According to Mr. Wiseman, a mountain stream could be diverted to flow through the house and he believed - and Tyndall's correspondence with Huxley confirms - that

Anniversary Publication 'John Tyndall: Essays on a Natural Philosopher'⁹ that was planned in its entirety and edited by Norman McMillan in draft, who recruited Professor W.H. 'Bill' Brock, the respected historian of science, to lead the final editorial team which included Dr McMillan and the Science Officer of the RDS Dr Charles Mollan. Wiseman's chapter was entitled 'John Tyndall: Scientific Work and Social

in the subsequent inquest. He promised to try and find this historic document after the move but this was never sent on. The conversation that night was of necessity rather fraught and lasted less than an hour because of the urgency of packing household goods for the move next day.

Once these books were secured by McMillan and Nevin, they were in their entirety donated to the Carlow County Library. A local company Braun Ireland was approached by McMillan and agreed to provide the funding for the bookcase to house the Proby books, but also museum cases to house the various Tyndall memorabilia, papers and scientific equipment obtained by the Tyndall Committee. Two of these museum cases designed by John McQueen from the Regional Technical College (hereafter RTC) Carlow stood at the entrance of the County Library for many years, while three others were in the library of the RTC. Eventually the five cases with their contents were donated by the Tyndall Committee (legal owners of these donations and the books) to the County Museum along with a series of twenty plus beautiful water colours of scenes from the whole of Ireland painted by James Flack that were part of the Tyndall-Dargan travelling exhibition. The details of much of this local activity by the Tyndall Committee are in two scrapbooks that are part of the County Carlow Tyndall library. The most important cuttings explain some of the



Louise Tyndall

provenance of these collections. The various books and artefacts collected by the Tyndall Committee led by Joe Feeley, Nevin and McMillan were donated formally to the nation through Brendan Daly TD, Minister for State at the Department of Labour in a ceremony reported in the Nationalist in 1981.¹¹ These items now are all safely in the hands of the Curator of the Carlow Museum.

Efforts were made subsequently to recover the books that were moved to London, and a formal approach to the RS was made to this effect by the then Irish Minister for Education Mr John Wilson TD, but this was unsuccessful. It is believed that Wilson subsequently appealed to the RS for the return of the Proby books. Dr McMillan travelled to London to discuss the matter with the Librarian of the Royal Society in the early 1980s and was informed the books had all joined the general collection of the RS so could not therefore be identified.

The books donated to Carlow by Mr. Eric Wiseman came after the donation of Mr. J. Proby, but were joined to the County Library collection and remain in the same book-case as the Proby Bequest.

Contents and significance

What follows is a list of the books at some stage owned by Tyndall that were found either in Bel Alp (Wiseman Donation to Carlow), in Hind Head House (Proby Bequest I to Carlow), or Proby Bequest II, (Proby to RS).

Wiseman Donation: identified by hand-written inscription, dated and signed by donor.

There are seven titles under this category, all by Tyndall himself, as follows.

Tyndall, J. 1899 *Fragments of Science* (three volumes, two copies), Longmans, London. *Heat as a mode of motion*. Six lectures on Light, delivered in America, 1872-1873, (three copies) Longmans, London, 1875. *Michael Faraday as a discoverer* Longmans, London

1877. *Hours of exercise in the Alps* Longmans, London 1906. *The forms of water in clouds & rivers, ice & glaciers*. Longmans, London 1892. *Glaciers of the Alps*. Longmans, London 1896.

All of the above are late editions of Tyndall's earlier publications, some of them dating even after his death, and obviously gathered by Louisa. They include both British and American editions.

Proby Bequest I (Carlow)

This comprises 93 titles, presented below under different categories. We also add brief comments in some cases, to show the reason why those titles are there, and what they meant to Tyndall. The titles could refer to books or pamphlets, and the order given here does not reflect the order in which they are found on the shelves in Carlow. Several titles, specially the works of Tyndall himself, exist in numerous copies, but when this occurs we have mentioned them only once. To reflect possible influences, within each category the books are ordered by date of publication when possible.

Alpinism & Travel

Anonymous volume in the bilingual (German-French) collection; Villes et regions d'art de la Suisse. *Brigue et le Haut Valais*.

G. Mayr 1863 *Travelling and orographic map of Tyrol*. Munchen, verlag von Julius Grubert.

Piazzini Smith 1879 *A poor man's photography at the Great Pyramid in the year 1865*. Henry Greenwood, London. Tyndall had charming first-hand accounts of Egypt and its antiquities in his correspondence with T. H. Huxley.

John Tyndall 1896 *Hours of exercise in the Alps*. Appleton & Co., New York. F. O. Wolf et A. Ceresole n.d. *Valais et Chamonix*. Orel Fussli, Zurich.

Biography

B. W. Greenfield 1843 *Genealogy of*

the family of Tyndale. Privately printed by John Bowyer and Son, London.

Bence Jones 1871 *The Royal Institution, its founders and its first professors*. Longmans, London. Bence Jones was manager of the RI and a close friend of Tyndall after helping gain his appointment there.

J. H. Gladstone 1872 *Michael Faraday*. MacMillan & Co., London.

John Stuart Mill 1873 *Autobiography*. Longmans, London. Huxley and Tyndall's philosophy was influenced by this school of philosophy.

Martha Somerville 1873 *Personal recollections from early life to old age of Mary Somerville, with selections of her correspondence*. John Murray, London. Perhaps in this book we see here the influence of Louisa, who must have felt great sympathy for Somerville, a great scientist in her own right.

Thomas Carlyle 1873 *A supplement to the life of Friedrich Schiller, with an examination of his works*. Chapman and Hall, London. Carlyle was a great personal friend of Tyndall, who looked after him when he was elderly and in poor health. They swapped terrible remedies for their disturbed sleep patterns.

Anonymous 1882 *A memoir of Hector Tyndale (1821-1880)*. Philadelphia. This was Tyndall's direct relative who fought in the USA Union Army. Tyndall established a scholarship in his honour in an Ivy League University after his lecture tour of the USA in 1872-3.

Lady Claud Hamilton (translator) 1885 *Louis Pasteur: His life and labours, by his son-in-law*. Longmans, London. Pasteur was a collaborator of Tyndall as both were on the same side in the anti-spontaneous-generation debate in the 1860s and 1870s. Louis Paster died in 1895.

Percy Faraday Frankland and Mrs. Percy Frankland 1898 *Pasteur*. Cassell and Co. London. With dedication from the author to Mrs. Tyndall. The authors were another case of close collaboration between husband and wife, in this case Mr and Mrs

Frankland. Percy's father was an outstanding chemist and had been a very close friend of John Tyndall from the time they worked together in Queenwood College in 1847. They travelled together to Marburg thereafter as PhD students. Edward Frankland was an X-Club member established to defend the theory of evolution. The nine members were based in the RI in Albermarle Street, London and the Xth member was Darwin, who because of ill health never attended meetings. Father and son Frankland quarrelled often.

"Un Ignorant" n.d. *M. Pasteur: Histoire d'un savant*. (9th edition). Hetzel et Cie Editeurs Paris.

Medicine, Pathology, Microbiology

George MacIlwain 1838 *Medicine and Surgery one inductive science*. S. Highley, London. In 1838 Tyndall had left school in Ballinabranna to pursue a career as a surveyor and had no particular interest in medicine or surgery. Book must have been a later addition to library.

Julius Jeffreys 1843 *Views on the statics of the human chest*. Longmans, London.

Benjamin Brodie 1851 *Physiological researches*. Longman & Co., London. With hand-written dedication.

George Wilson 1855 *Researches on colour blindness with a supplement on the dangers attending the present system of railway and marine coloured signals*. Sutherland and Knox, Edinburgh. Tyndall advised Trinity House and the House of Commons on the optimal way of conveying signals from light-houses and fog-horns to shipping. With hand-written dedication from the author.

Gilbert W. Child 1869 *Essays on physiological subjects*. Longmans, London.

Leonard W. Sedgwick 1869 A report on the parasitic theory of disease. Reprinted from the *Transactions of the Association of medical graduates*, London.

Joseph Lister 1870 *Remarks on a case*

of compound dislocation of the ankle with other injuries., illustrating the antiseptic system of treatment. Edmonston and Douglas, Edinburgh. Lister was recruited by Huxley and Tyndall to be basically an X-Club spokesperson on 'germ theory' as he was medically qualified and Pasteur had suffered badly at hands of professional medical men in France in attempting to advance this theory.

Noel Hartley 1873 Atmospheric life germs. A reprint from *Quarterly Journal of Science*, April 1873.

W.H. Dallinger 1873 Researches on the life history of a cercomonad. Lessons in Biogenesis. *Monthly microscopical journal* August.

J. M. Scudder 1874 *Specific diagnosis: a study of disease with special reference to the administration of remedies*. Lockwood & Co. Cincinnati US. Tyndall stood at the historic boundary where many aspects of medicine were beginning to unfold as deeply rooted in science, thus contributing to the unified view of nature, including man, that was at the base of Victorian scientific naturalism.

Benjamin T. Moore 1875 *On the influence of temperature during childbirth and on the right management of the puerperal state*. Emily Faithfull, London.

J. Lister Llewellyn 1875 The effects of the antiseptic treatment upon the general salubrity of surgical hospitals. *British Medical journal*, 25 December. With Tyndall, Huxley and Pasteur, Lister was one of the main contributors to the 'spontaneous generation debate' in Britain.

Moigno, L'Abbe 1878 *Microbes organises. Leur role dans la fermentation, la putrefaction et la contagion*. *Memoires de MM. Tyndall and Pasteur*. Gauthier-Villiers, Paris. L'Abbe Moigno was an outstanding French Catholic authority who tried quite successfully to accommodate the new findings of science within the framework of Catholic dogma. He was also deeply involved in worldly affairs, and was the official translator of Tyndall into French, and there is an

abundant record of correspondence between the two men. Tyndall was not always happy with Moigno's translation work. They also corresponded about more philosophical and religious matters, especially after 1874.

Grant Allen 1879 *The Colour-sense, its origin and development: An essay on comparative physiology*. Trubner & Co., London.

Robert Lewins 1880 *Life and Mind: The basis of modern medicine*. Watts and Co., London.

Hilgard Tyndale 1882 *Home and climatic treatment of pulmonary consumption, on the basis of modern doctrines*. Bermingham & Co. New York. Probably a family relative related to Hector and thence to cousin John Tyndall.

J. Burnet Yeo 1882 *The contagiousness of pulmonary consumption and its antiseptic treatment*. J. & A. Churchill, London.

Watson Cheyne 1882 *Antiseptic surgery: Principles, practice, history and results*. Smyth, Elder & Co., London.

Michael Quain 1886 *The healing art in its history and prophetic aspects*. The Harveian Oration. Longmans, London.

Richardson B. W. 1887 *The Health of Nations*. Reprinted from *Saturday Review*. Oct 29.

Thomas Clarke 1888 *A gauntlet to the theologian and scientist*. Frederick Norgate, London. A book that was responding to Tyndall's 'Belfast Address' of 1874.

Armand Ruffer 1890 *The phagocytes of the alimentary canal*. Quarterly Journal of Microscopical science, February.

G. A. Heron 1890 *Evidences of the communicability of consumption*. Longmans Green & Co. London. With handwritten dedication.

R. Russell 1891 *The spread of influenza: its supposed relations to*

atmospheric conditions. Edward Stanford, London.

Rollo Russell 1892 *Epidemics, plagues and fevers: Their causes and prevention*. Edward Stanford, London.

H. Charlton Bastian n.d. *Epidemic and specific contagious diseases: Considerations on their nature, and mode of origin*. With a hand-written dedication from the author. Bastian became embroiled in a bitter public discussion with Tyndall and Huxley on the "germ theory of disease", Bastian advocating a form of spontaneous generation. The discussion was conducted in *The Times* and a number of scientific and medical journals.

Wolfe, A. n.d. *The correlation of Zymotic diseases*.

Daniel Henry Cullimore n.d. *Consumption as a contagious disease*. Bailliere, Tindall & Co. London.

J. Lister Llewellyn 1912 *Miner's nistagmus: Its causes and prevention*. The Colliery Guardian Company, London.

Natural Religion, Christianity, Spiritualism

David Hume n.d. *Dialogues concerning natural religion*. Thomas Scott, London. Perhaps the favourite philosopher of T.H. Huxley.

J. B. Mozley 1865 *Eight lectures on miracles*. Rivingtons, London. "Miracles" bothered Tyndall, as well as the effect of prayer, and he went on to contradict them armed with the scientific method. In the case of *séances*, he was able to call the medium's bluff, and he proposed hygiene and public health as the best antidote against public calamities such as plagues affecting humans or farm animals. But he never explored seriously the miracles of Christ or his resurrection.

John Robert Seeley 1869 *Ecce Homo: A survey of the life and work of Jesus Christ*. MacMillan & Co., London. An interesting and well-meaning read that informed Tyndall that some aspects of humanity are beyond the full grasp and

explanation of science, something Tyndall himself proposed in his 'Belfast Address'.

John Stuart Mill 1874 *Nature, the utility of religion and theism*. Longmans, London. An important source for Herbert Spencer (X-Club), Tyndall and Huxley.

"Alpha" 1874 *Religion and science: The letters of "Alpha" on the influence of spirit upon imponderable actienic molecular substances and the life forces of mind and matter*. Alfred Mudge and Son, Boston. With hand-written dedication from the author.

Lermontoff, Michael 1875 *The Demon*. Trubner and Co, London.

Asa Gray 1880 *Natural Science and Religion: Two lectures delivered to the Theological School of Yale College*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. For a period of time, Asa Gray was one of Darwin's leading opponents.

John Wood 1882 *Ancient astronomy, modern science and sacred cosmology*. Partridge & Co. London.

Rowland G. Hazard 1883 *Man a creative first cause*. Houghton and Mifflin, Boston and Cambridge.

John S. Farmer 1881 *A new basis for the belief in immortality*. E. W. Allen, London.

Order of the Temple, 1925 *The Constitution, statutes, laws and regulations of the Great Priory of Ireland*. Obviously deposited in the library by Louisa or other relative. Heavily underlined.

Natural Science including Botany, Zoology and Geology

William Gregory 1851 *Letters on animal magnetism*. Taylor, Walton and Maberley, London. In his early career as a physicist, Tyndall was a pioneer in diamagnetism which relates to this study.

Thomas Henry Huxley 1858 *Theory of the vertebrate skull*. From *Proceedings of the Royal Society*, November 18, 1858. In this paper, Huxley confronted

Richard Owen for the first time in scientific grounds. Owen was by far the more senior, but, at least by Huxley's own reckoning, he lost the debate. Tyndall and Huxley were very close friends, at least judging by their extensive correspondence, and it is a little surprising not to find more Huxley titles in the library.

G. Poulett Scropp 1862 *Volcanoes, the character of their phenomena*. Longmans, London.

William Thomson 1874 *Typhoid Fever*. George Robertson, Melbourne.

J. Norman Lockyer 1873 *The Spectroscope and its applications*. MacMillan, London.

M. Le Chanoine 1874 *Theory of the glaciers of Savoy, with additions by P. C. Tait, John Ruskin and George Forbes*. MacMillan, London.

John Gordon Drysdale 1874 *The protoplasmic theory of life*. Bailliere, Tindall and Co., London, Paris and Madrid. In keeping with the material continuum between the inorganic, the organic and the living that was becoming increasingly evident, it had been proposed the existence of the protoplasm, an undifferentiated form of life from which all forms derive, which was the basis of all 'vital properties' and which was believed to constitute the cellular cytoplasm. This book is a review of the struggles of the cellular theory to free itself from the erroneous concept of the protoplasm.

Charles Bland Radcliffe 1876 *Vital motion as a mode of physical motion*. MacMillan & Co. London.

M. Berean. 1878. *The missing link discovered. A key to the mysteries of the fall of man*. William Tegg & Co., London.

John Lubbock 1882 *Ants, bees and wasps*. Kegan Paul, London. Lubbock was another member of the X-Club member.

Percy Faraday Frankland 1893 *Our secret friends and foes. Society for promoting Christian knowledge*.

London and New York. With dedication to Prof. Tyndall by author.

Percy Frankland 1903 *Bacteria in daily life*. Longmans, London.

Poetry and Literature

Goethe 1808 *Faust*. Tübingen. This is the oldest book in the library, written in old-character German. Of a convenient pocket-size, it bears the marks of having been carried around quite a lot, although it appears to have been bought by Tyndall second hand, as it is signed by Tyndall 1849, after the signature of the first owner, dated 1808.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow 1864 *Tales of a wayside inn*. Routledge and Son, London. Tyndall was called the poet of science and was greatly influenced by the Romantic, German and indeed other poetry.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow n.d. *Evangeline*.

Harriet Eleanor Hamilton King 1869 *Aspromonte and other poems*. MacMillan and Co. London.

Robert Norwood n.d. *The Lady of the Sonnets*. McClelland, Goodchild and Stewart, Toronto. With handwritten dedication.

Edward Clifford 1891 *Broadlands as it was*. Lindsey & Co. For private circulation only With hand-written dedication to "dear Tyndall from Edward Clifford." We assume him to be the author.

Philosophy, Psychology, Mind, Education

George Wilson 1856 *The gateways of knowledge*. MacMillan and Co., Cambridge.

E. L. Youmans 1867 *The culture demanded by modern life*; the claims of scientific education. Appleton and Co. New York. This is Youman's summary of the views on the subject by many authors, including John Tyndall. In brief, as quoted from J. S. Mill, "scientific education, apart from professional objects, is but a preparation for judging

rightly of man, and of his requirements and interests." Youmans were Tyndall's publishers in the United States.

Alex Melville Bell 1867 *Visible speech: The science of universal alphabetic. Self-interpreting physiological letters for the writing of all languages in one alphabet*. Shimpkin, Marshall and Co, London. With dedication from the author. Work that leads towards Esperanto.

Johann Gottlieb Fichte 1867 *The characteristics of the present age*. John Chapman, London. Fichte (1762-1814) developed a transcendental idealism which he called Wissenschaftslehre, or doctrine of scientific knowledge, grounded in the bare concept of subjectivity, the "pure I". His system attempted to explain the philosophy of science, ethics, philosophy of law, and philosophy of religion. Important influence on Tyndall's Belfast Address.

Johann Gottlieb Fichte 1867 *The vocation of the scholar*. John Chapman, London.

John Stuart Mill 1872 *An examination of Sir William Hamilton's philosophy*. Longmans, London.

John Stuart Mill 1872 *System of logic*. Longmans, London. Mill (1806-1873) developed on the Empiricism of Hume, Berkeley and Locke and the Utilitarianism of Bentham. Great influence on X-Club and Spencer.

H. C. Carey 1872 *The unity of law; as exhibited by the relations of physical, social, mental and moral science*. Henry Carey Baird, Philadelphia. This book reflects a strong stream in Anglo-Saxon philosophy of considering "moral science" as deriving from natural forces, thus being reducible to physics and chemistry.

Eliza Youman, 1872 *An essay on the culture of the observing powers of children, especially in its connection with the study of botany*. Henry S. King, London.

W. H. Collins 1872 *Perspective or the art of drawing what one sees*. Longmans, London.

Alfred Smith 1875 *The mind of man*,

being a natural system of mental philosophy. George Bell and sons, London.

Malcolm Gutherie 1882 *On Mr. Spencer's unification of knowledge.* Trubner & Co., London.

Physics and Chemistry

Dionysius Lardner 1869. *Handbook of natural philosophy: Optics.* James Walton, London. Encyclopaedist who wrote perhaps the first school physics textbook. Tyndall wrote some of the most important physics textbooks and this suggests Tyndall drew on earlier Irish work in his educational textbooks.

John Tyndall 1870 *Researches on diamagnetism and magnetocrystalline action.* Longmans, London. His first researches on diamagnetism conducted largely in Berlin.

John Tyndall 1872 *Contributions to molecular physics in the domain of radiant heat.* Longmans, London. "Molecular physics" his classic monitoring researches on atmospheric physics in where his papers on greenhouse effect are reproduced.

Helmholtz H., 1873 *Popular lectures on scientific subjects.* With an introduction by Professor Tyndall. Longmans, London. Tyndall translated many German classic papers personally or arranged for other books and papers to be translated.

Robert Routledge 1881 *A popular history of science.* George Routledge and son, London.

John A. Newlands 1884 *The discovery of the periodic law and the relations among the atomic weights.* E. & F. Spon, London and New York. Newlands, together with Mendeleev and others (circa 1869) was one of the discoverers of the concept of the periodicity of elemental chemical properties as a function of atomic weight. This work, together with the work of Tyndall's friend Edward Frankland on the theory of chemical valence were beginning to show the more rigorous quantitative side of chemistry, and the possibilities of synthetic chemistry. Frederich Wohler had

synthesised the first organic compound, urea, in 1828, starting from inorganic compounds. Undoubtedly this was of fundamental importance in developing Tyndall's views on the reach and unicity of science.

John Tyndall 1896 *Sound.* Appleton & Co. New York.

John Tyndall 1896 *The forms of water.* Appleton & Co., New York.

John Tyndall 1896 *Fragments of science* (three volumes). Appleton & Co., New York. The last three volumes are posthumous editions and represent Tyndall's penetration of the American science book market.

Politics

Augustus Granville Stapleton 1866 *Intervention and non-intervention: or the foreign policy of Great Britain.* John Murray, London. Tyndall became a passionate advocate of the Union and anti-Gladstone in his Irish policies. Surprisingly, cooperated politically with Stokes and Kelvin with whom he had the greatest scientific differences.

Various subjects

Oliver Wendell Holmes 1867 *The autocrat of the breakfast table.* Alexander Strahan Publishers, London. Presented to John Tyndall by his X-Club friend Herbert Spencer.

Paget J. (Sir) 1871 *The Hunterian Oration.* Longmans, London. With hand-written dedication.

Edward Tregear 1885 *The Aryan Maori.* Wellington.

Proby Bequest II (Royal Society)

Books not by Tyndall;

R. Clausius 1867 *The mechanical theory of heat, with its applications to the steam-engine and to the physical properties of bodies.* Translated from the German, in part, by J. Tyndall, with a contribution by T. Archer Hirst, with an introduction by J. Tyndall. Clausius perhaps his closest German friend.

Henry S. Boase 1882 *A few words on*

evolution and creation: a thesis maintaining that the world was not made of matter by the development of one potency, but by that of innumerable specific powers. London; Dundee: John Leng.

Walter Jerrold, 1893 *Michael Faraday: man of science.* London: S.W. Partridge, 1893. Draws on Tyndall's 'Faraday the Discoverer'

The significance of Tyndall's Home Library

In addition to the above, the shelves containing the Proby Bequest in Carlow also contain a copy of Friday's 1974 microfiche Catalogue of Tyndall's correspondence,¹² some 6,700 items kept in the Archives of the Royal Institution, Abermarle St. London. This catalogue is very useful because it contains informative summaries of every letter. It was donated to Carlow by Professor W. H. Brock. It is our intention to further the research initiated here with a more detailed exploration of the correspondence with the authors mentioned above.

Perhaps the great absentee in Tyndall's library is Charles Darwin. No copy of *The Origin* or *The Ascent*, or any other Darwin work can be found, neither in Carlow or, after very careful investigations, in the library of the Royal Society, where, according to the memory of the last conversation between one of us (NMCM) with Mr. Proby, the "Darwin books" went. It is possible that these books never existed, since several attempts to find them, including one this year (see Acknowledgements) have failed to shed any light on their existence. In this regard, and even if the books are eventually found, we should note that the bond of friendship between Darwin and Tyndall was not very strong, certainly nothing to compare with the bond between Tyndall and Huxley, or between Tyndall and Hooker, or between Darwin and Hooker or Huxley, all of which left behind hundreds of letters filled with expressions of affection. In the Darwin correspondence, there are only 30 letters extant between Darwin and Tyndall, mostly short, polite and a little

dull. The origin of species and its intricacies was not Tyndall's concern in any detail, while it obsessed Darwin. Tyndall, perhaps drawing from aesthetic experiences in the Alps, deliberately left a door open to the human spirit, and he would have hesitated, no less than Huxley, to call himself a 'naturalist'.

But there are other authors remarkable for their absence. Epicurus, Lucretius, the classic atomists from whom he drew so heavily for his Belfast Address of 1874 are not in his library. Galileo or Kant with their theory of the formation of the Universe are also absent. The Bible, any Bible, Protestant or Catholic, which was the centre and negative inspiration of much of his writing, or magisterial documents from the Church, are not there either. Did Tyndall know of the early German works on textual criticism, or, closer to home, of John Henry Newman, who wrote abundantly on education, on science and religion and on the correct interpretation of Scripture, all topics that were dear to him? There is no extant correspondence between the two men. L'Abbe Moigno seems to have been the extent of his information on Catholic doctrine. Religion was clearly an important topic for Tyndall, as it was for Huxley, and their language in their correspondence, and probably also in their speech, was heavily loaded with Old Testament quotes. These absences, if genuine, tell us at least about Tyndall's working habits. He did not read professional matters at home so much; he had ample access to journals and technical books at the Royal Institution, the Royal Society, the Athenaeum, the gentlemen's clubs, the universities. A lot of what Tyndall read with a professional interest must have been kept in his office in these institutions. Perhaps books for his personal use were not among his habitual purchases. In fact, many of the books that we see from the library in Hind Head House were gifts to Tyndall from the authors, or editions of his own works, and only in few instances were they his own choice. If we look at Tyndall's home library more as a trophy display-case rather than a working resource—and Louisa would have been inclined to keep it that way—the absences mentioned above

are more easily understood.

Acknowledgements

The authors are very grateful to Nichola Court, Librarian at the Royal Society, for her help with our fresh search for details of the Proby Bequest to the Royal Society, and to Bernie Deasy, Assistant Librarian at the Carlow County Council Library for her assistance.

In this article are three paintings, two of John Tyndall and one of his wife Louisa Tyndall.

These paintings were initially in the Tyndall's home, Hind Head House, in Sussex, and were donated by Jocelyn Proby to the Royal Society, so they were part of the 'Proby Bequest'. I bought the images from the RS for the purpose of illustrating the Carloviana article, and we have permission to publish all three of them.

For the older Tyndall; Oil on canvas, 18x24 inches Hamilton, 1893-94. Presented by Jocelyn Proby 1970.

For the younger Tyndall, . Oil on canvas, 23 x 18 inches, , by V. Zipponfeld, donated by Jocelyn Proby 1976.

For Louisa Tyndall, Oil on canvas, 23 x 18 inches, , by V. Zipponfeld, donated by Jocelyn Proby 1976.

We also wish to acknowledge Mr. Alan Clark, Royal Society librarian in the 1970s, who has taken great interest in following up the paper trail of the Proby bequest within the records of the Royal Society and from his own recollections. It would appear that some of the records covering the period of the bequest were destroyed as they were considered redundant, which leaves us without a full record of the book donations by Proby to the Royal Society.

Notes and references

¹ Carlow Nationalist January 6, 1978, p.19. Items for Museum. This included a copy of the etching of John Tyndall (1885) produced by his nephew Caleb W. Tyndall who was a resident of Bagenalstown. This find was

reported in front page story earlier in the year under headline 'Big Find of Tyndall belongings'.

² The Irish Times obituary, 13 January 1993 p.15.

³ Charles Mosley (editor) 1999 Burke's Peerage and Baronetage, 106th edition, 2 volumes (Crans, Switzerland: Burke's Peerage (Genealogical Books) Vol. 1, p5.

⁴ The London Times Obituary, 20 August 1940, p9.

⁵ The donation to the RS by Mr Proby of 43 Tyndall books plus four paintings is mentioned in the Year Book of the Royal Society 1975, Report of Council, pp 310-311.

⁶ Carlow Nationalist, January 1978 article 'More about scientist John Tyndall' details request sent by Mr M. O'Raihall, County Librarian to Mr Eric Wiseman on possibilities of donation of Tyndall books from Bel Alp. and Carlow Nationalist, September 29, 1978, p17. "Tyndall artefacts come to nation."

⁷ Carlow Nationalist, May 12, 1978, p3. Reports in article entitled 'Tyndall books to be housed in Carlow College' donation of books by Eric Wiseman to County Carlow. Also, Ceremony donating Wiseman collection to nation is reported in Carlow RTC Newsletter November 1978 via Dr John Wilson TD, Minister for Education.

⁸ Details of Mr Wiseman's Irish lecture tour, Tyndall in the Alps, Carlow RTC (2 Oct. 1978); DIT (4 Oct 1978); Athlone (5 October 1978); Sligo (9 Oct 1978) and Galway RTC (11 Oct. 1978) lecture leaflet in scrapbook.

⁹ Brock W. H, MacMillan N. and Mollan C., 1979 John Tyndall, natural philosopher. Royal Dublin Society.

¹⁰ W. H. Brock, 'Tyndall, John (1820-1893)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27948>, accessed 22 July 2011].

¹¹ For Louisa Tyndall's custodianship of her husband's papers, and her project to produce his biography, see Granville Proby's foreword to Eve and Creasey's 1945 The life and work of John Tyndall. MacMillan, London.

¹² Friday, J., McLeod, R. M. and Shepherd, P., 1974 John Tyndall, Natural Philosopher 1820-1893 Catalogue of correspondence, journals and collected papers. Mansell, Microfiche edition.

The Society of St Vincent de Paul in Carlow

Pat O'Neill

Introduction:

In early 2009 the late Tim Whelan, a member of the Carlow conference of the Society of St Vincent de Paul, was contacted by the Bank of Ireland, Court Place, Carlow. The bank, in clearing out their premises prior to their move to Shamrock Plaza, had discovered in their vaults a package belonging to the Society and wished to return it to them.

The package, wrapped in brown paper, contained nine books, one of which was hard backed and the rest soft covered. These books were the early records of the Carlow Conference of St Vincent de Paul which was formed in the town in May 1851. On the outside of the brown paper wrapping was written:

Property of St Joseph's Conference Carlow, earliest records of the Society of St Vincent de Paul in Carlow Members Roll from May 11th 1851 [date of foundation of Conference] Relief Register and Minutes from February 1852 Other records up to the 1860s To be handed to F. Mannion, 54 Dublin St, Carlow.

The wrapping paper had an adhesive label attached, dated October 1962, presumably the year the records were left with the bank for safe keeping.

Frank Mannion, a native of Co. Galway, was a long serving member of the teaching staff of St Mary's, Knockbeg College, Carlow until his retirement and was an active member of the Carlow Conference.

Paris 1833:

The Society of St Vincent de Paul was founded in Paris in 1833 at a time when the Catholic Church in France was trying to come to terms with the new social landscape created by the Revolution of 1789. The impetus for the formation of the society came from the student debating societies of the Sorbonne which in turn were influenced by the ideas generated by the Catholic Action movement. When that group of seven students, led by the twenty three year old Frederic Ozanam, came together on the 23rd April 1833 to form the first conference of the society in the parish of St Etienne du Mont, they could hardly have imagined the

speed with which the new society would grow in the following decades.

At the end of their first year the Paris conference had grown to sixty members and at the end of their third year they had two hundred and fifty. Thereafter the growth of the society was exponential. By 1851, the year in which the Carlow Conference was formed, there were 766 conferences of the society, 367 in France and 399 in Europe and North America.

The society quickly gained the sanction and approval of the Church. Approval was granted by Pope Gregory XVI and ratified by Pope Pius IX. In 1851, in a privilege granted by Pius IX, the society was placed under a Cardinal Protector resident in Rome.

Ireland 1850:

From the 1820s and especially after the granting of Catholic Emancipation in 1829 several Bishops made strenuous efforts to reform the conduct and behaviour of their clergy and the devotional practices of the laity. They grappled with issues like the new national educational system (introduced in 1831) and the introduction of such reforming crusades as Fr Matthew's Temperance League. However these reforms were uneven and what Emmet Larkin has described as the "devotional revolution in Ireland" did not begin in earnest until the appointment to Armagh of Dr Paul Cullen, Rector of the Irish College in Rome, with instructions to summon a national synod to improve the government and practices of the Irish Church. During his tenure in Armagh and afterwards as Archbishop of Dublin and starting with the first National Synod of Thurles (1850) the Irish Church under his direction, shed the last vestiges and practices of an unofficial and underground church to achieve the clerical and hierarchical uniformity which lasted until the late twentieth century. According to Larkin it was during this period that the majority of the Irish people became practising Catholics.

Ireland – the beginning:

The first conference of the society to be formed in Ireland was based in the parish of St Michan's in Dublin, when on the 14th December 1844, nineteen people gathered at the

White Cross Rooms in Charles Street. The driving force behind the formation of the society in Ireland was Fr Bartholomew Woodlock, a young priest on the staff of All Hallows College, Dublin. He later became Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise and successor to Newman as Rector of the Catholic University of Ireland.

T.W.T. Dillon, in a review of the first hundred years of the society, wrote that "the main credit for the foundation and the first great success of the Society in Ireland are certainly his. He remained its spiritual director until 1879 when he became Bishop of Ardagh."

The first conference formed outside Dublin was in Cork in April 1846, followed by conferences in Waterford, Limerick, Galway and Belfast. Sixteen conferences had been formed by 1847 and by 1859 there were sixty nine conferences and by 1879 one hundred and twenty nine.

Dillon also wrote that the expansionary period of the society ended when Dr Woodlock was appointed to the hierarchy and that thereafter the society went into decline until 1895 when the celebration of its silver jubilee inaugurated a period of further growth.

This assertion is not borne out by the records of the Carlow conference whose membership numbers remained remarkably constant from 1851 up to the 1890's.

The Society:

The Society of St Vincent de Paul is a society of laymen whose core objective is the spiritual good of its members, to be achieved through the practice of charity. The unit of structure is the local conference. Based in a parish the members work there with the approval and cooperation of the clergy. Each conference has a spiritual director, a priest appointed by the Bishop. There are two classes of members. Active members carry out on an ongoing basis the charitable work of the society. Honorary members widen the circle of involvement in the community by subscribing to the funds of the society.

Carlow:

The meeting which led to the formation of the society in Carlow as almost certainly convened at the request of the Bishop. In 1851, Dr Francis Haly had been Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin for thirteen years and had acquired a fine reputation for his work "with the religious communities, especially those whose chief work was education of the poor." However it is tempting to suggest that he was prompted in his action by someone whom he had known and worked with for some years. Rev. James Taylor had served on the staff of Carlow College since his ordination in 1831 and had become President in 1843. On his retirement from that position in 1850 "he joined the Fathers of the St Vincent de Paul and took part in several of the missions conducted by that body." As a Vincentian, Fr Taylor would have been most anxious to establish new branches of the

Society of St Vincent de Paul.

The meeting was held on the 11th May 1851 but the location is not given anywhere in the records. The meeting was almost certainly held in either Carlow College or the Cathedral.

The register of members has the notation "present at formation" recorded against the names of certain members and from this a list of the twenty three non clerical invitees who attended this formation meeting can be made.

| Name | Residence | Profession |
|-----------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| Burbridge, John | Water Lane, Carlow | |
| Burke, John | Dublin Street | Victualler |
| Brennan, William | Tullow Street | Baker |
| Coffey, Thomas | Dublin Street | Gentleman |
| Dillon, Michael | Pembroke Road | Bank Clerk |
| Doyle, Hugh | Tullow Street | None |
| Donohue, Michael | Castle Hill | Cooper |
| Foley, Denis | Dublin Road | Carpenter |
| Haly, Right Rev. Dr | Braganza | Bishop |
| Hughes, Rev. James | College | Dean |
| Lynch, Joseph | Dublin Road | Architect |
| Lawler, Robert | Tullow Street | Merchant |
| Lowry, Patrick | Tullow Street | Baker |
| McCarthy, Rev. Daniel | Braganza House | R.C.C. |
| Mulhall, Christopher | Athy Street | Law Student |
| Maxwell, Martin | Burrin Street | Shopkeeper |
| Mulhall, Thomas | Athy Street | Attorney |
| O'Meara, Thomas | Dublin Street | Medical Doctor |
| O'Shea, Thaddeus | Burrin Street | Manager Tipperary Bank |
| Price, Thomas | Dublin Street | Stationer |
| Piercy, John D. | Montgomery Street | Head of Academy |
| Paul, Richard | Tullow Street | Brewer |
| Power, Patrick | Tullow Street | Baker |
| Ryan, Francis | Pembroke Road | |
| Whyte, Matthew | | |
| Esmonde | District Asylum | Medical Doctor |
| Walshe, Rev. James | St Patrick's College | President of College |
| Walker, Francis | Chapel Lane | Bookbinder |

The first attendee listed, John Burbridge of Water Lane, Carlow is noted in the members' roll as "discontinued May 1851". It seems that while he came to the inaugural meeting, he did not become a member of the society.

As one would expect, the meeting was dominated by the clergy, those in attendance including the Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, Dr Francis Haly, the President of St Patrick's College, Carlow, Rev. James Walshe and the administrator of the Carlow Cathedral parish, Rev. Daniel McCarthy. Rev. James Walshe was President of Carlow College and also Vicar General of the Diocese. He was a native of New Ross and his mother was a first cousin to Bishop James Warren Doyle (1819-1834), J.K.L. Fr Walshe would himself succeed to the Bishopric of Kildare and Leighlin on the death of Dr Haly in 1855. Rev. Daniel McCarthy, a native of Cork, was administrator of the Cathedral parish.

The legal, banking and medical professions were well represented with two representatives each. The remainder was comprised of a teacher, an architect and several shopkeepers and tradesmen.

Thaddeus O'Shea, manager of the Tipperary Bank in Burrin Street attended, as did his clerk, Michael Dillon.

Thomas Mulhall, Erin Lodge, Athy Road was the father of Edward Mulhall, who having taken a law degree in Trinity College Dublin, emigrated to Argentina where he founded the first English language newspaper in South America. Christopher, another son of Thomas Mulhall, also attended.

Matthew Esmond Whyte was the resident physician and superintendant at the District Lunatic Asylum on the Athy Road and was also a magistrate.

Dr Thomas O'Meara, father to the artist, Frank O'Meara, was the medical attendant to Carlow College and also the visiting physician at the District Lunatic Asylum.

Thomas Price, stationer at 53 Dublin Street, launched his newspaper, the Carlow Morning Post, in 1853.

Bishop Haly became patron of the new society, Fr James Walshe its first spiritual director and Fr Daniel McCarthy its assistant spiritual director. The clergyman most notable by his absence from the inaugural meeting was the formidable parish priest of Graigue, the Rev. James Maher. However he was soon on board becoming a member two months later on the 15th July.

The officers elected at this first meeting of the society reflected the domination of the professionals among the attendees. They were:

| | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| President | Matthew Esmonde Whyte | Medical Doctor |
| Vice President | Joseph Lynch | Architect |
| Secretary | Michael Dillon | Bank Clerk |
| Assistant Secretary | Christopher Mulhall | Law Student |
| Treasurer | Robert Lawler | Merchant |

Michael Dillon, described in the members' roll as a bank clerk, was employed by Thaddeus O'Shea in the Tipperary Bank in Burrin Street. He left Carlow on the 16th February 1853 and was manager of the bank in Tipperary town when the bank crashed in 1856.

Christopher Mulhall, a law student, resigned as secretary on the 22nd December 1852 and left Carlow on the 16th February 1853.

New members were always being sought for the society. At the general meeting held on the 11th December 1853 the minutes record that Bishop Haly addressed "the meeting at considerable length on the direction of the society and concluded by urging the members to use every effort to induce as many as possible to join the ranks of the society particularly the young and intelligent men of the town."

The Books and Records:

While there are nine books in the collection there are actually only three types of records.

- Members Roll – a register of members of the society
- Minute Books
- Account Books

Members Roll:

The members roll is the best preserved of the records. It is a hard covered volume, measuring 12 ¾" by 8". Several of the pages are now loose and almost all are heavily stained. Despite this the entries are entirely legible due in large part to the elegant copperplate handwriting of the society member who made the entries. The roll is indexed from A to Z and when opened has six printed column headings across the pages. These columns record the following details for each entrant:

| | |
|------------|-------------------|
| Name | By whom proposed |
| Residence | Date of admission |
| Profession | Observations |

Not every line is complete in respect of each entrant but nevertheless the roll is a comprehensive record of each member of the society. The observation column contains a wide variety of entries, almost all dealing with the circumstances in which the member severed his connection with the society. The usual entries are (with dates) 'death', 'discontinued' and 'non-attendance' but occasionally entries appear like 'gone to America', 'left Carlow' and, in the case of clergymen, 'became parish priest of...'

Although the other records of the society date from the earlier years, the members roll covers a much longer period through the 1860's through to the 1890's. The last entry for a member joining the society dates from November 1894.

In studying the entries made in this roll covering the years from 1851 to 1894 it is possible to detect something of the life of the society during those years. In these years three hundred and six names were entered as members but cessations accounted for two hundred and sixteen entries. This would indicate a core membership of approximately ninety throughout the period covered by the records.

The pattern of commencements and cessations during the decades confirms this.

| | Numbers joining | Numbers leaving | Change | Membership |
|--------|-----------------|-----------------|--------|------------|
| 1850s | 178 | 81 | 97 | 97 |
| 1860s | 54 | 66 | (12) | 85 |
| 1870s | 44 | 32 | 12 | 97 |
| 1880s | 25 | 28 | (3) | 94 |
| 1890s | 5 | 9 | (4) | 90 |
| Totals | 306 | 216 | | |

While the numbers of members remained remarkably constant over the forty years since 1851, the pattern of declining numbers of new members in the 1880's and 1890's bears out the comment of T.W.T. Dillon quoted earlier but writing in the context of the national scene.

The record of members does not distinguish between active and honorary members, although occasionally the observation "became a subscriber" is entered. The record can therefore be taken to include both categories of members. In the first five years of the life of the society the number of members attending the weekly management meetings never exceeded seventeen and that is probably a more accurate guide to the number of active members.

Minute Books

The minute books, all in soft covered journals, are essentially a record of the weekly management meeting of the active members. General meetings, of which there are a few records, took place twice a year, usually in July and December. Both active and honorary members attended these general meetings. The patron, Bishop Haly, also attended although at the general meeting of the 23rd July 1854 the chairman apologised for the "unavoidable absence of the Bishop."

The minute books are incomplete with several gaps in coverage and several years missing in their entirety. The years that are missing are 1851, 1857, 1858, 1860, 1862, 1865, 1866, 1867 and 1872. The last meeting for which minutes survive was that held on the 1st July 1877.

As with all organisations, attendances occasionally presented a problem. The minutes of summer 1868 record that no weekly meetings were held in July and August "for want of members". There was a more understandable situation on the 4th August 1853 when "there was no meeting of the Conference this week owing to the non attendance of members it being the week of the Ballybar Races".

The minutes of the weekly meetings are very brief. The names of the attendees are given and also the name of the member who chaired the meeting. All minutes record the opening prayer being said and the amount of the collection taken up from the members. Occasionally details of expenditure, either in respect of the administration of the society or in favour of recipients is given. This expenditure on recipients seems to have been over and above the usual relief which was recorded in the disbursements journal.

As the years went by the record of the weekly meetings grew even more abbreviated. Those for the years up to 1877 consisted mainly of dates, names of members and amounts of money, presumably the collection made at the meetings.

The earliest records dating from 1855 state that the weekly and general meetings were held in the "Vestry Room", presumably in the Cathedral. It is likely that all meetings from 1851 were held there. By 1856 the general meetings were held in the "National School Room" or the "School House". By 1857 the society was paying rent to the Catholic Institute for meeting rooms at the rate of £3 per year.

As with all organisations, from time to time participants at these meetings appeared to have become bored. Numerous doodles decorate the pages of the minute books, ranging from architectural decorative arches to sketches of the human face. In one gloriously unguarded moment someone writes that "J..... L..... of G.... is not to get any more relief as he imposed on the Society."

Account Books

As a conference of the Irish society of St Vincent de Paul, the Carlow officers would have been required to submit a quarterly return of income and expenditure to Dublin (or the Council of Ireland as the Irish Society was referred to at the time). No doubt the return was made on pre-printed stationery but no copies of such returns survive in the books being examined.

However, one of the books in the collection is entitled "Society of St Vincent de Paul, Conference of St Joseph, Carlow – account of receipts and expenditure, year commencing January 1856". Over sixteen columns the income and expenditure of the Carlow conference is laid out. The record starts on the 1st January 1856 and continues until the 27th May 1857 when the entries cease. The entries are totalled quarterly and a balanced income and expenditure account is written out for that quarter. No doubt these are the figures which were returned to Dublin.

By amalgamating the four returns for 1856, a receipts and payments account for the calendar year of 1856 can be prepared which will illustrate in the clearest possible fashion the efforts of the conference on behalf of the poor of the town.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Cash on hands 01/01/1856 | 35 | 03 | 05 |
| Income | <u>83</u> | <u>06</u> | <u>09</u> |
| | 118 | 10 | 02 |
| Expenditure | <u>93</u> | <u>17</u> | <u>08</u> |
| Cash on hands 31/12/1856 | <u>24</u> | <u>12</u> | <u>06</u> |
| Where did the money come from? The summarised returns | | | |

for 1856 gives the following detail:

| | £ | s. | d. |
|-------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Donations | 38 | 18 | 04 |
| Collections at meetings | 18 | 15 | 10 |
| Subscriptions Members | 17 | 17 | 00 |
| Poor Boxes | 04 | 10 | 07 |
| Sundry | 01 | 13 | 00 |
| Repayments | 01 | 07 | 06 |
| Bazaar | <u>00</u> | <u>04</u> | <u>06</u> |
| | <u>83</u> | <u>06</u> | <u>09</u> |

The overwhelming majority of the funds raised during the year (91%) came from donations and the collections from active and honorary members.

What was the money spent on? An analysis of the expenditure shows that 60% of the aid given went on food while another 30% was given in the form of cash.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Food: Bread | 27 | 01 | 03 |
| Meal | 15 | 06 | 05 |
| Groceries | 09 | 11 | 03 |
| Meat | 03 | 16 | 03 |
| Milk | <u>01</u> | <u>00</u> | <u>00</u> |
| | 56 | 15 | 02 |
| Cash Voted | 21 | 06 | 06 |
| Cash by Visitors | 06 | 15 | 01 |
| Clothes | | | |
| Sundry | 02 | 18 | 03 |
| Coffins | 00 | 17 | 08 |
| Fuel | <u>00</u> | <u>05</u> | <u>00</u> |
| | <u>93</u> | <u>17</u> | <u>08</u> |

Disbursements

Other than the record above there are other records which list the aid given to named individuals. One of the journals, as well as containing minutes of weekly meetings, also lists for the early years 1852 through 1854 details of aid given. In columnar form the lists give the following information:

- Registry Number
- Name of head of family
- Residence - address
- Trade or employment
- Number in family
- Relief given, analysed as to bread, meat, fuel etc.

Some of the addresses given will not be familiar to today's readers e.g. Water Lane, Lowry's Lane, Chapel Lane etc. Labourer was the most common employment description but there are also entries for teachers, school master, steward as well as masons, tailors and bakers.

Annual Returns

The Conference of St Joseph was obliged, as were all other conferences, to make a contribution to the Irish Society of St Vincent de Paul. This contribution took the form of an annual levy. A copy of one notice and the contribution paid survives among the records, the return for the year ended 30th June 1856.

The return form, from the Society of St Vincent de Paul, Council of Ireland at 27 Lower Ormond Quay, Dublin and dated 17th August 1853 advises:

Dear Sir and Brother,

I am directed by the Council of Ireland to call your attention to the 29th and 38th Rules of the Society, by which you will perceive that the General or Common Fund of the Society consists, among other items, of Contributions from all the Conferences and Councils to the General Council.

The rate of Contribution payable by the Councils and Conferences in this country, has been fixed at 2 ½ per cent, on all Receipts, excepting grants made by the Council of Ireland to the Conferences; calculated at this rate, there appears to be due by the Conference of St Joseph to the Council of Ireland the sum of £1-18-3 (handwritten) which you will be kind enough to remit at your earliest convenience.

I am, Dear Sir and Brother,

Faithfully Yours,

GEO. B. STAR,

Hon. Sec.

On an inside page of the form under reference number, Folio 67, is handwritten an account of the receipts of the conference for the year ended 30th June 1856.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Collections at Weekly Meetings | 12 | 18 | 02 |
| Collections at General Meetings | 4 | 03 | 05 |
| Donations | 29 | 09 | 11 |
| Subscriptions | 9 | 08 | 00 |
| Collections at Chapel Doors | <u>10</u> | <u>12</u> | <u>05</u> |
| | 66 | 11 | 11 |
| <u>Contr. @ 2 ½ per Cent</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>18</u> | <u>03</u> |

On the front of the form is handwritten "At a meeting of the Conference this 17th December 1853 to this amount claimed a cheque to be forwarded to the Council of Ireland."

Thomas Corcoran Jnr
Sec.

Fundraising

While almost all of the funds raised by the society came from the active and honorary members efforts at raising money from other sources took place. There are occasional references to the printing of draw tickets and the minutes of the 7th June 1855 record that "a Bazaar be held during the Cattle Show in August next in aid of the funds of the Carlow conference."

The members of the society also seem to have been able to reach outside their own community where fund raising was involved. In a Christmas collection for the relief of the poor taken up in December 1860 the list of contributors was headed by three contributions of £5 each. Bishop James Walsh made his donation and the other contributors were Henry Bruen, M.P. and Colonel Bunbury.

Officers

It seems that, in the forty years covered by this review, only three people held the office of president of the Carlow conference. Dr Matthew Esmonde Whyte was elected president on the formation of the society and he held that position until his death on the 26th June 1866. The minutes for 1866 are among those that are missing so there is no record of who was elected president to succeed Dr Whyte.

The next mention of a president occurs in the minutes of a meeting on Sunday 10th December 1876, when the president Mr P. Bourke proposed John Hammond to the position of vice-president. Patrick Bourke died in August 1883.

John Hammond was elected president on the 9th December 1883 and remained in that position until his death in 1907. John Hammond was one of the leading citizens of the town. He was coopted as a member of the Town Commissioners in 1870 and was elected its chairman in 1880, a position he held for fifteen years. He was a justice of the peace and a magistrate at Carlow Petty Sessions for a time. He served on the Board of Guardians and was chairman of the Carlow branch of the Land League.

References to the other office holders, vice-president, secretary and treasurer are scant so that it is not possible to list the various individuals who may have held these positions during these forty years.

Relief Fund Committee

One of the minute books contains a record of the meetings of the Relief Fund Committee Carlow 1862. This body held ten meetings in the period from the 4th January 1862 to the 21st February 1862, meeting in the board room of the Carlow Dispensary in Brown Street. The committee seems

to have been a joint venture between the Carlow conference and other businessmen of the town.

The attendees at the first meeting of the committee and who maintained their attendance throughout the period were:

| | |
|----------------|-----------------|
| Rev. P. Boland | Hugh Doyle |
| Rev. Mr Carr | Martin Maxwell |
| W. Boake | Thomas Corcoran |
| F. Spong | Daniel Smyth |
| Joseph Lynch | John O'Neill |

Messrs Lynch, Doyle, Maxwell, Corcoran, Smyth and O'Neill, together with Rev. P. Boland were all active members of the Carlow conference.

At the first meeting it was decided to divide the town into five districts and that "two members of the committee be appointed to receive donations and to take charge of the distribution of the relief" in each district.

The records also contain details of the monies raised and expended in the period 4th January to the 21st February. The monies raised appear to have been obtained by subscriptions, including one from Sir John Acton, M.P. for the county (£15), the Earl of Bessborough (£5) and Mr Preston, Bank of Ireland (£5). The minutes of the 11th February record the decision to have "one hundred and fifty circulars printed and sent to the gentry and farmers and all those who have not before subscribed." The expenditure was recorded by district. In all £191-19-0 was raised and £185-5-9 was spent leaving a balance of £ 6-13-3 on hands at the 21st February 1862.

An undated and unsigned note with the records refers to an epidemic *which beset Carlow during which a number of working men were employed by the society to cleanse, disinfect and lime wash homes*. This would seem to be borne out by the extraordinary activity by this committee over a two month period. In the first week of January the committee met three times, two of these meetings on consecutive days. For the rest of the period the committee met twice a week. Among the expenditure approved by the committee was the purchase of shovels and brushes. Indeed in their meeting of the 7th January they went so far as to authorise that "any man having a shovel in pawn should be released for him". On the other hand, if this was a public health issue, it seems strange that both Dr Whyte and Dr O'Meara, both active members of the society, were not involved.

UCD CAMPUS DEVELOPMENT

FORBAIRT GHAMPUS UCD

KEVIN BARRY WINDOW

The Kevin Barry Window commemorates the student who was executed at the age of 18 for his part in the War of Independence. It was designed by Richard King (1907-1974) the principal designer of the Harry Clarke Studios. Paid for by students at University College Dublin, the window became one of Earlsfort Terrace's best loved features.

Kevin Barry was a first year medical student at UCD and a soldier with the First Battalion of the Irish Republic Brotherhood at the time of his arrest. Involved in an ambush of a British army lorry he was subsequently charged with murder and hanged in November 1920.

The University Governing Body proposed a motion in 1932 that would grant permission to the students representative council to erect a stained glass window in University College Dublin to the memory of Kevin Barry.

The window was unveiled in Earlsfort Terrace after a memorial mass in November 1935.

The eight highly detailed panels are made of acid etched and artistic glass depicting the history of Ireland in terms of a series of military acts. The window illustrates important iconography in terms of the nascent nation of the 1930's, and acts as a symbolic piece for the university and the wider community.

With the transfer from Earlsfort Terrace, the vision that began over 70 years ago of co-locating the majority of university activity at Belfield is now substantially complete.

The University has recently attained planning approval for the relocation of the Kevin Barry Window from the first floor of Earlsfort Terrace to the new Health Sciences Centre at Belfield, which now acts as the home of the School of Medicine & Medical Science.

The cultural resonance of the window is emphasised by its links with the university and the importance of Kevin Barry's association with UCD is shown by the inclusion of the UCD crest at his feet.

UCD News
Nuacht UCD
Posted 07 June 2011

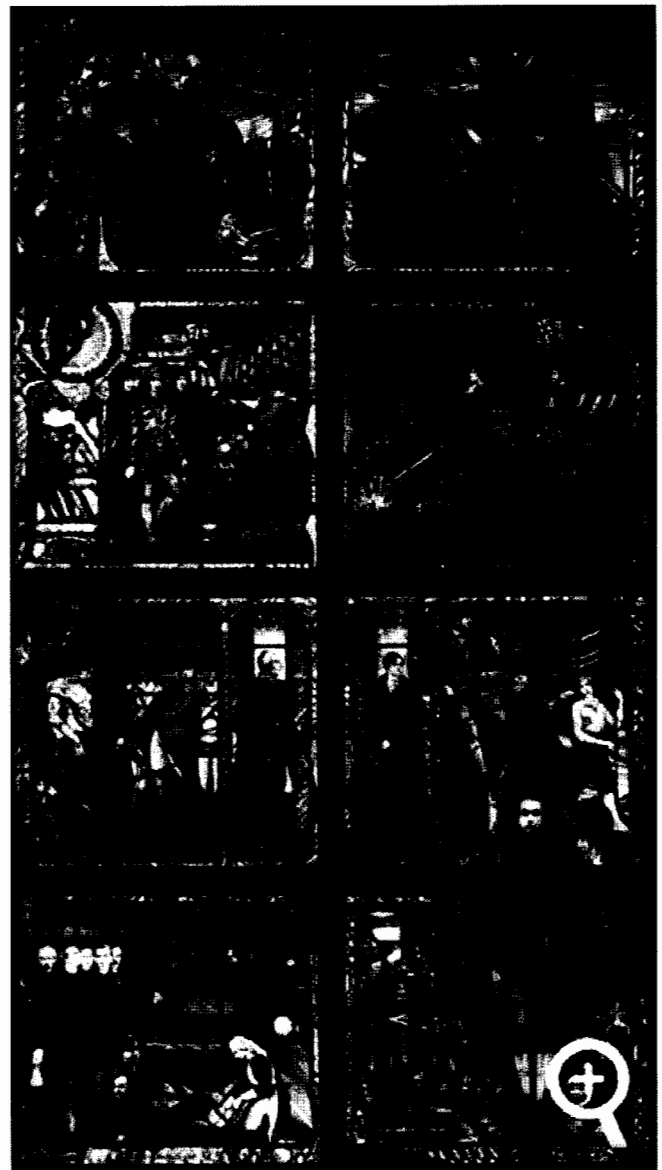
Stained glass window commemorating Kevin Barry relocated to UCD Belfield

76 years after its original installation in Earlsfort Terrace, a stained glass window commemorating the life of Kevin Barry, an IRA volunteer who was executed by the British Army during the War of Independence, has been unveiled in its new location on the UCD Belfield campus.

The relocation of this historic artwork marks the final stage of UCD's move from Earlsfort Terrace to Belfield which began in 1970.

The Minister for Education and Skills, Mr Ruairi Quinn, TD, who unveiled the memorial window in its new location at University College Dublin said:

"The Kevin Barry Window depicts the long struggle for



Irish Freedom and the many people who laid down their lives for this cause. We would not be the nation we are today without their sacrifices and without their example. It is important that we protect monuments to the past such as this window to remind us all of where we came from and what we can achieve as a people even when faced by the hardest of times."

Kevin Barry was a first year medical student at University College Dublin when he was arrested by the British Army during the War of Independence for his part in an ambush on a British army vehicle in which three British soldiers were shot. He was subsequently charged with murder, and executed by hanging in 1920. He was 18 years old.

In his last letter, written on the night before his execution, Barry wrote: "Well boys, we have seen some good times. It's the only thing which makes it hard to go, the fact of leaving you chaps and other friends behind." The letter sold for over €100,000 at auction last year.



Pictured at the official unveiling the Kevin Barry Memorial Window at University College Dublin:

(1-r) Kevin Barry's nephew, Kevin Barry Junior; the President of UCD, Dr Hugh Brady; the Minister for Education, Ruairi Quinn TD; and Kevin Barry's nephew, Michael O'Rahilly

In the years following his execution, Kevin Barry's fellow UCD students raised funds for the creation of a memorial window, but it was only when Richard O'Rahilly, was elected to the UCD Governing Body in 1932 that the window was finally commissioned. Graduates once again become involved in 2007 when the university appealed for funds to restore, converse and transfer the window to Belfield.

Dr Hugh Brady, president of UCD, said: "The final decision to bid farewell to Earlsfort Terrace prompted plenty of discussion and opinion in relation to the fate of the Kevin Barry window. Perhaps because I was myself a medical student in the Terrace, I felt strongly that the window was — and is — an integral part of the heritage of the university.

We have a role to play in providing the next generation with not just the symbols of our past, but a context in which to understand our history. I believe that this wonderful piece of art provides an important touchstone for that understanding. "

Designed and worked in double-glazed glass by Richard King at the Harry Clarke stained glass studios in Dublin, the memorial window was unveiled in Earlsfort Terrace in 1934 by the then President of Ireland, Eamonn de Valera. Before Ireland achieved independence, Eamonn De Valera was one of the leaders in the 1916 Easter Uprising, and president of Sinn Fein (1917 to 1926).



Pictured at the official unveiling the Kevin Barry Memorial Window at University College Dublin: (1-r) Kevin Barry's niece, Ruth Sweetman; his nephew, Michael O'Rahilly; his great great nephew, Richard O'Rahilly; and his nephew, Kevin Barry Junior

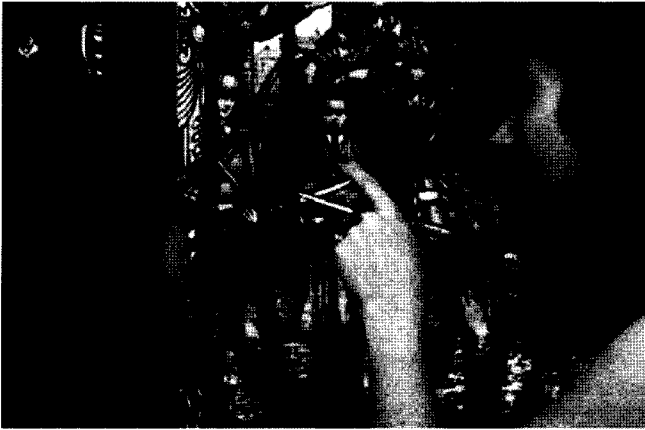
The Kevin Barry Memorial Window depicts images of prominent people and events associated with the Irish nationalist struggle.

The cultural resonance of the window is emphasised by its links with the University and the importance of Kevin Barry's association with UCD is shown by the inclusion of the UCD crest at his feet.

A collection of Kevin Barry materials are also held in the archives at University College Dublin including: copies of charge sheets, witness statements and summary of evidence relating to his court martial and execution, letters received by Mrs Barry after his execution, and personal memorabilia - his college cap, athletic suit, and a sliotar.

The Kevin Barry window has been installed in the new Charles Institute. Funded largely by the City of Dublin Skin and Cancer Hospital Charity (Hume Street Trust),

this is the first national institute devoted to dermatology in Ireland and links the UCD health sciences teaching centre with the Conway Institute for biomedical research.



Kevin Barry's grandnieces, Sinead Barry and Niamh Barry viewing the stained glass window

The Kevin Barry Memorial Window was removed from its original location in Earlsfort Terrace in 2010 under the direction of a conservation architect using specialist methods and equipment.

It has since been conserved and restored with minimal intervention and all work is in accordance with recommendations of the Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, the international body for historic stained glass.

Extra lead added to strengthen breaks was removed, no glass was repainted and re-leading was kept to a minimum.

(Produced by UCD University Relations)

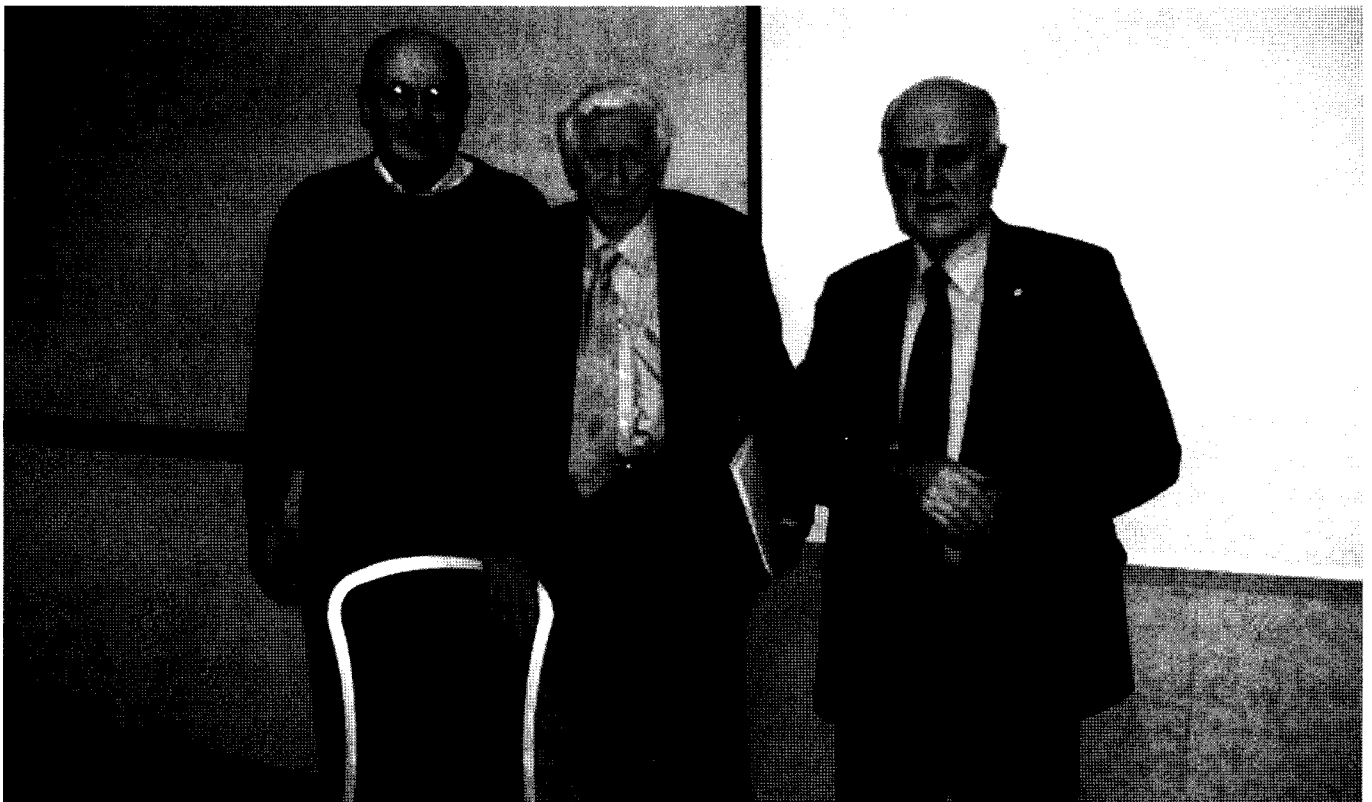
<http://www.ucd.ie/news/2011/06JUN11/030611-Stained-glass-window-commemorating-Kevin-Barry-relocated-to-UCD-Belfield.html>



Richard O'Rahilly, age 12, views the stained glass window featuring his great great grandfather

Michael Joseph O'Rahilly, known as The O'Rahilly.

The figures in the stained glass window from left to right are: Tom Clarke, Padraig Pearse, Joseph Plunkett, Sean Mac Diarmada, and The O'Rahilly



Dr Garret Fitzgerald on one of his last public outings when he delivered a lecture 'Education and the Irish language in the 18th & 19th centuries' to CHAS on Wednesday, 3rd November 2010 in the Seven Oaks Hotel, Carlow. He is shown here with former & current Presidents of CHAS, Jim Shannon & Dan Carbery respectively.

PADDY DOWLING TALKING ABOUT HIS STUDENT DAYS IN THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF SCIENCE

Carlow Person of the 20th century
discusses his early life with
Dr Norman McMillan



Introduction

This discussion occurred when Paddy was 90 years of age in 1994. It was done for personal research purposes but has become of great interest in recent times with UCD mounting in the last year an exhibition on the Royal College of Science. It is published this year because of this renewed interest in the College but more importantly to give insights to the formative influences on Carlow's Person of the 20th Century. The words in italic are the questions from Dr McMillan. The replies by Paddy are in plain print and plain Carlow language.

I grew up on the farm and went to the local school. I had four sisters and two brothers. Three of the sisters are dead and one of the brothers. The man that took over the farm died about twelve months ago. I could have taken over the farm as I was the eldest son but I had never any interest in the agricultural end of life at all. I was much more interested in Meccano toys. Never had any difficulty in deciding what I wanted to be. I remember I was sent in to see John Duggan who was our solicitor in Carlow with a view to taking up articles. But I didn't fall for that, so between hopping and trotting I landed up in Dublin in 1922 to do engineering in the College of Science.

What was school like, Clongowes, did it give you any background in science or engineering at the time?

There were not good honours and there was no formal career guidance like there is now. The prefect of studies did call the boys and said, "Do you know what you want to do?" But what information there was on all the subjects I don't really know.

Did they think you were going in the wrong direction doing engineering?

I'll tell you what they thought. There were very few engineers in Ireland at that time. And they said, "do you think there is an opening for an engineer?" I said, "I'll take my chance on it". The College of Science was based on the Imperial College of science in London and you know why it was set up. It was supposed to get away from the inefficiency of the universities, because you know, you have a subject this morning and it could be awhile before you would have another. Something like that. They had to dovetail so many in together. It was more like a school you see where there was a programme to be got through.

You got through it. So can you tell us what your impressions were when you got going from the school to the college? How did you get inducted into the college? Did you just turn up and have to attend? How did you apply to the college?

Well I applied through my uncle you see.

Personal contact.

Yes! Well that's how I knew about it. There is an interesting scenario. As you know I could have taken over the farm. My father who did take over the farm was the youngest of three sons, the two older ones, they both became professors.

Was he a professor in Trinity, the Dowling that was professor there?

No, no, they would have been dead 1916. The man at the College of Science just about the time I went in to it, 1922 and the other man died shortly after that.

Where was he a professor? One was in the College of Science where was the other?

He was up in Cavan, oh it was up in Cavan. It was up in Cavan they used to train diocesan men for degrees before they would go on to study theology. You had to be prepared before you could study theology. He was a professor up there. They were all mathematically you know.

Where did you get your interest in mathematics? Was it at National School or at Clongowes? Was it from your uncles?

There were all mathematical, the whole family was mathematical. Even still the family are all tending towards mathematics. We have quite a lot of them.

So you sort of grew up with them (Mathematics). So you turned up bright and bushy tailed for the first day at the college. What was it like?

Well it was very informal. It was more like a school than university and they only had four faculties, Physics, Chemistry, Engineering and when I entered to do engineering. Only then three mechanical and electrical and agricultural. And in the first year, all faculties were taken together and had the same classes, There was no distinction whatsoever. I presume it was to get over the belief that science hadn't been properly taught in the secondary schools you see. I don't

know the background to that. Anyway we were all together for the first year and they gave a silver medal to whoever was first in class at the end of first year.

You won that medal didn't you?

Now I wasn't going to say that.

But you did.

But it was only to illustrate that they had competition between all these different fellows that were going on different themes.

This was in 1923, was it?

It was a four year course. When I left in 1926, I went in 1922.

Did you get the medal in 1923.

Oh yes.

Was it a gold medal?

Silver medal.

Have you still got that medal?

I hope I have.

I hope you're going to give it to Carlow Museum in due course.

Don't mention this to anyone, it's only a quirk, I have a gold medal, a silver medal and a bronze medal. The bronze medal has the highest status. The silver medal has the middle status and the gold medal has the least. The gold medal is spurious.

Oh I see. What was the gold medal for?

Mathematics. Oh! what this they call it, the Palace gold medal for mathematics in campus.

What was the bronze medal for?

The bronze medal was for the first in Ireland in an arithmetic or mathematics. I am not sure which.

This was when you were at school as well.

Leaving school. Leaving Cert. It would be Leaving Cert. now. I don't think they give them now. I don't know. I'm ninety now.

We in the Carlow Scientific Society still give medals to top student in Carlow.

Is that right?

You know that I've done a lot of work on Tyndall, the scientist.

Were you ever in Ballinabranna?

Of course.

There is a picture of him in the National School there, the Black Castle here in Leighlinbridge.

No

Oh that's Leighlinbridge, you are quite right!

What is it about that area of Leighlinbridge, Tinryland and around here that produces such good mathematicians and scientist?

It never occurred to me.

There seems to be an awful lot of them.

Is that so? I knew about Tyndall of course.

There seems to be a lot of very smart young children even today. Seems to be in the region

Where are you from yourself?

I'm Canadian.

God bless us, you came a long way. You know in the country in the old days, there was an old lady and she had a son. She was very proud of the son and the son emigrated to Canada and she told someone. I heard this story when I was very small. She told some friend "Canada is the best place in Ireland for a man to go to."

Actually the truth of the matter is there are places in Canada that are very much like Ireland because they are full of Irish.

I'd say there is any amount of them over there.

There are some places where my father lived in Owen Sound in Ontario and there was just one area and it was totally Irish. It didn't have anybody else living there, totally Irish.

Of course one really brought the other. So she could be right. Oh I'd say she had a lot going for her when she said that.

So what were the professors, your uncle was one of the professors, mathematics was he?

Yes they were all mathematical. The man that went on, he was registrar in the College of Science. I never really found out what he was professor of before he went on to be Registrar. Registrar in the College of Science was a kind of general manager in a sense. I suppose it like what they call registrars in the universities now.

Yes they still have registrars.

They look after the organisation of the place, fees and all that kind of thing and organising the courses with the other professions and so on.

Did your uncle get you in without paying the fees or did you have to pay the fees?

Oh no I got a scholarship. They had a very good scholarship scheme. It was about £70 a year in 1922.

A lot of money then.

It was quite a lot of money. You could get digs I'd say for about £2/week. And the overall idea was first of all free tuitions, you hadn't to pay the fee. And the other thing would kind of pay your digs.

And you had a little spending money as well. What was it, 30 weeks in the college, was it?

About 30 yes.

When did they start, in September?

The beginning of October.

What other professors were there in the place at the time?

There was a professor for each of those faculties.

Can you remember?

Oh I can!

Can you tell us what they were like?

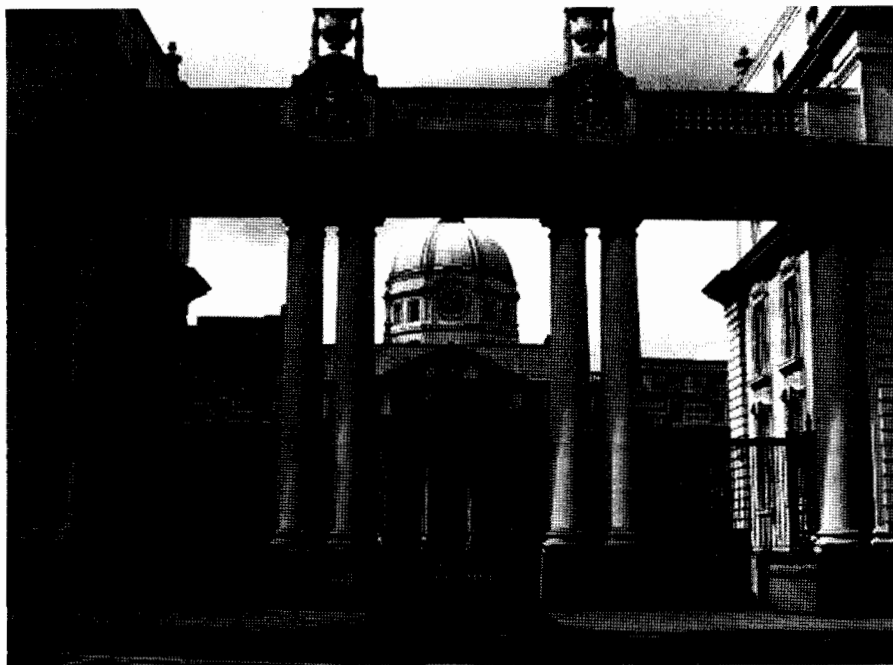
I can tell you, Funny I don't remember. There was a man named, Gosh I not sure, John Taylor was one of the professors, There were two for, there was mechanical and electrical engineering, that was the only engineering faculty, that's the thing I wanted to, I knew I was forgetting something, now I remember. The lads in UCD or in Trinity that wanted to do mechanical and electrical, they come to the College of Science for the last two years because they didn't have it there at all.

But Taylor he was a Whitworth scholar in England which was a kind of high status, which meant he had free tuition and all the rest. He was, I was near (close to) the man, but he was a bit of a doldrum. He used to wander in his lectures.

He was reasonably old at the time. Ah, he was old when I went there. I would say he was into his 60s. And then Allen, he was always known as Sonny Allen. He was the electrical man. He was very down to earth and Allen wrote a book on electrical technology and it was a God send because it described all the machines in the electrical tech lab. If you wanted to know anything all you had to do was look at the book. Sonny Allen's book.

Must have covered the exam papers very well.

Well now it was a real useful book. Now there was another man Prof William McFadden Orr who was an



The Royal College of Science, now Government buildings

FRS. (Fellow of the Royal Society of London).

Yes I've heard of him.

And he was a bit of a nut (technical expression used by engineers!). He taught us two things mechanics and thermodynamics in 3rd year and mechanic in 3rd year was fairly outlandish, but the thermodynamics was new to us all. And Orr was not a good lecturer. I remember we had to work, we were put out of the College of Science, you see in 1922 the new government was formed and took over the College of Science and we were sent up to Stephen's Green and we were in 86. I don't know whether you know it, it's still owned by the college or UCD. But we got our lectures there and I remember there would be only twenty. There were only about twenty in my class and they were all in the one room there looking out over the ground on the first floor. Orr would be up at the board lecturing on thermodynamics and he would be wandering away and he would wander over to the window and he would stop talking altogether. He would be looking out admiring the place and he would come back to the board and he would get the chalk and he would draw a curve like that and say "this is a steam turbine." And then he would talk about the steam going in

there and the whole thermodynamics, but we had never seen a steam turbine, you know. But he had a wonderful little pamphlet; it was notes on thermodynamics, maybe about 50 pages, less and that was a wonderful book.

Covered the course?

Covered the whole thing and only for that nobody would have understood a thing about thermodynamics. But we all got thro' by studying this pamphlet. I was often sorry I hadn't a copy of it to look back on it and see what I thought of it because it was a wonderful book in those days.

We could probably get one. Now you mention it we can look in the library and see can we get a photo copy of it. What was the title of it?

'Notes on Thermodynamics' by William McFadden Orr.

Published about 1916?

Well it was before my time. It could have been about 1915 or around that time.

I'll see can I get a copy and send it up to you.

Well that would be a miracle.

Well you said it was William McFadden Orr.

Yes and the poor man he had a sad end, he shot himself. But none of us were really surprised, you know.

Was this when you were in College?

Ah no, it was much later. It was 15 or 20 years after I left college that I heard he had done away with himself, the poor man.

Who else did you have?

I know you can't remember the agricultural lecturer, but what was he like?

I knew the name of the agricultural man but it's gone completely out of my head.

It does not matter. What was he like as a lecturer, was he good?

He didn't lecturer us at all. Even in 1st year when the classes were all together. You didn't actually have that lecturer.

We were all together in the 1st year, we only did chemistry, physics, mathematics, electricity and magnetism and English. We studied English for two years.

What sort of things were you doing in English?

We had a very good lecturer, a man named Williams. It was afterwards, they amalgamated with UCD that he signed on as Professor of English. We studied English language and literature in a course for the two years.

Did it help you write?

It was a very good idea because a lot of fellows coming up hadn't a clue about how to write English. There is no doubt about that and I thought that was very far seeing, so early on. I mean I worked in the ESB all my life and I

remember an application from some engineers, they were diabolic.

I forget a lot of them really. The man in the, Oh God what's his name, he used to teach us physics in 2nd year and he was a bit lame and he wasn't good at keeping discipline at all. We used to do all kinds of things. On the steps we used to roll down bottles He used to say, "individually you are gentlemen, but collectively you are hooligans!" Ah, I forget all the people you know when not talking about them for 50 years. George Ring he was a lecturer on the engineering side and he always took charge in the lab when we were doing experiments. He was always in charge and his son was Ruari Ring; he went to the ESB afterwards.

What sort of a laboratory course was it, how many hours a week were you in there?

I would say, the general thing was we had lectures in the morning 9am 'till 12noon, went to lunch at one and come back at one and generally lab from 1 to 4.

You did a whole lot of labs, how many labs were there?

Well there were different labs depending on the stage you were at. There were electrical labs the elementary electrical experiments and there was a chemical lab and so on. Then there was a physics lab, sound and heat and all that.

Then there were more advanced labs were there?

In the final year there was the 4th year Electrical Technology lab which was on the ground floor. The big motors and transformers in fact the Taoiseach's office is over what was the Tech Lab.

Were there other labs that you said that you attended? Obviously you these basic labs and you said you had this Technology Lab facility. What other labs were there in the place?

On the mechanical engineering side there was quite an amount of stuff. There was workshops different grades of lathes and different types of engines and all that. We did quite an amount of work over there.

Did you a lot of work in the mechanical?

I did of course. You had to do it to pass your exams. I mean the only exam was in mechanical and electrical engineering. They had no other facilities at all. It was the only place in Dublin that were doing those because the other colleges had to send their fellows to our place.

So how many lectures were you doing? You were doing something like 15 a week, were you?

15 hours, 3 in the morning. I could say that. That was the overall structure, your lectures in the morning

Did you have every afternoon you were doing lab?

I would think so. It was Monday, Tuesday, half day on Wednesday and then we had Thursday and, Friday. And Saturday morning as well.

This was for lab work or for lectures?

Well you see we had lab work 4 days a week. We had Wednesday afternoon and Saturday afternoon off.

Did you do lectures on Saturday morning, did you?

My memory is not quite clear but I am almost certain we had to go in.

No I remember something about lectures on Saturday morning.

I am confused about it. You see I worked in the college for a year after I qualified in the Electro-Tech lab. Then I went into the ESB and I was on I would call 'the curse of litter' when I went into it. We had only two rooms in Upper Merrion Street. But at that time we worked on Saturday mornings in the

ESB and I remember the great rejoicing when they put on an hour every evening for Saturday off.

Still going nicely.

Donnacha O Duiling came here to the house to interview me recently and he said, "Sit down there I want to chat to you." We chatted for about 5 minutes. And then he said, "I'll get something now" and he took a black thing out of his pocket. We chatted away for the best part of an hour, certainly three quarters of an hour. He said, "That'll do grand now." I suppose I said, "you'll edit that now when you go back to the office." He said, "Ah no, that will do fine."

How did they examine you?

Oh we had to do papers, written papers and then practical exams in the labs.

So was this in June that you did the exams?

If you failed you had a chance in October.

I don't remember the details on that.

What about the practical exams. Were they fairly tough?

No, they were not too tough.

What did they ask? Did they ask you to get some results from a machine.

Something like that. What's this they called it? I can't remember. Something like the performance of a machine as the load went up. There was a technical error. The regulation or something they called it and you would have to plot curves then, the voltage coming out when certain loads were put on the machine. The voltage would drop a wee bit, because there would be more current going thro' the machine.

All types of things like that. But then they had elementary ones with cells and things like that in 1st and 2nd year but don't ask me for details. I thought it a very good course, there was a good practical element to it. You didn't feel you were talking about things that you know, chances seeing or putting it into

practice. I thought it was quite good.

What was the standard of the students at the time?

I'd say it was only average, maybe a little over it. The classes were quite small. The classes were very big after the 1st World War because the British Government gave a lot of scholarships to go to the College of Science if they had enough basic knowledge. Actually there was a cousin of mine who went around that time. I say she went, she qualified about 1921 possibly 22. She wasn't there with me anyway. She was one of the first lady engineers in Ireland.

Was she a Dowling as well?

Rene Dowling.

Where was she from, Carlow as well?

No, well she was a daughter one of the professors that didn't take over the farm.

The one in Cavan?

Cavan yes. Ah, sure he was up there for a long time and when he retired they came back down.

I don't know where she stayed when she was in college. She was a good mathematician strange to say.

Where did she go when she graduated?

She got a job as a factory inspector in the Department of Industry and Commerce at the time. She was quite a stickler of course!

She had her entire career as a civil servant?

She stayed there all her life.

I was going to say there about the numbers failed. There would have been 100 in class at her time because of the post war. About 20 in my time. The year after me when I was still working in the college for that year there were only 4.

There were quite a lot of people dropped out about 20 or 30. They ended up a smaller number.

Before my time I would say 80 to 90% emigrated for there were no openings for mechanical or electrical engineers. The ESB was not there. There were no industries in the country.

So where did they go?

A lot to England and a lot to America.

And the college science diploma?

It wasn't what they called a diploma but it had a very high standard. The lads had no trouble getting jobs.

What was the break down, were they mainly Catholics in the college in your time? What was the religious background?

There was about 33% Catholic.

Is that all?

That's all. Oh no, 6 Catholics. The rest of them C of I and the reason for that is the technical schools and colleges were very alert and the College of Science scholarship was very good as I was pointing out and at least a third of them went to Northern Ireland. A lot of the engineers in the ESB in the early days were Northern Irish. And that was the reason.

Were they from the Nationalist part of Northern Ireland?

Oh no, Belfast!

I know, but were they from the Protestant or Nationalist community?

Protestant mostly. There was a great friend of mine, Brendan Pierce, he was from Portoro School. I don't know if you ever heard of it?

I did yes, it's still going strong.

It a big good school in Northern Ireland. There was a Belfast Academical from there too. I can't remember the other schools. There was quite a mixture about

a third I would say from the North of Ireland.

What the social life like in the college, did you stay together with the class?

It wasn't bad. I remember they had in 86 Stephen's Green which you know. There is a big hall attached to that. They used to have dances there and they were very cheap. All the girls went on their own. There was no difficulty in mixing around.

Is that where you met your wife?

No actually. Though the funny thing was she worked in the ESB. She didn't go to university. She left school in Mucross Convent here in Dublin and when she left there the nuns there, Dominican Order I think it was. They had a convent in Vienna and they arranged for her to go there to college in Vienna and she could brush up on her French because it was a French speaking college and she could teach English as well. She went there for a couple of years.

What did she do then?

She got a job, she had good French and good German and good English. She got a good job with an industrial firm that manufactured radiators in Vienna. She was there for some years.

Then she came back to the ESB?

She came back because her mother was very ill and then she was looking for a job, a suitable job as a secretary, typing and so on. The Shannon scheme was starting in Ardnacrusha and they were looking for somebody that knew German well enough to take shorthand so she walked into the job.

With the social activities in the college did you actually stay with your class group or did, was it the whole college mixing and going out?

Mainly you stayed with some fellows out of your class.

Did you have any interaction with the professors in the college?

They were up there and you were down here.

No I don't think I was at a social function with any of the staff.

When you graduated and you became a staff member, what were you a laboratory assistant?

What was I? What did they call it. I was a demonstrator.

Were you a junior staff member then?

I was a junior staff member then alright but I had no intention of staying on there. Well the ESB was starting then. That was 1926. The Shannon scheme started in 1925 so I had my eye on getting out. I never regarded myself as part of the college.

So what did you do, every afternoon you did demonstrations.

Yes a couple of demonstrations. There was odd work around in the mornings, setting up new machines in the labs or changing them from here to there. Anything like that occupied ourselves, looking after batteries etc.

How many demonstrators were there in the college?

There would have been more on the mechanical side, I don't know about the chemical or physical side. I really don't know how they were staffed at all.

You were mechanical?

No, I was electrical. They had a couple of lads equivalent to me on the mechanical side.

There was a couple of you on the electrical side. On the electrical side there was only Allen who was a kind of head man. He was electrical. There was George Ring who was a kind of the head, he was a lecturer later, but at that time he was known as the head demonstrator I think. And I was a kind of assistant demonstrator and I don't think there was anyone else.

There were a couple of men, they were a kind of electricians or something like that but they wouldn't have been on the teaching staff.

How did you get spotted, you were a good student? So you were asked to stay on.

George Ring whom I told you about, I was home in Carlow at the time. I got a letter from him one morning telling me I had passed the exam and wanted to know would I like to take on a job as a demonstrator.

How did you get on, did you get a distinction or what?

I don't know. I don't remember. I don't think they ever said you got honours or anything. You just got the result of the exam. Associateship of the Royal College of Science of Ireland. And didn't say anything about honours.

What relationship had that with the Institutions? Could you become a Chartered Engineer?

Oh yes, it was recognised as a fully qualified engineer.

Did you need some industrial experience, did you need some practical experience?

Generally you needed some practical experience and that was formalised later. You know you had to have something like two years. You had to have had some responsibility in whatever job you had.

The thing we were talking about was the Engineering Society. What were you, a member of the Institution of Engineers of Ireland?

Well we had, In the college we had a Society an Electrical and a Mechanical one. Fellows wrote papers on different things you know.

You got lecturers from outside to come in?

No. Students themselves had to read up on a subject and read a paper on it.

How often did you do that?

I only did it once. It was always last year chaps, it was always final year students that did that.

Had it to do with the project you were working on. Did you do projects?

No we had no project work, no none whatsoever.

Were you given a subject?

No you picked your subject. There was this little Engineering Society and there were a couple of people appointed, a secretary appointed, a chairman appointed and a couple on the committee and they had to organise the papers. And of course it was like getting blood out of a turnip getting fellows to read a paper. There was a fair amount of work attached to reading it up. And there wasn't that many fellows in my year.

So what did you do your paper on?

You would never guess. Steam boilers. I was far more interested in electrical

So the steam boilers were just the lucky chance really that you came across them.

We had got some lectures on steam boilers as part of the course obviously and I remember the lecturer told us that there was a tremendous opening for economy because 80% of the boilers in the country were most inefficient and quite simply a lot could be done. I think it was something of that remark put me on to steam boilers.

Good job you were in for electrical engineering as a career I think. What was the situation when you were moved out of the college to Stephen's Green? Did you ever come back to the college?

The Government stayed in the building did they? The Government did move out didn't they? I remember the Royal College of Science.

You're quite right we did go back. Well we were moved out only as an

emergency measure for one year and we were back to the College of Science. That's where all our labs and works were and everything.

I remember going to the college before the Taoiseach took over there. It was not much changed from the time you were there, I'm sure. A fine building isn't it.

Oh yes a grand building. Oh we were all very fond of it. We thought it was a great building, library up on the top.

What kind of library facility did you have, was it good?

I never used it very much. I never did anything on the research line. We had our standard text book. We had to buy our own standard text books. We had those. And I had some of Rene's books, the girl I was telling you about; she had some of the books I wanted.

What sort of text books were you using? Can you remember any of them?

I remember "Mellor's Chemistry" I don't know if they are still going.

Yes, I've seen it.

I told you about Allen's "Electrical Technology" I think he called his book. We hadn't very much on the other side. In the early days we had simple physics text books simple chemistry books. I don't remember the names. Physics one was a well known, but again I don't remember the name of it.

Did you use Preston's book at all, Thomas Preston?

It doesn't ring a bell, that wasn't the name I'm nearly sure. They were text books written by a Dublin professor that came to the College of Science initially.

There was a man named Jescott, he was well known, he was on the mechanical. Well I don't know it was surveying. Jesscot invented some kind of a theodolite as far as I know.

Did you do practical surveying?

We did of course.

Was it out in the Phoenix Park?

Yes, the Phoenix Park.

What sort of equipment did you use, was it portable?

I had a note book and tapes and all that kind of equipment. Very portable. It was very practical, I had a fair idea what surveying meant afterwards.

How did you get to the Phoenix Park, did you have to walk it?

I can't remember. We were told to turn up and that was it. Oh no, we weren't feather beds as they say.

You were told to turn up and assemble at the Park?

The Wellington monument. I enjoyed my time in the college. And towards the end of my year demonstrating a man who was one of the first engineers recruited into the ESB came over to me one day and said to me. "Are you going to stay here all your life", and I said, "I hadn't that in mind", "How would you like a job in the ESB" and I said, "That's what I was looking forward to". So I hadn't even to apply for a job with the Board.

Did he arrange the job in the ESB?

Well there was no arranging, they were scouring the country looking for engineers at that time.

So you just walked down the road and they took you on. Were any references to be given from the college or other sources?

They probably asked for a reference which I furnished. Engineers were very short in this way that the Shannon scheme was under construction and all the transmission lines were under construction as well and they had recruited all the engineers they could and there was no surplus engineers

when the ESB started in 1927. They were all fully occupied you see and that is why there was such a shortage.

Did you find that the course in the college covered everything you needed in you went into the ESB?

I thought it was a very practical course?

So when you went to the ESB, was it perfect for what you needed?

I thought it was very good.

Did the people in the college know anything about what they were doing in the ESB?

They had an idea. There was no very close contact at that time. I had never seen anyone from the ESB when I was working in the college. Of course that was too early, that was 1927 and the ESB was only starting then. It would be too early to say. The college they really concentrated on the basic principles of all the different kinds of calculations you might have to make, to do and make about machines and transmission lines and distribution lines and all that. It was a really practical course. I really couldn't criticise it if you were to ask me what should they have done. Circumstances are different now everything is so different now. I wouldn't have a clue about how they organise their courses now there is such a drastic different world. Technology has changed so fundamentally.

Changed.

Just a little!

What about your other friends in the class, did they or any of them stay in Ireland?

Yes. Practically all my year stayed in Ireland and they are all dead now.

Would some of them have started in the ESB?

A lot of them went to Siemens and

drifted on to the ESB as the ESB was expanding

Siemens were doing the construction of Ardnacrusha.

Siemens were very proud of that. They used to bring foreigners over at that time to see what was going on. Siemens did the whole construction. They did all the civil engineering. They erected all the banks to bring the water down. They erected the generating station, organised the head race, built a whole transmission system, all the different voltages to all the different parts of the country. Built all the overhead lines and that. It was practically unknown that a firm took on the whole thing like that. It was nearly all set in small pieces, one firm would get the construction of the generating station, another would the overhead lines, another might get the transformer stations. That was the kind of thing, the more usual thing. Siemens were delighted to get more manpower.

It was a good idea was it, the system was integrated?

It worked very well. You had no trouble then trying to correlate what one contractor was doing with another. You always have these rows. Some fellow wants to do something, but he can't do it because another fellow isn't ready and then he looks for extra money. I probably told you how Siemens got the contract. McLaughlin, he had a doctorate from Galway University for some research, he really did electrical engineering. He got his doctorate then. All the big engineering firms on the continent, in England used to take graduate engineers, that's engineers with their basic qualifications and then gave them a course for 12 months to two years going over all their activities and learning all the manufacturing side of the business. McLaughlin got a job at Siemens in Berlin and he was going all round the different departments and when he came to the hydro-electrical department, there were 8 or 10 in the group. The lecturer said, "Now we are going to do hydro-electric development, how do you approach it?" He went up to the

board, Imagine you have a mountain here near a river here, so much of a fall and all the rest. McLoughlin put his hand up "take an imaginary river, why not take a real one?" The lecturer said, "I have no figures for any real river". McLoughlin said, "I'll get all the figures you want about the Shannon in Ireland." He got them and they worked the scheme. A good idea. Siemens came over to Dublin and sold it to the Government. That's how it started. McLaughlin was like that, he was a devil. He was a most unhappy man, even when he was a director of the ESB for many years and he was never happy in it except for the first two years when he was managing director when he could do what he liked. When he was controlled by a board, he did not like it. He was never happy in it after.

How did you get on with him?

I worked with him for ten years, I knew all his faults, I used to try and give him some good advice, I never succeeded! It was most unfortunate, there were two other engineers on the board and one of them was the engineer for Dublin Corporation who controlled the whole Dublin electricity supply from Fleet Street. Himself and a man named Purcell Griffith objected to the Shannon Scheme from the word go. They said it was a colossal scheme, the country could never afford it. It was far too big. The Liffey was just beside Dublin with the main consumer of electricity and it's the Liffey should be developed not the Shannon. And Kettle said, "As long as I'm in Dublin city Shannon electricity will never come to Dublin."

He kept it out did he?

The funny thing is that prophecy came out true. When Shannon electricity was ready to come to Dublin Barry Kettle was moved out of Fleet Street.

The interview ended here as the subject had moved from the educational to politics in the ESB! It is a pity, because here we can get a unique and objective view of McLaughlin who has been lauded by so many, but who obviously had some shortcomings. These comments are very revealing.

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- Some Co. Carlow wills* (Phair) **1971.24**
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- Song for Carlow* (Leahy) **2005.56–57**
- Spahill, stone face **1986.14 (illus.)**
- Spearman, David
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- sports *see* athletics; cricket; football; golf; handball; hunting; hurling; polo; rowing; rugby
- stage coaches **1951.173, 1970.32, 1972.32–36, 2006.56**
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- Stained glass windows of County Carlow* (Byrne) **2004.63–65**
- standing stones, **1964.34–35, 1982.34 (illus.), 1995.20 (illus.)**
- Staplestown **1999.76**
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- Stately homes of Carlow* (O'Hanlon) **1958.23–27, 1959.23–25**
- Staunton, Henry, Dean **1956.35, 1972.37**
- Stepping stones of County Carlow* (Ellis) **2004.14–15**
- Stieber, John
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- Story in stone from south Carlow* (O'Neill) **1985.11–13**
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- Stradbally, Co. Laois, and St Colman (O'Dooley) **1981.20–21**
- Stradivari and the Carlow link* (Nevin) **2008.48**
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- Suffragettes in Carlow* (Snoddy) **1964.26**
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- Summer outings* (O'Byrne) **1964.31, 37–38**
- Survey of Neolithic tombs in Counties Carlow and Dublin* (Murphy) **2010.92–109**
- Survey of the pre-Norman stone crosses of Co. Carlow* (Fitzmaurice) **1970.31–32**
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- Taaffe, Frank
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- Taylor, James
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- Teahan, J.
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- Trade Unions
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SEAMUS MURPHY

It is always nice to be honoured in one's own lifetime and especially to be recognized by one's own community.

One of the longest serving members of the society and of the management committee, Seamus Murphy, was so honoured in November last year when he received the Heritage award in the Carlow Person of the year Awards 2010.

It was a fitting award to a person who, throughout a long life, has shown such a commitment to the preservation of the heritage of his native place.

Seamus became a member of our society in 1969 and joined the committee of management in 1972. He has served on our committee continuously since then, serving as chairman between 1981 and 1983. He has also contributed many articles to Carloviana, and we understand he is not finished yet.

Everyone in the society congratulates Seamus on receiving this well merited award.



Seamus Murphy
 Receiving his award from Michael Murphy

The Delany Archive: An Introduction

Bernie Deasy

Background

The Delany Archive Trust was established in 2007 to care for the archival collections of the four Trust partners, namely, the Diocese of Kildare & Leighlin, Brigidine Sisters, Patrician Brothers and Carlow College.

The Delany Archive is named in honour of Bishop Daniel Delany (1747-1814) as he had an involvement with each Trust partner, as Bishop of Kildare & Leighlin, 1787-1814; founder of the Brigidines and Patricians in 1807 and 1808 respectively; and co-founder of Carlow College, established in 1782 and which opened its doors to students in 1793.

The Delany Archive Trust is a relatively new development but care and preservation of the collections by their respective owners have been ongoing for a long number of years. The idea for a central archives service to manage the four collections grew out of concerns shared by Rev Thomas McDonnell and Br Linus Walker, then Diocesan Chancellor and Diocesan Archivist respectively. They were concerned as to how the collections were to be cared for in the future; where the archives of religious orders were to be held as houses closed; and how the care of archives was to be financed. Discussions were held, and in 2007, a deed of trust was signed by the four partners. An Archivist was appointed in 2008.

The Delany Archive is located at Carlow College, adjacent to the Fr P.J.

Brophy Memorial Library. Our collections are open to members of the public who wish to visit and conduct research. The main purpose of this paper is to give an overview of our collections. Also, some interesting items are mentioned in more detail. There is a degree of subjectivity in highlighting 'interesting' items in this manner but hopefully, this paper will whet the appetite of anyone interested in exploring our collections further.

Two significant points might be made about the Delany Archive collections. The first is that there is a degree of cross-fertilisation between collections. Material relating to some research topics may be found in several collections. For instance, research into the life of a priest might yield correspondence in the Diocesan collection and biographical information in the Carlow College collection if he was educated there. Secondly, there is both a local and international dimension to our collections. At the very local level, all collections contain Carlow-related material. The Diocesan collection contains material relating to its 56 parishes which are spread across six counties, namely, Carlow, Laois, Kildare, Kilkenny, Offaly and Wicklow. The Brigidine and Patrician collections contain records relating to each location where they served or continue to serve, concentrated on South Leinster, but also at other locations nationally and internationally. Between them, they have served in Ireland, Britain, Australia, New Zealand, USA, Papua New Guinea,

India and Kenya with smaller missions in other countries. Carlow College educated priests for Irish dioceses as well as for dioceses in other countries including the UK, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa and the USA. Given the strong international dimension of the work of the Trust partners, we will work to make collections as accessible as possible via the internet.

The Collections

Diocese of Kildare & Leighlin

The Diocesan collection contains items from the period 1726-1967. It is sub-divided into sections by the name of the incumbent bishop. The Diocesan



Letter from Rev Daniel Delany to Rev Thady Duane, Mountmellick, inviting him to his consecration as Coadjutor Bishop, Kildare & Leighlin. Dated 17 August 1783

collection is rich in correspondence and consequently, it is difficult to summarise the type of material it contains. Broadly though, it contains a significant amount of correspondence between members of the hierarchy, as well as correspondence exchanged between the Bishop of Kildare & Leighlin and priests of the Diocese. Correspondence between members of the hierarchy often deals with issues confronting bishops at a national level, including politics and nationalism. There are, for instance, a number of letters exchanged between Bishop James Doyle and Daniel O'Connell. Exchanges between the bishop and priests of the Diocese typically deal with more local matters including general parish administration, parish lands and schools, marriage dispensations, transfers of priests between parishes and issues that arise locally. Related to this, the Delany Archive also holds several small collections generated by parishes including Tinryland and Carlow, and transferred to the Archive for safekeeping and provision of public access. The Diocesan collection also contains some financial records and texts of sermons. Important items include returns regarding schools in the Diocese which were created in connection with an 1824 inquiry into Irish education. For each school, the returns give information including the location of the school, the name of the teacher(s) and number of children taught. Finally, there is a run of Chaplain's Books, Carlow Workhouse, dating from the 1890s onwards and which detail baptisms and deaths in the workhouse.

Carlow College and Knockbeg College

Carlow College opened its doors to both ecclesiastical and lay students in 1793. The College educated priests for more than 200 years and now provides humanities and social care third-level courses. The collection contains diverse material dating from 1793 onwards and relates to both the lay and ecclesiastical colleges as well as St Mary's, Knockbeg. The latter was purchased in 1847 and the younger pupils transferred to this location. All lay students moved to Knockbeg in 1892 and therefore, Carlow



*Knockbeg College senior football team,
1943-1944*

College then housed only ecclesiastical students.

The collection includes publications such as *The Carlovian* (1911-present) as well as various Knockeg annuals and yearbooks (1931-present). Details of students, both lay and ecclesiastical, are traceable through various accounts ledgers and other sources including the aforementioned publications, records of clubs and societies, and assessment and discipline records. Some of the same records may also be used to research staff members. 'Judgement books' were used to assess the weekly performance of students, and a mark in the range 4-7 was assigned to each. Seven was the top mark but to receive a grade of 4 was a great disgrace! Other useful published sources for information regarding staff and students are *Carlow College 1793-1993: The ordained students and teaching staff of St Patrick's College, Carlow* (published 1993) by Fr John McEvoy and *Cnoc Beag: Centenary Year Book* (published 1948) by Fr Peadar MacSuibhne. Unfortunately, this collection contains very little correspondence but there is a useful range of accounts ledgers which detail both income and expenditure. Particularly interesting are records relating to food, whether purchased from suppliers, grown on the College farm, animals bought and sold or food consumed at table. This collection includes a large number of photographs. Subjects include students, priests (sometimes with family or friends), buildings and a small number of local streetscapes. The Delany Archive also houses papers collected by Fr Peadar MacSuibhne and this collection contains further photographs, particularly of priests and students of Knockbeg where he was Rector for a period.

Brigidine Sisters

This material comprises two collections, the Generalate Archive and the Archive of the Irish / UK Province.

The Generalate Archive contains documents created and received by the Superior General of the congregation and her Councillors. The Generalate Archive is sub-divided thematically and material refers to the following areas:

- **Foundation of the congregation / charism / spirituality** including writings of and about the Brigidines' founder, Bishop Daniel Delany
- **Constitutions and rules**
- **Government** including correspondence exchanged between the Superior General and her Councillors, and various provinces and communities; further correspondence between the General Council and the Holy See, local bishops and priests
- **Members of the congregation** including a database containing brief biographical information on each woman who has joined the congregation since 1807
- **Formation / education** including texts used in novitiates and vocations promotion material
- **Books, articles and theses** written by or about the Brigidines

The Archive of the Irish / UK Province is sub-divided by name of community. More material is extant for the longest-established convents than smaller, more recently-established communities. The convents for which most material exists are Abbeyleix, Denbigh (Wales), Goresbridge, Mountrath and Tullow. The provision of education was the primary work of the Brigidines and therefore, there is a considerable amount of material on this topic. Broadly speaking, similar material exists for all convents, for instance:

- **Correspondence** pertaining to various subjects
- **Community annals** which are similar to diaries and are used to record significant events in community life
- **Financial records** including accounts, pensions, wills and probates, and investments
- **Land and property records** including correspondence and deeds
- **School records** including boarders' accounts, school annuals, past pupils'

unions, membership of sodalities. Also, several registers of the Convent National School, Tullow, dating from the 1890s onwards

• Further **secondary material** including newsletters

The Brigidine collections contain a number of photographs dating from the mid-nineteenth century to the present day. The photographs relate to most, if not all, communities established by the Brigidines in different parts of the world and subjects include the Sisters, students, school and convent buildings and local scenes.



*Boarding school students
with Sisters, Brigidine Convent,
Tullow, circa 1890*

An interesting item is a diary written by 16 year old Bridie Moore in 1894. She travelled from her native Tullow to Echuca in the province of Victoria, Australia, to join the Brigidine Sisters and later took the name Gertrude in religion. Bridie describes her journey from Tullow to Echuca in great detail and we learn about life on board ship, the Austral, as well as stops made at various locations including Gibraltar. Bridie mailed the diary home to her family and we are grateful to Fr Eddie Moore, Allen, and the wider Moore family, for depositing the diary in the Delany Archive.

Patrician Brothers

Due to the fact that the Patrician Brothers are organised on similar lines to the Brigidines, and have the same primary mission in education, the nature and content of the Patrician collections is very similar to the Brigidine collections. A useful publication is *The Congregational Necrology of the Brothers of Saint Patrick* (2010) by Br Jerome Ellens. It contains an obituary of each member of the



*The Patricians in Australia.
Group of Patrician Brothers at Holy Cross
College, Ryde, Sydney, circa 1904-1909.
They are (left-right)
Brothers Patrick Fogarty,
Alphonsus Eviston, Boniface Carroll,
Bernard Ryan and Benignus Kealy*

congregation. The Patrician collections also include some material that individual Brothers had in their possession, for instance, family photographs and letters. Again, the Patrician collections contain a very large number of photographs relating to the work of the Brothers around the world.

Small collections

Apart from the archival collections of the four Trust partners, the Delany Archive also houses several smaller collections. The papers of Fr Peadar MacSuibhne have already been mentioned. He wrote a number of books, including a biography of Paul Cardinal Cullen and local histories. His papers include background research materials for some of these publications as well as files relating to his parish work,



*Priests on a boating trip on the river
Barrow, circa 1907*

particularly in Kildare and Suncroft. The papers of Fr P.J. Brophy include correspondence relating to the beginnings of the Old Carlow Society, of which he was a founding member. A particularly interesting item in this collection is a bound volume which contains minutes of meetings of the Carlow Board of Health dating from 1832. The minutes document the Board's efforts to alleviate the effects of a cholera epidemic then afflicting Ireland. The same volume also contains minutes of a committee formed to take action on poverty in Carlow town, circa 1836-1840. Finally, the Delany Archive holds a number of mid-nineteenth century drawings for Oak Park House, Carlow.

Conclusion

Apart from making our collections available to the public for research, we also hope to engage with people by making the Delany Archive accessible through exhibitions, lectures and other events. Education is a major theme in our holdings and we hope to engage with students from primary to third level through innovative projects. It is intended to launch an oral history project in order to document the experiences of people who were involved in one way or another with the Trust partners. We are interested in collecting material to develop our collections and would welcome donations of material that would complement existing collections, perhaps from priests and parishes, members of congregations, schools and alumni. We hope that the Delany Archive will be a living resource for anyone interested in the heritage of the four Trust partners and welcome visits and enquiries about what we have and what we do.

Bernie Deasy
Archivist
Delany Archive
www.delanyarchive.ie

2011

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