2015 Edition

Carloviana

Carlow Historical and Archaeological Society

Cumann Staire agus Seandálaíochta Cheatharloch

SPONSORS

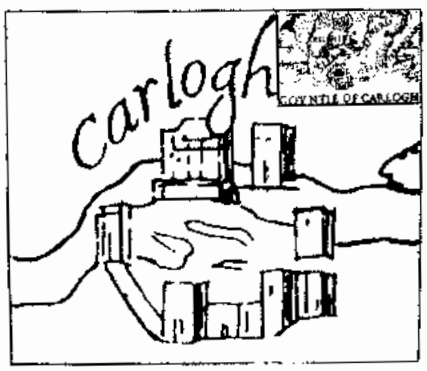
FRONT COVER PICTURE

Improvisation of a Carlow wall

"From a crazy to an impossible reality. Twenty-two wood artists from around the world, carvers, turners, furniture-makers - in County Carlow....piles of beech, ash, sycamore, chestnut; sketchy ideas about shape, contour, colour, assembly; endless decisions and no time. Six days of frantic, focused activity. The cacophony of chainsaws, bandsaws, carvers, sanders, drills; the gentle percussions of mallet on chiseland gauge; the dawn to dusk chorus of conversation and argument and laughter. Six days of blessed Carlow sunshine. And out of it all - experiments, discussions, meetings, failures, solutions - the wall took shape." - Roger Bennett (2013).

BACK COVER PICTURE

Drawing of Carlow Town (enlarged) is taken from a map which formed part of a Crown Commission report in 1563, to define the bounds of the recently annexed districts of Leix, Slievemargy, Irre, Clanmaliere and Offaly. Carlow Town adjoined the boundary and formed part of the map. - Sean O'Shea



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Articles

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Editor: Martin Nevin

Editorial Committee:
Jim Shannon
Pat O'Neill
Padraig Dooley

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P.O. Box 162
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carlowhistorical@gmail.com

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Editorial

Carloviana, another unusually large edition. It was thought some years ago that the Society was scraping the bottom of the barrel, that the history of this county had been more or less exhausted, that its journal would soon come to an end? How wrong was the thinking? The editions for almost twenty years now have proven otherwise, never has there been a paucity of articles in that time. In fact, this year for the first time in the history of the Society a surplus of articles were submitted. This is an encouraging sign and bodes well for future editions.

The Editorial Team appreciates the tremendous effort, time and research that contributors have put into the production of articles down through the years and wishes to thank all the authors whose work has made possible this present edition. Again the articles are on interesting topics related to the county with a wide geographical spread, which no doubt will be appreciated by our readers. It's an interesting statistic, that to date, the Society has produced 4,350 pages of Carlow history.

August 18th 2014 marked the centenary of the beginning of World War One, the memory of which is commemorated each year on Poppy Day at the 11 hour, of the 11 day, of the 11 month, Armistice Day, the time and date on which the great conflict finished in 1918. Over 200,000 Irish people of all persuasions from North and South, fought in that terrible war; women, men and teenage boys as young as 17 and 18 left a very proud record of bravery in the field.

In or about 4,500 Carlovians served in the cause to protect small nations. Some gave all and up to 500 were never to return. Today they are remembered on the First World War Memorial Arch in the Garden of Remembrance in Leighlinbridge. Has the time come for another Memorial Arch to remember all Carlovians who fought and survived.

September 18, 2014 marked an almost forgotten centenary of another important milestone in the history of Ireland with the passage of the Irish Home Rule Bill through the House of Commons. However, despite its passage, its implementation was delayed due to the war in Europe but it remained policy throughout the war and for some time after.

In remembering the 1000th anniversary of the Battle of Clontarf, 1014 and the death of Brian Boru, this edition of *Carloviana* prints two poems *The Battle of Clontarf Good Friday 1014* and *King Brian March to Clontarf* (p 102 & 103) written by Richard Dalton Williams, journalist and patriot. A native of Dublin, Williams studied at St Patrick's College, Carlow and sent his first poem, *The Munster War Song* to "The Nation" while a student in Carlow. Carlow 800 is remembered in the reproduction of three of the papers given at Carlow 800 History Conference in St Patrick's College in August, 2013 with the remainder to follow in the next edition.

Táimid buíoch d'ár léitheoirí uile, a thugann tacaíocht láidir dúinn gach blian. Tá súil againn go mbeidh sibh sásta le hiris na bliana seo agus guímid beannachtaí na Nollag oraibh go léir.

SPONSORS
Inside the front and back covers of our journal we list the local businesses who, each year, support us in producing *Carloviana*. We wish to thank them sincerely for their assistance, without which, it would not be possible to do this. Just as these businesses support us we ask our members, in turn, to support them wherever possible.

Pat O'Neill
President

Using early maps to explore the growth of Carlow Town

Dr. Arnold Horner

In this article I shall try to explain why I find a study of maps showing Carlow town in past times can help us do several things. Maps from the past most obviously allow us to understand the growth and development of the town, permitting us also to appreciate better the streets, lanes and buildings we see around us today. Maps help us realise that the heritage of a town is more than its most prominent buildings – the cathedral, court-house, church etc. – and also that it is more than buildings or sites associated with famous people. As we contemplate a castle that is 800 years old, we have to get our heads around the idea that the ordinary buildings also contribute to the rich urban heritage that Carlow has today. Ordinary buildings, sky-lines and height-lines, particularly as you see them lined along a street or across a river, constitute a 'streetscape' heritage that deserves to be valued, preserved and if possible enhanced.

The distinguished record of local interest in the development of Carlow dates back over a century, with an extended article on the town topography appearing in the 1913 programme for Carlow feis.[i] The pages of Carloviana, stretching back over seventy years, incorporate further exceptionally valuable documentation about locations and localities in the town - a few examples are the work of Victor Hadden on Carlow's old inns and taverns (1956-59)and on the town walls (1961), Mary T. Kelly on Browne Street (1959) and John Ellis (1963) on the Carlow of 1913. The pages of *The Nationalist* contain much too, including an article from 18 July 1980 by Revd Seamus Cunnane, a Carlovian priest based in Wales: his 'New light on the town walls of Carlow' is just one example of past writing that continues to inform. At least as important, however, is evidence for our eyes, everything that we see around us to-day, and the prompts we get, not just from looking at maps, but particularly from what we see in old photographs, engravings and other views. Carlow is extraordinarily fortunate that so many early photographs have been collected by Michael Purcell, and further that these have been uploaded to the web for TeachNet by John Farrell and others.[ii] Resources like these are utterly essential if we are to appreciate our past, to know where we have come from and, equally important, to know where we want to go (not necessarily the same as where we are actually being brought).

The earliest map that offers any detail about Carlow town is a map of east Leix (sic) and east Offaly made about 1560, shortly after the first plantation attempt in that area. This map has the great

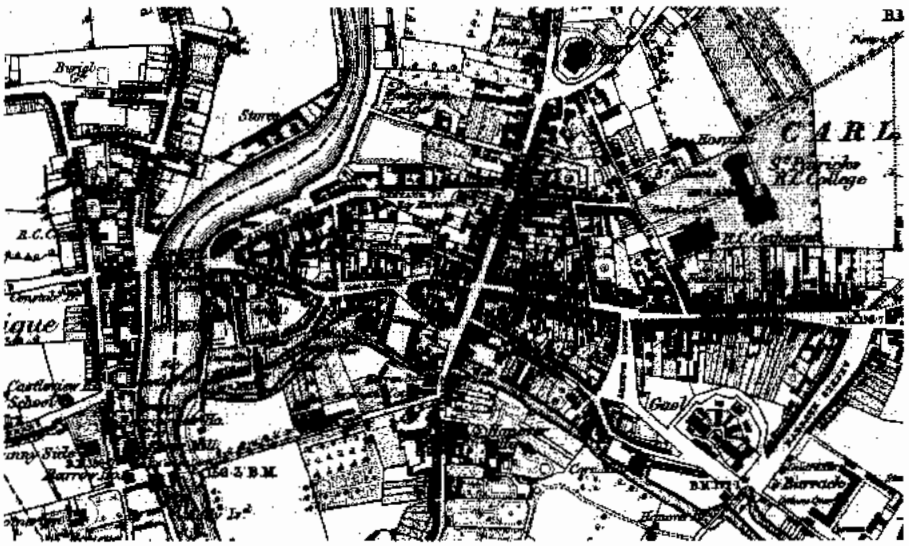

Figure 1. Enormous detail is engraved on the second edition (1874) of County Carlow sheet 7, the 1:10.560 six inches to the mile Ordnance Survey map showing Carlow town (Author's copy)

interest of displaying significant detail about woods and bogs, and its coverage takes in the Slievemargy area opposite Carlow. It shows clearly 'Carlogh' with its strong castle and an area to the east with walls, towers and gates. A tower guards the west (Leix) side of the river, and (in contrast to Athy) no bridge is evident. This small image, giving us a first glimpse of what was one of the most strategically located medieval towns in Ireland, is amplified in a verbal description made nearly a century later recording that the town

> is scituate ... upon a riseing ground neer the river of Barrow and the Burren Water doe meet the castle on the west of the said towne upon a hill where the two aforesaid rivers doe unite, being naturally very strong and might by art be made impregnable... It is the place where the judges sit upon the circuite. This towne ... being most excellently scituated for an inland towne for all accommodations...[iii]

A few decades later, the traveller John Dineley was also complimentary about the town, describing it as 'so healthful (for Ireland) that I have heard it call'd ye Irish Montpelier' and referring to buildings 'not unlike those of an ordinary English market town' that increase in number and beauty 'daily'.[iv] Thomas Spaight's property rental of 1681, which itemises leases issued during the 1670s, offers further extensive detail about Carlow in the later seventeenth century. His listing shows that the town then had gates and at least part of a town wall, as well as many of the hall-marks of everyday life: inns, mills, a malt-house, a brew-house, a tan-yard, a wool-house, and a school-house.[v] As we extend into the early eighteenth century, we can find evidence for a cock-pit, Quakers, Presbyterians, slaughter-houses and a barracks. The impression builds up of a strong town with many features and activities that denote involvement with the surrounding countryside.

As far as maps are concerned, we have to wait until the eighteenth century to catch up with and pick up on the lay-out of a well-established urban fabric. At this point, perhaps as an aside, I can offer some personal background. I am not from Carlow. It is primarily maps that have introduced me to the town. Forty years ago, I was (and still am) very interested in an exceptional series of maps of the Carton and Maynooth areas of north Kildare – maps that reveal a lot about how the landscapes around big houses and in estate villages developed during the eighteenth century. A tip-off from a prominent member of the Irish Georgian Society led me to visit the great house at Holkham in north Norfolk. This has been the home of the earls of Leicester, whose family has no connection with Carton. Yet here is a vast library of books acquired by the earl from the bookseller John Innys about 1750, and in volumes 98 of the maps collection is the earliest detailed plan of Carton. Dating from around 1700 and showing the five avenues and ornamental gardens that had been laid out, probably during the 1680s, when Richard Talbot, duke of Tyrconnell, was in residence, this important plan is at Holkham through the accident of having been acquired by Innys and then sold to the earl of Leicester. For the same reason the small sketch plan of Carlow made by the 21-year old Charles Colombine in 1735 is at Holkham, and having being there since 1750 it seems to have remained out of sight and more or less unknown to people

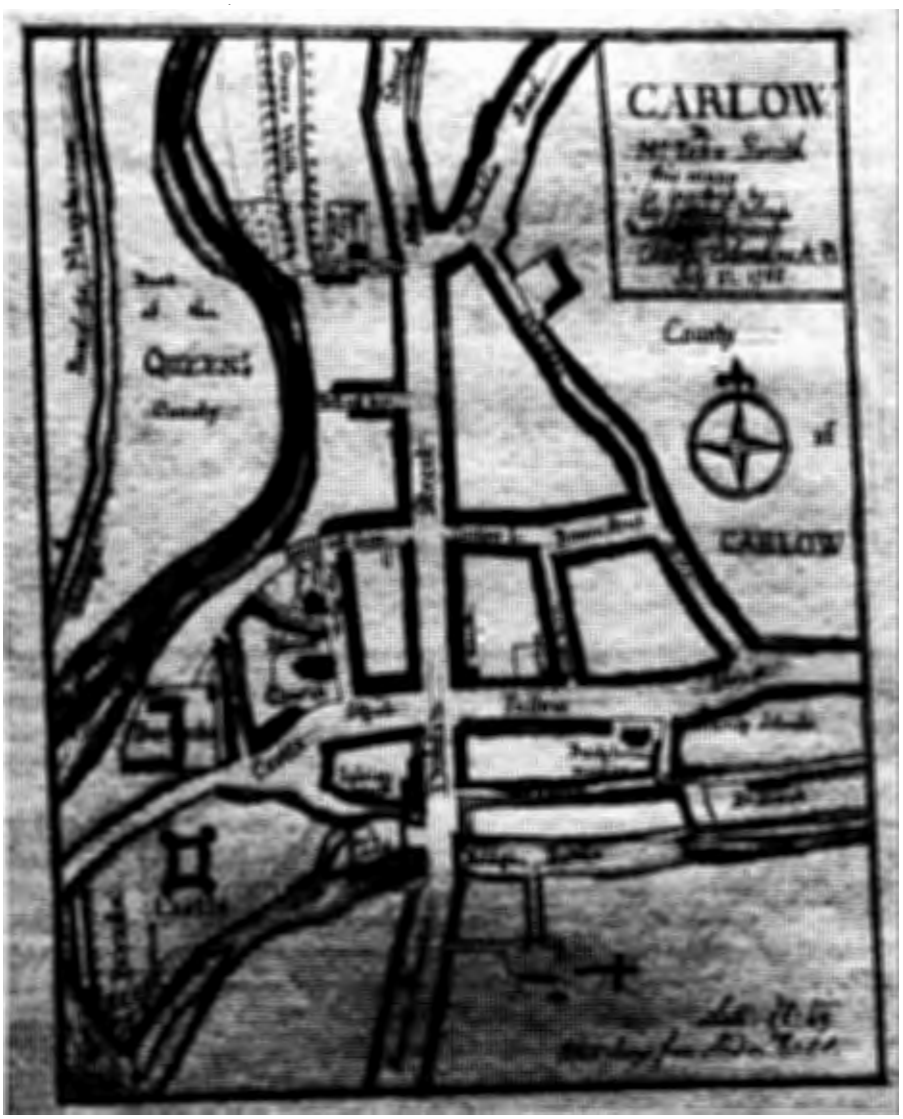

Figure 2. The hand-drawn sketch plkan of Carlow drawn by the 21-year old Charles Columbine in 1735. Reproduced by permission of Viscount Coke and the Trustees of the Holkam Estate.

in Ireland until it was noticed while searching for the early map of Carton in 1973. In a very small way, this is an example of how while investigating one topic you may quite unexpectedly hit on something relevant elsewhere.

A couple of years later, while preparing a short piece about this map, I came across a microfilm and references in the National Library of Ireland to a map of Carlow made by the surveyor Thomas Moland in 1703. This was made while the Carlow town area was owned by the earl of Thomond, and is part of a broader survey of the earl's estates in Ireland, a project that also generated interesting maps of the towns of Ennis and Skerries. Like the 1735 plan, this particular map of Carlow is now in an English collection, in this instance at Petworth House in west Sussex, the home of Lord Egremont (family name Wyndham). Through the ready co-operation of the West Sussex Record Office at Chichester and with the agreement of Lord Egremont, I was able to obtain photographs of this map, at present the earliest known attempt to represent the town plan of Carlow in some detail. I was subsequently able to publish images and a short account of the Moland and Colombine maps. [vi] In my discussion, I also tried to suggest how the two maps, with their street plan detail, could be very important evidence for interpreting the development of the town of Carlow, from its medieval origins through the early eighteenth century and on to the 1830s, at which time the detail from the map record rises to a new level in the form of the large-scale maps of the Ordnance Survey. Although not discussed here, other maps can also feed into the Carlow record, for example a plan of Graigue in 1782 by the canal engineer James Oates. [vii]

By analysing the street plans, a lot can be learnt about the growth of Carlow. Charles Colombine's work brings us back over one hundred years before the first Ordnance Survey maps, and is by a man who is not known to have made other plans. Born into a Huguenot family, he was ordained in 1738 and later served in Tipperary and Clare. He died in 1781. His Carlow map appears to have been a once-off sketch for a friend, and does not pretend to be a planimetrically correct (i.e. fully measured) survey. Yet it has a great deal of authentic detail and gives a very good indication of the well-developed street system and some of the principal buildings. Besides the castle, he identifies the market house, the session house, the parish church, the barracks, the bridewell, a charity school, a free school, the Quaker and Presbyterian meeting houses, mills by the River Burrin, and a bowling green. Shown but not named are the Catholic chapel (an L-shaped building towards the north end of Chapel Lane, now College Street) and an interesting group of buildings, including one with a cruciform shape, just south of the River Burrin. A total of 17 streets are named, most of them functionally in relation to a feature or direction (e.g. Schoolhouse Lane, Dublin Street) but also including Cuckow Lane (now part of Brown Street), Northcott Lane (now Cox's Lane) and Southcott Lane (now Centaur Street) , the two last both leading to ferry points for travel by cot across the River Barrow. Colombine's map reinforces the impression already evident in Thomas Spaight's rental from fifty years earlier that Carlow was an established strong town with a diversity of activities.

In contrast to Colombine's work, the plan made by Thomas Moland in 1703 was part of a formal survey of the town and surrounding town-lands that was drawn to a scale of one inch for every 40 Irish perches. Although not very innovative, Moland was active across Ireland from around 1700 into the 1730s, being regarded as the foremost surveyor of his time.[viii] From about 1709 he acted for the Thomond estates in Carlow and Queen's

Figure 3. Detail from Thomas Moland's image of Carlow in 1703. Reproduced with the permission of Lord Egremont. This section of the map shows the built-up area.

County and also took leases on property in Carlow town. His map gives fewer names than Colombine, but the small thumbnail sketches of the castle, the barracks, and the church feature sufficient detail to be of some architectural interest. Moland shows many of the streets lined by buildings, a total of around 120 being represented. Indicating the built-up, continuous nature of the street frontages, these buildings are in a style that is also evident on most of his other town depictions. In most instances, it seems unlikely that an attempt is being made to show every individual building. However, it is of interest that Moland shows a building behind the line of Back Lane (now Charlotte Street) and also behind the houses along Tullow Street at a location that seems to be the Quaker meeting house (a lease of 1710[ix] refers to this site on part of which 'are erected and built a meeting house'). He further takes the trouble to show a building at that location south of the River Burrin, also marked by Colombine, which is later the site of Hanover House. Also identified, on the south side of the Burrin and near the castle, is the 'Tobacco medow' consisting of 7acres 1 rood and 0 perches – a name that crops up also in the 1670s leases. However, in other places there are 'silences': Moland shows neither the bridewell nor the chapel, although he does name Bridewell Lane and Chapel Lane – surely evidence that these buildings existed, and an indication that not every structure is included on his map.

Some thoughts about the older parts of the town may be prompted by this map. Many of the buildings along the principal streets, notably along Dublin Street and Tullow Street, have been modified over the years for commercial activities. However, along some of the side streets, for example parts of Centaur Street/ Southcott Lane (where plots and tenements are mentioned in 1677 leases) and Browne Street, the changes appear to have been much less extensive. It is quite a thought, and also a heritage challenge, to appreciate that, even if modified later, some 'ordinary' buildings in Carlow may be over 300 years old, getting on for a century older than modern Australia or the United States.

Dineley refers to the entrepreneurial spirit prevalent in the 1690s, commenting on how Thomas Spaight had built the fairest inn and how William Crutchley, 'a notable projector', had agreed to build a large stone bridge over the River Burren 'to carry houses thereon on each side'. Property deeds on occasion recall past structures, as in the reference to 'Moseley's old castle' (apparently somewhere between Back Lane and Dublin Gate),[x] but more generally they show that significant capital investment continued in Carlow well into the eighteenth century, for example they capture the building of the market house in 1724[xi] and also the permission given (recorded in 1712 and again in 1737) to Thomas Conyers, merchant, to 'build and erect on the Market Place of Carlow… what sort of building the s[ai]d Thomas Conyers shall think fit[,] leaving always the lower part there of open and free for a Markett house or place for the use of the Burrough &c for ever'.[xii] Recorded in 1731, and shown by Colombine in 1735, is the 'new lane lately erected' by William Browne,[xiii] a development that extended the then Cuckow Lane (now part of Browne Street) from its junction with Back Lane/ now Charlotte Street to Chapel Lane/ now College Street. About the same time also the [Anglican] parish church was re-built; a town clock had been placed in the presumably-highly visible belfry tower three decades earlier, in 1698.[xiv] No doubt Carlow was further stimulated by its role as an overnight stopover for the growing traffic on the route from Dublin to the south. When taken in conjunction with the very considerable information about particular sites that is embedded in the late 17th and early 18th century property records, it is evident that the Colombine and Moland maps depict Carlow at an important stage in its development, helping show that the town has such a significant 'early modern' heritage that really every building, including outhouses, every stone wall, every site, deserves critical visual appraisal combined with documentary contextualisation.

The Moland map can also help us focus back to the mediaeval castle and to the associated town nucleus. A general image, reinforced by the depiction of Carlow in the c.1560 map of Leix and Offaly discussed above, is of a dominant castle and a town with walls and gates. But where exactly were the walls, and did they encompass both the town and the castle? Although the early maps are disappointingly vague on these issues, a very intensive study using a broad multi-source, inter-disciplinary approach may well offer much. There seems to be enough information in the early property deeds to establish the locations of Tullow

Figure 4. The oldest part of Browne Street, once called Cuckoo Lane, looking west. Some of these houses (Author's photo)

Figure 5. An interpretation of the location of the town walls by Revd Seamus Cunnane as published in the Nationalist, 18 July 1980.

Gate, Dublin Gate and probably Castle Gate, and to identify where the small sections of town wall mentioned in these deeds were (or are?) positioned.[xv] Further inferences may be possible by looking at the plot alignments depicted on early large-scale Ordnance Survey maps (for example the very detailed 1:500 scale map of 1873), by assessing the appearance of the town on early air photos and by walking the streets paying particular attention to yards and the rear of buildings, for example some impressive old wall lies off College Street at its north end near the Irishman's pub. Although lacking sustained, systematic site by site analysis, this is the approach I tried to use for my 1978 study and it is also how Revd Seamus Cunnane contemplated the issue two years later. Observing that the walls may not have been particularly big or thick (i.e. they may have been as much regulatory as defensive), he commented

'The line of the town wall is still marked by the divisions between properties.... This is the great neglected clue to the town's history, and it [is] there for the finding'.[xvi]

Although much has indeed been written already, my guess might be that careful analysis, perhaps supplemented by some small-scale archaeological investigations at selected sites, may yet yield significant new information on medieval Carlow.

Such an approach may also cast more light on 'Templecroney', a name that appears in seventeenth century property records and which then seems to be associated with a lane and garden area just north of the church. Does this name denote a site that is older than the Anglo-Norman town and might it yet be possible to find it?

Visual evidence is especially relevant for understanding the relationship between the castle and the town. A disadvantage of many maps, especially those early plans that are not 'picture maps', is that height variations tend to be neglected. In Carlow the difference between the normal height of the River Barrow and the altitude of the older parts of the town along Dublin Street and at the west end of Tullow Street is around six or seven metres, not that much but critical for understanding where the early town was located. The older part of the town is elevated above any conceivable flood. So too is the castle. Seen from its modern 'display side' to its west and also as it appears in some eighteenth century views, it is evident that the castle lies on a small rock knoll, about six metres above the river level. Walking towards the castle and river from Tullow Street along Castle Street, what is striking is the dip in the road beyond the walls of St Mary's church-yard.

Moving into Coal Market you are in the area that is named in some early

Figure 6. The view from Castle Street toward Coal Market and Castle Hill, as it was (a) c. 1892 [as shown on TeachNet] and (b) above in 2013 [Author's photo]. The slope of the street is clearly evident. One of the main changes is a wider Castle Hill.

eighteenth century deeds as the Moneen, a name which suggests a boggy, swampy area. Thomas Spaight's rental of 1681 refers to 'a waste piece of ground called the Moneene, betweene ye Churchyard on ye east and ye Castle wall and work [?] by ye highway on ye west'. Although parts were walled, perhaps from the river, and presumably reclaimed probably in the 1720s, this area is of course still low-lying, and – as shown by photographs of Coal Market in the 1950s and an aerial view of the town in February 1995[xvii] - still liable to flood when the Barrow overflows. One wonders what the Moneen was like in medieval times. Should we be visualising an island castle with the Moneen acting as the castle moat, or was the castle maybe linked to the town on the next higher ground by some sort of elevated wooden causeway or bridge? In his 'Carlow 800' commemorative painting, the artist Uto Hogerzeil has offered us an imaginative bird's eye visualisation showing the castle area as a separate entity to the town about 1360. To debate the detail would be to miss out on how effectively this image evokes the general late mediaeval environment . [xviii]

In my 1978 article I included a series of small maps that tried to depict the physical development of Carlow in 'growth stages' from the physical site through the late medieval to the early eighteenth century and on to around 1840, by which time the town (including Graigue) had over 10,000 inhabitants. The Ordnance Survey map made just before the great famine shows such developments as the Catholic college founded in 1793 and the long lines of poor housing, much of it low cabins or cottages, that came to flank the approach roads to the town. But a striking feature of the maps from 1703 on is the stability and embeddedness of the street plan. In particular, the principal street axes, running north-east/ south-west along Dublin Street and Burrin Street and east/west along Tullow Street and Castle Street show great continuity. Feeder streets and lanes also contribute to the street plan and are integral to the present-day character of a very distinctive town. Some of these thoroughfares may have medieval origins, others are early modern. Although none appear to be lined by buildings like tower houses that are overtly 'historic', collectively these streets and lanes create an interesting complex of 'streetscapes' that deserves to be recognised and protected as an important heritage. Early maps of Carlow can help show how the past continues in the present and also why the past deserves a place of honour into the future.

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[i] *Nationalist and Leinster Times*, 26 December 1936, 'Carlow of vanished days'; Marlborough Douglas, 'The topography of Carlow town', pp 37-49 in *Feis agus Aonach Ceatharlacha* 1913.

[ii] Michael Purcell, *Carlow in old postcards,* 3 vols,, 1994-2000. The TeachNet website is at: http://resources.teachnet.ie/jfarrell/2007/carlow/Oldphotographspurcell/index.htm; Also, for some exceptionally comprehensive materials relevant to local history, see the County Carlow Irish Genealogical Projects website at http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~irlcar2/Site_index.htm

[iii] R.C. Simington (ed), *The Civil Survey 1654-56,* vol. x, Dublin: Stationery Office, 1961, p.10.

[iv] 'Extracts from the journal of John Dineley', *Jnl of the Kilkenny & SE Ireland Archaeological Society*, iv, new series, 1862-3.

[v] NLI microfilm p.4767. Catalogue of estate papers, Petworth archives; also p.4769 Rental of the estates of the earl of Thomond … by T. Spaight, 1681.

[vi] A.A. Horner, 'Two eighteenth century maps of Carlow town', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,* 78C, 1978, 113-126.

[vii] 'A Map and Plan of part of Graigue lands in the Queens County with a Plot of Gr[oun]d in the Town of Carlow both the Estate of the Revd Dr Benjmn Robert [Lar?]kins… Surveyed in July 1782 by Ja[me]s Oates'. Copy of Photostat in *Carloviana,* 1(2), 1953, p.24.

[viii] J.H. Andrews, *Plantation acres: an historical study of the Irish land surveyor,* Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 1985, esp. pp.268-271.

[ix] Registry of Deeds, 7-181-2088.

[x] Registry of Deeds 13-355-5748. Dated 26 September 1714 this records the Earl of Thomond assigning a house and what appears to have been an extensive plot, with 259 feet frontage on Tullow Street, to John Browne. The 1681 Thomas Spaight rental contains references to 'Mossley's plot', as does RD 7-181-2088.

[xi] Registry of Deeds 52-17-33308 with lease of 25 March 1724 refers to 'the Markett House wch is now building'.

[xii] Registry of Deeds 21-95-5253, Earl of Thomond to Thos. Conyers; also 91-99-63514.

[xiii] Registry of Deeds 73-17-49527.

[xiv] Harry Fennell, *History of St Mary's Parish Church Carlow,* [no date, but c.1960], pp. 5, 7.

[xv] Explicit references to the town wall appear in the 1681 rental and have also been noted in the following items in the Registry of Deeds: 26-439-16111 (Dublin street area); 42-496=27170; 43-496-27170 (Tullow Street area). Example of references relating to gates include RD 52-14-33293 (Dublin gate); 13-355-5940, 39-212-25023 (Tullow gate); 57-421-39126 (Castle gate). Other references are less clear, for example the mention of 'old walls next unto the River Burrin' in RD 166-287-111562.

[xvi] Seamus Cunnane, 'New light on town walls of Carlow', *The Nationalist,* July 18, 1980.

[xvii] *Irish Times,* 2 February, 1995, p.7.

[xviii] For a recent general discussion, featuring also the Uto Hogerzeil reconstructions, see Margaret Murphy, *Carlow Castle: Medieval Stronghold on the Barrow,* Carlow Town Council [2014].

Acknowledgements:

Thanks are due to Dr Suzanne Raynolds, curator of manuscripts and printed books, Holkham, for facilitating information on, and a copy of, the 1735 Charles Columbine map and to Caroline Adams and Alison McCann of West Sussex Record Office (on behalf off Petworth House Archives) for similar help with the 1703 Thomas Moland map.

To next page

William was director with his brother James - merchant's business "Vegatable "Haughton - in their highly successful Grain Merchant's Business of Jas and WH Haughton Ltd, 28 City Quay, Dublin, nowadays Wilfred Haughton ltd. Yeast Merchants, at the same old address. They were the first to bring yeast to Ireland.when Barm was in use.

Haughton Family Tree

William born (1799) Chairman of the "Gt S & W Railway Co. Ltd. of Ireland

1st Ellen Ferguson, sister of Sir Samuel Ferguson Q.C. celebrated Irish poet

2nd Anna Bell

Edmund = Laura Frederickson

Alfred John

Beresford Stronge

Anna Florence

John Smith

Samuel Pierson

Stanley

May = Richard Cornelius

William born (1828) Major "Royal Artillery: served in the Crimean War - Battle of Inkerman and siege of Sebastobal, also Indian Mutiny including the capture of Lucknow

Bessie Durant

Wilfred born (1832)

Mary Ferguson 4 child

Nina = Prof. Augustus Edward Dixon

Dr Edward M.D William Wakefield

Louise Fredrica Dixon

William Wakefield

Hanna Mitchinson Bird

Stephanie

Irene

James

1st Susan Dora Graves

2nd Emily Elizabeth Grix

Ellen = It. Colonel Robert Lyn Heard "6 Reg I"

Dr Robert Lynn Heard M.B.

Lt. Colonel Robert Lynn Heard "Royal Artillery" M.C. O.B.E. CroixDe Guerre & Palm, Russian Order of St Stanislaus. (See reverse side of chart, opposite here)

Alfred (B 1808) of Ardreigh, Athy (pronounced A Thigh) Co. Kildare, owner of the big mills at Athy, onlt 3 or 4 miles from brother John and his mills at Carlow.

Henrietta Osburne sister to brother John's wife

The present members of the Clowes family are of the Lairs-Clowes family of London

Mary (B 1835) = Thomas Pilkington

Henrieta Bessie (B 1841) = Wyndham Quin Fitzgerald (See "Burke's Landed Gentry"

Sophia Louise = John Cobbe Clowes (pronounced Clooze) "Burkes Landed Gentry" was east India merchant in Liverpool- with his kinsman Samuel Haughton of Carlow

John (B 1833) = Maria Jane Pilkington

Alfred (B 1859) = Mary Elizabeth Mongomery (5 children)

Thomas Charles (B 1860) of Birkenhead Liverpool

Mgt. Turnbull Allen sister of Sir John Sandean Allen M.P. Liverpool (9 child)

John Edward (B 1865) USA

Elizabeth Winfred Purdom

Malcolm (B 1870) = Florence Bigger

Anne Gertrude(B 1861) = James CurrieTrench of Lord Ashtown's family

This family is widely scattered now. One is Roland Haughton, solicitor of "Stedding Stones" Willow Lane , Amersham, Bucks. Some are Plymouth. Bretheren, and similar obscure religious society

John Leslie D.Sc. (B 1885) = Edna Vera Pisant also D.Sc.

Sheila Headmistress of Clarendon School, Abergele, Denbighshire (Girls private school

Alfred Charles (B 1893) U.S.A. = Violet Marie Quellette

Patrica Marie (B1928) U.S.A. = Edwin Jackson Wood

Carole Marie (B 1958)U.S.A.

Lorene Suzanne (B 1960) U.S.A.

Edwin Jackson (B 1962) U.S.A.

Malcolm Americ B.Sc. (B 1900) = Gabriella Beck

Peter B.Sc. Ph.D (B 1941) = Penelope Jane Renforth Scarr

Michael Thomas (B 1971

Katherine Sarah (B 1974)

Richard (B 1943) = Lesli Kemp

John Leslie (B 1967)

David Malcolm (B 1969)

Edward Algernon (B 1922) Became a catholic.

Rosemary Luling (10 Children)Eminent Theological deep-thinker and broadcaster, here and in the U.S.A. She and Algy are universally liked For many years they were Ampleforth (Benedictine) College, York where Algywas ba master. A few years ago they founded a commune for their family and friends7 c,.-agreat adventure - partiallyliving off their crops& c,. and erecting their own buildings. It is "Lothlorien" Corsock Castle Douglas, Kirkcudbrightshire

Benet Peter Francis (B 1951) = Karren Mulvaney

Phoebe (B 1971)

Abigail (B 1973)

Barnabas Guy Thomas (Twin with Benet)

Dominic John Raphael (B1952) = Pauline Gray

Charlotte (B1974)

Andrew Paul James (B 1955)

Mark Timothy Charles (twin with Andrew)

Philip Hugh Michael (B 1958)

Luke Stephen Christopher (B 1960)

Usanna Mary Elena (B 1949) = Stephan Damman

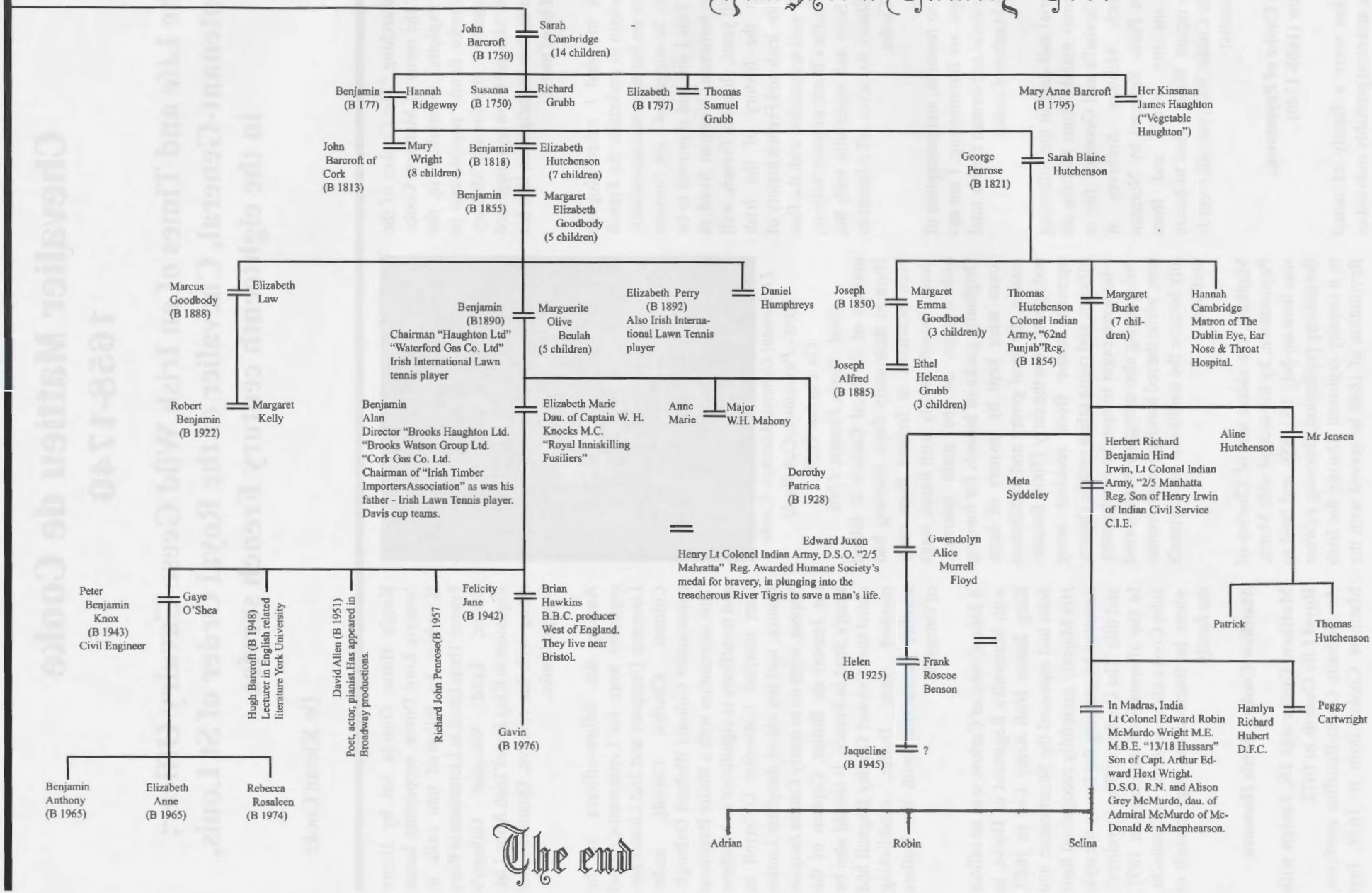
(B 1972)

Sophie (B 1971)

Elizabeth Sarah Rachel (B 1961)

Emma VictoriaMagdalene (B 1968)

Haughton Family Tree



The end

Chevalier Mattieu de Cooke 1658-1740

The Life and Times of an Irish Wild Geese Cavalry Officer; Lieutenant-General, Chevalier of the Royal Order of St Louis, in the eighteenth century French service

Dr. Kieran Cooke

While researching "The Cookes of the Cavaliers' the name of Matthew Cooke and his exploits, mentioned in the Jamaica Cooke family papers, and in some research in the French Military archives (re Michael Crowley) suggested to me that further investigation into his life would be of merit.

With this in mind I asked Eoghan 0 hAnnrachain to undertake the French research for me but as he was unavailable at the time, he suggested I ask Norman Mongan. This I did and it proved to be extremely fortunate. Norman lived in Paris for 50 years, fluent in French, well versed in the history of the Irish Brigades, the Irish and French history of the period, well acquainted with the Rue de Grenelle, the Church of Saint Sulpice, Hotel de Sens and especially with the French Military Archives, all relevant to Matthew Cooke.

His detail to research, and perception of the findings, are illuminating. I am extremely grateful to Norman for his total interest in Matthew Cooke.

The material and data in the following article comes mainly from Mattieu de Cooke "Marshalls and Generals' file in the French Military Archives at Vincennes Paris. Sourced by Norman Mongan on my behalf and from Norman's report. What a find to locate Mattieu de Cooke 300 year old records and documents!

Matthew Cooke of Payestown, Co. Carlow (1658-1740)

The Cookes were a family of noted horsemen, and most probably rode out as masters of the local Carlow & Island Hunt in their early days. Hunting had been practised in Ireland from early times, though mostly with hares, stags and wolves, as the main quarries. Originally packs of hounds for hunting foxes were kept by owners of large estates, the local gentry and middlemen and agents from the early 1700s. Encouragement came from resident army officers, and rising urban middle classes, who were eager to ape the rural gentry Polo playing also strengthened the sword arm, while the red hunting jacket eventually became the traditional cavalryman's uniform.

Lieutenant General Matthew Cooke
Born - Payestown(Oak Park)
Co. Carlow 1658
Died - Paris, France, 1740

Matthew, the eldest son of Charles of Paynestown, by his second wife Maria, was born on July 16, 1658, and bred to the military profession, choosing a career in a cavalry regiment. During the Irish Revolution of 1688 he served with the King's Horse Guards led by Henry Jermyn, Lord Dover, supporting James II, whom he followed into exile in France. He is listed as Lieutenant in Piers Butler, Lord Viscount Galmoy's Regiment in King James' Irish Army List, along with his relative, Quartermaster George Cooke.

Among his fellow-officers in the regiment were 1st Lieutenant-Colonel Laurance Dempsey and 2nd Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Carroll, under commander Colonel Richard Oxburgh. This association with a Butler Regiment and its officers is significant as Matthew later married Catherine O'Carroll in France, and his eldest daughter Louise Sophie, went on to marry Comte Jacques (or James) de Butler, Captain of the King's Stud in France. It should also be noted that Colonel Dudley Bagnall had married Anne Butler, establishing another connection with the Butlers of Ormonde.

A John Cooke of Carlow, was an officer with Maxwell's Regiment of Horse, in King James Irish Army List in 1689. John had espoused the Stuart cause, and His Majesty gratefully recognised their devotion by granting the family the style and title 'The Cookes of The Cavaliers". In the aftermath of Aughrim in 1691, John Cooke chose to settle in Connacht, where he founded the Sligo branch of the family.

Matthew Cooke - Battle Honours

Matthew Cooke age 15, Ensign with Royal Life Guards in 1672
As Nathalie Genet-Rouffiac confirms, Matthew Cooke, born in 1658, first

enlisted as an Ensign, aged 15, with the First Company of Life Guards of the King of England around 1672, commanded by Henry Jermyn, Lord Dover. A Roman Catholic, Dover enjoyed a position of influence with James I, and obtained a post in the household of the Duke of York, to whom he became master of the horse at the English Restoration. On his accession James raised him to the Peerage as Baron Dover in 1685, and appointed him Lieutenant-General of the Royal Guards in 1686. He travelled to Ireland with James II, where two regiments of Horse Guards were formed in 1689. Each had two hundred troopers, all gentlemen, who had higher rank than officers with other units.

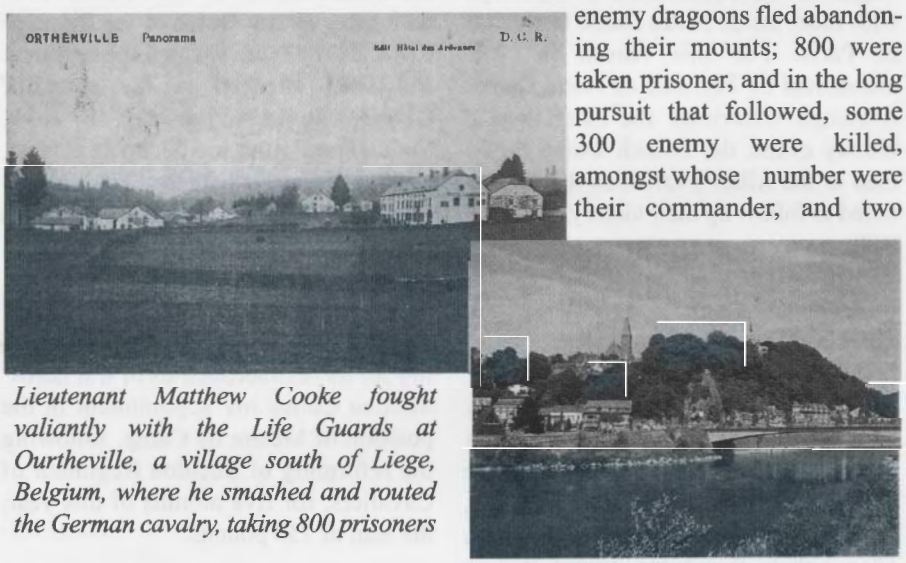
The Second Company was commanded by the Duke of Berwick, son of James II, while a third smaller troop of 71 officers and men, composed of Mounted Grenadiers, was commanded by Piers Butler, Lord Galmoy. Lord Dover commanded a troop at the Battle of the Boyne with James II, but shortly afterwards submitted to King William III. Of a total of 519 officers and troopers, only two hundred were still alive in 1691.

After transfer to France, the first company was commanded by Berwick, with the second under the command of Patrick Sarsfield. Matthew Cooke's four brothers also followed James II into exile in France.

'A detail of the centre scene in the recently rediscovered painting of The Battle of Aughrim by John Mulvany at the Gorry Gallery, Molesworth Street, Dublin. Photograph Matt Kavanagh

Matthew Cooke served a Lieutenant with Lord Viscount Galmoy's Horse, which transferred to France after the Boyne, Aughrim and Limerick in 1691, Piers, Viscount Galmoy was a scion of the powerful Butlers of Ormonde, who held sway for miles around their stronghold of Kilkenny Castle. Viscount Galmoy, was grandson of Thomas, lath Earl of Ormonde, and resided at Galmoy Castle, on the banks of the Barrow River, at Graignamanagh, and was a Law graduate of Oxford in 1677. He acted as Privy-Councillor of Ireland, Lieutenant of Co Kilkenny, and served with distinction at the Boyne and Aughrim, where he commanded the 2nd Irish Cavalry regiment.

He was one of the signatories of the Treaty of Limerick. He sacrificed his family 10,000 acres estate to follow James II into exile in France, where he was made Colonel of the 2nd Queen's Regiment of Horse under the Duke of Berwick, with whom Matthew Cooke served. After a period of waiting in Normandy, the two regiments were present at the Battle of Neerwinden (or Landen).



Lieutenant Matthew Cooke fought valiantly with the Life Guards at Ourtheville, a village south of Liege, Belgium, where he smashed and routed the German cavalry, taking 800 prisoners

Lieutenant Matthew Cooke's gallant actions with the Life Guards at Ourteville near Liege, Belgium, 1692

Colonel Dominick Sheldon was still at head of his regiment of the First Company of the King's Life Guards at the engagement at Ourteville in 1692. In his entry in the Marshals and Generals Rolls, Matthew de Cooke's many gallant actions on the field of battle are listed. During the Nine Years War he took part in an action at Ourteville, a village south of Liege, in the Belgian province of Luxembourg. Henry d'Harcourt, Marquis der Beuvron (1654-1718) was the French commander of Chiny county, and was imposing war damages on the local population. The fighting is described as follows;

At Ourteville, on September 8, the Marquis de Beuvron, having learnt that the enemy -with 18,000 men from the Neufbourg and Cologne troops - had detached some 4000 men without any baggage in order to make a surprise attack, so he marched against them. The two corps were only separated by a stream, as the enemy forces formed into 30 squadrons, and their dragoons dismounted to benefit from the ambush possibilities of the hedgerows. The Marquis of Beuvron, at the head of this cavalry corps, including the Life Guards Regiment led by Mattieu de Cooke, charged the Germans, smashing into and routing one wing of the German cavalry, breaking their lines. The major part of the enemy dragoons fled abandoning their mounts; 800 were taken prisoner, and in the long pursuit that followed, some 300 enemy were killed, amongst whose number were their commander, and two quartermasters, Count de Welen, who commanded the Neufbourg troops, was taken prisoner, along with 150 of his soldiers and officers.

Mattieu de Cooke's brave heroics at the Battle of Neerwinden (or Landen) in 1693.

In his Marshalls and Generals file, Mattieu de Cooke is again cited for his brave heroics, along with Col Dominick Sheldon, leading the charge of the King's Life Guards, at the battle of Neerwinden (or Landen) on July 23, 1693. The action took place at Neewinden, SE of Tirelemont, 601(ms east of Bruxelles in Flemish Brabant. It opposed the forces of French Marshal Luxembourg and King William III of England. The French assaulted the Allied position three times before the French cavalry finally penetrated the Allied defences and drove William's army from the field in a rout.

Luxembourg had drawn up all of his cavalry in six lines, and after enduring Allied fire for many hours, trotted over the open ground to the Allied trenches, to meet certain defeat, converging on Neerwinden. Then General Feuquieres once again led the cavalry of the French centre straight at the Allied trenches who were manoeuvring, and their cavalrymen rode over every body of troops they met. Mattieu de Cooke is credited with breaking through the enemy lines, contributing to their routing. Marshall Luxembourg won his greatest victory, partly due to Feuquieres's exploit, leaving 19,000 Allied casualties or prisoners. Luxembourg captured so many of William's flags, that he could make a "tapestry" with them inside Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris. For this reason he was nicknamed Le Tapissier de Notre Dame. Although victorious, the battle was a bloody event, the French losing 9,000 men to the Allies 19,000, as the French failed to follow up their victory, allowing William to escape.

Mattieu de Cooke's brother Mark killed at Neerwinden in 1693

For Irishmen like de Cooke and Patrick Sarsfield, this victory at Neerwinden was a bittersweet form of revenge for the Boyne, Aughrim and Limerick. Sadly, Mattieu's brother Mark, a captain in Clancarthy's Regiment, was killed at Neerwinden, along with Colonel Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan, who died from his wounds several days later at Huy, saying "If only this was for Ireland". For Mattieu de Cooke the war continued as he carried on with d'Harcourt in 1695, on the Meuse with Marshal Boufflers, and again on the Moselle with d'Harcourt in 1697.

Colonel Dominick Sheldon of the King's Regiment of Horse, 1697

After transfer to France, the King's and Queen's Regiments of Horse had been composed from the remnants of nine Irish cavalry regiments; Tyrconnell, Galmoy, Lucan, Sutherland, Luttrell, Westmeath, Purcell and O'Brien.

Each company of the King's and Queen's Regiments was composed of two squadrons of three companies of fifty men, or three hundred and fifty men per regiment. It had nineteen officers; a colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, a major, four captains, six lieutenants, and six comets. The Colonel of the King's was Col Dominick Sheldon, with whom Mattieu de Cooke was to serve for much of his career. During the reform of 1697-98 the King's and Queen's Regiments were reconstituted into one cavalry unit, with two squadrons, under the overall command of Colonel Dominick Sheldon. Viscount Galmoy then became Colonel of an infantry regiment.

Mattieu de Cooke, Quarter Master with the Sheldon Regiment, 1699

Lieutenant Mattieu de Cooke had served with the Galmoy Horse at the Siege of Roses in 1693, after which the regiment had been attached to the army of Germany in 1694. By May 20, 1699, Mattieu de Cooke and Nicholas Cussac, as Quartermasters with the Sheldon Regiment, received a certificates relating to pay in French service. They read as follows;

To serve as receipts to the General Treasury for its "extraordinaries of war heros" Mattieu Cooke my appointment in the position of Mestre de Camp, following the reforming of Sheldon Regiment of Cavaliers, for five months of this year, the sum of 750 pounds.

This document was signed by Mattieu de Cooke in Paris on May 15, 1699

Mattieu de Cooke at the blockade of Mantua,Italy, in 1701

In the Marshals and Generals file Mattieu de Cooke is credited with a major exploit at the blockade of Mantua, 120kms east of Milan, in northern Italy during the Spanish Succession War in 1701. Here he successfully captured an entire Austrian cavalry detachment, including its famed Imperial commander Count Claude Florimond de Mercy (1666-1734). De Mercy had twice fallen into the hands of his opponents, and had displayed great daring during the first campaigns of the Spanish Succession War in Italy.

Count de Mercy was renowned as an intrepid leader of raids and forays into enemy territory, and for the rest of the war he was distinguished by his fiery

At the blockade of Matua, Italy, Mattieu de Cooke, in 1701, captured an entire Austrian cavalry detachment, including its famed fiery Imperial commander Count Claude Florimond de Mercy

courage. It took a man of Mattieu de Cooke's valour and bravery to capture such a valiant foe. (Years later in Spring 1734 de Mercy was made General Field Marshal and along with Irish-born Major General Baron Francis Patrick O'Neillan, they assembled 50,000 men at Mantua in an effort to reclaim what had been lost in 1733 when the Austrians had been driven from Italy by Franco- Spanish forces)

Mattieu de Cooke's exemplary actions at Battle of Speyerbach on November 15, 1703

As an officer under Sheldon's command, Mattieu de Cooke fought at Chiari and Luzzara, and at the battle of Speyerbach (Spire) in 1703, where he was part of the French army besieging Landau, that had surprised and defeated a German relief force near Speyer.

The Battle of Speyerbach (Spire) took place on November 15, 1703, south of Mannheim, near Stuttgart, during the War of the Spanish Succession, where he again distinguished himself through his heroic actions. In mid-October 1703, the Due de Tallard had made a surprise move on Landau and started a siege on October 17. When a German relief army met the French forces on the river Speyer, de Tallard immediately ordered 14 squadrons of his right wing to attack, which failed, with his left wing decisively beaten. However on their right wing the French cavalry was eventually successful.

In his Marshals and Generals file it states that Mattieu de Cooke at the battle of Spirbach at the head of the Sheldon Cavalry, he stopped the Imperial Army's gained advantages and allowed the Marshal de Tallard to come with the main body of the army, re-establish the situation and win the battle. With two hundred Irish troops, he charged a far larger force of cavalry, receiving seven wounds, while turning the tide of battle to French advantage. Though very dangerously injured, Mattieu de Cooke did not leave the troop, then deprived of most of its officers, until the action was over. De Tallard achieved one of the biggest French victories of the War, with 6000 Germans killed or wounded, and 2,500 prisoners taken by the French.

Mattieu de Cooke's letters on Sheldon matter, 1705

Lieutenant Mattieu de Cooke served in Italy and elsewhere from 1701-03, sharing the fortunes of the Irish Brigade. Another of his four brothers, Thomas, was killed while serving in Italy with Mahony's Regiment.

While with the Sheldon Regiment of Horse in 1705, he wrote several letters on regimental matters, now conserved at the National Archives in Paris. This text reads as follows (parts are illegible due to pages being stained by moisture). It appears he had invested 5000 livres in new equipment for his company, which left him with a large debt. Only his timely promotion to the rank of Brigadier allowed him to settle the outstanding account. His two letters, in his flowing, elegant, slanted hand, signed 'Cooke', read as follows;

I hope that I have. ...when I had the honour to take leave of you as a brevet Brigadier at the start of the campaign, had been. ...that I [ordered] equipment.. .for the value of five thousand [livres]... to put me in a state of most useful service... of this quality, I have engaged [funds],.. and those of my friends for this equipment. Happily My Lord I would never have the means to pay it, nor to beg my friends... if you had not had the goodness to send me a service letter of Brigadier, the answer has given me, My Lord, I beg you Highness to kindly accord me the honour [of]. ...you entire protection on this occasion since, and I have rendered. ...according to your orders against my...and with my profound respect and my gratitude ...to have .. ..and to say to you...

Monseigneur, Your very humble and obedient servant

Cooke

At the camp on front of Huy.7th June, 1705

[These letters appear to be addressed to Colonel Dominick Sheldon, still commander of the Sheldon Regiment, which he finally relinquished in 1706 to Major-General Christopher Nugent. Sheldon continued to serve under Nugent at the battles of Ramillies (1706), Oudenarde (1708) and Malplaquet (1709) where he was taken prisoner].

Monseigneur

I have had the honour to write to your Highness, and to read on the 17th present, a complaint that... the Lieutenant Colonel of the Sheldon Regiment has made against Mr Marshal Captain of the Regiment, and its Marshal de Logis (Brigadier) after he had made a report of this affair to Monsieur le Marshal de Villeroy as I have had the honour to you Highness, and . ..knowing well that it is you who is [aware?] that I established in this regiment, I have the honour to write to you to thank you [on behalf?] of Sheldon, [who?] has acted in a fatherly way with us as it must being obliged by several reforms, it would not be going to this place that I complain, from one side to another, you have My Lord that the injures and insults made, are capable of upsetting the most tranquil efforts as well, from now on My Lord, I hope that you have been well satisfied by my conduct and my services, I write with a very humble respect

Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant

Cooke

Bruxelles, 7th November, 1705

[At this time in 1705 Marshal de Villars had successfully put down the Camisard revolt in the Cevennes, before being re-assigned to the Moselle campaign where he diverted Marlborough from his ambitions in the area].

Major-General Christopher Nugent, Colonel of Nugent's Regiment of Horse, 1706

The new commander of the Irish cavalry unit was Major-General Christopher Nugent, son of Francis and Bridget Dungan, of Dardistown Castle, near Julianstown, Co Meath, who took over on January 20, 1706. He descended from the Nugents of Moyrath, who had raised troopers for the regiment from amongst tenants on their ancestral lands in Meath and Westmeath, which were prime recruiting area because of the prominence of Nugents (and Betaghs) in the regiment's officer corps. Christopher Nugent had served the Jacobite cause in Ireland and had followed James II to France. A survivor, he had received four wounds at the battle of Neerwinden in 1693, where he fought alongside Mattieu de Cooke, and where Patrick Sarsfield was fatally wounded.

Mattieu de Cooke with Nugent's Regiment suffer defeat at the Battle of Ramillie, on May 23, 1706

The Battle of Ramillies was another major engagement of the War of the Spanish Succession, fought on May 23, 1706, fought near Maastricht, in present-day Belgium. Marshal Villeroy at the head of 62,000 men, came face to face with the Duke of Marlborough's own 62,000 army, on the Ramillies plain on the Mahaigne river. Marlborough's clever tactics caught his French foe by surprise and in less than four hours, Villeroy's Franco-Bavarian army had broken and ran en masse, suffering 20,000 dead or wounded. Louis XIV would suffer his greatest loss of territory of the whole war. Some 9729 men surrendered, while Saint Simon in his Memoires noted that many others were wounded and many important person were taken prisoner, amongst whom was Mattieu de Cooke.

An Elite Irish Cavalry Regiment in French Service

The role of the elite Irish cavalry regiments in Louis XIV and Lois XV'S armies

Dr David Murphy, author of *The Irish Brigades, 1685-2006*, A Gazetteer of

Irish Military Service, past and present (2007) carried out a detailed survey of the Irish cavalry regiments that served with James II in Ireland and France. He explains the main reason for the large number of Irish military exiles that populated Continental armies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the 'Glorious Revolution of 1688. This deposed the Catholic James II, replacing him with the Protestant William of Orange, who, with James' daughter Mary, would later rule Britain as William III.

James II sought the support of Louis XIV of France, and decided to try to regain his throne by beginning his military campaign in Ireland. On his arrival, James found that some regiment of the old Irish establishment had remained loyal, and were available to serve him. These included three regiments of horse; Tyrconnell's, Russell's, and Galwey's, and a regiment of dragoons.

After a massive expansion and reorganisation of the Stuart army, this establishment was expanded to include many more, listed in John D'Alton's King James' Irish Army List, including;

First Troop of Royal Horse Guards, commanded by Henry, Lord Viscount Dover; Second Troop Royal Horse Guards, commanded by the Duke of Berwick, and a troop of Mounted Grenadiers attached to the Horse Guards, commanded by Piers Butler, Viscount Galmoy.

Other regiments of Horse included; Patrick Sarsfield's; Lord Abercorn's, Colonel Henry Luttrell's; Colonel Hugh Sutherland's; Colonel John Parker's; Colonel Nicholas Purcell's. Regiments of Dragoons included Lord Dungan's, Sir Neil O'Neill's; Colonel Robert Clifford's; Colonel Francis Carroll's; Lord Clare's; Colonel Simon Luttrell's and Brigadier Thomas Maxwell's.

After the Jacobite defeat at Aughrim, many Irish officers and men began to leave Ireland and travel to France. The process accelerated after the signing of the Treaty of Limerick and these exiled soldiers were formed into a new Stuart army in France in 1692, which included the following regiments of Horse; two troops of Horse Guards; the King's and the Queen's Horse; the King's Dismounted Dragoons.

This army numbered just over 14,000 officers and men and was initially quartered at St Germain but later moved to Brittany. They served with the French army in the Low Countries, Spain, on the Rhine, and in Savoy, where they saw action in 1692 at the battles of Steenkirk, and Dudhoven (The Rhine),; the defences of Guillestre and Embrun (Savoy); in 1693 the battles of Landen/ Neerwinden (Netherlands); Marsaglia (Savoy) in 1694 at the battles of Ter River, Siege of Palamos; Gerona, Castelfolit (Spain); La Perouse Valley in 1695 in the Vaudois campaign (Savoy); in 1696 battle of Hostarich (Spain); Siege ofValenza (Savoy); and in 1697 at the Siege of Barcelona.

The King's and Queen's Regiments of Horse were disbanded but were reorganised into the Regiment of Sheldon, (later Nugent and finally Fitzjames). Many of the officers and men from other disbanded regiments joined the Irish regiments in the French service. Other Irish soldiers found themselves unemployed, and only survived by becoming artisans in civilian life. The Service Historique de la Defence at Chateau Vincennes lists over twenty Irish regiments that served in the French army between 1615, and the Wild Geese regiments between 1688 -1791, that included the original Mountcashel's Brigade and the Irish regiments who went to France at the end of the Jacobite War in Ireland.

At the end of the Nine Years War, the terms of the Ryswick (1697) stipulated that the army of James II be disbanded. While these regiments were disbanded in 1698, and the conditions of the treaty were technically met, a number of different devices were used to ensure that Irish soldiers from these regiments continued in French service.

Lieutenant Mattieu de Cooke served throughout his career with elite Irish cavalry regiments in the armies of Louis XIV and Louis XV. Historian Eoghan 0 hAnnrachain has carried out detailed research on the Sheldon, later Nugent, later Fitzj ames Regiment of Horse, from their arrival in France in 1691 until their ultimate disbandment in 1762, after some 70 years of valiant service on battlefields across 18th century Europe.

Colonel Dominick Sheldon, Commander of Sheldon's regiment

As Scottish writer R.V. Steele points out in the Irish Sword, Dominick Sheldon, the first Colonel-Proprietor of the Regiment, was an English Catholic gentlemen of Warwickshire origin. Sheldon's first service abroad was with a force sent by Charles II to assist Louis XIV of France in the Third Dutch War of 1672. He was one of the thirty gentlemen volunteers' at the siege of Maastricht on June 24, 1673, under the command of the Duke of Monmouth, whose life he saved. In 1675 Sheldon fought in Germany and afterwards in the cockpit of Europe, Flanders. On his Regiment being refitted in 1678 he returned to England, and after the accession of James II he appears as a captain in the King's Regiment under the Duke of Ormonde. A Brigadier when the Irish Revolutionary War broke out, Sheldon later became a Maj or-General of Cavalry who left their homeland for France, the vanguard of the vast host of Wild Geese exiles.

Sheldon received the appointment of Colonel of the First King's Regiment of Horse when the new Irish Army was organised and he served in that Army as a Brigadier. After the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, the two Irish cavalry units, the King's and Queen's Regiments of Horse in France were amalgamated and named Sheldon's regiment of Horse in 1698. In 1701 Sheldon served with his Regiment in Germany and Italy. After being seriously wounded at the Battle of Santa Victoria in Spain in 1702, in a battle with Austrian cuirassiers, Colonel Sheldon relinquished the command of the regiment. He left the regimental command in 1704 with the rank of Lieutenant-General.

The Jacobite Rising of 1708, 1715 and 1719 in Scotland

In 1701 the death of James II led Louis XIV to recognise his son James Edward Stuart as James III of England and VIII of Scotland, known as the Old Pretender. The War of the Spanish Succession began the same year. In February 1,

1708, a French fleet and 6000 men assembled at the Channel ports for an expedition to Scotland in support of the Jacobites and to create a diversion after Marlborough's successes in the Low Countries. The fleet sailed in March with the Pretender on board, but contrary winds and the presence of the Royal Navy off the Firth of Forth obliged them to return to France.

On 1714 Queen Anne died without heirs, and was succeeded by the Protestant Elector of Hanover, great-grandson of James I, as George I. In reaction, in September-October, 1715, the

Pretender's standard was raised at Braemar by the Earl of Mar. Soon he had a force of 100 horse and 5000 foot plus another 7000 expected to join him. After the battles of Preston and Sherriffmuir against Argyll, the Pretender landed in Scotland near Aberdeen. However on December 22 he fell ill and did not reach Perth until January 9. As a staunch Jacobite, Major General Christopher Nugent, without having permission from Louis XIV, decided to take part in the 1715 Rising, along with Col Dominick Sheldon. On complaints from the Hanovrian English Ambassador in Paris, and to save appearances, Nugent was stripped of his command after only nine years. However, his son James, created Comte de Nugent, though still young, was made Colonel of the regiment. Mattieu Cooke and his namesake nephew were both involved in that expedition. In Scotland the Jacobites retreated from Perth toward Dundee pursued by Argyll, while on February 4, the Pretender embarked for France.

Louis XIV, the main supporter of the Jacbite cause, died in 1715

The Jacobite cause suffered a serious setback with the death of Louis XIV, their greatest supporter, in 1715, with the throne devolving to his five-year-old great grandson, crowned in 1723 as Louis XV. France, with a population of 22 to 25 million at the time, maintained the largest standing army in Europe. A substantial part of Louis XV's army consisted of numerous regiments of cavalry. In peacetime the army could have amounted to about 200,000 men, while in war it could rise to half a million. In 1717 the Due d'Orleans, Regent of France for infant Louis XV, sought better relations with Britain, which required that the Old Pretender, James III to leave St Germain for the Papal Sates in Avignon, and later Rome.

Another Rising took place in Scotland in 1719 with a major Spanish expedition sailing from Cadiz on March 7 under George Keith, Earl Marshal, with arms, money and 300 Spanish troops. James III arrived in Spain on March 8 and sailed for Scotland. Unlucky, Earl Marshal's fleet was scattered by storms and forced to return to Spain. At the Battle of Glenshiel general Wrightman attacked the Jacobite forces, who surrendered the next day. James III and the Earl Marshal escaped to the Continent. In 1720 Charles Edward Stuart, son of the Old Pretender was born in Rome. Another Rising had failed.

Mattieu de Cooke's sons served with the Fitzjames Regiment

Mattieu de Cooke's sons Charles, Francis and William, continued the family tradition of service with Nugent and later Fitzjames Regiment. They remained on when it was finally handed over to Charles, Duke of Fitzj ames in 1733, at the outbreak of the War of the Polish

Succession (1733-35). At Fontenoy on May 11 1745, the Fitzjames Regiment was heavily cannonaded and lost many men. Although they asked to be permitted to charge the Anglo-Dutch, they were obliged by Marshal de Saxe to remain in an exposed site as a diversion that distracted the cannoneer's attention from other targets, such as the throngs of courtiers around Louis XV and his son the Dauphin. Later the regiment received six dozen replacement mounts from the king as a poor sop. Mattieu de Cooke's sons Charles and William were killed at Fontenoy. Mattieu's own brother George was killed in Flanders where he served with the Regiment of Lee.

Statistical analysis of Fitzjames regiment controle in 1737

Eoghan 0 hAnnrachain, in his analysis of the 1737 controle (or census) of the Fitzjames regiment, gives the names of the non-commissioned officers and men, and the place of birth. At the time the regiment had a strength of 311 men, consisting of twelve troops of around 25-28 cavalry men, with 261 Irish-born (84%) and with 25 (9%) of Franco-Irish or French descent. Each county in Leinster was represented with the majority, 27 from Meath, 23 from Kilkenny and 18 from Carlow. 34% of the troopers gave Mullingar as their place of origin, right in the heart of the Nugent of Ballinlough Castle estates at Clonmellon, near Delvin.

Troopers in the Fitzjames regiment

Two Cookes were mentioned in the Fitzjames regiment as captains of their companies; 'Cooke Aisne' (the Elder) and Charles Cooke. Men who joined the cavalry regiment rather then one of the Irish infantry regiments had the privilege of belonging to a prestige mounted force. The majority of the troopers stood between 5ft 8 to 6ft tall, well over the average height, many bearded or with moustache, and so on horseback they must have appeared like giant centaurs. The veteran age of some officers was noted, with some still in active service in their late 60s. and the longevity of men seems remarkable in the light of the harsh conditions of the campaigns under Louis XIV and Louis XV. Arthur Garvey, from Co Down, at 78 when he entered Les Invalides military hospital in Paris had served forty-two years with the regiment.

Fig 26 The Sheldon/ Nugent/Fitzjames regimental standard with the Louis XIV Sun King device

The Regimental Standard or 'Guidon'

The standard square guidon, 50 x 60cms across, was made of silk ornamented with gold, silvers and silk embroidery and fringes, often mixed together, originally red or crimson silk favoured by many gentlemen's regiments, which was later replaced by the classic yellow square 'guidon', trimmed with silver, and the Louis XIV sunburst device in the centre. (A perfectly preserved example is now preserved at Les Invalides Army Museum in Paris).

Mestres de Camp or commanders of a cavalry regiment

A regiment of cavalry belonged to its

Mestre de Camp (Colonel-Proprietors) who had bought his Command. Each company unit also belonged to its captain, who had a monetary vested interest in the men he recruited, their arms, clothing, horses, and equipment. With this investment in mind, some Mestres de Camp of the 'gentlemen's regiments' were reluctant to commit their units to battle where they might sustain heavy losses. From 18,300 officers and men in 1740, when Mattieu de Cooke died, the line cavalry was able to grow during war to a peak of 35,500 in 1747. This went down to 22,100 until the Seven Years War, and the strength barely increased only up to 23,200 in 1760.

Mattieu de Cooke- A Cavalry Officer and his Family

Mattieu de Cooke married Catherine O'Carrollin 1709

In 1709 Mattieu de Cooke, then 52, married Catherine O'Carroll, possibly a relative of Charles O'Carroll, Mattieu's fellow-officer in Viscount Galmoy's Regiment. The O'Carrolls were Lords of Oriel, near Dundalk, Co Louth, whose ancestors had been sovereigns of County Down when Henry II was acknowledged as King of that kingdom. By his wife he had three sons and three daughters; namely Louise Sophie, born in Versailles in 1710, Charlotte Marie, born in 1712, while Charles, the eldest son, was born in 1715, followed by Francis in 1716, William in 1718, and Anne, the youngest, born in Paris on July 14, 1722.

Mattieu de Cooke taken prisoner at the Battle of Malplaquet, on September 11, 1709

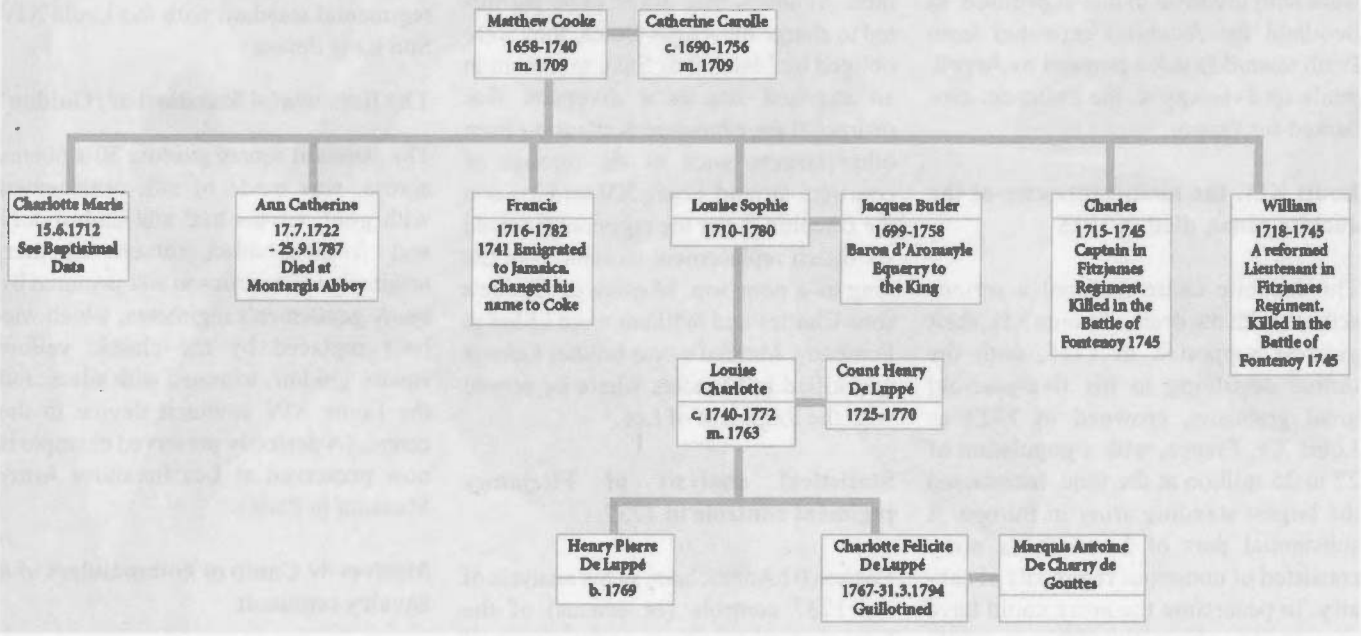
Mattieu de Cooke continued to serve with Nugent's Horse during the War of the Spanish Succession which opposed the Bourbons of France and Spain against an alliance whose major members were the Hapsburg monarchy, the United Kingdom of Great Britain, the United Provinces, and the Kingdom of Prussia. The Nugent cavalry was present at the Battle of Oudenarde in 1708 and Malplaquet in 1709.

A major engagement took place at Malplaquet, south west of Mons, Nord Pas-de Calais, on the French-Belgian border on September 11, 1709. The

John Churchill
First Duke of Marlborough

86,000 Allied army was led by the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene of Savoy, while the 75,000 Franco-Bavarian force was commanded by Marshals de Villars and Boufflers. After much manoeuvring the two armies faced each other at the gap of Malplaquet.

THE MATTHEW COOKE FAMILY TREE



The Allies attacked, and de Villars was badly wounded by a musket ball which smashed his knee, when command passed to Boufflers. This enabled the Allied cavalry to advance and confront the French cavalry, in which Boufflers personally led the elite troops of the Maison de Roi. They managed to drive the Allied cavalry back to six times but were in turn forced back themselves. Boufflers then commanded a French retreat which was made in good order. The Allies has lost over 21,000 men, almost twice as much as the French, and could not pursue them.

In the heat of the battle Mattieu de Cooke was taken prisoner, as was noted in his military file, the incident which made him prisoner during the campaign of Malplaquet has only made honour to him according [to] the judgement of Mylord Marlborough himself. De Cooke was later released but the news of Malplaquet, the bloodiest battle of eighteenth century, stunned Europe. It was an Allied tactical Pyrrhic victory. De Villars even claimed that a few more such French defeats would destroy the allied armies. After the battle of Malplaquet, de Cooke, now 49, was awarded a pension of 800 livres.

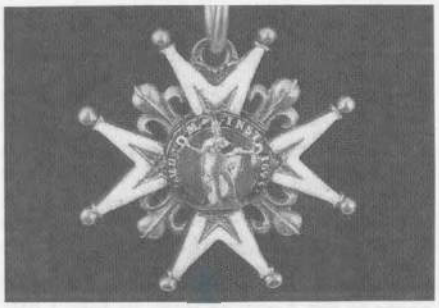
Mattieu de Cooke continued on active duty with the Nugent Cavalry at the attack of Denain and the siege of Douai in 1712. Then in 1713 the regiment was transferred to the French Army in Germany and took part in the sieges of Friburg and Landau before joining the campaign on the Lower Meuse.

Mattieu de Cooke retires from active service in 1715

In 1715, at the age of 57, Mattieu de Cooke finally had to retire from active service with the Nugent Regiment. Now with an injured left hand from sabre slashes, and a disabled foot, he was also extremely fatigued after 30 years with his elite cavalry unit.

Mattieu de Cooke is created a Chevalier of the Royal Military Order of Saint Louis

On his retirement from active military duty due to his disabled hand and foot in 1715 after 30 years' service, Mattieu de Cooke had been made a Knight or Chevalier of the Royal Military Order of Saint Louis. Family papers say that this was reward for his gallant actions at the Battle of Speyerbach in 1703. An Order of Chivalry founded on April 5,1693 by



Military Royal Order of St Louis: Mattieu de Cooke was made Chevalier of the pretigious Royal Military Order of St Louis

Louis XIV, and the named after Saint Louis (Louis IX) it was intended as a reward for exceptional officers, and is notable as the first decoration that could be granted to non-nobles. The King was the Grand Master of the Order, and the dauphin was automatically a member as well. The official Decree by His Majesty to the King Louis XIV of France stated: Louis, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to all present and yet to come, hail. The officers of our troops have distinguished themselves by so many actions of considerable virtue and courage, in the conquest which it pleased God to bless the justice of our arms, that ordinary awards becoming insufficient to the affection and the thankfulness which we have for them, we have deemed it necessary to seek new ways to reward their zeal and fidelity.

The Order had three classes: Grand Croix (Grand Cross); Commandeer (Commander), Chevalier (Knight). The entire order included 8 Grand Crosses, 28 Commanders and a variable number of Knights. The badge of the Order consisted of a portrait of Saint Louis surrounded by the motto TUD (OVICUS) M (AGNUS) IN (STITUT) 1693 Louis the Great instituted in 1693-1699'.

The reverse features a sword interlaced with a laurel crown and a white sash, with the inscription BELL (ICAE) VIRTUTIS PRAE (IUM) [reward of wartime valour]. Knights wore the badge suspended from a ribbon on the breast. Commanders wore a red ribbon (sash) over the right shoulder, and recipients of the Grand Cross wore a ribbon as well as a star on the left breast. The general assembly of the Order was held annually on August 25, the feast of Saint Louis, in the residence of the King at Versailles.

Conditions to obtain the award did not include nobility, though Catholic faith was mandatory, as well as ten years' service as a commissioned officer in the Army or Navy. Members of the Order received a pension. Hereditary nobility was granted to a Knight's son and grandsons. Another decoration, the Institution du Merite Militaire [Institution for Military Merit] was created for the Protestant officers in the service of the French King.

Until the death of Louis XIV, the medal was awarded to outstanding officers, but it gradually came to be an award that most officers would receive during their career. On January 1, 1791, during the French Revolution, a decree changed the name to 'decoration militaire' [military decoration].

It was subsequently withdrawn on October 15, 1792. One of the first acts of Louis XVIII was to reinstate the Order of Saint Louis, awarding it to officers of the Royal and Imperial armies alike. In 1830 the new king Louis-Philippe abolished the order which was never reinstated. Some seventeen Irish members of the Order are mentioned in the official register of the Order, but Mattieu de Cooke, along with numerous other Irish members, have still to be added to the official register.

Mattieu de Cooke is promoted to rank of Lieutenant General in 1734

Mattieu de Cooke had been attached to the Army of Flanders from 1704 to 1707, having been captured at the Battle of Ramillies, while serving with the Nugent Regiment in 1706. Brigadier by brevet, March 3rd, 1708, he was at the battle of Oudenarde that year, and in 1709 at the battle of Malplaquet. In 1713, acting with the army of Germany, he was at the reduction of Landau and Friburgh. Aged 62, he was promoted to Marechal de Camp, by brevet, on February 1, 1719,

then at age 77, Lieutenant General, on February 20, 1734, but did not actually serve in these last two grades.

Mattieu de Cooke died in Paris on August 15, 1740

Lieutenant General Mattieu de Cooke died on August 15, 1740, while probably living with his daughter Anne at Hotel Noirmoutier (or de Sens) at 138 rue de Grenelle, in St Sulpice parish, in Faubourg St Germain. It remains to be seen whether his final resting place can be located, possibly in St Sulpice Church cemetery. His death notice was recorded by Comte d'Hosier in his genealogical files, now preserved in the National Archives in Paris, as follows:

Cooke Sept, 1740

On August 15, Mattieu Cooke or Kooke, an Irishman, Lieutenant General in the Kings Armies, of the promotion of February 20, 1734, and Knight of the Military Order of St Louis, died in Paris in his 82nd year of his age. He had been previously an Infantry Colonel of his nation, and he had been Brigadier on March 3, 1708, and then Field Marshal on February 6, 1719.

[Coincidentally, as contemporaries, Colonel Piers Butler, Viscount Galmoy, and Mattieu de Cooke, both died in Paris in 1740, where Viscount Galmoy was buried at the Church of St Paul-St Louis, 99 rue St Antoine, 75004, Paris].

John O'Callaghan's summary of Mattieu de Cooke's millitary career, 1869

Historian John Cornelius O'Callaghan, writing his monumental work in 1869, The History of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France (From the Revolution in Great Britain and Ireland under James II, to the Revolution in France under Louis XVI) gives a detailed summary of Mattieu de Cooke's military career:
Among the Irish troops in France, the only event of any note in this year (1740) was the death of Lieutenant General Matthew de Coock or Matthew Cook - one of the representatives of the name settled in Ireland within the century following the Anglo-Norman invasion variously employed, in civil and military services by King James II, in Ireland, in its catholic branches, and as such, proportionately marked out for Williamite prescription, or land spoliation, there, After the termination of the War of the revolution in Ireland, in 1691, this gentleman came to France, as en ensign in the King's or Royal Irish Regiment of Foot Guards. He served in 1692, on the coast of Normandy, fought at the battle ofLanden in 1693, and continued with the Army of Flanders till this peace of 1697.
He was commissioned, March 23, 1698, as a reformed Mestre-de-Camp to the Irish Horse of Sheldon. Passing with this corps to the Army of Italy, in July 1701, he was at the combat of Chiari, in September. He served in 1702, at the battle of Luzzara, and in Germany in 1703, at the successful Sieges of Brisach and Landau, and the victory of Spire. He was attached to the Army of Flanders from 1704 to 1707, having been at the battle of Ramillies in 1706. Brigadier by brevet, March 3rd, 1708, he was at the battle of Oudenarde that year, and in 1709, at the battle of Malplaquet. In 1713, acting with the army of Germany, he was at the reduction of Landau and Friburgh.

He was made Marechal de Camp, by brevet, February 1st, 1719, a Lieutenant General by power of February 20, 1734, but did not serve in any of these grades, and died August 15,1740, aged 82 years. On the death of Lieutenant General Mattieu de Cooke, his youngest daughter Anne, appears to have continued to reside on rue de Grenelle in Faubourg St Germain, where she was still living in 1780.

Anne Catherine had been born in Paris on July 14, 1722, ondoyee on July 16, 1722 in the parish of St Etienne du Mont, and later baptised in the Chinch of Saint Sulpice on April 30, 1737. Never married, she later resided at Hotel de Noirmoutier, (or Hotel de Sens) at 136bis - 138 rue de Grenelle, Faubourg Saint Germain. On March 18, 1779, she received a pension of 1794, 19 livres for the services rendered by her father. A summary of her received pensions was listed: Royal Treasury 2000 livres, For her father 1000 livres, for her mother 1000 livres, totalling 4000 livres.

Battle of Fontenoy1745, where Mattieu de Cooke's sons, Charles and William were killed

Mattieu de Cooke's sons, Charles and William died at the battle of Fontenoy, on May 11, 1745

At the battle of Fontenoy on May 11, 1745, a village near Tournai, in Flanders, the Fitzjames Horse had been attached to the French Cavalry Brigade, under Marechal de Saxe. However, the Irish Brigade, apart from a lone attack by Dillon's Regiment, had been held in reserve behind the Barry woods. A massive 15,000 men Anglo-Hanovrian column marched steadily forward towards the French infantry where their murderous fire killed 700 French Guards, and all three battalions turned and fled.

Then, as Mark McLaughlin described the scene, the Wild Geese, with six battalions of over 3800 fresh troops, advanced with bayonets at the level, the bagpipes, the fifes and drums of the Irish played the Stuart march, The White Cockade, Some officers yelled Cuimhnigidh ar Luimneach agus feall na sasonach (remember Limerick and Saxon perfidy), as the Irish ploughed into the British flank, while the heavily mounted Carabineers charged Cumberland's men from the front.

The huge column finally wilted and began to retreat, leaving 5000 men dead or wounded. The Irish captured two flags of the Coldstream Guards, and 15 cannon fell into French hands. In `ten minutes the battle was won' according to d'Argenson. 'What finer reserve than six battalions of Wild Geese'. With Louis XV and his son, the Dauphin present, Fontenoy was the first victory for a French monarch since the time of St Louis.

Mattieu de Cooke's eldest son Charles, who had followed his father's footsteps by becoming a Captain of a troop in the Fitzjames regiment, was killed at Fontenoy, during the repeated valiant if costly charges against the enemy. William, the third son, also a captain with the Fitzjames, also died at Fontenoy, where the regiment suffered heavily. The regiment was granted 74 mounts free of charge from the army's remount department. (French unit commanders normally paid for and owned their own mounts).

Only his second Francis, born in Dover, England, who had also served with the Fitzjames regiment, survived, as he had retired from French service in 1735. According to family tradition, Francis was a noted gambler, and spent several years travelling around Europe's main gambling spas, Baden-Baden, Aix-la-Chapelle, before eventually settling in Jamaica in 1741. With his distinguished military career, and as a trained engineer, he soon found elevated to prominence there.

Francis Cooke and the portrait of Chevalier Mattieu de-Cooke

Francis Cooke, on his retirement from the Fitzjames regiment, also brought with him to Jamaica, the portrait of his father, Mattieu de Cooke, The Chevalier. Probably painted on his retirement from active service in 1722, or on being made Chevalier of the Royal Military Order of St Louis, this portrait in oils, 4ft x 3ft in size, artist unknown, shows him, ironically for an ardent Royalist, in a 'Napoleonic pose' with his left hand lodged in the waistcoat. The magnificent clothes, with the long white satin waistcoat, cravat, large laced cuffs with decorative gold braid, and royal cerulean blue velvet topcoat, again with decorative gold braid, is quintessential of an 18th century French aristocrat, in regular contact with the Royal family or His Majesty's ministers at Versailles. He is also wearing a classic eighteenth century white wig de rigeur in court circles.

The Farewell Flag presented to the remaining members of the Irish Brigade in 1792 to commemorate a century of faithful French service

This painting has been handed down from eldest son to eldest son in each generation of the Coke family. It also shows Mattieu's right hand, possibly slightly withered or shrunk, due to sabre slashes received in combat, during his long military career. He also had a disabled foot from wounds received in battle. At present the painting still in a Coke residence in Jamaica, owned by Ms Phylis Coke, who intends to pass it on to her eldest son, William Francis Robert Coke, who resides in Cumbria, England.

The Cookes of Paynestown, Co. Carlow - A Proud Military Heritage

Remembering the brave heroes of 'The Cooke of the Cavaliers'

Looking back, Mattieu de Cooke's family, because of their religious faith and their fidelity to their rightful Sovereign James II, sacrificed the lives of their family members in the service of France, including two of Mattieu's three sons, and three of his own brothers. It left him with a disabled right hand and foot, for which he was awarded the Royal Military Order of St Louis, then France's highest order for chivalry, courage and gallantry in battle, from Louis XIV, The Sun King, to Louis XV, le Bien Aime.

The Cookes fought heroically at the great battles of the Nine Years War, the Wars of the Spanish and Austrian Successions, right up to the French Revolution. Their heroism is symbolic of the Wild Geese soldiers, robbed of their ancestral properties, forced into exile to fight other nation's wars in France, Spain, Austria, Italy and elsewhere. Today Cooke family descendants can be proud of their exceptional heritage, a distinguished lineage of military officers serving with the finest elite cavalry regiments in the Bourbon armies; The King's and Queen's Life Guards; the Sheldon, later Nugent, later Fitzjames Regiment of Horse, traced back to the brave 18th century Catholic Jacobite ancestors, whom James II praised them as "The Cookes of The Cavaliers".

The Farewell Flag

Speaking in 1792, the future Louis XVI (then Comte de Provence and brother of Louis XIV) presented the remaining members of the Irish Brigade with a Farewell Banner, bearing the device of an Irish Harp embroidered with shamrocks and fleurs-de-lis, to commemorate their century-long service to the Bourbon monarchs. (Farewell Banner image courtesy Tom Gum)

Gentlemen, we acknowledge the inappreciable service of France has received from the Irish Brigade, in the courser of the last 100 years; services that wer shall never forget, though under the impossibility on requiting them. Receive this Standard as a pledge of our remembrance, a monument of the admiration, and our respect, and in the future, generous Irishmen, this shall be the motto of your spotless flag: 1692-1792 Semper et unique Fidelis' (Always and Everywhere Faithful).

OGAM STONES AND CO. CARLOW

Dr. Colman Etchingham

Ogam Stone at Ardmore, Waterford

Inscriptions in the remarkable script known as ogam (Early Irish) or ogham (Modern Irish) are the earliest examples of writing in Ireland. The script used groups of straight-line notches carved on pillar stones as equivalents of the letters of the Latin alphabet that we still use today. About 300 ogam stones are to be seen in the landscape in different parts of the country or gathered together for safe keeping at locations such as the National Museum of Ireland in Dublin. Ogam stones are common in some parts of Ireland and scarce or entirely absent from many others, as we will see, so it is significant that Carlow is one of those counties in which a handful of these monuments are found. Ogam stones are archaeological monuments, but the inscriptions on them can also be regarded as historical documents. Many are an intriguing source for the very earliest phase of documented Irish history, in or around the 5th century AD. Little is known of this period, when the Roman Empire was losing the control of Britain that it had maintained for 400 years. Curiously, it was just at this period that Ireland came under unprecedented Roman cultural influence, receiving Christianity and literacy more or less at the same time. Such influence on the part of a Roman Empire that was in terminal decline is rather surprising. The Romans never conquered Ireland—even if they contemplated doing so—and otherwise contact was probably confined to some trade, possibly recruitment of mercenary troops, and Irish raids on Roman Britain.

St Patrick is the best-known character from this period. Numerous legends grew up around Patrick over the centuries: his triumph as a miracle worker over various pagan Irish kings and their 'druids', his expulsion of snakes, his use of the shamrock as a preaching aid. Although such 'traditions' have no basis as history, Patrick in fact was a real historical person. He was a Romanised British Celt and Christian missionary to Ireland who, incidentally, was captured as a youth in an Irish raid on Roman or post-Roman Britain. He was active at some point in or around the 5th century, although one of the uncertainties that surround the real historical Patrick is that he cannot be dated precisely. Dates of 432 for his arrival in Ireland and of 461 or 493 for his death are no more than guesswork or deliberate inventions of later centuries. Two perplexing but undoubtedly genuine writings of Patrick's survive, however, and are the only reliable evidence for him, although they mention very few specific places or persons and are difficult to interpret. The 5th century also saw at least one other missionary bishop come to Ireland, whose name was Palladius, but about whom we know very little. What we do know is that Palladius was sent by the pope of Rome in precisely 431, facts for which we have the unimpeachable authority of the contemporary Continental European chronicler Prosper. The respective roles of Patrick and Palladius in converting Ireland to Christianity constitute the subject of long running controversy.

However, I will leave that controversy to one side and instead focus here on the information about this obscure earliest period of Irish history to be gleaned from ogam inscriptions. Ogam stones are monumental inscriptions, commemorating individuals who lived between the late 4th to 5th centuries and the early 7th century AD. The groups of notches corresponding to letters of the Roman alphabet are the first evidence of literacy in Ireland and the surviving inscriptions are the first strictly historical evidence for Ireland's past. Without writing there can be no historical, but only archaeological, evidence for any period of the past.

Ogam stones are mostly a feature of southern Ireland, with the vast majority of the inscriptions belonging to counties Kerry, Cork and Waterford. From this south Munster heartland of the ogam culture, there is an extension into southern Leinster, notably in Co. Kilkenny, which county has most inscriptions outside south Munster. There is a handful of ogam inscriptions from northeast Co. Carlow locations: Clonmore, Rathglass near Tullow, Patrickswell and Tuckamine near Rathvilly (the latter now in the National Museum) and a fragmentary inscription from Hacketstown that is now lost. This group of ogams can be considered part of a small but significant regional cluster that includes examples from south Co. Wicklow and south Co. Kildare. The only other known Carlow example comes from the southwest of the county, at Kilcumney near Borris. This was found in the 19th century but the inscription is reported to have been since destroyed. The Kilcumney example is perhaps best seen as an extension of the substantial and mostly early Co. Kilkenny cluster of ogam stones.

Ogam inscriptions usually consist only of the name of the (almost invariably male) person who is commemorated. Occasionally that person's father's name, and / or the name of his kindred or community, is also indicated. At first glance, therefore, the information conveyed by any given ogam inscription is very limited. It is not even clear what was the purpose of the ogam stones: burial markers, memorials to the dead not necessarily marking a grave, boundary markers, or some combination of these? Upon further examination and reflection, however, the ogam stones as a body, and especially some individual examples, provide us with invaluable if tantalising insights into that earliest and most obscure period of Ireland's history. For one thing, unlike the legends about St Patrick, these are genuinely contemporary records, inscribed between about AD 400 and 620: the linguistic forms of the Irish names on the stones make this quite certain. The predominantly south Munster and, to a lesser extent, south Leinster distribution of the stones may tell us something of where this aspect at least of late Roman cultural influence had most impact in Ireland.

Until fairly recently, ogam stones tended to be seen as pagan monuments. It was thought that the names inscribed were in a form of Irish already old-fashioned and fossilised. The ogam script itself was thought to be deliberately cryptic, an attempt to hide from the increasingly influential Christians supposedly pagan features—such as claimed descent from pagan gods or goddesses, apparently indicated in inscriptions recording the kindred or family affiliation of the person commemorated. However, several modern scholars stress that the surviving ogam monuments were certainly created—and the script probably invented—precisely in that transitional period when Christianity began to take hold. It is noteworthy that a significant minority (perhaps 10%) of ogam inscriptions are accompanied on the stones by crosses. These used to be dismissed as later additions, intended to counteract the original, supposedly pagan purpose of the monuments. In most cases, in fact, there is no reason to doubt that the crosses were part of the original design. Ogam stones are thus not necessarily pagan and there is nothing inherently pagan or Christian about most of them: they are simply commemorative. One late (about AD 600) ogam in Co. Kerry uniquely records the profession of the person commemorated, using the Archaic Irish term for a priest (QRIMITIR, Early Irish Cruimther, the equivalent of English 'presbyter', as in 'Presbyterian'). Moreover, the forms of the names in the inscriptions are not old fashioned and fossilised, but quite the opposite. They reflect, rather, the dramatic changes that took place in the spelling of Irish words, precisely in the period during which the ogam stones were inscribed, between the 4th century and the early 7th. The ogam inscriptions themselves are the essential evidence for the so-called Primitive and Archaic phases of the history of the Irish language.

Ogam does not mark the secretive resistance of a pagan segment of the Irish elite—the 'druids', about whom we know very little, but about whom there is much fanciful modern literature—to the influences recently arrived from the late Roman Christian world. On the contrary, while the names recorded on the ogam stones are almost all Irish, the script itself is based on the Latin alphabet, with the selection of letters adapted to the needs of spelling the Irish language. The reasons for creating a script of straight-line notches based on the Latin alphabet, rather than simply using the Latin letters themselves, are unknown, but there can be no doubt that those who created ogam were clever, learned and had at least some knowledge of Latin. Carving inscriptions on stone monuments is itself an imported Roman fashion and not a native Irish idea. Ogam was simply one strand of the cultural influence on Ireland of Romanised Europe around AD 400.

In one or two cases, the ogam carvers used a pre-existing ancient stone monument upon which to inscribe their memorials. At Ballintermon, Co. Kerry, an ogam inscription is carved on the lower part of a tall pre-historic standing stone, probably of Bronze-age date, and so a monument that had been part of the landscape already for over a thousand years before it received its ogam text, perhaps in the 5th century AD. The most remarkable Co. Carlow ogam, at Rathglass near Tullow (of which more below) was carved on what may have been one of a pair of standing stones, again perhaps of Bronze-age date.

Apart from the crosses accompanying some of the inscriptions—though crosses are not found on any of the six known Co. Carlow examples—and the origins both of the script and of the fashion of erecting monumental inscriptions, other features link ogam with the late Roman world. Some of the earliest inscriptions include the Archaic Irish word KOI, thought to mean 'here' and to be related to Early Irish and Modern Irish cé. This has been taken to reflect the Latin expression hic iacit or hic iacet, often found on late Roman memorials of the 5th century in France and Spain, and the precise equivalent of 'here lies' on modern English grave stones. None of the Carlow ogams contain the KOI formula, but there are examples from Colbinstown, south Co. Kildare (as well as from Donaghmore in the north of that county) and Donard, Co. Wicklow, two sites in the same regional cluster in which I have suggested the northeast Co. Carlow ogams belong. Examples of KOI from Legan and Ballyboodan, Co. Kilkenny, belong to that other regional cluster to which we may relate the ogam from Kilcumney near Borris, no longer surviving.

A small but significant sub-group of ogam inscriptions contain Latin names. Of these there are only six examples, one of which is that from Rathglass, near Tullow, for this and other reasons the most obviously important of the surviving Co. Carlow ogams. Fashion might have prompted borrowing of Latin names by some of the Irish elite in this period. However, since none of the Latin names in question became established as popular loan-names among the Irish, it is more likely that these Latin-named persons were immigrants. Another point in favour of this is that, while three of these six inscriptions record a Latin name in isolation, the other three (including Rathglass) commemorate a man with an Irish name, whose father's name is Latin. While the sample is statistically small, it may be significant that there is no case of a Latin-named son of an Irish-named father. The linguistic features of ogams with Latin names suggest they are relatively early in the series and date to no later than about AD 500.

Ogam Stone at Rathglass near Tullow, Co. Carlow

In the case of Rathglass, the inscription reads in full DUNAIDONAS MAQI MARIANI or '(stone of) Dunaíd son of Marianus'. The Irish form of the name of the man commemorated—DUNAIDONAS—belongs to the very earliest phase of the Irish language reflected in ogam, and so can be dated with some confidence to the 5th century. This would allow that his father, Marianus, was an immigrant from Britain or the Continent to the Tullow area sometime in the early 5th century or even the late 4th. Whether Marianus was a Christian missionary, a trader or perhaps a Roman soldier who decided to retire with Irish comrades to the Tullow area, we shall never know. He apparently 'went native', however, and fathered a son with an Irish name, presumably by an Irish mother. Accordingly, we have at Rathglass a memorial to the earliest Carlow family known to history. Ogam stones bearing Latin names being quite rare, it is not surprising that, of the other five, four are from the southern counties of Kerry, Cork and Waterford, where ogam culture was strongest. However, a fifth is from Colbinstown in south Co. Kildare, suggesting Marianus may not have been the only immigrant into mid-Leinster from the Late Roman world.

Ogam bespeaks a confident openness of Irish culture—at least that of the elite, for whom these monuments were doubtless erected—to outside influence around AD 400. An Irish learned class, which had previously transmitted its lore by purely oral means, was able to borrow and intelligently remodel Roman writing and the Roman habit of inscribing stone monuments. This dynamic cultural interaction was a two-way process. The Irish re-exported their practice of erecting ogam stones to Romanised western Britain, where early Irish colonists left ogam monuments. This is another major historical value of the ogam stone culture. In this case it confirms medieval literary accounts of Irish raids and settlements in late Roman and post-Roman western Britain, accounts that we should otherwise regard as legendary. The regional disparity of ogam in Ireland is strikingly reflected in these Irish colonies. Ogam is found in Cornwall, later claimed to have been colonised from east Co. Cork, a county where, as we have seen, the ogam culture was strong. Ogam stones are comparatively numerous in southwest Wales, reputedly colonised from Co. Waterford, again a stronghold of the culture. In Wales, the post-Roman Gaelic Irish colonial elite adapted further, for the stones are fully bilingual. Irish language inscriptions in ogam script are regularly accompanied by Latin language equivalents in Roman letters. Incidentally, one of these bilinguals, at Eglwys Cymmin in Carmarthenshire, is the only ogam inscription that commemorates a woman. There is, by contrast with southwestern Britain, almost no trace of Irish ogam in Scotland, which was ultimately the most successful early Irish colony in Britain, as attested by the survival of Gaelic to the present day. Western Scotland was apparently colonised by the Irish of north Co. Antrim, which was well outside the main ogam zone in the south of Ireland.

Ogam is a concrete legacy in our landscape of a forgotten phase of Irish-British relations, in which the Irish were the raiding, invading, and colonising element. There is documentary evidence for this too, including Patrick's authentic witness that in his youth he was a victim of Irish slave raiding. Ogam also shows a relatively sophisticated, learned interaction between the early historic Irish and the late Roman world. The south and southeast of Ireland in particular adopted the Roman imperial custom of inscribing stone monuments. A clever and more or less learned elite borrowed Latin letters through a knowledge of Latin language and grammar and created its own script, adapted intelligently to the needs of the Irish language. Ireland re-exported this cultural innovation as early as the 5th century, to some parts of the Irish colonies in western Britain. The Rathglass inscription, commemorating a Carlow man, whose father was probably an immigrant and had a Latin name, reflects the direction of influence that itself produced ogam. It is the most impressive surviving ogam stone in Co. Carlow, part of a body of monuments that affords us a glimpse of a formative if generally under-appreciated part of our history.

I would like to acknowledge the use of photographs of the Ardmore and Rathglass ogam stones from the on-line Ogham in 3D Project of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies School of Celtic Studies.

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Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies School of Celtic Studies, *Ogham in 3D* Project accessible at ogham.celt.dias.ie.

The Society's trip to Somerset, Devon & Cornwall

Bertie Watchorn & Martin Nevin

Monday 28th July - Friday 1st August

The Society's annual outing marked another trip to be remembered; this year taking in the beautiful shires of South West Region of England, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall. It was a 5.20am start from Carlow on Monday, 28th July by bus to Rosslare where we had tea and toast in the Harbour Hotel before boarding the ferry for Pembroke. It was a very enjoyable, calm crossing to the other side of the English Channel, arriving at 1pm. After a five hour bus ride, the New Continental Hotel in Plymouth (population 256, 544) provided the base for the four day organised tour.

The New Continental Hotel in Plymouth, the Society's base for the four day sojourn in England

Tuesday 29th

It was an early trip to the sea-side town of Paignton (population 49,000) where we took a very pleasant 7 miles steam train journey along the most spectacular South Devon Coast to the town of Kingswear. A ferry took us across to Dartmouth where we boarded a diesel powered paddle boat for a cruise out into the English Channel. Our bus picked us up at Dartmouth and we arrived back in Plymouth at 4pm. The rest of the evening was spent browsing through the shopping centre.

Ready to board the Steam Train

Wednesday 30th

A long drive to Glastonbury and a visit to the Benedictine Abbey, England's cradle of christianity awaited us. The Abbey is the resting place of three Saxon Kings and the legendary King Arthur. Until Henry VIII ordered the destruction of the monasteries, it was the richest foundation in the land. Henry also ordered the confiscation of the Abbey's wealth and treasures and the last Abbot was hanged on Glasbury Tor in 1539. To-day it's a magnificent ruin displaying some master craftsmanship. In the afternoon a conducted visit to the Royal Navy Fleet Air Arm Museum at Yeovilton, Somerset, Eorope's largest Naval Aviation Museum was a highlight of the tour.

Outside the kitchen at Glastonbury Abbey

Thursday 31st

With the best of intentions we set out to visit Penzance, a port town and the most westerly town in Cornwall, Lands End, St Ives and on the way back to have a peep at the Garden of Eden Project near St Austell. Due to traffic conditions, both going and coming, it was too late the Eden Project Centre had closed. On the way down to Penzance we stopped off at a lovely little town, Lostwithiel for a coffee break. Having spent some time in Penzance, we travelled the 12 miles out to Land's End.

Friday 1st August

It was a 7am breakfast with all preparations made before setting out for Pembroke on the first stage of the journey home. As time was of the essence to make it back to Pembroke, it being the August bank holiday weekend, there were no deviations on the way.

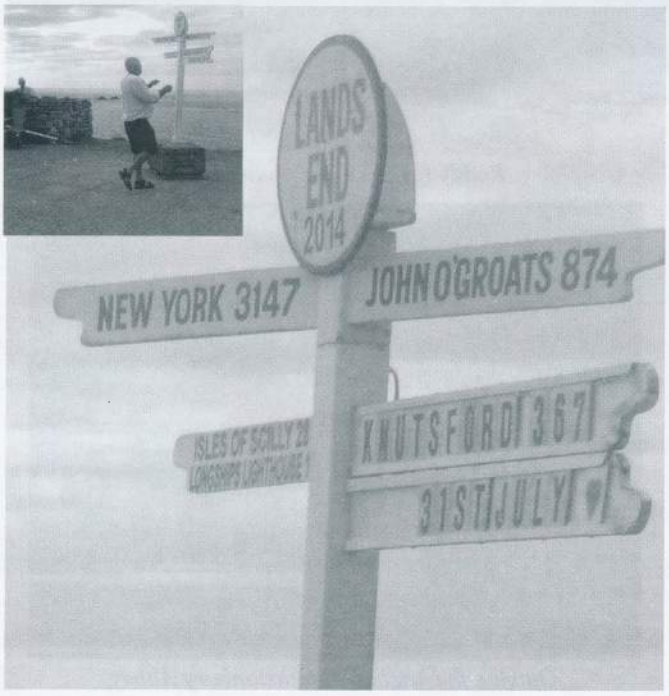
Thanks

We are indebted to our driver/guide, Sas. Eventhough it was his first time to that part of England and while not as familiar with the places of interest as here-to-fore, he still made the tour thoroughly enjoyable and most interesting from beginning to end.

To Bertie and Irene Watchorn who gave of their time and energy, once again, in organising a most successful trip. Many thanks.

Fore Street in the lovely town of Lostwithiel

The tour group at Land's End



On board the ferry to Dartmouth

The Flight of the Raven

Liam O'Neill

Chapter 1

The Ridge of the Raven

It was a bright spring morning. The sun had just risen over the shoulder of the high mountain.[1] As it's light flooded the valleys with warmth the air was filled with the sounds of awakening life.

Led by the melodious blackbird the dawn chorus sang songs of praise to the heavens. The cooing of wood pigeons and the cawing of crows echoed through the forest.

The raven and his mate sat on the topmost branch of a great oak tree. They had completed the task of rebuilding their nest in anticipation of producing a new family. They felt so alive and full of renewed energy that the male gave a series of calls and took to flight. The female followed and they soared high together, lifted by an updraft of air as the south westerly wind hit the slope of the hill. Wingtip to wingtip, they stretched their wings as far as they could and enjoyed the feel of the wind through their feathers. They plunged earthwards into the valley. At the last minute when it seemed like they would crash into the treetops they swooped upwards again as if they were riding an invisible roller coaster. They flew upside down. They did great wheels in the sky and gave great aaks of delight. Gradually they grew tired of the game and the female returned to the nest.

Some instinct told her that it was time to lay her eggs. They had chosen a secure nesting site at the top of a tall oak tree which grew with many others on the crest of the hill. The tree was past its prime and the top branches were nearly all bare of leaves. One limb had been hit by lightening years before, and because the trunk and main branches were hollow, it snapped off by the force of the blast leaving a broken end with a natural hollow which made a good start for a nest.

They had worked hard, carrying twigs up from the forest floor to build the main structure. They gathered hair and fur from the remains of small animals which had been killed by various predators on the ground. When they were finished they knew that if the frost and cold wind returned, which it sometimes did as winter gave one final twitch in its death throes, herself would be warm and cosy. She had laid 5 brown speckled eggs and now she spent most of her time hatching them. She only left the nest now and again to feed and to exercise her wings when they became stiff with inactivity. At such times he took her place to keep the eggs warm until she returned and fussily demanded that he get up and let her get on with what she considered her rightful job. Mostly he kept them both supplied with food, such as the carrion remains of a deer.

There was a very active wolf pack who roamed the area. When they made a large kill they would gorge themselves until they fell asleep, giving him ample opportunity to help himself to the remains.

Yes. Life was good and as he took the time to fly higher than usual,he basked in the feeling of warmth and power which he invariably got from soaring on such a crisp sunny morning.

There was hardly a cloud in the sky and the air was clear because in the night the frost had dried it out. He admired the view in all directions. To the west the forested ridges and valleys stretched like a vast green waved ocean to the distant horizon. In the distance he could see purple mountains which stood out like islands in a rolling green sea to the southwest. Due south stood a hill somewhat higher than the one he called home. It was covered in low growth trees and furze.[2]

To the east stood the high mountain which dominated the Ravens world. Its lesser sisters rose and fell in a chain to the north and south. Sometimes he flew across the ridge of the lower long mountain[3] which guarded its western flank and rode the updrafts until he was level with the summit. Here he felt as though he had reached the highest point in all creation, and he saw that on the other side the land again fell away to become the green sea of wooded ridges. Once or twice in the distance he had seen the strange shimmering silver of the sea and he had to resist the temptation to go and examine it.

He flew homeward once more, joyfully gliding down in parallel with the slopes until he was back near the nest.

Today he was on patrol, keeping vigil as his mate sat on the nest. He turned northwards and flew along the top of the hill examining the ground through the tree canopy as he went. He liked to know which animals were on the move within his territory, and of course freshly killed carrion would be an opportunity not to be missed.

It was more of a ridge than a hill. Its highest point was near the south end where it sloped rapidly down to the

valley where a little stream formed the boundary with the next small hill which formed a spur at right angles to the long mountain.[4] To the north the ridge sloped gently for a while, then rose again forming a saddle, before continuing to slope down gradually until it ended on the bank of the big river.[5]

The uplands were almost completely coated in forests of oak, elm and scots pine. The valleys were verdant with hazel and birch. Where the slopes were steep there were brambles and furze, while rocky ground was decorated with wild rose and the odd tenacious juniper.

The valley floors had patches of rushy open bog where only the odd goat willow grew, or small raised islands of drier ground which were covered with yellow blossomed furze. The streams and rivers were clearly delineated with the long snaking lines of alder and salix which grew along the banks and liked to have their toes in the water.

There were streams of water nearly all the way around the base of the hill. On the east side a sandy rivulet came gurgling down from the slopes of the long mountain and rambled on until it joined the big river[6] which curled around the northernmost valley on its way to the great river in the west.[7] A little way from the bank of the east stream another small rivulet rose from the marshy ground and made its way around the southern flank of the hill. It ran westward through boggy ground until it met another which ran southwards from another patch of marsh not far from the bank of the big river.[8] They both continued on together southwards, collecting others as they went, until they too ran into the great western river.

The floor of the forest was littered with moss covered boulders. Vegetation was sparse except where the trees thinned out to allow in a little light,then there was tall spindly grasses, and here and there patches of trefoil leaved wood sorrel. The outstretched branches of the giant oaks were covered with moss and ferns. Here and there ivy and honeysuckle clung to the trunks as they climbed higher to avail of the life giving light.

The raven descended to the tree canopy and flew through the tree tops studying the ground as he went. It was time to get down to the serious business of hunting food for his mate. He alighted on a high branch and took time to listen and look around. He sat motionless for a time and then decided to move back in the direction of the nest. He flew over the tree tops and dipped below the canopy now and again as he negotiated the saddle of the hill.

Then he spotted the herd of deer grazing on the forest floor. There were about twenty of them, eight or nine does, a few yearlings and a couple of fawns. A huge dominant male grazed by himself off to one side. He paused frequently from his grazing to check the wellbeing of the herd, or to sniff the air for signs of danger. He had a magnificent rack of antlers which gave him a regal look when he raised his head and directed his searching gaze in the direction of the various sounds emanating from the forest. Mostly these consisted of the raucous sounds of squabbling magpies or the unmelodious SKAAK of a jay. His flanks were scarred with the evidence of past battles with other young bucks who challenged his dominance.

There were three or four other males whose antlers were also fully developed. They were immature young bucks who were not yet strong enough to challenge him. Time was not on his side and at any time one of them would attain the strength and courage to finally topple him from his dominance. Such was the natural order of things, but for now he was king.

As the raven watched he became aware of a new, more menacing presence.

He moved to a location downwind of the deer to investigate. Moving slowly and carefully in the direction of the herd was a wolf pack. There were about fifteen of them spread out in a crescent formation. They held themselves low to the ground and inched forward slowly, stretching first one paw, then the other, as if pulling themselves forward. They were counting on the element of surprise. Just as they came within striking distance the herd took fright and ran. The wolves gave chase. One doe, heavily in calf and past her prime lagged behind. Through the trees the deer scattered and still the pregnant doe tried to outrun her pursuers. Scenting success and driven by hunger the pack closed in for the kill.

One wolf jumped onto the deers rump and bit as hard as he could into the thigh muscle. Another chomped on her nose with a well aimed blow designed to restrict the air flow to her lungs and further slow her down.

In minutes it was all over. The pack were savaging the doe, biting and snarling. There was a brief struggle and then the doe ceased to move.

The wolves panted and circled slowly, getting their breath back and preparing for the feast. Snarling and yapping they gorged themselves on fresh meat, not stopping until overcome by sheer gluttony. Sated and exhausted, one by one they fell asleep.

The raven had followed the chase, moving from tree to tree. As the last one or two wolves half heartedly pulled at the bloody mess, really too tired to care, he flew down and landed a short distance away. There were still plenty of scraps scattered about among the sleeping wolves, and he and his mate were past masters at helping themselves to the leftovers from other animal's feasts. He was well aware of how dangerous wolves were when angry. He proceeded cautiously to approach the remains of the kill from the opposite side to the sleeping wolf pack. He grabbed a piece of meat and flew off with his prize.

When he got back to the nest and presented his prize to his mate,she gobbled it raveniously. He flew to a nearby branch and called her to follow him back to the kill. By now the sun was shining down on the nest so she could leave the eggs for a short time. Having tasted the fresh meat she followed him eagerly in hopes of getting some more.

Back at the kill site one of the younger wolves had woken from sleep and sat guarding the remains. When the ravens hopped near he snarled and bared his fangs threateningly. The rest of the pack either slept, or regarded the scene with only mild interest, their noses resting languidly on their paws.

When the male raven made a grab for a piece of meat the young wolf chased him off with a growl. The ravens seemed to be sizing him up. Then the male moved behind the wolf and darted in and pecked at his tail. As the wolf turned to chase him away the female took her chance, grabbed a mouthful and flew to a nearby branch. The male followed and sat TOK TOKing as she held the meat under her claw and pulled at it voraciously. When she had finished eating they returned to the kill site and this time the female distracted the wolf while he made off with a tasty mouthful. They played cat and mouse with the wolf a few times until boredom and a full belly sent her back to the nest, and he back to patrolling his borders.

When evening fell he settled down to roost close to the nest. For a while he watched the last rays of the setting sun set fire to wispy clouds above the western horizon. He was serenaded by an evening chorus of birdsong. The melodic sounds of the blackbird echoed up from the valleys and the crows in the nearby rookery added to the choir as they held their regular evening parliament. As dusk finally fell the sky was filled with stars and the moon came up over the shadowy shoulder of the high mountain. Gradually everything became still as the wheel of life completed its daily turn.

And so the cycle of life continued on the ridge as it had from time immemorial. The ravens oversaw the comings and goings of the animal kingdom on the ground. Apart from the deer and the wolf, wild boar snuffled their way through the trees occasionally, and foxes and badgers came and went as they bred and fed.

Sticklebacks and small brown trout darted here and there in the streams. In spring the salmon came up the big river to spawn and die, spent from their long journey up the great western river, and their struggle up the big river at the base of the hill.

Later on that spring five healthy chicks hatched to the ravens. They fledged and learned to fly under the watchful eyes of their parents.For a time the sky over the ridge echoed with raucous cries as the young birds did their aerial acrobatics, showing off to each other in the sheer joy of being alive.

For generation after generation the eternal cycle of life went on in the animal kingdom, undisturbed until one day a very strange animal arrived on the ridge of the raven.

Chapter 2

The Hunt Gatherers

Finvar was tired. He and his woman Leanu had been following the course of the big river[1] for days, leading their small family through the great woods. They dragged their few possessions behind them on wooden frames. These consisted of two straight branches about the length of a man which were lashed with cross pieces so that they were about an arms length apart. They were pulled along by holding one branch in each hand like a draft animal between shafts. The other ends dragged on the ground. Even the children could convey a small load this way. The family did not have much to carry; A skin bag with a store of precious flint arrowheads, scrapers and Knives, about six stone axe heads and two with handles. Each load had a number of animal skins which were carefully hoarded for future use.

They were dressed in animal skins which were stitched together by using long pieces of animal sinew and a bone needle.

They were part of a group of about five families who had migrated north along the great western river.[2] They separated and came together again as game became plentiful or scarce. When they came to the mouth of the big river three families had decided to continue on northwards and two had elected to follow the course of the big river.[3] Before parting they had arranged to come together again at the confluence of the rivers when two winters had passed.[4] This was important as they needed to gather in larger groups occasionally.

Youngsters who had reached puberty would need mates; life was short and so was childhood. Also, if one or other parent of a family died or was killed, a not uncommon occourance, the surviving parent would need a new partner.

It was not uncommon for a widow to temporarily join another family and live as second wife to the man until a suitable mate came along.

They kept close to rivers in order to facilitate reconnection when necessary.

A short distance up the big river the two families had split up. The others followed a small tributary towards the east and Finvar and his family continued to follow the course of the big river.

They had camped for the winter in a grove of birch trees near the river bank. They made it through the cold dark days, and even the baby had survived.His youngest daughter Loa was born the previous summer and thankfully everything had gone well. The mother was strong and hardy and had given birth to a healthy baby girl. They were not always so blessed. The previous year they had lost a baby boy who was born a little too early. The wee lad succumbed to a merciful death after struggling to breathe for three days.

It was how it was. Life was tough and they grieved for a few days and got on with caring for their other children.

The oldest boy was aged about eight summers. He had black hair and eyes like his father and already he was proving useful at the hunt. Finvar and Leanu had called him Finmal, which meant little hunter. When game was plentiful in early summer the father made a smaller version of his own hunting bow and taught the lad the skills which he would need to procure meat. First he learned to shoot straight using an untipped arrow to save on precious stone arrowheads. Then he taught him to track small animals. He was developing the ability to see small signs such as leaves or twigs bent unnaturally or footprints on the softer ground. He had learned to pay attention to the smells of the forest. The pungent smell of fresh droppings on the breeze betrayed the presence of an animal nearby. In time he would learn to distinguish which animal it was by the individual smell of the droppings.

He learned the fighting ways of each animal and how they reacted to danger. Deer were no threat but he was warned severely to watch out for the wild boar. Even though the boar was low to the ground and his eyesight was not great, he would attack viciously and a gash from his sharp tusks could be deadly.

The girl Atal was about six. She had a matted mass of brown hair like her mother. They both had brown eyes. The man was pleased to notice that Leanu's skill at finding nuts, berries and edible roots and leaves were becoming evident in his daughter. It was a harsh life and a continual struggle for survival. All their lives depended on passing on and developing those skills at a young age. When Finvar was born his father noted early on that he had an alert look in his eyes. He believed he would grow up to be great hunter so he named him accordingly. Fin meant hunter in their language and Var meant good.

He was about twenty four years old which was middle age at that time. He knew he would not have that many summers left to pass on his skills to the next generation and hopefully breed another son.

Life was short. Forty years was ancient and not often reached. Nature and old age could be pitiless enemies. His own father had passed on a store of ancient wisdom. As well as the skills of the hunter there was the ability to make clothing from animal skins, and build shelters suitable for both winter and summer. There was a fund of stories and legends which in their own crude way explained where they originally came from. They had roamed the thick forests and rivers of the land for hundreds of years. Many generations ago, they had crossed the narrow bridge of land which for a short period had connected this island with its nearest neighbour in the north.

From year to year and season to season they had wandered southwards. Being born and dying, sometimes in plenty and sometimes in near starvation. They kept close to the seacoast where their diet could be more easily supplemented with shellfish.

As groups of them came to various rivers they followed those inland. They made fishtraps of twigs to catch trout and salmon. They hunted animals and birds and collected roots, nuts, berries and edible leaves. Ever wandering, they lived each day as it came.

As the population increased they moved on to newer hunting grounds.

The group to which Finvar and his family belonged had come to the eastern bank of the great western river when he was a boy of about five summers. They had moved northwards from year to year hunting up each tributary river and stream, but always returning to the reassuring presence of the great waterway. When in the course of time the group divided at the big river, the two families seemed to follow some deep inner call to follow it to new hunting grounds.

Now, two summers having passed, and autumn was coming on. Finvar and Leanu knew that they needed to choose a site for a winter shelter , and get it built and stocked with food before the leaves started to turn and while the wild fruits, nuts and roots were still plentiful. They chose a sheltered site where the big river ran through an area that was mostly low lying and heavily forested. He climbed to the top of a particularly high oak tree in order to get an idea of the lie of the land. Due east he could see the southern end of a large range of mountains,[5] and to the southeast another group of high hills grouped around a high peak.[6] He reckoned they were about a day and a half from the foothills.

They chose a steep south facing bank, near the river but well drained. Finvar and his wife set to work with mattock style tools made of deer antler or wood. They dug into the bank until they had excavated a space about three paces square. Next, they cut long straight branches using their stone axes to be used to make a frame work for the walls and roof. They stood two stout limbs with forked tops, about one and a half times taller than Finvar, well anchored in holes in the ground at the front corners of the floor where the bank was at its lowest.Two strong limbs ran back from the forks to rest on top of the earthen bank at the back. These acted as side wallplates. The front wallplate was rested on the ends of the side ones where they protruded through the forks. Now they had a basic framework.

A series of sturdy branches were placed from the front wallplate back to the top of the bank to form rafters. The ends were bound in place with honeysuckle vines which the children collected nearby. A network of smaller branches and twigs were carefully laid out on the rafters. They found an area of green matted sods covering soft ground near the river. These were cut into manageable sections and were used to cover the roof. They had some animal skins which they had brought with them and these provided a final waterproof cover for about half the roof area. The rest would be covered with fresh skins as they continued hunting. The roof angled back to the bank and a drainage channel was dug under the eave to carry off rainwater.

The side walls were constructed by placing uprights at about two handbreadth intervals They were let into the sloping bank at an angle and lashed to the roof frame. They were tightly interwoven with small branches and also covered with sods.The front wall was a double row of uprights which at the top were lashed to either side of the front wallplate. The space in between was firmly packed with compressed twigs. Moss was pushed into every gap until the whole wall was windproof. The low narrow door was closed by a double layer of animal skins.

Near the door of the shelter they dug a fire pit and lined it with stones. They sometimes roasted meat by turning it on a wooden spit over the fire, or sometimes they heated stones and put them around the meat in the firepit. Stone held heat for a long time so this method worked well for smaller pieces.

Here the family would spend the winter.

That autumn was very fruitful and they collected and dried various berries and roots, and these were stored in skin bags which hung from the roof of the shelter. They found groves of hazel trees and collected the nuts. Finvar killed several deer which were butchered, cut into

strips and dried in the sun to be also hung from the rafters. He would continue to hunt and trap fish and their diet would be supplemented with fresh meat as often as possible.

When winter came on they spent the long nights huddled together on a bed of dried rushes and grass well covered by animal skins. The days were mostly dry and cold and when Finvar was not hunting they sat around the fire pit. They set up wind breaks by placing branches from the fork of one young tree to the other and leaning other branches and twigs against them. If it rained they stretched someanimal skins on a frame over the fire pit to keep it burning. They skilfully kept the fire going at night by damping it down with wet leaves and moss. Finvar and Leanu both knew how to start a fire by rotating a dry stout twig with a small bow. The twig was stood in a small hollow in a dry rotted log with kindling material such as dry grass and leaves around it. The string of the little bow was wound around it a couple of times and a small hollow stone was placed on the top end of the twig to keep it steady. When the bow was pulled rapidly back and forth the friction of the twig rotating in the kindling produced sparks which ignited the dry material.

The days shortened and the weather grew colder.The trees lost their leaves and the animal kingdom became quieter. The family settled down to wait out the time until they began to notice a subtle lengthening of the days. Soon new shoots began to appear on the bushes and the birds made a little more noise. Slowly but surely nature began to stir with the promise of new beginnings of a new year.

As winter turned to spring Finvar and his family grew impatient to be on the move again. They had hunted around the area where they were camped until they had to travel farther and farther from the shelter to find game.Now they needed to move to new hunting grounds .

They made fresh dragging frames and loaded as much of the best skins as they could carry as well as the stone weapons and tools. The children were one year older and a little stronger now so the loads increased accordingly.

They set off once more to follow the big river wherever it would lead. At night they made a temporary shelter of skins and huddled together against the cold. On the afternoon of the second day they came to a bend in the river and saw that it turned eastwards towards the high mountain. A little further upstream they came to a wooded hill on the right bank and decided to make camp.[7] They had reached the Ridge of the Raven.

They chose a flat site between two small trees which stood about three paces apart. They placed a stout pole at shoulder height from tree to tree to rest in the forks of lower branches. Over this they stretched a cover made of skins which they anchored to the ground. They gathered branches and laid them against the skins to reinforce them. The usual fire pit was dug and lined with stones, dry grass was laid on the floor as a bed and they were all set. Finvar had killed and butchered a young deer the day before they left the winter camp, and this was now cooked and eaten. As night fell the family, tired and sated with venison huddled together in their shelter under a covering of skins and fell fast asleep.

The next morning Finvar set off up the hill to explore. He had his bow and three arrows with him in case an opportunity to procure some fresh meat came along. He kept to the spine of the ridge. The whole hill was covered with large oak trees. Each of these giants covered such a big area that very little light reached the ground. There was very little under-growth except for the odd patch of wood sorrel, and here and there a green holly bush, so the going was easy. After a while the ground levelled off for a little way and then became a slope again. Eventually he came to the summit of the hill.

He sat on a large stone and took in the scene. On three sides the ground fell away, to east, south and west. There was a small clearing made when a couple of oaks had been hit with lightening and died. Their skeletons remained standing; oak wood took a long time to rot down.

He decided to climb a tall tree in order to get an overview of these new hunting grounds. When he got to the point where the branches strained to take his weight he paused to get his breath back. He was delighted with what he saw. On both sides of the ridge were broad valleys with marshy bottoms where the smaller trees grew amid patches of rushes. He noted the lines of alder and salix which betokened streams or rivers. The valley to the south was narrower. In the east a majestic high mountain reared its head above a long hill which was wooded nearly to the top. Other, lesser mountains stretched in a chain to the north and south. Away in the distance, to the southwest, other peaks reared above the rolling forested hills. He felt like he had arrived at a place where he would be content to stay for the rest of his life, but knew that this was not feasible as the game in the area would soon be hunted out.

His thoughts were rudely interrupted when out of nowhere a black form hurled itself at him in a squawking fury. He had not noticed the ravens nesting in the next tree. They had never seen such a large animal so close to the nest and felt threatened by his presence. The female was in the act of laying her clutch of eggs and was in no mood to be disturbed. They both flew at him and if he had not descended he would have felt their claws. Their panic had also spread to a large rookery of crows nearby. The racket they made was alarming. He shinnied down the tree and continued on his exploration. On a whim he made his way southwards into the narrow valley. He soon came to a little stream and stopped to quench his thirst. Then he came to a decision. He and his family would move camp to the clearing on top of the hill. He would have access to good hunting in the valleys, they would be near water, and he felt sure that Leanu would find ample roots and shoots on both sides of the stream. He had no logical reason for picking that clearing. He just felt a special atmosphere there which pleased him.

He made his way back to camp and told the family all about the clearing in the woods at the top of the ridge of the raven. He allowed that they could stay where they were for a few days and then move when the mood took them. There was no rush. He knew that the big river would be providing a new source of food any day now. The southwestern sky looked threatening with the promise of rain. He told his woman and children to lay lots

of extra branches against the shelter and fill any gaps with twigs. If a spring rainstorm came he wanted the family to be well protected. A shelter made only of skins would be very cold in a downpour. He himself had seen a small herd of deer earlier and he wanted to replenish their stock of meat. He went up the hill once more, this time keeping to the eastern slope which was downwind of where he had seen the deer. With the now strengthening wind coming from the opposite direction he would not be scented, also the increased noise of the wind in the treetops masked any noise he made. Soon he spotted the herd. They had been grazing, but now began to sense the coming storm. They were moving down the eastern slope to lower ground where there was shelter. Finvar was right in their path. He chose an arrow with a good sharp flint tip and fitted it to his bow. Hiding behind a holly bush he waited as the herd came closer. They came within twenty paces and he chose a young buck with an immature rack of antlers. He wanted to hit the animal just behind the shoulder where the heart was.

He was so close that he could not miss. The arrow pierced the animal and it staggered. It began to try to limp away but quickly he drew the stone axe from his belt, ran to the stricken deer and administered a well aimed blow to the back of the skull. It took a couple of blows until he was satisfied that the animal was dead.

Finvar threw the deer over his shoulders and soon returned to camp with his prize. He and Leanu butchered the animal, working quickly with flint knives. They skinned it and removed the head. Then they gutted it and buried the inedible parts so as not to draw scavenging wolves. At this stage the first raindrops were falling so they dragged the carcass into the shelter. They would settle down to wait out the storm. Chewing on pieces of tender raw meat would satisfy their hunger until the storm had passed and they could cook once more over the firepit.

The rain came down heavily for two days. It ran in streams past the shelter and at one stage Finvar had to go outside and cut drainage channels to deflect the water from coming in. The slopes of the mountain upstream soon became saturated and the river began to rise. This was what Finvar hoped would happen. The great spring migration of salmon going upstream would soon reach where they were camped as the high water made it possible for them to reach the sandy spawning grounds.

On the third morning they were woken by the thunderous roar of the river in full spate. Just upstream from where they were camped it came down a series of rapids. They could see the fish leaping the rocks as their natural urge to breed propelled them on. Finvar had prepared some long rods which were held in the fire until the sharpened ends were dry and hard. He grabbed them now and ran to the river. Positioning himself on a protruding rock he watched until a salmon came by, He managed to spear four large fish fairly quickly before they became scarce. In a couple of hours it was over.

Leanu ran a wooden skewer through one of the fish and cooked it over the fire. It fed the family for two days. The others were filleted and hung higher over the firepit in order to dry them slowly. That way they could be stored for longer.

A couple of days later Finvar led his family to the clearing on the summit of the ridge of the raven. Leanu agreed with Finvar that it was indeed a special place. She felt the same feelings of contentment that her husband had felt earlier. They set up their shelter on the south side of the clearing and he showed her where the stream was. He even encouraged her to climb a tree with him to view the countryside. This time he picked a different tree. He did not want to upset the ravens again.

As spring lengthened into summer life went on as usual. The family lived off natures bounty as Leanu and the children gathered edible plants and Finvar hunted through the valleys all around. When fall came they went back to the winter shelter they had built the previous year and found they could make it habitable without much trouble. For a couple of years they spent the summers on the ridge of the raven until game became scarce once more and they moved on. Such was the cycle of life with the hunter gatherers. Other hunters came and went on the ridge. The ravens never left. It was really their kingdom after all.

Chapter 3

From Stone to Bronze

The ravens were startled. A new noise which they had not heard before disturbed the peace of the forest on the ridge. They flew towards the source of the disturbance to investigate. A little way down the hill to the south they came upon a group of men working feverishly at cutting down a huge oak tree. There were six of them and they worked three by three in turn. The axes they used were of polished bronze, and already they had made quite an indentation into the massive trunk just about knee height above the ground. It only took about half an hour before the weight of the canopy of the tree began to cause it to groan. The men kept glancing upwards. They were not sure which way the tree would fall and they needed to give themselves time to get out of the way when it did. Slowly but surely they saw that it was swaying more and more towards the east. They kept chopping at the western side and then as the giant tree began to topple, they stood back to watch it go. It landed with an almighty crash as five hundred years of growth came to an abrupt end.

The birds were seeing the beginning of a new phase in the life of the ridge of the raven.

For hundreds of years they had witnessed the change which came over the nearby uplands. At first it had started small. Little groups of families had come to settle on the slopes of the hills around the high mountain. They would use their stone axes to chop down the small trees which grew at the higher elevations, or if the vegetation dried out they would set the woods on fire. As well as leaving less wood to remove this had the added benefit of providing extra fertiliser as the ash enriched the soil. They would use a patch of ground to grow wheat and barley. They used stone saddle querns to grind the grain for bread or porridge, or to be brewed into beer. They also cleared ground for grazing and raised cattle, sheep, pigs and goats. They had made the

transition from hunter gatherer to farmer and it caused the population to grow as food became easy to produce and store. People began to live longer and to grow a little taller.

When a patch of ground became infertile due to erosion and overuse, they moved to a new location nearby. Gradually the upper slopes became denuded of trees. The blanket bog began to grow as the activities of man affected the landscape.

Over hundreds of years stone tools gave way to bronze and the resultant ability to fell larger trees meant that man could clear land at lower elevations where the soil was richer and less prone to erosion. Gradually the tree line receded downwards as the hill slopes became denuded. The valleys were still lightly wooded and great forests covered the rolling hills to the west.

Now three young farmers had decided to settle on the ridge of the raven. They were part of a group who had settled on the nearest hill to the south which was an outlier of the long mountain.[1] The soil here was rich and productive and the farms thrived. The men were the younger sons of these established farms and needed to find and exploit new ground. The nearby ridge of the raven would fulfil this need.

It was early summer and the crops were in the ground. This was how the system worked. At the home place the young men would help with the ploughing and sowing and the reaping of the harvest, and the fathers would provide labour and pass on their expertise in the establishment of the new settlement nearby.

Each morning the men made the short journey across the narrow valley. They chose an area south and southwest of the crown of the ridge. The ground sloped gently down towards a little stream and maximum sunlight would be availed of. They would later build houses and farmyards but the first priority was to clear the fields and sow crops.

As the giant trees were felled other neighbouring farmers came to help chop them into manageable pieces and heap them out of the way at the margins of the cleared ground. Longer branches were placed as a fence between the trunks of trees left to grow at the edges of the new fields. The tree stumps were dug out if they were comparatively small, but some of the larger ones were left to rot in the ground. They would have a fire of smaller branches and twigs built up around them and this would kill them off quicker and ensure no new shoots came up later. They could be dug out in following years when they had rotted down. Through the summer the farmers worked hard long days and gradually their efforts paid off.

In the first summer they cleared enough ground to give each of three young farmers a field about 100 paces wide and 200 long. In the autumn they tilled the fields. Their ploughs which were made of oak wood, were pulled by oxen. First they ploughed the fields lengthways and then from side to side. This method of cross ploughing was necessary to break up the soil and allow the winter frosts to kill the roots of the surface vegetation.

They left the ground as it was until the spring when they would plough it again and sow the new seed. In the meantime the crops at the home farms needed to be harvested. If the weather was fine they would spend the shorter winter days laying out and building new homes and outhouses near the new fields. They also hunted game through the valleys and the virgin forests to the west.[2]

When it came time to build their new homes two of them chose sites uphill from their fields near the crown of the hill. The third man decided to build about three hundred paces downhill towards the east at the side of his section. There were some very large oak trees which were left where they were between each man's home. They knew that the ravens used them for their nesting sites. They looked on these birds as being good to have around. They were venerated in their religious belief system and it was considered bad luck to meddle with them. The birds seemed to sense this and an atmosphere of mutual tolerance prevailed. Some of the crows in the nearby rookery had to move to new nesting sites as they were not treated so kindly.

When the men had cleared the sites they marked out their homes. They would be eight paces long and six wide. First they dug a trench about knee deep and the same width where the walls would be. They placed stout posts which were left at head height in deeper holes at the four corners and halfway down each wall. The posts at the centre of the gable ends were half as high again. Stout wall plates which were made of straight branches of Scots pine were laid along the tops of the side walls, and continued from the corner posts to the tops of the gable posts. A similar limb was placed as a ridge pole.

The roof was laid on rafters of split oak which projected the length of a man's arm beyond the wall plates and were covered by a network of small branches. A layer of sods lifted from a clearing covered the branches and the whole was thatched with reeds harvested from the swamps in the valleys.

The walls were made of wattle and daub. Rows of uprights were stood in the trench and fixed to the wall plates. Small branches were tightly interwoven between the uprights. A layer of mud was packed into the branches which when dry rendered the walls wind and waterproof. Finally, the trench was filled to seal the wall at the bottom.

There was a door at the south facing the house and two small windows in one of the side walls. These were closed when necessary firstly by curtains of animal skins and then by outer doors made by weaving light Salix rods on frames lashed together and hinged to the doorposts with animal sinews.

In the middle of the floor a hearth was made by laying some flat stones as a base with others placed on their sides around the edges to contain the fire.

Overhead a hole was left in the roof to allow smoke to escape. In fine weather cooking would be done outdoors in a fire pit. Outhouses for animals were similarly constructed. Some of these were round with a central pole and a ring of uprights holding up a conical thatched roof. Animals were fenced in by driving rows of stakes in the ground and weaving branches in between.

In spring about half of each new field was cross ploughed again and wheat and barley was sown. Grass seed had been saved the previous year in high summer at the home farms and this was now scattered on the other half to provide grazing later in the year. When the crops were in the ground the farmers set to work again clearing more trees and extending their holdings.

Over the next few years more ground was cleared along the length of the ridge[3] as other young farmers came down from the hills. The soil was ideal, rich and fertile but easily worked. A thriving community grew and gradually developed a social fabric.

Belief in the supernatural played an important role in peoples lives. They believed that different spirits governed all aspects of their daily living. Rituals developed around birth, marriage and death, and sacrificial ceremonies marked the major events of the year. Minor deities and spirits were thought to inhabit the woods and streams, and beliefs developed about how they could be placated.

There was one deity which was reverenced above all others and this was the sun god. His life giving powers were recognised and rituals grew up based on the cycle of the year.

All over the land similar communities built round outdoor temples where the rituals of sun worship could be carried out. These henges sometimes consisted of circles of standing stones, but they were often made by erecting a circle of stout poles and placing cross beams from the top of one to the other. The cult priests grew expert at predicting the longest and the shortest day of the year. They counted the days between the two and worked out the spring and autumn equinox, when the day and night were exactly the same length. Apart from having religious significance, the knowledge of when each season started was important in the planning of the year for the farmer.

As the population grew and wealth increased many communities could afford to employ druid type shamans. In smaller communities where resources were not as plentiful the shaman was self supporting with his own farm.

The eminence of the ridge of the raven, how it stood out from the surrounding landscape made it a natural choice as a site for a henge.

The people who had settled along the ridge and surrounding hills came together one summer and picked a site on the crown of the hill, just above where two of the more established farms were.[4] They cleared the ground of stones and vegetation and marked out a ring. This was done by placing a stake at the centre and tying one end of a rope to it with a sharp stick at the other end which marked the ground as the holder kept the rope taut and walked round in a circle. One of the young men of the community had been recognised as their shaman and he had spent time learning from an older priest at another community a day's journey to the.[5] This man had knowledge of the movement of the sun and moon and would pass on the all important information to his student. The day of the summer solstice he made the journey to the ridge to help his apprentice to mark out the all important portal at the east side of the circle which would exactly face the rising sun. It was vital that a smaller portal at the opposite side would line up so that the first rays were visible through both. He marked the ground solemnly and immediately holes were dug and the portals erected. A sacrificial altar was constructed of stone at the centre of the ring and a special inaugural sacrifice was made to the sun god. The farmers were generous in their giving for this. A magnificent bull which had proved his virility by siring good offspring was offered first, followed by the best of each other farm animal. Quantities of grain were next, followed by a pouring out of the first of the beer for that year. As it was an auspicious day about a dozen young couples went through a ceremony of marriage. Then the whole community celebrated. All day and until dawn the next day the merrymaking went on.

On the third day the remaining uprights were erected and the lintels placed on top. All agreed that the outdoor temple on the summit of the hill was a wonderful sight. It gave the whole community a sense of permanence. They were happy with their lot and proud of their now well established home on the ridge of the raven. ©

Notes

Chapter 1

1. Mount Leinster
2. Kiloughternane
3. Slieve Bawn
4. Knockendrane
5. River Burren
6. River Burren
7. Corries River
8. Corries River

Chapter 2

1. River Burren
2. River Barrow
3. River Burren
4. Future site of Carlow Town
5. The Wicklow Hills
6. Mount Leinster and Balckstairs

Chapter 3

1. Knockendrane
2. Carrignafecka and Knocklonagad
3. Miltown
4. Site of present graveyard
5. Rathgall

Life Members

Dr Michael Conry and Margaret Minchin were recently presented with Life Membership schrolls of the Carlow Historical and Archaeological Society by Pat O'Neill, President.

BAGENALSTOWN 1913 – 1921

Extracts from the Bureau of Military History 1913-1921

Collection in the Military Archives

Compiled by Myles Kavanagh

Introduction

Extract from Statement of 1957 by Garrett Brennan

Formerly Adjutant 3rd Battalion, Kilkenny Brigade

And later Commandant 3rdBattalion, Kilkenny Brigade I.R.A.

I was born in 1894 in Castlecomer, Co. Kilkenny, a pleasant village of about 1,000 inhabitants on the river Deen. I was the eldest of son of a family of ten – six boys and four girls – two of the girls being older than I. My father Con Brennan, who was the son of a small farmer at Cruckawn, two miles from the town, ran two shops – a hardware and grocery. My mother was of mining stock. Our family was popular amongst farming class and amongst the miners of the nearby anthracite collieries. I was christened Garrett, but was known in the family and to friends as Gerald Brennan. My father was versed in the local tradition and often spoke to us children of the Cromwellian settlers who had been planted on the lands of his family. He was a member of the Coiste Ceanntair of the Gaelic League and was responsible for bringing an Irish teacher – Con Horgan – from Ballyvourney, Co. Cork to Castlecomer where a branch of the Gaelic League was started about 1905. One of my earliest recollections was to see Douglas Hyde arrive on an outside car from Kilkenny. He had come by train from Dublin to open and adjudicate at a feis in Castlecomer. The first feis in the county was, in fact, held at Coon and was organised by Fr. Delaney, the curate there, about 1904. With other boys of the national school I stayed on for an hour after school three times a week to be taught Irish. The rosary was recited in Irish in our family, although my parents or grandparents were not native speakers. I learned enough Irish through the "Modh Direach" to enable me to pass all grades of the secondary school course.

At the age of 13 I was sent to St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny, with a younger brother, and after five years there I was sent to Knockbeg College, Carlow. I went on to University College, Dublin, where I took an Arts course. Two of my professors were Eoin McNeill (Latin) and Thomas McDonagh (English Literature). I played hurling and rugby with the College teams. John Ryan (later Dr. Ryan who attended Dan Breen in the Mater Hospital) was captain of the hurling team, and a Presbyterian from the North of Ireland was captain of the rugby team.

In November,1913, with a number of other students of the University I attended a meeting at the Rotunda when Eoin McNeill launched the formation of the Irish Volunteers as a counter army against the Orange Volunteers of the North then being organised by Sir Edward Carson. I signed an application form to join the Irish Volunteers at the meeting, but I heard nothing more about the matter. I heard afterwards that only the students from St.Enda's College Rathfarham, which was run by Padraig Pearse, were organised before 1916. There was no Volunteer company founded in U.C.D. until about 1917. About May, 1914 I was surprised to read in the papers that John Redmond M.P. had taken over the Volunteers. There was a split amongst the leaders, which in turn split the Volunteers throughout the country into two camps – the Redmondites and the Sinn Fein Volunteers.

My family were Redmondites and I gave them nominal support. I saw no sign of any fight against England at that period, but it seemed to my immature mind that there was a civil war developing in the south, which of course, would suit Carson.

In August, 1914, the World War broke out. All the British recruits were called up and the local drilling in both camps of the Volunteers died off. John Redmond offered his Volunteers to the British army to defend Ireland from the Germans. That put him out of favour even with his own Volunteers.

A younger brother of mine, who, was at school at Rochestown College, Cork, ran away from the school with the son of a French Consul and tried to enlist. He was

too young and was not accepted. He did a radio course at Cork and later joined the British army as a driver in the Transport Corps.

The arts course which I had studied however, left no prospect for me except teaching in a secondary school, which I disliked. I went to Cork in 1915 and studied radio, and early in 1916 I joined the Marconi Company as a Radio Officer. I served on cross-channel troop ships and on a hospital ship in the Mediterranean for two years. I got the radio news of the Rebellion in Dublin whilst off Malta. I got into first-class arguments with the ships officers over Ireland, and in June, 1918, I was ordered home overland from Marseilles with another radio officer of German extraction. At Paris we were met by two officers of the Surete Nationale, who told us they had instructions to find us accommodation. We were taken to a hotel and left next morning for London. On arrival at Dover we were ordered aside while the other passengers went on. We were searched by Scotland Yard officers, as was our luggage, and we were questioned individually about our activities, sympathies, etc. Young Leidig, my shipmate, told me afterwards that they had asked him whether he knew if Brennan spoke or read German or had manifested any pro German sympathies. We were allowed to go on to London and told to report at Scotland Yard every day. I went there next day and refused to report any further. I demanded a permit to return to Ireland, which was refused. Detectives called at my lodgings – where there were a number of Irish people – checking on the list of lodgers. Once I answered the door and told the officers that Brennan had said he was going to Ireland that evening. Another officer came back next day and recognised me. He was very annoyed and told me that they were considering interning me and that I was prohibited from leaving London while my position was being decided. In December, 1918, I was told I was free to join another ship, but that the Mediterranean or Ireland were barred to me for the duration of the war.

To get away from England I joined a ship going to the River Plate, where we arrived on Armistice Day, 11th November1918. I met a number of people in Buenos Aires of Irish extraction who flew the new Irish tricolour amongst the Union Jack and French flags. I returned to England in December but still could not get a permit to return to Ireland as the Defence of the Realm Regulation was still in force. I went on another ship to South Africa and India, returning by the Suez Cana. I returned to Castlecomer, in 1919.

So far this statement has been all about myself but I tell it to show the background of the period as far as I knew. At that period anyone who had anything to do with the British forces during the war was somewhat suspect at home. I found on my return that my family had swung over to Sinn Fein.

Note
A continuation extract from Statement by Garrett Brennan is included in another section of Bagenalstown 1913 – 1921.

One

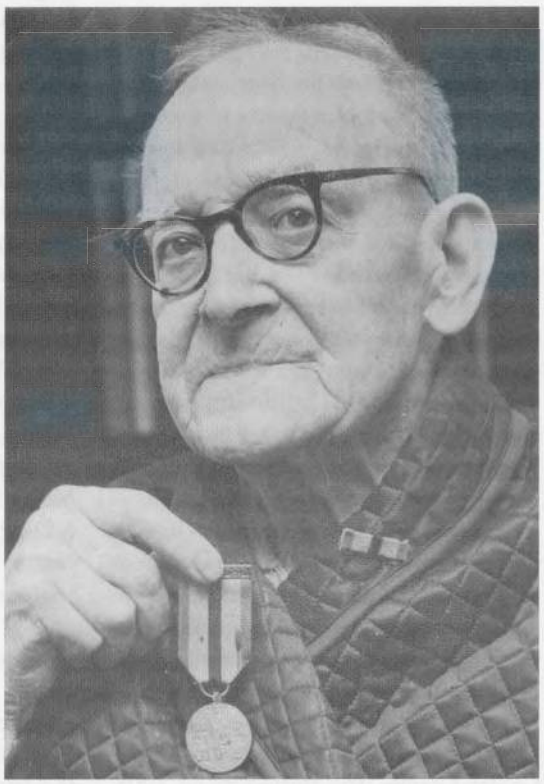
Extract from Statement of 1955 by Patrick Burke
Company Q.M.
And later Q.M. 2nd Battalion West-Waterford

I was born in Durrow, Stradbally, Co Waterford, in the year 1891. My people were small farmers, and I went to school at St. Augustine's Seminary, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford, where I was a member of the hurling team.

On leaving school at the age of sixteen, I came to Waterford city to serve my time as a coachbuilder with the firm of Durand & Company. The principal of the firm, Pierce Durand, was a man of strong national views. He was afterwards prominent in the I.R.A. in Co. Waterford. On arriving in Durand's, I formed a friendship with a man on the job, named Paddy Murphy, a native of Shankill, Co. Dublin. This chap and the apprentices in his father's business had organised a branch of the Gaelic League in Waterford, of which I became a member. Six months later a cousin of Paddy Murphy, named Peadar Woods, came on the staff at Durand's. He also was a Gaelic Leaguer and a hurler, and both of us joined the John Mitchel hurling club in Waterford.

Shortly after joining the Irish Volunteers in 1915, I transferred to Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow, where I continued to follow my trade as a coachbuilder with Paddy Murphy previously mentioned and immediately joined the local hurling club.

There was no company of Volunteers in Bagenalstown at that time, but myself and a few others managed to organise a company at the Royal Oak, about one and a half miles from Bagenalstown. As there was no Brigade Headquarters in Carlow, we affiliated with the Kilkenny Brigade, the O/C of which was Peter de Loughrey, Kilkenny city, and the Battalion Commandant, a man named Martin Kealy from Gowran district. We had about forty men in Bagenalstown Company, comprising of men from Paulstown, Royal Oak and Wells. Our drill instructor was an ex R.I.C. man name Murphy. We drilled openly and often had skirmishing exercises with the



Peter Jones, Kilcarrig Street, member of the I.R.B. and founder member of Bagenalstown Irish Volunteers and Company captain

Kilkenny Brigade. We had a few Sneider rifles. I personally owned a serviceable one which I purchased from an old Fenian who lived at the Royal Oak. The rifle was complete with bayonet and in very good condition. The old man gave me thirty rounds of ammunition with it. That same rifle gave good service in West Waterford afterwards. We also had a few shotguns which were fitted with bayonets by de Loughrey's of Kilkenny who were motor engineers. We had in the Company two or three .22 revolvers we had bought from the Kilkenny lads, together with a small quantity of ammunition. I was Captain of the Bagenalstown Company. Peter Jones (an I.R.B. man I think) was a lieutenant. Sean Byrne of Inchicore, Dublin, also an I.R.B. man, was a prominent member too.

A few months before the 1916 Rising, we had a visit from a Captain Kelly from Dublin. This man came to look at the Volunteer organisation in general. He gave some instruction in bayonet practice, and I remember him asking us if we could suggest an improvement on the pike used in the '98 Rising. There was no mention of the coming Rising by this man Kelly. About three weeks prior to 1916, Liam Mellows came down to the Brigade to adjudicate on skirmishing exercises between the Volunteers from Kilkenny and Bagenalstown. This was a fairly large scale affair and took place at Goresbridge, Co. Kilkenny. It appeared to us then as if things were beginning to stir, but we still had no information of what was to happen a few weeks later in Dublin.

On the Saturday of Easter Week, 1916, I was on my way to Durrow, Co. Waterford, for my usual Easter visit to my people when two members of the Bagenalstown Company met me on the station platform and informed me that a Rising was coming off on the following day, Easter Sunday. Our allotted part was the capture of the R.I.C. barracks at Borris in Co. Carlow. In order to throw the District Inspector and local Sergeant of the R.I.C. off the scent (they were both on the platform at the time), I decided to take the train, for which I was waiting, to Kilkenny only, contact the Brigade officers there and return to Bagenalstown by a goods train late that night. I went to Kilkenny; saw some of the Volunteers there who told me to carry out the orders already given me; so I returned to Bagenalstown again later that night. Immediately on arrival, I issued an order to all members of the Company to be present at 3 p.m., the following day Easter Sunday, to take part in special manoeuvres, each man to bring full equipment.

On Easter Sunday, 1916 the men to the number of thirty or so, turned up as instructed. I told them that we had a clash with the R.I.C. ahead of us and that we were to proceed to Borris, about seven miles distant, in small groups. This was done, mainly by towpath on the Grand Canal, to avoid notice. A chap named Finn, in charge of a donkey and cart, took the arms by road. We had a mixed collection of rifles and shotguns, with a few .22 revolvers but comparatively little ammunition.

I had dispatched the whole company to Borris with the exception of three men. My object in this was to keep an eye on our ex R.I.C. drill instructor (one of the three), as I was a bit doubtful about his trustworthiness in such a crisis. We had covered about two thirds of the journey to Borris when one of the Volunteers who had gone on ahead of us, returned and said manoeuvres were off. He was after being told by some Dublin men who had come down by car from Dublin with the countermanding order from Eoin Mac Neill. On hearing this, I assumed the Rising was called off, so I disbanded the men and dumped the arms and ammunition. I never found out who these Dublin men were who brought the countermanding order on that Easter Sunday, of 1916.

Thinking the Rising was not taking place, I left Bagenalstown for my home in Durrow on Easter Monday morning, but broke my journey in Kilkenny to make enquiries there as to what was happening in Dublin. The Kilkenny men had no news of the Rising when I reached the city at about 10 a.m. on Easter Monday, 1916, so I proceeded home by train to Waterford that same day. I first heard news of the Rising having taken place, on Easter Tuesday, 1916 when an R.I.C. man called to my home in Durrow asking if I was there. On the following day I went in to Waterford city to meet my friend Peadar Woods, to discuss the situation with him. Having regard to our lack of arms we didn't think there was anything we could possibly do, and we got no "lead" from the Volunteer "heads" in Waterford.

Later in the week I received a message from my employer in Bagenalstown, telling me that there was a shortage of work and not to return for the present. I learned afterwards that the real purpose of the message was to avoid my being taken prisoner by the local R.I.C. who suspected I was connected with the movement. I remained at home for some months and later in the year, took a job in Clonmel where I contacted many men who had been arrested and released from Frongoch. I finished in Clonmel in December, 1916, and, at the request of my previous employer in Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow, returned there early in the year 1917.

About the summer of 1917 we commenced reorganising the Volunteers again in Bagenalstown. I was the first man to parade the Company on the streets and issue orders after the Rising of 1916. The Company Captain was a man named Devereux, an assistant in a local hardware store. I acted as 1st Lieutenant. The company strength was about thirty men. We had very little arms, just a few shotguns and small calibre revolvers. I remember our first raid for arms by a half dozen of us (disguised) on the house of a farmer named Carton where we got his shotgun. I cannot remember if any of us carried arms on the raid, but possibly a revolver or two may have been carried. This raid took place very late at night.

I remember about that time that a man named Jim O'Rourke, a painter by trade who worked with my firm, discovered in a book he was reading, a formula for making explosives. With the idea of putting this formula into practical use, I consulted with Brother Francis of the De La Salle Christian Brothers in Bagenalstown. I knew perfectly well that he was very sympathetic towards the cause and that, if he could be of any assistance, he would gladly help us out. Bro. Francis secured the help of his school science instructor and with the aid

of a mixing drum which I made, the ingredients for making the powder were put together according to the formula. One of the ingredients was potassium chlorate; another was charcoal which we made from burning wood; and the third was I think sulphur. This made a highly explosive powder. We made about a stone of the stuff which we carefully stored away for future use.

Sometime late in the year 1917, a man named Eamonn Pierce came to us from Dublin on a Volunteer organising campaign. When he heard about the powder we had made, he told us of chaps in Athy who could cast bombs similar to the Mills bombs but cruder, and worked with a fuse, in which this explosive powder of ours could be used. I told him we might be able to do some castings of the bombs in Bagenalstown if I could see how the lads in Athy did the job.

I went to Athy where, in a disused building, some men were engaged making bomb castings on the pattern of the Mills bomb. With a lathe, I made in wood a copy of the Mills bomb casing and sent it to the men in Athy to make a casting in metal from the Mills bomb type. I cannot remember if any of our home-made gun powder was sent to Athy subsequently, but I do know we tried out the stuff on some rocks in the vicinity of Bagenalstown and found it very effective indeed.

In 1918, at the threat of conscription by the British Government, we had a large influx of recruits to our Company and, to supply them with some sort of weapon, we decided to manufacture a quantity of pikes. The pikes were made from hexagon steel (used in making chisels and drills) bought by me from my employer in Bagenalstown. The handles were converted spade handles, cut to about five feet which, plus the head, made the pike about six feet long. To make the pike-heads I chucked my job and got permission from a local farmer, who had a smithy, to use his forge and, with the help of the blacksmith, I worked during the day making pike-heads. About fifty of these pikes were made and put away in a safe place.

I returned to my job as a coachbuilder when the pikes were finished, but later in the year 1918, I got a bad attack of flu and returned home to Durrow, Co. Waterford, to convalesce, bringing with me a .22 revolver and the Snider rifle, with thirty rounds of ammunition, to which I have made reference already.

Signed: Patrick Burke
Date: 18th March 1955
Witness: T. O'Gorman.

Notes
After the convalescence, Patrick Burke did not return to Bagenalstown but remained a very active Company member in Co. Waterford, organising groups of Volunteers and participating in many active campaigns until in February 1921, he was arrested and imprisoned in Kilworth Military camp and later in Spike Island and Beare Island from where he was released in December 1921, along with the general release of prisoners at that time.

1911 Census of Ireland - Bagenalstown:

In House No. 9 of High Street, Patrick Doyle (born Co. Wexford) is recorded as a Master Coachbuilder; he lived there along with his wife Sydney (born Co. Wicklow). They had eleven children. George their son succeeded Patrick as a Master Coachbuilder. They operated the coach building business in what was known as the market/shambles area, beside their home, the location of the present Estoria Restaurant.

In House No. 18 Kilcarrig Rural, Thomas Carton (born Co. Carlow) is recorded as a farmer. He lived there with his wife Bridget (born Co. Kilkenny). They had one daughter. This is the old dwelling house on the McDonald homestead in Kilcarrig at present, the location where a raid secured a shotgun.

Two

Extract from Statement of 1954 by John Walsh
Adjutant Graiguenamanagh Company Irish Volunteers
O/C 5th Battalion Kilkenny Brigade 1916 – 1920

I was born in the year 1895 at Newtown, Graiguenamanagh, Co. Kilkenny. I attended the local National School, as a pupil until I was 15 years of age, when I was appointed acting monitor in the school. In this capacity I remained in the school for a further 3 years. When about eighteen years of age I took up a clerical position in the corn and wool stores of the late Mr. James Nolan, Graiguenamanagh.

In June of 1916 a Sinn Fein Club was formed in Graiguenamanagh. The prime mover in the formation of the club was the late Mr. Christopher Ennis – popularly known as Kit Ennis. I joined the club at its inception and attended the weekly meetings which were held in the small local hall in High Street. About a month after the formation of the Sinn Fein Club Ennis, at one of the weekly meetings, announced that he proposed to get in touch with some people, whose names I think he did not mention, with a view to forming a company of Irish Volunteers in Graiguenamanagh. There was no objection and at the very next meeting the Volunteer Company was formed. All the men present gave their names as willing to join. Ennis was elected as the first Company Captain and I was elected as Company Adjutant. About seventy men joined the Company at that meeting.

Early in April, 1921, George O'Dwyer the Brigade O/C, visited the Column. He told me that he had prepared plans for an attack on Bagenalstown (Now Muine Bheag) R.I.C. Barracks and that in addition to the Flying Column, the services of all available men of A. Company would be required. What his plans for the actual attack were, I cannot now say, nor do I know what arrangement, if any, he had made with the Carlow Brigade in whose area Bagenalstown was situated. The strength of the garrison in Bagenalstown Barracks at that time would, I am sure having been in or about thirty men comprised of R.I.C. men, Auxiliaries, and Black and Tans. The date for the attack was I think April 16th, 1921. It was a Saturday night. Shortly after dark on that night I arrived with the Column and a party of Volunteers from A. Company at a place called Slyguff, about three quarters of a mile from Bagenalstown. We had marched from Graiguenamanagh approximately twelve miles away. Here, I contacted the Brigade O/C (George

O'Dwyer) and, having halted the main party, O'Dwyer and I proceeded along a footpath (commonly known as the tow line) beside the river Barrow in the direction of Bagenalstown. At the Royal Oak Bridge we climbed on to the roadway about four hundred yards from the town. To our amazement, the first thing we saw was an armoured car without lights and manned by British soldiers, patrolling slowly and silently in the vicinity of the bridge. We immediately got back down on the footway beside the river. Shortly after, O'Dwyer contacted some scouts (members I think of the 3rd Battalion) who had entered the town earlier. The scouts reported that all the streets were being patrolled by British soldiers, accompanied by two or three armoured cars. The troops and armoured cars arrived late that evening from Carlow and the Curragh.

Apparently no plans had been made to block the roads leading to the town, or, if they had, they were timed to coincide with the time of the attack on the barracks. It was now plain to see that the enemy were well aware of our intention to attack the barracks that night and any attempt attempt on our part to enter the town would have been sheer madness. O' Dwyer decided to call off the attack. I re-joined the Column and Volunteers party where they were resting at Slyguff. We fell in and the Column retired to the village of Ballymurphy, about eleven miles away. We attended Mass in Ballymurphy on the following morning (Sunday morning). The party of Volunteers from A. Company returned to their homes on Saturday night. The Column occupied billets in Ballymurphy where we remained for a few days before returning to the Graiguenamanagh district.

Signed: John Walsh
Date: July 1st 1954
Witness: J.Grace

Note
Robert Doyle, Ballymurphy and James Purcell, Garryduff, Paulstown were members of the Graiguenamanagh Flying Column in 1920/1921.

Three

Extract Continuation from Statement of 1957
By Deputy Commissioner Garrett Brennan
Garda Siochana, Dublin Castle.
Formerly Adjutant, 3rd Battalion, Kilkenny Brigade
And Commandant, 3rd Battalion, Kilkenny Brigade I.R.A.

On the 9th April, 1921, with the Battalion O/C I attended a brigade meeting at Rice's of Outrath, near Kilkenny. It was announced by the Brigade O/C that Bagenalstown R.I.C. Barracks was to be attacked on the following Saturday night (16th April). The Brigade O/C had promised the Carlow Brigade help from the 3rd Battalion. I was ordered to go to Old Leighlin (12 miles from Castlecomer) on Tuesday night to meet the local O/C and arrange to be guided to Bagenalstown. A crossroads on a road from Carlow to Bagenalstown was fixed as rendezvous. Our job was to hold that road against any reinforcements that should come from Carlow.

On Saturday night, 16th April, I took 20 men from "D" and "C" Companies to Old Leighlin. We had only shotguns and our wits to rely upon, as we had no plan of the intended operation. It was a glorious moonlight night. I sent out four scouts in advance with instructions to fire on any enemy if they could not get back word by runner of enemy ahead.

When we got within 200 yards of the Carlow Road a runner came back to say that there was an armoured car at the crossroads. We next saw the lights of other vehicles along the road and searchlights stabbing the ground at various points. We halted at the point where the guides from the Carlow Brigade were to meet us. None came. After waiting for three hours, from 11.pm until 2.am, we came to the conclusion that the area was flooded with British military. We then withdrew and arrived back in our own area about 5.am. On the way to Old Leighlin one of the boys had a mouth organ, and as we stepped out from the hills of Coon he played "As down the glen rode Sarsfieild's men". He did not dare to play for us on our way back home, for after such disappointment we were humbly silent.

With me on this expedition were John Corcoran(Captain), James Doyle (2nd Lieut.), Tom Duffy (Q.M.) and John Ferris, all of "D" Company (Castlecomer), and Frank Cleere (Lieut.), Paddy Brennan (Little), and 14 other members of "F" Company (Coon). James Doyle suggested that as we were out we should stay out and form our own Column. This was the only sensible remark I heard about the whole job, but it could not be acted upon as no arrangements had been made for billeting and the Column from the 5th Battalion (Graiguenamanagh) used the Coon area, which was the only suitable area in the 3rd Battalion for billeting a Column.

The newspapers on Sunday carried an account of the British military activity in the Bagenalstown area. As far as I remember, it was an official statement which was issued to the newspapers and was to the effect that the British authorities had received information about the proposed attack and had taken steps to prevent it. I heard later that the information got out through loose talk in a public house, which reached the ears of the R.I.C.

Signed: Garrett Brennan
Date: 30th March 1957
Witness: J.Grace
(Investigator)

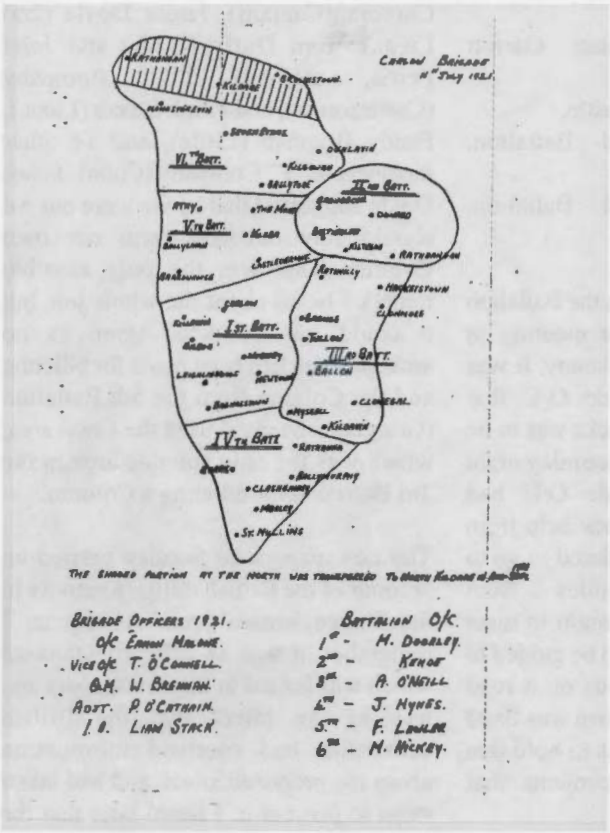
Note
Bagenalstown R.I.C. Barracks was the District Headquarters of the R.I.C.
Garrett Brennan retired as Deputy Commissioner Garda Siochana in the 1960s.

Four

Extract from Statement of 1956 by Patrick Kane
Adjutant, Carlow Brigade, 1921

I was born in the townland of Tinryland, Carlow, a few miles south-east of Carlow town, on the 21st February 1895. My father, who lived into his advanced 80's, was one of a large family of an evicted tenant from the Carlow-Wicklow border. My mother was a Mary Smullen – still alive, thank God, in her advanced 80's – and her father was a member of the Fenian organisation.

I went to the local national school of



Area map sketch - Carlow Brigade 11th July,1921 by Patrick Kane

Tinryland where, in turn, I had two excellent principals, Tom Kennedy, and Pat Shine. The former was a wiry, cultured little athlete from Tullow, Co. Carlow, and the latter was a similar type from Macroom. I was not a good pupil, but I managed to collect enough knowledge to secure first place in a post office clerks' open competition in 1912, after which I was employed in Carlow for several years.

This brings me to 1917 when back in my own County; I joined the Volunteers again, and was quickly detailed to the intelligence and communications duties.

At this stage I am enclosing a map, showing the set-up of the Carlow Brigade in July, 1921, and the rest of my narrative must, of necessity, be written around it.

I was for a while, on the strength of A. Company (Carlow) and was later included in B Company (Nurney). I kept a watchful eye on all police and army communications by telegraph, telephone, and post, but nothing much happened.

1921 dawned, with a more or less organised force, about twenty to twenty five rifles, men who had little or no affective training, limited scope for activities, and with big concentrations of enemy soldiers and "Tans" in Carlow, Tullow, Borris, Inistioge and Kilkenny, the problems to strike the most vulnerable blow was always in mind, and hard to find.

Early in 1921, it was decided to attack Bagenalstown police barracks, but the attack was badly planned and co-ordinated, shotgun ammunition was so swollen that it would not fit the gun breeches, so that the attack had to be abandoned.

A second attack, planned sometime later, had no better fate, because news of the attack reached the police there on the morning of the day for which it was fixed, and it was only a series of lucky accidents which saved all the attackers from being annihilated.

About mid-day on that day, the Bagenalstown police wired in plain language to the police in Carlow, Kilkenny, the Curragh Camp and Wicklow that they had "reliable information that the barracks was to be attacked by Sinn Feiners from Carlow and Kilkenny", and to send reinforcements. I knew this to be the case, and sent dispatches and couriers at once to the Brigade O/C and to the Battalion and Company officers within the immediate area. I was in despair all the evening, and this was heightened at about 8 pm, when I saw the convoys of troops that began to roll south from the Curragh. Next morning, I learned that none of my warnings had reached the assembly points, but the too-early move in by the British reinforcements was the big factor in saving a worse situation. Scouts observed them in time to prevent the Volunteers moving in to the attack, but not before Vice O/C O'Connell was trapped, with about ten men, between the town, the Barrow and a road which runs east-west from the railway station to the Royal Oak, which was heavily patrolled. However, he led his men out of the trap without being observed, with great skill. Thus another action failed.

There was a high level inquiry into the leakage. Sometime afterwards, a man was shot in the district, but whether he was tried by court martial, I cannot say, nor can I say to what degree he was guilty or innocent. But he did have a bad reputation in national circles.

December 1956

Note

In 1923 Patrick Kane was interred in Carlow and thereafter in Wicklow and the Curragh. After his release in 1924 he spent 10 years employed in England. In 1934 he returned to Ireland, worked in four important Irish industries and was retired from Padmore & Barnes (Ltd) in 1956 at the age of 62 years which forced him into the labour market again.

Five

Extract from Statement of 1956 by Michael Doorley

Cloneen, Nurney, Muinebheag, Co. Carlow.

Captain E. Company (Nurney), 1st Battalion, Carlow Brigade

O/C 1st Battalion, Carlow Brigade

I joined the Bagenalstown Company of the Irish Volunteers about the end of 1917. There were about 35 men in the Company. Peter Jones was Company Captain, Pat Burke was 1st Lieutenant and William Flood was Quarter Master. Early in 1918 I organised a section of Volunteers at Nurney. This section was attached to the Bagenalstown Company until about April 1918 when the membership of the section had increased so much that we became a separate Company. It was known as E.Company, 1st Battalion, Carlow Brigade.

Apart from drilling and training, our principal activity was organising resistance to conscription. We made a large number of pikes in the local forge.

Michael Doorley, Captain E Company, 1st Battalion, Carlow Brigade.

We also filled hundreds of shotguns with buckshot. Skilled men from the Bagenalstown Company took a major part in this work and they also took the greater part of the finished material for their Company.

When the threat of conscription passed, the strength of the Company dropped from 40 to 20. I am glad to say we had about 20 in the Company at the Truce. When the conscription menace passed we got an opportunity to do some training. Sean O'Farrell, Carlow who, at the time was I think, Brigade O/C, came out once and sometimes twice a week to assist at the training. Gearoid O' Sullivan also visited the Company several times.

At a meeting of the Comhairle Ceanntair of Sinn Fein held early in August 1918, I was appointed to read the Sinn Fein Manifesto at the Royal Oak on August 15th. This venue was to serve the arms of Bagenalstown, Leighlinbridge and Royal Oak. I read the Manifesto and the following evening, I got a message from Mr Sean O'Leary, shop assistant at Mr M. Sheils, Bagenalstown, and a very active Volunteer, that I was to be arrested that night. He advised me to take precautions to avoid capture until I got further instructions.

About 12 midnight, four R.I.C. men arrived and thoroughly searched the house; on the following morning I got word from Sinn Fein Headquarters not to allow myself to be arrested and to await orders. On the afternoon of that date (17th August) an Irish Volunteer officer called on me and he also told me to evade arrest. After a very lengthy discussion as to the best way of doing so, he gave me a letter of introduction to Seamas Rafter of Enniscorthy. When I went to Enniscorthy, Rafter gave me another letter of introduction to Pat Doyle, "The Piers", Coolree, Ballindaggin. I remained in that area until December 1919, when I got a message to return to Carlow. I resumed charge of the Nurney Company. We continued training the Company and always had two or three of our members ready for dispatch work, day or night. We continued making buckshot and filling cartridges.

ORDER UNDER REGULATION NO. 14 B. OF THE RESTORATION OF ORDER IN IRELAND REGULATIONS.

WHEREAS on the recommendation of a Competent Military Authority, appointed under the Restoration of Order in Ireland Regulations, it appears to me that for securing the restoration and maintenance of Order in Ireland it is expedient that Peter Jones, of Bagenalstown, in the County of Carlow, should, in view of the fact that he is a person suspected of acting, having acted, and being about to act in a manner prejudicial to the restoration and maintenance of Order in Ireland, be subjected to such obligations and restrictions as are hereinafter mentioned:

Now I HEREBY ORDER that the said Peter Jones, shall be interned in Ballykinlar Camp, and shall be subject to all the rules and conditions applicable to persons there interned and shall remain there until further orders.

If within seven days from the date on which this Order is served on the said Peter Jones, he shall submit to me any representations against the provisions of this Order, such representation will be referred to the Advisory Committee specially appointed for the purpose of advising me in connection with Orders made under the above-mentioned Regulation and presided over by a Judge of the High Court, and will be duly considered by the Committee. If I am satisfied by the report of the said Committee that this Order may be revoked or varied without injury to the restoration and maintenance of Order in Ireland I will revoke or vary this Order by a further Order in writing under my hand. Failing such revocation or variation this Order shall remain in force.

(Sgd) HAMAR GREENWOOD

19th January, 1921.

OVER.

Order of Interment served on Peter Jones, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow.

Early in 1920 we raided houses of loyalists in the Company area for arms. We got some shotguns. About April 1920, Fenagh R.I.C. Barracks was evacuated and we burned it a night or two afterwards. The petrol and paraffin oil used for the job was brought out from Carlow by Paddy McDermott who, at that time was, I think, an officer of the Battalion staff.

About August or September 1920 we carried out a general raid for arms throughout the area. I divided the Company into several sections, putting an officer or section commander in charge of each section, and allotted an area for each section to raid. I arranged for an assembly point where all sections would report when they had completed the job. One section commander Michael Regan reported to me that one man had refused to hand over his gun. I then went to this man's house, and threating to burn his house, he handed over his gun to me. We got about 40 shotguns that night.

From this on we intensified our activities. We blocked roads by felling trees across them, cut the telegraph wires, destroyed bridges, and tried to harass the enemy in every way we could. We also seized the mails and censored them. Any information we got in them which we thought might be useful we sent to the Brigade O/C, Eamon Malone, who had his headquarters in Nurney at this time.

The military, who were stationed in Carlow Military Barracks, used travel the back road to Bagenalstown (Muine Bheag) via the Harrow Cross. The Brigade planned to ambush them on this road at a spot known as the long mile. We lay in position for several hours but the enemy did not come.

On another occasion when a job was being carried out in another area, we snipped Bagenalstown R.I.C. Barracks so as to prevent the R.I.C. from leaving the Barracks.

Early in 1921 the Brigade planned an all-out attack on Bagenalstown R.I.C. Barracks. The attack was to be carried out by the Brigade active service unit, assisted by units from the 1st and 3rd Battalions. Instructions were issued to block all roads leading to Bagenalstown. The byroads were to be blocked early and the main roads were not to be blocked until near the time the attack was to commence, which was 10 pm. The reason for this was to avoid rousing suspicion that anything was to take place that night. Having completed the blocking of roads in my area, and having placed armed outposts at each road block I proceeded with a party of men to Bagenalstown to take part in the actual attack. On the way we saw the lights of several Crossley tenders going into Bagenalstown from the direction of Carlow. When we arrived at the position allotted to us – Kilcarrig Railway Bridge – which was about 250 yards from the Barracks, I sent a Volunteer to report to Tommy O'Connell who was Vice O/C Brigade, that were in position. O'Connell sent word to me to withdraw as quickly and as quietly as possible as the attack had to be called off on account of a large number of enemy troops having arrived in Bagenalstown. There is no doubt that the enemy had information that the attack was to take place that night. The Brigade staff made every effort to find out how the leakage occurred, but failed to do so. They came to the conclusion that in all probability it was due to loose talk on the part of some Volunteer.

Early in April 1921, Michael Byrne, our Battalion O/C was arrested. The Brigade O/C Eamon Malone sent for me and told me he had appointed me O/C of the Battalion. Other members of my staff were:- Eugene Brennan, Adjutant, William Flood Q.M., and James Byrne, I.O. There was no further change in the staff and it remained the same up to the Truce.

There were six Companies in the Battalion, viz:

A/Coy. Carlow Town		Jim Rice
Captain		
B/Coy. Bagenalstown		Peter Hayes
Captain		
C/Coy. Leighlinbridge		Wm. Farrell
Captain		
D/Coy. Killeshin		Thos. Malone
Captain		
E/Coy. Ballinbranna		Ned Costigan
Captain		
F/Coy. Nurney		Michael Regan
Captain		

Wm Farrell, C/Coy Leighlinbridge, Captain

Meetings of the Brigade Council were held frequently. They were presided over by the Brigade O/C , and were attended by the Commandant and another officer of each Battalion and all members of the Brigade staff. At first the meetings were usually held at Nurney. After a while owing to the difficulty and risk involved of travelling long distances full Brigade meetings were discontinued. Council meetings of the 1st,3rd, and 4th Battalions continued to be held at Nurney, and the meetings of the 2nd, 5th, and 6th Battalions were held in Athy.

The Brigade staff at the Truce were :

Eamon Malone	Brigade O/C.
Thomas O'Connell	Brigade Vice O/C.
Patrick Keane	Adjutant.
William Brennan	Q.M.
William Stack	I.O.

Signed: Michael Doorley
Date: 3rd October 1956
Witness: Sean Brennan Lieut. Col.

Notes

Patrick Burke refers to the manufacturing of pikes in 1918, as does Michael Doorley and the forge of blacksmith Thomas Hooper, that was located at Hooper's Cross, on the Newtown Road to Bagenalstown is the most likely location of this event.

In Griffiths Valuation dated 1852 the R.I.C. Barracks is recorded in Kilreet Street, Bagenalstown and in the 1901 and 1911 census it is recorded in Barrett Street. Local consensus places the barracks in Regent Street at some period also.

According to local tradition at some point during the period 1913 – 1921 the R.I.C. moved to a house on Station Road, as it was a more secure location and so on April 16th 1921, it was the R.I.C. Barracks on Station Road that was the target of the abortive attack.

At another time afterwards an attack succeeded in destroying the roof of the barracks by fire. The house was renovated and is at present the Benson family home.

Addendum

Extract from Statement of 1952 by Francis O Duffy
41 Palmerston Road Dublin
Captain "C" Company, Enniskillen Battalion Volunteers 1913
Chairman, Monaghan Dail Court, 1919-1920

Ballykinlar Camp (1920 – 1921), situated on the County Down coast was the first Internment Camp established by the British in Ireland during the War of Independence. It was opened in December 1920.

Memorandum

Re Ballykinlar Camp Proinnsias O Dubhthaigh (F. Duffy)
Who was interred in Camp 2, Ballykinlar, from January to December 1921 and acted as Prisoners' Commandant from June until the general release in December 1921.

There were two Internment Camps in Ballykinlar, usually distinguished as Camp 1 and Camp 2. Each camp held (when full) 1,000 (one thousand) prisoners. These were divided for purposes of administration into four companies (250 men each), and each company was housed in ten huts (25 men to each hut).The companies in Camp 1 were described as A,B,C, and D, and those in Camp 2 described as E,F,G, and H. In addition to the huts, in which the men slept, the camp buildings included large central huts, for use as a chapel, dining hall, recreation (concerts etc.), canteen, cookhouse, work-shops, etc.

Memento of Interment Camp 1921 by Peter Jones of Bagenalstown

The sanitary arrangements were very primitive – latrines and buckets. This was the most objectionable feature of the camp, and as all the work within the camps had to be done by the prisoners, the emptying of the buckets was one of the nastiest "fatigues" (as camp duties were called). There was a Catholic Chaplain (Fr McLister) - appointed by the Bishop of the diocese – attached to the camps, and a chapel in each camp. Prior to the arrival of Fr Burbage as a prisoner to Camp 2 (about the end of January 1921), Fr McLister said Mass on alternative days in the two camps; afterwards Fr Burbage said Mass daily in Camp 2 and Fr McLister in Camp 1.

Particulars regarding the organisation and activities of the prisoners in Camp 2 are contained in an album entitled "The Book of Ballykinlar" at present on loan in the historical collections of the National Museum. The following is a copy of the descriptive note attached to it:-

"The Book of Ballykinlar"

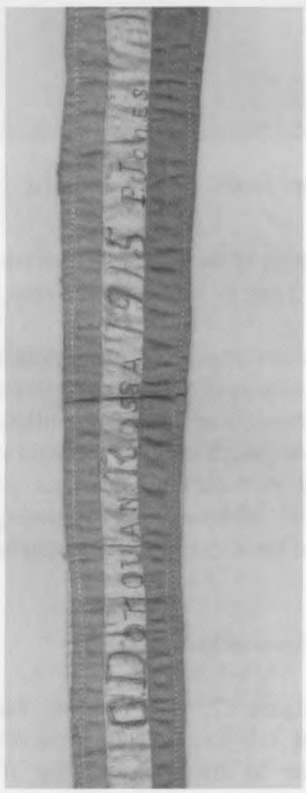
On August 12, 1921, all the Teachtai Dala in Ballykinlar Camp were released in order to attend a meeting of Dail Eireann which was held in the Mansion House on August 16, 1921. The Ballykinlar Teachtai procured this album and had it autographed in the Mansion

BAGENALSTOWN BRASS BAND 1920 Taken outside St. Brigid's Boys School.

Back row: ? Cooper, W. Flood, A. MMan, W. Byrne,

Middle row: J. Smith, Unknown, P. Corcoran, M. Carton, J. Creed, P. Doyle, E. Appleby, P. Doyle, A. Murphy, G. Doyle, J. Brien, P. Brien, P. Bolger, M. Mangan,

Front; Bill Doyle, Tommy Curran



Armband worn by Peter Jones on guard duty at the funeral of O'Donovan Rosa in 1915 at the Mansion House, Dublin

House by Michael Collins, Eoin MacNeill, Arthur Griffith and Eamonn De Valera. It was then sent to Proinnsias O Dubhthaigh, the Commandant of No 2 Camp. There are over a thousand names, grouped together according to the huts which the prisoners occupied. A page is devoted to each hut and each page is ornamented with a border of Celtic illuminated work, no design being repeated. The artist was Micheal O Riada of Killarney. The book also contains a complete account of the life and activities of the Camp and sketches by Muiris MacConghail, Liam Mac Eoin, Cathal O Samhrain and B.Ryan. The Book, with an illuminated foreword, was presented to Fr Burbage by Proinnsias O Dubhthaigh on behalf of his fellow prisoners. Father Burbage was first a prisoner in the Curragh Camp, then in Arbour Hill and was finally sent to Ballykinlar where he remained until the General Release.

Lent by Rev.T. Burbage, P.P. Tinryland, Co. Carlow. E.W. (Loan).

Signed: Proinnsias O Dubhthaigh
(F. O Duffy)
Date: 1st April 1952

Witness: John McCoy 1/4/ 1952

Notes
Peter Jones was already a member of the I.R.B., when he joined the Bagenalstown Volunteers at its foundation meeting in 1915, as a Lieutenant in the Company.

In 1917, when Michael Doorley joined the Bagenalstown Company, Peter Jones

was the Company Captain.
Peter was first interred in Ballykinlar Camp, Co. Down and afterwards in Hare Park, the Curragh, Co. Kildare.

Peter Jones signed "The Book of Ballykinlar" along with his inmates in Hut 26, Camp 2.

Attached is a copy of the page that Peter himself made and had all men in Hut 26 sign, he retained it as his own personal record.

The first to sign on the top of the page is Peter and the signature on the second line is that of the Rev. Thomas Burbage also a prisoner, who celebrated Mass each morning in Camp 2.

Fr. Thomas Burbage was born in Borrisokane, Co. Tipperary on the 2nd March, 1879 and lived in Portarlington while growing up. He attended Carlow College and Maynooth, was ordained in 1904; served on the staff of Carlow College 1905 – 1909, and served as a curate in Carlow, Geashill and Moyvally. He was Parish Priest in Tinryland, Co. Carlow 1933 – 1940 and Parish Priest in Mountmellick 1940 – 1966.

The signature on the eight line of the memento is that of Sean Raghas, Monaughrim, Clonegall, Co. Carlow.

(In the 1911 Census there is a John Rice recorded in the same area of Co. Carlow). In total 25 signatures are on the page which was the number of prisoners in Hut 26.

Signatures are signed in Irish by some Volunteers and in English by others.

Sources:
Bureau of Military History 1913 – 1921 Collection in the Military Archives.
Micheal Jones, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow. (Son of Peter Jones).
Census of Ireland 1911.

Robert (Bob) Watchorn

THE MAN INSTRUMENTAL IN INITIATING THE BOVINE TURBERCULOSIS ERADICATION SCHEME

Robert (Bob) Watchorn as private secretary to the then Minister for Agriculture, Tom Walsh from Poulnagoth, Co. Kilkenny was instrumental in introducing the scheme for the eradication of Bovine Tuberculoses in 1954. Although born in Dublin his father, Robert Watchorn was a native of Augharue, Bilboa, Co. Carlow. His mother, Florance Jane Penrose of Co. Carlow. In 1928 Bob started work in the Custom House, Dublin and in 1934 was called to the Department of Agriculture. He married Shiela O'Neill in 1943, they had three children, Hilary Anne, Alan Edgar Penrose and David Richard Andrew. From February 1948 to June 1951 he served as Private Secretary to James Dillon, the then Minister for Agricultural and from 1951 to 1954 Tom Walsh. By 1949 he had made Higher Executive Officer. During his time in the Department he had the distinction of serving eight different ministers. From 1963 until his retirement in 1965 he held the position of Principal Officer of the Department.

The ministers he served under;

James Ryan, 9/8/1932 - 21/1/1947	(FF)
Paddy Smith, 21/1/1947 - 18/2/1948	(FF)
James Dillon, 18/2/1948 - 13/6/1951	(Ind)
Thomas Walsh, 13/6/1951 - 2/6/1954	(FF)
James Dillon, 2/6/1954 - 20/3/1957	(FG)
Sean Moylan, 20/3/1957 - 16/1/1957	(FF)

Too much democracy

Local Government Reform and the Carlow Elections of 1899

John O'Donovan

In May 2014, the voters of Carlow elected eighteen public representatives to administer local government affairs in the county. That figure of eighteen councillors, prescribed by the independent Local Electoral Area Boundary Committee, is a far cry indeed, from the number of elected representatives that managed public business in the county just over a century ago. At that time, more than one-hundred-and-sixty elected office-holders were employed to oversee public affairs in County Carlow.

Leaving aside the not insignificant issue of universal suffrage, there were no half measures when the Westminster parliament finally set about reforming Irish local government at the end of the 19th century. An elaborate system of county and district councils was introduced to take its place alongside existing municipal bodies, with several of the latter being accorded an enhanced status. The 1898 Local Government (Ireland) Act heralded a new era in local administration and it also opened a political door for a whole generation of Irish Nationalists, many of whom would eventually play leading roles in the independence movement.

Ireland was the last of the United Kingdom countries to benefit from local government reform. An act introducing new local structures for England and Wales was passed in 1888 and, the following year, similar legislation for Scotland went through parliament. Agrarian unrest was the excuse advanced for the Irish delay but, fearing that their influence would be eroded, Unionists

Gerald Balfour
Chief Secretary for Ireland
(1895-1900)

also had a hand in holding up progress. The Chief Secretary for Ireland, Arthur Balfour, attempted to legislate in 1892 but his proposals satisfied neither Nationalist nor Unionist and the Bill was abandoned. However, his brother, Gerald Balfour, who was appointed Chief Secretary after the following general election, would be responsible for sponsoring three important pieces of legislation – The Land Law (Ireland) Act 1896, The Local Government (Ireland) Act 1898 and The Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act 1899.

Gerald Balfour's arrival at Dublin Castle seemed to usher in a more benign form of British government policy towards Ireland; often referred to as *constructive unionism*, Balfour himself bluntly described the policy as that of *killing Home Rule with kindness*. In 1897, the Chief Secretary made known his intention to introduce a local government bill and the task of drawing up a blueprint was given to leading Irish civil servant Henry Robinson, who was vice-president of the Local Government Board. The model proposed by Robinson largely mirrored that which had been operating in England and Wales over the previous ten years.

New Structures

In the subsequent legislation, the County Council was advanced as the flagship local body that, as specified in the Act, would be *entrusted with the*

management of the administrative and financial business of that county. Heretofore, the County Grand Juries had responsibility for the construction of roads, bridges and other public works but these bodies were completely unrepresentative of the population and there was also a suspicion that at least some of the schemes undertaken were tainted by corruption. The new Councils inherited a long list of powers and duties from the Grand Juries and they also took on some functions of Boards of Guardians, the most important being *the business of making, levying, collecting and recovering the poor rate in rural districts*. Other responsibilities included managing and providing for lunatic asylums, county infirmaries and fever hospitals as well as administering technical instruction, alleviating sudden damage or extreme distress in the area and making bye-laws for the good governance of the county.

A second layer of local government, in the shape of District Councils – both Urban and Rural – was also part of the reform package. Town Commissions that were classified as urban sanitary districts were redefined as Urban District Councils. These towns, generally with populations in excess of 6000, had previously been designated as urban sanitary districts under the provisions of the Public Health (Ireland) Act 1878. The new UDCs, although subsidiary to the County Councils, had considerable powers and responsibilities, particularly in the areas of poor rate collection, water and gas supply, sewerage, town lighting, artisans' dwellings and maintenance of public works. Town Commissions in the smaller urban areas, being part of rural sanitary districts, were not affected by the 1898 Act.

Poor Law Unions, in place since the end of the 1830s, were inextricably linked with the new Rural District Councils. As the administrative area of Unions often extended to two or more counties, a different rural council for the portion located in each county was established. The legislation laid down that two councillors would be elected by each District Electoral Division, thus ensuring that every local area would be represented on the council. The DED was, in fact, the same geographical unit that had previously chosen poor law guardians and, reflecting a spirit of continuity, the new legislation stipulated that *Rural District Councillors shall, without further election, be the guardians for the divisions which they represent.* Those elected, therefore, had dual responsibilities and meetings of the RDC and the Board of Guardians were usually held on the same day. On such occasions, a district councillor could spend the early part of the day dealing with roads, bridges and drainage before joining a larger gathering of Guardians to discuss matters relating to the workhouse and other public health issues.

Restricted Franchise

Elections to all local bodies were to be held every three years, with those for municipal areas being fixed for mid January and the contests for the county and rural district councils scheduled for the month of June. Even though the Local Government Act brought about some improvement, the franchise for those elections remained very limited with qualification for inclusion on the register of electors still property related. Different categories of electors were listed in the legislation but, basically, the 1898 Act enabled men over the age of twenty-one and women over the age of thirty to vote in local elections, provided they were either householders or else lodgers occupying portion of a house. These regulations excluded a large proportion of the adult population and neither was it possible for everyone to stand for election to the County Council. Clergymen of all denominations, bankrupts, ex prisoners, council employees as well as infants and aliens were some of the categories of people banned from seeking election but, the most significant exclusion was that of women. The rules were different, however, for Rural District Council and municipal elections, at which women were entitled to be candidates.

Carlow Prepares

Before the Carlow electors could go to the polls, the Local Government Board was required to re-draw some boundaries for County Council and District Council purposes. In relation to the former, the Administrative county of Carlow was defined as *the existing judicial county of Carlow and so much of Queen's County as forms part of the town of Carlow.* When it came to District Councils, matters were more complicated as, up to then, the county had been divided between five Poor Law Unions – Baltinglass, Enniscorthy, New Ross, Shillelagh and, of course, Carlow. It was decided that the number would be reduced to three, with the Shillelagh and Enniscorthy Unions relinquishing their County Carlow regions. This change, in turn, resulted in the formation of three Rural District Councils for the county. (See Figure 1) These rural councils were given the titles: Carlow (No.1), Baltinglass (No.2) and New Ross (No.3).

Fig. 1

Urban District Council

In January 1899, Carlow Urban District Council became the first public body in the county to be elected under the terms of the new local government act. The outgoing Town Commission was comprised of eighteen members – fifteen and three, respectively, from the Carlow and Graigue urban divisions – and it was proposed that the UDC would be similarly constituted. It appears that the commissioners believed that they were entitled to be returned *en masse* to serve on the new council, but not everyone shared that view.

A group, opposed to the re-election of the existing members and supportive of working-class participation was formed and public meetings were held. William

Carlow's 'Merchant Princes' - L-R Michael Governey, John Hammond and Michael Molloy - all leading members of the first UDC

M Byrne, a local solicitor and one of the leading objectors, delivered a withering critique of the outgoing body when he told a well-attended meeting of townspeople: *The Town Commissioners are like a happy family, none but the pet representatives being placed on it by being co-opted by their fellow members.* At a subsequent gathering it was emphasised that *artisans and labourers are entitled to be represented on the UDC* and, in a swipe at Establishment support for the old regime, a young Carlow solicitor remarked that *people here tonight are not supported by Deans and Archdeacons but by a solid body of the working men of the town.* There was also strong criticism of Carlow MP and long-time town commissioner, John Hammond, who had declined to endorse working-class candidates for the election. Meanwhile, the outgoing commissioners were also drumming up support and, at a meeting in the Town Hall, attended by prominent religious figures and leading personalities from the professional classes, they were all nominated to contest the UDC election. As the campaign drew to a close, both factions vied with each other for support at an eve of poll outdoor meeting in Haymarket that attracted an estimated crowd of two-thousand onlookers.

An election was not necessary for the Graigue ward as the three sitting members - Michael Governey, Michael Molloy and Patrick D Shackleton – were returned unopposed, so the entire focus was on the contest in the Carlow urban division. Election Day was Monday, 16 January, and with five polling booths located in the Town Hall, 723 of the 950 electors on the register cast their votes. As this election was held in the 'pre proportional representation' era, each elector was entitled to vote for fifteen different candidates. When the ballots were counted on the following day, it was announced that Edward Morris, a Conservative candidate, had headed the poll with 466 votes, followed closely by John Hammond who had the support of 450 electors. There was just one hint of drama during the count when it was discovered that two candidates had tied for 15th place; a re-count failed to resolve the issue so the final place on Carlow's first Urban District Council was decided by lot. With the count complete, it was clear that little had changed; fourteen of the ex-town commissioners and just four of the opposing group had been elected. In the aftermath of the election, through the local press, both groups, separately, acknowledged the support of voters, with the former commissioners – perhaps a little wiser at that stage – promising to *promote the interests of all classes in the community.* The political composition of the new council (see Table B) was thirteen Nationalists and five Conservatives; none of the three labour candidates had succeeded in winning a seat.

Members of Carlow Urban District Council (1899)

Patrick Breen
Edward J Byrne
Patrick Byrne
William M Byrne
Benjamin Coleman
William M Douglas
James Doyle
Michael Governey (Chairman)
John Hammond
Charles J Johnson
Patrick Lawler
Thomas Lawler
Michael Molloy
Edward Morris
Edward T Mulhall
Thomas Murphy
Patrick D Shackleton
John Whelan

Bagenalstown Town Commission

Even though municipal elections were held throughout Ireland in January 1899, the voters of Bagenalstown did not have to go to the polls. Nine members were elected unopposed (see Table C) to sit on the town body with just one new commissioner among them. Up until then, three of the nine commissioners were required to stand down each year to be replaced by new nominees but, in reality, the outgoing members were often re-elected as no other names were put forward. The Commission Chairman in 1899 was Bagenalstown hotelier and Justice of the Peace, William Ward, whose son was later chosen as the local Nationalist candidate for Carlow County Council.

Michael Connolly Bagenalstown Town Commission

Bagenalstown Town Commission existed long before the Local Government Act came into operation and, consequently, it

Table C

Members of Bagenalstown Town Commission (1899)

Michael Connolly

Martin J Kavanagh

John Keating

John J Kennedy

Patrick McDonald

John Nolan

Joseph O'Neill

Charles Henley Thorpe

William Ward (Chairman)

was not affected in any way by the reforms. The Commission had been established in 1858 after local ratepayers had, under the provisions of the Towns Improvement (Ireland) Act, petitioned the Local Government Board. As the 1899 elections approached the Town Commission sought to be upgraded to an Urban District Council but, following an inquiry, the application was rejected. Towns of more than 1500 inhabitants were entitled to seek UDC status but, given that Bagenalstown had not previously been designated an urban sanitary district, together with fact that local land owners objected to an extension of the town boundary, it was clear that the request for an upgrade was doomed from the start.

First County Council

The opportunity presented by the County Council elections, in April 1899, had been long-awaited by Nationalists. County Carlow was divided into eighteen electoral divisions that, according to the Act, *nearly as conveniently may be equal as regards population* but *may be unequal as regards area*. Seventeen of these divisions each returned a single member, while the area that included Carlow town was entitled to elect three councillors.

Meetings to select candidates for both the county and rural district elections were held in towns and villages throughout Carlow, during the early months of 1899. Local parish priests were heavily involved in this process, and it was not unusual for the meetings to be held in the chapel yard, immediately after Sunday mass. The legislation had set out to restrict clerical involvement, by excluding them from running for elected office, but it was clear that, from the background, they continued to exert a tremendous influence. Most of those selected had no great experience of public life, but not all were political novices as several had previously served as Poor Law Guardians for their local Union. Protestant candidates were occasionally chosen, the most prominent being Walter McMurrough-Kavanagh of Borris who had strong backing from the formidable Bishop Patrick Foley in the County Council election. Unlike Kavanagh, most of the handful of Protestants nominated for District Council seats came from medium-sized farming backgrounds and, while one or two were classified as Nationalists, the majority were described as either neutral or Popular candidates.

In the Carlow electoral division, care was taken to avoid a repeat of the divisive UDC election campaign of the previous January. Prior to the nomination process, a *conference of representatives of the mercantile, professional and labour elements* was convened, essentially to agree on which candidates should be selected. With three seats available in the electoral division, this group adopted a pragmatic approach, proposing that two Nationalists – Governey and Hammond – should be joined on the ballot paper by labour representative William Ellis, a candidate who, in any event, was said *to subscribe fully to the Nationalist programme*.

It would be no exaggeration to say that the outcome of the County Council elections of June 1899 represented a sweeping victory for the Nationalist voters of Carlow. (See Table A) For six of the electoral divisions – Bagenalstown, Ballymurphy, Grangeford, Myshall, Old Leighlin and Tullow – Nationalist nominees were returned unopposed. In a further two areas – Hacketstown and Glynn – difficulties with the selection process dictated that a pair of Nationalist candidates appeared on the ballot paper, leaving it to the voters to make the final decision.

The circumstances that obtained in the Borris electoral division were unusual, if not unique. Here, apparently at the behest of their ecclesiastical masters, the majority of Nationalists threw their political weight behind pro-Unionist local landlord, Walter McMurrough-Kavanagh. A gathering of activists at Borris praised Kavanagh for *his outspoken feelings on many questions of national importance* and begged *to offer him, with one unanimous voice, the councillorship of this his native district in the forthcoming election*. Kavanagh, who in later years espoused the Home Rule cause and became MP for Carlow, was well regarded in the area and his liberal views on Catholic education had impressed the bishop. However, with

Edward Joyce
Ballymurphy

Patrick Hughes
Leighlinbridge

Walter McMurrough-Kavanagh
Borris

Patrick Hanlon
Grangeford

Michael Foley
Old Leighlin

TABLE A

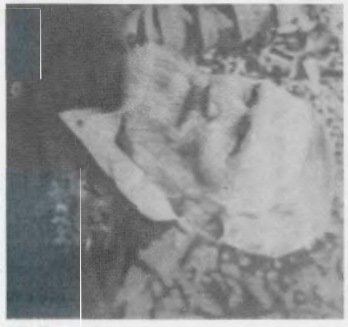
CARLOW COUNTY COUNCIL and RURAL DISTRICT COUNCIL ELECTIONS - 1899				
ELECTORAL DIVISION	COUNTY COUNCIL MEMBER	DISTRICT ELECTORAL DIVISION	DISTRICT COUNCIL	RURAL DISTRICT COUNCIL MEMBERS
Bagenalstown	Samuel Ward N	Bagenalstown Rural	C	James Aughney, Edward Hughes
		Bagenalstown Urban	C	Samuel Crosthwaite, Martin Kavanagh
Ballon	Maurice Neill N 283 John F Lecky U 2 5	Ballon	C	Edward Conroy, Aidan Doyle
		Fenagh	C	Edward Brohan, Charles Nolan
		Rathrush	C	Terence Cummins, William Keppel
		Templepeter	C	Patrick J Byrne, Patrick Kinsella
Ballymurphy	Edward Joyce N	Ballymurphy	NR	Patrick Flood, Patrick Kavanagh
		Coonogue	NR	John Joyce, John Rose
		Kyle	NR	John Breen, Thomas Doyle
		Rathanna	C	Patrick Doyle, John Nolan
Borris	Walter McMurrough-Kavanagh P 212 Laurance Kirwin N 100	Borris	C	Edward Doyle, Patrick Murphy
		Killedmond	C	Patrick Kavanagh, William Nolan
Burton Hall	Charles Engledow N 195 Williaam Browne Clayton U 35	Burton Hall	C	Charles J Engledow, Thomas P Kelly
		Carlow Rural	C	Kyran Hosey, William Kelly
		Johnstown	C	Thomas Byrne, John Delaney
		Killerig	C	Edward Byrne Jnr, Daniel Whelan
Carlow	Michael Governey N 747 John Hammond N 713 William Ellis L 597 Henry Bruen U 208	Carlow Urban Craigue Urban		See Tables B and E for UDC and PLG elections
Clonegal	Denis Donoghue N 211 Robert W Hall-Dare U 27	Clonegal	C	James Moran, James O'Leary
		Cranemore	C	Edward Murphy, *Vacant*
Corries	Patrick J. Maher N 260 Denis Pack Beresford U 38	Ballyellin	C	Sylvester Lennon, Michael Waters
		Ballymoon	C	Patrick Kearney, William O'Neill
		Corries	C	James Cleary, Patrick Maher
		Sliguff	C	Richard Nolan, Patrick Whelan

Glynn	Laurance Doyle N 170 Ignatius Kelly N 132	Glynn	NR	Patrick Dunphy, Walter McM - Kavanagh
		Tinnahinch	NR	Patrick Breen, Edward Galavan
Grangeford	Patrick Hanlon N	Grangeford	C	Patrick Hanlon, Michael Roche
		Kineagh	B	Patrick Finnegan, James Molloy
		Tankardstown	C	Thomas Bolger, John O'Brien
		Williamstown	B	Williaam Kealy, William Salter
Hacketstown	John Lyons N 180 James Kealy N 154	Clonmore	B	Edward Ferris, Maurice Roche
		Hacketstown	B	Patrick Cullen, Nicholas O'Toole
Leighlinbridge	Patrick Hughes N 227 Philip D Vigors U 16	Agha	C	William Griffith, Daniel Kearney
		Leighlinbridge	C	Thomas Byrne, John Nevin
Myshall	William F Nolan N	Garryhill	C	Garret Fenlon, Thomas Murphy
		Myshall	C	James Gorman Snr, James Gorman Jnr
		Shangarry	C	John Brophy, Patrick Nolan
Nurney	Timothy Hughes N 227 Frederick B Bagenal U 56	Ballinacarrig	C	Pierce Hayden, Richard McDonald
		Clogrennan	C	Ethel Alexander, John Lennon
		Kellistown	C	James P Dowling, Daniel Murphy
		Nurney	C	James McGrath, John McGrath
Old Leighlin	Michael Foley N	Old leighlin	C	Patrick Lyons, Philip Nolan
		Rathornan	C	John Cummins, John A Kehoe
		Ridge	C	Thomas Neill, Michael Rice
Rathvilly	William Dunne N 238 John Adair U 28	Haroldstown	B	Pierce Butler, William Dempsey
		Rahill	B	William Burgess, Patrick Dowling
		Rathvilly	B	John Donnelly, Stephen Doyle
		Ticknock	B	John Brown, Joseph Keane
Tullow	Edward Murphy N	Tullow	C	William Burgess, Joseph Nicholson
Tullowbeg	James Murphy N 285 Sir Thomas Butler U 88	Ballintemple	C	Patrick Donohoe, William Doyle
		Kilbride	C	Edward Conroy, Patrick Neill
		Tullowbeg	C	Patrick J Aughney, John James Ennis

District Councils: C: Carlow (No. 1) B: Baltinglass (No. 2) NR: New Ross (No.3) [Idrone]

Edward Murphy (Ballinvalley) DC for Craanmore

Kyran Hosey (Primrose Hill) DC for Carlow Rural



William Keppel DC for Rathrush

Patrick Donohoe (Rathvarrin) DC for Ballintemple

Benjamin Coleman Member of Carlow UDC

Maurice Neill Ballon

William Ellis Carlow

John Lyons Hacketstown

some Nationalists refusing to take episcopal advice, a challenger was nominated but Kavanagh emerged a clear winner.

In all nine remaining electoral divisions Nationalists swept to victory, inflicting crushing defeats on their Unionist opponents, all prominent members of county's gentry families. Citing long experience in the management of public affairs, these Unionist candidates had appealed for support by way of election addresses in the local press but, apart from Henry Bruen who polled reasonably well in the Carlow division, that support failed to materialise. They had badly misjudged the mood of the electorate, more than likely misinterpreting the normal courtesy and deference shown them by employees and neighbours; that apparent goodwill failed to translate into electoral support, resulting in several of the foremost land-owners in County Carlow being humiliated by the derisory number of votes they received.

Charles J. Engledow M.P. Burton Hall

Eighteen of the twenty elected councillors were classified as Nationalists, with the other two being Walter Kavanagh and William Ellis, the first representative of Carlow's working classes to achieve elected office. Apart from Kavanagh and Ellis – whose occupations were described, as gentleman and compositor – the remaining successful Nationalists were either businessmen or farmers, with a number from the latter category being substantial land-owners. Representative of the new Catholic middle class, at least five of the councillors were Justices of the Peace and a further two were sons of local magistrates. All committed Nationalists, it appeared, nonetheless, that a majority of those elected did not envisage, or even aspire to, any form of independence beyond 'Home Rule' within the British Empire.

The Local Government Act also provided for a number of co-options and, at the first meeting of the Council, Joseph Nicholson – a district councillor from Tullow – and John Whelan, a member of Carlow UDC, were added to the list. In addition, the chairman of each of the county's three Rural District Councils was an *ex-officio* member. Another provision – applicable only for the first term of the new County Council – stipulated that three members of the Grand Jury should be nominated to serve on the new public body. When the Grand Jury convened to select its nominees, a distinct lack of enthusiasm was evident among its members; some were absent and others declined to serve, but eventually Captain Jocelyn H Thomas, Colonel Philip D Vigors and William Fitzmaurice agreed to fill the allotted places on the council. At its inaugural meeting, the twenty-eight member council elected Westminster MP John Hammond as its first chairman.

It is worth noting that the election of Charles J Engledow for the Burton Hall division brought a second MP onto Carlow County Council. Engledow, who was the anti-Parnellite member for Kildare North was an eligible candidate as he had leased, and lived at, the Burton Hall residence for some time. Incidentally, yet another Westminster MP held a prominent quasi-legal position in the county at the same time; Herbert Robertson, who lived at Huntington Castle in Clonegal, was High Sheriff for County Carlow in 1899. Robertson, a Conservative MP for the London constituency of Hackney South, was married to a member of the Durdin family and lived on the Carlow estate when parliament was not in session.

Samuel Ward Bagenalstown

Carlow (No.1) Rural District Council

Covering an area extending to approximately three-quarters of the county, the Carlow (No.1) Rural District Council was, by far, the largest of the three district councils that were established under the terms of the Act. It was comprised of thirty-seven District Electoral Divisions, two of them recently acquired from neighbouring Poor Law Unions; Shillelagh Union had ceded the Clonegal DED and Cranemore, in the hinterland of Newtownbarry, had been transferred from Enniscorthy.

Two district councillors were elected for each DED, with the legislation stating that *every elector may vote for as many councillors as there are seats to be filled.* The selection and nomination process, as well as the voting arrangements, were held in conjunction with the County Council elections. In more than half of the districts, those nominated were returned unopposed but elections were necessary in seventeen districts. In a few of these Nationalists competed with each other but eleven of the contests involved Unionist candidates, many of them being the same personalities that featured in the County Council elections. Once again, they fared badly, with none being elected and some receiving votes in the low single figures. The only Nationalist defeat was in the Tullow DED where Popular candidate William Burgess took one of the seats.

Success in that election was the first step in lengthy political careers for a number of the newly elected councillors. Thomas

Thomas Bolger D.C. for Tankardstown

John A. Kehoe D.C. for Rathornan

Bolger, who represented Tankardstown, would, more than twenty-five years later become a member of Dail Eireann and John A Kehoe, returned for Rathornan, was destined to play an important role in local affairs, serving as chairman of Carlow County Council for many years. Charles J Engledow, elected a district as well as a county councillor for Burton Hall, had the distinction of being the only Member of Parliament to serve on Carlow RDC.

When all the one hundred County Carlow district council seats were filled, (see Table A) it transpired that just a single female councillor had been elected. Ethel Alexander – English-born wife of Major John Alexander of Milford House – was one of the two candidates nominated for the Clogrennan DED and was, therefore, elected without a contest. But the circumstances surrounding her candidacy are not at all clear. At the Leighlinbridge selection meeting, the Parish Priest indicated that he was *in favour of giving a fair representation to what was hitherto known as the ex-officio element* but, when the nominations were completed the names of two Nationalists were put forward for Clogrennan. However, when nominations officially closed, one of those names had been replaced by that of Mrs Alexander who was proposed by Timothy Hughes, the Nationalist County Council candidate for that division. She was clearly a person of high standing in the area but it is also possible that her nomination resulted from some form of local arrangement or understanding. Mrs Alexander's husband had been nominated to challenge Michael Foley – the Bishop's brother – for a County Council seat in the neighbouring Old Leighlin division and his decision to step aside before the election may well have cleared the way for her own selection, as a *quid pro quo* for the major's withdrawal. The County Council subsequently nominated Ethel Alexander as a member of the Board of Governors of Carlow County Infirmary. At the same election, one other female candidate almost succeeded in being elected to the District Council. In the Kellistown DED, Elizabeth Harriett Pack-Beresford was, at the conclusion of the count, just two votes behind the second Nationalist candidate. The *Carlow Sentinel*, in a pre-election issue, had championed the cause of female representation when it commented: *We have already pointed out the great advantage of having on the Board of Guardians some lady members whose service and influence would prove a great benefit to the inmates. One lady, Mrs Alexander, has been elected unopposed, but with surprise we learn that Miss Pack-Beresford's candidature is opposed. For the credit of our county and the good of the poor we hope to be able to record her triumphant return.* Their Unionist credentials, rather than the gender of the two individuals involved, are more likely to have been the determining factor in securing the backing of the Sentinel.

Ethel Alexander
The only female elected at the Carlow local elections of 1899

However, female participation marginally increased following a number of co-options at the first meeting of the Rural District Council, held in the Workhouse boardroom. The Local Government Act allowed for the appointment of up to three additional members and, for the first council, the selection of a further three with the choice confined *to persons who have actually served as ex-officio guardians at any time during the preceding three years*. The three *ex-officio* co-options were all men – Michael Foley, Walter McMurrough-Kavanagh and Charles McNally – but included on the second list were the names of two women; co-opted along with Henry Bruen were Mary Hughes from Ballinabrannagh and Lady Burton, a woman described as being *remarkable for her charity*. Lady Burton subsequently declined to serve and, at the next meeting, Mary Byrne of Donore, near Bagenalstown, was nominated in her place; however, it appears from attendance records that she did not play a major part in the affairs of the RDC or the Board of Guardians.

Charles F. McNally
Chairman of Carlow (No.1) RDC

One of the co-opted members, County Monaghan-born Charles Francis McNally, was elected chairman of the RDC. A Justice of the Peace and a member of the outgoing Board of Guardians, who lived at Rathbawn near Tullow, he had come to Carlow some twenty years earlier to take up a teaching position at St Patrick's College. As chairman of the RDC, he was *ex-officio*, a member of both Carlow County Council and the Board of Guardians.

For the record, it is worth noting that a Carlow (No.2) Rural District Council also existed, but this elected body represented an area across the Barrow in, what was then, Queen's County. Comprised of twelve district electoral divisions, it was part of the Carlow Poor Law Union and, as such, its elected

members sat on the Carlow Board of Guardians. At the 1899 election a slate of all male candidates was returned but the new members attempted to redress the gender imbalance by co-opting three women onto the council, thereby bringing the female representation on the Board of Guardians to six. Shortly after coming into being, this small public body decided to change its name, being known, thereafter, as Slievemargy Rural District Council. That change of name allowed the 'No.1' prefix to be eventually dropped from the title of its sister rural council in County Carlow.

Baltinglass (No.2)
Rural District Council

The north-eastern portion of County Carlow fits neatly into the hinterland of the west Wicklow town of Baltinglass. Since the inception of the Poor Law system, this region had been divided between the Baltinglass and Shillelagh Unions and, with the arrival of local government reform, a rural district council was established for the area. It was arranged that eight DEDs, including three that had previously been part of the Shillelagh Union, should be constituted as the Baltinglass (No.2) Rural District Council.

William Burgess of Tobinstown, Chairman of Baltinglass (No.2) RDC

The April election (see Table A) was largely uneventful with just three of the eight district electoral divisions being contested. Unlike the contests in the Carlow (No.1) district, there was no high-profile Unionist participation and, in the elections in each of the Clonmore, Hacketstown and Ticknock DEDs, it was Nationalist candidates that opposed one another. Goodwill was in evidence at the Rathvilly selection meeting when those gathered unanimously nominated two local Protestant farmers. The Parish Priest, Fr John Phelan, enthusiastically supported the proposals, describing William Burgess and William Salter as *men of liberal opinions, intelligence and education*. Widely respected, and defined politically as 'neutral', William Burgess was a member, and deputy Vice-Chairman, of the outgoing Baltinglass Board of Guardians. William Salter, on the other hand, seems to have been firmly in the Nationalist camp as he was present at the selection meeting in Rathvilly.

At its inaugural meeting, membership of the RDC was boosted by the co-option of five additional councillors; appointed were two local Nationalists – James Brown and Michael Nolan – and, to comply with the legislation, the three *ex-officio* members from the old regime were local Justices of the Peace – James Jones, William Murphy and Edward Wilson. That first meeting of the Baltinglass (No.2) Rural District Council also saw William Burgess, who lived in Tobinstown but represented the Rahill DED, emerging as chairman, following a contest with a Hacketstown councillor. With this position, came membership of Carlow County Council and an appointment as a Justice of the Peace. The council acted as a rural sanitary authority for the district and members also joined fellow councillors, from parts of Wicklow and Kildare, to act as Poor Law Guardians for the Baltinglass Union. Business was conducted efficiently, with regular meetings being held either at Rathvilly Schoolhouse or in the boardroom of Baltinglass Workhouse.

Shortly after the Baltinglass (No.2) Rural District Council began its work, readers were treated to a somewhat unedifying controversy, played out in the local press; letters from one of the councillors questioned William Burgess's political credentials and criticised his election as chairman. Nicholas O'Toole, a district councillor representing the Hacketstown

Nicholas O'Toole D.C. for Hacketstown

DED, who had been defeated in the contest for the chairmanship, was particularly scathing about his fellow council members from the Rathvilly area. Referring to recent elections on the various public boards throughout the county, he wrote: *In all except one, Nationalists were elected, and that one black spot in the county is Rathvilly. The councillors of that division, in their wisdom, elected a Unionist, or as some papers call him – a 'neutral'. Of course, we all know what that means. He was the only Unionist among them*. He went on: *They may call this 'toleration'. We know it by the name of 'political poltroonery' in this part of the country*. In an obvious reference to local landlord, Lord Rathdonnell, he continued: *I suppose they thought they would offend their great neighbour in Lisnavagh if they elected one of the old faith to the chair*. O'Toole's reminder that the *newly elected of Clonmore, Hacketstown and Haroldstown had no share in this act* was a clear indication that divisions existed between the majority of councillors and those representing the districts that had been transferred from the Shillelagh Union. A reply from the councillors of Rathvilly parish dismissed O'Toole's claims and accused him of being bitter because *we didn't make himself a JP and a 'gintleman'*. The councillors' letter concluded with a clever albeit damning couplet:

Ill fares the Board, where rhyming councillors prey,
Where cranks like 'Nick' accumulate and men of sense decay.

Luckily, the row was not allowed to

escalate and the councillors, including a sometimes truculent Nicholas O'Toole, settled down to dealing with the mundane issues that affected their district. What Fr Phelan – the man who expressed his *great satisfaction at the selection of Mr Burgess* – thought about Councillor O'Toole's intervention, is anybody's guess!

Idrone Rural District Council

The smallest of Carlow's three rural district councils covered a section of the southern end of the county that was included in the New Ross Union. Five district electoral divisions – Ballymurphy, Coonogue, Glynn, Kyle and Tinnahinch – were brought together to form what was, at the outset, officially known as the New Ross (No.3) Rural District Council. Other rural councils that belonged to the New Ross Poor Law Union were located in counties Wexford and Kilkenny.

The most well-known member of the new district council was Walter McMurrough-Kavanagh, who was returned, unopposed, for the district electoral division of Glynn. Local Nationalists may well have taken their cue, once again, from the bishop but, in any event, Kavanagh was well acquainted with the Poor Law system, being the outgoing chairman of the old New Ross Board of Guardians.

The 1899 election (see Table A) for the New Ross (No.3) Rural District Council was a low-key affair, with Coonogue being the only DED in the area where voters went to the polls. Some confusion remains concerning the political persuasion of John Rose, one of the successful candidates in that division. In some newspaper reports, carrying the election results, he is described as a Unionist, but that may well have been a careless assumption, as Rose had attended – and been nominated by – the pre-election meeting of Nationalists at Ballymurphy. Nonetheless, the appearance of another Nationalist on the ballot paper, suggests that some level of disagreement, or unhappiness, existed in that section of the electorate. Be that as it may, at this remove it is impossible to be certain, one way or the other, but the fact remains that Coonogue was hardly a Unionist stronghold at that time.

Patrick Flood, a councillor from the Ballymurphy district electoral division was elected chairman at the first meeting of the council but, due to some technicality concerning his place of residence, he was subsequently deemed ineligible to sit on Carlow County Council. This resulted in another district councillor, John Breen, being appointed in his place. Three local Nationalists – Ignatius Kelly, John Murphy and William Ryan – were also co-opted onto the council at the inaugural meeting. Only one *ex-officio* member – local magistrate Captain James Nixon – was deemed to be eligible for co-option but he played little or no part in the business of the council. Another decision, made early in the life of the new local body, was to change its name to Idrone Rural District Council, the title being borrowed from one of the baronies in that part of the county. It seems strange, however, that St Mullins was not instead used as the boundaries of that ancient barony and the district council were practically the same. The Idrone Rural District Council was an active public body, convening monthly in the boardroom of New Ross Workhouse and holding its quarterly meetings in Ballymurphy schoolhouse.

Carlow Guardians

All members of the county's three rural district councils were automatically entitled to sit on their respective boards of guardians, but that was not the case for councillors elected to Carlow Urban District Council. It was necessary, therefore, for voters in the Carlow and Graigue DEDs to elect representatives directly onto the local board of guardians. A separate contest for each DED, or ward, was required with three, and two, poor law guardians to be elected for Carlow and Graigue, respectively. (See Table E)

For the Carlow ward, the *conference of representatives of the mercantile, professional and labour elements* was employed, once again, to circumvent potential difficulties with regard to candidates. Three, including a 'labour' representative were chosen, with prominent businessman, Michael Molloy – a member of the UDC and a future MP for Carlow – being the leading Nationalist candidate. There was a challenge, with the Unionist flag being raised by local grocer and hotelier, James Ogle. He polled creditably but, competing against a carefully managed Nationalist campaign, there was no hope of success. In the Graigue ward it was again success for the two Nationalist candidates – James Doyle and Bernard Rafferty – while PD Shackleton, who months earlier had been afforded free passage onto the UDC – attracted minimal support.

Table E

Poor Law Guardians

for

Carlow Urban District

(1899)

James Doyle

Patrick Hughes

Michael Molloy

Bernard Rafferty

John Whelan

Tullow Town Commission

The electoral map of County Carlow has remained largely unchanged since the Local Government Act came into being at the end of the 19th century. All fifty-two District Electoral Divisions in use at that time are still in place, albeit with two minor alterations. These changes resulted in the creation of the Marley DED, following the division of Tinnahinch in south Carlow, and the reconfiguration of the original Tullow electoral division into rural and urban areas. The Tullow change became necessary when, in 1902, the Local Government Board sanctioned the establishment of a Town Commission.

It appears that the arrival of the new local government structures in 1899 prompted the people of Tullow to petition for an

Table D

Members
of
Tullow Town Commission
(1902)

William Burgess

Patrick F Byrne

James Dempsey

John Donohoe

John Foley

Terence Halligan

William Maher

Joseph M Murphy (Chairman)

Gerald O'Toole

authority for the town. In February of that year, a meeting held in the Bridge House Hotel, unanimously decided to make an application to have the town brought under the authority of an urban council. All present signed a memorial which was forwarded to the Local Government Board, but the request was hardly realistic as a town of Tullow's size was not likely to qualify for Urban District Council status. It was another three tears before a more realistic application, together with a proposed town boundary, was submitted, this time under the provisions of the Towns Improvement (Ireland) Act. The application was approved by the Board and at a meeting of local ratepayers, held in the Court House in August 1902, it was decided to proceed with the formation of Tullow Town Commission. No election was necessary as just nine individuals were nominated, one being master baker and sitting RDC member for Tullow, William Burgess (a brother-in-law of the councillor of the same name on Baltinglass (No2) district council). The first chairman of the town's fledgling public body was Joseph Michael Murphy, a member of one of Tullow's leading business families.

The new Commission with members

William Burgess
The Lodge, Tullow.
Town Commissioner &
District Councillor for Tullow

drawn mainly from the town's business and commercial sectors (see Table D) was, however, destined to have a short and inauspicious life span. After a useful initial period, the body was dogged by resignations, disqualifications and disinterest, with meetings being frequently abandoned due to the absence of a quorum. Anecdotally, it has been claimed that class issues played a part in the demise of the Town Commission with some members declining to attend meetings following the election of Tenants' Association candidates. The stalemate continued and eventually, in 1913, the County Council, after consulting with the townspeople – and with the full cooperation of William Burgess as chairman – proceeded to have the Town Commission dissolved.

Reform and Decline

The 1899 local government elections were truly a 'watershed event' that changed, forever, the political landscape in Carlow, and beyond. One of the most striking features of the election was the professional – almost clinical – strategy employed by a cohort of largely amateur activists that championed the Nationalist cause. The clergy played a significant role in the election, exerting considerable influence and never being far from the decision making process. In Carlow town, political figures like Governey and Hammond were clearly in charge but, in rural areas, it was the local parish priest that marshalled the forces.

Candidate selection and general organisation was managed efficiently and while occasionally the election of a well-regarded non Nationalist was facilitated, the main focus was on securing control of the new local bodies. That the Nationalist organisation could be ruthless, and sometimes pragmatic, when deciding the political fate of candidates representing minority interests, is best illustrated by the experiences of William Ellis and Patrick Shackleton. As a 'labour' candidate for the UDC, the former was dismissed by the established Nationalists but, just months later, space was provided to ensure victory in the County Council elections. On the other hand, Shackleton – presumably due to his status as a local

Table F

Elected Positions
in
County Carlow
(early 20th century)

Carlow County Council	20
Carlow (No.1) Rural District Council	76
Baltinglass (No.2) Rural District Council	16
Idrone Rural District Council	12
Carlow Urban District Council	18
Bagenalstown Town Commission	9
Tullow Town Commission	9
Carlow Poor Law Guardians	5
Total	165

employer – was unopposed for the urban council but when he sought election to the Board of Guardians, he was crushed by the Nationalist machine.

At the 1899 local elections, a total of 152 representatives – excluding numerous co-options – were returned to serve on the various public boards in the county. Within a few years, with the creation of two additional DEDs and the establishment of a Town Commission in Tullow, a further thirteen members were added to this number (See Table F). By any standard, the number of elected positions created by the new Local Government Act was excessive – surely a case of 'too much democracy' for a county the size of Carlow. But the edifice of local government structures that accompanied the 1898 Act was not built to last and, by degrees, it was largely dismantled.

The first major assault on the public bodies came in 1925 when the Free State Government abolished Rural District Councils and Boards of Guardians, thereby removing more than one-hundred district councillors from the scene in County Carlow. Tullow Town Commission had, by that stage, already 'self-destructed', leaving just the County Council, Carlow Urban District Council and Bagenalstown Town Commission in place. The membership of the UDC was cut in half and, eventually, the number of county councillors settled at twenty-one. And that would remain the shape of local government in Carlow until the second decade of the 21st century, albeit with a change of title for the two municipal authorities, these being re-classified as town councils in 2002. The Local Government Act 2013, the statutory instrument designed to bring the axe down on town councils, abolished the Carlow and Bagenalstown bodies, both of them having been in existence for more than one-hundred-and-fifty years. The same Act reduced the number of County Councillors, resulting in a loss of three seats for Carlow and bringing the total of public representatives to an all-time low of eighteen members. Only time will tell if the newly slimmed-down structures will prove more efficient than the Balfour model that, more than one hundred years ago, had revolutionised local government in Ireland.

Sources:

Clancy, John J: *A Handbook of Local Government in Ireland* (Dublin 1899)
The Carlow Sentinel
The Nationalist and Leinster Times
The New Ross Standard

Photographs courtesy of:

John Alexander, Edwin Burgess, Walter Coleman, Joe Connolly, Angela Donohoe, John M Foley, Mary Hosey, John Hughes, Noel Joyce, Billy Keppel, Michael Murphy, Pat O'Neill, Jim Shannon.

Carlow Team of 1957/58

Front: (Fair) Willie Walsh, (Black) Willie Walsh, Mick O'Donovan, brendan Hayden, bob McGrath, (Watty) Paddy Dermody, Aiden McGee,
Back: (Cran) Paddy Condron, Ned Hogan, Jim Harkin, Ned Long, Paddy Carpenter Ned Doogue, Pat Brophy, Pakes Connolly.

Carlow 5-5, Kerry 3-10

THE JERUSALEM PILGRIM

THOMAS WHALEY (1766-1800)

OF CASTLETOWN

AND FONT HILL, CO LAOIS

Mary Stratton Ryan

A Pilgrim in a wide sense of the word is; one who is outside his fatherland whereas in the narrow sense, none is called a pilgrim save he who is journeying towards the sanctuary of a sacred place or is returning therefrom.

Even though Dante in his Vita Nuova first universally defined the word, for centuries men had esteemed the fundamentals of the old French *pelerinage* that a journey to a sacred spot could bring the devotee some supernatural benefit or dispensation. Spiritual reward's acts of penance, proofs of devotion, and insurance against famine and plague were some of the reasons for a pilgrimage.

Special privileges afforded pilgrims contributed to their swelling ranks over the centuries. Once he had attained the sacred badge of his shrine the pilgrim was above all law's save that of the church. During his journey he was exempt from taxes, debts, arrest or confiscation of his property and was often honored and entertained along the way, the belief being that anyone aiding a pilgrim shared in his grace. Many pilgrims if asked why they were undertaking their pilgrimage might answer in Montaigne's words;

I know well what I am fleeing from but not what I am in search of

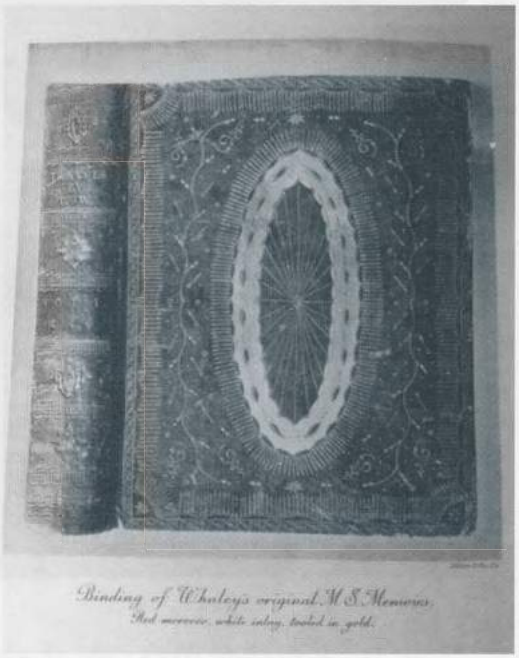
A Lost Manuscript.

Quite by chance Edward Sullivan (1852-1928) an Irish scholar and an expert on the Book of Kells, (Trinity College, Dublin) who had a passionate interest in Irish bookbinding visited a London auction room in the early 1900s. Here he recognized an interesting example of Irish bookbinding characteristic of the late 18th century in Dublin. Two handsome volumes of manuscript, written in clear copper-plate, bound in red morocco leather, with white inlay, tooled in gold and lettered on the back "Travels by T.W." [see illustration] After investigation of the content's Edward Sullivan assisted by Henry Berry of the Public Record Office, Dublin discovered that these volumes were the original long lost memoir's of Thomas Whaley of Castletown Castle, and Font Hill, Co. Carlow, Whaley's Abbey Co. Wicklow, and Fort Anne, Isle of Man.

The memoir's were compiled during the lifetime of the writer, and written between 1796-7 with a view to publication by ubscription. Although the contents are written nonymously with the author referring to himself and his companions by initials only. Edward Sullivan draws attention to an important document contained within the volumes;

There is one remarkable instance,however, where the writer lays the mask aside, and where his name and that of his fellow-traveller, Hugh Moore, appear in full. This is in the copy of the Certificate given to him by the Superior of the Convent of St. Mary's at Nazareth, which bears witness to his having visited that city in March, 1789.[1] see illustration.

The publication of Thomas Whaley's Memoirs did not take place during his life time, perhaps because of his premature death on 2nd Nov. 1800. but also because of its outspoken content, and persons mentioned in it were still living. The memoir's were published for



Whaley's original MS. Memoirs red moroco, white inlay, tooled in gold.

the first time by Sir Edward Sullivan under the title of *Buck Whaley's Memoirs including his journey to Jerusalem*, in Jan.1906. The memoir's were presented by Sir Edward Sullivan in July, 1928 to the Safe Collection of the London Library, St. James Square. They are today in a very fragile condition so reproduction is not permitted. However it is this writers opinion that the copper plate text is that of a female hand and most likely that of Maria Courtney it is not the handwriting of Thomas Whaley. [see example illustrated] There is another copy in Whaley's handwriting, mentioned by Edward Sullivan belonging to Mr T. C.Greenfield of Sutton, Surrey U.K , which was acquired from Dr Orlando Thomas Dobbin an Irish book collector, a slightly later copy with water-marked paper dated 1799.

On the 14th of May 2013 a *Narrative Journal* came on the market as lot no 147 in Sotheby's, London. The property of Henry W. Schaefer, it is a fascinating counterpart to Whaley's own memoir's and belonged to Whaley's travelling companion, Captain Hugh Moore of Eglantine House and Mount Panther, Co. Down, Captain in the 5th dragoon guards. The Journal in his handwriting, recorded his expedition to Jerusalem in the company of Thomas Whaley, with detailed entries, acting as an independent witness and verifying the journey.[2]

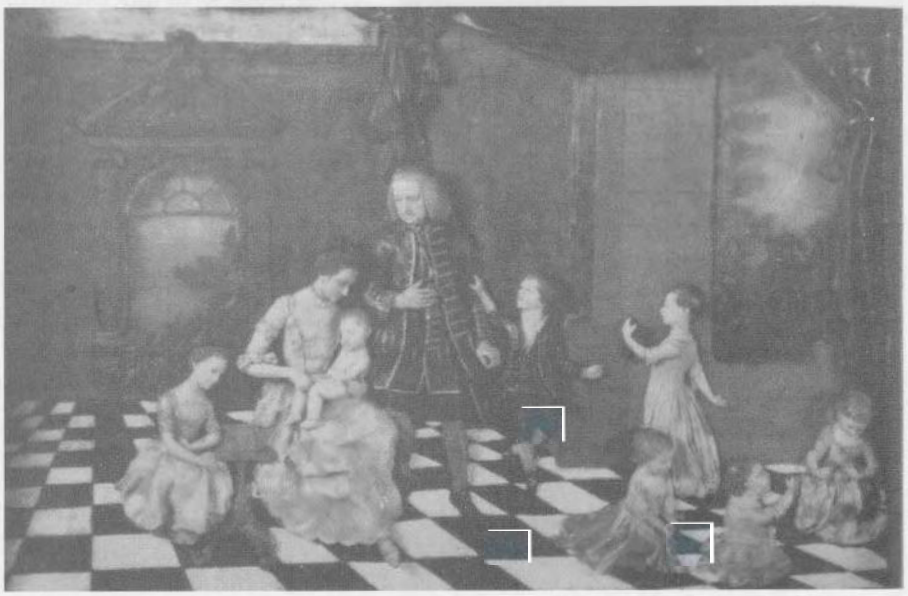
The Whaley Family.

Thomas Whaley also known as *Buck or Jerusalem Whaley* was born on 15th December, 1766. He was the eldest surviving son of Richard Chapell Whaley of Whaley Abbey, Co. Wicklow and of Dublin, (first no 77) now 86, St., Stephen's Green, M.P. for Co. Wicklow, a man of considerable property, including a castle and lands at Castletown Co. Carlow. Thomas Whaley's elderly father died on 16th January 1769, his young widow Anne Whaley nee Ward, daughter of Rev Bernard Ward, of Castleward, Co. Down, the seat of Lord Bangor. The widow Anne Whaley remarried John Richardson MP in Dublin on 7th Dec 1772, and continued to live at no 86 St. Stephens Green as well as on Richardson's family estate of Somerset near Coleraine. There is a fine painting of Mr and Mrs John Richardson by Francis Wheatly 1747-1801 in the NGI. (cat no. 617) painted on the estate.

Thomas Whaley was sent to school aged four, to Portarlington and later aged 10 to a Latin school where he remained until he was sixteen. As a minor aged 4 he had inherited on his father's death estates worth 7,000 pounds a year in Armagh, Galway and Carlow, together with 60,000 pounds in cash. Tom as he was known to his family and friends became a ward in chancery of his grandfather, the Rev Archdeacon Bernard Ward. Samuel Faulkner who was his father's Lawyer and Land agent, a great friend as well as neighbour, continued as agent for the Whaley estates for over thirty years. He also supervised the estates of Vicount Molesworth and of the Countess of Charleville. To complete his education Thomas Whaley was sent on *A Grand Tour* with a tutor William Wray, first to France with an allowance of 900 pounds a year.

There is a rare and very interesting wax bas- relief by Irish artist Patrick Cunningham, a Dublin sculptor of the Whaley Family which came to light during the course of conservation at Newman House no 86, St. Stephens Green, Dublin. When found it was in remarkably good condition, sadly this wonderful piece of Irish heritage is now missing. One would hope that it may once more come to light and be returned to Newman House where its design was intended to decorate a chimney piece. This 18th century wax portrait depicts Richard Chappell Whaley and his Family. (August 1767). There are nine figures represented in the wax relief.[3] perfectly described by Dr Christine Casey in her article in the Irish Arts Review in 1995.

At the center is Richard Chappell Whaley standing alongside the seated figure of his young wife, Anne Ward, who cradles the couple's seventh and last child William. On Mrs Whaley's right is the kneeling figure of her eldest daughter Susanna who would marry Sir James Stewart of Fort Stewart. Touching the sleeve of his father's coat is the eldest son Richard who died young. To the right of the central group are the four remaining children; a profile portrait of Anne Whaley in a contemporary dance posture; later Anne was to marry the Hon John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare and Lord Chancellor of Ireland. Sophia is portrayed kneeling with fruit in her lap; she married the Hon Robert Ward son of Lord Bangor and three-quarter portraits of her two younger brothers, Thomas the subject of the present article, is portrayed playing innocently with a rattle and his younger brother John is kneeling next to Sophia. John Whaley inherited no 86 St. Stephen's Green he married 1st Lady Anne Meade, daughter of John Earl of Clanwilliam; and 2nd, Mary Anne daughter of John Richardson. William joined the army and became Lieutenant-



Wax relief of the Whaley family by Patrick Cunningham. Designed for Newman House, Dublin

Thomas Buck Whaley as a boy.
[unknown artist] Annesboro, Naas, Co Kildare.

Portrait of Captain Hugh Moore, Eglantine House,Co Down, 5th Dragoon Guards, Thomas Whaley's travelling companion

Colonel, he died in 1843.

Thomas Whaley was an affectionate, charming and handsome child, quick to learn and very good at drawing. He loved animal's, among the Faulkner papers is a bill in his name for a "collar for a bear" not a toy one but a real bear! He was more than a little spoiled by his young mother who had married aged 18 and his elderly father a widower aged 59 who adored him. He was always very close to his three sisters, Suzanne, Anne and Sophie.

Thomas Whaley writes candidely in his memoirs of his own disposition and temperament as a young man;

I was born with strong passion's a lively imagination, and a spirit that could brook no restraint. I possessed a restlessness and activity of mind that directed me to the most extravagant pursuits;.....No small share of my follies are to be laid to a neglected education.[4]

After two years of a riotous experience of life in France, fully documented in his memoir's he returned to Dublin where his extravagant recklessness soon earned him a place among the young Buck's. In this exclusive society he joined the Hell Fire Club at Kilakee on the hills outside Dublin, frequented Luca's celebrated Coffee- house, and spent many expensive hours in a noted Temple of Gambling of the period, Daly's Club in College Green.

The first Irish State Lottery was drawn in 1782 at the Opera House, Capel Street, on 24th June this event certainly added spice to the already burning interest in gambling in the City.

On the 10th of February, 1785 aged eighteen he was elected the youngest member of the Irish House of Commons, taking his seat for Newcastle on the Wicklow coast not far from Whaley's Abbey. He represented his constituents there until 1790 and at a later date in 1797 he was elected to a seat in Enniscorthy Co. Wexford and continued MP until his death in 1800. Little is published of his political career in his own journals, however he does write that he studied "law" most carefully and the duties of an MP.

When travelling between London and Dublin his home base was the middle sized estate and granite country house of Font Hill just 5 miles outside Carlow, and 4 miles from the Castletown estate. Castletown Castle at this point was uninhabitable, and due to his increasing debts he sold Castletown with 400 acres to Sam Faulkner in 1786 for £1,700 in settlement of these debts. Sam Faulkner lived and ran his office at 84 St. Stephens Green, Dublin.

Whaley finally tired of country life and decided to buy another ship, he already owned a schooner the "Elinor" in which he often raced along the Irish coast. This time he needed something larger to embark on *a world voyage in the manner of Cook.* Cook's account of his Voyage of discovery had recently been published and Whaley read a copy of it. He had always been interested in travel, he loved the sea and as a young child had made map's and drawing's dedicated to his maternal grandfather the Rev Bernard Ward. The maps and drawing's have survived and were carefully stored with his letters in Sam Faulkners's solid alphabet writing desk by his meticulous clerk Mr Michael Kearney. Sam Faulkner never destroyed a letter. They included maps carefully drawn and painted of Africa, the Aegean, Spain , Portugal and the Mediterranean sea.

Thomas Whaley purchased a cutter of his own called "The Minx." He had plans of turning it into a privateer. It was a vessel of two hundred and eighty tons burthen and he planned to install twenty–two guns. The ship was outfitted by Captain William Tatlock and there is contained in the Faulkner papers bundles of bills for everything from compasses to Spode china and Irish Silk lined mahogany book-cases.

He visited Plymouth, where he put his plan into action. Whaley's instructions to

No 86 Stephen's Green, Dublin. Built by Richard Whaley' (Buck Whaley's father)

Captain William Tatlock were to furnish and equip "The Minx" in every respect for ten thousand pounds, and to be ready to set sail in the space of four months. As it turned out he ended up once again in debt and he was forced to choose between keeping his mistress or his ship he chose to sell his ship and cut his losses, "The Minx" was later sold to the Empress of Russia.

On his return to Dublin he was dinning with William Robert, the 2nd Duke of Leinster and some friends including Lord Edward Fitzgerald, at Leinster House when the conversation turned to Whaley's intended voyage, one of the company asked him to what part of the world he meant to direct his course first, Whaley answered without hesitation *to Jerusalem* in truth he had not yet charted his course! Having read Cook's adventures Whaley may also have read the newly published very accurate French book on "Travel's to the Holy Land" by Monseiur Constantine- Francois Volney, Commander de la Legion d'Honneur, and membre de l'academie Francais. This could have set fire to his imagination in planning just such an adventure.

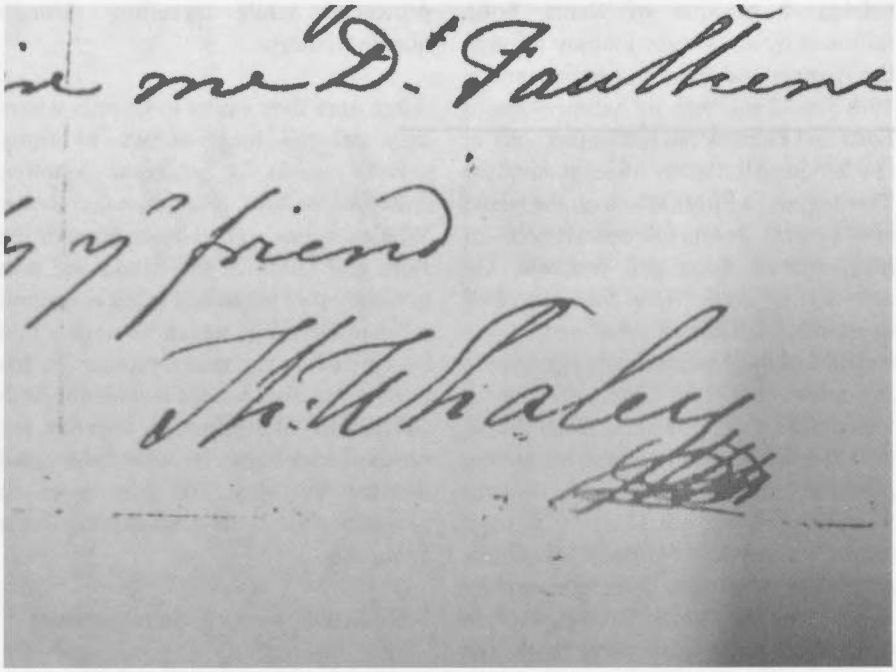
This proposed trip to Jerusalem was considered a mere jest and the topic caused a heated debate. Some observed that there was no such place as Jerusalem at present existing, and others stating that even if it did exist Whaley should not be able to find it. The Turks held the lands of the Middle East and Christians did not travel there freely. This debate led Whaley to bet any sum that he would go to Jerusalem and return to Dublin within two years from his departure.

Within a week he had a fifteen thousand pounds bet depending on this extraordinary wager. In today's currency this would be in excess of two million euro. Thomas Whaley aged twenty two set out for Deal on Monday, 22nd of September, 1788 where he was joined by a friend, Captain Wilson, and from that port on the 7th October he set sail on his Jerusalem Pilgrimage, on board a hired vessel called the *London*.

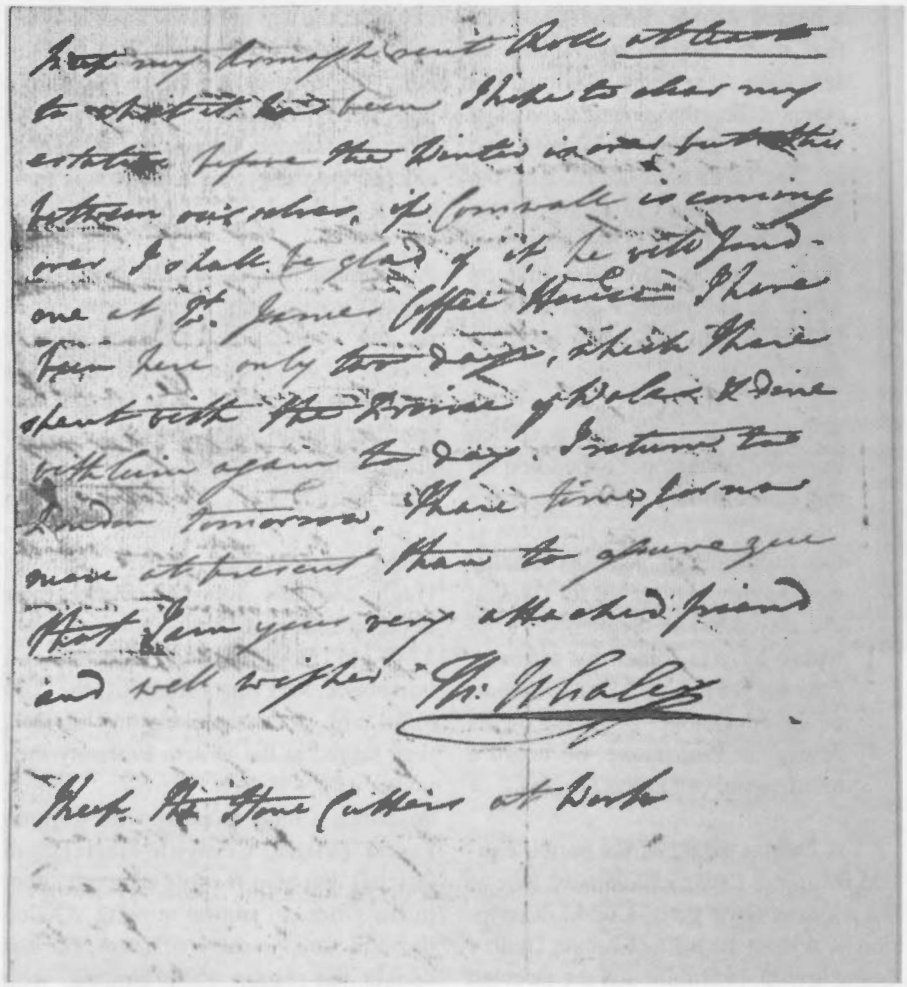
A Dublin ballad of the period entitled *Whalley's Embarkation* to the tune of the *Rutland Gigg* gives a vivid description of Whaley boarding Captain Dudley Loftus's ship, in Dublin and the farewell parade that accompanied him included his pet bear in one carriage, his exotic mistress Miss Haydon in another carriage, she had been his companion for several years, living with him in Font Hill, Carlow and in Sam Faulkner's house of Fort Faulkner in Wicklow, she retired to London, the journey being considered too dangerous for a female traveler at the time.

At Gibraltar Thomas Whaley met another friend Captain Hugh Moore, who joined in the expedition, Captain Wilson became ill at Smyrna (now Izmir) on the west coast of Turkey and so Whaley now sporting a beard and wearing native dress accompanied by Hugh Moore continued their journey from Smyrna to St Jean d'Acre on the 3rd of February, 1789, on board the *Heureuse Marie*. Captain Hugh Moore's journal covers their departure from Gibraltar on 6th Nov. 1788 to Smyrna and overland on horseback to Constantinople, the 100 miles took 10 days arriving on 14th Dec, they stayed at the British Embassy then under Sir Robert Ainslie. Moore describes a long meeting with Captain Pascia (Vizier, Cezayirli Gazi Hasan Pascha) and also records a month spent in the Ottoman capital nursing Whaley through three week's of fever, he had caught the plague while hunting, with falcons and nearly died.

Both journal's were studied and



Thomas Whaley's handwriting including his signature.



compared by Edward Sullivan when Captain Moore's journal was the property of the Moore family in Ireland. Each journal document's their visit to the celebrated mosque of Santa Sofia followed by an onward journey through the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean 19th Jan -23rd Feb. including stops at Foca and Patmos. An interesting visit to the famous Monastery of Saint John the Theologian , a Pirate attack on the island and several colourful descriptions of local dances, food and festivals. On arriving at Acre they then traveled overland to Nazareth and visited the Basilica of the Annunciation. Arriving in Jerusalem on 28th Feb. they were welcomed by the Governor. They visited the Church of the Holy Sepulchre among other important sites, and also made a trip to Bethlehem on 4th March. On their return journey to Acre their adventures continued when they were attacked by twenty armed Arab bandits, which concluded with a meeting with the tyrannous Djezzar Pasha on the 10th March they were fortunate to escape with their lives. It seems that Whaley brought with him a trunk full of "modern Spy-glasses" which he used as gifts along with well practiced diplomacy and bribery on local officials to obtain their protection while travelling through hostile territory.

After Acre they sailed to Cyprus where they delayed long enough to enjoy *several weeks of pleasant weather, beautiful women and abundant wine.* Whaley writes a good description of the flora and fauna of the island and was given another pet to add to his collection a "chameleon" of which he write's that he carried it for many months in his bosom. He also bought a splendid Arab stallion to take home to improve the breed of Irish horse. He went fishing and hunting by May 7th they were in Marseilles for 21 days quarantine in the Lazaretto.

From here he wrote to Sam Faulkner;

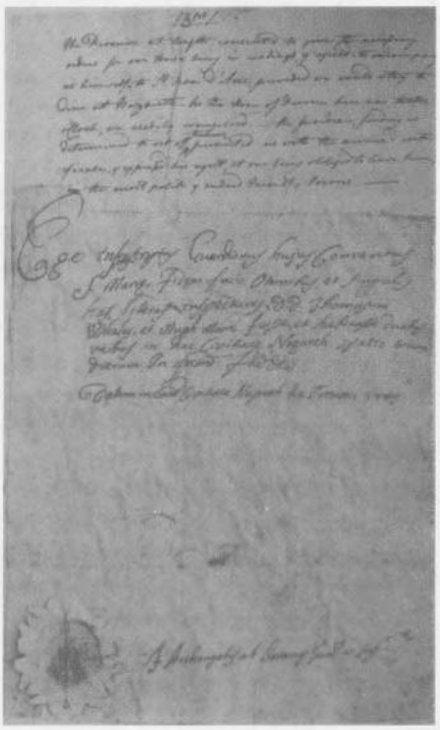
I have , thank God, accomplished thus far my expedition and am safely returned from Jerusalem, having visited all the most remarkable places in Palestine, Nazareth , Bethlehem etc. I need not tell you how impatient I am to visit again my Land of Saints. My expedition has been attended with much expense, danger and fatigue, I am now recovering my strength."

In fact the expenses of his "Pilgrimage to Jerusalem" amounted to eight thousand pounds so that when his wager was paid he cleared seven thousand pounds, he writes that this was the only instance in all his life in which any of his projects turned to his advantage.

Both Whaley's memoir's and Moore's Journal conclude with their triumphant return to Dublin arriving to a very excited welcoming party of lighted bonfires and huge celebrations on July 23rd 1789.

Whaley's friends were reluctantly obliged to pay him his winnings, on producing the evidence which was the Certificate from Nazareth. [see illustration] Thomas Whaley's *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem* was not a particularly pious pilgrimage, but rather the result of an extraordinary wager.

Although severe criticism has been



The original Nazereth Certificate [Whaley and Moore were given a Certificate each as proof of their journey]

hurled at the young and adventurous Thomas Whaley, a noted compulsive gambler who by the age of thirty had dissipated most of his inherited fortune of 400,000 pounds in todays currency over 30 million euro, his reckless and eccentric doing's added fuel to fire and many exaggerated myths have been invented about him.

When reading Thomas Whaley's memoirs, we see the character of Whaley described by Whaley. When we read his memoir's alongside those of Captain Hugh Moore's journal's, [as yet unpublished,] and perhaps more significantly when Thomas Whaley's memoir's are enhanced with his correspondence addressed to Sam Faulkner, the Whaley Family, and most poignantly his Mother Anne Richardson [nee Ward, - Whaley] material not available to Sir Edward Sullivan at the time of publishing his book, because this material was in the attic of Castletown Castle from 1874 - 1950's ,Whaley comes across in quite a different light. He was a charming young man, wild and unfortunate in his gambling addiction, but not quite so scatterbrained as he is often portrayed. He admitted often that he was "addicted to this terrible vice of gambling". In June 1784 Anne Richardson wrote from Swanlinbar to her son who was in France at the time, "Keep your resolution in respect of play(gambling) and my anxiety about you will be at an end, except those that a doating mother must always feel when the darling of her heart is at such a distance" In April 1790, she was to write to Samuel Faulkner very worried about "Tom", with the remark "Why were not all my children daughters"? In one sitting alone Thomas Whaley in February 1991 had lost £26,000 at a private gaming table in St James Street, London.[5]

Thomas Whaley was an observant and intelligent traveller. He spent time and careful study in noting down excellent descriptions of his visits to Gibraltar, Constantinople, Asia Minor and Jerusalem.

His memoir's and adventures do not end with his Pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he also stayed in Paris during the French Revolution , making a fortune in setting up a casino and bank and loosing it just as quickly . He was travelling with a companion he had met in Dublin in 1789 a cousin of his friend Captain Hugh Moore she was Maria Courtney known as the Hon Mrs Whaley and mother of his four children. He joined an expedition to climb Mont Blanc [see p 292-3 Ch VI. Memoir's] He made another Grand Tour, or perhaps more accurately Grand Escape, spending several months in Florence and while in Rome he tells us that he spent eight hours a day for two months in viewing whatever was worthy the notice of a traveller.

He was also an amateur artist of some skill for he made many sketches during his travels and also tried his hand at painting in Florence. It is unfortunate that his portfolio of drawings seem to have been lost\or destroyed because a list of illustrations by him were intended later on to illustrate his memoir's.[6]

Apart from his artistic ability his memoir's communicate a knowledge of ancient History, Mythology and on several occasions his quotations from the Latin poets, as well as some knowledge of Greek . He shows a strong interest in archaeology displayed especially in his recordings of inscription's on slabs or tombstones in ancient script in the Holy City. For some mysterious reason many of his records of these ancient inscriptions were destroyed in 1808, by Church authorities.[7]

During the French Revolution he witnessed the execution of the French King Louis the fourteenth. Whaley with his eldest son Thomas escaped from Paris and crossed into Switzerland, with the help of some American friends. Joined by his companion Miss Courtney, who had already left Paris to sell all her jewels, they returned to London where he was captured at once and imprisoned in the Tower of London. Bailed out by his brother-in-law Anne Whaley's Husband, The Earl of Clare, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, he eventually returned to Dublin where he sold all his remaining property. He travelled incognito under the name of Mr Jackson, as he was in constant danger of being arrested. He sold the last of his Carlow property Font Hill, to Mr Bruen, and also his Armagh estates. He tried unsuccessfully to obtain fund's from his brother William's estate in Straboe, Tullow, Co. Carlow. For William was equally in every bit as much financial trouble and was hiding in Whales.

Thomas Whaley retired to the Isle of Man, where to fulfill yet another wager, he built his family a fine castle Fort Anne, built on Irish soil which he had shipped over from Castletown, Carlow to Castletown Douglas, Isle of Man for its foundations, and to win his wager *that he could live on Irish soil while not living in Ireland.!*

The Isle of Man was often selected as a place of sanctuary for those outrunning the law, however it had very strict laws of its own.

Whaley and his companion the Hon. Mrs Whaley nee Maria Courtney, with their four children, the eldest son Thomas second son Richard, the eldest daughter Anne (who died young) and the youngest daughter Sophia Isabella lived overlooking the sea on an elevated situation on the road leading to Douglas Head, just opposite the Light House. As Whaley's memoir's end in 1797 and were ready for press at this time, we do not have a full account of his life in the Isle of Man, but as there was a considerable change in his fortunes and his friendship with the Prince Regent- George the Fourth Prince of Wales, continued we are led to believe that his ways would not seem to have changed too much with regard to his life style.

In late November 1795 while bringing gold to Thomas Whaley his lifelong friend and Lawyer Sam Faulkner with his nephew William Montgomery, son of his sister Nancy ,who had just joined his Dublin business were both drowned while sailing in the worst of weather to the Isle of Man. This loss of a life long friend a man who was more an Uncle to Thomas Whaley than a servant and under such circumstances had a shocking and distressing effect on both the Whaley and Faulkner families , within a matter of weeks Thomas Whaley sat down to write his memoir's. These memoir's were ostensibly written as a warning to other high spirited young Bucks against the folly of a gambling career. In them Thomas Whaley expressed the hope that his *simple narrative may persuade the young and inexperienced that a life of*

dissipation can produce no enjoyment and that tumultuous pleasures afford no real happiness.

Sadly his devoted companion Maria Courtney died in Fort Anne on 23rd January 1798 leaving him with their three small children.[8] Whaley had written of her that;

Here in the neighborhood of Douglas he settled down after ten years of dissolute living, blessed, as he writes *with the reciprocal friendship of a tender and beloved companion..... Whose mild manners and amiable disposition form a striking contrast with the frivolousness , the vanity and tinsel which I formerly so much admired in my female acquaintances.*

Two years later in January 1800 Whaley married Mary Catherine Lawless daughter of Nicholas Lawless first Lord Cloncurry, a sister of his friend Valentine second Lord Cloncurry, of Lyons estate Co. Kildare, who at the time was an untried prisoner in the Tower of London for his support for The United Irishmen. Whaley made his will at Liverpool on 24th October ,1800. A week later on the 2nd of November 1800 while on his way from Liverpool to Bath to meet Hugh Faulkner ie Sam Faulkner's brother to settle his affair's, he became very ill and died in *Georges Inn* at Knutsford, in Cheshire a well known halting place on the mail-coach road.

The newspaper's of the period ascribe his death to *a rheumatic fever* contracted in Ireland; but needless to say such a natural death did not fit well with local folklore as an end to such an extraordinary life and so many myths developed, including the story that his life had been taken by a jealous lover who stabbed him on discovering that he had also being paying marked attention to her sister, she was either Sarah or Sally Jenkinson. However, since no legal case or inquiry was ever recorded in connection with this speculation it is unlikely to be the case. The fact that he made his will seven days before he died leaves the matter open to further speculation.!

Thomas Whaley was buried in Knutsford Churchyard where on a simple plain stone covering his grave is inscribed;

Underneath is interred the body of Thomas Whaley Esquire , of the City of Dublin, who died November 2nd 1800 Aged 34 years.

A strange circumstance took place just before his funeral. The body had been placed in a leaden coffin and brought into the Old Assembly Room, and the workmen had just made up the coffin, when Mr Robinson, an Irishman, who was a dancing –master , stepping upon the coffin, danced a hornpipe over the body"[9]

His widow Mary Catherine Whaley continued to live at Fort Anne and brought up Thomas Whaley's natural children by Maria Courtney as her own. Thomas and Richard did not marry and Sophia Isabella married a Mr Taylor from which marriage there are living descendant's. Fort Anne or Whaley's Folly on the Isle of Man later became the property of Sir William Hillary founder of the RNLI and on his retirement it became the Fort Anne Hotel. It remained a hotel until the 1970s when it was demolished and a replica built in its place.

Endnotes:

[1] *Buck Whaley's Memoirs* written by himself, edited by Sir Edward Sullivan, Bart. with introduction and notes, entitled;

Buck Whaley's Memoirs Including his Journey to Jerusalem written in 1797 and published after finding the recently recovered lost manuscript's for the first time in 1906. Pub. By Alexander Moring Ltd., *The De La More Press*, 32 George Street, Hanover Sq. W . London. Republished in 2006, by Nonsuch Pub. Ltd. 73 Lower Leeson St. Dublin.

[2] Sotheby's of London sale's cat. Section; Travel, Atlases, Maps and Natural

History 14th May 2014. 10;30 London. Lot 147. A Narrative Journal, property of Mr Henry W. Schaefer, provenance the Moore Family, Ireland.

The estimated value of Captain Hugh Moore's Narrative Journal was between 6-8000 stg. It was sold for the hammer price of 18, 750 stg. Illustrated in cat. Lot no 147.

[3] Dr. Christine Casey A Wax Bas – Relief by Patrick Cunningham. Irish Art's Review p 117-8. 1995.

[4] *Buck Whaley's Memoirs Including his Journey to Jerusalem* written by himself in 1797, edited by Sir Edward Sullivan, pub., by Alexander Morning Ltd., *The De La More Press*, 32 George Street, Hanover Sq., W. London 1906.

[5] Amy Monahan, Castletown Castle, The Letters of Thomas Buck Whaley at Castletown, County Carlow, *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, Vol xxxvi 1994.p77-79.

[6] *Buck Whaley's Memoir's* Table of Contents. Page 6.

Directions for placing The Plates, eight illustrations by Whaley, reference to his accidental lost of these sketches on page 107. Also p xlv.

[7] Buck Whaley's Memoir's 1797. p 198-9.

[8] Summary of Wills, Braddon 1750-1799. Isle of Man. Ref E 632. Reference to Maria Courtney death dated 23rd January 1798. Mother of 4 children Thomas Richard, Anne, and Sophia Isabella. Names beside this information are Thomas Whaley esq. executive of her Will and Pledges Thomas Dawson esq. [will located on 3rd Jan 2014 by the author]

[9] Green, Rev Henry, Knutsford; *Its Tradition's and History*. Pub. Knutsford 1887.

Author's note.

I would like to dedicate this article to the memory of Amy Monahan of Castletown Castle, Co. Carlow. As a young bride she arrived from Canada to live in an ancient Irish Castle with her husband John. They treasured its history and worked tirelessly to preserve a beautiful granite Castle and a large volume of inherited family documents especially the Samuel Faulkner paper's.

These papers are valuable Irish historical record's from "a man who never destroyed a letter."

The Faulkner family lived in Castletown

for almost a century and when the Monahan Family purchased it in 1874 the Faulkner papers had been relegated to the Castle attics where they remained undisturbed until the 1950s.

I have found these archives of immense assistance during my present study.

It has been a privilege to sit at Sam Faulkner's 18th century alphabet writing desk in Castletown Castle and one hopes that one day Amy's draft for an book on "The Faulkner Family" may be published.

I am most grateful to the Monahan Family.

Acknowledgments:

My special appreciation and thanks to the National Gallery of Ireland on this their 150th anniversary, for their kind permission to publish the painting of Mr and Mrs Richardson by Francis Wheatly cat. no.617. This canvas depicts Thomas Whaley's Mother and step-father. Thank's to Louise Morgan and the expert photographers of the Images and Licensing Dept. NGI. for their highly professional help and patience with my many requests.

Thank you to Ruth Ferguson, Curator of Newman House, Dublin and to the staff at the London Library Safe Collection. To Dr Christine Casey, John Mulcahy, Susan Keating and Martin Nevin my grateful thanks for their encouragement and help.

Further Reading:

"Buck Whaley's Memoirs Including his Journey to Jerusalem" written by himself in 1797. Edited by Sir Edward Sullivan , Bart. pub. by Alexander Morning Ltd. The De La More Press, 32 George Street Hanover Sq., W. London.1906.

Dr Patrick M. Geoghegan, T .C.D. Buck Whaley; drinking, dissipation and destruction. 18th-19th- Century, History Ireland, issue 2 Mar\Apr.2007 vol 15.

Francis Wheatley, British, 1747-1801
Portrait of Mr and Mrs Richardson, 1777/1778
Oil on canvas
100 x 126 cm
Photo © National Gallery of Ireland NGI.617

This pen and ink sketch was found by the author on page 9 of "town and Country Magazine for 1789 entitled "The Jerusalem Pilgrim, it is a perfect likeness of Thomas Whaley aged 22 years.

Dinn Righ, Co. Carlow
Home to the Kings of Leinster

Have you ever wondered where the name Leinster comes from? Just south of the beautiful village of Leighlinbridge in County Carlow is the archaeological site called Dinn Righ - the Fort of the Kings. This was an important prehistoric site along the banks of the River Barrow that became home to the Kings of south Leinster. It is from here that the province of Leinster takes its name. Leinster players Leo Cullen, Captain and Carlow native Sean O'Brien along with Stuart Bailey, Honorary Secretary Leinster Rugby recently visited the ancient site of Dinn Righ.

A 12th century narrative records a then centuries old story of treachery, murder and revenge that took place at Dinn Righ. A young boy named Labraid Loingseach witnessed the murder of his father, the reigning king at the hands of Cobthach, a rival king. Labraidh was exiled from Ireland and spent many years abroad, probably in France. As a man he decided to return to Ireland and reclaim his inheritance. He would have travelled up the River Barrow from Wexford, a very important route from the coast for people to get inland. Labraidh led an attack on Dinn Righ where he killed Cobthach. Labraidh regained the kingship of Leinster and apparently he ruled his kingdom for a considerable period.

Following this dramatic incident the name Laigeanster (the place of the spears) appeared due to the type of spears Labraidh's army used. Apparently these types of spears had not been seen in Ireland before. With the passage of time the name became the name Leinster, and most likely the names of the two nearby villages of Leighlinbridge and Old Leighlin take their name from here as well. The territory of Leinster expanded over time and eventually became the size and name of the province we know today. Dinn Righ was occupied right up until the medieval ages, including being developed by the Normans.

At the invitation of Carlow County Museum Leinster players Leo Cullen, Captain and Carlow native Sean O'Brien along with Stuart Bailey, Honorary Secretary Leinster Rugby were invited to visit Dinn Righ. There they were welcomed by Victor and Elizabeth Connolly and their two sons Thomas and George on whose land Dinn Righ stands. After walking around the large motte (a steep sided earthen mound) which is over ten meters high both Leo and Sean posed for photographs with the Heineken European Cup. Leighlinbridge native and local historian, Martin Nevin outlined the history of the site and the connection to the origin of the word Leinster.

Carlow County Museum would like to thank the Leinster Branch and the County Carlow Football Club for arranging the visit and to the Connolly family for facilitating access to Dinn Righ. The site of Dinn Righ is inaccessible to the public but do visit the nearby beautiful village of Leighlinbridge by the banks for the River Barrow. Also, visit Carlow County Museum, College Street, Carlow and see more about Dinn Righ and the connection to the Kings of Leinster. Admission is free and the Museum is open all year round;

Web: www.carlowcountymuseum.com;

Twitter: twitter.com/carlowcountymus;

Facebook:
facebook.com/carlowcountymuseum

Blog:
http:/carlowcountymuseumblog.wordpress.com/

Photo credits: Aerial photograph of Dinn Righ, Leighlinbridge, Co. Carlow by Dr. Gillian Barrett

The photo of Sean & Leo by Paul Curran, Carlow Local Authorities.

Author; Dermot Mulligan, Carlow Museum.

The article overleaf was first published in the Official Matchday Programme, Leinster V Northampton Saints, Saturday, 14th December 2013.

*Martin Nevin of the Carlow Historical and Archaeological Society presenting a copy of his book "*Leighlin Remembered for the Gathering*" to the group at the monument by Michael Warren.* ←

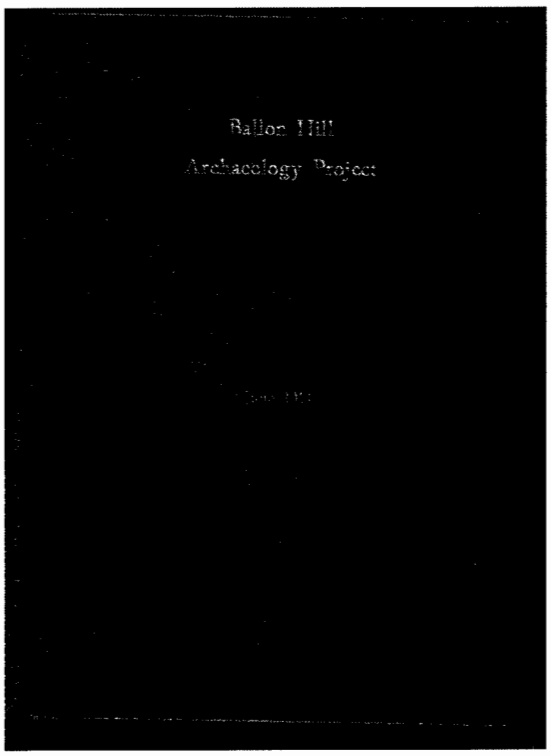
Photographs; Paul Curran, Carlow Local Authorities

Stuart Bailey, Hon. Secretary Leinster Rugby; Leo Cullen, Captain of Leinster Rugby team; Elizabeth Connolly holding the Heineken Cup; Sean O'Brien, Carlow native and member of the Leinster team; Dermot Mulligan, Curator of Carlow County Museum and Martin Nevin. ↓

Leo Cullen and Sean O'Brien with the Thrones by Michael Warren in the background. →

The Ballon Hill Archaeological Project

Deirdre Kearney
Nial O'Neill



Travelling north through the Backstairs mountains alongside the course of the River Slaney, or coming through the gap at Kiltealy and passing Garryhill, or travelling south from where the Rivers Burren and Barrow join, one enters a natural amphitheatre approximately 25km across. This area has few outstanding topographical features, except for a small hill 3km west of the River Slaney and situated in the approximate middle of this natural amphitheatre. This conical shaped hill is only 0.7km in length and 0.5km in width rising to less than 140m above sea level. Yet, due to the surrounding flat topography, from its summit we are provided with panoramic views of perhaps 600km² or more. It appears this vantage point of Ballon Hill did not go unnoticed in the prehistoric period as it was chosen as a communal burial place from at least 2200BC onwards. From the available evidence, it appears as though this burial place was of national importance during the early Bronze Age (2400-1500BC) and possibly later. Its status in early Bronze Age Ireland is indicated by the recovery of one of the largest and most varied collections of funerary pottery vessels dating to the period 2200-1500BC as well as several burial monuments. This is all the more impressive as the pottery vessels were recovered one hundred and sixty years ago before the advent of modern archaeological excavation techniques.

The status of the hill as a prehistoric burial site meant that up to the early modern period it was regarded as common land or commonage. By the early 19th century however, Ballon Hill was in the private ownership of the Lecky family of Ballykealy. In 1853 Jonathan Richardson Smith, the brother-in-law of the then owner of Ballykealy, John James Lecky, hired local workers and began digging on Ballon Hill in an attempt to recover so-called 'crocks' or 'pans' that he had heard were being unearthed there. These 'crocks' or 'pans' were, in fact, highly decorated Bronze Age funerary pottery vessels. He recovered at least twenty four vessels along with a razor-knife and three small stones or possible amulets. He also uncovered human bone that was both burnt and unburnt. The majority of the collection of artefacts he gathered from Ballon Hill remained at the Lecky home (Ballykealy House) and were donated to the National Museum of Ireland in 1928 by Col. Frederick Beauchamp Lecky. (Mahr 1930). This group of artefacts became known as the 'Lecky collection'. Following work by Brendan Ó'Ríordáin of the National Museum of Ireland in the 1950s we now know that at least three of the pottery vessels made their way to southern England and were donated to the British Museum in 1920 by Norman D. Smith, son of Richardson Smith. The whereabouts of the razor-knife and stones was unknown and were thought lost. It transpired that these too had made their way to southern England and were donated to the Carlow Historical and Archaeological Society (then the Old Carlow Society), quite unexpectedly, in 1997 (O'Neill 2006) and are now on display in Carlow County Museum.

Three accounts of works on the hill carried out by Richardson Smith and later by John James Lecky were published in 1853, 1855 and 1867 in the Journals of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society. These accounts refer, in the main, to the circumstances of discovery of the artefacts and contain little detailed information beyond this. Earthworks are referred to in passing and only when they relate to the location of artefact discoveries. There are frequent references to an 'old-rath' as well as to a circle of stones and the 'walls of troy'. These accounts were not written by Richardson Smith himself but by Rev. James Graves, one of the founders of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society who interviewed Smith and was given access to his diaries.

All of this disparate information appeared to indicate a substantial burial ground dating to the Bronze Age on Ballon Hill. Just how substantial it was and what its place in Bronze Age Ireland might be was as yet unclear and considerable work needed to be carried out. The numbers of funerary pottery vessels and graves appeared to suggest that Ballon Hill may have been a cemetery of national importance in Bronze Age Ireland. The Ballon Hill Archaeology Project (BHAP) was set up in late 2012

to investigate the place of Ballon Hill in the archaeological record of Ireland. Initial studies quickly indicated that the amount of work required was extensive and consequently several phases would be required. The first phase would concentrate on the existing assemblage of artefacts and would carry out a topographical analysis by looking at available aerial photographs, historical mapping and LIDAR (Light Detection & Ranging) data to try to identify any earthwork monuments on the hill.

Ballon Hill Archaeology Project

The Ballon Hill Archaeology Project (BHAP) is a study, commissioned by the Carlow Historical and Archaeological Society, of all the artefacts found on the hill in the nineteenth century together with a review of all identified written sources and the excavations conducted which were published in academic journals shortly afterwards.

The purpose of the project was threefold:

- To subject the artefacts found in the nineteenth century to modern scientific analysis.

- To avail of new developments in aerial photography, LIDAR and satellite imagery to study the physical landscape of Ballon Hill.

- To review all published material relating to Ballon Hill in the light of the preceding studies and develop a new evaluation of the archaeology of Ballon Hill

A number of the artefacts have been assessed as part of other studies, but have never been assessed as an assemblage with a focus on Ballon Hill and what this could tell us. Such analysis can date and classify the artefacts and the assemblage and place them in context to be compared with our national archaeological record. In the last few decades' aerial photography, satellite imagery and LIDAR have enabled archaeologists to obtain a more comprehensive view of the topography of archaeological sites with the added benefit of being non-intrusive methods of investigation.

Specialist reports were commissioned by the BHAP, while review of the mapping, LIDAR, aerial photographs and written material was undertaken by project team members Deirdre Kearney and Nial O'Neill.

The specialist reports commissioned were:

- Report on the prehistoric pottery from Ballon Hill by Dr Eoin Grogan and Helen Roche

- Report on a collection of bronze, iron and stone artefacts from the Ballon Hill area of County Carlow by Dr Eoin Grogan and Helen Roche

- Osteological report on the unburnt human bone from Ballon Hill, Co. Carlow by Caoimhe Ní Thóibín.

- Osteological report on burnt human bone from Ballon Hill, Co. Carlow by Laureen Buckley.

Copies of the above reports are reproduced in full in four appendices attached to the Phase 1 report.

Some limiting factors were encountered which curtailed the amount of information which could be gleaned. The scarcity and unclear provenance of the human bone meant that definitive conclusions could not be presented. It was also suspected that gelatine had been applied by Richardson Smith to some or all of the pottery. This meant that lipid/residue analysis of the pots was not possible.

Deirdre Kearney and Nial O'Neill compiled the project report (seventy one pages) which drew together their own finding from in-depth analysis of the nineteenth century published material, the historic mapping, LIDAR, aerial photography, several visits to Ballon Hill and the information supplied by the scientific studies of the artefacts. The report outlined new insights gleaned from these studies and reappraised Ballon Hill both in the regional and national context.

Here follows synopses of the specialist reports commissioned as part of the project along with some interpretation and contextualisation as well as findings from the study of the historic mapping, aerial photo's and LIDAR data:

Pottery

The pottery assemblage from Ballon Hill is undoubtedly of major national importance. Very few sites have produced such a large collection of Bronze Age funerary pottery vessels and it indicates the significance of Ballon Hill as a burial place at this time.

Dr Eoin Grogan and Helen Roche were commissioned by the BHAP to assess the pottery as a complete assemblage with a focus on Ballon Hill as a burial site. In all, twenty three extant vessels were identified that date from approximately 2200BC to 1500BC. Several types of pottery were identified including four bowls, eleven vases, two vase urns, one collared urn and three cordoned urns (see Table 1). Following Anna Brindley's important work 'The Dating of food vessels and urns in Ireland' published in 2007, we now have approximate date ranges for these different types.

Table 1 Pottery types and date ranges

Pottery type	Date range
4 bowls (3 tripartite and 1 bipartite	2100-1800BC
11 Vases (8 bipartite. 1 ribbed, 1 plain and 1 tripartite	2050-1700Bc
2 Vase urns	2000-1700BC
1 Collard urn	1730-1500BC
3 Cordoned urns	1730-1500BC
2 Unknown	Not applicable

These dates would suggest that Ballon Hill was utilised as a burial ground over at least a seven hundred year period and demonstrates continuity of use throughout the early Bronze Age. The surviving pottery assemblage from Ballon Hill is in very good condition. This is somewhat surprising considering it was excavated in the 1850s and the pottery spent

approximately seventy years in private hands.

The most common pottery type in the assemblage is the bipartite vase with eight vessels of this type. The bipartite vase has been closely dated by Brindley (2007) to 2020-1920BC and suggests that Ballon Hill was very busy with funerary activity at this time. The majority of other vessels including the bowls, the tripartite, ribbed and plain vases all overlap in date with the bipartite vase and, based on the surviving assemblage, implies that the decades around 1970BC saw the peak of burial activity on Ballon Hill. Fifteen of the vessels date to the period 2200-1800BC and nine of these show considerable similarity in their dimensions. With ranges from 16.5-11.1cm in diameter and 12.1-9.7cm in height for nine of the vessels dating to this period, there appears to be an accepted norm regarding the size of funerary pottery vessels at this time.

In all, a minimum number of twenty one vessels are described in the 19th century accounts of works on the hill. Excavations were carried out in different areas across the hill and while precise locations for each pottery find were not recorded, it is possible, to a certain extent, to place some of the artefacts to their locations through the descriptions in the 19th century writings.

Within the twenty one vessels recorded there were eleven described as recovered intact or partially intact with ten broken at the time of discovery. It is interesting to note that twelve intact pots were illustrated in the 1853 publication, yet only eleven are described in text, indicating that Graves was either not privy to information surrounding the uncovering of all the vessels or he failed to include accounts of this in the 1853 publication. It should be noted that while ten broken vessels were uncovered in the 1850s, only three broken vessels are accounted for in the extant assemblage in the NMI and BM. At least seven broken vessels are unaccounted for.

The 19th century writings provide clear locations for thirteen of the pots. These locations include:

- Cloghan-na-marbhan
- Near the top of the hill
- Neighbouring quarry to the top of the hill
- Old-rath

By far, the most prolific location of these thirteen was the "old-rath" with eight vessels. Three were found at Cloghan-na-marbhan with one each "near the top of the hill" and the "neighbouring quarry" (to the top of the hill). Precisely where the remaining eight vessels were uncovered is unclear. Whether the pots were contained in pits or cists, is for the most part, unclear. The circumstances of discovery of only eight vessels included information on this with five recovered from cists and three from pits.

In the 1853 publication, a vessel was described as "an urn seven inches high, of a curious pattern, and ornamented by six raised hoops". However it is not recognised in the extant assemblage. It appears this vessel is unaccounted for and brings the minimum number of pottery vessels from twenty three extant vessels to twenty four.

This pottery assemblage displays considerable skill and expertise in the manufacture, decoration and finish of the vessels and indicates that there may have been specialist pottery makers at this time. It may also have been the case that there were those who specialised in the manufacture of pottery vessels and further artisans, with artistic skills, who decorated the vessels. In a large proportion of the vessels, the decoration is expertly applied with complicated designs. Many of the pots exhibit a range of decorative skills with varying design motifs, applied with expert precision.

Metal Artefacts

In all, there are nine metal artefacts associated with Ballon Hill. Eight of these, spearhead, sword, socketed bronze axe, decorated socketed bronze axe, bronze sickle, shaft-hole iron axe, shaft-hole axe hammer and rowel spur are held in the National Museum of Ireland (NMI), Kildare Street, Dublin while the razor-knife is on display in Carlow County Museum.

The eight metal artefacts in the possession of the NMI formed part of the Lecky collection donated by Colonel Frederick Beauchamp Lecky to the NMI in 1928 (Mahr 1930). The artefact in Carlow County Museum was donated in 1997 by a Mrs P. Wright of Frant in East Sussex along with two small stones in a bespoke display case (O'Neill 2006). These artefacts, the razor-knife and the two small stones, are most certainly those found on or after the 23rd of July 1853 in a five-sided or polygonal cist as recounted in the 19th century writings and were thought to be lost.

The razor-knife (CMM07 85B) was described as a "thin lamellar javelin-head, or dagger-blade of bronze" and has also been referred to as a dagger. The razor-knife had one blade and may have had a similar function to a pen-knife today (Grogan & Roche 2014a). These razor-knives generally date to the early to middle Bronze Age (c. 1800–1400BC) (Grogan & Roche 2014a) with this example probably falling towards the earlier end of this date range considering the two pottery vessels (BM 11-9, 4 and probably NMI1928:439) found in the same cist.

The bronze sword (SA 1928:454) is a short leaf-shaped sword with the tang and hilt terminal unfortunately not preserved. The blade is broken about one-third of the length from the tip with the break appearing to be ancient. While this type of sword is quite a common type nationally, very few have been found in the south-east of Ireland. Two other surviving examples were recovered from the River Barrow in County Carlow.

In respect of the two bronze socketed axes, the first of these (SA 1928:453) was a plain bronze axe. This has been dated to 950-800BC. The majority of these axes have been found in the northern half of the country (Grogan & Roche 2014b). The second axe (SA 1928:452) is a decorated axe and is of better quality. Grogan & Roche (2014b) remark that it was 'well-cast but poorly finished'. The socket, interestingly, has four low ridges to better haft the handle. Four evenly spaced vertical ridges linked by lozenges are seen on the axe, near the cutting-edge. This axe has been dated to the late Bronze Age circa 750-700BC.

The bronze sickle (SA 1928:457) also

probably dates to the late Bronze Age. Grogan & Roche (2014b) identify this artefact as the curved tip of a sickle blade with a low rounded mid-rib. The sickle was well-cast but had damage to the edge and back with the blade broken in antiquity. Only about thirty of these artefacts have been recorded in Ireland. Grogan & Roche (2014b) state that "The bronze sickle (S.A. 1928:457) from Ballon Hill is probably, but not certainly, of late Bronze Age date.

An iron shaft-hole axe (SA 1928:455) and an iron shaft-hole axe hammer (SA 1928:456) fit into Bourke's (2001) Class 12 which has a significant number of Irish parallels. These types of axes appear to have a broad date range of c. 1000–1400AD (Grogan & Roche 2014b).

The rowel spur (SA 1928:458) is in excellent condition. It has been described by Grogan & Roche (2014b) as "gently curved heel bands to fit below the wearers ankles with an obliquely-angled figure-of-eight terminal. An elaborate complete buckle with chamfered edges is attached to the lower loop on one side but the corresponding strap end has not survived. There is a long, gently S-shaped, tang with a five-pointed rowel that still rotates freely". This type of spur dates to the 17th century AD (ibid.).

Stone Artefacts (amulets)

On or shortly after the 23rd of July 1853, a cist was uncovered on the hill, the capstone was removed and a bronze razor-knife was found near the surface. The cist was filled with sand and on removing the sand a miniature urn was uncovered. Below this a larger urn, inverted, was uncovered and on lifting this vessel "three small smooth pebbles" were found placed in a triangular position. Graves (1853) description of this find is as follows: "of the pebbles one was white, one black, and the third (which is much smaller than the other two) of a greenish tinge, spotted with a darker shade". Of these three small, naturally water-rolled pebbles, the white and black examples are on display in Carlow County Museum, the third pebble remains lost (O'Neill 2006). It appears likely that these natural, but attractive, stones were picked up because of both their strikingly smooth surfaces and distinct colour.

Human Bone:

The human bone that formed part of the Lecky collection was analysed by Laureen Buckley and Caoimhe Ní Thóibín. There is a minimum number of three individuals represented. No disease or trauma was identified and where identification was possible, the remains were from individuals ages 25+ years. Due to the poor recording of bone in the 19th century accounts, no more information can be extracted at this stage.

Cartography, aerial photography and LIDAR data

The Down Survey (1656-1658), the first edition (1840) Ordnance Survey map (Sheet no. CW013), the third edition (1907) Ordnance Survey maps (Sheets CW013-14 and CW013-15) were utilised by the BHAP in the identification of monuments on Ballon Hill. In addition, LIDAR data (courtesy of the OPW) and electronic aerial photographic sources were accessed including Google Earth and Bing Maps.

The Down Survey provides a fascinating insight into the area around Ballon Hill in the mid-17th century. On the county map of Carlow we see Ballon Hill clearly marked with a cross on top. On both the barony and parish maps we see that no landowner is listed and that Ballon Hill is referred to as coarse pasture. We also clearly see a church marked. The Terrier or accompanying list of landowners with associated land holding sizes and land condition/use clearly shows that Ballon Hill was not in private ownership at this time. The religious symbol on the county map, the church illustrated on the Barony and Parish maps and the hill not in private ownership, it appears likely that Ballon Hill was of particular religious or spiritual importance in the mid-17th century.

In 1839 Ballon Hill was mapped and in 1840, the first edition Ordnance Survey map for Carlow was published. This provided, for the first time, an unprecedented level of detail of land divisions, natural and manmade features including some archaeological monuments and altitudes or height above sea-level. The map of Ballon Hill displays quite different field boundaries than we see today and has two wells marked, St Bridget's towards the southern end of the hill and Tobercruagh located near the northern end of the hill. Both are marked as 'now dry' in 1839. From the Ordnance Survey Letters of County Carlow we have a note from Eugene Curry, dated August 1839, on the townland of Ballon, " There are two blessed (holy) wells in the townland of Ballon, one called after Bridget and the other called after Cruach, close to each other, where a patron was formerly held, whether in honour of only one or both of these patrons nobody now remembers". This is the only reference to Ballon Hill contained in the Ordnance Survey Letters.

The third edition of Ordnance survey maps were produced in the early years of the 20th century with that for Ballon Hill published in 1907. These maps were drawn at a scale of 25 inches to one mile (1:2500) and were based upon the first edition maps. On this many features including archaeological monuments were added. Field boundaries were updated from the first edition maps and buildings and structures were also updated. The third edition maps also provided detailed area measures down to individual fields. Both wells marked on the first edition appear again and it is clear that there were a lot of trees planted on the hill since the late 1830s. Interestingly, just north of the hill we find "Urns found AD1853" where Cloghan-na-Marbhan is located.

Online digital mapping has improved greatly in the last ten years and now offers another avenue of research for archaeologists. These resources provide an important addition in archaeological research as aerial views can show differences in growth patterns of grasses and crops or colouring of soils that can indicate the presence of earthworks of historical and archaeological significance. While Google earth is a valuable resource, in the case of Ballon Hill no features of possible archaeological significance are visible. On the other hand, Bing maps display more detail for Ballon Hill and evidence of earthworks on the hill is evident.

In the 19th century published material there are numerous references to an "old rath" on the hill. We are told that some of

the best pottery vessels were recovered from this earthwork. The "old-rath" was described as producing human bone at a depth of at least "six feet" indicating this was a burial mound. The 19th century writings also give us several clues as to the location of this monument suggesting it is located towards the northern end of the top of the hill. Inspection of aerial photographs identified a circular monument at this location and a site visit confirmed a banked mound. A cross-section produced from available LIDAR data also suggested a mound at this location. This burial monument is described as producing at least five stone-lined burial pits or cists and eight pottery vessels. Three of these vessels were cautiously identified in the assemblage (a tripartite vase, a vase urn and either a tripartite bowl or bipartite vase) and indicates that the burial mound was in use from at least 2200-1700BC and possibly later. Graves did not include any information from Smith's diaries on a description of the " old rath". This suggests Richardson Smith may not have recorded any such information in his diaries or Graves chose not to include this in the published material. However he may have left a clue in a description he gave of an excavation he undertook in Scotland in 1858. Writing to the Kilkenny Archaeological Society in 1858 he described "an examination made by him of a tumulus surrounded at its base by a circle of rough stones. The entire remain was similar to many pits discovered by him on Ballon Hill, in the county of Carlow, when in 1853/54 he explored the extensive pagan cemetery there"(Smith 1858).

The second monument is a probable ringbarrow as described in RMP (Record of Monuments and Places) file CW013-071002. It was located at the eastern side of Ballon Hill and is described as a circular enclosure delineated by a bank approximately 16m in diameter. This monument is reported as having had a large stone or boulder at its centre. The RMP file also tells us of local reports of urns possibly found here and ashes or cremated bone found in a trench immediately north of this enclosure.

The 19th century publications also refer to works being carried out at or close to the top of the hill. In the 1853 publication we are told that a "large bed of charred wood and burned bones was struck on, two feet under the sod" and that several pottery vessels were also retrieved. LIDAR images kindly prepared by Dr Steve Davis, disclosed a third monument, an enclosure, located at the very top of the hill. It appears as though this enclosure is circular in plan and approximately 30m in diameter. In looking at the available evidence it appears as though this may also have been a barrow monument.

Following a review of the available aerial photographs for Ballon Hill combined with the historic mapping, there appears to be a fourth monument on Ballon Hill. This is a large enclosure approximately 160m north-south by 120m east-west. The first edition Ordnance Survey Map of Ballon Hill (sheet no. 13) shows a curving field boundary at the southern and western extent of the summit of the hill. The curving nature of this field boundary as seen on the first edition OS map appears suspicious as field boundaries tend to be linear and more often than not change direction with right-angles or close to right-angles. However, while this may indicate a field boundary respecting an older enclosure not based on common field boundary delineation, it is not necessarily evidence in itself of a field boundary based on an archaeological monument. This indication is quite convincing as it does appear to continue east and north from the southern end of the curving line of the field boundary on the first edition OS map. As this curving line continues north it does appear to curve back west and south. This large enclosure, based on its dimensions, its location and the archaeological periods represented in the assemblage of artefacts from the hill, may represent a hillfort, although this interpretation is quite tentative at present.

Conclusions.

What has been learned from the project? Quite a lot of information has come to light.

- An absolute minimum of twenty four pottery vessels and arguably a minimum of thirty nine such vessels were uncovered in the 19th century. This number of Bronze Age funerary vessels makes this one of the largest assemblages on the island of Ireland.

- The pottery assemblage was found to date from 2200-1500BC with a concentration around a one hundred year period 2020-1920BC.

- There is evidence for a minimum of twenty eight burials when the true number is undoubtedly many multiples of this. This puts Ballon Hill in the top five sites in the country in terms of the number of burials located here.

- Three heretofore unidentified earthwork monuments have been recognised including the suspected location of the 'old-rath' and two new monuments, a possible Bronze Age burial monument at the summit of the hill and a large enclosure.

The conclusion reached by this phase of study is that Ballon Hill is a hilltop cemetery complex of major significance in the Barrow/Slaney Valley region and, as a Bronze Age burial site, it is on a par with the largest and most impressive sites in the country.

Three copies of the published report have been donated to the County Carlow Library Service where anybody with an interest in the archaeology of the county can enjoy a good read.

If there is any further information which the authors may not be aware of we would be delighted to correspond or meet.

Research always begets further questions and we look forward to continuing our investigation of Ballon Hill and its surrounds in further phases of this project.

We wish to thank County Carlow Development Partnership who grant aided this research project, Carlow County Museum, Carlow County Library, the OPW, the specialist report authors Dr. Eoin Grogan, Helen Roche, Caoimhe Ní Thóibín and Laureen Buckley and to Dr. Gillian Barrett for providing aerial photographs. Also grateful thanks to Dr. Steve Davis, Eimhear O'Brien, Professor John Waddell, Professor William O'Brien, Dr. Peter Northover, Judith Finlay, Damian Maguire, T.J. O'Connell, Dermot Mulligan, Maeve Sikora, Mary Cahill, Conor McDermott and most especially PJ Blanche and John Smyth.

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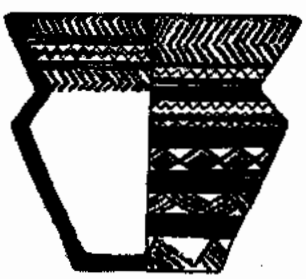
Tripartite vase (SA 1928: 440)

This vessel is a tripartite vase and has survived largely intact. It dates to 1920-1830BC and displays particularly good decoration on the entirety of the external surface. It measures 17.8cm in maximum diameter and 15.4cm in height.

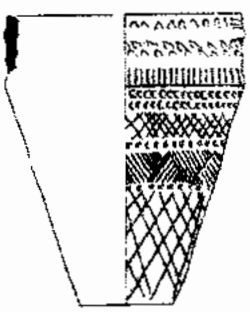


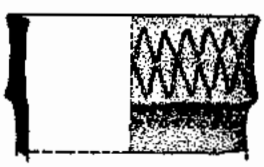
Vase urn (SA 1928:443)

This vessel is also a vase urn and dates to 1850-1700BC. It survives broken but complete and measures 19cm in diameter and 20cm in height

Vase urn (SA 1928:446)

This particularly large vessel is a vase urn and dates to 1800-1700BC. It measures 29.5cm in diameter and 34.5cm in height





Collard urn (SA 1928:441)

This vessel is a collard urn and parts of the neck and rim have been restored so that now it survives as a complete circumference. It dates to 1730-1500BC and measures 25.5cm in maximum diameter with the surviving portion measuring 12.9cm.

Foresters Disband

Charlie Keegan

ON Friday, March 11, 2013 Carlow Town's oldest voluntary organisation - the local branch of the Irish National Foresters (INF) - disbanded.

With just five members in the branch there was little else to do but to wind up Branch St Patrick No 245 – the official title of the Carlow organisation.

The branch disbandment thus brought to an end a local organisation which undertook outstanding humanitarian work continuously over the past 119 years, looking after the welfare of its members and their families in times of want, trouble and sickness.

The Carlow branch of the INF was established in the county town on June 3, 1892.

The branch was affiliated to the Irish National Foresters' Benefit Society and was one of the strongest in the Irish Republic, boasting at its peak in 1946 a membership of 210.

In 1945 the branch won the award for the largest increase in membership, which then stood at 195, at the annual Convention in Buncrana, Co Donegal. The following year Branch St Patrick 245 retained the award when it peaked at the previous stated 210.

Branch St Patrick No 245 hosted the annual All-Ireland Convention of the INF on five occasions – 1947, 1962, 1976, 1982 and 1993 - which provides an indication of the esteem in which the Carlow branch was held nationally.

On March 11 the five remaining branch members formally wound up the organisation.

The 'famous five' involved were: Liam Woods, St Killian's Crescent, who held the position of Chief Ranger; Frank Smyth, Gotham Cross, Sub Chief Ranger and Trustee; Anna Corcoran, JKL Avenue, Branch Secretary; Michael Brennan, Burren Road, Branch Treasurer; and Tommy Corcoran, Green Road, Junior Beadle. Tommy is a well-known figure in Carlow GAA circles with strong association with Éire Óg GFC and with hurling in Carlow Town and county.

Sadly only six days later, on St Patrick's Day, Michael Brennan passed away unexpectedly, marking the loss of a stalwart of the branch.

There is need for a membership of seven for an INF branch to be considered viable, so Carlow had fallen below that threshold.

The disbandment of Carlow means that there are only two remaining branches in the Republic – Tullamore and Killybegs. The Irish National Foresters is non-sectarian and non-political and has as its stated motto 'Unity, Nationality and Benevolence.'

Down the years the Branch St Patrick 245 always played a prominent role in promoting the ideals of the Society. The branch gave to the Order many illustrious men and women who have held with distinction the highest offices on the Executive Council – High Chief Ranger, High Sub-Chief Ranger, General Secretary and Trustee.

The Carlow branch was one of only two in the south which turned out in uniform – the other being Wexford.

Many Carlovians will remember the regal splendour of the Foresters as they participated in many a parade such as on St Patrick's Day, at Easter, at the An Tóstal parades during the 1950's while in more modern times participating in the Éigse Festival parade. On occasion the Foresters also took part in the annual May Sunday Parade in Killeshin.

In participating in these parades down through the years the Foresters added to the pageantry of such occasions with Branch St Patrick 245 members proudly stepping it out behind the large INF banner in their splendid green and gold uniforms with green sash, black hat and white plume. The members wore a white shirt and green tie, with the Foresters crest affixed to the tie. The Carlow Foresters wore black socks.

The uniforms were purchased from Branch 98 Dublin in 1945 when that branch disbanded. Six of the uniforms were bought by the branch secretary for £4 each while six individual members bought the other six over a period of year. The branch Colour Party appeared at various parades – north and south of the border – down the years and, together with members wearing sashes, nowhere was the Colour Party prouder to step it out than on the streets of Carlow Town. That was during an era when parades were held far more regularly than nowadays.

What exactly did the Carlow INF branch members undertake in order to fulfil the ethics of the parent body?

Liam Woods and Anna Corcoran explained that in the event of sickness to a Forester or a family member – covering all adults and children up to the age of 18 years – the branch paid for the medical costs involved in attending the doctor and the filling of a chemist's prescription. The Foresters free doctor scheme operated to within a three mile radius of Carlow Town.

The branch also looked after members financially who found themselves out of work through sickness or through loss of employment. As Liam Woods stated: "The branch basically filled the function, on a voluntary basis, which preceded the introduction by government of the social welfare payment system."

And as Anna Corcoran pointed out it was the introduction of medical card entitlement for people which really saw a major diminution in the service that the Foresters was providing for members.

At that stage the voluntary work of the INF was overtaken by the responsibility of government to the people as payment for such services came directly from the taxes paid by people rather than by way of voluntary subscription.

One of the specific duties within the Foresters movement was for two Woodwards to visit the ailing Forester or family member in hospital or at their home, bringing with them whatever financial support the organisation was providing.

How was Branch St Patrick No 245 funded?

Anna Corcoran replied: "By weekly subscription. And it was a great source of pride that throughout the 119 year history of the branch, it was never in debt." That is a proud boast of the Carlow Foresters. A major branch fund-raiser was the annual New Year's Eve dance in The Ritz Ballroom. The ballroom management gave over the running of the dance to the branch, who paid the band and looked after all other attendant expenses such as the hire of the hall.

Liam Woods recalls: "We brought some of the biggest bands of the day to the Ritz – among them Victor Sylvester, Joe Loss, Maurice Mulcahy, Mick Delahunty, to play at the New Year's Eve dance. It was always packed out and was regarded as the dance of the year."

In all 12 dances per year were run by the Carlow branch.

The heyday for these dances was in the 1940's and 1950's – the last dance ever run by the branch was on June 26, 1963 in The Ritz.

On Shrove Tuesday the annual Foresters Dance at The Ritz ran from 8 pm to 11.55 pm. It was the last dance before Lent and, recalls Anna Corcoran: "All you would hear throughout the weeks of Lent was 'I wonder what band the Foresters will have on Easter Sunday?'" The dance times were from either 9 pm to 2 pm or from 10 to 3 am.

Another big branch money-raiser was the annual carnival staged in the Fair Green and, occasionally, in The Bank Field. The carnival opened with a Children's Fancy Dress Parade. All the equipment was provided by McDonald's of Youghal, whose personnel came to Carlow and set up all the facilities, Liam Woods recalls. And, he remembers, the manager at McDonald's was a man called Mr Perks, with whom the branch dealt in terms of organisation and payment.

The branch ran pongo – forerunner of bingo - in the Foresters Hall and also held flag days. The permit for the flag days was given over to the Holy Angels Centre at the prompting of Pat Purcell, Quinagh. Pat was a prominent member of the branch throughout his life, who served at national level as High Chief Ranger for the South.

Branch St Patrick 245 also ran functions for parish funds, including pongo sessions at the former CYMS premises – now the Carlow Sports & Social Centre – in College Street.

A special branch committee was established for fund-raising activities. Among those who acted on that committee were the late Eustace Corcoran (Anna's father), Ger Purcell and Johnny Harding, all now deceased.

Rooms were also rented at the Foresters Hall to the late Kitty McDarby, Larkfield, who conducted lessons there for her School of Irish Dancing. Various local organisations also hired the use of the hall, with these rentals adding to the income of the branch.

Another notable aspect of the Carlow branch was that it never had a liquor licence, unlike practically all other branches in the Republic.

Consideration was given at one stage to the provision of a bar facility at the INF Hall in College Street but the matter never received the nod of approval and so the premises remained 'dry'.

In any event, as Liam Woods pointed out, it was not too far for anyone wanting a drink after a meeting to walk to the Workman's Club or Dinty Delaney's, both within short walking distance of the INF headquarters.

As the Foresters embraced members from all walks of life, any refurbishment to the INF hall could be undertaken at nominal cost by branch members.

Construction work was done by Tom Snoddy and later by his son, Jim; the painting was undertaken by J J Lambert or Frank Slattery; the carpentry by Pado Redmond or Frank Smyth; while Mickey Brennan looked after the plumbing needs at the hall.

A matter worth noting relating to the Carlow branch occurred at a meeting in the INF Hall on March 3, 1946. According to the minutes of that meeting branch secretary Tony Geoghegan wrote to the playwright George Bernard Shaw, who had connections with Carlow and was a benefactor to the town, inviting him to become an honorary member of the Foresters. Tony Geoghegan was an uncle of Tom Geoghegan, managing director of The Nationalist & Leinster Times.

In his letter to GBS, the branch secretary stated: 'I am advised by my branch to invite you to become an honorary member of our Society branch in Carlow. This was the unanimous resolution passed by 50 members representing 160 other members. The decision has been arrived at through your action in bestowing on the people of Carlow your house property to their representatives, the Carlow UDC. I am also directed to state that our branch were tenants of yours for a number of years, holding the premises known as the assembly rooms, Dublin Street, which you afterwards bestowed on the Carlow Vocational Committee. Should you honour us by agreeing to become a member I will gladly send you on our honorary

membership roll for signature. I have enclosed Branch Rule Book and general rules as well as last year's balance sheet for your information.' The letter was signed Anthony J Geoghegan.

It is not known if GBS responded to the INF invitation.

At the commencement of each branch meeting the Chief Ranger would read the Foresters opening ceremony – this was a mandatory procedure carried out by every branch.

It was the function of the Junior Beadle, which in Carlow's case was Tommy Corcoran (Green Road), to ensure that when a meeting started that there was no interruption with people coming and going.

In 1971 it was decided to invite the wives of male Foresters to form a ladies committee for fund-raising purposes. The involvement of these ladies helped to boost branch funds in the years that followed.

On September 12, 1979 the late Fr Martin Brophy, a native of Dublin Road and a branch member, celebrated a special Mass in the Foresters Hall for the Foresters and their families. Martin passed away a few years ago in the United States.

In the summer of 1989 a great honour was bestowed on Branch St Patrick 245 when the Colour Party was invited to form a guard of honour on the steps of Carlow Courthouse for the arrival of the foreign judges of the Entente Florale, an international 'Festival of Flowers' competition in which Carlow had entered that year.

For the Entente Florale Carlow Town was ablaze with flowers with private houses, commercial buildings, pubs, hotels etc undertaking wonderful display of floral decorations including the use of window and hanging baskets.

The event focused national attention on Carlow at the time in a very positive way. It was an event which generated massive local interest and the town never looked as well as in that summer of 1989.

With the ongoing decline in membership over the years through the death of branch members, the situation was reached in the early 1990s where a decision was taken to sell the Foresters Hall.

In 2003 that sale was concluded, with the premises being sold to Carlow Co Council.

Anna Corcoran remembers that when membership fell to between 20 and 25 the branch only existed almost for the sake of existence. "Nobody wanted to say that it was the end - that we should close up shop. We did not want that to happen because of the great people who had gone before us."

Today the former Foresters Hall is home to an office of Éigse and of Carlow Tourism while Alan Cashin continues to carry on his tailoring and alterations business in a room at the front of the building, where he has operated since 1977.

While it cannot be firmly established where the first meeting place of Branch St Patrick No 245 took place, it is known that the Foresters met at the Assembly Room of the former Carlow Vocational School in Dublin Street, as stated in the letter to GBS. There is a suggestion that early branch meetings were held at a house in College Street.

What is known with great clarity is the history of the Irish National Foresters Hall in College Street. That premises was originally part of the Browne Clayton Estate in Carlow Town.

The original lease was dated July 29, 1925 and the lease was for a term of 50 years from January 1, 1925, at an annual rent of £11.

On August 31, 1946 the premises was purchased from William Patrick Browne Clayton for £220 and was registered in the name of Branch St Patrick No 245 on September 6, 1945 in the Registry of Deeds. From that date onwards it was freehold to the branch.

The history of the Irish National Foresters discloses that it was an off-shoot of the Ancient Order of Foresters, formed in England in the days of feudal landlordism by the trades people and working classes. Forbidden to meet openly, they retired into dense forests, arranging their meetings by coded language for fear of detection from the ever vigilant sheriffs and henchmen of the ascendancy landlords, who ruled their territories with an iron fist.

Thus the name Foresters derived from having to conduct their meetings hidden away in the dense forests common at the time in mainland Britain.

The Foresters titles of Chief Ranger, Woodward and Beadle are also associated with forests and these titles still apply to members.

The year 1877 saw the birth of the Irish National Foresters in the whole of Ireland. As the headquarters of the Ancient Order were located in England, communications took too long and travel to and from Conventions were a strain on limited resources. It was in that background that the Irish National Foresters was formed. Established under the Friendly Societies Act of 1875, the Act dispelled the fear of secret membership and encouraged branches or courts to conduct their affairs in a more regular manner.

When the division of Ireland happened, so too came a division in the Foresters Society. The north formed its own executive council while the southern branches carried on their charitable transactions independently.

So from 1922 onwards the Society was divided. It took until the late 1970's for negotiations to take place between Executive Council members north and south in an attempt to bring about unification of the Society.

Finally 1981 saw the first All-Ireland Convention since 1922 and Branch St Patrick, Carlow was very proud to have two of its members on the All-Ireland Executive Council. It was regarded as a major breakthrough to have unification restored to the Foresters north and south after a break of 59 years.

On St Patrick's Day 1983 saw a United Society of Foresters march proudly down

Fifth Avenue, New York under the All-Ireland banner for the first time on the date of our national saint. The Carlow branch was represented by John Smyth.

In 1993 the late John Smyth, Glendale Avenue, Rathnapish, held the highest position in the Society – that of High Chief Ranger. Throughout his life John was an absolute stalwart of the Irish National Foresters and all it stood for. It was a matter of particular pride for John to be High Chief Ranger at a time when the Foresters came to Carlow for their annual Convention in 1993, particularly as Carlow had lost out on the hosting of the 1992 Convention on their 100th anniversary, when Convention was held in Lurgan, Co Armagh.

Anna Corcoran, who joined the branch in 1979, was elected INF General Secretary at a Special Convention in Newry in 1981, serving in that capacity until 1984. She is the only Carlow branch member to hold that national office.

Liam Woods served on the Arbitration Committee of the Southern Executive Council while Pat Purcell served as Chief Ranger in 1941, holding the position continuously up to 1970, when he relinquished the post.

The late Frank Hutton, branch secretary from 30 years (1949-1979) was 'Mr Forester' in Carlow. Frank was the voice of wisdom and advice.

Up to 1970 branch meetings were held weekly on Sundays, before being changed to Friday nights. Frank was to be found every Friday night in the hall to collect contributions. Many a night he spent two hours with only the four walls for company – such was his dedication to the Foresters.

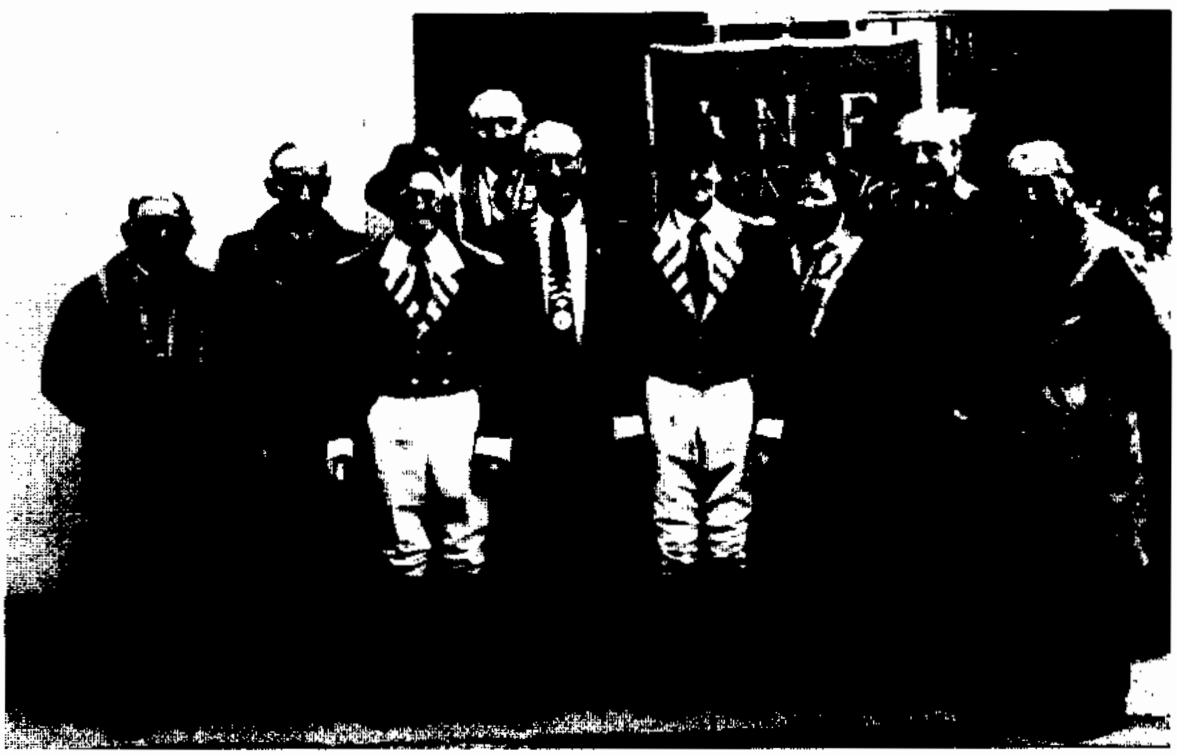
The National Foresters Conventions of 1962 and '76 were held in the former Crofton Hotel, (now the Seven Oaks) – the location for the 1947 event is not known. In 1982, when Carlow again played the role of national hosts the venue was The Seven Oaks. The 1993 Convention was held at the Carlow Hurling Club on Oak Park Road.

Reflecting on more than 55 years of service to the Carlow branch Liam said that the late Johnny Harding, a local builder, was the person responsible for his becoming involved with the INF.

"Johnny would call up to Carlow CIE station where I worked and he asked several times if I would join the Foresters. Finally in 1955 I did join."

It was a decision Liam never regretted, as he speaks with genuine pride of the past five and a half decades, during which he paraded, fund-raised and worked side by side with many Foresters who have gone to their eternal reward.

It is rather a sad fact that Branch St Patrick No 245 of the Irish National Foresters no longer exists.But while that is so, the people of Carlow and surrounding area should never forget the outstanding contribution made by this voluntary body so that families could keep body and soul together at a time when the social and medical benefits of today were only a pipedream!



Members of St. Patrick's branch of the Irish National Foresters - from left: Michael Brennan, Dick Donovan, Christy Broderick, Bernard Crampton, John Smyth, Tommy Corcoran, Anna Corcoran, Gerry Duggan and Jimmy Dunne.

Photo courtesy: Anna Corcoran

Leighlinbridge Classic for Tyndall and Village

Norman McMillan & Martin Nevin

On Saturday 8th March, 2014 in appropriately for an event featuring Gráinne Mulvey, the Kevin Barry Room of the National Concert Hall six new compositions were performed by selected Irish composers entitled 'The Handprint Collection'. Thérèse Fahy the pianist performed all the six pieces and had indeed commissioned these new compositions from the leading Irish composers of our day. These compositions were all to be played on the piano and written with the discipline or constraint of being crafted for pianists with small hands. The pieces were respectively Legerdemain by Raymond Dean; Ětude by Benjamin Duyer; The Forge by Michael Holohan; Calorescence by Gráinne Mulvey; Waiting for Riad by Bill Whelan; and Leda and the Swan by Siobhán Cleary. It almost goes without comment to point out that it is perhaps unique that six new pieces would be premiered in one concert which was supported by the Arts Council.

The six pieces were written as part of the New Music Dublin Festival and were all recognizably new modern composition. None of the compositions were musically discordant but all challenging for the discerning audience with the room full of musicologists composers, commentators, friends and family of the composers and other interested knowledgeable members of the public. There was undoubtedly one stand-out piece from the six compositions. This was impressive composition crafted by Leighlinbridge's Gráinne Mulvey. The piece was a brilliantly conceptual piece entitled 'Calorescence' written to celebrate an experimental demonstration of Leighlinbridge's internationally acclaimed physicist John Tyndall. Tyndall was inspired by his friend George Gabriel Stokes then recent discovery of 'Fluorescence' in 1852 to attempt this first demonstration of light transmutation. Tyndall's attempt to demonstrate calorescence was pushing heat up a metaphorical hill; water flows down and here Stokes had the benefit of gravity working in the desired 'downhill' direction of his fluorescence spectroscopic discovery; the transformation of typically high energy 'invisible' UV (or other excitations such as blue) into visible 'fluorescence' emissions. Stokes' discovery in modern science is of the greatest importance with laboratory instruments and innumerable applications stretching from the medical to the environmental. Fluorescence is the result of a complex series of processes but has the salient virtue of well-defined electronic emissions that can used to characterise and most importantly quantify a molecular species from spectroscopic transitions characterised by what is today known as Stokes-shift. Tyndall's experiment was the converse attempting to raise invisible heat radiation to visible excitations. Tyndall's achievement was concluded in 1865 and was called Calorescence. From Tyndall's point of view it is disappointing this macroscopic demonstration of high energy photons emitted from low energy infra-red excitations has not the same modern cache as Stokes' landmark discovery because his experiment did not have a unique spectral signature emission from the heated platinum foil and today characterisable emissions of increased energy from lower energy excitations; these transitions exist and are known as 'anti-Stokes' transitions not unfortunately Tyndall of calorescent transitions,

The genius of Gráinne in seeing the relevance of Tyndall's discovery to transmute into what will surely deserves to be an internationally acclaimed composition was explained in the Handprint NCH performance notes "Although later research showed that this is not a single phenomenon, being accounted for by any of several processes, I chose it as a title both to honour Tyndall's achievement and because it is analogous to some of the processes that generate musical material in the piece; in particular, the constant transformation of deliberately blurred and amorphous material introduced in the lowest register of the piano to produce melodic and harmonic material

Across the full range of the instrument." The musical composition 'Calorescence' is unquestionably a concept that parallels Tyndall's experiment; the experience of listening to this artistic creation on Saturday was one that left the audience in awe of what is almost certainly a unique approach to composition. The extended and rolling introduction of 'noise' develops with structure emerging from the chaos as it did in the Tyndall's experiments but also the Big Bang creation of the universe. Structural elements continually transition across the keyboard from the lowest register and group and develop in their complexity. The composition is musically attractive and in no way anharmonic despite this chaotic crucible and Mulvey's piece builds to a climax with the repetitive and clear emission of the composition fusing and being played on the highest notes of the piano by the 'small' right hand of Thérèse Fahy! The piece ends with a break from the driving conceptual development of the pieces main section; this second section represents Tyndall's emotion and celebrations in achieving his goal of demonstrating Calorescence. This final section is in itself a very interesting conceptual idea of expressing the elation of scientific discovery that will resonate with not only spectroscopists but all scientists and engineers involved in original research; researchers efforts are in all cases directed to this euphoric moment of discovery and incredible personal knowledge and of course pleasure in making their breakthrough.

Professor Bernie V Lightman, Editor in Chief of the Tyndall Correspondence Project (www.york.ca/tyndall) has confirmed in an email dated 22 February 2014 to McMillan that he would use Mulvey's Calorescence at the Irish launch of the Tyndall Correspondence Project. McMillan is a small part of this project. Mulvey's conceptually masterful and beautiful composition is thus going to be played at the Irish launch this year of the first volume of the correspondence project that will be published over several years in 15 volumes. Many will recall that there was massive international coverage of the Darwin's Correspondence Project in Cambridge (www.darwinproject.ac.uk) a couple of years ago that was launched to celebrate the bicentennial. Tyndall was of course a spokesman for Darwin and his Belfast Address was considered scandalous in 1874 when he so clearly made it clear there was an evolutionary connection of the most primitive forms of life to humans. The Tyndall correspondence project led by York University in Toronto in a serious way follows on from the Darwin project and is of course such an important development for this historically important part of Carlow history. These international developments concerning Tyndall in some part have drawn on the work of the local Tyndall Committee's work from the early 1970s as explained in the last edition of *Carloviana*. The work of the local committee also inspired Gráinne Mulvey and it is most appropriate that Carlow's own internationally acclaimed composer from Leighlinbridge has produced this brilliant new composition has been inspired by the local internationally acclaimed scientific genius and now her work draws inspiration and connects into these wider international developments surrounding Tyndall.

Grainne Mulvey was born in Dublin. She studied under Professor Nicola LeFanu and gained an DPhil in Composition at the University of York in 1999. She also holds an MA in Composition from Queens University, Belfast and a BA (Hons) Degree from Waterford Institute of Technology, under Dr. Eric Sweeney. She was appointed Head of Composition at Dublin Institute of Technology Conservatory of Music and Drama in 2001, and acts as an external examiner for a number of composition courses in Ireland. In 2001, 2010 and 2011 she was on the adjudicator's panel for the Guido d'Arezzo Composers' Composition Competition in Italy.

Graine came with her parents and family to Leighlindge when she was 5 years of age and very much regards it as her home town.

Martin Nevin, Gráinne Mulvey, Norman McMillan and Ned Costigan at the National Concert Hall for the performance

The 1641 Rebellion in Carlow:

Causes and Consequences

Elaine Callinan

What Happened in 1641?

Ireland in the 1600s comprised a triptych of group identities – the 'Old Irish': those of Gaelic speech and culture and Catholic in religion; the 'Old English': English-speaking, Catholic, yet resolute in their allegiance to the crown;[1] and the 'New English': new Tudor settlers and Protestant in religion.[2] The Old English being confronted by a threat to their liberties because of their religion, to their place in parliament (due to increasing pressure from the Protestant class), and to their landed property through plantation felt compelled to join with the Old Irish in rebellion.

Those who planned the rebellion were mainly the Gaelic Irish from the heavily planted province of Ulster. The idea was that Hugh Óg MacMahon and Conor Maguire would seize Dublin Castle, and Phelim O'Neill and Rory O'Moore would take Derry and other northern towns. The rebellion date was set for 23 October 1641. Surprise was to be their main weapon rather than military force. However, the authorities in Dublin found out about the plot from an informer named Owen Connolly, and Maguire and MacMahon were arrested. O'Neill decided to go ahead with the rebellion and successfully took several forts in Ulster, claiming to be acting in the King's name. He published a forged Royal Commission from King Charles to give himself wide powers, and this also encouraged many of the landed gentry to support him. Events quickly spiralled out of control; and the English authorities overreacted to the rebellion. They sent troops under commanders Charles Coote and William St. Leger (both Protestant settlers) to rebel-held areas in counties Wicklow and Cork respectively. Their expeditions were characterised by what the historian Padráig Lenihan described as 'excessive and indiscriminate brutality' against the general Catholic population. This provoked Catholics into joining the rebellion.[3]

What Happened in Carlow in 1641?

Nicholas Canny states that the leaders of the rebellion were usually people from the privileged social class who held 'grievances over recent deployments or with little to lose'.[4] Carlow was no exception. The rising was led by some landowners who believed they had been dispossessed unfairly of much of their land on several occasions during the previous decades, primarily because of plantation. These leaders and their septs in Carlow included the Byrnes, O'Tooles, Kavanaghs, Neales, Nolans, Briens and Ryans.[5] As the rebellion intensified the gentry – Catholic and Protestant – were unable to uphold order and initiate authority – a problematic situation throughout most of Ireland in the early stages of the rebellion – which would lead to atrocities on both sides.

A study of depositions held in Trinity College Dublin (ninety-five depositions are directly related to Carlow) provides us with valuable insight into the rebellion in Carlow. These 1641 depositions are witness testimonies mainly by Protestants, but also by some Catholics, from all social backgrounds, concerning their experiences of the 1641 Irish rebellion.[6] The rebellion reached Carlow by the end of October 1641 evidenced in Thomas Poole's deposition that stated '*that on or about the eight and twentieth day of October last past hee was forcibly robbed and despoiled...*', and Thomas Jones who claimed that '*since the Rebellion began vizt about the 10th day of November last past ...*'.[7] An account of thefts also provides evidence for the timing of the rebellion. In counties Wicklow, Wexford, Carlow and Queen's County (Laois) virtually no robberies were recorded for October, but twenty per cent or more of those reported took place between 1st and 15th November 1641, with a substantial number (over forty per cent) taking place in the second half of the month and right through into December.[8]

The older Gaelic families previously mentioned (i.e. the Byrnes, Kavanaghs, etc.) became allies of the New English garrison families of Bagenals[9] and Davells and the Old English families of the Butlers, Walls and Eustaces.[10] Walter Bagenal – mentioned often in the depositions – was brought up a Roman Catholic but became Protestant to secure his lands. He was connected by blood with many Catholic families in the Pale.[11] His mother was a Butler of Kilcash, a branch of the Butlers noted for their loyalty to the Old Faith, and his grandmother was a Fitzgerald of Ticroghan, Co. Meath (also a Catholic). He was the maternal grandson of Sir Walter Butler, afterwards 11th Earl of Ormond. By reason of his Catholic upbringing Bagenal found himself bound up in the fortunes of the Old Catholic Anglo-Irish families of the Pale, with whom four of his aunts had intermarried. At the outbreak of the rebellion Bagenal supported the cause of the Confederate Catholics. In 1640 he had been given command of Leighlin Castle, then an important fortified post, by his cousin the Earl (subsequently created Marquis and later Duke of Ormond, and who was Lieutenant General of the king's forces in Ireland).[12] He and Sir Morgan Kavanagh[13] (The Kavanaghs converted to the Protestant religion and therefore managed to retain their large estates. When the rebellion broke out Sir Morgan Kavanagh was the main leader in the north of Carlow) also held the post of

joint Governors of the County of Carlow. Bagenal, Sir Morgan Kavanagh of Borris, and Edmund and Edward Wall of Urglin, were the principals in Carlow and they acted in conjunction with the Queen's County leaders Robert Harpole of Shrule and Thomas Davells, and with the Butlers in Kilkenny.

The Bagenals, Kavanaghs, Walls, Eustaces, Davells and Butlers are cited throughout the depositions for Carlow as being rebels or insurgents, with Bagenal being named in the deposition of Raph Bulkley as *'cheefe Commander of Rebells'* who *'most perfidiously and treacherously turnd Rebell'*.[14] They were still landowners or holders of considerable acreage, particularly the Butlers who are listed in the Civil Survey of 1654-56 as possessing lands in the baronies of Cloydagh, Forth, Barragh and Kellistown to a total of 5276 profitable acres in the year 1640.[15] It is beyond the scope of this work to detail the entire land ownerships, mortgages, leases, and debts of these landowners. Nevertheless, it is important to note that there are accounts in the Statute Staple books which provides an invaluable guide to the transactions and debts of these families – and therefore also gives us details of the social and economic history of Carlow at this time.

When landownership, land loss and debt are taken into account there does seem to be some justification of land lost to planted settlers creating discontent amongst the older Gaelic families. Every deposition taken in Carlow in the years 1642/3 relates theft by rebels of goods, cattle, money, and merchandise. However, when families like the Bagenals, Walls, Eustaces and Kavanaghs are taken into account (even if large amounts of debt is owing), it is difficult to explain petty theft being a primary motive for rebellion (aside perhaps from victuals which was no doubt used for troop provisions) given that most of these families were still considerable landowners at this time. Sir Morgan Kavanagh, Bagenal and the Walls may have been affected by the general economic downturn in the late 1630s, and this combined with other facts – like the tenuous nature of their local government positions – may have led them to perceive rebellion as a viable option for security of political and fiscal power, but an unlikely option for relieving debt or securing fortune. But, when we investigate those rebels under the command of these leaders there is an argument – given that the evidence is widespread in the Carlow depositions – that there was concern over debt. William Bailie, a merchant from Hacketstown, states in his deposition that he was *'forceibly depriued robbed and despoiled of his ready money horses wares merchandize'*, and he went on to say that, *'Patrick Keogh Birne of hacketstowne ... [and] Morris Bawne ... formerly a Cowhird, but then turned by his Robberys & pillageing to be a famous & rich Rebell'*.[16] This perhaps proves that theft for money was a motive. It also suggests that the rebels specifically targeted those Protestants to whom they owed debt as is substantiated by Robert Dodson's deposition, where he comments that he was robbed by rebels who had *'debts due to him from severall persons in those parts some whereof are in actuall rebellion...'*.[17] Nicholas Canny rightly suggests that the insurgents targeted those leases that gave the settlers title to their farms and these were also the documents that bore testimony to native debt, which were taken and destroyed by the rebels.[18]

Were there any other causes?

Many scholars argue that the events leading to the 1641 rebellion can be situated within the larger political events occurring in England, Scotland and Ireland. Aidan Clarke in his work *The Old English in Ireland* argues from a high-politics point of view, seeing the problems of King Charles and his associates in governing the three kingdoms as being the primary cause. In other words, the rebellion of 1641 was triggered by political dislocations between the monarch and powerful sections in Scotland and England, with the events in Ireland further exacerbating relations between the monarch and these powerful sections of the other two kingdoms. Raymond Gillespie in his article 'The end of an era: Ulster and the outbreak of the 1641 rising' also favours this three kingdoms context, but he adds an economic and religious dimension, which he claims accounts for the popular aspects to the insurrection.[19]

A key assertion by Sir John Temple[20] was that the Old English, encouraged by the Catholic clergy, planned the events to recover Ireland for the papacy.[21] Claims of the involvement of clergy in the revolt can be seen in some of the Carlow depositions. For example James Shawe's deposition states, *'Rebellious souldjers at Catherlaghe protested and confessed that they had received the sacrament from a Romish preist with direccon that they should spare neither man woman nor child that was a protestant but kill them all'*.[22] Nicholas Canny stated that the involvement of the clergy in the revolt was symptomatic of their disillusionment at the religious intolerance of Catholics in Ireland, particularly given that many priests had trained in seminaries on the continent.[23] However, within the Carlow depositions there is only hearsay evidence of priests inciting rebellion, so authorization from the clergy to revolt cannot be directly proved. There is also occasional mention of the insurgents proselytising, patent in John Wilmott's deposition: *'They offred this deponent his goods againe, if he would goe to mass with them, the which this deponent absolutely refused...'*.[24] What is striking in these depositions are the statements charging that Protestants 'revolted' or 'turned' to mass, although it was usually after theft of their goods or land – conversion ensuring the return of same. John Slater, John Watson, Edmund Arley, and Edward Catterall to name a few all made statements to the effect that a Protestant *'was first robbed by the Rebells and after turned to masse, had his goods agayne {re}stored him'*.[25] While there is no evidence of Protestants receiving succour from priests without converting in Carlow, these depositions are valuable 'because they identify the Catholic clergy as wishing to rid their community of Protestant religious worship ... rather than of Protestant people who might be persuaded to convert'.[26] Therefore, it could be suggested that Catholicism was important to the rebels insofar as they believed it to be the true religion. So, a cause of revolt was not against the English people *per se*, but rather against their Protestant religion. That said, given that Walter Bagenal and the Kavanaghs converted from Catholicism to Protestantism to preserve ownership of their lands, this perhaps proves that

religion does not seem to be the primary motivating factor of all involved in the 1641 rebellion in Carlow.

Alongside these causes of politics, economics and land, another cause of the 1641 rebellion – or at least certainly an influencing factor in how the rebellion played out in Carlow, and how this subsequently impacted on the rebellion in the rest of Ireland – is interfamilial relationships. The Kavanaghs, like most of the elite families in the area, intermarried with other prestigious local families. To illustrate: Morgan Kavanagh's first wife was Elinor, daughter of Edmond Butler, Viscount Mountgarret. His daughter Elizabeth married Edmond Wall of Urglin, Co. Carlow, another prominent Old English family.[27] These interfamilial relationships seemed to influence both politics and warfare decisions. This becomes more evident as the war progresses into the mid-1600s when men like Kavanagh and Bagenal are appointed to offices in the Supreme Council. By 1646 the king's affairs had taken a very unfavourable turn in the English civil war, and his best hopes were placed in obtaining military aid from the Confederate Catholics of Ireland. For this aid he was ready to conclude a cessation of the war on the terms of their advancing him a sum of £12,000 out of their treasury. Ormond[28] was appointed to negotiate the peace terms. According to Philip H. Bagenal in his *Vicissitudes of an Anglo-Irish Family*, the papal nuncio, Archbishop Rinuccini – who was opposed to the peace – secretly sent orders to Owen O'Neill, who was then with the Ulster army near Roscrea. O'Neill's orders were to march with all speed towards Dublin to intercept Lord Ormond's return, and, if possible, to make a prisoner of him. Ormond decided to head for Dublin using the fastest route, which was through Carlow. Carlow was practically only accessible from the North, for the Barrow was its natural boundary on the west, mountains enclosed it on the east and northeast, and foothills, bogs, and forests on the south made it very difficult to access. (This depicts the importance of the geography of Carlow in the rebellion and the strategic location of the county for access to and from Kilkenny and Dublin). However, the only bridge across the River Barrow at Leighlin had already been secured by Bagenal and his troops. Yet, Bagenal agreed that passage over the bridge should be open to Ormond.[29] It is questionable whether Bagenal would have been so accommodating to Ormond had there been no family connections. Bagenal's conduct on this occasion was perhaps the salvation of Ormond, who would otherwise have had to engage with Owen O'Neill. In being allowed passage over Leighlinbridge Ormond was able to reach Dublin in safety on 30 September 1646. If Bagenal had prevented Ormond from making this crossing, perhaps the outcome of the war may have been altered? On pure conjecture, Ormond may not have reached Dublin, ergo he could not have surrendered it to Parliament, thus Cromwell's entrance into Ireland may have been thwarted or at least delayed. Regardless, this incident played a crucial role in the war and proves how interfamilial political relationships in regional areas in Ireland had the potential to alter events on a larger scale.

What else do the depositions tell us about Carlow in 1641?

The 1641 depositions provide valuable insight into life in Carlow in the 1600s. Taken collectively they fashion a thriving town inhabited by a strong middle and wealthy class. The deposition of William Bailie, a merchant, details some of his stock as fine thread silk lace, cinnamon, cloves, nutmeg, and cotton – obviously not merchandize for a peasant clientele.[30] Taken in their entirety there is evidence of merchants, farmers, yeomen, carpenters, inn-keepers, millers (the River Burrin which as we know flows through the town of Carlow was vital to the milling industry[31]). There are ministers/clergy, cotteners, brogue/shoemakers and butchers. Raph Bulkley's deposition actually lists the occupations of the rebels as he names them: '*they are theis vizt Richard Slabor yeoman, Redmond o Nowlin Cottener, Morrogh McJames Carpenter ....*'.[32] Deponents occupations are generally mentioned in their deposition and the data divulges many gents, husbandmen and justices of the peace, with a few ministers and clergy. A curious omission from the list of occupations for Carlow – given its location on the River Barrow and Burrin – are occupations relating to river transport or fishing.

What happened in and to Carlow Castle?

The attacks on the Protestant community in Carlow caused widespread panic and fear, resulting in many fleeing to Carlow Castle. For example, the deposition of Ruth Crispe gives a graphic description. Ruth Crisp the Relicte (wife of clergyman) of Henry Crisp of Pollardstowne in Co. Carlow explains that she (pregnant with child) and her husband fled for *'saffetie of their lives with their family to the Castle of Catherlagh'*. Her deposition informs that those who left the Castle for any reason suffered atrocities at the hands of the rebels. She tells us that '*fowre hundred people [were] in the said Castle of Catherlagh'* and that *'most of them like to starve for want of food'*. Many were afraid to leave the castle in search of food because those who did lost their lives. She recounts that the rebels captured some women who had gone in search of supplies and '*forceibly brought those 4 women back within view of the said Castle, where those Rebels called with a lowd voice to the rest ... that they should see their Cuntry women hanged* ...[and] *there hanged them to death accordingly and then stripping them they cast their dead bodies all together in a hold ...'*. James Shawe, Thomas James and Martha Mosley are further examples of deponents who recount tales of horrific attacks outside the castle boundary.[33]

The siege of Carlow Castle while not on the scale of larger castle sieges such as King John's Castle in Limerick is perhaps more indicative of local or regional sieges in the smaller counties, where guns and pikes were the only armoury. We know the besiegers of Carlow Castle did not possess cannons or siege guns because the weapons described in the depositions do not include these. Based on the depositions of Ruth Crisp, James Shawe and Raph Bulkley the rebels surrounded the castle and posed an ominous threat to those inside.[34] This was made all the more real when threats to murder and kill those who left the castle were actually carried out within sight of those inside. Therefore the castle inhabitants believed them-

selves under siege and surrounded by rebel forces, who were under the command of Sir Walter Bagenal. Raph Bulkley's deposition states that '*many* [were] *very poore and had nothing left to eate when they came thirther* [to Carlow Castle]'. Edward Briscoe's account is particularly harrowing in its description of life within the castle walls under siege. He, his wife *'great with child'* and *'nyne Children'* escaped to Carlow Castle, where *'he his wife and children endured great want and misery. Insoemuch as seven of his Children died by want of necessaries'*. He further explained that the castle was under siege from Christmas 1641 until the Wednesday before Easter. Those inside could not leave the castle *'for soe much as a little water but in danger of their Liues'*. This is illustrated in his account about a servant maid who was shot as she attempted to fetch water, with others likewise slain.[35]

The dates in the depositions place the siege of Carlow Castle in midwinter, which was inherently problematic. Illnesses prevailed and weather conditions were poor. Raph Bulkley recounts however that the weather conditions in Carlow gave those within the castle some optimism. He stated that in *'mid-December a great flood rose in the River Barrow ... and continued until after Candlemas, reaching such a height that none could approach the Castle but upon a narrow causeway'*. He was hoping that the English army would come to their rescue and defend this pathway, consequently allowing freedom. However the rebels/insurgents invaded the town of Carlow *'whilest the flowd was high' and 'hemmed in all those of the Castle that they could not sturr out soe much as to fetch a paille of water but were slaine'*. The deposition of Edward Harman describes how the castle rebels had muskets as weapons, and he also gives a good account of a meeting with rebels to discuss terms of surrender. The conditions offered were that the besieged would have safe hostage, fair quarter and safety of passage to the sea if they surrendered the castle. Harman and his colleagues requested a return of lands and grounds that were taken but this was *'scornfully rejected'*. They repaired to the castle again whereupon the rebels continued their siege.[36]

According to Harman on the Wednesday before Easter the king's army marched into Carlow whereby the rebels burned the town and fled. Aidan Clarke states that the Earl of Ormond had marched towards Naas with 3,000 foot and 500 horse and some field pieces. Having garrisoned Naas, Ormond advanced to Kilcullen and Athy, systematically burning the countryside on his march, and after Athy he had sent troops into Carlow and other areas to relieve besieged castles.[37] By July 1643 much of Leinster was *'so wasted that scarce a cow, garron or man is to be seene in many miles together ... the earse of the corne which is now growing in many of these parts, is so generally cut off now before it is ripe, by the hunger starved rebels, that very little will be reaped'*.[38]

The causes and consequences of rebellion in Carlow

The causes of the 1641 rebellion were politics, interfamilial relationships, religion, land, and economics, leading to the consequences of war, atrocity and the siege of Carlow Castle. With the establishment of the Supreme Council in Kilkenny potential loss of power became all the more disquieting – now that Confederate Catholics were experiencing the benefits of political power. With the return of Owen Roe O'Neill (lord general of the Confederate forces) and Thomas Preston (commander of the king's army of Leinster) to Ireland, ambitions for success on the battlefield had grown also. Consequently the high politics explanation of the outbreak of the revolt favoured by Aidan Clarke seems to make sense,[39] although one cannot discount religion or economics as being high motivating factors also. The English political system was divided and weak and virtually incapable of intervention in Ireland and this also played a key role in making rebellion both possible and attractive. The insurgents in Ireland had witnessed the military success of the Scots in their dispute with King Charles and perhaps believed they could also gain victory. However, this also caused concern and fear about the potential of militant Protestantism in England and Scotland – and possibly Ireland – leading the Irish gentry to lean towards revolt.[40]

That the insurgents managed to hold Carlow town and castle for practically three months portrays that their numbers and their intimidation tactics worked. The ability to provoke fear and terror in the Protestant population may have come about because personalities like Sir Walter Bagenal, Sir Morgan Kavanagh, the Walls and other high ranking families led their cause. The depositions tell us that English troops came into Carlow, with the result that the Irish insurgents fled. Raph Bulkley's deposed that the rebels *'kept the protestants in the Castle vntill his Maiesties Army did about Easter then following martch thither & then all that were willing to depart went away ...'*[41]. The rebellion in Carlow and the siege of Carlow Castle reflects the causes and consequences of many of the warfare tactics and sieges in smaller counties in Ireland over the course of the 1641 Irish rebellion.

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[1] Aidan Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland* (Worcester & London, 1966), pp. 153-219.

[2] T.W. Moody & F.X. Martin (eds) , *A New History of Ireland, Early Modern Ireland 1534-1691* (Oxford, 2009), p. xliii.

[3] Pádraig Lenihan, *Confederate Catholics at War* (Cork, 2001).

[4] Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British 1580-1650* (Oxford, 2011), p. 508.

[5] The sept of the Byrnes lost much of their lands through feuds and plantation in the baronies of Idrone and Carlow (Catherlagh). The sept of the Nolans inhabited part of the barony of Forth and were dependent on the Kavanaghs. The sept of the Neales were descendants from the O'Neill's of Ulster. The sept of the Ryans were an ancient Carlow family who resided on both sides of the River Barrow in the barony of Idrone. The Briens were considerable landowners in the district around Marshallstown: William Nolan, 'County Carlow 1641-1660: Geography, Landownership and Society' in *Carlow, History and Society,* ed by Dr Thomas McGrath (Dublin, 2008), p. 363. The insurgent Byrnes in Wicklow had been joined by the O'Toole's who made forays into Carlow: Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland 1625-42,* p. 175. These septs fell under the command primarily of Sir Morgan Kavanagh and Sir Walter Bagenal who was of New English descent and who switched sides to take over command of the rebel forces: M. Perceval Maxwell, *The Outbreak of the Irish Rebellion of 1641* (Montreal & Kingston, London, Buffalo, 1994), p. 255.
Note: There are many derivatives of the spelling of these family names in the 1641 depositions, for the purpose of this essay the above spellings will be used throughout.

[6] Available online at www.1641.tcd.ie. [All quotes from depositions are in italics].

[7] Deposition of Thomas Poole, (MS 812, fols 006r-006v), and Thomas Jones, (MS 812, fols 017r-917v).

[8] Maxwell, p. 252.

[9] The Bagenals came to Carlow when Sir Nicholas Bagenal purchased the barony of Idrone from George Carew in 1585 for his second eldest son, Dudley Bagenal. In a feud with the Kavanaghs Sir Nicholas was killed and George Bagenal inherited the Carlow estates and built the first house at Dunleckney: Nolan, *Carlow History and Society,* pp. 355-404, and T.P. Hayden, 'Col. Walter Bagenal of Dunleckney and Dame Ann Butler of Rathellen', *Carloviana* (1959).

[10] The Eustaces of Castlemore were another large landowning family, holding 2,087 acres in Castlemore and 1,200 acres at Newstown, although this was small by comparison to their earlier land holdings before plantation. Before the 1641 rebellion all the lands of Kernanstown, Pollerton (Great and Little) were owned by the Wale or Wall family. According to the Down Survey there were 243 acres in Kernanstown, 203 acres in Great Pollerton and 234 acres in Little Pollerton: M.T. Kelly, 'The Burtons of Pollacton', *Carloviana* (1972); For a detailed account of land ownership in Carlow taken from the Civil and Down Surveys which originated from the Settling of Ireland Act, 12 August 1652 see William Nolan, *Carlow History and Society,* pp. 355-404; and, Conlett Manning, 'Transcripts from the Civil Survey of Counties Carlow and Kilkenny', *Journal of the Royal Society of Archeology Ireland,* vol. 132 (2002), pp. 57-76.

[11] William Nolan, pp. 355-404 and T.P. Hayden, *Carloviana* (1959); and Philip H. Bagenal, *Vicissitudes of An Anglo-Irish Family 1530-1800, A Story of Romance and Tragedy* (London, 1925), p. ix.

[12] Examination of Walter Bagenal, (MS 812, fols 122r-125v). In this examination Walter Bagenal details some of the posts he held and the fact that he was appointed to them by 'the Lord of Ormond'.

[13] The Kavanaghs converted to the Protestant religion and therefore managed to retain their large estates. When the rebellion broke out Sir Morgan Kavanagh was the main leader in the north of Carlow. (He was eventually killed in a battle between the Confederates and Parliamentarians near New Ross on St Patrick's Day 1652). In the 1641 rebellion, although Protestant, the Kavanaghs were protected by the fact that they were Kavanaghs, and during the Cromwellian period they were protected because they were Protestants.

[14] The deposition of Raph Bulkley provides an excellent example where gentry families are named as rebels and insurgents (MS 812, fols. fols. 084r-085v).

[15] Conleth Manning, pp. 57-76; William Nolan, pp. 360-361 and 366-391.

[16] Deposition of William Bailie, (MS 812, fols. 45r-45v).

[17] Depositions of Robert Dodson, (MS 812, fols 09r-10v). See also Nicholas Canny, 'What Really Happened in 1641?' in Jane H. Ohlmeyer, *Ireland from Independence to Occupation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 31-32.

[18] Canny, 'What Really Happened in 1641', pp. 31-32.

[19] Raymond Gillespie, 'The end of an era: Ulster and the outbreak of the 1641 rising', in Ciaran Brady and Raymond Gillespie (eds.), *Natives and Newcomers: the making of Irish colonial society 1534-1641* (Dublin 1986), pp. 191-213; Gillespie, 'Harvest crises in early seventeenth-century Ireland', *Irish Economic and Social History*, II (1984), pp. 5-18.

[20] Sir John Temple was born in Ballycrath, Co. Carlow and was educated at Trinity College Dublin. He spent some time travelling abroad and on his return he entered the personal service of Charles I and was knighted. In 1640 he succeeded Sir Christopher Wandesford as Master of the Rolls in Ireland and was admitted to the Privy Council of Ireland. In the 1641

rebellion he served the government in provisioning Dublin city. At the restoration of Charles II he would be elected, with his eldest son Sir William Temple, to represent Carlow in Parliament. In recompense for his services he received in 1658 a grant of two leases for twenty-one years, the one comprising the town and lands of Moyle, Castletown Park, etc., adjoining the town of Carlow: Robert Dunlop, *Dictionary of National Biography, 1885-1900*, Vol. 56, Errata (1904), p. 263.

[21] Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British 1580-1650* (Oxford, 2001), p. 461.

[22] James Shawe, (MS 812, fols 50r-51v).

[23] Canny, *Making Ireland British 1580-1650*, p. 488.

[24] Deposition of John Wilmott, (MS 815, fols. 295r-295v).

[25] Depositions of John Slater, (MS 812, fols 38r-39v), John Watson, (MS 812, fols 041r-041v), Edmund Arley, (MS 812, fol. 62r), and Edward Catterall, (MS 812, fols 66r-66v).

[26] Canny, *Making Ireland British 1580-1650*, p. 489.

[27] For a more detailed account of the Kavanagh sept see Art Kavanagh, *The Kavanaghs, Kings of Leinster* (Dublin and Wexford, 2003), and Jason McHugh, 'The Kavanagh Family of Clonmullen: A Gaelic Irish Family', *The Past: The Organ of the Uí Cinsealaigh Historical Society*, No. 24, (2003), pp. 3-27.

[28] The Butler family was perhaps the most important and politically-influential family in Ireland during the early-modern period. During the mid-seventeenth century James Butler (1610-1688) became the most pivotal political and military figure in Ireland, and he would remain loyal to the established church. After a period of exile during the Cromwellian interregnum, he re-emerged as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and in 1661 was made the first Duke of Ormonde. ('Ormonde' thereafter became the conventional spelling of the family title).

[29] Bagenal, pp. 92-113.

[30] Deposition of William Bailie, (MS 812, fols. 45r-45v).

[31] Thomas King, *Carlow: The Manor and Town, 1674-1721*, Raymond Gillespie (gen. ed.) (Dublin, 1997), pp. 39-40.

[32] Deposition of Raph Bulkley, (MS 812, fols. 084r-085v).

[33] Deposition of Ruth Crisp (MS 812, fols 046r-047v), James Shawe, Thomas James (MS 812, fols 089r-089v), and Martha Mosley ((MS 812, fols 090r-091v).

[34] Deposition of Ruth Crisp, James Shawe and Raph Bulkley.

[35] Deposition of Edward Briscoe (MS 812, fols 083r-083v).

[36] Deposition of Raph Bulkley and Edward Harman (MS 812, fols 073r-075v).

[37] Clarke, p. 210.

[38] Jane Ohlmeyer, 'The Wars of Religion, 1603-1660' in *A Military History of Ireland*, edited by Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffrey (Cambridge, 1996), p. 181.

[39] Aidan Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland.*

[40] Aidan Clarke, 'The breakdown of Authority, 1640-41' in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (eds.), *A New History of Ireland, Early Modern Ireland 1534-1691*, Vol III (Oxford, 2009), *p.* 284.

[41] Deposition of Raph Bulkley.

Carlow Corporate Center,
Weber Road, Bollingbrook, Illinois 60490

Lionel Duke of Clarence

Sean O'Shea

Lionel Duke of Clarence came to Ireland on the 8th of September 1361, and arrived in Dublin with a large army. One of the first priorities of his mission appears to have been to transfer the Exchequer from Dublin to Carlow, which he undertook almost immediately,

What a scene and spectacle it must have been to the inhabitants of the town when "Hys Hyghness Prynce Lyonel of Ulster, Lorde of Connaught and Lorde Lieutenante of Irelonde Sonne of ye mighty prynce, Kynge Eduardeye thyrde Lorde of Irelonde" etc, rode into Carlow and approached the Castle, followed by a large retinue of helmetted, plumed and armoured Knights, Men-at-Arms, Archers and Standard Bearers with Pennos flying, while his Higness's Artificers, Scriveners and Cioners, with their Mint implements and other paraphernalia of Government brought up the rear. Having established the Excheqer in Carlow , he then transferred the Court of Common Bench to the town in 1362.

Lionel is attributed with contributing £500 (A considerable sum of money in those days) in fortifying the town with stone walls. It is not known when this decision was taken or indeed what type of defence extended around the town at that time. We are told by J.S. Fleming in his book "The Town-Wall Fortifications of Ireland "-"Early town defences were mere palisades or stakes of wood with a covering of dry ditch. Such defence works were essential to the safety of citizens and to the protection of their goods. Some charters of early important towns on their incorporation had special obligations imposed on their citizens to protect themselves and their property by surrounding the town with sufficient fortifications" . However a masonry stone wall was erected on Lionel's instructions with official records showing expenditure occurring there on, during period 1364-66.

However, Ryan in his History and Antiquities of the County of Carlow 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 Proceedings 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 Mc Murough O' Karroll, and give orders that the gates and barriers of the town be repaired.

Lionel was the third surviving son of Edward 111 and Philippa, daughter of William Count of Hainault and Holland. Edward and Philippa had a family of seven sons and five daughters (who contested the throne for generations, climaxing in the Wars of the Roses.) Among Lionel's brothers were Edward (known as the Black Prince), John of Gaunt of Lancaster, and Edmund Duke of York. During his childhood Lionel became gravely ill but was restored to good health by an Irish physician, William Outhnoulan (O'Nunan) who at the time was in the service of the king. William, in consideration of good service, shortly after curing Lionel was rewarded with the revenues of the fisheries of Limerick and a fishery rent of 100 shillings per annum.

In 1341 Lionel was betrothed to Elizabeth, only daughter of Maud of Lancaster who fled to England with her daughter following the murder of her husband, the last de Burgo Earl of Ulster in 1333. On their marriage in 1352 Elizabeth conveyed to Lionel the earldom of Ulster, the Lord ship of Connacht and lands in Meath, Carlow and Ulster. Lionel was knighted in 1355 and served in France. He was considered one of the handsomest of Edward's sons, tall in stature, and of great strength.

On the 1st July 1361. Lionel was commissioned Lord Lieutenant of Ireland with the announcement that he was to proceed to Ireland " with a large force of men at arms for the salvation of same". The Earldom of Ulster was to be recovered and all crown lands occupied by the Irish were to be seized and granted to English subjects, who would occupy them. It seemed a new English conquest was contemplated. Lionel's army consisted of knights, light cavalry, archers etc. and was the sort of array which was winning victories on the continent. Unfortunately for Lionel it was ill-fitted to cope with the mobile forces of the Irish.

Lionel moved first against the O'Byrne's of Wicklow, with little success, until he took advice from the Anglo- Irish, who were better versed in the tactics of warfare in Ireland. He created many Knights, among the Anglo- Irish, thereby uniting the two elements in his army, and with their help gained some victories. His ally, the Earl of Ormond made head way against the clans in Ossory, and in1362 Art Mac Murchadha, King of Leinster and his heir Donald Riabhach were made prisoners. Lionel recovered the lands of North Munster from the Irish Chief Dermot Mac Carthy , Meath was firmly held and the coastland from Dundalk to Carrickfergus and part of the Earldom of Ulster were secured. Having broken the power of the Mac Murroughs, the all-important line of the Barrow was established. He also re- fortified the Castles of Carlow , Trim, Athlone, and Dublin. During this period Lionel fulfilled practically all of the duties of his office, though he lived much of the time in Dublin.

In 1362 Lionel's wife Elizabeth, died, leaving an only child, Philippa (called after her grandmother) who later married

Edmund 111 Earl of March, and so carried the great De Burgo Estate to the Mortimers.

While Lionel is usually referred to as the Duke of Clarence, he was not given that title until 1362 at the Parliament of England in November of that year.

From April to December 1364 Lionel was in England and again in 1365, possibly weary of his unattractive task in Ireland. During these periods James, Earl of Ormond was " Custos" of Ireland. However the steady advance of the Irish and the dissensions of the Anglo- Irish and English born, made a general review of the state of Ireland again necessary. Lionel was once more sent over and the famous Parliament of Kilkenny was summoned to meet him on Ash Wednesday 1366

Many enactments were published by this Parliament just to mention a few : alliances by marriage between English and Irish was forbidden all English men and Irish living among them must speak English — use English surnames derived from towns, trades or colours and follow English customs. The Brehon law was not to be used by the English, and Irish men were not to be admitted into Cathedrals or Religion houses. The colonists were to forsake hurleys and learn the use of the bow etc. The Statutes of Kilkenny were confirmed again in 1404 and 1407 by Parliament under the Earl of Ormond. However the Statutes of Kilkenny with which Lionel was so identified, had small practical effect on the country.

Lionel's future career was uneventful thereafter; his first wife being dead, a marriage was arranged for him in 1368 with Violante daughter of Galeazzo Viscount Lord of Pavia. The marriage was celebrated with great pomp at Milan on the 27th May that year. But after five months of feasting and extravagance and the heats of the Italian summer, Lionel was taken ill and died on the 7th of October. He was interred alongside his first wife in her family mausoleum at Clare Priory in Suffolk. He left no issue with the Italian bride.

Had Lionel lived, he in all probability would have again taken up the duties of Lord Lieutenant in Ireland, particularly with his knowledge and experience of Irish affairs. But it was not to be and thus ended the experiment of sending a Royal Prince to Ireland to impose English authority and culture on the native people of Ireland.

DUKES OF CLARENCE.

Five Dukes in English history were conferred with the title of Duke of Clarence, a Royal title which could be characterised as unlucky.

The first Duke of Clarence was Lionel third son of Edward the III, to whom this article refers. The title expired on his death.

The title of Duke of Clarence was revived in 1411, when the Dukedom was conferred by Henry 1V on his second son Thomas. Thomas was killed ten years later at the Battle of Beange. The second Duke of Clarence left no descendants.

Fifty years later in 1461 Edward IV conferred the title on his brother George, who held it until his execution in 1477. Of all the Dukes of Clarence, he was the only one to leave a son, Edward, Earl of Warwick, who was executed in the tower of London by order of Henry VII in 1499 In 1789 the Dukedom of Clarence was bestowed by George 111 on his third son William, who after wards became King William the 1V. He also died without issue.

The fifth Duke of Clarence, the oldest son of the then Prince of Wales (later Edward VII) served with the 10th Hussars at the Curragh During his stay in Ireland, he played Polo at Tiny park Carlow in September 1891. Unfortunately the Duke succumbed to an infectious disease in January 1892, on the eve of his marriage to the Princess Mary of Teck.

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The Township of Palatine
Illinois, USA

The hidden bridges of the mountain river and its tributaries

Francis Coady

Growing up at the foot of Mount Leinster, the highest peak of the imposing Blackstairs Mountain Range in rural Carlow, I was surrounded by stone, predominately granite. My summers involved many months picking this glistening rock from the land, while also maintaining breaches in the many stone walls prevalent in the area but thinking little of the cultural significance of the rich heritage around me.

By studying local rivers, their role and importance in the ever evolving social landscape is inescapable. These rivers sometimes deep and slow, sometimes shallow and fast, to gushing during the heavy winter months, are a constantly evolving feature in the landscape. An aerial view of these rivers shows their role in land division to this day. Indeed, many of the medieval origins of the townlands still seen today have waterways, big and small as their boundaries. Only when these rivers role in the rural landscape is appreciated, may we begin to understand the importance of the bridges that span them.

Many devoid of any record until now, the report "The Hidden bridges of the Mountain River and its Tributaries" set about recording 37 bridges in the mid Carlow area. In modern times, the importance of these bridges is forgotten, but their importance in connecting the rural townlands was enormous in a bygone era. Local histories connected to the bridges were accessed where possible, but much more remains hidden in the memories and stories of the previous generation.

Bridges from the Aughnabrisky River, Mountain River, Killedmond River, Corries River, and the Dinin/Black River were recorded. The bridges on these rivers range in construction from the 18th

Semi-elliptical bridge at Kelly's Bridge

century to as recent as 2010. Over this time period, the bridges construction styles and designs, along with their composition change dramatically.

According to historical references, some of the bridges standing today were fording points pre dating the present day bridges, others were accompanied by footbridges.

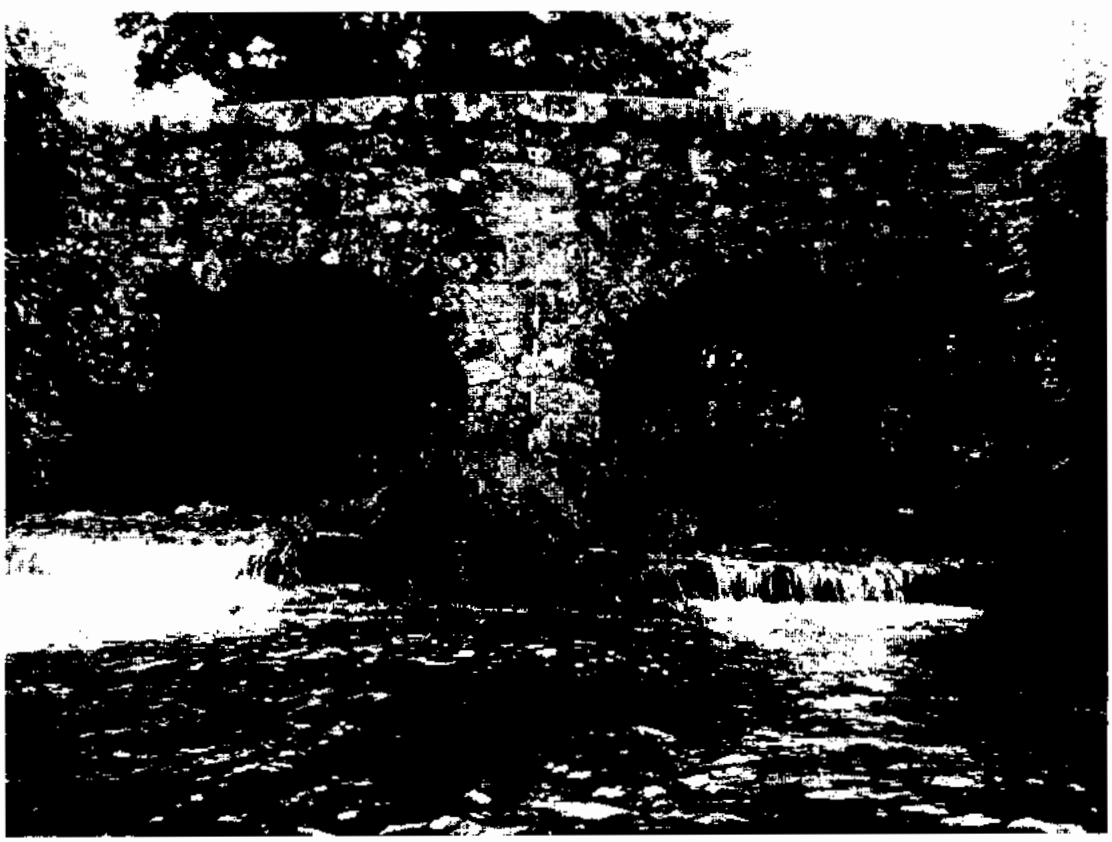
The types of bridges range from the trabeated form, early true arch, semi-elliptical arches, vent or Irish bridges, Jack arches to modern reinforced concrete structures.

Ancient Egypt and Greece used trabeated arches, those using posts and lintels, in their structures. This limited the width that could be bridged due to the need for one continuous long lintel. With the dawn of the Roman Empire, came the fruitful feats of engineering, which the Romans became famous for. One the most important developments of Roman engineering was the true or semi circular arch. The true arch was constructed by positioning a series of wedge shaped stones called voussoirs against each other and built towards the apex of the arch, at which point a keystone was placed. This in turn provided pressure on the wedge shaped stones and transferred the above weight to the abutment or pillar below on either side of the opening. These stones were built on a timber profile, called centring, which was removed at the end of construction. The strength of the true arch is not in question, as aqueducts two millennia old may still be seen on the continent today, and many bridges of this survey are currently used by large loads on a daily basis. These early, true arched bridges were constructed of local stone, with the mortar consisting of sand and lime mix.

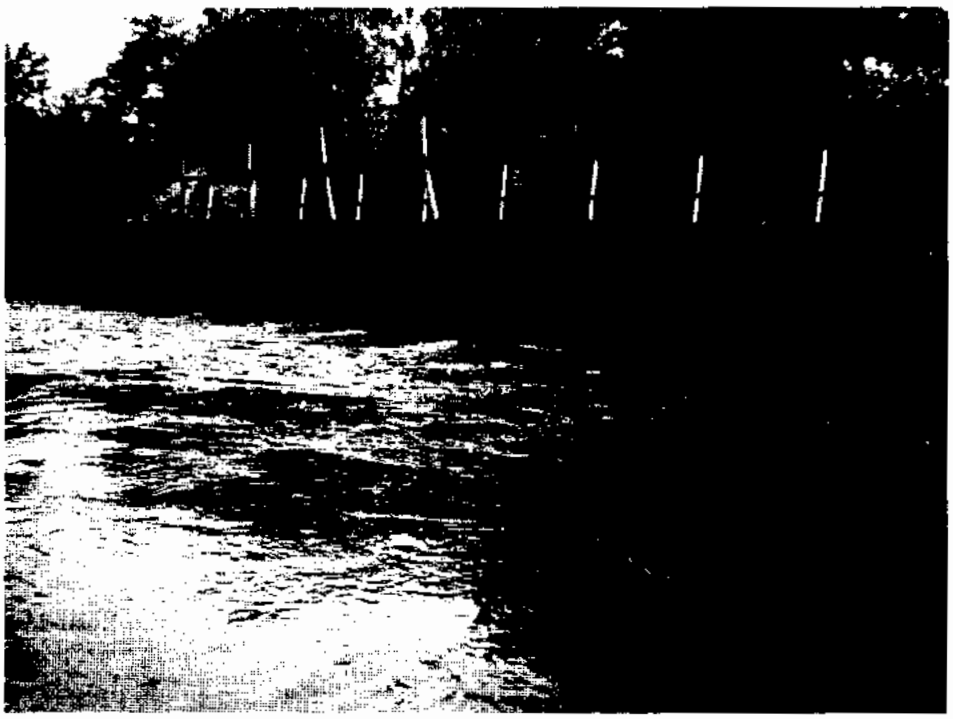
The majority of the early bridges of this survey, (18th century is thought to be the earliest) are constructed in the true arched fashion. The 20th century bridges, seem to revert to technology of the pre Roman era, mostly it seems due the technological advancement in building materials. The use of Portland cement, patented in 1824, saw a decrease of traditional / local materials in the 20th century. Bridges could now be built faster and stronger than ever, with little skill or knowledge. Bridges from the time of the emergence of the Free State show a sudden swift change to this type of construction. This may be attributed to the need get the Free State functional again, as many of these bridges were blown up or dismantled during the Civil War. Many bridges that date to this period were in fact built on the same site, and some cases with the same abutments of the original bridge.

The change in materials from the 20th century onwards and the retrospective step of using a trabeated form arch (with the lintel spanning the river) contrasted greatly to individual shaped quoins and arches of the earlier, true arched bridges covered in the survey. Local people were involved in the construction of these bridges, and they are intrinsically linked to local communities and their heritage. Their construction and stories project a true representation of local Ireland, or "vanishing Ireland" as it has become known.

The condition of many of these bridges is poor with pointing having weathered, stones slipped, vegetation having gained a hold, while water ingress from the road above is a common occurrence. Now is the time to act if we are to avoid these bridges collapsing, as in 20 years time it will be too late. They will in turn be replaced by soulless, concrete structures.



Double True Arched bridge at Killedmond



Vent or Irish Bridge at Brooke Lodge

An overview of the historical mapping, gives a fascinating insight into how the landscape has evolved. Where canals, mill races, roads, and paths acted as focal points, currently they are no longer required for modern life. Although forgotten, they hold many secrets to our rich local history. A snippet of these bridges and rivers bring us into contact with mills (tuck mills, corn mills, breweries, saw mills, woollen mills), while also containing heavy reference to preparation for sheep shearing, civil wars, landlords, recreation and domestic uses to mention but a few.

It is important to note, that studies such as these are not the final say in the matter of these important heritage features in our landscape, they should be viewed as part of an ongoing process of recording, which will allow further discussion.

It is up to today's generation to insist on this heritage being not preserved, as nothing stays the same but instead conserved and maintained for future generations. We are the guardians of heritage for future generations and must continue to record, protect, enhance, promote not only these bridges but their social history around which they were built. It is this generation's challenge to undertake the protection of their heritage while living in a world of modernisation and globalisation.

The Hidden Bridges of the Mountain River and its Tributaries may be found online at

http://www.carlowlibraries.ie/localhistory.html

or in hard copy from the following three locations;

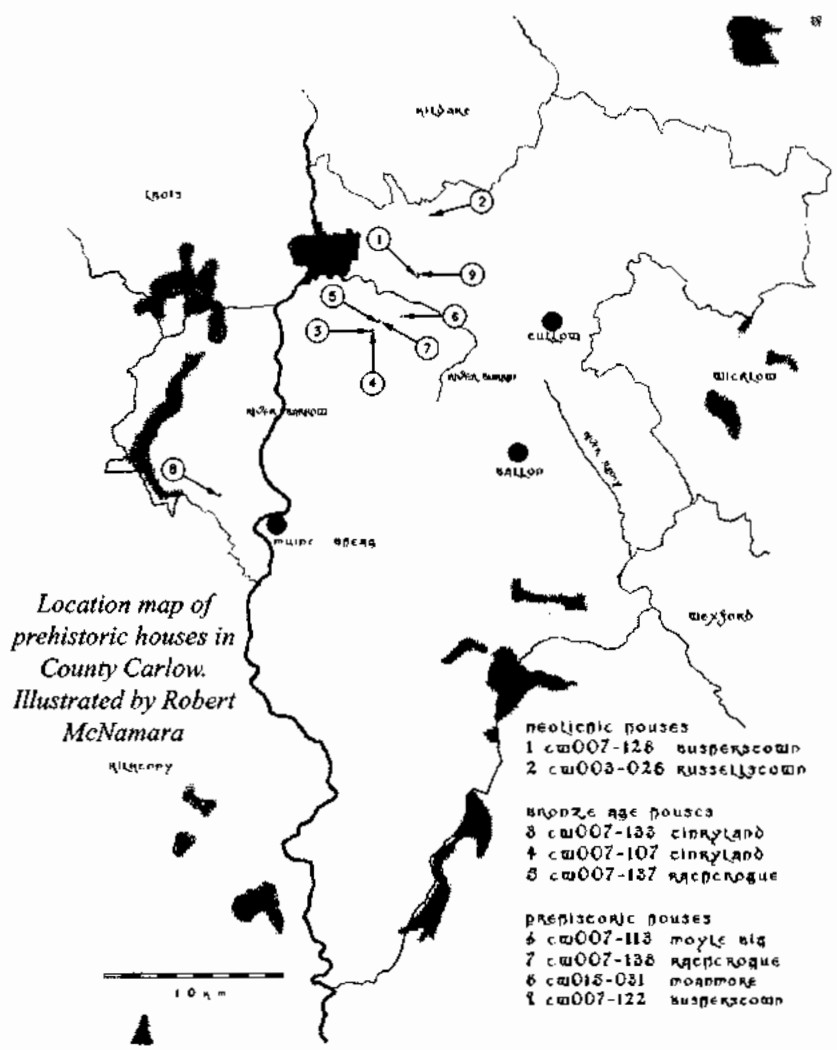
Borris Library, Carlow County Library (Local Studies Section) and Carlow Historical and Archaeological Society

Twentieth Century Trabeated bridge at Coonogue

The Prehistoric Houses of County Carlow

Nial O'Neill

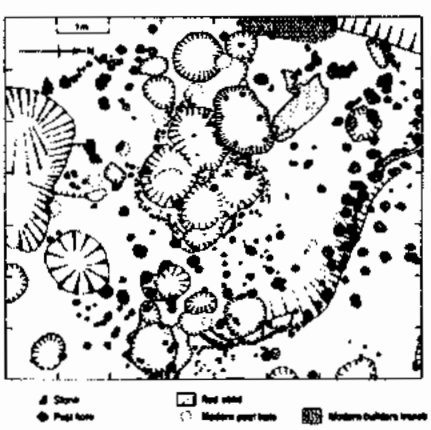
A house, more than any other monument type, tends to provide the most direct and tangible link to the domestic lives of our forbearers. Their location, size, construction method, layout and associated artefacts can immediately provide a sense of the lives of the inhabitants. Yet, considering the many hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of people who inhabited the island of Ireland over the 7-8 millennia down to the end of the prehistoric period, very few houses have been found. This is in no small part due to the fact that they were constructed using degradable materials including wood, sod and turf for their structure and split-planks, wattle and daub and possibly straw and animal skins for walls and roofs. As a consequence, the only indicators or remnants of their existence are foundation trenches, pits, postholes and stakeholes. These are only recognisable following careful removal of topsoil to reveal underlying boulder clay. Unless specifically looking for the tell-tale signs of their existence, these houses can be easily missed during ground works. The result of this in County Carlow is only nine houses dating to the prehistoric period (or before approximately 600AD) are known.



Location map of prehistoric houses in County Carlow. Illustrated by Robert McNamara

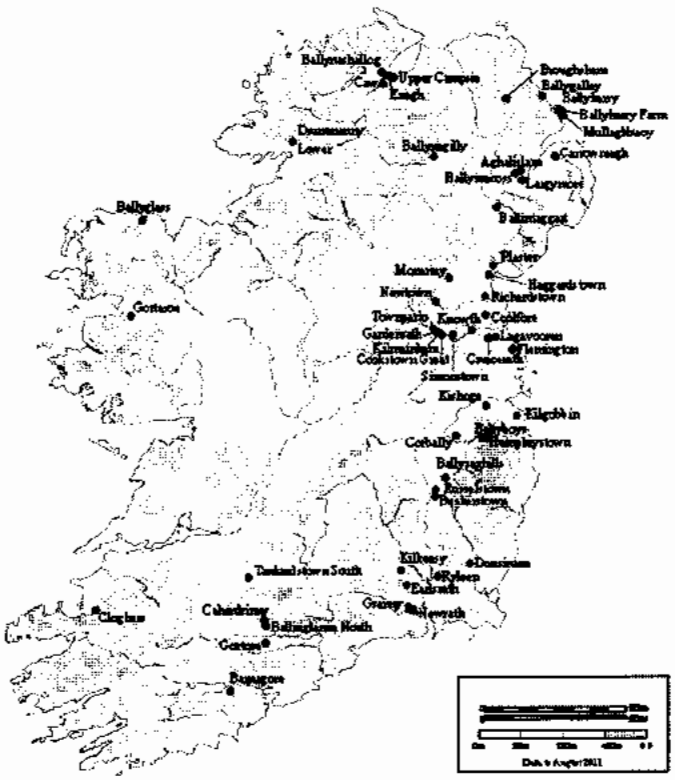
Introduction

The construction of a house indicates that the inhabitants intended to spend a considerable amount of time in one place. It tells us that time, energy and resources were invested to provide shelter from the elements and a safe haven from danger. Before approximately 4000BC it appears as though the inhabitants of Ireland were frequently on the move, gather resources as the seasons dictated and as nature provided. This period is referred to as the middle Stone Age or Mesolithic period and archaeological evidence for houses at this time is rare. So rare in fact that the circular hut-like structures uncovered by Professor Peter Woodman from 1973 to 1977 at Mount Sandel in County Derry are the only example of Mesolithic domestic structures in Ireland (Woodman 1985).



Excavation plan of Mount Sandel Mesolithic house (Woodman 1978 as illustrated in Champion et al. 2009, 106).

After 4000BC, the new Stone Age or Neolithic began with the knowledge of crop cultivation and animal husbandry that had been spreading across Europe reaching Ireland. With this came an entirely new socio-economic climate in which investments in land and soil were the basis on which the inhabitants of Ireland provided themselves with food, warmth, shelter and security. This necessitated a new interest and, moreover, need to construct dwellings that were sturdy and robust and that would last years, if not decades. In comparison to the meager evidence for houses in the Mesolithic period, there have been approximately 82 houses dating to the Neolithic period found in Ireland (Smyth 2013, 301).



Distribution of Neolithic houses in Ireland (Smyth 2013, 306)

Reconstruction of Neolithic house at Tankardstown, Co. Limerick (after Gowen and Tarbert)

Around 2400BC another important milestone in the development of our ability to shape our surrounding came to Ireland with the spread of metal and metalworking knowledge. This was another sea-change in the socio- economic environment. Houses or structures of the Neolithic period have received some considerable attention in the last 10-20 years; the same cannot be said of the Bronze Age. While dozens, if not hundreds, of structures dating to the Bronze Age have been excavated, little published work has appeared in recent years with a synthesis of known examples now badly overdue. The house of the Bronze Age is often referred to as the 'roundhouse' due to the overwhelming number of structures with a circular, sub-circular or oval layout dating to this period.

Like much of the Iron Age (c.600BC-600AD) the house of this period is also an enigma. Only a handful have been recorded and all have serious question marks over the validity of their dating and whether they were domestic dwellings (see Ó Drisceoil 2007, 22-23 for a discussion of this).

Background

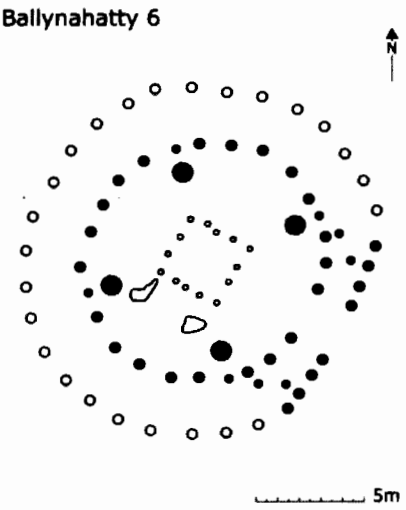
The majority of Neolithic houses uncovered in Ireland date to the first 4-5 centuries after 4000BC. These were rectangular, sub-rectangular or square in plan with the majority orientated northeast/southwest, east/west or northwest/southeast. Most were also 6-12m long and 4-8m wide. Their walls were constructed using split oak planks or posts with wattle and daub or a combination of these. These were often set into a substantial foundation trench (Smyth 2013, 303).

Gentle south to east facing slopes were preferred, located near rivers. The majority of Neolithic houses have been uncovered in the east and north of Ireland, with small numbers in the south and west. Recent close scrutiny of the radiocarbon dating of the early Neolithic rectangular structures has shown that these, based on c. 25 sites, appear to date to a very short period from 3715-3625 BC or just 90 years (McSparron 2003, 2008; Smyth 2013).

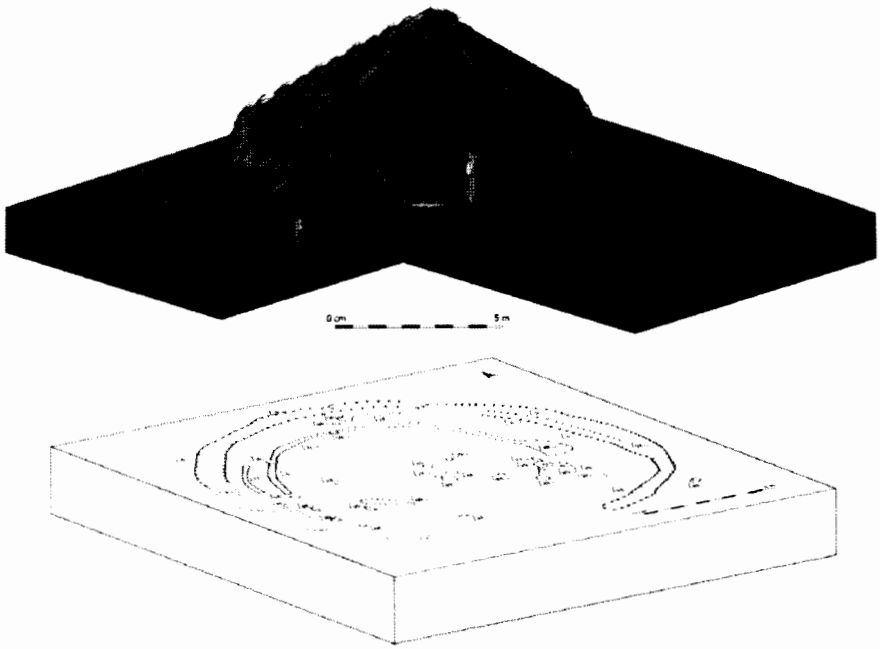
The houses of the middle Neolithic (c.3600-3000BC) are relatively rare and tend to be quite obscure. Houses or structures of this period appear to be somewhat flimsy structures comprising roughly oval layouts of stakeholes. But with only a handful of known examples there is not a good basis for further generalization. Perhaps this suggests that the fixed sedentary life of the preceding centuries was replaced by a more seasonal based lifestyle or that more clustering of family groups occurred. Evidence of possible clustering dating to this period has been found. At Tullahedy, Co. Tipperary (Cleary and Kelleher 2011) several slightly irregular houses were found within an enclosed mound. While at Lough Gur, Co. Limerick several houses were found close together (Ó'Ríordáin 1954; Cleary 1993; Grogan 2005)

By the late Neolithic (after 3000BC) we find what appears to be a new cultural horizon with appearance of so-called Grooved Ware pottery. This was flat-bottomed, decorated pottery thought to have originated from the Orkney Islands off the north coast of Scotland. Associated with this was a large circular embanked enclosure with an internal

ditch and with the internal surface scarped probably for the construction of the bank. Also appearing at this time was a circular structure or house with a square four-post arrangement at its centre often referred to as the square in circle arrangement. A very good example of this type was excavated by Barry Hartwell in Ballynahatty, Co. Down (Hartwell 1998):



Example of late Neolithic house at Ballynahatty, Co. Down



Example of Bronze Age house with reconstruction (after Gilmore 2009)

It is clear that these structures had a very deliberate symmetrical design often with prominent south or southeast facing entrances. Some debate remains as to whether these were domestic or ritual buildings due to the deliberate burning of the larger posts and structured deposits in some postholes. However, their small size and the presence of hearths in the interior indicate they were probably domestic dwellings.

Houses of the Bronze Age (c. 2500-600BC) appear to have been relatively similar throughout this entire period, although more general research on this is required. The vast majority tend to be circular to oval in layout. The so-called 'roundhouse' of the Bronze Age was generally 4-14m in diameter and had a south to east facing entrance. They sometimes show evidence of internal partition and often have pits either inside or immediately outside or both.

Structures of this period are constructed using postholes (Tonyquin, Co. Cavan; O'Connell 2009), stakeholes (Dunsinane 2, Co. Wexford; Gallagher 2013) or slot-trenches or a combination of these (Loughadian 1, Co. Down; Crothers 2008). As with houses of the Neolithic period, the composition of the walls is often a matter of speculation but presumably a mix of split-planks, wattle and daub, smaller timbers and other organic materials. Evidence for split-plank build (Doody 2007) and wattle build walls (Danaher 2004) has been found. A central post also occurs and can be both an aid in construction and a primary structural or roof support. Evidence of hearths or fire-spots inside these structures is sometimes found (Mullamast, Co. Kildare, Stephenson 2007; O'Neill 2011) while other structures show no evidence for a hearth (Ballyburn Lower, Co.Kildare, O'Neill 2010, 76) and may not represent dwellings. Analysis of the wood charcoal (where information is available) from these structures indicates that oak was primarily used with secondary amounts of hazel, ash, poplar and willow (Doody 2007). Pits occurring inside these structures have been found to contain a store of grain. At Mullamast, Co. Kildare a house dating to the middle Bronze Age (c. 1400BC) had internal pits containing barley, wheat, oat and rye along with wild species. It is interesting to note that both the cultivated and wild species were processed and ready for use (O'Neill 2011) indicating wild species were viewed as a viable and worthwhile source of grain.

Iron Age (c. 600BC-600AD) houses are extremely rare in Ireland. One was found and excavated in Killoran, Co. Tipperary in 1998. This was quite a large roughly circular structure at almost 15m in diameter. It had a central load bearing post with a southeast facing entrance. The perimeter of the house was made up of postholes that appeared to the excavator to have been placed where possible. The doorway was made up of four posts with two external slot-trenches appeared to represent a small extension to the front of the house. Internally, there was a number of post and stakeholes at the eastern side of the building of no discernible layout (Murray 2000). Other possible examples include Lislackagh, Co. Mayo (Walsh 1995), Magheraboy, Co. Sligo (Danaher 2007), Scrabo, Co. Down (O'Kelly 1989) and Carrickmines Great, Co. Dublin (Ó Drisceoil 2007)

Prehistoric houses in County Carlow.

Up until 2005, no prehistoric houses had been uncovered in County Carlow. With the infrastructural works associated with the construction of the M9/M10

motorway, nine were identified. Two Neolithic houses in Busherstown and Russellstown and three Bronze Age houses with two in Tinryland and one in Rathcrogue were uncovered. Also structures or houses dating generally to the prehistoric period where uncovered in Moyle Big, Moanmore, Rathcrogue and Busherstown.

Neolithic
Busherstown (CW007-128)

In the townland of Busherstown, approximately 4.5km east of Carlow town on gentle south facing slope, a rectangular-shaped house was uncovered. This comprised a continuous foundation trench, augmented by three postholes, measuring 8.4m east-west by 6.4m north-south. A portion of the house remains in situ west of the excavated area. The foundation trench was 30cm in depth and 45cm in width on average. As no packing stone were found in the foundation trench, it seems highly likely that the walls comprised wattle and daub.

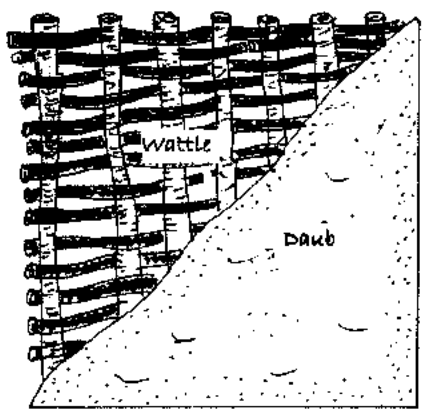
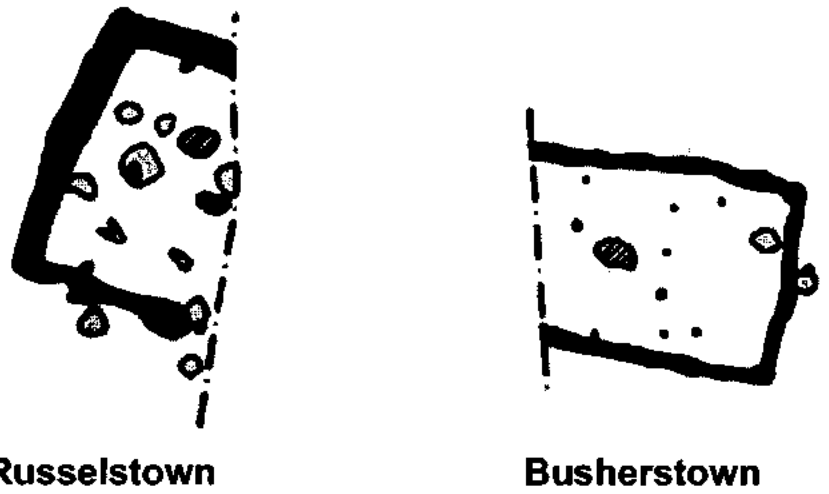


Illustration of wattle and daub. (O'Shaughnessy 2011

Internally, there were two north-south lines of stakeholes that appeared to separate the house into three internal compartments or rooms. In the middle compartment, a hearth was uncovered. Numerous fragments of early Neolithic pottery was recovered from the foundation trench and internal features. A pit located at the eastern end of the house contained cremated burnt bone. This was radiocarbon dated to 3517-3358BC. With the Neolithic rectangular house shown to date to 3715-3625BC, this cremated bone was probably deposited after the house was abandoned.

As well as the aforementioned pottery, flint tools, charred hazelnut shells and cereal grains were also recovered during the excavation of this house (O'Connell and O'Neill 2009).

A significant amount of fire-reddened clay was uncovered in the foundation trench suggesting the house met its end through fire. This may not have been accidental. It has been shown, by experiment, that producing fire-reddened clay in the foundation trench would have taken a deliberate and concerted effort to maintain the fire.



Layout plans of Neolithic houses in Busherstown and Russellstown (Smyth 2013)

Russellstown (CW003-028)

In the townland of Russellstown, 1.5km southeast of Palatine and 4km north of the Busherstown Neolithic house, another rectangular-shaped house was uncovered. This was built on a small ridge on a general southwest facing slope. The house was orientated north-northeast to south-southwest and measured 8.5m in length and 6m in width. Again, a proportion of this house was outside the area of excavation and is preserved in situ. The foundation trench was more substantial than that at Busherstown with portions measuring up to 90 cm both in width and depth. Within the foundation trench, numerous packing stones were uncovered along with evidence of burnt plank ends indicating the walls were plank built. Two radiocarbon dates from charred hazelnut shells found in the foundation trench returned a date range of 3776-3636BC. Internally, the house had a number of postholes and medium to large pits. A hearth was uncovered towards the northern end of the house. A possible entrance-way was identified along the southern wall.

Excavation of this house uncovered a range of artefacts including a flint blade, granite hammerstone and numerous fragments of early Neolithic pottery. As well as the charred hazelnut shells already mentioned, grains of emmer wheat were also found. Emmer wheat was one of the first grains to be cultivated in Ireland.

This house, it appears, was also destroyed by fire. This was evidenced in the fire-reddened clay uncovered in the foundation trench (ibid).

Bronze Age
Tinryland (CW007-133)

The first Bronze Age house was located approximately 600m east of Tinryland village on flat ground that gently sloped eastwards towards the north. Five

postholes, three with ancillary postholes, were found in a circular arrangement that was 7m in diameter. There was an arrangement of 24 stakeholes in an approximate line 4 m long that appeared to represent an internal partition orientated northeast/southwest (Hegarty 2009, 50)

Tinryland (CW007-107)

The second house was located 35m to the west of the first just described. This house consisted of a circular arrangement of nine postholes also 7m in diameter. An internal division also orientated northeast/southwest and 0.6m long was uncovered. One of the postholes contained sherds of prehistoric pottery (ibid). The proximity of these two houses combined with their size, layout and orientation of internal partitions suggests they may have been contemporary.

Also uncovered in close proximity to these two houses were 22 charcoal-production pits, 6 cremation pits and two concentrations of post and stakeholes.

Rathcrogue (CW007-137)

The third house was uncovered in the townland of Rathcrogue approximately 550m northeast of the two examples in Tinryland. A sub-oval shaped arrangement of 9 postholes, 4 possible postholes and two pits measured 5.5m in diameter. While several sherds of late Neolithic to early Bronze Age pottery was recovered from the postholes, one of the postholes produced a radiocarbon date of 977-802 BC from charred alder. (Hughes 2009 as quoted in the RMP file available online at http://webgis.archaeology.ie/National-Monuments/FlexViewer/)

Prehistoric
Moyle Big (CW007-113)

A structure was uncovered in Moyle Big, approximately 1.5km northeast of Rathcrogue. This structure comprised a 7m in diameter circular slot trench. Due to the recovery of 15 stone artefacts, including a barbed and tanged arrowhead and a polished stone axe, in the immediate vicinity, a late Neolithic to early/middle Bronze age date has been suggested for the structure. It was heavily disturbed by ditches dating to the medieval period. (Hughes J. and Doyle T. 2009, 25-6; as quoted in the RMP file available online at http://webgis.archaeology.ie/National-Monuments/FlexViewer/)

Rathcrogue (CW007-138)

In the townland of Rathcrogue, at the junction of the M9/M10 and the N80, a prehistoric structure or house was found. This comprised a sub-circular arrangement of 17 postholes. Internally, there were seven possible postholes, one stakehole, two areas of burning and one pit. Twelve pottery sherds were recovered dating to the Late Neolithic to Early Bronze Age while one posthole produced a radiocarbon date of 3607-3522BC.

At the authors request, the National Monuments Service kindly updated the file for this house to include the location of the posthole producing the Neolithic date.

'A radiocarbon date of BC 3607-3522 was obtained from one of the internal postholes, which also contained three pottery sherds from a single vessel dating to the Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age period' (Hughes 2009; Doyle T. 2009, 24-26, as quoted in the RMP file available online at http://webgis.archaeology.ie/National-Monuments/FlexViewer/).

This revealed that one of the postholes inside the circle of postholes produced this date. As this posthole may or may not be contemporary with this house and three pottery sherds of late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age date were also recovered from this posthole, we cannot date this house to the Neolithic period with any confidence. With this, we must include this house in the group of houses dating generally to the prehistoric period.

Moanmore (CW015-031)

In the townland of Moanmore, approximately 3km west of Muine Bheag, a circular structure was uncovered comprising fourteen post-holes. Internally, this house had a central hearth. Up to 50 associated stake- and post-holes were also found in the vicinity. Two polished stones were recovered (Phelan 2010).

Busherstown (CW007-122)

A sub-circular structure measuring 7m in length and 6.25m in width was also uncovered in Busherstown. This comprised 42 pits/post-holes including four internal post-holes. A curving line of post-holes to the north may have represented an associated porch or annex. A pit found just to the north of this structure contained over 100 sherds of prehistoric pottery. (O' Neill 2009, as quoted in the RMP file available online at http://webgis.archaeology.ie/National-Monuments/FlexViewer/)

Discussion

Our understanding of the evolution of the house over the prehistoric period in Ireland has grown considerably over the last couple of decades. We now recognise preferred layouts at different time points in prehistory. It is clear that there were commonly accepted ideas of the layout of a house. This is most especially seen in the early Neolithic with the rectangular house occurring across the country from Kerry, Cork, Waterford and Wexford to Donegal, Derry and Antrim (see Figure 2 above). This is also seen in the houses of the late Neolithic 'Grooved ware' cultural horizon with the so-called square in circle layout of houses. Later, the all-pervasive 'roundhouse' appears across the country and spans much, if not all, of the Bronze Age. As with much of the Irish Iron Age, the house at this period is elusive.

The two Neolithic houses at Busherstown and Russellstown, in form, layout, orientation, structural evidence and associated artefacts fit in quite neatly with the rectangular houses found across the county. They have remarkable similarities with several contemporary houses at Newtown, Co. Meath (Gowen and Halpin 1992), Corbally, Co. Kildare (Purcell 2002) and Ballyglass, Co. Mayo (Ó Nualláin 1972). Evidence that they were deliberately burnt down, like several other similar houses, indicates a ritualised end for these houses.

It is clear that the builders and inhabitants

of these two houses were part of a society that had commonly held ideas on what constitutes a house in shape, layout and location. In this, they were tuned in with society generally across the island of Ireland some 6500-7000 years ago. The similarities in the houses of this time is quite remarkable considering the distances involved and the difficulties involved in traversing an island covered in forest and bog. It is notable that the majority of houses at this time were located near to rivers and estuaries. The probability that travel was conducted on waterways is no surprise given its relative ease in comparison to travel over land. Both Neolithic houses in Carlow were in relatively close proximity to Rivers Slaney and Burrin.

After 3600BC, the house does not confirm to a template and are less frequent. We find the few examples uncovered tend to be much less substantial and much more haphazardly built. It appears society may have broken down at this time. It is not until the late Neolithic (after 3000BC) that we again see substantial houses built to a clear plan.

The Bronze Age heralded the ubiquitous 'roundhouse'. These were constructed using a variety of methods including postholes, foundation trenches, other and inner walls and central supporting posts. Entrance features such as porches are also common. Combinations of all these methods frequently occur. A better understanding of the evolution of the house during the Bronze Age requires considerable and extensive work and is now much needed. The Bronze Age houses of Carlow, based on the limited information currently publicly available, appear quite typical of this period.

All nine prehistoric houses were uncovered during the archaeological works preceding the construction of the M9/M10 motorway. The motorway is approximately 30km in length through county Carlow and 50m in width giving an area of 1.5km^2. As County Carlow is 896km^2, this is only 0.17% (1/588) of the area of the county. With nine prehistoric houses uncovered in this proportion, are there then (9x588) approximately 5300 prehistoric houses in County Carlow? Although this may seem like a very large number, this only equates to a little over one built a year from the beginning of the Neolithic to the end of the Iron Age around 600AD.

Conclusion

While we now have nine houses dating to the prehistoric period documented, we can be in no doubt that this is only a very small proportion. Both the Neolithic and Bronze Age houses appear to conform to type when compared nationally. The Neolithic houses demonstrate settlement in county Carlow at the time when crop cultivation and animal husbandry were beginning to be practiced across the country. Although the two houses were built using different methods, they are, otherwise, very similar. It seems highly likely that they would have been inhabited at the same time.

The Bronze Age houses also conform to the preference for circular structures at this time. The four houses dated generally to the prehistoric period did not present enough information to offer a more precise date but may all be Bronze Age based on their layouts.

County Carlow was clearly an attractive location to settle during the prehistoric period. The houses uncovered in the last 10 years compliment the rich array of other monuments across the county. From the portal tombs in Kernanstown and Haroldstown and the Linkardstown type tombs in Linkardstown and Baunogenasraid to the numerous standing stones and example of rock art, the prehistoric houses provide a tangible link to domestic and everyday lives at a time when these remarkable monuments were constructed.

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Tyndall Street, Leighlinbridge, Manhatton, Illinois, U.S.A. (See Sign)

The Assembly rooms and GBS: Change and Renewal in Carlow Town

Aoife Sheehan

Introduction

'Architectural designs are implicated in the construction of meaning and identity as part of the wider cultural landscape'.[i] Buildings are often given meanings and associated with what is seen as being part of particular cultural landscapes. Buildings of a town or city are as important to the urban landscapes as the soil is to the rural. They create an architectural landscape that takes on numerous meanings over different periods. Through the architectural landscapes of a town or cityscape, there is evidence of layering of history, showing the changes that have taken place in the town. It is an important form of study in order to understand the changes in society during different periods of history. Ireland has undergone numerous political, social, geographical, industrial and religious changes from the pre-Christian right up to contemporary times. This has had a unique effect on the changes in use of particular buildings. The reasons for these changes can vary; no building has exactly the same history, even if it has shared a similar function at one point in time. Buildings are adapted to what takes place around them during periods of important social change.

The architectural term adaptive reuse is a term used to describe the process of finding a new use for a particular building. This process of building use adapts older buildings while still maintaining the historical features present both internally and externally.[ii] The process can be described as prolonging the preservation of a building from cradle to grave. The term, usually, describes the procedure in relation to the retention of the building's structural system. In terms of this study however, adaptive reuse will show a process of maintaining the socio-historical culture of Carlow Town and of Ireland. Carlow Town's architectural landscape is unique and represents the town's cultural identity.

An ordinance survey of Carlow Town from 1839 describes Carlow as having 'several handsome buildings'.[iii] The architecture of the town was admired in its heyday as well as now. William Garner describes Carlow in his book for the National Heritage Inventory, stating 'Carlow is a town of distinguished public buildings, pleasant town houses and streets which are varied and interesting'.[iv] Architecturally, it was during the eighteenth and late nineteenth century that the largest expansion to the town seems to have taken place. This mirrors the social and historical changes taking place in the town during this period. This adaption of buildings usages throughout the town shows a continuity and renewal of the town's culture.

Prosper states that the largest problem in terms of continuity of cultural landscapes is 'ensuring the on-going relevance of place to culture in the socio-economic contexts of the present'.[v] That is, ensuring that the cultural meaning of a building is still retained, and not over shadowed by the economic benefits of the adaptive reuse of buildings. The changing function can, and has reinvested meanings into the buildings and helped to renew culture. Prosper also argues that sustainability of cultural landscapes is not merely about maintaining culture, but instead about renewing culture within place, adding new cultural meanings to what is already in place, in order to give the building an inclusive cultural identity. Adaptive reuse can be viewed in this way, outlining the idea of adapting to what we have, culturally and structurally in order to continue to renew culture. In the case of Carlow Town, it is clear that adaptive reuse has taken place in many of the buildings in the town. There are lists of buildings in Carlow town that can be included in this type of study. Many of the town's buildings have changed function and been adapted to the changing socio-historical periods of the town. One such example is The Assembly Rooms.

The Assembly Rooms, on Dublin Street, Carlow were built around 1794/95, served as entertainment centres for Carlow's gentry, with banquets, balls and other social events taking place there. [vi] There were many well-known and powerful families in the town and county. Carlow was unique in that there were roughly sixty different gentry's family houses scattered around the county, which was a large number in comparison to other areas.[vii] The Assembly Rooms also facilitated contact between the town

and the military of Carlow Barracks. The Church of Ireland marriage records show, that there was a substantial number of officers marrying girls, who may have been attendees of these events. In that sense the building may have served as a means for this particular religious group to come together and possibly have facilitated the arrangement of these marriages.[viii] Despite the differing opinions and approaches to this group of people, the gentry are an interesting part of the county's history. Many would travel to the town centre to enjoy parties held in the rooms. During this period servants and others, from the lower classes, of all religious denominations, could not enter into the building. The last ever banquet in the rooms was for the officers who fought in the Crimean War.[ix] At the beginning of the twentieth century, the building started to serve a more socially-diverse clientele.

The building was utilised after this as a picture house/theatre. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the building became a theatre, hosting travelling shows and other forms of entertainment. In 1912 / 1913, Ralph and Sam Sylvester brought the first films to the Rooms and to Carlow Town.[x] They brought a completely new branch of entertainment to the town and continued on the Assembly Rooms traditions in this way. They even filmed Home Rule MP John Dillon's visit to Carlow in 1913. Not only did they film his speech to the population of the town, but also some of the attendees at the speech. The showing of the film attracted crowds of people attending, not only to see Carlow's high profile political guest, but to see familiar faces of friends, family and neighbours.[xi] The picture house only survived until 1915, when a new cinema opened in Burrin Street. Though short lived, the building had supplied enjoyment to a new class and generation. The building was later bought by the Gurly family and after much re-mortgaging the building was inherited by George Bernard Shaw.

Shaw's Donation

In 1918, George Bernard Shaw inherited the building from his mother's family, the Gurlys. In 1920 George Bernard Shaw donated the building and other buildings in his possession to the town. His reasons for the donation of the Assembly Rooms were firstly that he lacked any real connection to the town, 'having spent out of the 88 years of my life only one day in Carlow'.[xii] Shaw's letter to the council outlines the particular request he had in regards to what should happen to the building. He clearly stated that it was his desire for the building's façade to remain unaffected, as it had architectural merit and also requested that the building not be sold for private ownership or used to pay debts. He wanted the building to be used for the community. The monies generated from the building as well as the physical building itself were to be part of the Civic Improvement Fund.[xiii] The council voted unanimously to accept this donation to the town and to honour the request for the building to neither bear his name, nor that of neither any creed nor any political party, and agreed to the creation of a board to facilitate the care of the structure. The care of the building passed then to the Carlow County Council and then to the County Carlow Vocational Education Committee.

The aim was to create a school specifically for both men and women to be taught. Money was a difficulty in regards to the establishment of the technical school. Estimated costs seen in the document from the committee show the expense in relation to renovating the property. The lack of funding outlined in a letter from the department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, would seem to have been another factor in the difficulty. In the 1920s, a two-roomed technical school opened in the building. The school was successful in its teaching but facilities were not available to keep up with the changing needs of the school. In 1934, reconstruction on the building, creating a new Domestic Science room and an Engineering workshop, was completed.

Dublin Street was now home to Carlow's first technical school, while still maintaining some of its past elegance. The building had remained occupied by the Vocational Education Committee until 1972, when the school moved to the Kilkenny road premises where it resides today. During the1980s, the building was used as a library, a continuation of the educational ethos established during the building's time as a school, while at the same time, retaining aspects of the respect of the community's entertainment needs. The building is now utilised as the office of Water Services for Carlow Town Council.

Comparison

As seen from the description of this building's history, its function has evolved quite dramatically over time. During the course of this study, I encountered a number of other buildings around Ireland that had undergone interesting cultural and functional changes. One such building was Strokestown House, County Roscommon. The estate of Strokestown was converted to a famine museum, despite its history as a Big House and association with the landlord class. This may have been made easier by the fact that the family at Strokestown appear to have been sympathetic as landlords, during the crisis years of the Famine. The change that took place in The Assembly Rooms, from upper class entertainment facility to community welfare is comparable. More importantly however, these buildings are an example of how history can be layered and still contain its original history and physical appearance, while taking on new meanings and facilitating the preservation of another side of Irish history.[xiv] Both these buildings are comparable as they have been adapted to take on new meanings while retaining their history.

The change in function of The Assembly Rooms can be attributed to what was taking place on a social level in Carlow. For example in the early twentieth century, for a multiplicity of reasons, the aristocratic population of Ireland in general was in decline. Carlow's gentry were no exception to this. The numbers of the elite were decreasing and a gathering place for such a select group was evidently not needed. That is not to say that these families did not remain in Ireland or in Carlow but the need for entertainment facilities for the whole town was evidently given more prominence. [xv]

There was also a change in the political situation in Carlow. According to Donal McCartney there was a shift from aristocratic, majority Protestant political

systems in Carlow, to a home rule orientated, nationalist approach.[xvi] Carlow was well represented in the eighteenth century national parliament. The majority of the representatives were Protestant, not necessarily land owning but pro-union. The proprietor class became the representatives of Carlow in Irish Parliament. This continued until in 1793, when Catholics with the same property qualification were admitted to vote. After the Act of Union, one hundred representatives of Ireland were admitted into Westminster.[xvii]

Following this, Henry Bruen, landlord of Oak Park, County Carlow, gained control of the county until 1853. Catholic Emancipation in 1829 resulted in O'Connell launching an attack on the Protestant and Tory landowners and their control over the Irish Parliament. This national attack resulted in the eventual entrance of E. D Gray and D. H Macfarlane, Home Rule advocates, into the political arena for Carlow. From 1880, the nationalist majority held the county. The Redistribution of Seats Act 1885 resulted in the abolition of twenty-two boroughs including Carlow.[xviii] These political changes were no doubt a contributing factor to the decline in the conservative aristocracy in Carlow, which affected the need for the Assembly Rooms to be maintained as an entertainment facility for this particular group. As shown, the increased interest in the new ideology of the times resulted in the rooms becoming used as a facility for all residents of the town and eventually evolving into an educational institution.[xix]

The fact the building actually became a facility of protest against the Union, by showing a film of the Home Rule campaign, actually shows a distinct way in which the building has gained meaning; through representing the older ways while encouraging the new, rather than being destroyed in an attempt to remove a part of Carlow and Ireland's past. Also George Bernard Shaw's personal ideology may have had resonances with some of the people of the town, due to the general increase in interest in Socialist ideology around Ireland at the time which may have helped to encourage the use of the building and the acceptance of the building by the council. The donation of the building for the communal welfare of the town marks a significant change in function. George Bernard Shaw saw the building as of no use to him and he chose to donate it as a benefit to the town. However, by donating this building in order for it to become a school for students with technical abilities rather than purely academic, Shaw was responsible for an intricate layering of history. While the opening of the school carries through Shaw's unique message of community welfare, an appreciation for education for all on a local level is seen here. The building transformed to something progressive, a place of learning and development in the technical training areas, as well as retaining its past as an entertainment facility and ballroom facility.

The building therefore not only represents a social meaning to the town but also has gained political meanings.

Conclusion

This study of Carlow's architecture, examines reasons for change in function, but also allows for the exploration of the contexts within which these changes took place on a social and cultural level throughout different epochs of the town's history. The change in function of this building reflects the changes taking place within the town itself and on a national level. The buildings also show how adaptive reuse as a form of cultural renewal is present within the architecture of urban landscapes.

These reconfigured buildings exhibit the layered meanings given to buildings, through the changes that take place in a functional rather than structural way. Cultural adaptive reuse shows the historical structure adapted and reused in order to add meaning to the building. This helps to maintain the building's importance to the town and to the people.

The Assembly Rooms shows how the social and political history of the town has contributed to the changing role of the building. The shift from an aristocratic orientated establishment to a local and communal facility shows a distinct reconfiguration of social and political affiliations in the town at an important moment in Irish political and social history. The gentry of Carlow were in decline having once been a prominent part of the town and county's politics, until the period of the change of function of the Rooms. The change of the Rooms to a technical school shows an important emphasis put on education for the town, and the fulfilment of Shaw's wishes that the building be used for the good of the community. This is also continued with the building's function as a library. The building is now neighbours to a culturally diverse part of the town. Dublin Street's decoration for Eigse Art festival, as well as the many pop up shops (some of which have become permanent residents), expresses the town's connection to culture. The building's incorporation into the changing artistic culture of the area adds more meaning and creates a further connection to the town.

These social and political changes represented by this building were not unique to Carlow. These changes had their roots in what was taking place around the country at this time. This study shows clearly how the cultural landscape of an urban centre can exhibit signs of a cultural reconfiguration through the change in function of buildings. This is especially prominent in not only a local but a national sense. The reuse and adaptation of buildings shows how Ireland's urban landscapes have layered meanings. These meanings can be a part of the history and encapsulate not only the time of the building's creation but also the times that have influenced the specific changes that took place. The changes that have taken place are often for practical reasons, which in a sense is what adaptive reuse represents. However, the more complex change that takes place in all of these buildings is an expression of what was taking place at the time of the change. The buildings' changes all reflect history and due to this the buildings of Carlow town have an opportunity to change function again in the response to what might take place in Carlow Town in the future. This does not mean the past will be lost, on the contrary, it allows for the past to be appreciated by the adaptation of a building. History can be viewed through these buildings in terms of reasons for changes, but also the buildings can be viewed as being products of history.

[i] Iain S Black, "Re-reading Architectural Landscape", in *Studying Cultural Landscapes*, (eds). Iain Robertson and Penny Richardson, London. 2003.pp19

[ii] Francesca Sophie Cantell, in *The Adaptive Reuse of Historic Industrial Buildings: Regulation Barriers, Best Practices and Case Studies*, Virginia, May 2005. pp2-40

[iii] *No. 10 Parish of Carlow*, in Ordinance Survey Field-notes of Carlow, 1839. Museum Archives, Carlow.

[iv]Ibid

[v]Lisa Prosper, in *Aboriginal Perspectives on Renewing and Revitalizing Cultural Meaning in Place*, 15th Annual US/ICOMOS International Scientific Symposium, 40th Anniversary Celebration of the World Heritage Convention, San Antonio, Texas, May 30-June 1 2012. n:pag

[vi]"Assembly Rooms, Carlow, A Grand Ball, 18 Oct." in *Carlow Morning Post* 19 Sept. 1831. pp2.

[vii] Jimmy O' Toole "The Landed Gentry in Decline A County Carlow Perspective." in (eds) Thomas McGrath. *Carlow History and Society: Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County*, Dublin. 2008. pp751-774.

[viii]" Baptism, Marriage and Burial Results in Carlow." *Irish Genealogy*. Department of Arts, Heritage, and the Gaeltacht, 27 Feb. 2013. <http://churchrecords.irishgenealogy.ie/churchrecords/search.jsp?namefm=&namel=&location=Carlow&dd=&mm=&yy=&submit=Search>.

[ix] B. O'Neill "The Old Assembly Rooms." in *Carloviana* vol 1. 1948. pp53.

[x]Ibid

[xi]B. O'Neill pp 59.

[xii]Ibid

[xiii]L.D. Bergin "The Civic Improvement Fund," in *Carlovianavol* 1.4 1956. pp8.

[xiv]"Strokestown Park and The Making of The Famine Museum: An Interview with Declan Jones." Interview by Lorraine Pearsall.in *South Carolina Review*. 2008. pp195-201

[xv] Jimmy O'Toole. "The Landed Gentry in Decline A County Carlow Perspective.". in (eds). Thomas McGrath. *Carlow History and Society: Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County*, Dublin. 2008. pp751-74.

[xvi]Donal McCartney. "Parliamentary representation and electoral politics in Carlow" in (eds). Thomas McGrath. *Carlow History and Society: Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County*, Dublin. 2008.pp481-500

[xvii]Ibid

[xviii]Ibid

[xix]Ibid

Manor Lakes of Leighlinbridge, Manhatton, Illinois USA

Remembering the Battle of Clontarf 1014

The following poems are taken from "The Poems of R.D. Williams" Dublin, May 1894.

Richard Dalton Williams, poet, journalist and patriot was born in Dublin on 8 October, 1822 but grew up in Grenenesstown, Co. Tipperary. At 16 years he went in St Patrick's College, Carlow. He sent his first poem, *The Munster War Song* to "The Nation" while still a student at St Patrick's. He worked for a time for "The Nation" whose editors were, Thomas Davis and Gavin Duffy before going on to study medicine in Dublin. Together with Kevin Izod O'Dotherty he founded "The Tribune" but shortly they were both arrested and the paper suppressed. In 1851 he left his native land for ever and made his first home in Alabama U.S.A.. He is buried in a little cemetery in the town of Thibodeaux, Louisiana, for some time marked only by a rude board on which was printed the words: "R.D. Williams 5th July, 1862"

The Battle of Clontarf
Good Friday, 1014.

As the world's Redeemerhung
On a tree this day to save,
In His love, each tribe and tongue
From the thraldom of the grave,
We vow—attest, ye Heavens !—by His gore,
To snap the damning chain
Of this Christ-blaspheming Dane
Who defiles each holy fane we adore.

But—death to Erin's pride—
Amid Sitric's host behold
Malmordha's squadron ride,
Who betray, for Danish gold,

Their country, virtue, fame, and their souls;
" False traitors ! by the rood,
Ye shall weep such waves of blood
As in winter's spring-tide flood ocean rolls."

Thas spoke our wrathful king
As he drew Kincora's sword,
And abroad he bade them fling
The emblazonry adored—
The mystic sun arising on the gale ; And a roar of joy arose
As they bent a wood of bows,
On thy godless robber foes, Innisfail

The fierce Vikinger now
On the dreadful Odin calls,
And the gods of battle bow
From Valhalla's cloudy halls,
And bend them o'er the dim " feast of shells."
But, like drops of tempest rain,
The innumerable slain
Of the traitor and the Dane strew the dells.

Clontarf ! a sea of blood
Rushes purple from thy shore,
And the billow's rising flood
Is repelled by waves of gore,
That fling a sanguine blush o'er the tide.
We have drawn the sacred sword
Of green Eire and the Lord,
And have crushed the sea-kings' horde in their pride.

Rise ! Ruler of the North I
Terrific Odin rise!
Let thy stormy laughter forth
Burst in thunder from the skies—
Prepare, for heroes slain, harp and shell
For we crowd thy feast to-night
With the flower of ocean's might,
Who, in Freedom's burning sight, Wasted fell !

There lie the trampled Dane,
And the traitor prince's band
Who could brook a foreign chain
On the green Milesian land,
Where immortal beauty reigns evermore;
And the surf is bloody red
Where the proud barbarian bled,
Or with terror winge I fled from our shore.

Such ever be the doom
Of the tyrant and the slave—
Be their dark unhonoured tomb
'Neath the falchions of the brave,
Who, fired with freedom's soul, clasp the brand
0 goddess thrice divine!
Be our isle again thy shrine,
And renew the soul of Brian through the land !

King Brian's March to Clontarf

HARK ! the war-trumpet sound
Echoing wildly round!
Proudly our bosoms bound,
Panting for Freedom.
Over the mountains, lo !
Plumes wave like drifting snow,
Brightly their falchions glow—
Valiant chief, lead them.

Rattles each banner's fold,
From whose rich field, unrolled,
Redly a sun of gold
Far away glances.
Won from the wave and mine,
Gems on their helmets shine,
Flowers with their banners twine—
Sharp are their lances.

Wave restless plumes in air,
And from their axes bare,
Shimm'ringly mirrored there,
How the light flashes !
Who on the battle-field Would to the pirate yield,
Basely his father's shield,
Curst be his ashes!

Oh! may your swords be strong,
Wielded to right the wrong,
And, in immortal song,
Wedded to story.
O'er whom for Erin dies,
Let the wild *caiona* rise,
And to our tearful skies
Waft ye his glory.

O'er their defender's sleep
Beauty shall fondly weep,
Veiled muses vigil keep,
And, in sad numbers,
Bards of the rescued land,
While round his tomb they stand,
Where hangs his sheathed brand,
Hymn o'er his slumbers.

Chiefs of the fiery Gael,
Gird on your shining mail-
Death to the slaves of Bael-
Death and dishonour !
Under your holy steel
See the pale virgin kneel,
Shall the insulter's heel
Trample upon her

Strike for your lands and lives !
See, 'neath assassin knives,
Daughters and blooming wives,
Fearing worse danger.
Cloud-shielded ! star-adored !
Flash forth thy dazzling sword,
Smite the barbarian horde,
Wither the stranger

Down from the Baltic main
Rush they to forge again
Bonds upon Ulad's plain—
Chains on Temora !

Up ! from the vale and hall,
Rise in your armour all,
Sons of the Clan-a-gall,
Strength of Kincora 1
Rise ! rise ! the Dane ! the Dane !
Slay them in tower and fame,
From the far western main
E'en to Ben Hedir.
Soon shall their guilty ghosts
Howl round our fatal coasts—
Lightning-robed Lord of Hosts,
Blast the invader

Members Publications

Carlow Folk Tales: Aideen McBride & Jack Sheehan

In this collection of Carlow folk tales, one of a county series of such tales published by The History Press Ireland, Jack Sheehan and his daughter Aideen McBride, have captured some of the stories of the pre television oral culture of rural County Carlow.

In a collection of over eighty stories Jack & Aideen have captured the wit and humour of a bygone time, recorded some very strange stories and have told tales of the little people and the raths they lived in.

If you want strange - read about the man who kept an eel as a pet!
Jack & Aideen are still collecting stories so we can look forward to the next volume.

Animal-Powered Churning Gears on the Castlecomer Plateau & Elsewhere in Ireland: Michael J.Conry & Brian S.Coulter.

In another book on various aspects of Ireland's cultural heritage Michael Conry and Brian S. Coulter take up the story of animal powered churning gears on the Castlecomer Plateau. This study area takes in parts of counties Kilkenny, Laois and Carlow.

With over sixty illustrations – the majority of them in colour – and five maps the authors bring us through every aspect of the subject. Indoor and outdoor gears, wooden and metal ones and the animals used to drive them are all described in detail. The maps illustrate the distribution of these gears in the study areas.

Another story well told.

The Poor Clares Order of Nuns in Ireland

Peadar C. Ó Cuilinn

The Poor Clare Order of Nuns was founded in 1211, in Assisi, Italy. They were founded in Graiguecullen, Carlow in 1893. The Poor Clares are often referred to as Collettine after St Colette who reformed the Poor Clares in the fifteenth century.

Mother Seraphine Bowe, a native of county Kilkenny and Mother Angela Tait, born a Scottish Presbyterian who converted to Catholicism, founded the Poor Clares in Graiguecullen, Carlow in 1893. They were warmly welcomed to the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin by the then bishop of Kildare and Leighlin Most Rev James Lynch who was a member of the Vincentian Order, a native of Dublin and previously Bishop of Argyle & Isles in Scotland. Very Rev Daniel Byrne P.P. Graiguecullen and Rev Arthur Murphy C.C Graiguecullen also gave them a warm welcome.

These two enthusiastic nuns set out from their convent in Bruges, travelling from central Europe, crossing the sea to Britain, visiting their convent in Levenshulme near Manchester, which was founded just thirty years previously. This was a long arduous journey in the closing decade of the nineteenth century as compared to the three hour aeroplane flight now in the twenty first century. The two nuns then travelled on to Drogheda, Co Louth in Ireland, to meet a cousin of Mother Bonaventure who was abbess in the Bruges convent where they had come from. This man was a wealthy merchant and had promised assistance to set up a foundation of Poor Clares in Ireland. However by the time those two nuns arrived in Drogheda he was too ill to meet them and so they continued on their journey to Kildare and Leighlin, visiting their house in Ballyjamesduff which was not the enclosed Poor Clares. There was a Poor Clare Monastery in Nuns Island Galway founded in 1642, but they were forced to give up their contemplative way of life during persecution of the penal laws, but they were able to resume their contemplative life in 1892 just one year before the foundation in Graiguecullen, Carlow or Carlow Graigue as it was known then. On arrival in Graguecullen the nuns proceeded to the parish church which was situated where St Fiach's Hall is now. There was a house beside the church which they expected to buy or rent, but the owner asked for an exorbitant price, far more than the nuns could afford, so Fr Dan Byrne PP came to their rescue and set them up in a very dilapidated house near the bridge on the Graiguecullen side of the river Barrow. During this time the Diocesan Council met and stipulated that the nuns could not build a convent until they had at least £2000 in cash. So they immediately set about acquiring, collecting and saving this money. Mother Angela writing in her memoire recalls the kindness, charity and generosity of the religious that they came in contact with on landing in Ireland and also the Bishop and priests of Carlow, Graiguecullen and Killeshin.

Foundress

The nuns had only arrived when Mr. & Mrs. Michael Governey arrived with a big basket of provisions. Another person brought eggs every week. A woman from Dublin sent fish every week until she died. The local fish merchant continued doing the same when this woman died. Another local man organised the local people to donate a

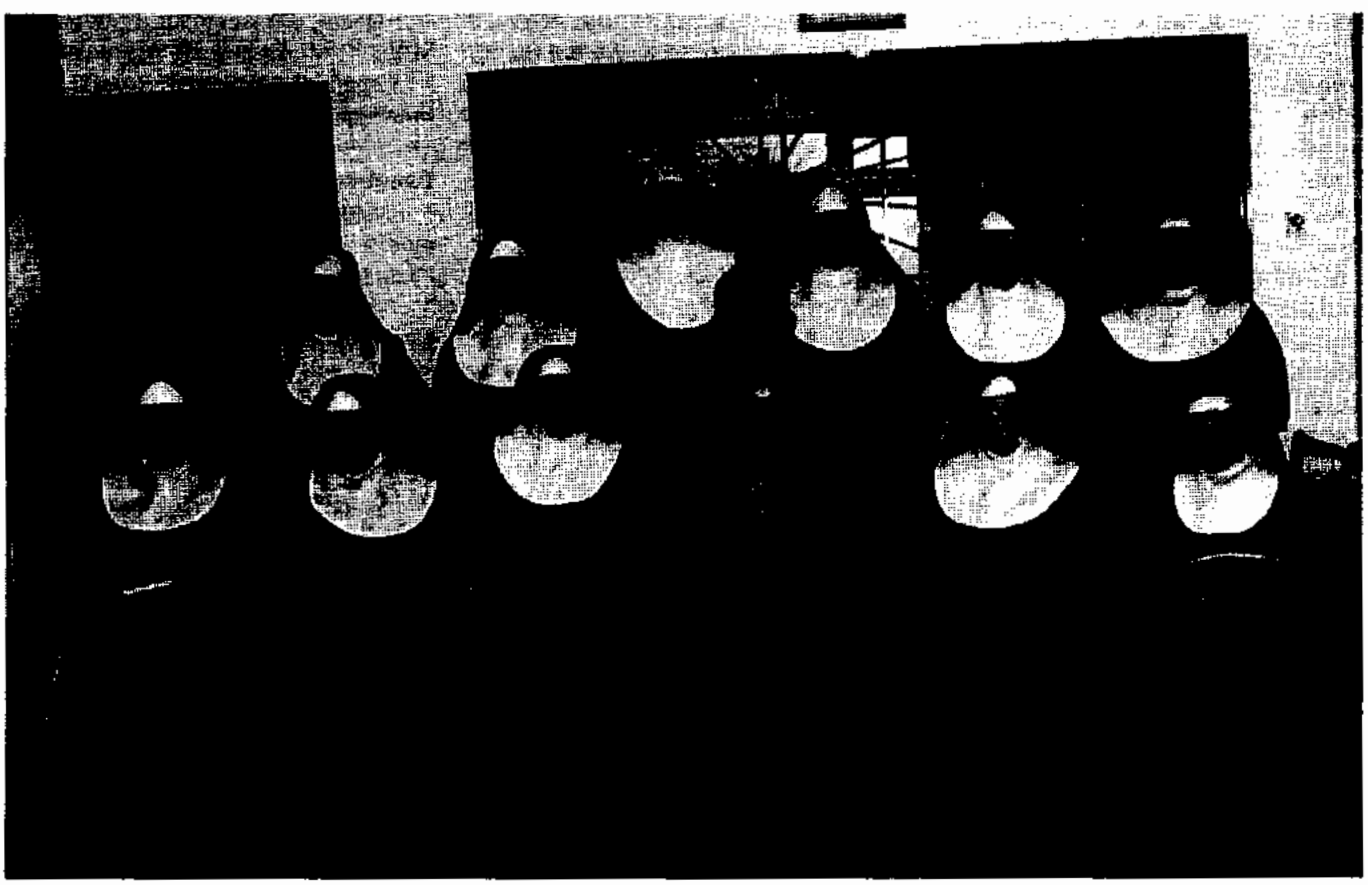
loaf or some provisions every week or fortnight so that the nuns would not have too much food one week and not enough another week. The money kept coming in, in large and small donations and an approach was made to the land owner where the monastery is now situated to purchase it. He refused because his two elderly sisters needed it for recreations. The two ladies eventually died and another approach was made but he again refused. Then Mother Seraphine tried herself. He said he was a Quaker and he could not and would not sell land to another religion. Shortly after he died; the three died in less than three years and then the land came on the market. Rev Arthur Murphy CC approached Mr Michael Governey and asked him to buy the field which he duly did and he donated the land for the monastery and said he would donate a site for a church if the parish decided to build a church. Just seven years had passed when on July 22nd 1900 Most Rev Patrick Foley Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin blessed and dedicated this new monastery, beginning with High Mass in St Fiach's and processing across the road to where the monastery and chapel are to this present day. As they processed from the church to the monastery Bishop Foley was heard to say to Fr. Murphy, "did we ever think we would see this day" and the reply," I did and you didn't !".

Then in 1929, the centenary year of Catholic Emancipation, the present church in Graiguecullen was blessed by Most Rev. Dr. Mathew Cullen Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, a native of Kilcarney Co Wicklow and of the parish of Hacketstown Co. Carlow. Also present was Very Rev James Fogarty P.P., Graiguecullen a native of Ballykillmurray, Co. Wicklow, in the parish of Hacketstown Co. Carlow and Right Rev Monsignor John Delaney P.P. V.G., Rathvilly, Co. Carlow, and a large number of priests from the diocese.

The church was previously erected on the Athy Road in Carlow by Henry Bruen, landlord at Oak Park, to commemorate his election victory as M.P. for Carlow over Daniel O'Connell Junior, son of Daniel O' Connell. The Tory candidates contesting the election were Colonel Henry Bruen (705 votes) and Thomas Bunbury (704 votes) who were elected. Daniel O' Connell Junior (Repealer) and J.A. Yates (Liberal or Whig) were the defeated candidates in this election. Daniel O' Connell's son John was a candidate in Kilkenny but he canvassed strongly in Carlow for his brother Daniel Junior. Henry Bruen was educated in Eton College in Britain from 1805 – 1808, among his class mates was the poet Percy Shelley. Henry Bruen was first elected M.P. at Westminster in 1812 at the age of 22 and he held the seat for 40 years except for some brief periods after Catholic Emancipation.

Three women from Co. Carlow have been elected Mother Abbess in Graiguecullen. Mother M. Oliver O' Brien was the Third Abbess. She was a native of Knocklishen, Rathvilly Parish Co Carlow. Her Niece, Mother M. Francis O Brien also from Knocklishen was also abbess and the present abbess Mother M. Rosario Byrne, Maplestown also Rathvilly Parish.

The author wishes to thank the Poor Clare Community in Graiguecullen for their co-operation in compiling this article.



Community 2014

Matthew Weld Hartstonge (1774-1834) Poet, Author, Antiquarian

The Bagenalstown Connection Eastwood 1714-2014

Myles Kavanagh

Matthew Weld, later known as Matthew Weld Hartstonge, was a descendant of a very ancient and opulent Catholic family in the south of England. A branch of this family became Puritans in the reign of King James 1st. Several of them settled in New England, then the common refuge of those who sought after unrestricted Christian liberty. In this connection several names are recorded as graduates of Harvard College, and Ministers of North America. Sir Richard Weld of Eaton, had a son Thomas Weld (1590?–1662).Thomas, emigrated to New England, arriving at Boston on the 5th June, 1632. He returned to England in 1649 and is said to have died in England on 23rd March 1661/2. Thomas Weld's eldest son graduated in Harvard M.A. in 1641 and remained in New England. Another son Edmund graduated in Harvard in 1650, became one of Cromwell's Puritan chaplains in Ireland, was independent minister at Kinsale, Co. Cork, in 1655, and later settled as the Pastor of an Independent Congregation at Blarney Castle. It was here in Blarney Castle 1660 that he wrote in beautiful old English characters, sermons and poems in manuscripts, which were still preserved by his descendants in 1863. He later moved to Dublin. Edmund was married three times and had a numerous family by each of his wives. He died in 1688. Amongst his descendants are the Welds of Dublin and Carlow.

This Reverend Edmund Weld had a son, Nathaniel, who became an intimate friend of Isaac Newton the scientist. Nathaniel was admitted a preacher in the 21st year of his age and ordained co-pastor of New Row (South Dublin City Centre) with the Rev. Nathaniel Mather in February 1682. The troubles under King James 11 drove him, as well as many other Ministers out of Ireland, in the year1688. He took refuge in London, "where he met with uncommon acceptance as a preacher, and had very considerable offers if he would have stayed there; but no worldly prospect could tempt him to desert his beloved flock, to whom he was so justly dear, and for whom he retained to the last the affection of a father." On the settlement of Ireland by King William of Orange (1688-1694) he returned to Dublin, and ever after laboured among the people there "with an exemplary fidelity and diligence." During his ministry, the congregation of New Row erected a new place of worship in Eustace Street, to which they removed, about the year 1728. Nathaniel died on February 8, 1730 after a ministry of 38 years.

Nathaniel was possessed of considerable estates in Ireland, including Counties Carlow and Kilkenny, left issue (as appears by his will, dated 11th December 1729 and proved in Dublin, 8th March 1730) by his wife Mary, five sons and three daughters namely: Richard, Edmond, Isaac, Joseph, Charles, Mary, Hannah, and Sarah.

Edmond the second son of Nathaniel as above stated by his wife Margaret (daughter of Joseph Kane of Dublin) had issue a son and heir Matthew who was of Dublin and who married in 1737 Elizabeth daughter of Alderman Nathaniel Kane of Dublin. This Matthew had five sons and five daughters namely:

Sons

1 Edmond, (afterwards Edmond Weld Hartstonge).
2 Nathaniel, an officer in the army.
3 Matthew, Lieutenant in the Royal Navy. (Lodge Mills, Moneybeg, Bagenalstown)
4 Richard, Captain in the army. (Lodge Mills, Moneybeg, Bagenalstown)
5 Joseph, Archdeacon of Ross. (Lodge, Moneybeg, Bagenalstown)

Daughters

1 Martha, wife of John O Connor and mother of George O Connor of Vicar Choral of Cloyne
2 Esther, wife of Dr. Brinkley of Cloyne.
3 Elizabeth, wife of Rev. Hugh O Neill, Rector of Chapelizod, Dublin & Chaplain of the Forces.
4 Sarah wife of Major Bayly.
6 Margaret.

The Welds of Bagenalstown

Joseph Weld, son of Matthew Weld and Elizabeth Kane (daughter of Alderman Nathaniel Kane of Dublin) was born on the 25th of September, 1745 and christened in Eustace Street Presbyterian Church, Dublin. He is on the Register July 8 1762 at Trinity College Dublin. He was appointed Reader at St. Finbar's Cathedral Cork on the 3rd February, 1771 and on December 17, 1777

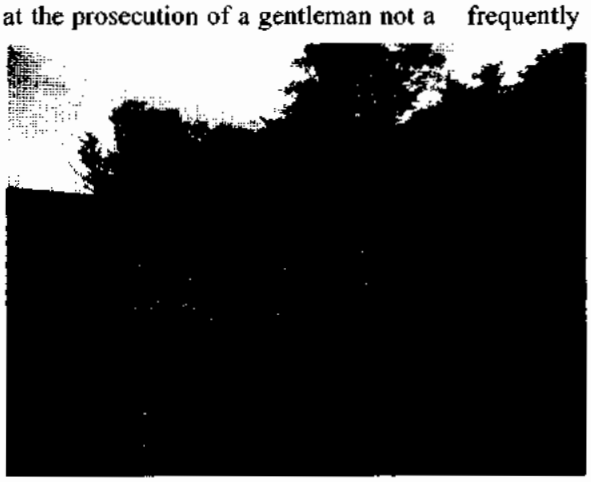
admitted Archdeacon of Ross. He was married on the 12th of July, 1775 to Susanna Maria Mann, the niece and adopted daughter of Isaac Mann, Bishop of Cork, and Ross and had issue by her, two daughters, Esther, who married the Rev. James Adam Kerr, in Dunleckney 28th January 1809 and Anne, who married the Rev. Samuel Downing of Fenagh Co. Carlow, in Old Leighlin 26th February 1800, and an only son Matthew. Joseph and Susanna lived on an estate in the townland of Moneybeg, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow which was called the Lodge. The neighbouring estate of the Welds was that of the

Eastwood House 2014

Bagenal family. Sometime in 1778 pigs from the Weld farm strayed on to the Bagenal estate and the following account of the incident is recorded in *The Times of London* dated 5th August, 1778: "Carlow, July 27, Yesterday ended our assizes, at which was tried an indictment of an extraordinary nature in this kingdom, and rendered still more so by at the prosecution of a gentleman not a little remarkable for courage and prowess – Mr. Bagenal, late member of this county, had some time since ordered the tails and ears of some pigs, which were found trespassing on his land, to be cut off, which was accordingly done; they happened to be the property of a neighbouring gentleman, Mr Weld, who considered himself personally insulted sent a challenge to Mr B in consequence of which they had a meeting, when Mr Weld fired – Mr Bagenal declined to do so, but lodged examinations against Mr Weld for sending the challenge and for the assault, upon which bills being found, Mr W. appeared to take his trial. Evidence being fully heard and the jury having received a most excellent charge from the judge, Mr. Justice Crookshank, found Mr W. guilty, and the Court was pleased to impose a fine of seventy pounds on him, and ordered him to be imprisoned for onemonth."

Mr. Beauchamp Bagenal (1741 – 1802) MP for Co. Carlow was the gentleman involved in the incident and was well known for his duelling escapades of that time and so his decision - not to fire – was an unusual one for him. He was accustomed to resting his back on a headstone during his duels. So the likely place for this meeting was perhaps, Dunleckney Cemetery or Killenane Cemetery.

Pig farming in the surrounding area of Bagenalstown was quite common at this time and boat-loads of pigs were frequently shipped to Waterford from Bagenalstown via the canal. Pigs were the only livestock ever carried on the Barrow boats.



The piggery from which the pigs escaped in Eastwood farmyard

Matthew Weld, son of Joseph, was born in Cork 1778 and appears on the register at Trinity College Dublin aged 15 on the 6 October 1794 and graduated BA 1799. He was married on the 29th October, 1800, to Mary Izod, daughter of Lorenzo Izod Nickson, of Chapelizod House, Kilkenny. They settled on the home estate in Moneybeg, Bagenalstown which was called *The Lodge* and circa a century later would be known as Eastwood House. They had six children and all were baptised in Dunleckney Church of Ireland, Bagenalstown:

1) Joseph Weld, Baptism 28 February, 1804 / Birth 28 February, 1804
2) Elizabeth Weld, Baptism 5 May, 1805 / Birth 28 April 1805
3) Matthew Richard Weld, Baptism 28 September, 1809 / Birth 18 September, 1809
4) Lorenzo Weld, Baptism 10 November, 1811 / Birth 4 November, 1811.
5) Anne Weld, Baptism 6 January, 1814 / Birth 25 December, 1813
6) Mary Weld, Baptism 19 February, 1817 / Birth 6 February, 1817

In 1817 Philip and Sarah Newton (Bagenal) leased land in Cloruske, on the west bank of the river Barrow in the Barony of West Idrone, opposite the Lodge Mills in Moneybeg to Matthew Weld. The following is an extract from the Memorial in the Registry of Deeds outlining the contract:-

" Philip Newton of Dunleckney House and Sarah Newton (Bagenal) his wife ... ... to Matthew Weld of Lodge lease of lands in his possession and all that part of the land in Cloruske then known by the name of Mill Quarter 32 acres 2 roods and 23 perches including part of the river Barrow that adjoins as by a map in West Idrone to Matthew Weld and heirs from the 29th September for the lives and life of Philip Newton, Joseph Weld and Lorenzo Weld, first and second sons of Matthew Weld and the survival of them or for the term of 31 years to be completed from the 29th day of September last which ever the longest continue at the yearly rate of £74-5-2 payable by two equal half yearly payments on every 25th day of March and 29th day of September". This Deed was witnessed and signed by James Byrne, Carlow, Attorney at Law, Robert Byrne, son of James, Philip Newton, Sarah Newton and Matthew Weld and date 17th January 1818.

Joseph Weld of Lodge Co. Carlow son of Matthew and Mary married Isabella

Woodwright, of 39 Lower Mount Street, Dublin, daughter of Captain James Wood-Wright, 28 November 1844. They had two sons, Richard and Charles-James, and three daughters. Elizabeth Isabella was born on the 27 July 1847 to Joseph and Isabella and baptised in Dunleckney Church of Ireland on the 15 August, 1847.

The farmyard at Eastwood

Lorenzo Weld (later known as Lorenzo Weld Hartstonge) of Bloomfield Co. Dublin and the Lodge, Moneybeg, Bagenalstown, and Rahinbawn, Kildavin, Co. Carlow, is listed on the register at Trinity College, Dublin, January 23, 1829 aged 16 years. He married Elizabeth Litablere, eldest daughter of Thomas Litton of Ballyfermot, Co. Dublin and 70 St. Stephens Green, Dublin, August 1, 1839 in St. Peter's Church, Dublin. Lorenzo and Elizabeth had two sons, Matthew Edmond Richard, and Lorenzo. Lorenzo assumed by Royal Licence 19 December 1849 the additional name and arms of Hartstonge on inheriting the property of the Weld Hartstonge family. In the Co. Carlow list of Land Owners circa 1870 Lorenzo W. Hartstonge is listed as the owner of 855 acres. Elizabeth died in 1880 and Lorenzo died in 1887.

Following a number of local meetings in Bagenalstown dealing with " The Town Commission (Ireland) Act 1854" in establishing the development of Bagenalstown Town Commission, a petition addressed to the Lord Lieutenant from the ratepayers of the town was published in the Carlow Sentinel the 7th November 1857. The list of 36 names attached to the petition dated 26th day of October, 1857 included the following:- John Newton, Mary Salter, Samuel Crosthwaite, Philip Newton, Lorenzo Weld Hartstonge, Thomas Singleton, Patrick Morrin P.P. etc.

The following extract is from the *Carlow Post* March 12 1859 – In consequence of the town of Bagenalstown being for the first time lighted with gas, it was proposed that a dinner should be given in inauguration of same, which was settled for Monday evening, at five o'clock. The dinner was prepared by Mr. John O' Connor and served up in a spacious room in the rear of his hotel. The health of P J Newton, Esq, was proposed and warmly received. It was responded to by Mr McGrath who mentioned with respect the names of Samuel Crosthwaite, Thomas Singleton and Lorenzo Weld Hartstonge, Esqrs, and other gentlemen who were prominent in promoting the Gas Company.

Matthew-Edmund, the elder son of Lorenzo and Elizabeth, born in 1846 was J.P. for Co. Carlow and assumed by Royal Licence, August 15 1898, the additional surnames and arms of Cornwall and Brady in addition to and before those of Hartstonge-Weld. He married December 14, 1882, Georgina Elizabeth Brady of 33 Kildare Street, the elder daughter and heir of John Cornwall Brady, J.P. of Myshall and High Sheriff of Co. Carlow 1870 – seat – Myshall House, Co. Carlow. Matthew-Edmond and Georgina lived on the Weld-Hartstonge estate in Rahinbawn, Kildavin, Co. Carlow and had a residence at Bruffe Lodge, Parkstone, Dorset, England.

Matthew and Georgina had two sons:

1) Edmund Weld Hartstonge, Rahinbawn, Kildavin, Co. Carlow.
2) Lorenzo second son of Lorenzo and Elizabeth of Lodge Co. Carlow was born in 1856 and baptised in St. Peter's Church Dublin April 9 1856. He married in 1900 Edith Mary daughter of Evans Charles Johnson of Burgage, Co. Carlow, (Madras Civil Service). Lorenzo became Rector of Farley, Chamberlayne, Hampshire, England.

Lorenzo and Edith had three children
(1) Lorenzo Charles Edmond,
(2) Beatrix, Elizabeth, Eveleen, and
(3) Edith, Agnes who died in infancy.

Matthew Richard Weld, youngest son, of Matthew and Mary married Dorathea, of Annesbrook, Co. Dublin in Clontarf January 17, 1850, daughter of Captain S.J. Ardagh and they had four daughters.

Elizabeth Weld eldest daughter of Matthew and Mary married Drought Blakely Tarleton and they had two sons and a daughter.

Mary Weld youngest daughter of Matthew and Mary married Arthur Matthew Downing and they had two sons and three daughters.

Report of the *Carlow Sentinel* 27th June, 1847 re Bridge over River Barrow: "On the 12th April 1847 Philip Newton of Dunleckney House, performed the ceremony of laying the first stone of the Viaduct over the Barrow near Bagenalstown. A great number of the gentry and local in habitants were present. Among the attendance were John Alexander of Milford who was a director of the railway, Doctor Roche of Bagenalstown, Joseph and Matthew Weld, the Lodge, J.W. Nicholls, Resident Engineer and Mr. Brown. At the time of the opening Mr. Dargan the eminent contractor hoped to have it finished by October, 1847".

Matthew Weld died on the 22nd of October 1832. Mary his wife continued living in 'The Lodge' alias 'Eastwood House' and at a later stage of her life circa 1862 moved to a house of her son Lorenzo in Bloomfield, Co. Dublin where she died on the 14th March 1864. Both Matthew and Mary are buried in Dunleckney Cemetery. Their son Lorenzo and his wife Elizabeth are also buried in the same grave. The inscription on the grave stone reads as follows:

Beneath this stone lie the mortal remains of Matthew Weld Esq. of Bagenalstown who departed this life on the 22nd of October, 1832 aged 56 years. Beneath this stone also lie the mortal remains of Mary Izod Weld wife of the above named Matthew Weld Esq. and daughter of Lorenzo Izod Nickson Esq. who departed this life on the 14th March, 1864 aged 85 years. Here also lie the mortal remains of their second son Lorenzo Weld Hartstonge, who died on the 9th February 1880 aged 67 years. And of his wife Elizabeth Charlotte Letablere Weld Hartstonge, who died on the 14th of February 1887 aged 84 years.

In "The Peerage" compiled by Darryl Lundy, I find an Elizabeth Isabella Weld born 1848 at Bagenalstown, who married Henry Dawson Stanistreet (born 1841) of Youghal, Co. Cork in 1874 at Co. Dublin. Henry died at Weymouth, Dorset, England in 1915. Elizabeth died at Falmouth, Cornwall, England in 1941. Elizabeth is most likely to have been the granddaughter of the above Matthew and Mary Weld.

Matthew the third son of Matthew Weld and Elizabeth Kane joined the Royal Navy and became a lieutenant. He and his brother Richard lived in the Lodge Mills House in Moneybeg. He died in 1806/7 leaving a will and estate as will be outlined hereafter.

Richard the fourth son of Matthew Weld and Elizabeth Kane married Hannah Litton daughter of Thomas Litton Esq of Dublin on the 12th March 1785. Richard and Hannah also settled in the townland of Moneybeg, Bagenalstown, in a house called The Lodge Mills House. This house and garden was situated on the south side of The Lodge Mills, which was a family business.

Lodge Mills

In 1818 Thomas Payne of Bagenalstown sold to Matthew and Richard Weld of Lodge Mills, plots of ground in Bagenalstown which included tenant houses for the sum of £400.

Then in 1820 Daniel Keoghler a Merchant in Bagenalstown leased lands to Matthew and Richard. The following is an extract from the Memorial in the Registry of Deeds outlining the transaction:-

"All the parts of the lands of Moneybeg and possessions of Daniel Keoghler bounded on the east by a park then in the possession of Mr. Robert Brown divided by a parting wall on the south by the Main Street leading to the Mill, on the west by a road leading to the Barrow Canal and on the North by a tracking of said Barrow Canal and premises containing in length one hundred and sixteen feet from out to out and at the rear of the track way one hundred and twenty three feet from out to out, situation lying and being in the town of Bagenalstown otherwise Moneybeg, Idrone East , lease of 999 years and yearly rent of £15 payable on first day of May and first day of November". The Deed was dated 28th June 1820 and witnessed and signed by William Payne and Edward Wynne both of Bagenalstown.

Richard Weld joined the 18th (Royal Irish) Regiment of Foot on the 7th of January 1808 and is recorded later in that year based in Jamaica as a Lieutenant. In the War Records published in 1822, he is still in the same Regiment but now serving as a Captain. Richard and Hannah had a son, Matthew Richard who was born in 1792 and is listed on the register on 1st July 1811 aged 18 at Trinity College Dublin. He died in his 23rd year and is buried in Dunleckney Cemetery, Bagenalstown. The inscription on the headstone reads as follows:

Sacred to the Memory of Matthew Richard Weld the only child of Richard and Hannah Weld of Lodge Mills who died in his twenty third year on the first of August 1815.

Nine years after his son's death, Richard died April 4 1824 aged 71 years and was buried in Dunleckney cemetery.

Sarah Weld of the Lodge Bagenalstown, daughter of Matthew Weld and Elizabeth Kane and sister to Matthew, Richard and Joseph, died December 17 1838, aged 82 years and was buried in Dunleckney cemetery.

Matthew and Richard Weld were very much involved in Church activities in Dunleckney during their life, both were church wardens, on a committee for the building of a gallery and alterations and erection of pulpits in the church etc.

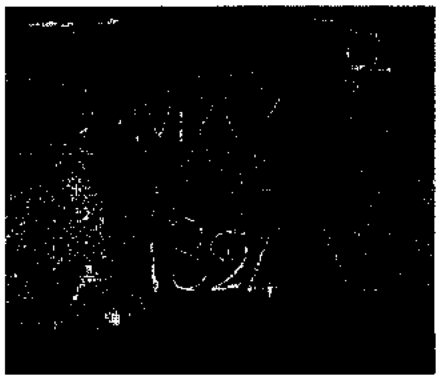
The Lodge Mill's House and Mill were acquired by Samuel Crosthwaite at some short time prior to 1824 and the Mill was extended greatly, with the family Weld remaining as the Landlord, as recorded in Griffiths Valuation of 1852.

Weld Hartststonge Dublin

Edmond Weld, later known as Edmond Weld Hartstonge, son of Matthew Weld, Dublin and Elizabeth Kane, married Anne Vesey, October 25 1771, relict (widow) of John Agmondisham Vesey according to W. Maziere Brady D.D. and according to Rolf and Magda Loeber, daughter of John Hartstonge, had a son Matthew Weld, born circa 1773/4 in Dublin, later known as Matthew Weld Hartstonge, Poet, Historical Novelist and Antiquarian. He entered TCD in 1789 aged 16 years and graduated BA in 1792. He was admitted to the Middle Temple (London) in 1792 and the Kings Inns in 1795 and according to the R.D.S. Historical Records, Matthew Weld Hartstonge of Molesworth Street, Dublin was admitted to the Irish Bar in 1795. He is also listed in the Register of Trinity College as S.C. and was called to the Irish Bar in 1795.

In the Memorial "Hartstonge to Weld" 1807 from the Registry of Deeds, Matthew is listed as a Barrister in the city of Dublin and it shows how he inherited the Weld property in Bagenalstown from

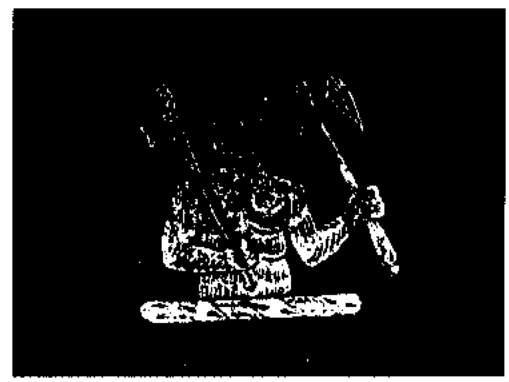
his Uncle Matthew. The deed lists Edmund Weld Hartstonge of Dublin – first part, Matthew Weld of Lodge Mills (brother of Edmund) – second part – and Matthew Weld (son of Edmund) of the City of Dublin – third part. The following is an extract from the Memorial:-



Date over mill door entrance when Samuel Crosthwaite extended the mill

"Matthew Weld the elder late of Lodge Mills having by his last will dated 10th day of October 1790 bequeathed to Matthew Weld, all kinds of property of which he died possessed excepting certain legacies as attested by Edmund Weld Hartstonge. ..... sum of £500 and lands of Lodge, four acres three roods and three perches Co. Carlow with the Mill Tackle Geer and furniture of Mill Water Courses and also his undivided moiety of that part of the lands of Moneybeg otherwise Bagenalstown commonly called Owen Murphy's Old Mill Quarters containing six acres three roods ten perches with the old Water Corn Mill and also that part of the land of Bagenalstown known by the name of Lodge and demesne of Bagenalstown containing thirty five acres one rood and thirty two perches and also that part of Moneybeg otherwise Bagenalstown called Widow Quinn's Quarter containing thirteen acres one rood and seven perches and all his right titles and justice therein ...". The deed is signed and witnessed by George O' Connor, William Espinese and Edmund Weld Hartstonge and dated 23-5–1807. Matthew now had two homes and for periods of time he lived in Dublin City and periods of time in his country house Lodge Mills in Bagenalstown.

Matthew took the name and arms of Hartstonge in lieu of Weld by Royal Licence 2nd February 1811 in compliance with the will of John Hartstonge, Brackenstown, Co. Dublin. He authored many books, including an anti-Act of Union pamphlet and published several volumes of poetry, including *Marion of Drymnagh*, A tale of Erin, (London 1814), *Ministrelsy of Erin or Poems Lyrical, Pastoral and Descriptive,* Edinburgh, 1812, (dedicated to Sir Walter Scott), *Ode to Desolation;* With Some Other Poems (with Notes), and *The Eve of All Hallows; Or Adelaide of Tyrconnel* , A Romance , (dedicated to Sir Walter Scott)),Volumes 1 – 3, (1815 - 1825). These and many other books of Matthew Weld Hartstonge are available through Amazon Books or may be downloaded from eBook Website.



Hartstonge Crest and Book Stamp - showing a demi savage wearing a cap and holding in his dexter hand a sword, hilt upwards and in his sinister a battleaxe.

In 1813 Matthew Weld Hartstonge of 15 Molesworth Street, Dublin was elected a life member of the Dublin Society, his proposer being Eccles Cuthbert and Isaac Weld, a cousin. Matthew served on the RDS Fine Arts Committee 1823 – 24 and on the Library Committee in 1834. He presented the Museum (now National Museum) with souvenirs of Waterloo, on 14 November 1816, and 28 November 1822. He also donated rock crystals from County Carlow, 29 January 1818, and a specimen Gold crest (Regulus regulus), 16 March 1826. He was a strong supporter of Catholic emancipation in 1829.

Matthew corresponded extensively with Sir Walter Scott. In 1809 he first wrote to Sir Walter and asked for his help in having his poems privately printed by Ballyantyne in Edinburgh. He subsequently helped Scott with information for the writer's life of Dean Swift. He was entertained at Abbotsford, the home of Sir Walter in Scotland, returning the hospitality on Scott's visit to Dublin and his tour of Ireland in 1825. It was at this time Scott's son Walter, a captain in the army was stationed in Dublin, and was living in number 10 Stephen's Green. Sir Walter had always wished to visit Ireland and his son's presence in Dublin presented the ideal opportunity for the visit. The party of tourists that set out for Ireland from Scotland consisted of Scott and his daughter and John Gibson Lockhart, his son-in-law. Lady Scott and Mrs Lockhart elected to stay in Scotland. On the 12th July 1825 they left Glasgow by steamer and arrived in Belfast on the following day. On the 14th July they reached Dublin. Sir Walter stayed with his son in Stephen's Green which was a short walk from Hartstonge's house in Molesworth Street. The next morning Hartstonge brought the party on a tour of Dublin which included "the Phoenix Park, the outside of the Bank, Post Office, Custom Office, St. Patrick's Cathedral etc," The Dublin and London Magazine" carried a report of the tour which included the following account of the end of the day " After the ladies had retired, the two (Harstonge and Sir Walter) conversed a great deal about Ireland, Hartstonge, who had a good deal of antiquarian and historical knowledge about the country leading the talk". The Tour of Ireland lasted until the 13th of August when the party returned to Dublin, and on the next day the anniversary of his birth, Scott entertained a large number of his friends in his son's house in Stephen's Green. On the 17th August the Scottish party left Dublin for Holyhead.

The Memoirs of Sir Walter contain many copies of letters they both wrote to each other. Some presentation copies of Sir Walter Scott to Matthew Weld Hartstonge were sold in Edinburgh on the 10th May 1989 at Phillips.

The following is an extract from "Memoirs of the Life of Sr. Walter Scott, Volume 6, 1839, By John Gibson Lockhart":

"The next was addressed to a gentleman whose acquaintance the poet had formed when collecting materials for his edition of Swift. On that occasion Mr. Hartstonge was of great service to Scott – and he appears to have paid him soon afterwards a visit at Abbotsford. Mr. Hartstonge was an amiable and kind-hearted man and enthusiastically devoted to literature; but his own poetical talents were undoubtedly of the sort that finds little favour either with gods or columns. He seems to have written shortly before this time to enquire about his old acquaintance health"

"To Matthew Weld Hartstonge , Esq
Molesworth Street, Dublin.
Abbotsford, July 21, 1819.

My Dear Sir,

.....

Fortunately at present my system is pretty strong. In the meanwhile my family are beginning to get forwards. Walter - (you remember my wading into Cauldshields loch to save his little frigate from wreck) – is now a Cornet of six feet two inches in your Irish 18th Hussars; the regiment is now at Cork, and will probably be next moved to Dublin, so you see your old friend with a new face; Be-furred, be-feathered, and be-whiskered in the highest military ton. I have desired him to call upon you, should he get to Dublin on leave, or come there on duty. I miss him very much, for he was my companion, my gamekeeper, etc., etc. and when one loses one's own health and strength, there are few things so pleasant as to see a son enjoying both in vigour of hope and promise. Think of this, my good friend, and as you have kind affections to make some good girl happy, settle yourself in life while you are young and layup by so doing a stock of domestic happiness, against age or bodily decay. There are many good things in life, whatever satirists and misanthropes may say to the contrary, but probably the best of all, next to a conscience void of offence (without which, by the by, they can hardly exist), are the quiet exercise of the social feelings, in which we are at once happy ourselves, and the cause of happiness to them who are dearest to us. I have no news to send you from hence. The addition to my house is completed with battlement and bartizan, but the old cottage remains hidden among creepers, until I shall have leisure - i.e. time and money – to build the rest of my mansion – which I will not do hastily, as the present is amply sufficient for accommodation. Adieu, my dear sir; never reckon the degree of my regard by the regularity of my correspondence, for besides the vile disease of laziness and procrastination, which have always beset me, I have of late both pain and languor sufficient to justifying my silence. Believe me, however, always most truly yours.

Walter Scott"

Matthew, however, remained unmarried.

Another great friend of Matthew's was Lady Morgan (1776 – 1859), an Irish Novelist and supporter of Catholic Emancipation, who is remembered mostly for her personality than for her many successful books. She was the daughter of Robert Owenson, actor and manager of the Theatre Royal, Dublin. She married Thomas (afterwards Sir Thomas) Morgan, the Abercorn family physician. In 1839 Lady Sydney Morgan moved to London where she became increasingly involved in social life and gave up writing altogether.

Her most famous novel "O'Donnell" was published in early 1814 and the following is an extract from a communication of Sir Walter Scott to Matthew Weld Hartstonge at that time re her book: "18th July 1814 , ----- I agree with you that Lady Morgan has fairly hit upon her forte – for O'Donnell is incomparably superior to The Wild Irish Girl – having nature and reality (sic) foundation". Lady Morgan held a literary salon at her house in Kildare Street, Dublin which was frequented by the literary circle which included Matthew Weld Hartstonge, her great admirer and who lived in 15 Molesworth Street, just off Kildare Street, a short walk for him, while in Dublin.

In her Memoirs of 1834 she records the following:

"February 28 – Just had a visit from old, queer, Weld Hartstonge – a flirtation of near twenty years' standing; ma foi, time has left him as quizzical as nature intended him to be! His Uncle, Sir Harry Hartstonge, was the Protestant gentleman who knocked the Catholic petition over the bar of the House of Commons some 40 years back. This little Parliamentary anecdote would be a floorer to Mr. O'Connell's raving for the repeal – such was the Irish House of Commons! Would anyone dare to do this in the in the Imperial Parliament? My friend Weld Hartstonge is author of a large portion of those books that ne'er were read but he is a worthy man, a great antiquarian, and my walking Encyclopaedia."

Note:
Sir Henry (Harry) Hartstonge (1725-1797) was an Irish Politician and landowner who sat in the Irish House of Commons for Limerick. He was listed as a Commissioner of the Corporation for promoting and carrying on the River Shannon Navigation in the Statues at Large passed in Ireland during the reign of George 3rd in the year 1787.

Just three months later Matthew Weld Hartstonge died, he was buried in the vaults beneath St. Anne's Anglican Church, Dawson Street, Dublin, vault 1, on the right hand side, under the South West Gallery. His coffin plate reads: Matthew Weld Hartstonge Esq Died 18 July 1834 aged 60 years.

In the same vault - 2 other coffins: Miss Jane Martha Weld Hartstonge Departed this life 21st June 1847 aged 70 years. (sister of Matthew) and Mrs Margaret Russell. Died 30th October 1847 aged 47 years.

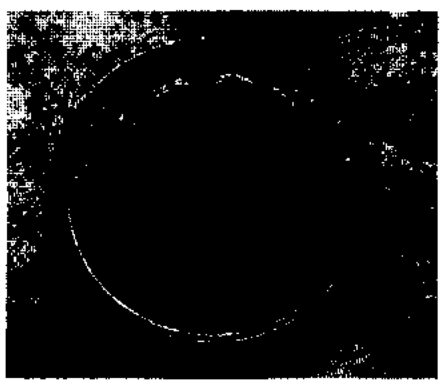
Outside St. Anne's Church at the South Wall, is the tomb which contain the remains of his mother and father with the following inscriptions:

Sacred to the memory, of Mrs Anne Weld Hartstonge, wife of Edmund Weld Hartstonge who with unequalled constancy and fond affection fulfilled the relations of daughter, wife, mother and friend.
Obit Die 14 Jani A.D. 1803 (1808) et Annos Aetatis 60.
"Farewell my children", Such her voice in death.
And while she blessed them, closed her latest breath!
Adieu, bless'd spirit, oh a long farewell!

On my lov'd memory ever will we dwell:
Our inmost thoughts reflect on worth like thine,
While tears sincere, bedew a parent's shrine.

"Within the same tomb below rest the honoured remains of Edmond Weld, Esq, late Edmond Weld Hartstonge, husband to Anne Weld Hartstonge, recorded in the adjoining tablet. No man was more respected in life or deplored than he was in death. Pious in all his ways, and honest in all his deeds, he closed a long and honourable life on the third day of September 1817 in his 76th year, lamented and beloved."

Front



Back

Medal found on the grounds of Lodge Mills showing
(a) Obverse side image of a bull with inscription at the bottom - Woodhouse (medalist company)
(b) Reverse side - with inscription on rim = Idrone Farming Society. Inscription in the centre =

To
Sam Crosthwaite Esq.
for
the best Sht. Horn Bull
exhibited Oct 16
1850

Matthew's brother Edmond Joseph Weld departed this life on the 15th August 1831 aged 45 years and is buried in Dublin, most likely St. Anne's. All official records of St. Anne's were destroyed in the Four Courts fire Dublin 1921.

Other Weld burials were in St. Paul's Church, North King Street, Dublin 1717 – 1730:-

Weld Joseph	13 January 1717
Weld Sarah	22 September 1722
Weld Hannah	13 July 1725
Weld Samuel	12 April 1725/6
Weld John	12 December 1728
Weld Thomas	23 March 1729

It appears that Lorenzo Weld occupied 15 Molesworth Street, Dublin after the death of Matthew in 1834, as he gives this address in the following licence grant: On December 9 1849 a Royal licence was granted to Lorenzo Weld of Molesworth Street, Dublin that the issue of his father may take the name of Hartstonge in addition to and after that of Weld may bear the arms of Hartstonge instead of those of Weld.

On January 7 1850 a Grant of arms to Lorenzo Weld of Molesworth Street in the city of Dublin on the assumption by the descendants and out of respect for his cousin, Elizabeth Weld Hartstonge of Merrion Square in the city of Dublin, the arms and name of Hartstonge.

Edmond Joseph brother of Matthew Weld Hartstonge died July 7 1807 aged 21/2 years and is buried in Dunleckney cemetery, Bagenalstown.

In 1750 Joseph Weld, of Dublin married Mary Jane Alexander from Gunsland, Co. Donegal, daughter of Nathaniel Alexander and Elizabeth McClintock. On the 8th September 1801 John Alexander son of John Alexander and Anne Portis married Christian Izod, daughter of Lorenzo Izod Nickson and Elizabeth Izod of Chapelizod, Co. Kilkenny, and sister of Mary Izod, who married Matthew Weld the Lodge, Bagenalstown.

Dr John Brinkley, Bishop of Cloyne married Esther Weld (aunt to Matthew Weld Hartstonge) and daughter of Matthew Weld and Elizabeth Kane, Dublin, on the 12th July 1792.

John and Esther had two sons, John and Matthew, and one daughter, Esther. Matthew Brinkley's daughter Esther Brinkley married John Alexander of Milford, Co. Carlow, on the 18th October 1848 and they lived in Milford, Co. Carlow.

Notes:
Joseph Weld Esq, J.P. of The Lodge, Bagensalstown, Co. Carlow and Matthew Richard Weld Esq, Knockseigh, Co. Kilkenny are listed as subscribers to Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross by W. Maziere Brady D.D. Volume 3, 1864.

It is also worth noting from the Griffiths Valuation,1852, the large number of houses in Regent Street, Long Range, Quay Street (Hotel Street), Barrow Lane, Singleton's Lane and Moneybeg that recorded "Representatives of Matthew and Richard Weld" as the Landlord.One of these houses in Regent Street was House 20, the home of Thomas Singleton, a prominent business man in the town. The house later became the Bank of Ireland. It is located at the junction of Singleton's Lane and Regent Street.

A writer to Rootsweb Ancestry writes: - "I've been given an old family brooch from my Aunt with what looks like human hair enclosed under glass. Engraved on the back are the words: - Matthew Richard Weld took his flight to the mansions of immortal life and bliss Aug.1st 1815 aged 22. He's only absent from us, not lost". It was in an old red velvet lined jewellery box and he had a photograph of his aunt wearing it. The information he received back was that the brooch was known as a "mourning brooch" and it was an item of mourning jewellery that was very popular from the late 1600's until around the start of the war years of World War I Perhaps as a soldier, he ended his life at the Battle of Waterloo 1815 or the Napoleonic wars of that time 1803 - 1815!

Arthur Matthew Weld Downing, Astronomer was born to Arthur Matthew Downing and Mary Weld in Bagenalstown on the 13th April 1850. He

The Lodge alias Eastwood House/ Rooms = 17 / Out Buildingss = 17

Year/s circa	Owner / Residence
1700 - 1763	Walter & Beauchamp Bagenal/Weld family
1763 - 1812	Michael Carter/Joseph & Matthew Weld
1812 -1859	William Chaigneau Colville Matthew & Mary Weld + Matthew Weld Hartstonge
1859 -1862	Robert Wybrants - John Barlow/ Mary Weld
1862 - 1878	Weld/ Captain Algernon Moreton
1878 - 1896	Captain Arthur Henley
1896 - 1902	Captain Arthur Henley / Arthur Newton Forbes-Gordon
1902 - 1903	Coloneel William Barton Wade
1903 - 1904	William Ernest Weld
1904 - 1919	Colonel George Frank Briggs
1919 -1943	Frank Stuart Brown
1943 - 1945	Brown & Crosthwaite
1945 -2002	Brown/Hans Jeffrey Theobald & Catherine (Reena) White
2002 -2014	Jim Brown/John Hart

The Lodge Mills House (The Mill House) / Rooms =13 / out-Buildings = 9

Year/s circa	Owner/Residence
1700s	Walter & Beauchamp Bagenal
1700s	Matthew & Richard Weld
1800s	Richard Weld + Matthew Weld Hartstonge
1850s	Samuel Crosthwaite/Reps of Matthew & Richard Weld
1901	Samuel Crosthwaite
1911	Brown & Crosthwaite/Samuel Crosthwaite

Lodge Mills

Year/s circa	Operator/owner
1700s	Walter & Beauchamp Bagenal
1700s -1763	Owen Murphy/Weld family
1763 - 1807	Michael Carter/Matthew & Richard Weld
1807 -1900	Samuel Crosthwaite?Matthew & Richard Weld
1900s	Brown & Crosthwaite

became an assistant at the Royal Greenwich Observatory in 1873, superintendent of HM Nautical Almanac Office from 1891 to 1910 and elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in June 1896. He collaborated with his U.S. counterpart Simon Newcomb in establishing an international standard for astronomical constants. He died in London on the 8th December, 1917.

Although I found no direct evidence, the indicators are that the Lodge (Eastwood House) was built by Walter or Beauchamp Bagenal or more likely Michael Carter / Joseph Weld.

The Weld Estate of Bagenalstown is described as follows in the Memorials of the Registry of Deeds in Dublin dealing with all transactions of sales and lease of same –"that parts of the land of Bagenalstown commonly called Lodge or Demesne of Bagenalstown with buildings and appurtenances of 71 acres 2 roods 24 perches Statue Measure bounded on the North by the stream and in part by the holding of Lodge Mills premises and holdings, on the South and West by the road leading from Bagenalstown to Royal Oak Bridge and on the East by the holding of the Purchasers situate and lying in the Barony of Idrone East."

In the Statutes at Large passed in Ireland in the reign of George 111 in the year 1787, the following names were among the long list of Commissioners of the Corporation for promoting and carrying on the Barrow Navigation: - Matthew Weld, Richard Weld, William Colville and Beauchamp Bagenal.

In Griffiths Valuation of 1852 when Mrs Mary Weld (widow) was recorded as the occupier of the Lodge, Mr. William Colville was recorded as Landowner. William Chaigneau Colville married Hester Lowry, daughter of James Lowry and through a marriage settlement dated 18th March 1812 acquired the Lodge Estate, Moneybeg. William Chaigneau Colville was the son of William Colville and Hannah Chaigneau, MP for Limavady, Co. Derry (founder and director of the Grand Canal Co. 1772 and who had an investment of £25,000 in the company). The Colvilles lived at Gracefields, Clontarf, Dublin. William the son, was born 1784, retired in 1844 and moved to Reading, England, where he died in 1864. He was a flour merchant with premises at 7 Bachelor's Walk and South Lotts, Dublin. He was a director of the Bank of Ireland and Governor 1832-34 and director of the Barrow Navigation Company.

In the early 1860s Thomas Paget, his second wife Anne Emily Handy along with their daughter Anne Jane and her husband Captain Algernon Moreton, moved from Knockglass, Co.Mayo to Dublin. They subsequently moved to The Lodge Moneybeg, Bagenalstown and it is from this time on, the name of the estate changed to Eastwood. The Dublin Evening Mail of the 28th October, 1863 reports "Captain the Hon. Algernon Moreton, of Bagenalstown, has been appointed to the Commission of Peace for the County of Carlow, and was on Wednesday sworn in by G.W. Bolton, Esq. of Coolbawn, in the Courthouse Bagenalstown."

Hans Jeffrey White who lived at Knockatrina House, Durrow, Co. Laois married on October 2nd Mary Catherine Brennan of Eden Hall, Ballyragget, Co. Kilkenny.

The following is an abstract from the *Carlow People* of the 1st March 2002:

"The death occurred on February 1 last at Aut Even Hospital, Kilkenny of

Catherine (Reena) White (nee Brennan), of Eastwood House, Bagenalstown. She was born in 1910 and was the eldest daughter of Richard the O' Brennan and Madam O' Brennan of Eden Hall, Ballyragget, Co. Kilkenny. The O' Brennans of Eden Hall and Nicholalstown were anciently styled the Princes of Idough.

She was educated at Mount Anville School Dublin and it was there that she developed her love for literature, poetry and music. She was an avid reader up to her death. In 1940 she married Hans Jeffrey White, of Knockatrina, Durrow Co. Laois. Initially they lived at Coolmoore House, Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny, and in 1945 moved to Eastwood House, where they established Eastwood Nurseries which became well known as a supplier of herbaceous plants. Mrs. White was a well- known and liked figured in Bagenalstown, cycling around on her bicycle for many years. She only learned to drive at the age of 80 on the death of her husband. She had a deep interest in people but most especially her own family. She loved the summer months sitting in the garden under the apple tree with her dog. Many happy days were spent here with family and friends. When there were no visitors she retired to her books, some of which she read over and over again. Her favourite authors were Dickens, Tennyson and the Bronnte sisters. She moved to St. Laserian's House, Bagenalstown in September 2001, but continued to visit her cat and dog in her home at least twice a week. Her ashes were buried in Nicholastown Church yard."

In the 1900s the Brown and Crosthwaite Company reroofed and put the old Rudkin Mill in to working order and use.

In Moneybeg in the 1700s this area was sub divided in to divisions that were commonly known as Lodge and Bagenalstown Demesne, Owen Murphy's Old Mill Quarter and the Widow Quinn's Quarter. In 2014 Eastwood House (the Lodge) is still inhabited with some farm yard buildings in good condition but most in ruins at the rear of the house. No trace of the Lodge Mill House now exists. The Lodge Mills has ceased work but one structure of the building still stands tall, with year of its construction 1824 still visible, inscribed on the arch-way over its entrance and the building continues to cast its shadow over the Grand Canal and River Barrow.

Packaged, pre-cooked flakes have left
A land of that old mill bereft
The ghosts that were so local coloured
Hiding behind bags of pollard
Have gone from those empty walls.
The weir still curves its waterfalls
But lets them drop in the tailrace
No longer wildly chivalrous.

And with this mention we withdraw
To things above the temporal law.

From *Requiem For A Mill*
By Patrick Kavanagh

Sources, acknowledgements, gratitude

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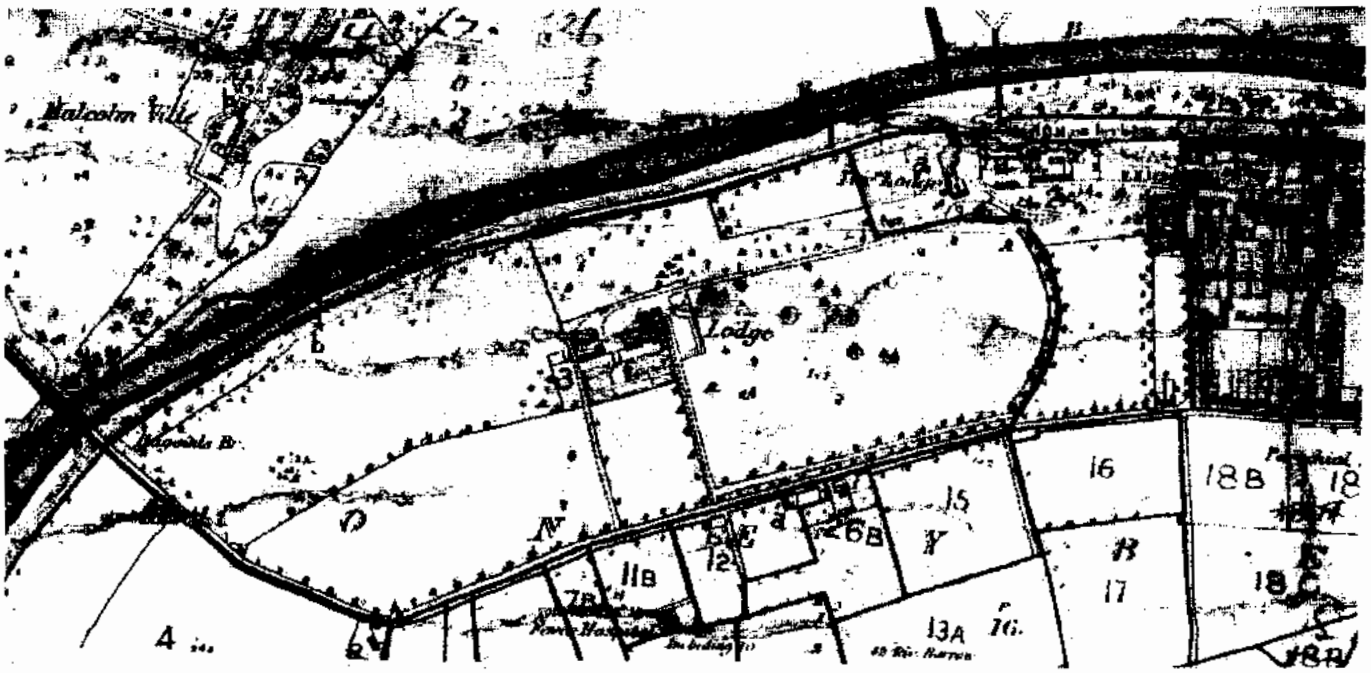


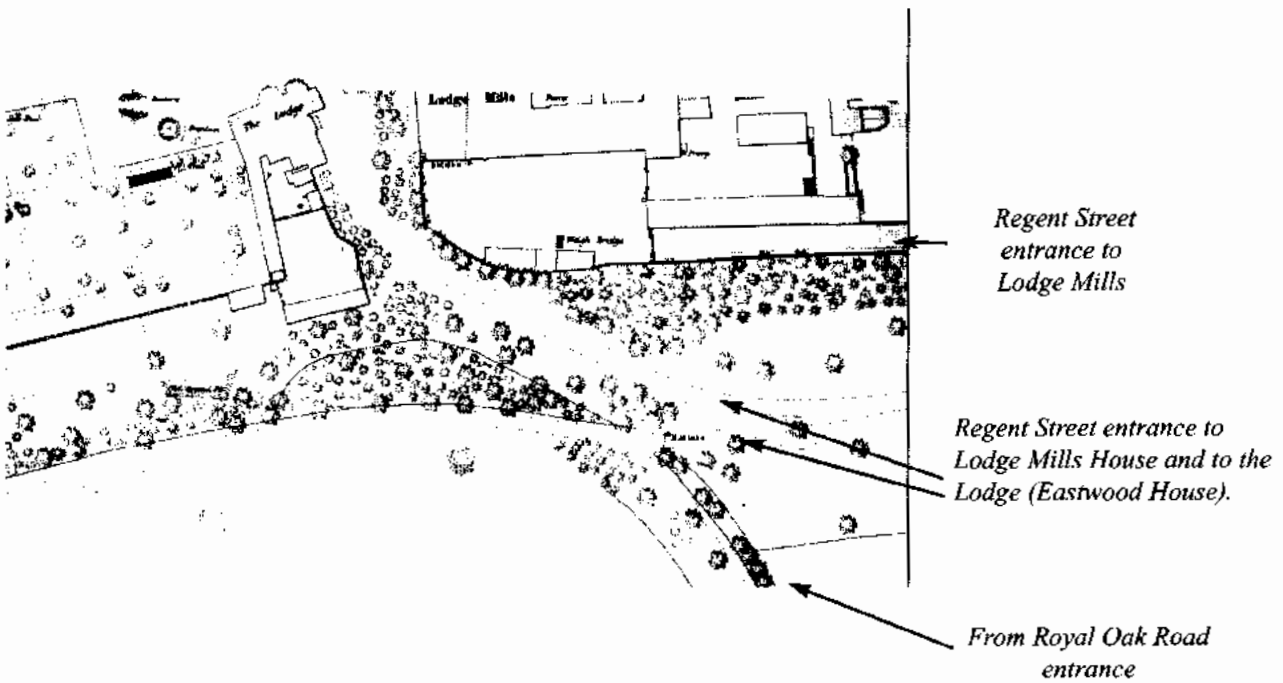
1 Map of 1837 showing (with Griffith Valuation Holdings in numbers marked):-

(a) Lodge (Eastwood) and out-buildings (3), Lodge Mills House (2 A a), Lodge Mills (2 A b).

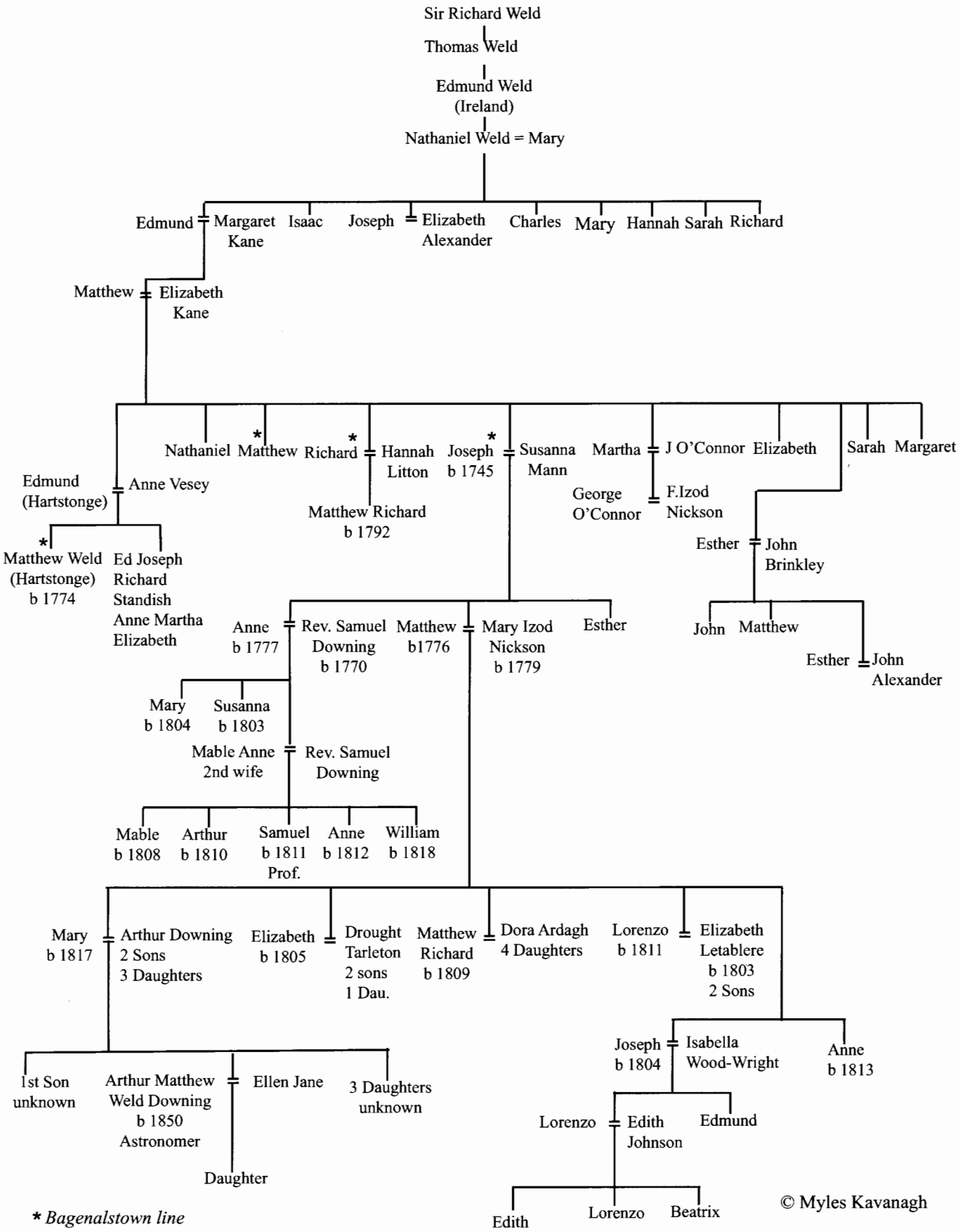
Note - Green parks in 3 and 2 A and tree lined avenue in 3.

(b) Two entrances from Royal Oak Road, onme to Lodge farm and out-buildings, second to Lodge and a branch connecting with entrance from Regent Street.

(c) Two entrances from what was called Main Street, (Regent Street), one to Lodge Mills and second to Lodge Mills house with a branch to Lodge (Eastwood).



A branch of the Weld family tree



RMS Leinster

Myles Kavanagh

The R.M.S. Leinster mail boat belonged to the City of Dublin Steam Packet Company, carried passengers and mail between Kingstown (Dun Laoghaire) and Holyhead Anglesey Wales. During World War 1 (1914 – 1918) the Irish Sea was the scene of much U-boat activity and the Germans had made several attempts to sink boats of the mail service. The mail boats were relatively fast vessels and relied on speed rather than convoy protection to carry them safe across the Irish Sea. The Leinster was attacked by the German submarine UB 123 on the 10th October 1918 about 11km out from Dun Laoghaire, off the Kish Bank. It was carrying over 700 passengers, and 491 of these were military personnel bound for England and the Continent. The ship was torpedoed twice, three minutes apart. The first torpedo struck the post office quarters, killing all but one of the post office staff. In total there were 256 people rescued, which included 152 soldiers, most survivors been taken to hospital in Kingstown (DunLaoghaire). Officially 162 people and 339 soldiers died in the sinking, making it both the greatest ever loss of life in the Irish Sea and the greatest ever casualty rate on an Irish owned ship. Funerals took place in many parts of Ireland. Some bodies were brought to Britain, Canada, and the United States for burial. One hundred and forty four military casualties were buried in Grangegorman Military Cemetery in Dublin.

Lieutenant Nathaniel James Fennel Hobson, was born in Drogheda, Co. Louth 1880 to Abraham Hobson (born in Toberpatrick, Kilpipe, Co. Wicklow) and Elizabeth Fennel (born in Co. Laois). He was married and had four sons and the youngest in October 1918 was 3 months old. During the war Nathaniel served with the 5th Battalion King's Liverpool Regiment in France and was on leave, visiting his parents in Northumberland Avenue, Kingstown, Dublin in October 1918. On October 10th, he was on board the R.M.S Leinster returning to France via Holyhead and travelling with him was his 35 year old sister Elizabeth ("Lily", also born in Drogheda) and Richard, his 10 year old son returning to England. All three died in the sinking of the R.M.S. Leinster. They are remembered in Dunleckney Cemetery, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow. The inscription on the Headstone reads as follows:

In loving memory of Abraham Hobson, Kingstown, Co. Dublin, aged 84 years and of his wife Elizabeth Hobson aged 80 years who departed this life April 9th 1921 and July 4th, respectively, also of Lieutenant N.J. Hobson, Elizabeth M. Hobson and Richard H. Hobson, son, daughter and grandson who were lost on the R.M.S Leinster October 10th 1918. God shall wipe away all tears, - Greater love hath no man.

A Memorial to Nathaniel James Fennel Hobson is located in the War Graves and Memorial Cemetery in Hollybrook, Southampton, England and his name is also included in the list in the Carlow Great War Memorial in the Garden of Remembrance, Milford Street, Leighlinbridge, Co. Carlow.

After torpedoing the R.M.S. Leinster the submarine UB 123 was returning to Zeebrugge on the 19th October 1918 and apparently struck a mine barrage that stretched from Scotland to Norway sinking all hands; 36 crew members lost. The bodies of Oberleutant zur See Robert Ramm and his crew of thirty five men were never recovered.

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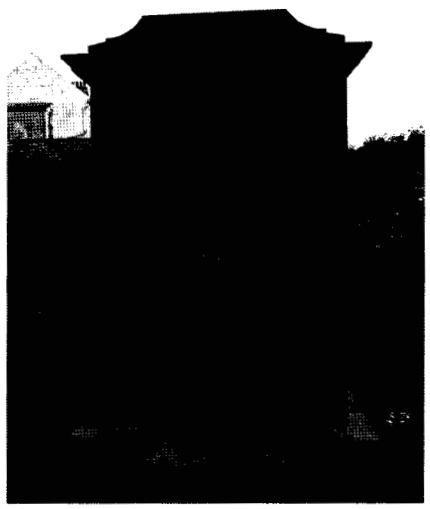
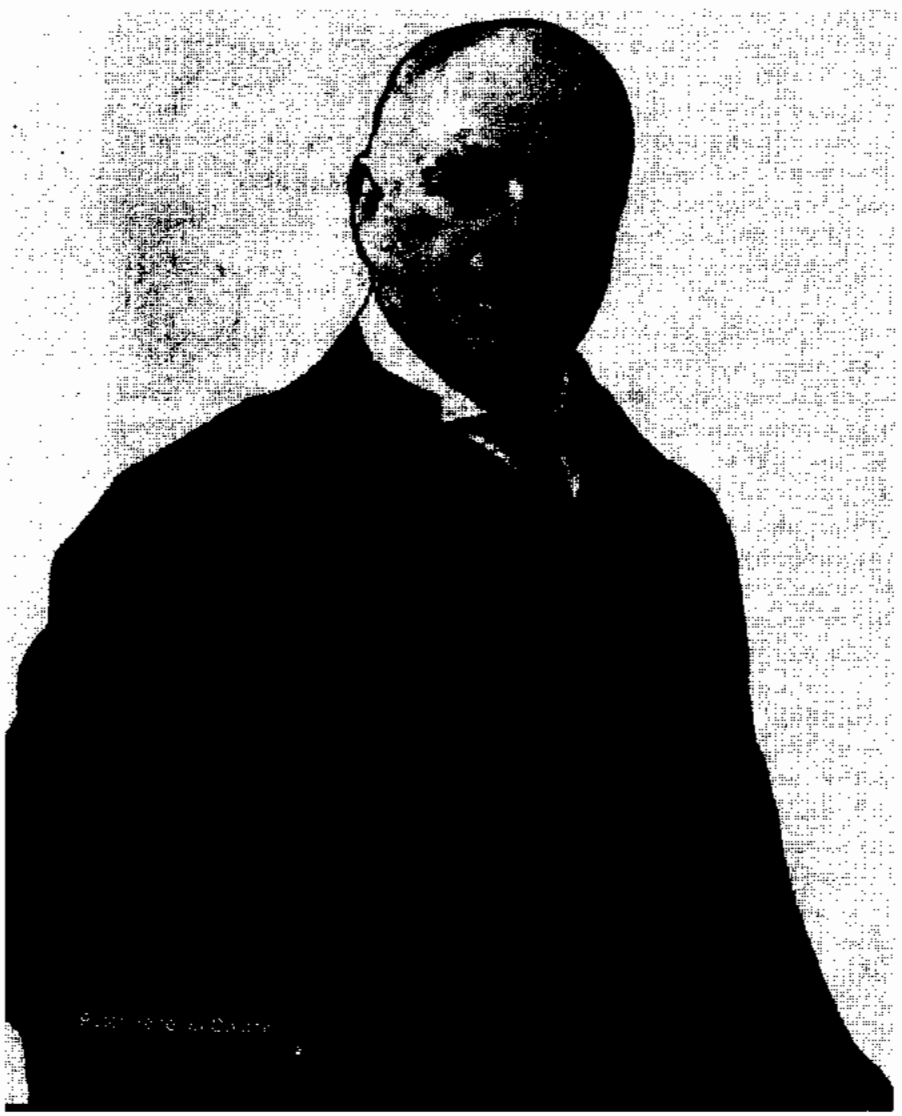


WWI Monument in the Garden of Remembrance, Leighlinbridge

Memorial in the Garden of Remembrance in Leighlinbridge, Co. Carlow.

Setting a headline for success

The story of a Carlow emigrant who, having arrived in America penniless, went on to found a publishing empire based around *Collier* magazine, which at the height of its success had a circulation of 4m, writes Gerry Breen.



Peter Fenelon Collier was born on 12th December, 1849, in Myshall Co. Carlow, at the foot of the Blackstairs Mountains, when the shadow of the famine was still over Ireland. Like many a young irishman before him, he was forced to emigrate to seek a better life in America.

He arrived in the United States penniless at the age of 17 and, beginning with a borrowed $35 he eventually became one of the most influential publishers in America and a pioneer of the subscription-book industry. Before he died a hundred years ago, on 24th April, 1909, Peter Collier built up a publishing empire which was estimated to be worth $12,000,000.

He started working as a salesman for a publishing company and, to boost sales, he came up with a subscription plan under which readers would be enabled to buy their books by installments. This led to a disagreement with the company, so he left to start his own subscription service.

Peter Collier set up his own company, P. F. Collier and son in 1875, and he built it into the largest subscription publishers in America with sales of 30 million books during the decade from 1900-1910.

To help in promoting his books, Peter Collier published his own family magazine called *Collier 's Once a Week,* beginning in 1888. It was advertised as a magazine of 'fiction, fact, sensation, wit, humour, and news'. He changed the name of the magazine a number of times, finally settling on *Collier 's the National Weekly* in 1905. He also changed its focus from news events to commentaries, articles and fiction with a strong emphasis on photojournalism.

UNDER PETER COLLIER'S guidance, the magazine became one the most influential publications in America. Its circulation rose from 250,000 in the 1890s to around 4,000,000 at the heigh of its success in the early 1950s. At one

THE COLLIER PUBLISHING EMPIRE

time it rivalled the popularity of the *Saturday Evening Post.*

Collier's was one of the pioneers of investigative journalism and it earned a well-deserved reputation as an advocate of social reform.

A number of companies whose practices came under scrutiny in the magazine tried to silence *Collier's* by threatening to sue, but Peter Collier refused to be cowed by these threats. As a result of the magazine's courage in standing up to big business, other publications became involved in what President Theodore Roosevelt described as 'muckraking journalism?

NORMAN HAPGOOD was one of the outstanding editors of the magazine. Immedi-ately after taking up his appointment in 1903, he set about attracting many of the leading writers of the day as contrib¬utors. Beginning in October 1905, the magazine grabbed national attention with an 11-part series entitled *The Great American Fraud* The investigative journalist, Samuel Hopkins Adams set out to turn the spotlight on the contents of pop¬ular patent medicines.

The Great American Fraud had a dramatic and very powerful impact on readers.

Not only that, but they led to the first Pure Food and Drug Act (1906) in the United States. The entire series was reprinted by the American Medical Association in a book entitled *The Great American Fraud,* which sold half a million copies.

The magazine also investigated many other areas of American life and a number of these investigations resulted in reform of child labour laws, in changes in relation to slum clearance and in advancing the cause of women's suffrage. Fraudulent business practices, monopolies and corruption in politics were placed under the microscope by a team of top investigative journalists.

An article written by the author Upton Sinclair in April 1905, under the title *Is Chicago Meat Clean?* caused a furore and was instrumental in persuading the U.S. Senate to pass the 1906 Meat Inspection Act.

IN MAY 1906, Hapgood commissioned Jack London to cover the San Francisco earthquake and London's detailed report was accompanied by 16 pages of pictures.

Norman Hapgood had a very strong influence on the success of the magazine during his time as editor, and he succeeded in doubling the circulation of *Collier's* from half a million to a million copies. In 1912, he moved on to take up an appointment with *Harpur's Weekly* and he was replaced as editor by Robert J. Collier, the son of the founder.

Some of the best writers in the world contributed to *Collier's.* Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Return of Sherlock Holmes* stories were first serialised in the magazine in 1903-04. The work of Henry James and H. G. Wells also appeared in *Collier's.* Other prominent contributors included H. Rider Haggard, Rudyard Kipling, 0. Henry, Frank Norris, Edith Wharton, Arnold Bennett, F.G. Wodehouse and Edgar Wallace.

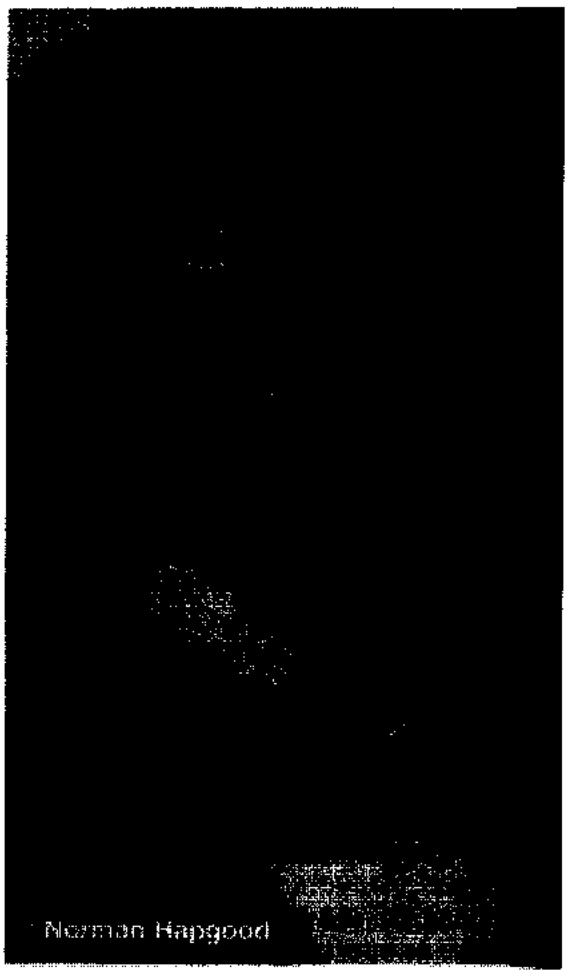
‘ As result of the magazine’s courage in standing up big business, other publications became involved in what President Theodore Roosevelt described as ‘muckraking journalism ’

THE COLLIER PUBLISHING EMPIRE

ERNEST HEMINGWAY reported on the Spanish Civil War, and Winston Churchill wrote an account of the First World War.

There were stories by Sinclair Lewis, Ring Lardner, Cornelius Ryan and Kurt Vonnegut, as well as by the great Western storyteller, Zane Grey. There was also a column by the famed sportswriter Grantland Rice.

Sax Rohmer's *The Mask of Fu Manchu,* which was made into a 1932 film, was first published as a twelve-part serial in *Collier's.* In fact, the first three Fu Manchu novels by Rohmer were compilations of 29 short stories he wrote for the magazine.



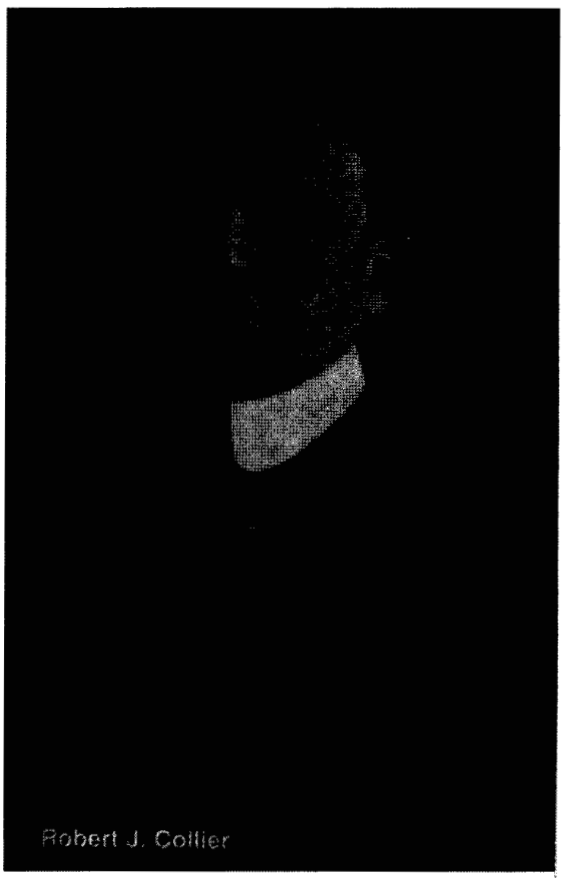
In the issue of 14th October, 1944, *Collier's* published one of the fir articles about concentration camp This was *Polish Death Camp* which was an excerpt from the book *Story of a Secret State* written by Jan Karski. The article was publishes more than a month before the book was due to be published, and no doubt it helped *Story of a Secre State* to become a best-seller anc Book of the Month Club choice.

Collier's great rival was *The Saturday Evening Post* and the battle for readers led to the creation of *The Collier Hour*, a radio programme broadcast on the NBC Network from 1927 to 1932. Stories and features from the magazine were adapted for the programme which also offered music, news, sports and comedy.

Collier's was famous for its cartoons and was amongst the first publications to display their cartoons in full colour. During the 1940s, the cartoon editor for *Collier's* paid $40 to $150 for each cartoon published, and the cartoons were selected from a mountain of submissions numbering thousands each week. The magazine became noted for presenting some of the best cartoons in the history

‘ During the 1940s the cartoon editor for Collier’s paid $40 to $150 for each cartoon published, and the cartoons were selected from a mountain of submissions numbering thousands each week ’

THE COLLIER PUBLISHING EMPIRE



Robert J. Collier

of publishing.

In March 1952, the magazine published a series of articles by a team of twenty-three contributors, led by the German-American rocket scientist, Wernher von Braun. The contributors were all experts in science and in space-related subjects, and they set out for the readers of the magazine their vision of the tremendous opportunities and possibilities that would open out as a result of space exploration. It was a dramatic and exciting presentation of the benefits the conquest of space would bring to the occupants of planet earth.

AFTER THE Second World War, the magazine began to decline. The circulation was still strong, but the impact of television made inroads into its advertising revenue, and it became increasingly difficult to cover the costs associated with publishing a high-quality magazine. The magazine switched from a weekly to a fortnightly publication in 1953, but it was unable to survive beyond 1957.

A comprehensive history and collection of material from the magazine appeared three years later in the 558-page publication *A Cavalcade of Collier's,* edited by Kenneth McArdle (Barnes, 1959).

THE FOUNDER of *Collier's,* Peter Fenelon Collier, was, of course, well known in literary and social circles in America and he dropped dead of apoplexy in the Riding Club, 7 East Fifty-eighth Street, New York, on the morning of Saturday, 24th April, 1909. He had been attending the annual horse show of the club.

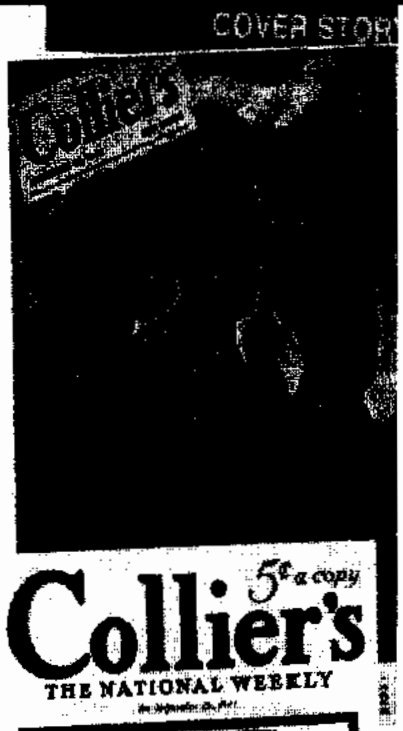
His son, Robert Collier, died in 1918, leaving the magazine in his will to three of his friends - Samuel Dunn, Harry Payne Whitney and Francis Patrick Garvan. The magazine was sold in 1919 to the Crowell Publishing Company, which was renamed in 1939 as Crowell-Collier Publishing Company.

Some interesting side-lights on the Col¬lier family surfaced in the RTE television family history series *Who do you think you are?*

The Irish comedian and actor Ardal O'Hanlon, well-known for his role in the comedy series *Father Ted*, was one of the celebrities featured in the RTE series. It appears that as a child, Ardal has heard it said that the Collier family were related to him. His grandmother Daisy Fenelon was actually born in Myshall, from where the Collier family emigrated to America. Through his researches for *Who do you think you are*? he discovered that there was a strong family connection with Peter Fenelon Collier, who founded the publishing empire in America.

AFTER THE DEATH of F. Collier, his son. Robert J. Collier, inherited the family fortune. Robert numbered among his friends the Wright brothers, Mark Twain and Teddy Roosevelt. He married Sarah Van Alen, who was a grand-daughter of the very wealthy Astor family. However, Robert died young from a heart attack after returning from the trenches

THE COLLIER PUBLISHING EMPIRE



of World War 1.

Robert left everything to three friends, but it turned out that all his money had been spent to support his extravagant lifestyle. His friends refused to accept the company and Robert's widow, Sarah, sold it off.

As Ardal O'Hanlon discovered, no doubt to his surprise and disappointment, the Collier millions in America had completely disappeared within a generation.

‘ The impact of television made inroads into its advertising revenue and it became increasingly difficult to cover the costs associated with publishing a high quality magazine ’

This article 'Setting a headline for success' is reproduced here with the permission of the editor of *Ireland's Own* and the author, Gerry Breen.

The article is taken from the 5,452 edition of the magazine dated, July 4, 2014.

An Interpretation of Placenames in County Carlow

Séamus Murphy & Séamus Ó Murchú (Seamus Murphy Jnr.)

A study of townland and local names gives one an outline of the history and geography of an area. The study of townland names is a fascinating one and as we have almost 570 of these in the county an examination of their names conveys a sense of the history and geography of the county.

Since the earliest times, people have given names to areas for the purpose of identifying particular places. This necessity for naming has continued to the present day where it is most exemplified in naming housing estates and individual houses. The precedent for this article is the arrival of postcodes in Spring 2015. There is a considerable danger that many local and townland names will go out of use and with them their meaning. In time the seven digit postcode for individual houses may come to replace the need to know placenames and townlands. Combined with this are the remnants of Ireland's building boom which saw large areas of agricultural land swallowed by development and led to the renaming of fields and natural features many of which will be lost with folk memory.

Due to of the ancient origin of some placenames and changes in language and ownership over time, the names given to a particular place can be changed and altered. In some cases a townland has been merged into a neighbouring one and thus has ceased to exist. The meanings of many townland names are clouded by age, spelling and the change from one language to another. Corruptions and renaming have also occurred over the centuries while in some cases different names could be used concurrently. What is remarkable however is that despite these many factors, the history of an area has survived in local memory simply by use of individual words. In other areas, important topographical features are noted and recorded. These act as prompts to us today which can open a world of research or help with planning decisions. Social memory and folklore is also attached to many of these names. With the decline in use of these names we lose an important connection to the past and the human story which place names preserve.

Apart from local memory, we have five major sources of information on townland names for County Carlow. They are *Joyce's Irish names of Places* (1910), O'Toole's *Placenames of County Carlow* (1937), the first edition Ordnance Survey letters and maps (1839; published 2013 and also available online) combined with the Townland Index Map of County Carlow and the Map of the Down Survey. The website logainm.ie is an excellent resource for modern researchers detailing the earliest recorded origins and timings of placename corruption.

Information on names can also be obtained from the many historical publications which deal in whole or in part with the county many of which have been recorded for posterity in this journal.

Dividing and Naming the County

County Carlow, Ireland's second smallest county covers an area of approximately 346 square miles (896km^2). The largest subdivision are baronies of which Carlow has seven; Carlow, Forth, Idrone East, Idrone West, Rathvilly, Saint Mullin's Upper & Saint Mullin's Lower. These baronies are divided into almost 600 townlands, the smallest unit of land division, which were formalised during the first edition Ordnance Survey mapping in the 1830's however most of these townlands existed prior to this. Their size and shape varies from the smallest townlands such as Tomard which cover small field enclosures to the huge areas covering the marginal land of the Blackstairs such as Raheendarragh. There are 47 Civil Parishes which stem from the pre-Reformation parishes while there are 14 Catholic parishes today.

Townland and local placenames are of course rooted in language and often we can track changes in land ownership between individuals and population groups. There are three languages used in the townland names of county Carlow namely Irish, Anglo Saxon and Anglo-Norman or English names. Approximately 75% of the names in Carlow are Irish and 20% are English while the remaining 5% are a combina-

tion of both languages for example Ballywilliamroe ("the town of red William", roe or rua being an Irish word and William an English name). With a wide mixture of languages, difficulties can often arise in placename interpretation however there are a number of key prefixes and stems which can assist us along the way.

General Placename Indicators

The use and presence of certain key words in a placename act as indicators of the type of countryside which a particular townland occupies. Often these will refer to either the topography or particular land use. Similarly, the use of personal names gives us information of the names of the main land holders in an area.

When the words "Knock", "Slieve" or "Glen" are used we can generally assume this is hilly or mountainous country. Examples include Knockroe ("the red hill"), Knockarda ("the high hill) and Slievedurda ("Durda's Mountain"). However in Carlow, the only use of the word "Glen" refers to a townland, Glenoge which is a comparatively flat area on the banks of the River Burrin near Rathoe.

The presence of "Rath", "Bally", "Lis/ Lios" and "Clon" are indicators of habitation and land that is suitable for cultivation. "Rath", ""Lis" and "Bally" are the most usual type of prefix to be found in this county. Their spread tells us that while the population of the county would not have been large, almost all parts of the county were inhabited. One thing that must be remembered is that "Bally" or "Baile" in its original meaning did not mean "town" as is the modern meaning but an area or district. One of the surprising aspects of these prefixes is the number of them that are in what is now considered marginal land. We have to remember however that when many of the names originated livestock was the principal type of farming practiced in the country. Marginal land would have offered cattle farmers summer grazing grounds allowing the better quality grass to be preserved for the winter. We could mention here Raheenleigh - "the little grey fort", Raheendarragh - "the little fort of the oak", Rathanna - "Hanna's fort" and Raheenkyle - "the little fort of the wood". All these places are in the neighbourhood of Mount Leinster, and they are an indication of the area being inhabited. Further indicators of settlement and land use on the marginal land of these townlands are found in the archaeological record, from prehistory to the later medieval period, including relict field systems, cultivation ridges, clearance cairns rock art, hut sites and standing stones.

Many of these "raths" and "bally's" end with personal names. These can often be used to identify particular land owners or family names attached with the area. Rathdaniel ("Daniel's fort"), Rathwade ("Wade's fort"), Rathvinden ("Binden's fort"), Raheendoran ("Doran's little fort") and Rathanna ("Hanna's Fort") are examples of personal names combined with "Rath" but it is with "Bally" that this aspect of names is really prominent. As already mentioned the name Ballymurphy ("Murphy's district") appears twice in the county. We also have Ballyhackett ("Hackett's district"), Ballykealy ("Kealy's district"), Ballykeenan ("Keenan's district"), Ballygarrett ("Garrett's district"), Ballycook ("Cook's district"), Ballyredmond ("Redmond's district"), Ballyblake ("Blake's district"), Ballycrinnigan ("O'Crinnigan's district") and Ballyryan (O'Ryan's district). The surprising aspects of these names are the combination of Irish and Anglo-Norman for example Hackett, Garrett, Redmond, and Cook are Anglo-Norman names while Ryan, Murphy and Kealy are Irish names.

Some of these prefixes indicate particular land use practices such as cultivation. One example is that of Rathnapish ("the rath of the peas") which occupies the large area northeast of Carlow Town. This suggests that tillage was an important aspect of the agriculture of this area since the medieval period. An interesting discovery in this area was what could have been an early medieval settlement on the site of what is now the Presentation College (see *Early Ecclesiastical Activity below*). Tillage is still a very important aspect of the agriculture in this area although the amount of land on which it can be practiced is being swallowed up by industrial and housing developments. Onion growing was once extensively carried out in this townland. Indeed Carlovians derive their name the "Scallion aters" from onion growing which was extensively practiced in parts of the county to supply exports going out from Dublin. Other indicators of cultivation elsewhere in the county are Ballyleen ("the area of the flax) near Ballon. In this general area we also have Garreenleen ("the garden or plot of the flax") indicating that flax cultivation was an important part of the economy here.

"Lough", "Moin", "Curragh" and "Seskin" tell us that water was common in the area. "Lough" refers to a lake, "Moin" translates as a bogland, "Curragh" as marsh and "Seskin" means a swamp or bogland. There are only two townlands in Carlow which contain the name "Lough", and it only appears as the subsidary parts of these two placenames. They are Ballyloughan ("town of the small lough") southeast of Bagnelstown and Catherlough. The latter, in the opinion of the authors, is the proper spelling of the town and county name, as it was not until the last century that the spelling Ceatharlach came into use. This has given rise to the misinterpretation of the county name as "the four lakes" when in fact it should be translated as "the fort on the lake" in reference to Carlow castle which is situated in an area naturally flooded by the Rivers Barrow and Burren and known locally as the "Moneen" (see below). Indeed it is also spelt Catherlough in the Ordnance Survey Letters of 1839, and interpreted as the fort on the lake long before the four lakes interpretation. The absence of four lakes in Carlow adds to this argument and serves as a useful example of how the corruption of townland names can obscure the original meaning. The absence of "Lough" as a major part of any name in the county is an indication that this tends to be a "dry" county and indeed there are no major areas of standing water. There are only about 20 townland names which have an association with water or wet soil, which is quite a small number, however this does not mean that these areas have constantly wet conditions. Three of these places occur in the Burren valley near Carlow. They are Moanacurragh ("bog of the moor"), Moanalow ("bog of the lough") and Moanamanagh ("the bog of the monks"). While not a townland "the Moneen" in Carlow town or the "little bog or swamp" refers to the

part of the town which stretched between the Burrin and the Barrow across what is now the Coal Market section of Kennedy Avenue to Ballymanus Terrace and the low end of Hay Market. This area was part of the seasonal flooding grounds of the rivers Barrow and Burren, and up until the development of the recent flood defences in the town the houses in this area were continuously under threat. Indeed it was this flood which partly helped to protect the 600 people who took refuge in Carlow Castle during the Catholic Confederation siege from St. Stephens Day 1641 until Easter 1642 (Nolan 2008, 369). Other townlands with water references include Seskin, Seskin Lower, Seskin Upper ("swamp") and Seskinrea ("grey swamp or swamp of the fort") near Old Leighlin, Seskinnamadra ("marsh or swamp of the dogs or foxes") northwest of the Blackstairs and Seskinryan ("Ryan's Swamp") east of Bagnelstown.

"Cashel", "Caher" and "Dun" are further indicators of settlement but which suggest a fortified nature. Whereas a rath refers to a ringfort settlement enclosed by an earthen bank and ditch, a cashel has a stone wall enclosing the ringfort settlement. These sites are more numerous in stony areas such as the Burren in County Clare although we have fifteen examples in Carlow such as at Killoughternane and Craanagh. Like the previous prefixes, many of these will refer to personal names or the topography of the land. The only use of "Cashel" in Carlow however is in the townland of Cashel northeast of Borris. Here there is another example of a cashel ringfort after which the townland most likely derives its name. There are two townlands which use the prefix "Dun" and they are Dunroe ("red fort"), which neighbours the townland of Cashel, and Dunleckny ("fort of the hill-side") northeast of Bagnelstown. While there are no ringforts recorded in either of these two townlands, there may have been one or a number of which have since been plough levelled by later agricultural activity. Medieval documents refer to a now deserted settlement in Dunleckny which gives us direct evidence for settlement here. The area was granted borough status before 1207 but was abandoned by the fourteenth century (Bradley and King 1989, 20). There are no townland names in Carlow which refer to a caher, another name for a fort.

"Kil" and "Abbey" show that these were religious sites, but here one must be careful because "Kil" is sometimes used to denote a wood. We have 39 "Kil's" in the county. While some of these might refer to woods it can be taken that most of them are religious sites of the early medieval period, especially those whose name coincides with the Civil Parish name. There is an almost total absence of "Kil" south of Borris and in the two cases where they do occur the word, according to O'Toole, refers to a wood rather than a church (1937, 3). This however does not mean that there were no early ecclesiastical sites south of this line in Carlow and the best example of this is Saint Mullins. Two examples of "Kil" south of Borris are Kilcoltrim ("wood of the holme of the elder tree" a holme being an islet in a river and often flooded) and Kilmissan ("Missan's Wood"). One "Kil" in this area which gives its name to a civil parish and a townland and where there is the site of an ancient church is Kiltennel (Cill t-Sincheall) ("St. Sinchell's church") east of Borris. Saint Sinchell is most often associated with County Wexford. The remains of an ecclesiastical enclosure are still in the area today along with a font, holy well, graveyard and post-medieval ruined stone church. The earliest reference to the site is in 1302 in the Papal Taxation records during the reign of Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303). Other townlands in this category are Kildreenagh (Cill Draighneach) ("the church of the blackthorn"), Kilbride (Cill Brighde) ("St. Bridget's church"), Kilnock (Cill Cnuic) ("the church of the hill") and Killoughternane (Cill Fortchern) ("St. Fortchern's church"). In Carlow we do not have any name containing "Abbey". From this absence it can be said that the Regular Orders did not have any major impact on the county's history establishing only minor sites although the first Carmelite foundation in Ireland was sited near Leighlinbridge in 1271.

Where "Boher", "Ballagh", "vally" or "Sli/ Sly" are shown, one can know that these places were the site of a road or pass. An example of the use of "vally" is seen in the townland of Ballinvally ("town of the way or pass") between Myshall and Kildavin in the Civil Parish of Barragh. Interestingly the topography of this area forms an east-west lying valley between the northern foothills of the Blackstairs Mountains and Knockbarragh Hill. There are two further Ballinvally's in Carlow, one east of Borris in the Civil Parish of Kiltennel and the other southwest of Ballon village in the Civil Parish of Ballon. These serve as an excellent example of the care needed in identifying the particular townland you are referring to when discussing one with multiples of the same name in the county. The final use of "vally" is seen in the townland of Moyvally ("the plain or field of the road") southeast of Rathanna. The "Ballagh" prefix is used in three cases in Carlow Ballaghaclay ("the road of the hurdle"), Ballaghaderneen ("Dorneen's road or pass") and Ballaghmore ("the great road or pass"). Interestingly the Irish name for Ballaghaclay is Bealach an tSléibhe ("the mountain road"). This is an appropriate name for this townland given its location west of Clonmore at the foothills of the Wicklow Mountains. Sliguff ("the black way or pass") is the only use of "Sli" in Carlow. The use of "Boher" is seen only in Bohermore ("the great road") and Boherduff ("black road").

While these above examples refer to Irish names most of which probably predate the arrival of the Anglo-Normans, we do have some possible influences from England also from the early medieval period. Joyce in Volume I of *Irish Names and Places* states that "law" is an Anglo-Saxon word meaning "hill" (1910, 391). We have two places with this ending. One is Bealalaw near Myshall and the other is Coolalaw near Clonmore. The meaning of Bealalaw would literally be "the mouth of the hill". This is an accurate description of the topography of this area as the townland is a valley leading towards Mount Leinster while Coolalaw could be described as "the back of the hill". Again this is an appropriate description of this townland given its placement at the northern or back side of a hill on whose southern side is direct evidence for early medieval settlement in the form of two ringforts in the townland of Ballyshane ("John's town") and the ecclesiastical settlement of Killalongford ("church of the longford or fortress") which was founded in AD550 by Croine

Beg (McDonald Carloviana 1981, 13). This is a useful example of how we should not look at townlands and their names in isolation but as part of a wider landscape of human activity.

Combining multiple placenames in a concentrated area can often reveal some interesting results. Rathvilly itself means the "rath of the large tree". Large or special trees may have been venerated in the past or could have acted as a distant marker as to the location of a settlement or ceremonial centre. Gatherings such as the inauguration of kings may also have been carried out at these sites. Two townlands in this area include the personal name "Eva" – Knockevagh ("the hill of Eva") and Lisnevagh ("the fort of Eva"). Eva was a first name often associated with Uí Cinseallaigh clan and it is in this place that the Uí Cinseallaigh traditionally originated. Another townland in this area which could have an Uí Cinseallaigh connection is Kilmacart - "the church of Art's son" as Art also appears to have been a name used by Uí Cinseallaigh.

In general what the names of townlands indicate is that the county is by and large a flat, well inhabited, fertile area full of movement which has been owned by a succession of peoples who have given their names to various parts of the county

Changes in Placenames

The arrival of the Normans saw many physical changes in the county with the establishments of towns, the erection of new constructions such as motte-and-bailey and stone castles, and the reordering of the landscape. With their growth in power came many changes in placenames, either to describe the changed landscape, or to leave their mark and lay claim to the land.

An early example of this in the townland of Castlegrace between Tullow and Ballon where the descendants of Raymond Fitzgerald (nicknamed Raymond le Gros), one of the key figures in the early Norman Conquest, built a substantial motte-and-bailey castle (Lewis 1837, 655). The "Castle" prefix derives from the motte-and-bailey castle while "grace" is likely a later corruption of Gros (Roach 1970, 180). According to the *Knights Fees of Counties Carlow, Kilkenny & Wexford*, this area had been previously known as Tollathynerth with the earliest reference to the site in 1247 AD (Brooks 1950, 74). He also tells us that David Boscher, who was recorded in 1212, gave his name to Villa David Boscher. This place is now Busherstown (*ibid.* 110). Ballybrommell in Fenagh probably took its name from Robert Bremyll who held lands in the Barony of Forth and this name replaces the older name of Ballyscandil (*ibid.* 90). Brook's was also of the opinion that Ballygolan mentioned in connection with Nicholas de Carew's holdings is the modern Gowlin (*ibid.* 62). Similarly the Calender of Ormonde Deeds I states that "William le Gras son of Edmund le Gras grants to Edmund Butler of Ireland, and his heirs C. G. [Castlegrace] which is called Tollathynerth in Offothirith [(Barony of Forth)]". This was carried out sometime between 1299-1305 (Curtis 1932, 138). One very noticeable aspect of the Anglo-Norman names is the way in which they are so concentrated in the north of the county. Here we have Hacketstown, Haroldstown, Williamstown, Walterstown, Ricketstown, Garrettstown, Philipstown, Maplestown and Russellstown spread from east to west across the county. This follows much the same pattern as the use of "Kil" in placenames with a northern focus. While Irish names are interspersed with Anglo-Norman names here, in all other sections of the county Irish type names predominate. It demonstrates how earlier names were replaced by the Norman and later landwoners. One suprising abscence in the Anglo-Norman name however is the name of de Vale or Wall. This family had extensive possession in the county and the only place that the name might be shown is in Ballyveal.

It is not just in townland names however that we can learn of the history and topography of the county. Local names are an even better and more detailed source of information. For example Tommy Clarke published an article on field names mainly around South County Carlow in the 1986/87 edition of *Carloviana*. These provide us with an incredible description of this part of county Carlow noting past trees, rivers, bogs, settlements, roadways and agricultural activity. While townland names will survive in the records even if they are replaced by postcodes due to their administrative importance, we are in danger of losing local or field names as these are most often preserved only in the oral tradition of the area. For this reason it is imperative that we record these names and map their locations before they are lost. The following is a case study of the local names in the vicinity of the authors' Catholic Parish of Askea.

Case Study: The Parish of Askea
The Modern Parish Area

The Parish of Askea is the most recently established in the Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin. It consists of areas which were formerly in the Parishes of Carlow, Tinryland and Bennekerry. A shortage in the availability of priests in recent years has seen the administrative amalgamation of the parishes of Askea, Bennekerry and Tinryland again.

Askea Parish is situated mainly east of the CIE railway line and while most of it was in the Carlow Town Council area (abolished 2014), a considerable portion was in the County Council area. The parish consists of two full townlands; Pollerton Big and Pollerton Little and portions of the townlands of Carlow, Rathnapish, Kernanstown, Chapelstown and Ballyvergal. Pollerton Little and Kernanstown are the least densely populated areas. As the portion of Rathnapish included in the parish stretches from the railway to the "stream of water" it includes Highfield and all the estates between the Green Lane and the northern side of the Pollerton Road. Pollerton Big is densely settled with individual houses and housing estates on the Hacketstown Road and on the Palatine Road as far as the Cois na Coille and Pollerton Manor housing estates.

Until the 1930's the Parish area was almost completely rural. The building of St. Killian's crescent in the early 1930's could be said to have signalled the expansion of Carlow town to the east which created the need for a new church in 1973 and a new parish in 1990. A site for this church was obtained between the Brownshill Road and the Hacketstown Road. Prior to 1930, the railway with the exception of some 40 and 50 houses on the Staplestown and Pollerton Roads respectively, could have defined the eastern

limit of Carlow Town. The rest of the parish area was devoted entirely to agriculture. Farmsteads existed on Pollerton Road where McGamhna Road and St. Patrick's Avenue are now built. Another farmhouse stood where Roncalli place is now off Green Lane and there were a number of holdings on Staplestown Road, the Tullow Road and the road to Brownshill. Because of this rural aspect there was scarcely 200 houses in this area including the rows of houses on Pollerton Road and Staplestown Road.

Each decade has seen the gradual change from agricultural land to housing developments and the expansion of the town which has occurred. In the 40's St. Mary's Park was established followed in the 50's and 60's with the various estates built off Green Lane. In the 70's the developments switched to the Tullow Road area while in the 80's Pollerton Big was the district where most houses were built. The 90's and early 2000's saw further expansion along the Dublin and Palatine Roads to engulf large areas of Pollerton Big and the first traces of major housing developments in Pollerton Little. The result is that many of these eststaes contain more houses alone than existed in the entire Parish area prior to 1930. The economic crash in the late 2000's put a halt to further proposed expansion however this might change in the future. The following seeks to record the oral history of the parish area preserved in our place names for posterity.

"Askea"

The name Askea does not appear in the list of townlands as it is not a townland nor is it even a localised place. It refers instead to the stream which cuts its channel through the Parish. "Askea", which is the spelling used by the Ordnance Survey on their maps, or "Aska", which is used by Joyce in his *Irish Names of Places* (1910, 446; 1920, 51) is a corruption of the old Irish word "uisc" meaning water. In time this word came to mean a channel cut by water. This stream was always referred to locally as "the Stream of Water" and by no other name hence Aska or Askea. A cousin of the authors, the late Mary Teresa Kelly, a former chairperson of the then Old Carlow Society and former editor of *Carloviana*, lived near this stream in Pollerton Little. She used "The Stream, Pollerton Little, Carlow" as her address.

"The stream of Water" enters the parish from the Oak Park estate flowing in a southerly direction before it is crossed by the Dublin Road at the eastern foot of the hill which is locally called Rathnapish Hill (beside Boland's Car Sales) and then by the Hacketstown Road. A pool was formed at the Dublin Road bridge which was used as a resting stop and to allow horses to drink. The stream has been piped for the last mile of its journey and so it is invisible and unusable. Before it was piped another pool existed at the roundabout between the Presentation College School and the Saint Laurence O'Toole running track known as "The Yellow Lock". It flows under the Laurence O'Toole running track to cross under the Staplestown Road near St. Patrick's Avenue, and then to the Burren, which it enters east of Little Barrack Street.

The Origins of the Parish Townland Names

The townland names of this parish refer to the topography and land use of the area as well as former inhabitants or landowners. Carlow or Ceatharlach townland has already been identified above as "the fort on the lake" just as Rathnapish was identified as the "fort of the peas" (see *General Placename Indicators*). Kernanstown appears to refer to the "district of Kernan". The use of Kernanstown as the name only became common after the Census of Ireland 1659 as before this it was mainly referred to as Ballykernan or Ballymackernan ("district of the son of Kernan") in various spelling forms. In Irish it is named Baile Mhic Thiarnáin which translates directly as the "district of the son of Tiarnán" suggesting that the modern English name is a corruption of an earlier name. Chapelstown in both Irish and English translated to "the district or area of the church" and probably refers to the still unidentified Saint Kevin's Abbey (see *Early Ecclesiastical Activity* below). Ballyvergal is suggested as also referring to a family name meaning "O'Morgal's district" although there is no record or tradition of this family in the area suggesting a corruption from an earlier name.

The two Pollertons, Big and Little have an interesting name history. Both have been spelt in various forms as Pollerton, Pollardstown and Pollacton over the last 500 years or so. The Down Survey refers to it as Pollartestown. John O'Donovan in the *Ordnance Survey Letters* interpreted it as referring to the family name of Pollard. There is however no connection between the Pollard family name and this area. Instead "Pollerton" is in fact most likely a corruption of "Ballyfulland" or "Ballifullard" themselves a corruption or change of name from what we consider the correct English name to be "Ballyfoyle". This change of name occurred sometime after 1632 as a Chancery Inquisition for 1632 refers to Ballifullard alias Pollardstowne. The name Ballyfoyle itself is also a corruption of the literal translation of the correct Irish name for the area "Baile Phoill" rather than "Baile Pholaird". "Baile Phoill" would translate as "the district of the hole or holes" which is an accurate description of the landscape. These townlands lie in an area of limestone bedrock bordered by the Leinster Granite Massif to the east. A number of streams flow into these townlands and disappear underground as they soak into the limestone. The author's descend from at least 300 years of settlement in the townland of Pollerton Little through the Kelly family of Seamus Murphy's maternal line where tradition holds that three brothers who were evicted from County Wexford between 1690-1700 came to settle in Pollerton Little.

Prehistoric Activity in the Parish

There is little direct evidence for prehistoric settlement within the bounds of the Parish although a number of ceremonial features have been identified in the surrounding area, the most notable being the large portal tomb or dolmen in Brownshill and beside which there were possibly two more (Borlase 1897, 398). Portal tombs generally date to the early-mid Neolithic (3900-3200BC). A number of plough levelled enclosures have been identified but many of these cannot be dated or are more likely the remains of early medieval settlement. The earliest definite evidence for prehistoric activity within the parish is the discovery of burning activity on the edge of the "the stream of water" in the townland of Pollerton

Little. Archaeological monitoring and testing in June 2006 in advance of the residential developments in Pollerton Little on the site of the Castle Oaks housing estate, identified a series of pits and postholes. Some of these contained charcoal and heat-shattered stones. At the south-western end of the development area closest to the stream five small pits and two post-holes were discovered which also contained charcoal and burnt stone material, which suggest that the remains of a fulacht fiadh existed nearby, probably outside the bounds of the development (Hackett 2009, 198). Fulacht fiadh's generally date to the Bronze Age so a possible date could be suggested for the site. This was followed up in 2007 by further testing in the immediate area in which a pit containing charcoal and a small amount of burnt human bone was uncovered suggesting that this was a cremation pit (SMR No. CW007-146). Radiocarbon dating of the bone revealed a date of 1888-1746 cal. BC (McCarthy 2008) giving us direct evidence for human presence in the townland of Pollerton Little and the Parish of Askea during the Bronze Age almost 4000 years ago, the parish's oldest known resident!

Early Medieval Settlement (AD400-1200)

A number of features of early medieval settlement have been identified throughout the Parish area. While none of these have been excavated or radiocarbon dated we can identify them as being of an early medieval date based on their site type. Ringforts are one of Ireland's most common sites with over 50,000 known across the country many of which have been plough-levelled. A number of the circular enclosures which have been identified throughout the Parish area such as the one now covered by the western extension of Saint Mary's graveyard in Rathnapish (Survey No. CW007-021), may also be the remains of ringforts. An enclosure is recorded in the field in Pollerton Big belonging to Seamus Murphy which we refer to locally as "Dinny's" after the last landlord to own the site, Lady Georgina Denys (SMR No. CW002-014). A site had been noted locally which was plough levelled in the early 1900's but still appears as a cropmark in the pasture in very dry summers. A further linear cropmark was also noted running away from the site which may be the remains of a souterrain, an underground structure consisting of a narrow passage and sometimes chambers usually lined and lintel roofed with drystone walling, which generally date to the early medieval period. A further ringfort is noted just outside the northern bounds of the Parish in the townland of Painestown (SMR No. CW002-012) close to the site of the Merck, Sharpe and Dohme development.

Early Ecclesiastical Activity (AD400-1200)

Within the boundaries of the Parish of Askea there is one definite early ecclesiastical site which was attached to a neighbouring Abbey while there are a further two possible sites. The townland of Chapelstown contained a site known as Saint Kevin's Abbey. The actual location of this site is unknown although there are two possibilities. The first is a site with a cross on top marked as "castle" visible on the Down Survey Map and now in a field to the north of the Brownshill Road and 270m northwest of the Chapelstown crossroads (SMR No. CW007-009). The second possibility is a site in the same modern field enclosure 120m to the north of this, visible only as cropmarks in aerial photographs as a rectangular complex of plough levelled banks and ditches (SMR No. CW007-057). We do know it existed however because at the time of the dissolution of Baltinglass Abbey in 1537 by King Henry VIII Chapelstown was the only property which it held in the vicinity of Carlow. (Carville 1984)

One of the two further possible sites is in Pollerton Little and the other is in the townland of Kernanstown. The Kernanstown site was discovered when the Presentation College school was being built. In September 1981 human remains were uncovered when the foundations for the school were being dug and reported to the National Museum of Ireland by Séan Ó Ciardhubháin, Kerry Island, Co. Kerry. Ms Mary Cahill, National Museum of Ireland inspected the site and reported that up to 30 burials were discovered all in the extended position (where the body is laid in the grave, flat on the back; the primary burial practice of early Christians, as opposed to the prehistoric crouched or foetal position style of uncremated burial). All the burials were heavily disturbed by the time of investigation and none were in their original context, all having been removed from their graves. Further investigation revealed the remains of a possible enclosing ditch feature as well as an area of burning (Cahill & Sikora 2011, 462). The remains were reburied. These human remains probably marked the location of an early ecclesiastical settlement. It is most likely that an early medieval church stood nearby, the location of which has not been discovered. It is also possible that this is the site of Saint Kevin's Abbey, the presumed site of which is currently marked 1km to the north-west. The boundaries of these two townlands may have shifted over time meaning the Kernanstown burial site may once have been within the bounds of Chapelstown. It is fitting that the modern Askea church (built 1973) is located close to the site of one of the earliest Christian settlements in the Parish.

The Pollerton Little site is adjacent to Knockaunarelig on the Carlow-Palatine road. Local tradition maintains that the Knights Hospitallers of Killerig had a church at Pollerton. The earliest direct reference we have to the site is in 1839 when it was recorded by John O'Donavan of the Ordnance Survey as "Cruckaunarelig burial ground". The following description was provided; "It gave name to the hillock which it occupies being in Irish 'Cnocán na Reilge' ie the Hillock of the Churchyard or Burying Ground. Two headstones of modern date stand within it. There is no appearance that there was ever a church at the place" (O'Donovan 1839, 25). It is known officially as Knockaunarelic although locals still refer to this area as the "Cruckaun" after the small hill immediately to the north of the site. The graveyard is marked as an enclosed sub-rectangular area on the first edition Ordnance Survey map (1839) which corresponds with the existing enclosure. This does not appear to be the original extent of the burial ground however as skeletons were uncovered and reburied during the construction of a number of houses surrounding the site. The remains of walls have also been discovered in the

vicinity of the site, including on the summit of the hill on the opposite side of the road, during the construction of a house extension suggesting that this may have been the site of the church. In the dry summer of 1995 a linear cropmark appeared in the pasture on the western side of this hill running in a southwest-northeast direction across the slope. This does not match with any mapped field systems here and may be the remains of an earlier field system or enclosure. Alternatively, the roadway to the north of the site arcs in a semi-circle as if respecting a previous enclosure. It does this while also cutting across the slope rather than following the gentler rise on its southern side. This enclosure would have been located on the south side of the road. Early medieval ecclesiastical enclosures were often sub-circular or oval in shape and defined by a bank and ditch or wall. While the remains of this enclosure are no longer visible above ground, it is possibly preserved in the unusual curve in the road. In the fields adjacent to the graveyard what seems to be the remains of walls have been uncovered so this is possibly the site of the Hospittalers church.

Later ecclesiastical settlement is indicated by the local name of Friary Lane for the road between what is now the entrance to Carlow Golf Club and the Palatine Road which was later bisected by the Dublin Road. A friary once stood to the right of this entranceway and is in fact marked on 1824 map of County Carlow by William Aalen although it is not on the Ordnance Survey 1839 map.

Post-Medieval Activity

One of the earliest landholders of the parish area were the Wall family or De Valle. A County Carlow Chancery Inquisition from 1632 refers to a Pierce Wale living in Ballifullard alias Pollardstowne. The Walls's owned all the lands of Kernanstown, Pollerton Little and Pollerton Big (Kelly 1972, 44). A number of the Walls's were buried in Rutland (Urglin Church) including Mick Wall the last full owner before the lands were forfeited from his son, however their primary place of burial was Killerig where there is no major burial marker for them. The Wall's were stripped of their land holdings along with their titles in 1654 for the part played by Ulick Wall II of Ballinakill (now Burton Hall) in the 1641 Rebellion and siege of Carlow Castle. The lands were returned to the family through his son Patrick in 1674. There seems to have been family trouble in the 1720's when the Burton family bought the property which extended to Pollerton Big from the Ballinakill/ Burton Hall region. The last remaining trace of the Wall's in the Parish area took the form of an armorial plaque which was discovered in 1758 by the Burton family on the grounds of the estate which became known as "Pollacton House" (a name ascribed by the Burtons'). This plaque was built into a wall on the estate where it remained until the 1970's and it can now be viewed today inside the entrance of the Carlow County Museum. The Burton's were M.P.'s in the Irish Parliament. In 1839 W. P. Burton requested that "Burton Hall" be engraved on the Ordnance Survey map in the place of the townlands of Ballynakill and Browneen. The name of Browneen still survives in a field name here. This again demonstrates how recent landlords left their mark on our placename records much like landowners before them.

The first owner of Pollacton House and the estate in Pollerton Big was Charles Burton, third son of Benjamin Burton of Burton Hall in 1737, although he did not appear to reside in the house instead leaving it to his son Sir Charles Burton, Second Baronet of Pollacton and a Major in the 18th Dragoons. For a detailed synopsis of the Burton family see Kelly 1972 "The Burtons of Pollacton". A local tradition still preserved in the area is of a tragic event around 1872 when a young boy Patrick Broderick was playing in the area of the "sweep gates", the large gates into the Pollacton House estate from the Palatine Road. He climbed on top of the pillars which are topped with large stone balls, one of which dislodged and fell on him.

The Browne family became the landlords of the area of Kernanstown and Chapelstown and they came to reside on this estate. The present name of Brownes Hill originated from colloquial use rather than official renaming. The access road to the house was used by coal carters delivering coal from the mines in Castlecomer. Given the steep incline horses struggled on the path leading to the house so they would have to be rested along the way. It is said that the carters would often remark "Arra bad access to ould Browne's Hill" (Kelly 1971, 13).

Prior to the landed estates being acquired by the Irish Land Commission, Pollerton Little was owned by the Tighe's of Inistioge, Co. Kilkenny. Given their distance from the estates there is no local tradition surviving in the area associated with the Tighe's. A number of lime kilns are noted on the author's farm in Pollerton Little on the 1839 Ordnance Survey maps bordering what is now the Dublin Road. At all these sites large pits occur in the land, the result of quarrying activity. Ploughing has also revealed a number of pieces of coal as well as spreads of broken brick.

Local names and folklore in the Parish

There are a number of field or local names associated with the parish area many of which are now covered with housing developments. The "Milking Fields" were where St. Killian's Crescent and adjacent estates are now. These were so called because people in Carlow on paying a rent were allowed to graze cows to obtain their milk supply.

The land now occupied by Mc Gamhna Road and St. Mary's Park were in the possession of two farmers John Kehoe and Peter Nolan. Kehoe's lived at the end of the "Cutting". This feature was where the level of the roadway had to be excavated to allow a level bed for the railway to be built and bridged over the roadway. The houses were left at the original road level and were approached on the town side by steps and on the county side by a slope which explains the reason for the height of the houses on the present day Green Lane. This lowering of the roadway was also necessary on the Pollerton and Staplestown Roads. Other farmyards around here were Whelan's at Askea Bridge and Reddy's on the Tullow Road. The railway was tunnelled under the hill on the old Dublin Road to the west of the Parish bounds near the Sacred Heart Hospital. This area was known locally as "Gallows Hill" as according to Ben Kelly of Rathnapish (d. 1960's), tradition held that men were hanged from trees on the summit of this hill following

the 1798 rebellion. Interestingly, the grandfather of Seamus Murphy (great-great grandfather of Séamus Ó Murchú) would walk home to his house in Pollerton via the old Dublin Road through Oak Park and then cut across the fields. He would often tell of meeting a man standing at a paddock gate at the foot of this hill who would then follow him along much of the roadway but he never noticed the man leaving. In the 1930's Seamus Murphy and friends were walking home from school in the Academy on College Street when a crowd was noticed gathered at the foot of Gallow's Hill. A new house was being built at the time and the men digging the foundations had come across a skeleton! An interesting local tradition is that during the period of the Penal laws, mass was celebrated in the field between Beechwood and the Dublin Road. This was later known as "The Pump Field" as it is here that a local man, Al Kelly, had a petrol pump. The site is now occupied by the Four Lakes Industrial Estate. Interestingly the present day Highfield to the west of this site was always referred to locally as the "Lookout".

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Another site suggested for mass during Penal Times was on top of "Camp Hill". This site is located at the summit of the hill on the former Oak Park estate now occupied by the Carlow Golf Club. Here there is a large enclosure (SMR No. CW002-011) which has had a lot of disturbance from tree planting, remodelling and possibly quarrying. There is no definite explanation for this name although there are two local traditions. The first is that it was the campsite used prior to the Battle of Ballaghmoon in AD908. The second more likely tradition is that it was a campsite used by British forces as a training ground outside the town. Indeed prior to and during World War I it was used for training on a number of occasions which local members of the Carlow Brigade of the IRA would observe and learn tactics.

At the southern foot of Camp Hill were the remains of flax retting pits located at the third green on what is now the golf course and on the site of a row of houses along the Dublin Road. Flax was soaked in water in these retting pits for ten days. This was done to rot the inner stalk so it could be broken easily to dislodge the fibres from the stalk in preparation for spinning. The remains of lazy beds from former cultivation are also visible on the slopes of Camp Hill. Tobacco was also grown in the area in the 1930's and 40's and one of the shed's on Seamus Murphy's farm was built for this purpose and is still known as "The Tobacco Shed". Wooden frames, known as tobacco sticks, were built on which to hang the tobacco to allow it to dry and these were later used by children for playing games with such as pole vaulting. Mr McGovern would come out from the town to inspect the crop and the storing methods.

The area known as the Deerpark roundabout on Rathnapish takes its name from the deer park established by the Bruen family on the Oakpark estate to the north of the parish. All the farms were cleared and tenants evicted for this development which was carried out, according to the Ordnance Survey Letters, prior to 1839. There were still deer on the estate up until the outbreak of World War I. The Dublin Road out of the town is a recent construction as it was not built until the 1850's following further development of the Deer Park. It was referred to locally as "the New Line Road". Prior to this, the Dublin Road turned where it crosses the railway line northwest of St Mary's Cemetery at "Gallow's Hill" and continued through the Oak Park estate, the original entrance to which is still visible as a set of ornate sweep gates along this roadway at the back of Carlow Golf Club. Today the "New Road" now refers to the relief road built in the late 2000's to join the Dublin and Hacketstown Roads which shows that even to the present day we are still renaming features and moving names locally.

The field on the right hand side of the entrance to the Merck, Sharpe and Dohme industrial estate is known as "The Slang". The fields on the opposite side of the Dublin Road and now partially covered by the new relief road is known as "Myer's" after the last occupant of the site. The area between the top of Kernanstown Hill and the new relief road to the west was known as "The Rocks" due to the stony nature of the area. A mass path from the Pollerton area to Bennekerry church would join the Hacketstown road from the fields on the northern side of the Hacketstown road at this point.

The Hill which marks the limit of the developments in Pollerton Little and Pollerton Big at the entrance to the Cois na Coille and Pollerton Manor estates was known locally as Neill's Hill (pronounced "Nails") after a previous tenant on the site. Similarly Kavanagh's Hill refers to the hill leading from the Dublin Road to the Ballylennon crossroads.

The land on which Pollerton Manor stands is a former quarry where lime was extracted and burned in a huge kiln which was located on site, before being carted away. When this land was purchased as part of the family farm in the 1930's, Seamus Murphy and his siblings would often play on the steep banks of the quarry known as "The Hills and Hollows".

Conclusion

Field names and placenames are vanishing at an alarming rate as their tradition goes out of use as housing developments take over agricultural land. Similarly the arrival of postcodes in 2015 could see the loss of use of many of our townland names across the county. It is a matter of urgency that placenames and their associated folklore should be recorded for posterity. Placenames preserve the history and topography of an area. Changes in land ownership or land use history can be tracked in places where former names are preserved. In some cases however modern names are altering this view drastically. For example many of the housing developments in the Askea Parish area are named after trees or forests such as Cois na Coille, Beechwood, Kingswood, Sycamore Road giving the impression of wooded natural landscape when this area has long been under agricultural management rather than tree cover. Not only should we be recording the names however it is also important to describe their location and map them so as the landscape or land ownership changes the knowledge of their location remains for future generations. It is hoped that this article will encourage others to begin down the infectious path of placename research in Carlow!

Acknowledgments

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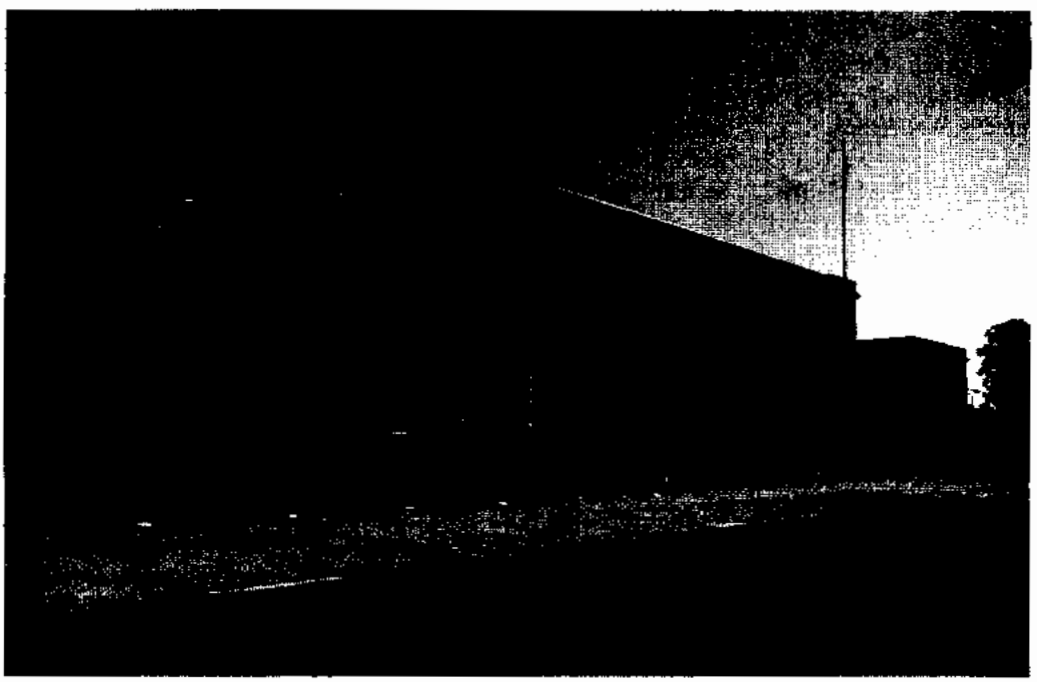
Much of the information contained within this article, especially for the Parish of Askea was derived from local tradition. Where local tradition is lacking, the website logainm.ie is an invaluable source of information for tracking the changes in townland names over time. The Ordnance Survey Letters of County Carlow were published in 2013 however they are also available digitally online. For those wishing to investigate the archaeological past of their a rea summary reports can be found on the website archaeology.ie for every monument in the country. Excavations.ie will document any excavation activity which has been conducted between 1970 and 2010. For more detailed results you will need to travel to the Archaeological Survey of Ireland Offices in Dublin. Information on the Down Survey and land confiscation following the 1641 rebellion is available from http://downsurvey.tcd.ie/down-survey-maps.php. Many landed estate records are available in the National Library of Ireland or in Carlow County Library. Carlow County Museum and *Carloviana* are also invaluable sources of information with the latest index report of articles in *Carloviana* published in the 2010 issue.



William J Onahan Public School, Chicago, Illinois, USA
William J. Onohan was born in Leighlinbridge , Co. Carlow, in 1836
Emigrated with his family to America in 1853 and became one of Chicago's leading lights.

Carlow's first Charter

Sean O'Shea

There are conflicting opinions as to the date when a charter was first granted to the Burgesses of Carlow - the charter was undated. Over many years historians and researchers have suggested various dates as to when the charter was issued, with their rational for same. The dates most commonally suggested over the years are 1208 and 1223 and on the basis of the information available, it is now proposed to examine these dates and charters related.

1208

The charter relating to the above date is taken from the "History and Antiquities of the Countv of Crlow" by John Ryan M.R.S1. (1803-1849)) and published in 1833 and would be well known to Carlow readers.

Ryan in his book (page 60) states "on the 8th day of November 1208, King John granted to William Earl Marshal and Pembroke, the Marshalship of Ireland in fee, by patent dated at Woodstock.

"About this period, the said Earl Marshal, incorporated the town of Kilkenny, exemptng it from toll lastage pontage and all other customs throughout Leinster, and there can by no doubt, that it was at the same that he granted thc following charter to Carlow (being the first it received) as the privileges run in the same terms"

Lord Walter Fitzgerald concurs with Ryan's opinion. Writing in the "Journal of the Archaeological Society of the County Kildare and surrounding districts (1909-1911) on the "Castle and Manor of Carlow" informs us that William le Marshal in 1191 was appointed Chief Governor of Ireland — an office he held for the three following years. He built the Castle of Kilkenny, which became his chief residence and granted that town a charter, conferring privileges upon the settlers, who formed themselves into a municipality; he did the same thing for Catherlagh or Carlow. A charter was granted to the Burgesses of Carlow about the year 1209".

Noted local historian Michael Brophy writing in the *Sentinel* on the 8th December 1894 also agreed with Ryans opinion as to when the first charter was granted to the Burgesses of Carlow.

CHARTER GRANTED TO THE BURGESSES OF CATHERLACH BY WILLIAM EARL MARSHAL AND EARL OF PEMBROKE

(Translation)

Be it known to all men, now and hereafter, that I, WILLIAM MARSHAL, EARL OF PEMBROKE, have granted to my Burgesses of Catgherlagh all such liberties as Burgesses ought to have, and as it is lawful for me to confer, to be held and enjoyed for ever of me and my heirs by them and their heirs.

Imprinis, viz. that no Burgess shall be drawn into any suit, or answer any plea which shall arise within the bounds of tho Borough, in the castle, or elsewhere, than in the hundred court of the town; except pleas which concern the men of my household or my bailiffs; but it shall be held in the hundred court of the town. No homicide committed within the bounds of the Manor shall be esteemed a murder. Item, no Burgess all be compelled to single combat, or any appeal which may be made against him, unless for the death of a man and for larceny, or any other plea for which single combat can be reasonably awarded

Also the said Burgesses shall be quit of toll, lastage, passage, bondage and all other customs throughout my whole territory and jurisdiction, except in my town of Pembroke and my town of of Wexford.

No Burgess shall be amerced in any sum of money unless by the adjudication of the hundred court, and that amerciment also to the utmost shall not exceed ten shillings; the half of which shall be excused and the other half rendered an amerciment. But in minor pleas, such as of bread and beer, or other like forfeiture the amerciment shall not exceed two shillings; the half of which in like manner be remitted and the other half shalt be renderedas an amerciment; and if anyone for bread or beer,or such like have incurred an amerciment for the first time, it shall not exceed two shillings. the, half of which shall be remitted as has been before said, and the other half rendered as an amerciment. But if on second offence, he shall have incurred a like penalty, he shall pay two shillings and if on third offence he shall have incurred like judgment, he shall pay half a mark, and the hundred courts shall be held weekly. Item, no Burgess shall be drawn into any suit by misnomers. Item, it shall be lawful for every Burgess to plead without frequent motion; it shall be lawful for the said Bugesses to distrain their debtors by such distress as shall be found in the town of Catherlagb, or if it happens that the plea shall be of live stock or for distress taken and brought into the hundred, and if perchance it shall have happened that toll shall have been taken for any Burgess within my land, or jurisdiction, if any one shall have taken it and have been required to restore it and shall have refused by seizure, if the goods of any one of the same place from whence be is, shall be found at Catherlagh, they shall be distrained to recompense them. it shall not be lawful for any foreign merchant to sell cloth by retail, or to keep a wine tavern in the town of Catherlagh, unless for forty days; and if any one would have it for a longer period, what remains shall be seized for the common profit of the Burgesses of the town. No Burgess shall be driven or distrained within my land or jurisdiction for another's debt, or unless he be surety or principal debtor. No Burgess shall be compelled to bail any one even though be

should have holden from him unless by. his own free will. I have also granted to the said Burgesses of Catherlagh, that they may contract marriage for themselves, their sons, daughters, and widows, without leave of their lords, unless they bold foreign tenements outside the borough of me in chief; none of the lords of which Burgess of Catherlagh who held foreign tenements shall have the custody or giving away of their sons, daughters, or widows but nevertheless, they shall have the custody of their own tenants until those who have been in their custody shall arrive at age, unless they held of me in chief, as aforesaid, without the Borough,

It shall also be lawful for the said Buresses to have a guild of merchants and other guilds, and their freemen with every liberty belonging to them as is custom of other of other good towns. It shall also be lawful for the said Burgesses to dispose of their tenements which they held in Burgage without prejudice or injury to their neighbours, as they shall deem expedient, whether edifices, or gardens, or enclosures or other things. I have also granted to them power to dispose of all their acquisitions, whether by gift, sale, or mortgage without my consent saving the services which are therefore due, except to religious men. It shall, be lawful for the said Burgesses outside my inclosures to have common of my woods. Item, no Burgess shall be compelled to lend his chattels, unless security be first given him of restoring them at a certain day and if any Burgess shall of his own accord lend his chattels to the bailiffs of my castle, if they be not delivered up within forty days, he shall be paid for their use beyond that time. And if perchance there shall arise a change in my bailiffs, or my bailiffs shall, resign, I will compel the bailiff, so retiring, to restore his due to them, as they shall be able reasonably to prove him indeb. I have also granted to my said Burgesses to have the power of making such of their tenants free as hold tenements of twenty feet of land, that thus they may enjoy a common liberty with the Burgesses. It may be lawful for my said Burgesses to establish and prove their debts by suit of lawful men. I have also granted to them that if any man shall have taken their chattels for another's forfeited without the borough, they shall be restored to them without question, if they shall be able reasonably to prove them their property. I have also granted to the said Burgesses a right to grind their corn in my mills for a reasonable toll. I have besides granted to the said Burgesses, that they and their heirs may have and hold of 'my heirs freely and, quietly for ever, their burgages with their appurtenances for the rent of ( ) Geoffry Fits-Robert first constituted, viz: Each burgage with its appurtenances for the rent of twelve pence per annum to be paid, half at the feast Easter, and the other half at the feast of St, Michael. I will also that no assize of victuals shall be made in the borough unless by joint consent of the Burgesses and my bailiff's, and that this concession at all future times may continue firm and stable. I have confirmed this charter with my seal. Witness, *John Marshall, Thomas Fits-Winton, then Seneschal of Leinster, Fulk Fitz-Warine, Walter Purcell, William Grasse, jun. Hamond Grasse, Roger Hyde, Rodolph de Ralegh, Robert de Crupt, Master Henry, Master Hugh, Rolph, Rulph and Robert,* clerks and many others.*

* Enrolled A.D. 1296, 24th year reign Edward I

1223

The later charter circa 1223 is taken from "Na Buirgeisi XII -XV aois Volm 1 (1964) author Gearoid Mac Niocaill (1932--2004)", one of the foremost twentieth century scholars and interpreters of late medieval Irish tracts. Mac Niocaill graduated with a B.A in Latin and French from the University ot Leeds in 1953. He was awarded a post graduate scholarship by the school of Celtic studies in the Dublin institute for advanced studies. In 1956 he was given responsibility for manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland. In 1965 Mac Niocaill was made Assistant Professor in the school of Celtic studies at the Dublin Institute for advanced studies. He was Professor of History at N.U.I.Galway from 1977 until his retirement in 1997. Volume I above is written in Latin and Irish. The charter is recorded in Latin. To translate, go to (translate google.com)

Mac Niocaill in his book page 328 states the charter that William Marshal gave to Kilkenny (1207-1211) was used as a template for other charters granted to Leinster Towns which included Carlow c. 1223.

An archaeology survey of the town of Carlow undertaken by J. Bradley and H.A. King in 1990 commissioned on behalf of the office of public works, reiterates the view of Mac Niocaill in their report, by mentioning the charter of 1223.

A report on the "Castle of Carlow" by Dr Kieran O'Connor in 1996 also shows the author is in conformity with Mac Niocaill with the following statement " A charter dating to c. 1223 indicates that William Marshal had founded a Borough at Carlow in the 1st years of 13th century.

CEATHARLACH

Baile Atha Cliath, Oifig Iris Poibli, Rotulus memorandorum 47-8 Ed. III m. 17: SCR1OSADH 1 1922. Chartae. Privilegia et Immunitates lgh. 37-8.

[c 1223]

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus Marescallus comes Pembrochie concessi burgensihus meis de Catherlagh ormnimodas libertates quas decet burgenses habere et michi licet conferre, habendas et tenendas imperpetuum de me et heredibus meis sibi et heredibus suis:

1 in primis videlicet quod nullus burgensis trahatur in causam vel respondeat de ullo placito quod proveniat infra metas burgi in castello nec alibi nisi in hundredo ville, exceptis placitis que sunt de hominibus hospicii mei vel ballivorum meorum; ipsum autem hundredum in villa teneatur.

2. Nullum homicidium infra metas ville factum in murdrum computetur.

3. Item nullus burgensis mittatur ad duellum de ullo appello quod possit fieri contra eum nisi de morte hominis et latrocinio vel de aliquo alio placito unde duellum rationabiliter fieri debeat.

4. I[i]dem eciam burgenses quieti sint de tholoneo et lastagio et passsagio et pontagio et de omnibus aliis

consuetudinibus per totam terram et potestatem meam preterquam in villa men de Pembrocia in villa mea de Weysford.

5. Nullus burgensis mittatur in misericordia pecunie nisi per consideracionem hundredi, et ilia misericordia eciam in maioribus placitis decem solidos non excedet, quorum medietas condonabitur et alia medietas in misericordia reddetur; in minoribus autem placitis ut sunt de pane et servisia vel alio simili forisfacto misericordia duos solidos non excedet quorum medietas similiter condonabitur et alia medietas [in] misericordia reddetur. Si autem aliquis pro pane vel servisia vel huiusmodi in misericordia [m] inciderit, prima vice duos solidos non excedet quorum medietas condonabitar sicut predictum est et alia medietas in misericordia reddetur; quod si secundo in idem forisfactum cecid erit duos solidos pacabit; si autem tertio in idem ceciderit iudicium sustinebit vel dimidiam marcam pacabit.

6. Hundredum vero semel tantum[1] in septimana teneatur[2].

7. Item nullus burgensis trahatur in placitum per meskeninge.

8. Item Liceat[1] omni burgensi placitare sine motacione.

9. Liceat[1] autem eisdem burgensibus distringere debitores suos per namia sua que inventa fuerint in villa de Cathirlagh, et si forte placitum emerserit[2] de vadimoniis[3] vel de namiis pro debito captis in hundredo deducatur, et si forte contigerit quod toloneum captum fuerit de aliquo burgensi in terra mea vel potestate, si [ille] qui[4] ceperit[5] requisitus fuerit reddere et contradixerit, per namia eiusdem loci unde ipse est si inventa fuerint[6] apud Cathirlagh reddere distringatur[7].

10. Nulli mercatori liceat decisionem pannorum facere vcl tabernam vinorum habere in villa de Cathirlagh nisi per quadraginta dies et si amplius huiusmodi hahere voluerit tantum faciat per communionem burgensium ad profectum ville quod remaneat.

11. Nullus burgensis namietur vel distringatur in terra mea vel potestate pro debito alieno nisi sit plegius vel debitor principalis.

12. Nullus burgensis cogatur aliquem plegiare eciam si de eo tenuerit nisi sponte velit.

13. Concessi eciam eisdem burgensibus de Cathirlagh matrimonium contrahere[1], sibi et filiis suis et filiabus suis et viduis sine licencia dominorum sourum nisi forinsceca tenementa tenuerunt de me in capite extra burgum. Nullus dominorum de quibus burgenses de Cathirlagh forinsceca tenementa tenuerunt habeant custodiam vel donacionem filiorum vel filiarum aut viduarum eorum, set tantum[2] custodiam tenementorum suorum habeant donec hii qui in custodia fuerint[3] etatis sint nisi de me sicut predictum est extra burgum in capite[4] tenuerunt.

14. Item liccat eisdern burgensibus gildam mercatoriam et alias gildas habere et suos scote [nos] cum omni libertate ad illos spectante sicut consuetudo aliarum bonarum villarum est.

15. Item liceat eisdem burgensibus de tenementis suis que tenent in burgagiis sine iniusto vicinorurn suorum gravamine disponere sicut melius viderunt expedire, sive edificia[1] sive ortos sive virgulta sive alia.

16. Concessi eciam eis omnes conqucstus suos donare vendere vel invadiare, salvis serviciis que[1] debentur, preterquam viris religiosis sine meo assensu.

17. Liceat eisdem burgensibus extra defensum meum communionem boscorum meorum.

18. Item nullus burgensis cogatur catallum suum prestare nisi prius facta fuerit ei securitas de reddendo ad certum terminum, et si quis burgensis catallum suum sponte ac[c]omodaverit ballivis castelli mei si certus terminus reddendi constitutus non fuerit, infra quadraginta dies persolvatur; et si forte mutacio ballivorum facta fuerit, [ego] vel[1] ballivus meus[1] ballivum recedentem compellam quod eis debitum suum reddat sicut racionabiliter eis deberi[2] monstrare poterunt.

19. Et concessi eisdem vero burgensibus meis quod possunt de tenementis suis per viginti pedes terre liberos facere tenentes suos, eta quod communem habeant cum burgensibus libertatem.

20. Liceat[1] eisdem burgensibus meis debita sua per sectam legalium virorum derationare et probare.

21. Concessi eciam eisdem quod si quis catalla eorum pro alieno forisfacto extra burgum ceperit, eis sine occasione reddantur sicut rationabiliter monstrare poterunt quod sua sunt.

22. item concessi eisdem burgensibus moturam suam in molendinis meis per thelonia rationabilia,

23. Preterea concessi eisdem burgensibus quod habcant et teneant illi et heredes sui de me et heredibus meis libere et quiete imperpetuum burgagia sua cum pertinenciis pro redditu <quem> Galfridus filius Roberti primo constituit, burgagium quodlibet cum pertinenciis per redditurn duodecim denariorum annuatim solvendorum medietatem ad festum Pasche et aliam medietatem ad festum sancti Michaelis.

24. Volo eciam quod nulla assisa victualium in burgo fiat nisi per communem burgensium et ballivorum meorum consideracionem.

Et ut hec concessio futuris temporibus rata perseveret hanc cartam meo roboravi sigillo hiis testibus: *Johanne Marescallo, Thoma filio Antonii[1] tunc senescallo Lazinic, Fulcone filio Warini, Waltero Purcell, Willelmo Grasso[2], iuniore, Hamone Grasso[3], Rogero Hyde, Radulfo[4] de Raleg', Roberto de Crupt, magistro Henrico, magistro Hugonc, Radulfo et Roberto* clericis et multis aliis.

6 [1]tam' [2]teneantur
8 [1]liciat
9 [1]liciat [2]ci erit [3]vedeniamiis [4]quis [5]et add [6]fuerunt [7]distringantur
13 [1]contrahere [2]tamen [3]fuerunt [4]capitate
15 [1]edificias
16 [1]qui
18 [1–1]ballivis meis [2]debiti
20 [1]liciat
24 [1]W'nton' [2]Grasse [3]Grasse [4]Rodulfo.

There are valid arguments for both sets of proposals, particularly as the two charters have been enrolled. The first was enrolled AD 1296 in the 24th year of the Reign of Edward 1 and the second was enrolled AD 1374-5 in the 47-8th year of the reign of Edward 111. However a number of questions arise. Both charters are witnessed by the same signatories and the same clerks and in the same order, despite the fact the charters are thought to be fifteen years apart. The charter of 1223 shows it was granted by William Marshal although the Earl had died in 1219 and William Marshal the Younger was the Earl at the time. However what is clear is, that Carlow Town was granted a charter at some point in the first quarter of the13th century.

First Report of the Commissioners on the Municipal Corporations of Ireland 1835 Extract:

"The following tables show the times to,which we can refer the earliest records of a Municipal Body in the several boroughs and their respective governing charters; from invasion of Ireland in the reign of Henry 2nd to the reign of James 15t"

"Corporate Towns in which Corporations are supposed to have existed by Prescription, or in which there are traces of a Municipal Body prior to James

	Date of Earliest Evidence of a Municipal Body before the Reign of James I.	Governing Charters
Ardee	51 Edward III.	11 Annc.
Athboy	9 Henry IV.	9 James I.
Athenroy	4 Edward II.	Elizabeth.
Bannow	13 Richard II.	None.
Callan	4 Richard II.	None.
Carlingford	20 Edward II.	7 James I.
Carlow	William Marescal; Earl of Pem-broke, circa A.D. 1296	26 Charles II
Carrigfergus	49 Edward III.	10 James I.
Clonmel	11 Edward II.	6 James I.
Cork	26 Henry IL	7 Charles I.
Dingle	27 Elizabeth	4 James I.
Donegal	13 Edward II.	10 James I.
Drogheda	12 Henry III.	10 William III.
Dublin	Henry IL	None.
Duleek	Walter De Lacy, Lord of Meath	None.
Dundalk	17 Edward III.	29 Charles IL
Dungarvan	3 Edward IV.	7 James I.
Feathard (Tipp)	49 Edward IV.	5 James I.
Fore	None	None.
Galway	34 Edward III.	29 Charles II.
Gowran	2 Henry V.	6 James I..
Inistiogue	Prior lured of Inistiouge temp. insert.	6 James I.
Irishtown	15 Edward IV.	3 James I.
Kells	Walter De Lacy (temp. Rich. I.)	4 James IL
Kildare	None	None.
Kilkenny	William Marescal, Earl of Pembroke Pembroke. (temp Henry III.)	7 James I.
Kilmalloek	49 Edward III.	27 Elizabeth.
Kinsale	7 Edward III.	8 James I.
Knocktopher	None	None.
Limerick	John, Earl of Morton	None.
Maryborough	12 Elizabeth	12 Elizabeth.
Naas	2 Henry V.	7 James I.
Navan	9 Edward IV.	13 Charles II.
New Ross	Henry III.	9 James I.
Philipstown	12 Elizabeth	12 Elizabeth.
Roscommon	4 Edward II.	10 James I.
Taghmon		
Thomastown	Thos. Fitzantony, temp. incert. and 20 Edward III.	13 James I.
Trim	Walter De Lacy (temp. Rich. I.)	13 Elizabeth.
Waterford	7 John	2 Charles I.
Wexford	11 Edward IL	7 James I.
Youghal	49 Edward III.	7 James I.

Carlow Historical and Archaeological Society on a visit to Birr Castle, Roscrea 21 June, 2014

Improvisations on the Theme of an Irish wall

Roger Bennett

It appears to be some sort of sleeping animal, gray-headed, its long tawny body stretching gracefully across the art gallery ƒ loor. Viewers stop, unsure, trying to get its measure.

They climb the steps, approach, and the nature of the beast is revealed. It's a stone wall! Rocks — limestone or granite? — at its tumbling-down end, then lighter ones, difficult to identify, in its sinuous, undulating length.

A typical Irish dry stone wall, its rounded, weathered rocks seemingly gathered from fields, selected for shape and size, carefully stacked and fitted. No foundations, no mortar. Traditional, practical, familiar. About 20 feet long, waist high, strong and sculptural, a conf ident presence in the spacious gallery.

A few steps closer, however, viewers realize it is not stone, it's wood, the rocks are made of wood! An Irish dry wood wall! They move in to examine it, smiling at this subversion of the unexpected. The surprises continue.

Trompe l'oeil rocks merge into wooden rocks, all dif ferent shapes and sizes, rugged and sensuous, traces of carvings here and there. At the far end, a gatepost—an ancient "granite" monument incised with ogham markings. A bit of broken gate hangs from an iron hinge. As in real field walls, cracks contain secret or discarded objects—

The team gets inspiration from the dramatic Carlow landscape, especially its stone walls.

shards of pottery, a broken bottle, a key, a brooch,

a lipsticked cigarette, a clay pipe, a feather. It is living and organic, with moss, lichens, and ivy; a snake slithering for cover; a determined snail; a spider poised beside its web. Everything made of wood! Words are scattered on the rocks: history, shelter, posterity. A flash of blue through a crack, it's the ghost of a woman, her arms crossed. A rickety door opens to reveal an extraordinary carving of a horse and dragon on a golden disc.

What was the genesis of this amazing piece of art? The viewers stand back, try to imagine its making, all the intense physical and emotional energy. A video playing on a screen tells the story.

The story began with a meeting of minds and a leap of courage. In 2012, Terry Martin—an Australian wood artist, writer, and curator— spent time teaching and traveling in Ireland. Over dinner with wood-turner, Glenn Lucas and his wife Cornelia McCarthy, the conversation turned to the question of what woodturners could do to stimulate new ways of thinking about and working with wood. Ideas and whatifs bounced back and forth. Terry thought it would be stimulating to bring a group of wood artists from abroad to work on a project with their Irish peers. Terry has deep Irish roots and had fallen in love with Irish walls: "When I think of the Irish landscape, I think of its walls— especially in the West. They define Irishness. . . . So I said, 'Why don't we build an Irish stone wall?' It was one of those ideas whose time was right."

Building a wall would be a collaborative project, but with an essential difference: There would be a single common goal, instead of the usual practice of small groups working on disparate pieces.

The timing was right. Cornelia had recently joined the board of the local (Carlow) Arts Festival, and at their next meeting she proposed the concept. To her delight, director Hugo Jellett and the other members accepted with enthusiasm. A group of wood artists, with Terry as leader and curator, would come together for a week at Glenn's workshop to build a dry stone wall out of wood and exhibit it during the 2013 festival in the spectacular Visual Gallery in Carlow. Thus began the adventure "Improvisations on the Theme of an Irish Wall."

Getting started

So much to do, so little time, so many questions! Where to source wood—it would be impossible to get enough dry wood in less than a year. How to build the wall? There was no blueprint for a dry-wood wall. How big should it be? Who would build it? How could it be funded? Was it even feasible to build it in just a week?

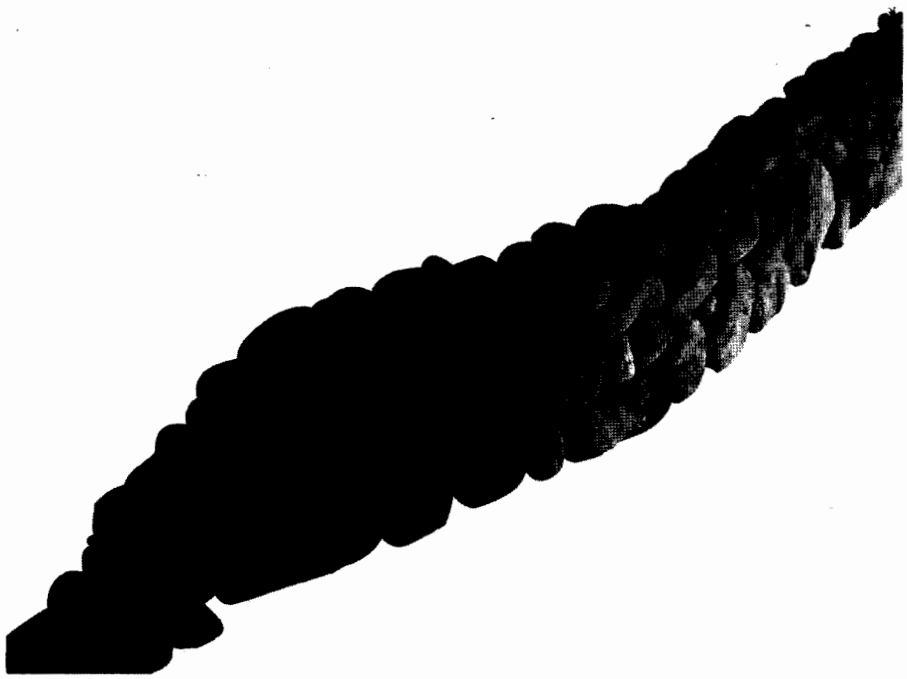
Terry, Cornelia, and Glenn remained in constant communication across the globe. They drew on all their experiences, Terry's as facilitator, curator, and erst while stage manager, Cornelia's as arts administrator and project manager. Ambrose O'Halloran and Brid O'Halloran in Galway became key members of the planning and logistics team.

Glenn sourced wood locally: beech and sycamore, with some oak, chestnut, and redwood. They would make do with unseasoned wood— after all, rocks do crack. Invitations sent out, applications called for, and the group took shape: twelve Irish and ten international artists. Woodturners were complemented by furniture makers, several of them superb colorists and carvers; grizzled veterans and wood artists building careers; two students; and Xiang Dong Wang, a master carver from China, recommended to Terry by the *Intangible Cultural Heritage Master,* Mr. Feng Wentu.

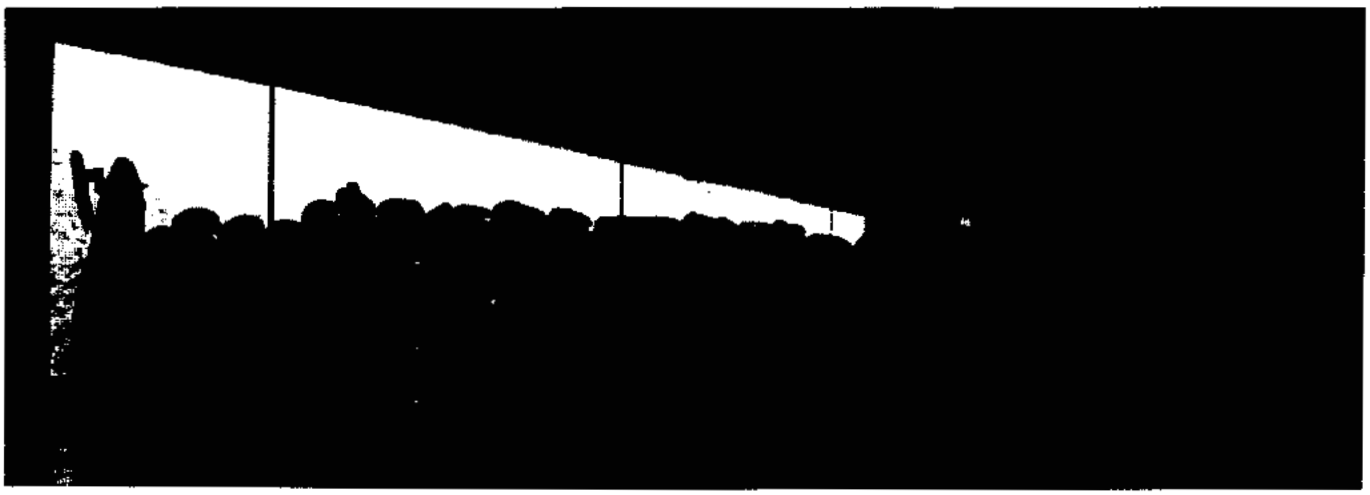
Funding was always on a shoestring. The Arts Festival provided a modest budget, and some sponsors came on board. The Turners Without Borders committee of the A AW contributed generously; Mike Hou's International Wood Culture Society (IWCS) enthusiastically funded Mr. Wang, as well as a film crew from Taiwan to record the event. Tool companies lent equipment to Glenn; local businesses helped with food supplies.

Team planning

With the team announced early in 2013, Internet brainstorming ensued: flurries of emails, ideas pinging through the ether, big questions tackled. Should the wall look like wood or stone, or as Jacques Vesery suggested, couldn't it transition from one to the other? What about shape? John Lee poetically described how Irish walls weave and undulate with the landscape, a concept he uses when curving furniture. How to construct it? Should it be continuous, or could a door, a gate, a stile, or a window breach it? How could it be made to look natural, alive? Willo-the-wisps, leprechauns, a broken Celtic cross, 3-D holograms, ogham writing, found objects, animals, vegetation—a my riad of ideas, some stillborn, some eventually realized.The possibility of an artcraft fissure was a gnawing worry—the wall must not look folksy.



From the tumbledown end, the "rocks" morph into wood.



(Top to bottom, left to right)
The wall silloutetedagainst the gallery's expansive window.

Terry leads a discussion in the marquee.

Cillian and brendan position a rock in the wall.

The "stone" gatepost with ogham inscription and remains of wooden gate

Glenn chainsaws under a gloriously blue sky

Glenn delivers fresh supplies of wood

Jackues carves the rusty tailpipe

Art, Sharon, and Adam paint rocks.

Ambrose and Brid introduced the non-Irish to the concept of *meitheal*, of neighbors helping each other at tasks such as harvesting. *Meitheal* became the project's watchword.

On location

On the last day of May, the group assembled in Glenn's workshop. They had all come together for the first time the previous afternoon, to view the gallery and take a guided tour of local stone walls. As if the challenge weren't big enough, they decided the wall needed to be doubled in length to fill the expansive gallery space. Glenn's firewood pile would have to be raided.

Terry outlined the task ahead. A short discussion, then an explosion of action, all that pent-up nervous energy released. Chainsaws, band-saws, power carvers, belt sanders, hand sanders - a shattering cacophony of noise.

Initially, people gravitated to what they felt most comfortabl with: outside, the rock shapers; in the marquee, the construction team; in Glenn's big green, the carvers and colorists, makers of found objects and of flora and fauna. The first rocks were chainsawed, power carved, sanded. Rounded shapes seemed most natural, and in fact are typical of many local walls. In the marquee, a team laid a rope along the floor no define the curving profile of the wall. They drew chalk lines for a plywood base to be jigsawed into shape. The building began.

The impossible deadline focused minds. One by one, the group came to decisions through experiments, urgent meetings, and/or show of hands. They explored several ideas for constructing the wall, but in the end adopted the simple solution to follow the method of stone wall builders: pile rock on top of rock.

The rocks would be fastened with hidden screws, and the capstones secured with epoxy and threaded bars. The wall would be two rocks wide, with a single row of capstones. At one end it would be "stone"; this would morph into wood, with a stone gatepost fixing the far end. The door/gate/stile debate was resolved by inserting a long through-stone to make an inviting stile, and with the inclusion

A pile of "rocks", some raw, some finished.

Liam Flynn turns a "ceramic" vessel.

of a small weather-beaten door, inspired by one Christian Delhon had photographed in France.

For seven days, twenty-two artists worked intensely. Miraculously, the sun shone the entire week. The noise of the machines became a familiar background tune, raucous and jazzy. Against it, ceaseless conversations, discussions, occasional arguments; connections made, friendships forged, skills exchanged; constant joking and laughter. Everybody busy, everybody contributing.

Small work groups

Whenever I wandered around the site, I witnessed a series of minidramas. Outside, for example, I saw Liam O'Neill in his element, tirelessly chainsawing; Ambrose and Brid cheerfully black-faced from a session of scorching wood; Michael Brolly finishing rocks on the beltsander; Emmet Kane and Alan Meredith shaping the gatepost; and Liam Flynn carving "Good fences neighbors" in ogham script on the post–an appropriate nod to Robert Frost's line "Good fences make good neighbors." In the green workshop, studies in concentration: Louise Hibbert creating a stippled snail, and Sharon Doughtie carving a Celtic knot on a rock; Art Liestman shaping a door key; Mark Sanger replicating a traditional Celtic brooch; Christian, on the lathe, turning a tube that Jacques magically transformed into a section of old rusty tailpipe; Jacques coloring; Neil Turner carving the imprint of Christian's hands around a rock; Adam Doran engrossed in cutting out a spider's web; Mr Wang chisseling out his horse-and-dragon coin sculpture.

In the marquee, the wall slowly took shape, painstakingly, block by block. Three furniture makers accomplished almost all of the construction, John, Cillian Ó Súilleabháin, and Brendan Hogg. The work was unfamiliar, yet not that different from normal, as John explained, "I'm so used to working precisely, worrying about a half-milli meter gap, but in a way we have the very same problems here, because every block has to be interlocked."

They carefully selected from the growing pile of rocks, examining each one for size and shape, discarding unsatisfactory ones or adjusting others with the bandsaw or belt sander. Developing a rhythm, they anticipated each other's requirements. The team became "Hogg and Sons," their slogan "like clockwork."

Throughout the week, Terry moved f rom group to group, cajoling and suggesting. He led group discussions and usually addressed the entire team over lunch. Dillon and Jerry tirelessly filmed, building up material for their video, and Harry Reid quietly, courteously

The rusty tailpipe in the wall

Sharon releases the snail

Finished Group photo before the wall is moved to the gallery

(L-R) Glen Lucas, Brid O'halloran, Michael brolly, Mark Sangar, Ambrose O'Halloran, Sharon, Doughie, Alan Meredith, Louise Hibbert, Art Liestman, Terry Martin, John Lee, Xiang Dong Wang, Roger Bennett, Emmet Kane, Brendan Hogg, Adam Doran, Liam O'Neill, Cillian O Súilleabháin, Christian Delhon, JacquesVesery

photographed it all. Glenn, high up on his fork-lift, shifted wood or trash, and checked that everything was in order. In the kitchen, Cornelia, her friend Ann, and Neil's wife Suellen perfor med daily miracles, preparing memorable gourmet lunches.

Gradually, people moved out of their comfort zones, learned from each other, tried new techniques and tools. Everybody worked on rock-making at different times. Glenn did his first carving, a double-bowled pipe; Liam O'Neill carved a bunch of ivy; Mr. Wang put down his hand tools and had fun with a power carver; turning tips were swapped. Jacques shared his colouring and texturing techniques, continually encouraging others to have a go. Several people talked about how they had been in a rut with their own work, and how this interaction was shaking them up. People surprised themselves. Louise found herself "ordering people about," her experience of house-building giving her the confidence to take charge of the rock shaping. Cillian's communication skills defused a potential row.

As the deadline approached, the pressure grew. The wall had to be installed in the gallery Thursday afternoon. Late Wednesday night, the builders declared it ready for sandblasting. The sections of wall were fork-lifted to the floodlit blasting area, their interiors sprayed black. John the master-blaster, hooded like a beekeeper, meticulously worked over all the exposed wood, softening the edges for a weathered look. Ribald hilarity erupted from the team of helpers, giddy with exhaustion.

In the morning, the final frantic push. The last capstones in place, the tumbledown area assembled, Jacques and his team colored the stone end using a delicate feathery brushing of light over dark. Decisions about which of the found objects and creatures would be included, and where to put them. Lichen and moss applied—of sawdust and glue, painted and dried. Louise and Sharon airbrushed stenciled words, selected from dozens submitted by the participants to convey what the wall meant to them.

Delivery and installation

Early afternoon, with the wall finished, a team gently lifted the sections into three vans and drove them to Carlow. In the gallery, last-minute problems were solved with fitting the sections seamlessly together, and coaxing the electrics into displaying Michael's hologram woman.

Participants:

Artists: Roger Bennett (Ireland), Michael
Brolly (USA), Christian Delhon (Fra), Adam Doran (Ire), Sharon Doughtie (USA), Liam Flynn (Ire), Louise Hibbert (Wales), Brendan Hogg (Ire), Emmet Kane (Ire), John Lee (Ire), Art Liestman (Can), Glenn Lucas (Ire), Alan Meredith (Ire), Ambrose O'Halloran (Ire), Brid O'Halloran (Ire), Liam O'Neill (Ire), Cillian Ó Súilleabháin (Ire), Mark Sanger (Eng), Neil Turner (Aus), Jacques Vesery (USA), Xiang Dong Wang (Chi).

Video team: Lin Cheng Hui and Chang Chih Yuan (Dillon and Jerry)
Photographer: Harry Reid
General Manager: Cornelia McCarthy
Curator/Artistic Director: Terry Martin

A spider, a brooch, a skull, all made od wood"found" in the wall.

A feather, carved and coloured, lies on the rock.

Xiang Dong Wang's carving: Irish horse, Chinese dragon.

Opening night was an emotional affair. There was sadness that it was over, new friends scattering away. Everybody felt a bursting pride at the sheer achievement of it all, like a parent showing their new baby to the excited guests. The process was as valuable as the product. The experience had been deeply enriching, personally, culturally, and professionally for everyone. As they hugged their goodbyes, everybody spoke of their hope that this would not be a once-off, and that it could inspire similar events in other places, at other times.

The wall was installed in Dublin Airport, where it was on view for much of 2014.

Photography by Harry Reid, unless otherwise noted.

Youtube video link: youtube.com/watch?v=UND1bkq4VIs

Roger Bennett is an Irish woodturner; he specializes in bowls, vessels, and jewelry that he colors and inlays with silver. He is a former teacher of English and French. rogerbennettwoodturner.co

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The Carlow Rifles/King's Royal Rifle Corps

Martin J. Lynch

The Carlow Rifles sprang from the establishment in 1755 of the 62nd Royal American Regiment @ New York and Philadelphia. It served in the West Indies during the American War of Independence leaving behind in New York a nucleus of Irish/British who became in time the genus of the American National Guard, when the 13 original States won independence.

The main Regiment ended up under Wellington in the Peninsular War and fought at Waterloo. But the Corps would form part of the Militia (part-time soldiers) designated the 8th Battalion [Ire. Genealogical Projects (IGP)] in their fateful founding year of 1793. Its first C.O. was Henry Bruen of Oak Park (1793-1795) who, before his early death, commanded 21 officers and 600 other ranks. Because volunteers were paid, the Regiment was always up to full strength!

The Carlow Rifles were in Navan in '98 where they only had a brief skirmish on the Boyne. The Militia, hated then and since, were, with exception perhaps of Wexford, rightly regarded by more informed observers, as a force for good. They used common sense rather than force and were 'superior to British Regulars', saving much bloodshed. Their loyalty, in no small measure, was due to their wages coming straight from the pockets of their officers, sons of the local landed gentry!

The officers were usually therefore Protestant and the Rankers, generally Roman Catholic. Capt. Thomas Kearns Deane-Tanner who commanded the Corps in the 1870's was also founding Fire Chief of Carlow Fire Services. William Desmond Taylor, film star and director, who would be murdered mysteriously (I will have his story and a solution to this killing in autumn 2014's Carloviana, DV) in Hollywood in 1922 was the Capts eldest son. Regiment members who transferred to the Regulars in the 19th C became known in the town as 'old fogies'. The original Regimental Colours were laid up in St. Mary's Church, Carlow in 1890 after the Regiment had taken part in Queen Victoria's Royal review in 1887. The Rifles were finally disbanded under the Haldane Scheme in 1908 which radically affected all British Army Regiments based in Ireland. This ended an exotic strand of Carlow's Military story.

Liam C'Neill

Ringforts are the most numerous of all the ancient monuments in the Irish landscape. They are also the most misunderstood. Because so little was known of their history a mythological explanation of their origins developed instead.

When I was growing up in Drumphea they were pointed out as "Fairy Forts", the abode of the little people. There were even Fairy paths connecting them which were for the exclusive use of the wee folk. To interfere with a Ringfort or a Fairy path was to invite the most horrendous consequences. In my own life time a local farmer removed a Ringfort, and the family were supposedly visited with many troubles. Both people and animals developed mysterious sickness etc etc. Such incident, real or imagined, reinforced the fear of touching Ringforts and ensured that they survived in large numbers to the present day.

Of course there is a much more practical origin for Ringforts. This study is based on the area around Drumphea, where clusters of Ringforts survive in Knockindrane and Ballinree. It also uses the 1839 ordinance survey map which shows the position and size of a number of now vanished examples.

County Carlow has suffered a loss of nearly two thirds of her ringforts, but enough survive to enable us to build up a picture of settlement patterns. Ringforts actually date from the early Christian period and it is remarkable how the archaeological record shows that so many of them date from the same narrow time frame between 300 and 800 AD.

Whether it was the influence of Christianity or just a coincidence, there was an increase in dairying and tillage at this time. Cattle had always been important in the Irish economy, but previously the emphasis was on suckler herds where the cow's milk was used for the rearing of calves, or simply drank. Now it was used for the production of butter.

The change to mixed farming was in all probability led by the monasteries, like those at Killoughtenane and Lorum, who practised intensive tillage and dairying. This was probably because of the example of our European and British counterparts. A British monk called Fortchern is traditionally named locally, along with St Finian as one of the founders of Killoughternane. No doubt he would have had extensive knowledge of similar communities in Britain, so Killoughtenane would have been to the fore in the improvement of agriculture. There was an increased need to protect calves and milking cows from both human and animal marauders. Some kind of protective structure was necessary where they could be enclosed safely. Ringforts filled this need.

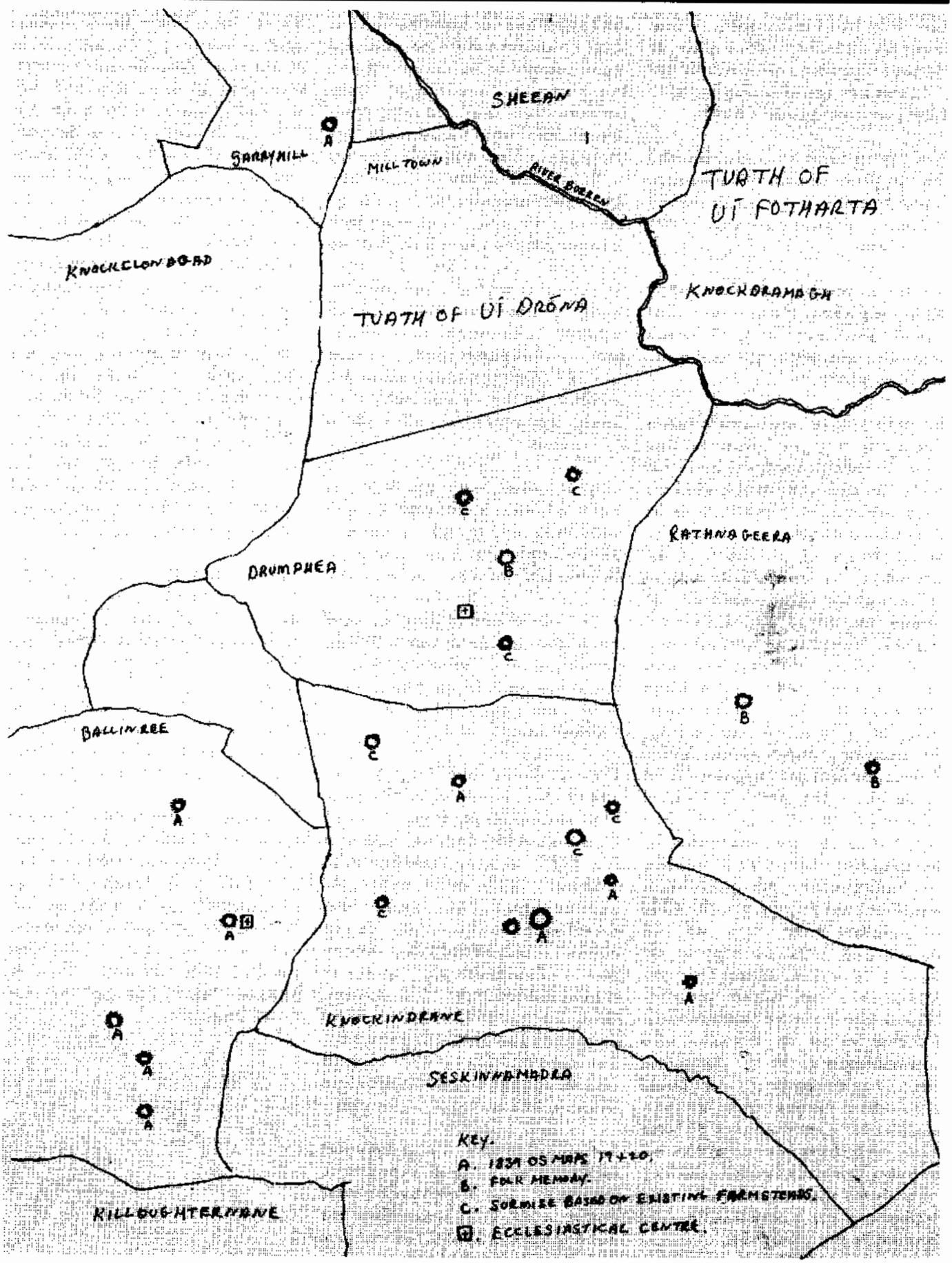
There may have been a much more spiritual reason for the development of ringforts. Previously people lived in scattered, unprotected farmsteads. The Irish tribes and clans had always praticed cattle raiding, and political questions were often settled by armed combat. This caused major difficulties for converts seeking to bring such new beliefs as "turning the other cheek" into practice in their daily lives. The earliest converts would have suffered most. The unconverted neighbouring clans still practised cattle raiding, so the new Christian found himself on the horns of a dilemma. His attitude to physical force had changed from offensive to defensive. What were his options?

A hedge of thorn bushes or a wattle and post fence would keep out animals, but for defence against humans a new element became necessary; the earthen bank with its accompanying ditches: surmounted with a palisade in the case of larger more wealthy forts, or posts and wattle for the smaller examples.

Siting was also important. A pattern developed where the strongest and largest ringfort was surrounded by satellites which were visible to each other. The lord in his ringfort at the centre of the cluster could oversee and muster his forces in case of attack. The ringforts were visible to him and to their neighbours so easy signalling was facilitated. Turning the other cheek was fine as far as it went, but defensive force would become necessary when cattle raiders appeared on the horizon.

The sizes and layout of ringforts can tell us a lot about how rural society was organised at this period.

The King of the Tuath or Ri with his family and retainers would have occupied a large fort with two or three concentric banks and ramparts. Various Nobles and sub clan chiefs, known as Aire Forgil or Lords of Superior Testimony occupied large ringforts of one or two ramparts. These were related


SHEEAN
SARRAHILL
MILLTOWN
RIVER BOREEN
TUATH OF
UÍ FOTHARTA
KNOCKLONGFORD
KNOCKDRAMAGH
TUATH OF UÍ DRÓNA
RATHNAGEERA
DRUMPHEA
BALLINREE
KNOCKINDRANE
SESKINNAMADRA
KILLOUGHTERNANE
Key.
A. 1837 OS MAPS 19 & 20.
B. FOUR MEMORY.
C. SURMISE BASED ON EXISTING FARMSTEADS.
⊞ ECCLESIASTICAL CENTRE.

closely by blood to the King, or held important hereditary office such as Brehon or Fili. They held sway under the King over a portion of the Tuath roughly corresponding to a modern parish.

Next came the Aire Ard or High lord and the Aire Tuise or Lord of Leadership. These occupied larger single walled ringforts and ruled over one or two town's lands.

The smaller ringforts were occupied by the lowest grades of Freemen, Boaire and Ocaire. These were the small farmers who were clients of the higher grades and rented their holdings.

Below them came the landless labourers and slaves who lived close to their master's ringfort. Some may have lived inside the ringfort, but most would have lived outside in close proximity to the fort and to each other. In studying the layout and size of the ringforts in the Drumphea area we can build a fairly accurate picture of the population. In making the map I started with the ringforts for which we have evidence. This evidence comes from the Ordinance Survey maps of 1839 and 1908, and from oral tradition. We can fill in the gaps using the evidence of Archaeology. Archaeological studies clearly show a definite pattern of ringforts being laid out in clusters. This pattern is repeated throughout Ireland with very little variation except that necessitated by topographical features such as bogs, rivers or mountains. Clan borders would sometimes also play a part in the siting of ringforts. The area we are documenting is on the edge of the modern barony of Idrone. The river Burren was the natural boundary between Idrone and the barony of Forth. Quite a lot of the baronies were coterminous with the old Tuathanna. Idrone was the Tuath of the Ui Drona tribe whose modern name has been anglicised as Ryan. Forth was the home of the Ui Fotharta, who are now known as Nolan. Our area of study would have seen it's fair share of inter tribal cattle raiding as it was a natural buffer zone between the two tribal areas.

The nearest surviving clusters of ringforts to Drumphea are in Ballinree (5) and Knockindrane (4). Drumphea has evidence of one important ringfort about 150 metres north of the grave yard and we can surmise that there would have been a pattern of related ringforts strung out northwards along the ridge down through Milltown. We know also that one ringfort existed on the upland portion of Rathnageera nearest to Drumphea. Rathnageera means the fort of the sheep. The castle which was subsequently built in Rathnageera must have been sited near an older fortification of some importance. Given that it overlooked the border of the river Burren which separated the Tuathanna it made sense to have it so strategically placed. There are no other ringforts documented in this townland, but there is a tradition of one having been sited about 600 yards to the Northeast.

Ringforts which were abandoned as human habitation in later centuries were often used as livestock compounds. Sheep are still reared in large numbers in the town land and before the permanent enclosure of land by stone walls; the ringfort with its impregnable thorn hedge would have been used as a safe haven for the sheep in mediaeval times. A lot of local names date from this period so it is fairly safe to assume this for Rathnageera.

There are three sizes of Ringfort in the area which are marked on the 1839 map. These are respectively; largest at 60 – 65 M, medium at 40 – 45 M and smallest at 25 – 30 M. Each town land has one of the largest. Ballinree has three of the medium and one small, and Knockindrane has four small. On our map we can only use conjecture aided by Studies of Archaeological patterns of ringfort distribution to fill in the gaps. Given the conservative nature of the farming community we can also assume that continuity of occupations on some sites would mean that certain of today's farms are built on former ringfort sites.

Accuracy of location of each individual ringfort is not really as important as showing the nature of everyday life of the ringfort society in the area. There was one Aire Tuise or Lord of Leadership in each Town land. Ballinree may have been the abode of an Aire Forgil who would have held authority over the other three. Each townland would have had two or three Boaire in the medium ringforts and five or six ocaire in the smaller ones. While the ocaire were the lowest grade of freemen they rented their land yearly from the Boaire or Aire Ard. They paid the rent by leaving one beast in ten behind when the year was up and they vacated the land. They could re-rent yearly and most did unless they fell out with the Lord. Male and female servants and indentured labourers lived in small cabins" of clay and wattles made" most of which were sited in groups outside of ringforts or near the church enclosures such as those in Drumphea and Ballinree, although some of these may have been sited within the larger ringforts. Excavations have shown that the most common form of dwelling house in ringforts was circular, although there were rectangular examples also. The main house was sited at the centre with smaller round farm buildings and enclosures near the palisade.

We can imagine that apart from military considerations, people lived in the usual style of farming communities everywhere. Neighbours would have helped each other to plant and reap just as they do today. They would have had friendships, fell out sometimes, but would have practiced a culture of interdependence. They were no different in outlook than their modern equivalents.

Eventually, ringforts fell out of fashion. People went back to using the single undefended farmstead model. They took a lot of effort to build and maintain and also increased militancy among the tribes led to a more professional warrior class who were on call at all times. I am indebted to "The Irish Ringfort" by Matthew Stout. Published by Four Courts Press.

William Dargan:

A great Carlowman

Dr. Fergus Mulligan

William Dargan, a distinguished son of Carlow, is famous for building a large part of the Irish railway system and for other major projects such as the 1853 Dublin Art-Industry Exhibition which he funded and built. Less well known are Dargan's many other business projects, some in the south-east, such as sugar production, land reclamation in Wexford and a thread factory in Chapelizod, Dublin that employed 900 people. This article covers a number of these projects, showing that as in railway engineering, Dargan was an innovative and generous investor in many fledgling projects with a view to developing a country that greatly needed his skills and his capital.

In 2004 there was an auction of 828 hectares of the sloblands Dargan had reclaimed in south Wexford, described as productive farmland.

Reclaiming Wexford

In 1845 John Macneill, Dargan's engineering colleague, prepared plans to improve Wexford harbour. With John Redmond and two former MPs Dargan set up the Wexford Harbour Embankment Co. taking a £7000 loan from the Bank of Ireland to build 8 ft (2.5 m) high embankments enclosing a large area of land, with a view to draining it and turning it to agriculture.[1] The secondary purpose was to improve Wexford harbour by narrowing the channel of the Slaney, improving the tidal scour and deepening the approach to the harbour. A pumping station built at Drinagh has been restored as a sloblands interpretive centre.

Work began at the north end in 1847 and by May the following year Dargan's men had reclaimed 1400 acres at Beggarin and Garrygibbon. The project went on for three years, enclosing 2400 acres valued at £36,000, which were then ploughed into ridges, laid out in 50-100 acre sections and drained. The next year Prof. William Sullivan reported the land was sufficiently free of salt to grow wheat, oats, barley and beans and by 1851, 650 of the 800 acres planted were doing well.[2] In 1854 another engineer Dargan worked with, William Le Fanu, was involved in the second phase, the south slobs, though it was not as successful as the soil never hardened enough to become truly fertile. These were a valuable asset once the land was under cultivation and Dargan used them as security to raise an £18,000 mortgage when he was under financial pressure in 1864.[3]

Bray: I do like to be beside the seaside

In the 19th century traditional seaside resort holiday resorts in Britain like Blackpool, Skegness, Minehead, Llandudno and above all Brighton once drew large numbers of visitors. When the Wicklow Railway opened to Bray in July 1853, Dargan recognised that being within easy reach if developed Bray could become one of these popular resorts. Up to then it was a very poor fishing village: St John Joyce described it as having heaps of sand, shingles and dunes with two cottages at Bray Head known as 'the Rat Hole'.[4]

Lord Meath of Kilruddery House owned much of the land around Bray and supported Dargan's development plans. With local businessman John Quinn, Dargan bought sections of land near the shore.[5] As the Dublin Builder put it he then removed the 'unsightly huts of fishermen and bathing women', compensated the occupants and then built the seafront esplanade, now one of the delights of the town. Bray Town Commissioners were suitably grateful and planned to raise a subscription to provide public seating but Dargan asked 'that the matter should be left in his hands'.[6] The Commissioners elected him a member in 1861. Lord Meath gave the leasehold to Dargan at an annual rent of one shilling, provided he 'paint, repair, maintain and keep the paling or fence' in good condition and the ground 'sewn with grass seeds and mown or clipped at all proper seasons'.[7]

G.R. Powell's 1860 *Official Handbook to Bray, Kingstown and the Coast* is dedicated to Dargan and details many of his Bray developments.[8] The first is Dargan (now Duncairn) Terrace on Quinnsborough Road, dating from 1854 with centre blocks of six houses and alternating smaller blocks of two houses, each two bays and three stories over basement. The terrace faces south towards Bray Head and each house cost £1800 to build (happily one of the end of terrace houses is named Dargan House).[9]

He was also involved in building Ravenswell Road and a bridge under the railway.

An unusual venture of Dargan's in Bray was his Turkish baths. He thought such places were a boon to health having visited a similar facility in Killarney. The official opening took place in Breslin's Hotel where a Dr Barker of Blarney gave a lecture on the baths' therapeutic benefits.[10] John Benson, the architect of the Exhibition building on Leinster Lawn designed a building with distinctly Moorish overtones. It had an arched roof with stained glass windows and a 'circular ottaman, with an octagon mirrored pillar rising from the centre of the cooling rooms'.[11] A Dr Haughton was in charge. The baths opened from 6 am to 11 pm daily (closed on Sundays from 10 am to 3 pm) and a single public session cost two shillings or twelve sessions for eighteen shillings including bathing sheets and towels; 'shampooing' was sixpence extra. Turkish baths were new to most people at the time and to overcome public reluctance to use them Powell advised visitors to forget travellers' tales of 'boilings, scrubbings, steamings' inflicted by 'Moorish attendants grinning like sable familiars on their trembling victims' or 'joint-cracking, socket wrenching, chest-jumping inquisitors'. Bray's Turkish baths were intended to be a much more pleasant experience.[12]

Dargan built this group of houses on Quinsborough Road, Bray. Originally called Dargan Terrace it was in later years renamed Duncairn Terrace.

There was much building work around Bray in 1860-1 as a result of Dargan's efforts including a mile-long seafront road. He laid out a common, a fair green and a market place, helped to install gas lights and removed the harbour bar.[13] He was also a major investor in a large new hotel on Quinnsborough Road, down from Dargan Terrace. The four-storey International Hotel designed by Edward O'Kelly was the largest hotel in Ireland at the time. It had a fine set of stone steps leading to a portico supported by Ionic columns and boasted (shared) bathrooms on every floor, a well-stocked wine cellar and lights and fires at no extra charge. Much needed to establish Bray's credentials as a major resort it opened in May 1862.[14]

At the opening banquet Dargan expressed his confidence in Bray's future and said Wicklow was 'unsurpassed for scenic beauty in the whole of the civilized world. It has sea and mountain beautifully planned ... Nature has done much for Bray and it remained for them to still further beautify and improve it.'[15]

But the hotel was not a resounding success, perhaps Bray was not sufficiently known or developed to support such a large establishment. Two years later Edward Breslin who owned the Marine Hotel in Dun Laoghaire now the Royal Marine Hotel (Dargan was also an investor in it) bought the International for just £7,000; it was said to have cost £24,000 to build. Many years later a fire destroyed most of the International, the remainder was demolished and a bowling alley now stands on the site.

Among Dargan's other properties were 14 acres on Main Street, sold for £11,000, five acres of the Carlisle Grounds (now home to Bray Wanderers football club[16] valued at £1,420) and 10-12 Prince of Wales Terrace. Dargan also leased a piece of land in Bray to Cardinal Paul Cullen for 900 years at an annual rent of one shilling.

Writing in 1861, Cusack Roney sums up Dargan's improvement works in Bray, saying that having withdrawn from many of his other business ventures he was now concentrating on Bray and the DW&WR:

The International Hotel opened in 1862 and stood near the level crossing north of Bray station. It was demolished some years ago.

Although the works of William Dargan may be seen in almost every part of Ireland, it is at Bray he has of late years concentrated his energies. ... Under his guiding eye, and by the judicious investment of his abundant capital, a small and comparatively obscure village has been rapidly transformed into a charming marine outskirt of Dublin.[17]

Dargan did have a number of other projects going at this time, having only just completed the Portarlington to Tullamore and Mallow to Fermoy lines for the Great Southern & Western Railway (GS&WR) and the Athenry & Tuam Railway. He was also very involved in running thread mills at Chapelizod with his partner, Benjamin Haughton.

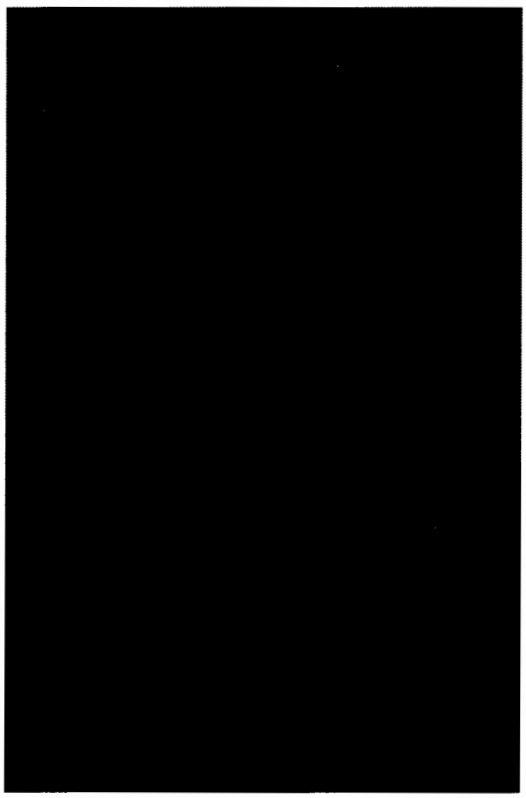
Bray gave some recognition of all Dargan did for the town when in November 1992 the Urban District Council hosted a seminar on Dargan's legacy. The event included the unveiling of a bust of William in the refurbished Heritage Centre and an exhibition on the railway and Dargan's influence on the town.

Herbert Dargan SJ speaking at an exhibition on William Dargan in Bray Heritage Centre in November 1992. His brother, Dan Dargan SJ, is behind him to the right.

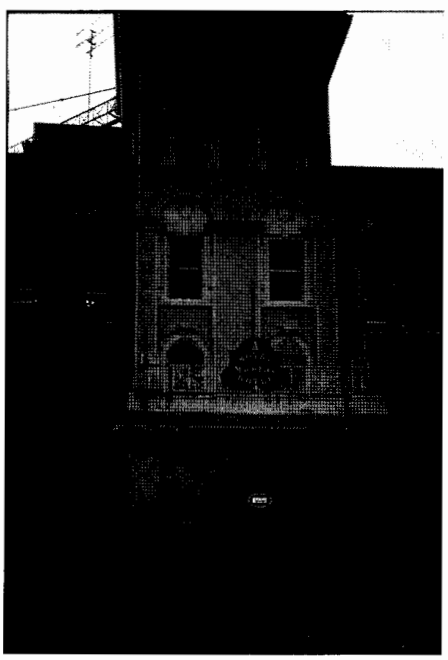
Dun Laoghaire and Malahide hotels

As well as the International Hotel, Dargan invested in two other coastal hotels, neither venture particularly successful. Promoted by the Dublin & Drogheda Railway, the Grand Hotel, Malahide, opened in May 1844 but four years later the investors wound it up. Among the shareholders were John Macneill, Dargan's colleague and engineer to the D&DR, William McCormick, Dargan's contracting partner on several lines, coachmaker John Dawson, bookseller George Grant, Charles Copeland of the Royal Bank of Ireland, the ubiquitous James Perry who was almost Dargan's mentor throughout his career and Pierce Mahony of the Dublin & Kingstown Railway. A group of four, including Dargan, took over the assets of the hotel and soon after agreed to sell it for £9702 to one of the group, James Fagan MP, who made a down payment of £1,732 and issued 5% promissory notes for the balance. Outstanding liabilities were £1,000 to the D&DR, £2,740 to the Royal Bank of Ireland and £267 to McCormick.[18]

A second hotel venture was the Royal Marine in Dun Laoghaire; it was equally disappointing. The May 1863 prospectus offered 20,000 £5 shares recently acquired from Thomas Gresham[19] who owned the hotel of that name still thriving on O'Connell Street, Dublin. His fierce opposition to an extension of the railway into the centre of Dun Laoghaire earned him a silver plate from the relieved citizens. Dun Laoghaire was then one of the main ports of entry to Ireland as well as a fashionable residential area so a comfortable hotel should have done well. Dargan's name is first on the prospectus and he chaired a board meeting at 113 Grafton Street on 10 July 1863.[20] The architect was John McCurdy and the £50,000 contract went to Cockburn builders. The plan was to develop the grounds in front of the hotel, lay out gardens and a promenade with terraced walks, statues, flower displays and a covered colonnade running down



The dinner menu at the Dargan Conference held in Bray in November 1992. It is signed by four members of the Dargan family: Herbert Dargan SJ, Dan Dargan SJ, their sister-in-law, Breda Dargan and their niece, Tessa Dargan.



In 2005 the Royal Marine Hotel closed its doors and held an auction of all its furniture and fittings. Happily the hotel with its fine interiors and platsterwork was refurbished and has since reopened.

to the mailboat pier.

Work began in the summer of 1864 but soon after the hotel company scaled down its plans considerably and reduced the workforce. A writer to the *Dublin Builder* who signed himself 'Not a Victim', said he rarely saw more than half a dozen men 'shovelling earth from one spot to another'.[21] But a few weeks later Cockburn's men were more active, filling in the 'unsightly hollow' running down to the railway to make lawns. The October 1865 issue of the *Dublin Builder* has an illustration of the new wing and central tower of this 'important and troublesome undertaking', with its 850-ft frontage, completed for £25,000, half the original cost.[22] A year later the hotel company had an £18,000 mortgage from the National Bank, secured by 23 acres of land and from then its fortunes went steadily downhill. By 1867 it was in liquidation but Mr Dargan was no longer concerned or involved, having passed to that bourn from which no traveller returns.

Dargan the improving farmer

William Dargan, being a son of Carlow, was more than just an industrialist and civil engineer, he was also a farmer who produced sugar beet, flax and wool, although many projects were less than totally successful. He was a director of the International Financial Society, set up to make advances on landed estates and involved in the Irish Waste Land Improvement Society which secured 5 acre holdings of underused land to be handed over to industrious tenants.[23] Although he did not play an active part, Dargan was an early director of Matthew Barrington's Farmers' Estate Society that recognised land insecurity as the basic cause of rural unrest. Such insecurity, said Barrington, 'renders the Irish peasant reckless, inconsiderate and improvident'[24] and he promoted his scheme through the Famine years.[25] The Society bought landed estates as they became available and resold them to farmers in lots of between 25 and 100 acres; purchasers repaid the low interest loan on easy terms. The Society's aims were highly laudable but largely unfulfilled although the press welcomed the idea, the *Freeman's Journal* commenting: 'We can never be at peace in Ireland until the mass of the people shall have a fixed, permanent right of property in the soil.'[26]

The first meeting of the Society was at the Dublin offices of Barrington Jeffers (Dargan's solicitors) in Ely Place on 30 October 1848 but little action followed and a year later the press was questioning accounting procedures and the running of the Society.[27] It seems to have had only limited success possibly because those most in need were least able to commit to repaying a loan no matter how easy or extended the terms.

Dargan was a member of the Royal Agricultural Improvement Society (RAIS), proposing a subscription to fund the annual cattle show to be held in August 1851.[28] He took the Duke of Leinster's place at a dinner in the Railway (later Great Southern) Hotel in Galway on 19 August 1852, which heard he had won first and second prizes, 5 and 3 sovereigns and a medal for butter produced on his farm at Moyvoughly, Moate, where he also grew flax (see below). The press was less complimentary about the food at the dinner: it was cold, cost 10s a head including a pint of wine and was 'as good as under the circumstances could have been provided'.[29]

Later with Pierce Mahony Dargan proposed holding the 1853 cattle show in Killarney and offered a £500 guarantee against any loss, travelling there on a special train with Edward McDonnell, chairman of the GS&WR.[30] Dargan chose the slightly unusual venue of an RAIS banquet in Killarney to make a speech about the importance of labour to the economy and society in general. Labour, he said, sustained rich and poor alike and industrial success depended on labour skills and the country's ability to employ every able-bodied man. He concluded by saying it was in the interest of every property owner to 'advance the intelligence, the capabilities and the producing power of every man in his employment'.[31] Ideas like these were

ahead of their time and while lauded were generally not acted upon.

The grounds at Dargan's Mount Anville house were in effect a small farm and at the Rathdown Union Farming Society dinner at Quinn's Hotel, Bray, in late 1852 he mentioned sending a consignment of butter to the Smithfield Cattle Show. James Byrne, Dargan's talented gardener, won many prizes for flowers, vegetables and fruits between 1852 and 1855. In April 1852 his flowers took first prize at the Royal Horticultural Society Show and six months later first prize for grapes, peaches, nectarines and the Hamilton Prize for the best collection of fruit, plus awards for celery, cauliflower and kidney beans. He also won awards at the Royal Horticultural Society of Ireland Spring Shows in April 1854 and at Salthill in July where suitably, the Dublin & Kingstown Railway sponsored the prizes. More awards followed from the Rathmines Floricultural Society.[32]

Dargan also became involved in promoting peat bogs as a source of energy.[33] By 1851 the Irish Peat Co. was making paraffin from turf harvested at Cloney bog, Athy and built its own narrow-gauge bog railway at Derrylea, near Portarlington. Dargan suggested he would invest £50,000 in the company if it seemed viable but it did not deliver on its early promise and a year later there were only four men working there.[34]

Cork linen: Kildinan flax mill

A more substantial project was Dargan's heavy investment in a flax mill at Kildinan, Co. Cork, producing the raw material for linen. Observing the industry at close hand when working on various projects in the north Dargan saw that managed properly flax could generate an income for many marginal farmers. In 1849 he acquired 2,000 acres from Edmund Burke Roche MP (later Lord Fermoy) who lived at Trabolgan House, a Georgian mansion near Whitegate, Co. Cork, demolished some years ago. The two became friends: Roche asked Dargan to be godfather to his son in August 1851, hoping the child would emulate 'the first Irishman of our day in energy, ability and integrity'. He also hoped Jane Dargan would accompany him to the christening.[35] Together they set about draining the land, planting flax and building a mill. Dargan told a meeting in Mallow courthouse he believed no other industry in the south could generate prosperity equal to that in the north. This is borne out by Sir Robert Kane's research from the early 1840s which estimated there were 100,000 acres under flax producing 30,000 tons of linen valued at £50 per ton, all of it in the north of Ireland.[36] Dargan quoted an 1839 report, which said there were 9,000 people in 40 mills earning an average of 2s 9d per week. The industry was indeed extensive but these are very low wages that would barely keep body and soul together. Dargan never paid his workmen less than nine shillings a week. Most millworkers were women or children whose health suffered greatly from the harsh conditions of the mills and a very poor diet.

In 1850 Dargan brought William Le Fanu to see the flaxfields and his engineering colleague was thoroughly impressed to see them thriving in 'the most luxuriant and highly cultivated manner'.[37] That summer the *Cork Examiner* published a detailed account of the Kildinan farm. There were 2,500 acres in the estate: 1,000 were under cultivation,[38] 500 were partly reclaimed and 1,000 were mountain. The manager's name was Rosborough and the farm employed 113 men and 87 women using new drainage methods to bring the land swiftly into cultivation. The reporter also commended the smoking ban among the workforce, 'an indolent habit which only requires a little firmness in the employer to entirely efface'. Roche told a meeting of the Cork Flax Society in December 1850 he was delighted Dargan had set up this plant to take all the flax he could grow. On behalf of the Flax Society Dargan presented a selection of linen tableware to the Lord Lieutenant on 29 October 1851 and served as a committee member of the Royal Society for the Improvement and the Growth of Flax in Ireland, contributing £40 in 1841-50 and £30 in 1852.[39]

At a meeting in the Devonshire Arms Hotel, Bandon on 14 January 1851 local farmers spoke of support from Dargan's adviser, A.C. Davidson, some earning £4 per ton of flax. The Chevalier Claussen production method introduced that year to reduce production time from six days to several hours involved metal rollers crushing the raw flax, dropping the seeds into a receiver while the plant itself steeped in six huge vats. On the floor upstairs workers cleaned the flax by hand, passing it through a winnowing machine. The 60 workers earned £50 weekly in total.

A few years later Dargan expanded his flax growing to Moyvoughly, near Moate, sowing 50 acres there, but already some were questioning Kildinan's viability. A press report in a northern paper suggested the Kildinan experiment was in trouble even though Robert Kane told a Flax Society meeting in Belfast Dargan was about to increase output. There had been accusations of mismanagement and incompetence aimed, Kane said, at sinking the project and forcing Dargan's withdrawal.[40] It is unclear who was behind this as the only group to benefit from the collapse of Kildinan were the northern producers but as the output from Cork was relatively small it is unlikely it posed a major threat. Dargan's letter of reply dated September 1851 to the *Northern Whig* is as usual concise and to the point: 'Your correspondent has been misinformed. I have not given up my flax mill or farm in the County of Cork. I am working both with as much energy as I can. Yours truly, Wm Dargan'.[41]

Much of Kildinan's output went to England and Roche planned further expansion, seeking a state loan to build 48 stands with extra space for breaking, cleaning and packing flax. The Cork Exhibition of 1852 sold 35 tons of Roche's flax at between 4s 9d and 11s a ton with a further 10 tons from Dargan's mill selling at the Cork flax market after it opened in February 1853.[42] Flax production continued to increase with acreage rising from 58,312 in 1847 to 175,000 in 1853 and 301,700 in 1864.[43]

Despite this increased output and the best efforts of Roche and Dargan the enterprise was in difficulty and it appears the mills were often idle for lack of flax. Le Fanu suggests that although Dargan supplied the seed to farmers and guaranteed to pay the current Belfast market price for flax, farmers on modest holdings whose living was already

precarious were reluctant to switch to a non-food crop and concerned that flax would exhaust their land.[44] Poor management may be another reason: the 1850s were exceptionally busy for Dargan and with so many railway and other works in progress he may not have been able to focus on a large business like this. Whatever the reasons, by 1862 Dargan was on the verge of disposing of his imaginative and initially successful but ultimately ill-fated flax project at Kildinan.[45] Ironically within a few years the American Civil War increased Union demand for cotton, reducing its export to Europe, while at the same time raising demand for linen as a substitute.

Unlikely bedfellows: Karl Marx and William Dargan

Dargan's Kildinan flax mill receives an unwelcome mention in Das Kapital, first published in 1867, the year Dargan died. In it Marx discusses the causes of industrial accidents, focusing on the flax industry in Ireland and in particular Kildinan:

> The reader knows that during the last 20 years, the flax industry has very much extended, and that, with that extension, the number of scutching mills in Ireland has increased. In 1864 there were in that country 1,800 of these mills. Regularly in autumn and winter women and 'young persons,' the wives, sons, and daughters of the neighbouring small farmers, a class of people totally unaccustomed to machinery, are taken from field labour to feed the rollers of the scotching mills with flax. The accidents, both as regards number and kind, are wholly unexampled in the history of machinery. In one scotching mill, at Kildinan, near Cork, there occurred between 1852 and 1856, six fatal accidents and sixty mutilations; every one of which might have been prevented by the simplest appliances, at the cost of a few shillings.[46]

Sugar beet and whiskey

Estimated sugar consumption in Ireland in 1852 was 50,000 tons, worth £2 million, almost all of it imported.[47] Anthony Marmion calculated an acre of beet produced 25 tons of sugar and cultivating it would cost £11, producing a profit of £5 5s. Since 32,000 acres would keep 100 sugar factories in production the potential market for home-grown sugar was enormous. In April 1852 Dargan travelled to Mountmellick with Thomas Bergin, Secretary of the Dublin & Kingstown Railway to visit the Irish Beet Sugar Co. factory, just starting production. The town had strong Quaker connections and Dargan's involvement with this and other ventures confirm the close links he maintained with the Society of Friends throughout his working life, as a contractor, investor and in many cases a partner. His actions and behaviour suggest he shared many of their values of hard work, self-motivation and integrity in business, if not so much their traditional sobriety.

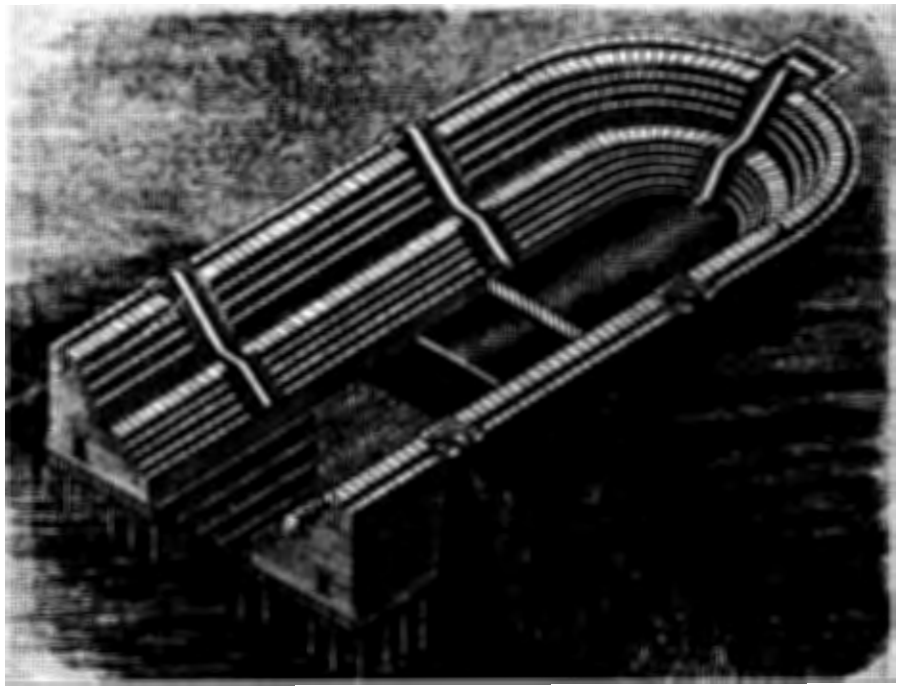
Dargan became a director of the company and his railway partner, William McCormick, also took shares in it. The firm brought a William Hirsch from Valenciennes to modernise the factory, then employing 150 people. Dargan estimated with all overheads paid the factory produced a ton of sugar for £6, which sold for £7 10s, a good profit. By autumn 1852 output was 20 tons a week with a projected dividend of 4 per cent.[48] Dargan exhibited sugar from this factory at the 1852 Cork and 1853 Dublin Exhibitions.

Difficulties arose in the autumn of 1854 as the Crimean war was blamed for a fall in sugar prices and thus the price paid to farmers. Many switched to more profitable crops and so did not deliver their agreed beet quota to the factory. Hirsch said there were still serious production problems and by October 1854 the plant had been sold to John Adair of Bellegrove.

Like sugar, nineteenth-century whiskey production and consumption were substantial with much of the output exported. Another short-lived and rather unusual venture of Dargan's was his investment in a distillery near Mill Hill, Belturbet, Co. Cavan. The Lough Erne end of the Ulster Canal is not too far from this town so it is possible Dargan saw the potential while he was finishing the waterway in the early 1840s. With partners Alexander Dickson and James Dunlop he bought a corn and flour mill at Strahagland for £7,000 in 1843 on land owned by 'Brindsley Butler, Earl of Lanesboro, a lunatic' as the legal papers put it, somewhat bluntly.[49] Dargan acquired part of an old infantry barracks in January 1846 consisting of houses, gardens, bogs, two islands, a dam, officers' quarters and a house known as Riversdale with 5½ acres as security against an investment of at least £3,000. At one time the distillery produced up to 100,000 gallons of whiskey annually but the partnership foundered and within a few months Dargan secured a judgement against Dickson in the Queen's Court for £8,000 plus costs.[50] Soon after making his will in September 1852 Dickson died and the distillery's affairs were in some disorder as Dargan tried to disentangle his late partner's mortgage deeds held by the Ulster Bank. The legal correspondence went on for some years and in a settlement finally reached in April 1854 Dargan estimated he was still owed over £4,000.[51] The distillery continued in production until 1885.

Running aground on the Dublin graving dock

Another of Dargan's tricky projects was the graving dock built for the Corporation for Preserving and Improving the Port of Dublin (CPIPD), more commonly known as the Ballast Board. The chairman was Thomas Crosthwaite who was President of the Chamber of Commerce, 1857-70, Dargan's partner in the Chapelizod thread mills (see below) and later his neighbour in Fitzwilliam Square. A graving dock is a dry dock, essential for cleaning and repairing a ship's hull and for many years ship owners had bemoaned the lack of such a facility on the Liffey. In 1848 the Chamber of Commerce commissioned George Halpin, William Cubitt and John Macneill to complete a report and a year later Halpin senior delivered the plans.[52] The Dublin Steamship Association, of which Dargan was a member, lobbied the Chamber to oppose tolls for any such dock and diplomatically queried the latter's competence to decide its dimensions: 'While the Association entertain the highest respect for that



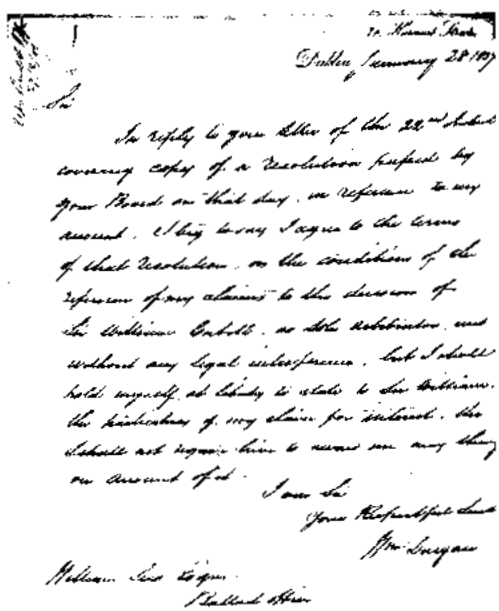
The first graving dock in Dublin Port as Dargan completed it in 1860; from a drawing in "The Engineer" *magazine.*

influential and useful body [the Chamber of Commerce] they may be permitted to doubt the soundness of their opinion'.[53]

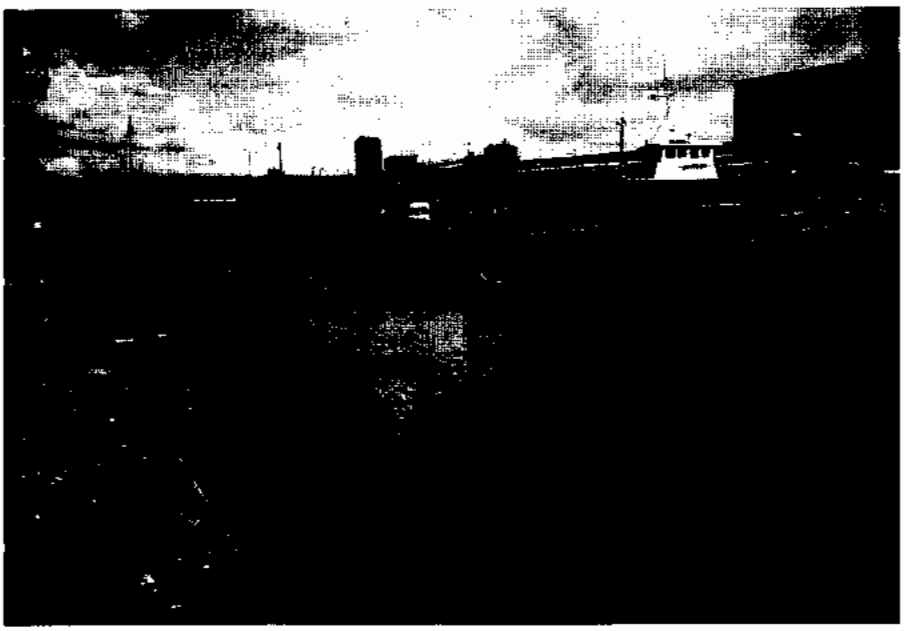
The cost estimate was £63,000 and Dargan's bid of £60,000 in 1853 was the third-highest of nine tenders from firms in Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Glasgow and Gosport but he still won the contract – something he had reason to regret. His sureties of £6000 were from his former partner William McCormick, now of Park Square, London, and William Coates of Belfast. The Board asked Dargan to extend the dock by 100 ft to be paid pro rata and he began work at the East Wall Road site in April 1854. Dargan built a short railway to remove the earth from the dock site, unlike at Belfast Harbour where he could dump spoil near the Down shoreline; there would be no Dargan's Island in the Liffey. By July he had a steam pile driver, pumps and good-quality stone on site. But there were many extended delays for a variety of reasons, many of them Dargan's fault. Thomas Codd wrote to the Ballast Board to say they 'had given a preference to Mr Dargan, even at a higher price than other parties had demanded, under an impression that the work would be done not only in the most effective but in the promptest manner' but there was little progress.[54] The Board wrote to Dargan reminding him of the 1 June 1855 deadline and followed up with a threat of legal action. Dargan was suitably penitent. 'Whatever may have been the delays and mistakes in the works ... (and I admit there have been some)' he promised George Halpin, the Board's engineer, that he would now finish the job promptly.[55] Meanwhile the cost had risen to over £100,000.

Dargan's finances must have been under some pressure as optimistically he sought regular payments and a loan of £15-20,000 from the Ballast Board against security of a promissory note and railway shares. In March 1857 Dargan told the Board he was almost finished and asked for early settlement of his accounts. Relations between the two had become very strained, over the pumping costs. Six months later dealing with Halpin's assistant, Bindon Blood Stoney, Dargan said he would cease running his pumps, making it impossible for the Board to work on the dock gates.[56] By the end of the year Dargan estimated he was owed £8,600 with interest of £3,500, against which the Board offered just £2,000.[57] Conflict was imminent.

Drawing on his experience of the Ouzel Galley's arbitration work in January 1858 Dargan suggested inviting the distinguished English engineer, William Cubitt, to mediate the dispute.[58] The Ballast Board insisted Dargan drop his interest claim and the only witnesses were to be Dargan and Halpin. It foresaw a long, costly affair, as proved to be the case. Cubitt agreed to mediate (but for health reasons in London not Dublin) and said the process would take nine months to complete. Both parties were surprised at how seriously he took the task, referring to it as his 'Court of Inquiry'. Halpin reported after a meeting in Cubitt's Clapham house that the old man insisted both parties sign a deed accepting his verdict in advance, whatever it might be. Each put their case after which Cubitt sent his son to Dublin to inspect the graving dock before taking further sworn evidence. He would accept written submissions provided both parties saw them. Halpin accused Dargan of bad faith in March 1858 when he insisted on the return of a set of papers the same day they were delivered before Halpin had a chance to study them: 'unpleasant and invidious', he said. Cubitt too said he was surprised at 'Dargan's mode of proceeding'.[59]



Dargan's letter to William Lees of the Ballast Office, 28 January 1857, agreeing to arbitration by William Cubitt, on condition that he (Dargan) be allowed to submit his interest claims.



The graving dock in the 1990s, watered but rarely used. Sadly it has since been filled in.

The proceedings gathered legal momentum with Cubitt's lawyers cross-examining Dargan and Halpin on such details as the kind of cement used in the dock. In November 1858 Cubitt announced he had reached a verdict, which he would pronounce once each party had paid half his considerable fee of £603 to his solicitors. When the payments were made he pronounced in favour of Dargan who was to receive £10,177 by the year end. He had won. But his immediate payment claims drew a cold response from the Ballast Board: 'An answer to be sent to Mr Dargan calling his attention to the last clause in the award', namely that payment was not due until 31 December.[60] On 31 December the Board paid Dargan £9,876 2s, retaining £301 8s paid to Cubitt.

The graving dock finally opened the following year on 9 February 1860 and the first ships into it were the *Agnes Anderson*, a 1,100-ton clipper owned by Messrs Martin, and the *Connaught* of the City of Dublin SP Co.[61] It was a low-key ceremony with only a few of the commissioners present; there is no record of Dargan attending. In a final, curious twist, the Chamber of Commerce, which had campaigned so long for a graving dock, offered its congratulations not to the Ballast Board but to Dublin merchants and shipowners.[62] The *Engineer* magazine described the dock thus in 1867: 'one of the most excellent specimens of material and workmanship'.[63]

Chapelizod flax and thread mills

Dargan's mills on the site of an artillery barracks at Chapelizod village in west Dublin were originally called William Dargan & Co. He put up the seed capital of £6,000 with Benjamin Haughton from Antrim, first as general manager and then as Dargan's partner. The five-storey mill was a big operation, 140 ft long, 40 ft wide and 60 ft high (43 x 12 x 18 m) spread over five acres and in 1856 employed 900 workers, two-thirds of them women.[64]

Two court cases throw light on how Dargan and Houghton ran the plant, confirming Karl Marx's criticism of industrial safety standards at Kildinan. In 1856 a spinning master named McCracken who earned 15 shillings a week caught his arm in machinery while changing a drum belt, resulting in amputation and while in hospital said the firm promised to look after him for life. On his return to work he received a lower-paid job and then became a night watchman before being fired. Giving evidence in the court of Queen's Bench Haughton denied making any promise to the injured man but confirmed the company did pay his wages while he was in hospital. The verdict divided liability, saying the company was at fault for not having better safeguards but McCracken was also at fault for not following safety procedures. The court awarded him £200 but just sixpence in costs.[65]

Four weeks later the company was again in court summoned by the Capel Street police office for running machinery half an hour after 2 pm on several Saturdays in July 1856, the working week being 5½ days as it remained up to the 1960s. The factory inspector denied the act governing Saturday work allowed an extra hour to make up for water shortages, the mills being driven by water wheels drawing their power from a channel of the nearby River Liffey. He argued that with 900 people the extra half hour's work meant enormous gains for the company. The company was convicted but the fine was modest: a shilling for each offence, hardly a serious deterrent. That the case came to court at all suggests a degree of industrial vigilance rare for the time but the nominal fine also suggests the offence was not considered heinous. A third case against Dargan in 1855 concerned a £500 contract with the English and Irish Telegraph Co. to lay wires in the streets of Dublin, sub-contracted to a James Hickey for £219. Hickey sued him successfully at the Queen's Bench for non-payment in 1855.[66]

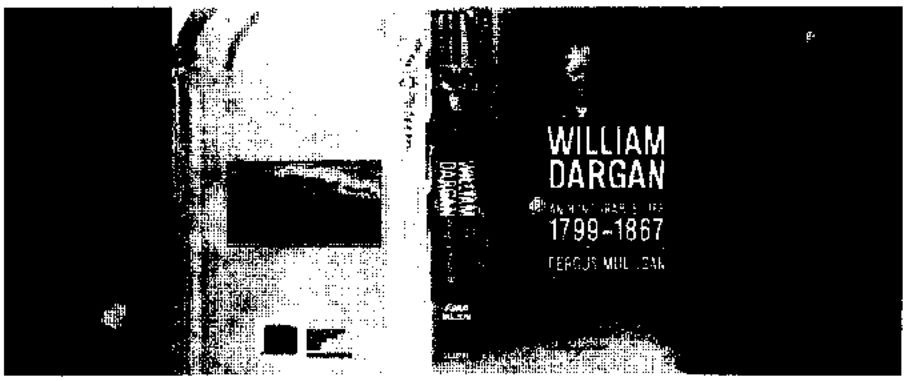
Day trip to Bray

One event shows a level of interest in the welfare of Dargan & Houghton employees, which was also unusual for the time. The mills closed on Saturday 28 July 1860 for the factory outing to Bray. That morning 700 men, women, girls and boys marched behind the factory band from Chapelizod alongside the Phoenix Park and the River Liffey as far as Harcourt Street station where they squeezed into a special DW&WR train of sixteen carriages, departing at 9.45 am.

On arrival at Bray they marched to Galtrim House where long lines of tables were set for a substantial dinner with plenty of stout and beer. The ladies ate first at 1 pm followed by the men, with dancing afterwards to a military

band. The party returned to Dublin at 7 pm and made the long trek back to Chapelizod, a visitor commenting on the absence of drunkenness, in contrast to similar outings in Britain. Dargan planned to be there but was up north on pressing business, probably the Banbridge Junction Railway.

This article is based on *William Dargan: An Honourable Life 1799-1867* by the author.



Between the second court case and the works outing a serious incident occurred when a fire broke out in the mechanical department of the Chapelizod mills early on the morning of 7 August 1858. Constable 192D spotted the blaze and fire tenders arrived from the Hibernian Military School in the nearby Phoenix Park with youthful firefighters aboard, from the police and from three insurance companies: the Royal Exchange, the National and the West of England. In those days insurance firms often ran their own horse-drawn fire tenders to reduce fire damage claims but of course only attended fires on their clients' premises. Insured buildings often bore a metal plate on the outside wall to indicate a particular firm covered them. The factory's own fire engine was in poor condition and the water pressure was very low 'as usual'. Lines of local people, doubtless many of them employees who lived close to the factory, formed a bucket chain from the river. Their efforts were well meaning but probably ineffectual against a blaze in a five-storey building full of highly combustible material.

Later that day Dargan and Jane visited the devastated site where the cost of the damage was put at £10,000 although fortunately the building was well insured (hence the three fire tenders). He and Haughton rebuilt the factory and by 1860 it was back in production. But by 1863 the factory was for sale, largely because of the over-supply of thread from England, according to Le Fanu's diary and also possibly because Dargan wanted to liquidate some of his assets to channel his finances into the DW&WR. Part of the sale included 48 delightful two-storey cottages still to be seen in the village of Chapelizod, including a hall, library and reading room and a manager's house and office. Dargan's engineer friend Robert Hoey showed an interest in acquiring the mills but they were bought by Distillers Co. of Edinburgh who converted the building to a distillery, producing 25,000 gallons (114,000 litres) of spirits a week. In 1875 it was valued at £66,552 and as well as the main building 'the greater part fireproof' happily, there were various outhouses, stores and warehouses.[67] In addition there were two steam engines from the Manchester engineering firm of Fairbairn, with whom Dargan had many dealings over the years.

Dargan's agricultural enterprises do pass the test set by the curmudgeonly Dean Swift when he said: 'whoever could make two ears of corn or two blades of grass to grow upon a spot of ground where only one grew before, would deserve better of mankind, and do more essential service to his country than the whole race of politicians put together.'[68]

Endnotes:

[1] Minutes of evidence of House of Commons SC on the Carlow & Dublin Jun. Railway, privately printed, 2 June 1845, privately printed, evidence of Mac neill; Furlong (1969), 53-77

[2] Dr William Sullivan, *Report to the Museum of Irish Industry,* 71; Thomas Lacy, *Home Sketches,* (1851), 251

[3] Diaries of W. R. Le Fanu 20 January, 3 February, 18 August, 6 September, 22 October 1853; Martin Nevin and Norman McMillan, "William Dargan", (n.d.), unpublished paper

[4] W. St John Joyce, *The Neighbourhood of Dublin,* (1976 facsimile of 1912), 83

[5] Meath Papers, land conveyances, 19 June 1858, 23 March 1861

[6] *Dublin Builder,* 1 November 1859, 140, 1 November 1860, 359

[7] Abstracts Index, Registry of Deeds, vol.38, Ab.108, 21 October 1861

[8] G.R. Powell, *Official Handbook to Bray, Kingstown and the Coast, (1860),* 11, 14; a work of pietas towards Dargan and promotion of the Wicklow Railway.

[9] Lease details of these and other Dargan properties can be found in Abstracts Index, Registry of Deeds, vols.9, 19 23, 24, 40, 1862

[10] Powell (1860), 16-18; William Garner, *Bray: Architectural Heritage,* (1980), 30; *Saunders News-Letter,* 20 August, 14 October 1859

[11] Siobhan O'Neill, *Irish Independent,* 19 February 1960, 6

[12] There were plans to turn the Turkish Baths into an assembly or concert room but after being put to various uses, sadly the baths were demolished around 1980. Two minarets survived in the garden of local historian, Joe Loughman.

[13] *Dublin Builder,* 1 November, 1 December 1860, 360, 380, 1 April 1861, 472

[14] *Freeman's Journal* 25 April 1862

[15] Dublin Builder, 15 April, 15 June, 15 July 1861, 487, 547, 578; 1 June 1862,

138; *Irish Builder,* 15 February 1864, vol.VI, no.100, 30

[16] I was at a football match at Dargan's Carlisle grounds between Bray Wanderers and Everton FC in 2004. The Merseyside team were not used to playing on such a small ground and in the pre-match warm-up kept belting the ball over the stand into Quinnsborough Road. At which a wag in the crowd shouted: 'Did youse bring a coupla spare balls?'

[17] Cusack Roney, *How to Spend a Month in Ireland*, (1861), 51-2

[18] Index of Abstracts, Registry of Deeds, vol.20, Ab.207, 10 August 1848; vol.1, Ab.120, 9 August 1849. In 1856 Dargan and McCormick secured a mortgage on 5 acres of land at Malahide.

[19] Dublin Builder 15 May 1863, vol.V, no.82, 91

[20] *Dublin Builder* 15 July 1863, vol.V, no.86, p.122. The company built only the centrepiece and south wing of McCurdy's design: O'Dwyer (1981), 129

[21] Royal Marine Hotel Co. to the OPW Commissioners, 23 July 1863, NA 11476/63; *Dublin Builder* 15 June, 1 July 1864, vol.VI, nos.108, 109, 123, 128

[22] *Dublin Builder* 1 October 1865, vol.VII, no.139, 232-3

[23] See Report of the Irish Waste Land Improvement Society, 1839; Report of the Devon Commission on the occupation of land in Ireland, evidence of Col. Daniel Robinson, 1845, vol.II, p.1, 5 June 1844, witness 287: HC 1845 (606) xix; 6&7 Will IV.cap.97; Thomas Campbell Foster, *Letters on the condition of Ireland* from The Times, Chapman and Hall, London, 1846, 225, 624, 653

[24] Letter from Sir Matthew Barrington to Sir Robert Peel, 28 October 1844, NLI Barrington Papers

[25] See *Dublin Evening Mail*, 11 February 1848; *Dublin Evening Post,* 15 February 1848; *Irish Railway Gazette*, 19 July 1847, 335.

[26] *Freeman's Journal,* 15 February 1848

[27] Letter from 'Patriot', *Saunders News-Letter*, 16 August 1849

[28] *Railway News* 23 January 1864, 96; 1850 Report of the Royal Agricultural Improvement Society lists Dargan's subscription as £1.

[29] *Saunders News-Letter,* 20, 21 August 1852

[30] *Freeman's Journal*, 30 October 1852, 13 August 1853; *Tralee Chronicle*, 1 October 1852

[31] *Saunders News-Letter*, 27 June, 13 August, 13 September 1853

[32] *Saunders News-Letter,* 26 April, 11 September 1852. Such was the reputation of the Mount Anville garden that the Barringtons of Glenstal asked Dargan to take on a young horticultural apprentice named Ryan: Jonah Barrington to Dargan, 9 December 1854, Jane Dargan Papers

[33] Bogs also presented problems for railway builders: for a study of these difficulties see Bernard Mullins, *Origin and Reclamation of Peat Bogs, (1846)* and G.R Mahon, "Railways and bogs in Ireland", *Jnl of Transport History* (1961-2)

[34] John Gwynne to Dargan, 20 November 1850, *in Great Irish Peat-Working Company*

[35] Letter Fermoy to Dargan, 11 August 1851, Jane Dargan Papers

[36] Robert Kane, *Industrial Resources of Ireland,* (1844), 314

[37] W.R Le Fanu Diaries, 18 June 1850

[38] *Cork Examiner* 9 July 1850

[39] Most annual subscriptions were a guinea: 11th Annual Report of the Royal Society for the Promotion and Improvement of the Growth of Flax in Ireland, 1851, 76; 12th Annual Report, 1852, 68.

[40] *Saunders News-Letter*, 20 September 1851

[41] Letter to the *Northern Whig,* reprinted in *Saunders News-Letter,* 20 September 1851

[42] James Owens to Commissioners of Public Works, 30 April 1853, OPW Registers 10104/53; *Cork Examiner,* 20 April 1853; Maguire (1853), 20, 371

[43] James Donnelly, "Irish agricultural depression of 1859-64", *IE&SH Journal,* 1976, 45

[44] C.B. Gibson, *History of Cork*, vol.2, 1861, 432; John Macneill tried a similar experiment near Dundalk but the factory burned down in 1857: Maureen Wilson, "Sir John Macneill", *Tempest's Annual*, 1973, 12-22

[45] Registry of Deeds, Index of Abstracts 1862, vol.19, Ab.89, 23 May

[46] Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, Chapter 15, section 9

[47] Maguire (1853), 383; Anthony Marmion, *A & M History of the Maritime Ports of Ireland*, 1860, 650-1

[48] Ibid. (1853), 24, 395-402

[48] Conveyance Dickson and Dunlop to Dargan, 19 October 1843; Declaration of Trust, Dargan and Dickson, 26 January 1846, Barrington & Jeffers/Garrett Papers

[49] Registry of Deeds, 1846, vol.6, 26 January, 28 February, Abs.92, 105; Assignment Nicholson to Dargan, 29 March 1849, Barrington & Jeffers Papers. See also PRONI D.1905/2/17A/3 (misfiled under 'Dorgan') which contains Barrington and Jeffers' forwarded legal documents to do with the distillery.

James Heron, Ulster Bank, Belfast to Messrs Garrett Solrs, 6 April 1853; John Thompson, Belturbet Distillery to Garrett, Belfast, 24 September 1853; Barrington & Jeffers to Garrett, 1, 15, 18 November 1853; Thompson to Ulster Bank, 4 August 1853, Barrington & Jeffers/Garrett Papers

[52] Report on the importance of graving docks, Dublin Chamber of Commerce, 1849, 36-8

[53] Corporation for Preserving and Improving the Port of Dublin (CPIPD) Board Minutes, 9 May 1853, 210

[54] Codd to Lees, Minutes of Council Proceedings, Dublin Chamber of Commerce, 17 July 1854, 299-300

[55] Dargan to Lees, 7 June 1855, CPIPD

Board Minutes 8 June 1855; Dargan to Halpin, 21 July 1855, CPIPD correspondence files

[56] Dargan to Lees, 4 June 1857; Halpin to Lees, 12 June 1857, CPIPD Correspondence files; CPIPD Board Minutes 25 September 1857, p.314; Dargan to Board, 25 November 1857, CPID correspondence files

[57] CPIPD Board Minutes 1857: 9 October, p406, 16 October, 407, 13 November, 428, 27 November, 435, 4 December, 438, 11 December, 441; Lees to Dargan, 14 December 1857, CPIPD correspondence files

[58] Cubitt built a large part of the Great Northern Railway in England and enjoys the dubious honour of being the inventor of the treadmill used in many Victorian jails for grinding or pumping but often as a monotonous and purposeless punishment.

[59] Halpin to Lees 19 March 1858, CPIPD correspondence files

[60] CPIPD Board Minutes, 19 November 1858, 208, 209. In desperation Halpin tried to claw back some of the award, accusing Dargan of dredging a small amount of clay and sand without paying for it.

[61] CPIPD Board Minutes, 10 February 1860, 133; Gilligan (1988), 127

[62] Annual Report of Dublin Chamber of Commerce, 2 June 1860, 30-1

[63] *The Engineer,* 8 February 1867, quoted in R.C Cox Bindon Blood Stoney, (1990). 14. Although the graving dock is filled in the stonework is largely intact.

[64] The figures are in a report of a dinner for an ex-foreman, James Smith, held at the Mullingar Hotel, Chapelizod: *Saunders News-Letter* 28, 30 May 1856

[65] *Saunders News-Letter*, 24 June 1856

[66] The judge remarked Hickey's counsel had argued the case with a degree of zeal worthy of a better cause: *Saunders News-Letter*, 16 June 1855

[67] Surevyor's report by Francis Beatty & Co., 18 Bachelor's Walk, Dublin, 20 July 1875; 'Dublin & Chapelizod Distilling Co.', *Wine Trade Review,* vol.XIII, October 1873; Distillers Co. of Edinburgh bought the factory in 1878: *Irish Builder*, 12 September 1901, vol.XLIII, no.1001, 860-1

[68] Swift (1726), *Gulliver's Travels,* Chapter 7.

Founding Members of Carlow County Museum

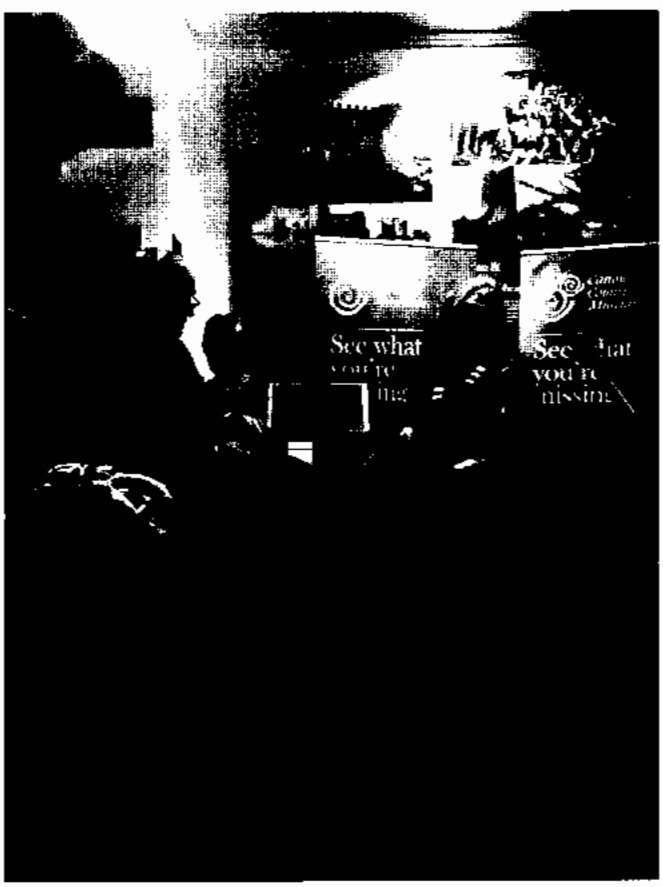
At a function held in Carlow County Museum on the 28th May the society, in conjunction with the Museum, commemorated the fortieth anniversary of the opening of the museum in December 1973 and honoured the nine members of the society (then the Old Carlow Society) who brought the museum into being.

The members were:
Alec Burns, Kevin Kennedy, Seamus Murphy Michael Dooley, Jim Moran, Brendan Nolan, Bill Kelly, Eddie McDonald, Pat Purcell

Their names are inscribed on a plaque placed at the entrance to the museum.

Two of the surviving four members were able to attend, Kevin Kennedy and Eddie McDonald but Jim Moran and Seamus Murphy were unable to attend due to illness. Representatives of the other five members attended.

The society hopes that the present museum is a fitting realisation of the ambitions of the founding members.



Mrs Eileen Brophy, Chairperson of Carlow Town Council and Mr Pat O'Neill, President of Carlow Historical and Archaeological Society unveiling the plaque to the founding members of Carlow County Museum at a function in the museum.

THE MEDIEVAL COUNTY OF CARLOW, 1169-1245: THE FORMATIVE YEARS

Dr. Adrian Empey

The intention of this paper is to analyze the historical forces that shaped County Carlow during these intensely formative years, when the county was not an independent administrative unit but an integral part of the vast lordship of the liberty of Leinster. Although the lordship was originally established by Strongbow in the heady days of the initial conquest between 1169 and his death in 1176, it was in many respects decisively reshaped by his son-in-law William Marshal, whose shadow lies long across the history of these islands. Because the sequence of historical events unfolded in a particular way ought not blind us to the fact that things might have been resolved in many other possible outcomes. The fact that they did not is not ipso facto irrelevant, because the possible outcomes form the backdrop of the actual turn of events. It is well to bear this in mind when considering the full significance of what actually occurred.

In order to do this I want to pause for a moment to consider the choices that faced both Strongbow and his successor William Marshal, while at the same time not ignoring the long and rather obscure period that intervened between his death and the succession of Marshal around 1191 or 1192. During this time Leinster was under the direct control of Henry II and his agents between 1176 and 1185, and thereafter by Prince John, each of whom left his mark on the development of the lordship in pursuit of his own interests.

It is not my intention to recite at length the conquest of Leinster, but we may note that the structure of the feudal lordships that it produced were very different from the lordships that the conquest of England produced a hundred years earlier, when, for example, Robert of Mortain held almost 800 manors scattered willy-nilly across twenty shires. Largely absent from this scenario are the territorially compact lordships of the sort that we are familiar with in Ireland, such as Leinster, Meath and Ulster, or the Butler lordship in north Munster. In the case of Leinster, Meath and Ulster, the Anglo-Norman rulers were directly or indirectly lords of all the inhabitants of their lordships, with the single exception of the tenants of church lands, to which we will return later. Compact lordships were the rule rather than the exception in Anglo-Norman Ireland. To all intents and purposes, royal officials had no place in the great liberties, except during minorities.

We must therefore conclude that in the case of Leinster the shape of the conquest and settlement was largely determined by Strongbow and Marshal as direct consequence of their concepts of feudal lordship. Within the span of half a century this resulted in the radical reshaping of the social, political, ecclesiastical, economic and administrative landscape for centuries to come.

In reflecting on this one must bear in mind the fact that they had no maps, no capital backing other than the resources of whatever estates they possessed in England, Wales or Normandy, and no consultants receiving astronomic advisory fees. Besides all that, they were often distracted by the pressure of events outside Ireland – Strongbow served Henry II in France – and William Marshal spent only two relatively short periods in his vast Irish lordship because of the stormy events across the Irish Sea created by King John's oppressive governance, not to mention the loss of Normandy and the troubles leading up to Magna Carta. Much of the work of constructing the lordship of necessity fell to trusted and highly experienced knights who formed the core of Strongbow's or Marshal's households. A good example is Geoffrey fitz Robert, lord of Kells in Ossory, whose name occurs in the charter of Carlow town. Nor should we overlook the fact that such men were not just experienced soldiers: by virtue of giving counsel to their lords, they were well versed in high politics. More than that, in having to oversee the administration of their own estates, they knew a great deal about management and administration. It would be a mistake to think of these men as the twelfth-century equivalent of the SAS.

In the light of such considerations, an analysis of some of the issues they had to resolve, though not necessarily in order of priority, is pertinent.

The Irish question.

The fact that Strongbow had Dermot

MacMurrough as his father-in-law can only have increased the complications of achieving a settlement with powerful Irish tenants. What status was he to accord to him in the feudal scheme of things? What territories were to be reserved to MacMurrough and his successors? We may note here that Ferns had been a MacMurrough centre, but somehow Strongbow got Dermot's agreement to found a town there, and no doubt to settle and fortify as well. Had Dermot retained Ferns in his demesne, he would effectively be left in charge of the bishop and beyond that the diocese of Ferns, which from Strongbow's perspective was not negotiable. What institutional arrangements were requisite for resolving border disputes or armed conflicts between MacMurrough's men and Strongbow's men? What agreed forms of military support were the MacMurroughs to provide in wartime? Even in situations where the Irish had been soundly defeated, as in the case of the McGillapatricks, such issues were by no means absent. Just because they were defeated did not mean they had gone away. They had at the very least to be reconstituted as tenants owing military services and rents, all of which raised issues of free status and appropriate forms of arbitration when things went awry.

Security

The question here is how much land should a great lord reserve for his personal demesne and how much does he share out among his leading vassals, who not only must be rewarded for their services during the campaign, but whose successors would continue to provide the military requirements of the lordship? How much jurisdiction should they be permitted in relation to their own tenants? Should they have a free hand in building castles, founding towns, or religious foundations? Should the lord retain the main strategic points along the periphery of the lordship, or entrust them to his vassals? And what about internal security, in the event of an Irish uprising or the disaffection of his vassals? Marshal had to face a baronial revolt led by Meyler FitzHenry in 1207, when Kilkenny castle was unsuccessfully besieged. The revolt seems to have had the tacit backing of the king, who was holding Marshal as a diplomatic prisoner in England while all this was happening. This crisis provides a good illustration of just how essential it was of Marshal to provide for the strong fortification of his major seignorial centres at Kilkenny, Carlow, Kildare and Ferns, not to mention creating a sufficient number of powerful vassals whose loyalty was not only beyond question, but also had the military capacity to hold the ring in such a situation, not least when the earl was detained abroad by the affairs of the realm.

How to best exploit the economic potential of lordship?

This was not just a matter of keeping accountants happy. A policy of castle-construction depended on finite resources, which depended in turn on the wealth that could be generated through agricultural exploitation. This boiled down to the large-scale development and exploitation of seignorial demesnes, besides other revenues of lordship: military services, rents, labour services, the profits of jurisdiction and so on. There was also the matter of trade to be considered, which in turn depended on a successful programme of urban foundation. Small towns deserve to be factored in as well because they were the means by which a lord ensured that whatever trade was transacted on his manor, the profits arising would not be siphoned off into the markets of adjacent lords. New Ross provides a superb example of careful urban planning. Marshal's foundation was intended not only to rival the royal port of Waterford, but to ensure that it did not capture the trade of Leinster.

A word of caution should be introduced here. It is tempting to think that the business of forming manors and towns could take place at a leisurely pace – say over a period of several decades – once the military business of conquest was disposed of.

In reality such a laissez-faire policy was not a viable option in the real world of feudal custom. Once land grants were awarded to vassals, the only way they could be recovered was either by means of a negotiated exchange or forfeiture for treason. A fief could, of course, revert to the lord by way of escheat if there was a failure of heirs, but such an event might occur only centuries after the initial enfeoffment. We are therefore not in the familiar world of land speculation, wheeling and dealing, and brown envelopes. What to grant, how much to grant, where to grant it, how much to retain, had consequences that were neither easy to correct nor to refashion. Land grants were the key to effective lordship and the key to the future. Everything hinged on them, including suit and service at the county or liberty court.

One remarkable illustration of this forward planning in action is the chance survival of a grant of lands and burgages by Strongbow to the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in the towns of Kilkenny, Kildare, Wicklow and Ferns around 1175.[1] What this charter shows conclusively is that Strongbow was not content just to fortify these places, but had gone much further by providing for towns, as the term burgage implies. If towns are being laid out, so too are the manors in which they are situated, including the reservation of the demesne lands. In the case of Kilkenny there is a reference to a church other than the cathedral which I take to be the nascent parish church of St Mary. Strongbow was evidently anxious to create a seignorial centre adjacent to the seat of the bishop of Ossory, as in Ferns and Kildare. Little or nothing could be left to chance or to random future development.
The settlement of County Carlow: an historical summary

Lacking maps, Norman lords were compelled to grant the pre-conquest territories of Irish septs to their leading vassals, which subsequently emerge in our documents as lordships coterminous with the major subdivision of the county called cantreds. These large fiefs in turn become the territorial basis both of the major administrative units of the county, the cantred with its serjeant and coroner, and with the major administrative unit of the diocese, the rural deanery. The names of the cantreds are reflected in some instances in the names of the baronies, which derive from a later period and often possess only a passing resemblance to the former cantred .

By reconstructing the original cantreds on the basis of the rural deanery, a reasonably accurate picture of Strongbow's subinfeudation of what later became the medieval county of Carlow begins to emerge.[2] First, Forth and Idrone (respectively the lordships of O'Nolan and O'Ryan) were granted to Raymond le Gros), with their respective capita at Castlemore and Dunleckney. Raymond subsequently granted Idrone to his nephew, William de Carew. Second, Tullow in the cantred of Offelmith, was granted by Count John to Theobald Butler sometime between 1185 and 1191. Tullow is mentioned (Machtaloe) in the Council of Oxford in 1177, which shows it was the subject of an earlier grant by Strongbow.

We get a glimpse of the state of things in Carlow in the arrangements made by Henry II at the council of Oxford, following the death of Strongbow. We hear of the service of Fotherd O'Nolan, the tenement of Machtaloe, which is the cantred of Offelmith; the service of Uthmorthi de Leighlin, which is presumably the cantred of Ui Muiredaig (medieval county of Kildare); the land of Leis (i.e. the cantred) held by Geoffrey de Costentin; and the 'whole land' of Otueldi, which may be a corrupt form of Idrone. It should be noted that there is no mention of Carlow.

Beyond these cantreds, it is difficult to determine what was going on in the remainder of the county. Gerald of Wales comments that there were few castles built in Leinster before the early 1180s when Leinster was still controlled by the king: in 1182 a castle was built for Robert de Bigarz in Oboy near Timahoe. More curiously, Gerald tells us that Hugh de Lacy, the king's deputy, built the castle of Leighlin on the west bank of the Barrow, which the king entrusted to Robert Poer. Significantly, he makes no mention of Carlow.

The Carlow question

Sometime before the death of Archbishop John Cumin in 1198, the archbishop at the request of John de Clahull, 'lord of the soil,' instituted Turstin to a moiety of the Church of St Congall of Catherloc, among other churches in Obargy.[3] Carlow was plainly a fief in the de Clahull's lordship and cantred of Obargy, and as such was not at this time part of the demesne of the lordship of Leinster, which explains why it was not mentioned in the Council of Oxford. The fact that de Clahull held half of the church in Carlow – one presumes the archbishop meant half of the advowson – suggests that the manor of Carlow was held directly by him in demesne. Whether the manor possessed a town as well cannot be determined from such minimal evidence, but given its strategic location on the Barrow it is more than likely that it did. So much is clear. The real puzzle revolves around the question as to how and when Carlow, but not the rest of the cantred in which it was situated, came into the possession of William Marshal. There are two possibilities. First, it is conceivable that an exchange or purchase could have been agreed between Marshal and de Clahull. We know, for example, that Marshal did a deal with Bishop Hugh de Rous of Ossory sometime between 1202 and 1218 involving the exchange of various parcels of land, including the advowsons of St Mary's, Kilkenny, and St Patrick's, Donaghmore, for the vill and cantred of Aghaboe.[4] A second possibility is that Clahull forfeited Carlow to Marshal for backing the wrong side of the baronial revolt of 1207-8, when an element of Strongbow's feoffees took on Marshal and were worsted for their trouble. Marshal's getting Carlow around this time makes a lot of sense, as he had good reason to be concerned about not having a castle on the upper reaches of the Barrow. While the arrangement with Hugh de Rous did not involve forfeiture, the strategic significance of Aghaboe was greatly increased as a result of the baronial conflict since it was cheek by jowl with Meyler FitzHenry's stronghold in the cantred of Leix.

The Leighlin question: a tale of two cities

We must reckon with two Leighlins. We know from its charter that Old Leighlin was certainly constituted as a borough by bishop Herlewin, the first Anglo-Norman bishop of Leighlin (d.1217). Constitutionally Old Leighlin was situated in the crosslands, and was therefore attached to the royal in County Dublin during the period under review. If Leighlinbridge was the site of the castle built on the east bank of the Barrow in 1182, it seems likely that the town of New Leighlin grew up around it.[5] Who, then, was lord of this town? Part of the west bank of the Barrow at this point is located in the parish of Wells, which contained the bishop's manor of Wells, thereby forming part of the crosslands. As such it was situated in the county of Dublin. That part of Leighlinbridge which lay on the east bank was in the parish of Agha, which seems to have been a knight's fee in the cantred of Idrone.[6] On balance I think the lord of New Leighlin was indeed the bishop. In 1295 the sheriff of Dublin in whose county the crosslands of Carlow were situated was commanded to seize the temporalities of Nicholas, bishop of Leighlin, for receiving William de Lieuc and his following, felons. The men of New Leighlin were also charged with receiving him and doing nothing to apprehend him.[7] It seems therefore that the sheriff of Dublin was commanded to execute these writs because New Leighlin was in the crosslands and not in the liberty of Carlow. Significantly the seneschal of the liberty was also commanded on the same day to seize the lands of named individuals 'inasmuch as they were attached in the Cross', that is, in the County of Cross of Carlow.[8] While it may seem strange for the bishop to create two rival boroughs in such close proximity, it should be remembered that William Marshal did not hesitate to found New Ross in the same manor as Old Ross when it was to his advantage to do so.

The pattern of settlement

Alone among the great cantredal manors of the medieval county, Tullow is provided with a detailed extent (1303). While the non-survival of other extents is entirely regrettable, we may be reasonably confident that similar patterns obtained in the remaining cantreds. I have reconstructed the lordship of Tullow on the basis of the deanery rather than on the basis of the modern barony.[9] One good reason for dissatisfaction with the modern barony is the fact that the present county boundary with Wicklow cuts across several parishes. While I admit that the cantred was probably smaller than I had originally estimated, as there is reason to believe that some of the

parishes lay in the adjacent cantred of Ui Muiredaig in the medieval county of Kildare, the principle of basing it on the rural deanery rather than on the present barony is sound.[10]

The organization of this huge lordship containing rather more than 40,000 hectares is very similar to other Butler lordships in this category (Nenagh, Dunkerrin, Thurles, Caherconlish, and Gowran). At its core is the demesne, corresponding to the parish of Tullowphelim, containing around 3,200 hectares. The adjacent parish of Lescolman (just over 1000 hectares) formed an additional element of the demesne, perhaps added by means of escheat at some later stage. Typically the demesne consisted of a castle, an incorporated town, and extensive demesne lands, the profits of which were paid directly to the lord. The rest of the lordship was composed of military fiefs - Clonmore and Ardoyne among others - and other forms of tenancy, all of which owed services of one kind or another to the lord, including suit in the seignorial court of Tullow.

On the basis of this outline we may draw three important conclusions. First, from the perspective of Strongbow and Marshal, the lordship of Tullow provided a defensive bulwark in the north-eastern border of the county, rendering the service of four knights to the host of the liberty of Leinster. The actual task of organising and settling it in detail fell to the lord of Tullow. Much of the detailed process of Anglo-Norman settlement was therefore largely the achievement of lower ranking lords and not the lords of Leinster. One might say it that was substantially the achievement of subcontractors. Second, the amount of land reserved in demesne was remarkably large, showing the clear intention of exploiting their profits to the full. Such foresight by these founding lords in the late twelfth century formed the basis of the remarkable productivity and profitability of the seigniorial demesnes revealed in Bigod accounts in the second half of the thirteenth century. Third, in spite of the dearth of surviving records – manorial extents in particular – it is reasonable to propose that pattern of seignorial organisation visible in Tullow was not dissimilar to those that obtained in the other cantreds of the medieval county.

Strongbow's achievement: an assessment
From a military point of view, Strongbow's achievement speaks for itself. He was of course fortunate to have experienced and able commanders of the calibre of Raymond le Gros, not to mention other Cambro-Norman tenants in his following that were well equipped to look after themselves in tight corners, as Gerald of Wales never lost an opportunity to point out. Independently of Gerald, one could say that the results of their endeavours speak for themselves.

That said, Henry II's permanent retention of Strongbow's hard-won major prizes, Dublin and Waterford, and the temporary withholding of the city of Wexford, left Strongbow with a half-subdued interior, which he did not survive long enough to organize definitively. Much of central and northern Ossory, for example, was not yet settled. While he understood the significance of securing the river network, the high roads into the interior, it is far from clear that he envisaged Kilkenny, Carlow, Kildare and Ferns as his anchor points. Perhaps the loss of Waterford and Dublin propelled him to find alternatives of the sort that ultimately contributed to their emerging importance. Had Strongbow lived till the end of the century, Leinster might well have been organized on a different basis to Marshal's scheme.

Minority of Isabel de Clare, 1176-1191
It is clear that the process of settlement in Leinster did not stop during this period, but neither should we forget that the future of Leinster was far from secure. Minorities were always dangerous. The custodians of Leinster during the long minority were mainly interested in enriching themselves and their followers, which in certain respects constituted a greater danger than the Irish could offer to the integrity of the lordship. The ravages visited on it by Prince John are a case in point. He availed of every opportunity to pillage his custody by granting lands and lordships to his followers, among them Theobald FitzWalter. The danger here was that the services and allegiances of the new tenants might well have been permanently alienated, and thereby lost to Strongbow's successors, lords of Leinster. Had King Richard turned a blind eye to John's alienations, only a semblance of Strongbow's inheritance would have remained.

Achievement of William Marshal, lord of Leinster, 1191-1219

Marshal not only saved Leinster from imminent dissolution, but was outstandingly successful in placing it on secure and enduring foundations. He inherited the mess left by Prince John's custodianship. Unlike Strongbow, he was not in position fundamentally to reshape the lordship because it had already been in existence for more than twenty years before he took over the reins of lordship. He had to work with what he had, and while that was lot on paper he did not in practice have the unqualified loyalty of the Strongbow-era baronage, as we see from the events of the baronial war in 1207. He had instead to introduce his own men, and reward them appropriately with lands and lordships. Here he had little room for manoeuvre because most of Leinster was already spoken for, except central and northern Ossory. It was here that Marshal found land for loyal members of his own household, men like Thomas FitzAnthony, Geoffrey FitzRobert, and others whose loyalty was unquestioned, and who were simultaneously men of ability and experience in government.

Marshal also set about the essential task of building up the seignorial demesne by fortifying and settling to a greater of lesser degree the manors of Callan, Odogh, Offerlane and Aghaboe, not to mention other smaller but ultimately more profitable manors in central Kilkenny. The success of this essential endeavour can be measured by the fact that the castle and town of Kilkenny were never seriously threatened before the advent of Cromwell. He finally recovered the lordship of Dunamase after a long and bitter battle with Meyler FitzHenry, who was simultaneously Marshal's vassal and an agent of King John, and was fortunate to acquire Forth in Carlow by escheat. All of this contributed enormously towards increasing seignorial revenues on the scale that was to be revealed in 1247 with the division of the lordship.

Governance

Marshal clearly set great store by the development of towns on his demesnes. Quite a few of his urban charters, or later reissues of them, have survived, including Carlow's . His farsightedness in this respect is most clearly seen in his foundation of New Ross, which he planned on a generous scale. Clearly he intended it to exploit the import and export trade of his enormous lordship, while at the same time fending off the challenge of its royal competitor, Waterford. The trading success of New Ross proved to be enduring.

Marshal seems also to have been responsible for building or rebuilding the seigniorial castles of Kilkenny, Carlow, and Ferns, which he doubtless intended to serve both as administrative centres and cardinal defensive points. We have already noted his successful policy of securing castles and lordships in northern Ossory and in the strategic lordship of Leix, which would have included Dunamase.

Although the seneschal of Leinster continued to render account for the whole of Leinster at the exchequer in Dublin until 1245, the lordship was very probably subdivided into counties well before that date. We hear of a county court in Wexford in 1204, and a sheriff of Kilkenny sometime between 1202 and 1212. A sheriff of Kildare makes an appearance in 1224. Since the tenants of the lordship had the obligation of doing monthly suit at the county court, it is clear that one county court would not work for the whole of Leinster, since distances would place insupportable demands on the suitors. The existence of a county court necessitates the appointment a sheriff, supported by serjeants and coroners located in the cantreds to give force to legal procedures. It was possible for a sheriff to preside over more than one county court, as was the case in the county of Munster in the first half of the thirteenth century, but even in that situation each county would have had the usual administrative apparatus. Thus the fact that we hear nothing of a sheriff of Carlow or of a county court of Carlow before the division of 1247 does not mean that it did not exist long before that date. On the contrary, it is likely to have been established not much later than 1220 and possibly a decade or two earlier.

Conlusions

The introduction of the county system by the Anglo-Normans was one of the most enduring administrative achievements of the early-thirteenth century, much as the territorial dioceses of the previous century have endured virtually unchanged for almost a millennium. Over the course of the centuries County Carlow was considerably reduced by virtue of the territorial losses it sustained as a direct consequence of the Gaelic revival in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. As in the case of the medieval counties of Tipperary, Kilkenny, Kildare and Dublin, for example, the core Anglo-Norman areas of County Carlow persisted. The modern counties of Offaly, Laois, and Wicklow were in effect composed from the Tudor reconquest of these lost territories. That the medieval counties stood the test of time owed something, certainly, to the adaptability of the county system, but in the final analysis their survival rested on the solid achievement of the feudal lords who conquered and settled the core areas in the twelfth century.

Footnotes:

[1] *The calendar of ancient deeds and monuments preserved in the Pembroke Estate office, Dublin* (Dublin, c.1891), pp 11-12. No editor is named.

[2] For the standard work on cantreds see Paul MacCotter, *Medieval Ireland: territorial, political and economic divisions* (Dublin, 2008), and in particular his reconstructions of the cantreds of the medieval county of Carlow (C1 [Fotheret Onolan] C2 Obarthi], C3 [Oboy], C4 [Odone], and C5 [Ofelymeth]. I attempted to construct an outline of these cantreds in my chapter, 'The liberty and counties of Carlow in the high middle ages' in Thomas McGrath (Ed.), *Carlow: history and society* (Dublin, 2008), pp153-71. While I defer to MacCotter's greater knowledge of the principles underlying these reconstructions, I am not entirely convinced by his reconstruction of Offelmith, which locates Baltinglass in the cantred of Omurthi in the medieval county of Kildare. In 1420 Thomas Coynge the collector of a subsidy from the lands and tenements of the abbot of Baltinglass in Co. Carlow (H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, *Parliaments and councils of medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1947), p.155.)

[3] Charles McNeill (Ed.), *Calendar of Archbishop Alen's register, c.1172-1534* (Dublin, 1939), p, 26. While I was aware if this deed before the conference, I was frankly puzzled by it, as I could not at the time see how William Marshal could have converted a fief in the lordship of John de Clahull into a major seigniorial centre. Thanks to some illuminating conversations with Dr Kieran O'Conor and Dr Marguerite Murphy in the course of the conference. I am now quite satisfied that Carlow was unquestionably located in the lordship and cantred of Obargy. Sometimes it is possible to miss the obvious.

[4] Newport B. White (Ed.), *Irish monastic and episcopal deeds,A.D. 1200-1600* (Dublin, 1936), pp. 213-21.

[5] 'New' Leighlin is mentioned several times in the justiciary rolls, including the famous occasion in 1305 when the men of New Leighlin attacked and worsted the retinue of the bishop of Ossory, who was passing through the town. For references to New Leighlin see for example *Cal. Justice. Rolls Ire., 1295-1303*, p,66; 1303-1307, p. 42-3; 1308-1314, p. 172.

[6] See E. St John Brooks, *Knights' fees in counties Wexford, Carlow and Kilkenny* (Dublin, 1950), p. 78. Agha was held by William Tallon of Sir Peter Carew, lord of Idrone, in 1584. The Tallons (variously spelt in the sources) were tenants of the manor of Dunleckney in the thirteenth century, and no doubt go back to the original subinfeudation of the manor.

[7] *Cal. Justice. Rolls Ire., 1295-1303.* P.66

[8] Op.cit., 1295-1303, p.66

[9] See my map in Carlow: *history and society,* p. 157

[10] See my comments in footnote 2

Prelude to rebellion:

The Murder of William Bennett in 1797 and Leighlinbridge's 'Ten Day Republic'

Shay Kinsella

Prologue

On the morning of Wednesday 10 March 1802, Luke Foster opened his watchmaker's shop on Tullow Street in the centre of Carlow town. It was almost four years since the rebellion which had reduced the thoroughfare to a mass of smouldering ashes and human remains. Trade was beginning to return to some semblance of normality and the street had been re-built to a large extent. However, events were very raw and the savagery of the government forces was so memorable that many in the county town still feared to speak of '98. It would be several more years before the butchery was openly condemned or discussions of the 'slaughter in Carlow' would appear in publications like the *Irish Magazine.*[1] Foster was living in a town which had become an increasingly sectarian place and where the legacy of that summer was written into all human interaction, despite best efforts to forget. However, as he worked at his craft that day, a relic of '98 was brought into his shop which inevitably called forth the ghost of a man, whose death had ignited many violent fires in the county and served as a prelude to rebellion.[2]

Foster's attention had been called to a customer who wanted a valuation on a silver watch. His name was Robert Lawler, a mason who hailed from School Park in Leighlinbridge. As Foster looked the watch over, a memory danced across his mind and he realised he had held the exact same timepiece in his hands on another occasion. Five years previously, a gentleman farmer named William Bennett had been in the shop and had asked Foster to clean it up and 'set it to rights'. Foster was well aware of Bennett's later fate: murdered in his own home in October 1797 for daring to speak out against the doings of the Society of United Irishmen. As he held the watch that had been robbed from Bennett's home that night and as he looked over the individual who had obviously received possession of it by foul means, Foster decided to take a stand. He felt obliged to have justice done to the personal effect of a man who had been denied all such considerations on the night of his murder. In the name of William Bennett, Foster seized the watch and bravely confronted his customer.

Part 1:

William Bennett and the history of Carlow in 1798

In the historiography of the rebellion in Carlow in 1798, the murder of William Bennett is an event writ large in the major primary and secondary sources. It is portrayed as a barbarous and pointless attack on an innocent Protestant farmer who had the temerity to express his own views. It is widely acknowledged as a key event of awakening, that kick-started the countdown to the violence of May and June of 1798 —the first real event of note in the war between rebel and loyalist in the county. Despite the fact that it is widely cited as the beginning of intensive operations in Carlow, the exploration of the episode is limited to a couple of paragraphs in the best modern analyses of the rebellion (e.g. in Sr. Maura Duggan's sublime MA thesis, *County Carlow: a study in an era of revolution, 1791-1801).* Indeed, it seems that all commentators have underestimated the importance of the murder and the chain of events it set in motion. Many of the features of the 1798 rebellion in a Carlow context (the solidarity of the county gentry, the rise of the Orange order, the strength of the United movement in Leighlinbridge etc.) can be said to have their origins in Bennett's murder. It was a moment of genesis on both sides of the political divide — a fulcrum, rather than simply another event in a linear chronology of atrocities.

The killing of Bennett is highly significant and worthy of attention for a number of reasons. Firstly, it was the first murder in the county attributed to the United movement and as such, it is important for the panic it inspired among the loyalist community. For the politically-aware Protestants, it confirmed their worst fears; for the uninitiated, it was a shocking wake-up call for getting off the fence. It was a defining moment which instigated a chain of events that ultimately resulted in the entire county being proclaimed by government on the 15 November 1797. As Maura Duggan has argued, 'certainly, from the murder of Bennett onwards there was much more activity in upholding law and order on the part of the traditional and legal rulers of the county'.[3]

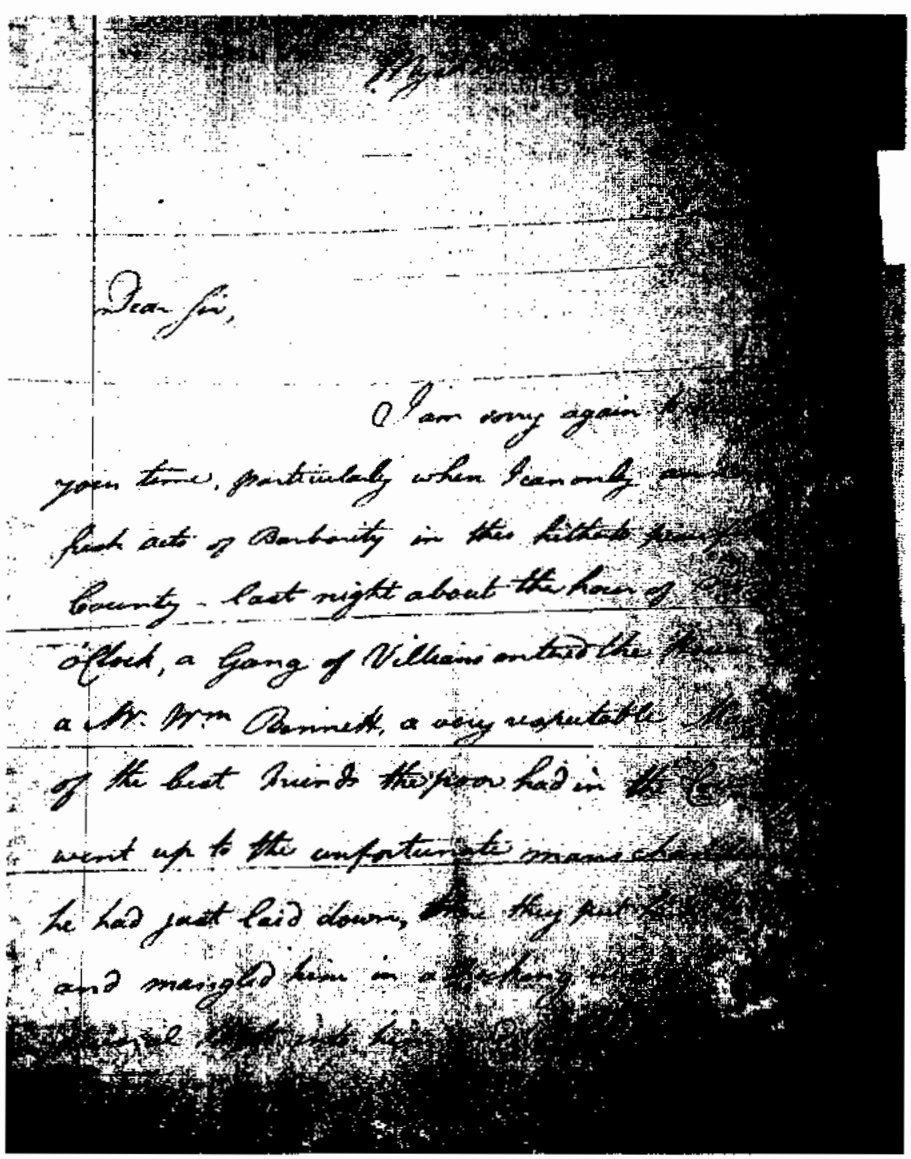
Secondly, it highlighted Leighlinbridge as the most powerful centre of subversive activity in Carlow outside the county

town. The murder was an indication of the confidence and perceived strength of the local unit of the United Irishmen and it formed part of a plan for 'a general uprising' in the area that autumn, several months before the executive in Dublin authorised a national surge. This plot, revealed to the authorities in Leighlinbridge by informants and loose tongues, provoked lengthy and sustained government intervention in the village and its environs (through military occupation) from early November onwards which reached a bloody climax in the trials and executions there in June of 1798.[4] Thirdly, the murder accelerated the marked split in the community down religious and political lines and foreshadowed the intense sectarianism which was to become a marked feature of the rebellion in Carlow, particularly after the arrival of the Orange Order onto the local scene in early 1798. Bennett's Protestantism (and its associations with social power, landownership political authority) was certainly a factor in his fate.

Finally, and most importantly, Bennett's death should be understood as a powerful catalyst that channelled the two opposing sides into more assertive and aggressive action and made Carlow the greatest centre of activity in Leinster outside of Wexford in 1798. On the loyalist side, the powerful fears engendered by the murder acted as a binding force on the local Protestant population, split by petty rivalries and party politics up to that point. It unified them and made the embrace of an aggressive defence all the easier, fashioning the extremism of the Orange agenda into an acceptable, even necessary tool. As a direct consequence of the murder, Carlow became possessed of what Professor L.M. Cullen has called 'a cohesive loyalist force, destined to become the driving force of loyalism in south Leinster'.[5] In terms of both United Irish organisation and activity, and the loyalist response in securing the proclamation of the county, Cullen has argued that 'Carlow set the pace for the rest of south Leinster' in the lead-up to 1798.[6] On the rebel side, the murder had the effect of channelling subliminal hopes and burgeoning confidence into all-out and premature celebrations. A few moments of action in Bennett's house led to ten days of celebration which might reasonably be called a 'Ten day Republic' in Leighlinbridge from Wednesday 25 October until Friday 3 November 1797, when the United Irishmen whipped the reins of power from a terrified loyalist population, and became convinced of their invincibility. For those ten days, they could not see beyond the immediate success they had achieved in silencing a prominent Protestant opponent. They did not see the attack for the excessive and counter-productive event it was. Instead of counselling them into more considered action, it made them giddy and prompted a certain degree of arrogance in some of them, spurring them on to an ambitious campaign they were ill-equipped to successfully conduct. In the months to follow, the blood of hundreds of individuals, both innocent and culpable, was arguably spilled in the loyalist attempt to avenge William Bennett.

There are three main sources relating to the murder which allow a factual reconstruction of the event itself.[7] Firstly, there are the letters of two Carlow magistrates (Robert Cornwall of Myshall Lodge and William Burton of Burton Hall) to Chief secretary Thomas Pelham and under-secretary Edward Cooke in Dublin Castle in late 1797, available in the Rebellion papers of the National Archives.

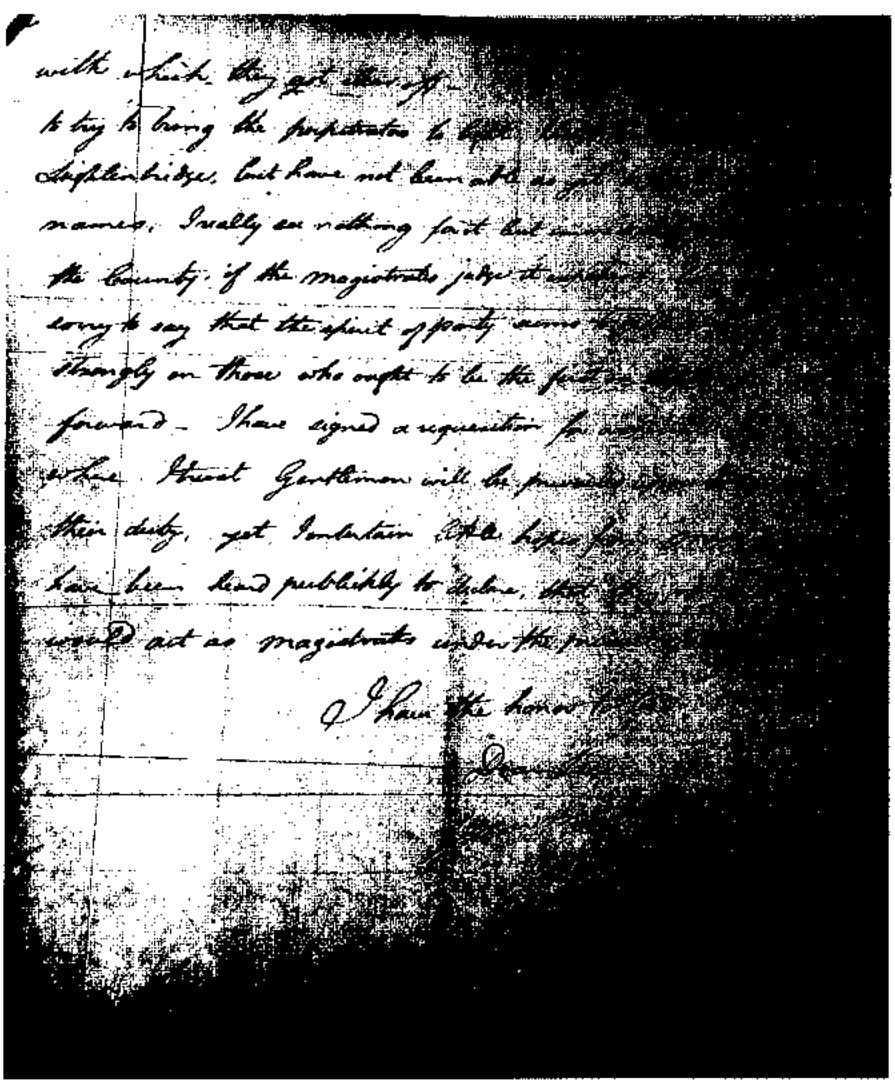
Secondly, brief and cursory accounts of the murder appear in two contemporary accounts: the polemical *Memoirs of the Different Rebellions in Ireland* by Sir Richard Musgrave (undoubtedly based on evidence supplied by his correspondent, Robert Cornwall) and also in the famous memoir of William Farrell. Despite its brevity, reliance on hearsay and imagined dialogue, Farrell's account offers an insight into how the event was viewed by the community at


Dear Sir,

I am sorry again to
your time, particularly when I can only
such acts of Barbarity in this little
County - last night about the hour of
o'Clock, a Gang of Villains entered the
a Mr. Wm Bennett, a very respectable
of the best Friends the poor had in the
went up to the unfortunate man
he had just laid down, when they put
and mangled him in a
and left him

large and also shows how Bennett's name came to the attention of the entire county after his death — a fact at odds with his quiet and retiring lifestyle up to that point. The third main source of information is the newspaper accounts of the day, both Irish and English. Publications like *Finn's Leinster Journal* and the *Freeman's Journal* provide details of the response of the official authorities to the murder and they printed copies of the proclamations which were issued offering rewards for Bennett's killers. Some British news-papers (like the *Times*) carried the story in brief reports, but one report in the *Whitehall Evening Post* (published in London) on 2 November provides a surprisingly detailed account of events in Bennett's house on the night of his murder and gives information which is not available elsewhere, such as descriptions of Bennett's household on the night of his killing, the attack itself and conversations which allegedly took place at the scene. The source of the information is unknown but the report appears to have been written by a staff correspondent based in Dublin who probably gained his information from a Bennett servant. The story appeared only eight days after the murder itself, which was a relatively quick appearance in a London newspaper and suggests that the report was sent directly from Ireland shortly after the event.

An analysis of these sources allows a rounder and more insightful portrait of Bennett and his times than has been presented to date. Most notably, in hoping to elaborate on the significance of his death, this article begins by exploring Bennett's hitherto unclear family background which documents the active loyalism of many of his immediate relatives and proves that instead of being the victim of an impulsive act against an innocent, he had been deliberately selected as a prominent representative of the local loyalist community and a symbol of dominant Protestantism.



Letter from local magistrate Robert Cornwall, Myshall Lodge, informing the authorities in Dublin of William Bennett's murder on 26 October 1797, the day after the event. Rebellion Papers 620/34/25, courtesy of the National Archives, Dublin.

Part 2:
The Bennetts of Ballyloughan

We must first clarify an aspect of the story which has hitherto been taken for granted: the location of the Bennett farm and dwelling. In the printed coverage of the murder, a confusing array of addresses is given, from 'Ballyclough' in the *Whitehall Evening Post* to 'Ballyloughan' in the proclamation issued by Dublin Castle.[8] However, it is commonly understood that William Bennett lived and farmed in the townland of Ballyknockan in Leighlinbridge village, on the western banks of the Barrow.[9] This supposition (evident in many of the primary and secondary sources) is undoubtedly due to the fact that William Farrell gives Bennett's address as 'Ballynocken' in his memoir.[10] This appears to have influenced local folklore which claims knowledge of the Bennett dwelling at the end of the lane that runs east-west just beyond St. Mary's convent on Milford Street in modern day Leighlinbridge. There is even a story that Bennett was murdered on the bridge in the village itself.[11] However, there is conclusive evidence that the family did not reside there, but lived over seven miles southwards at Ballyloughan, in the civil parish of Sliguff. This is the address given by the county magistrates in a reward proclamation issued only days after the murder, and the subsequent proclamation from the Lord Lieutenant at Dublin Castle.[12] Farrell is the only authority who mentions Ballyknockan and even qualifies this by adding 'near Leighlin Bridge', obviously unaware that that townland is at the heart of the village; the two placenames are also unfortunately similar in sound and could easily have been mistaken. Also, after the murder, the magistrate Robert Cornwall of Myshall makes no mention of Bennett living in Leighlinbridge which he certainly would have done had that been the case as he was actively trying to persuade government that the village was a centre of sedition; he would undoubt-

edly have made even more hay from the situation had the murder taken place within its immediate environs. Nevertheless, Cornwall still tried to point the finger at the village by eagerly tracing the perpetrators back to Leighlinbridge.[13]

The argument against Ballyknockan is further strengthened by the fact that it was a townland completely owned by the Steuart family of Steuart's Lodge in Leighlinbridge. No mention is made in any of the sources about the Bennetts having a landlord, especially ones as politically and socially prevalent as the Steuarts. They are completely absent from the accounts and coverage of the murder.[14] As a magistrate and captain of the local yeomanry corps in 1797, John Steuart would surely have been more vocal had the murder been committed on one of his own tenants. Indeed, it appears that the Bennetts were not tenants but landowners in their own right, farming their property at Ballyloughan.
Final and conclusive evidence of their residence there comes from the family itself. John Bennett, William's nephew, made a statement in the immediate aftermath of his uncle's murder referring to the atrocity at 'my house at Ballyloughan'.[15] Similarly, Ballyloughan is the address etched onto the family's graveyard memorials at Clonmelsh (then 'Clonmulsh') cemetery.
In 1760, a substantial farm at Ballyloughan was being run by Thomas Bennett, Esquire, who lived there with his wife and young family. Although it is certain that William was intimately related to this family, the exact nature of the relationship cannot as yet be defined. There is no conclusive documentation for his birth and no headstone appears to have survived. However, we can say with absolute certainty that he was directly related to these Bennetts who are commemorated by a tombstone and a separate wall tablet, in the graveyard and ruined church at Clonmelsh.[16] No reference is made to William on either memorial which makes it clear that he was not a member of Thomas's immediate household. However, the fact that he came to take over Thomas's farm and provide for his young children after the former's early death makes it likely that he was a younger brother. From the tombstone, we learn that Thomas Bennett who farmed at Ballyloughan was born c. 1732. There is a record of the birth of a 'William Bennit' in Carlow parish (son of Thomas and Anne), who was baptised on 17 June 1741, which would make him 9 years younger than Thomas of Ballyloughan.[17] If this is our subject, he would have been about 56 years of age at the time of his murder, which fits in with contemporary accounts where, despite the fact that his age is never stated, one gets the impression of a mature rather than youthful or elderly gentleman. This would also mean that William's father and older brother shared the same Christian name, a common occurrence which makes this connection even more of a likelihood. The family may have originally hailed from Carlow town or Tullow, based on the significant number of Bennetts who appear in Church of Ireland records for those areas in the mid 1700s.[18] In any case, by 1760 the family had come to live and farm at Ballyloughan, having either purchased or inherited property there. Thomas Bennett had married Mary Humfrey and their only son and four daughters were born at Ballyloughan: Mary (born c. 1762), John (born c. 1764), Jema (born c. 1771), Sarah (born c. 1772) and Julia (birth date unknown) — the nephew and nieces of the ill-fated William.[19]

From contemporary accounts, it is easily established that the Bennetts were a prestigious, respectable and prosperous Protestant family of more than comfortable means, who appear to have been particularly active in the village of Leighlinbridge, rather than the nearer town of Moneybeg/ Bagenalstown. The exact nature of their link with Leighlinbridge is unclear but they were very active in civic affairs there from at least as early as the 1760s when contemporary accounts record Thomas Bennett's public activities in the local community.[20] In 1767, he was prominent in a group of local inhabitants who formed a committee of sorts to revitalise Leighlinbridge's renowned cattle fair, held annually on 25 September. Along with William Vigors of Burgage and eighteen other locals of note, Bennett pledged 'we will, for the future, constantly attend at the SEPTEMBER FAIR, and give it all the aid in our power'.[21] He was obviously a local dairy and livestock farmer of some eminence and the attachment of his name to this public notice tells us that his word and support carried significant weight in the community. Thomas was also a member of an agricultural society based in the village known as the 'Coulter Club' which operated from 1772 to 1779.[22]

Bennett played a leading role in the society and acted as Chairman on two separate occasions (21 April 1772 and 8 July 1773) when its monthly meetings were held at Christopher Reilly's inn, the King's Arms, in Leighlinbridge.[23] It was a club with an undoubted social purpose but which also fostered solidarity and brotherhood among the most wealthy and influential Protestant farmers and landowners in the locality. In August 1773, Thomas Bennett attached his name to a printed notice from this club offering a reward of £100 for information relating to an agrarian outrage on the lands of John Gorman (a member of the Club who had previously acted as Chairman), at the deerpark in Garryhundon when 'a large parcel of hay' was maliciously burned. Along with Bennett, the signatories include such Leighlin notables as William Steuart of Steuart's Lodge and his brother-in-law William Paul Butler of Broomville, Richard and Simon Mercer (of the Lodge mills) and Edward Vigors of Burgage.[24]

Thomas Bennett was also active in the political sphere and he had earned a highly-prized position on Carlow's grand jury by 1776, which made him a guardian of the rights and privileges of the Protestant Ascendancy. In April of that year, he signed his name to a testimonial from the grand jury to his Coulter Club associate, William Paul Butler, and John Rochfort snr. of Clogrennane 'for their active and spirited conduct, and unwearied diligence, in pursuing, apprehending, and bringing to justice, a great number of those deluded people called White Boys, that have infested this county'.[25] Bennett was clearly apprehensive about the subversive activities and agrarian outrages carried out by the largely Catholic group against their overlords. Their Protestantism could easily have been seen as a defining and empowering feature of the Bennett family which enabled their participation in local political affairs and their holding of a significant quantity of arms by the 1790s – privileges proscribed to Catholics by

penal laws. It is perhaps unsurprising, in the fraught atmosphere of the time that the Coulter Club developed an increasingly political agenda over the years as shown in the final surviving reference to it in the contemporary press. At their meeting held on 28 September 1779, the club resolved 'that we will hold ourselves in readiness to defend our lives, liberties and properties, whenever the state of this kingdom requires it; and for that purpose do determine to immediately form a troop of Light horse for the defence of this part of this county, and do appoint William Stewart, Esq, our commander'.[26]

By the time of this resolution however, Thomas Bennett lay beneath the soil of Clonmelsh graveyard, having died prematurely on 2 January 1778, at the young age of 46 years. It was only a matter of months before his eldest daughter's wedding which would take the family up another significant step on the social ladder by marrying into the county's lesser gentry. When Mary Bennett married Henry Rudkin of Corries House on 16 September 1778, she began to enjoy the significant financial, political and social privileges of a country house, demesne and estate.[27] Her younger brother John was aged only 15 at this time and was too young to take over the management of his father's affairs and property at Ballyloughan. It was this set of circumstances which probably gave William Bennett a prominent role in the management of affairs at Ballyloughan in the spring of 1778. He may have been working there already but it can claimed with some certainty that he took over the management of his deceased brother's lands at this time by default, in a caretaking arrangement, until his nephew John came of age.

This arrangement lasted for far longer than either may initially have envisaged. John reached his majority around 1785 and seems to have taken charge briefly at this point. In February of 1791, he was liaising with Beauchamp Bagenal of Dunleckney Manor in raising a subscription for a popular and prestigious Dublin jeweller who had been the victim of a robbery.[28] The purpose and personnel mentioned in the advertisement says much about the affluence, interests and social position enjoyed by young John Bennett at this point, as well as the elevated company he was keeping. The following year, he oversaw another prestigious connection for his family when his younger sister Jema married John Stoyte, esq, of the Royal Hospital in Dublin, who also held lands in Wicklow.[29] This possibly marks the point at which Mrs. Mary Bennett snr. and her unmarried daughters moved to Dublin with their newly-married sister, leaving Ballyloughan in the capable hands of John and his uncle, William.

In 1793, at 33 years of age, John Bennett was eager to involve himself in the establishment of a militia in Carlow to protect loyal interests in the county and beyond. When Henry Bruen of Oak Park was appointed as colonel, he set about nominating prestigious local gentleman to fill up the ranks of the body. On 27 April, Bruen signed a commission appointing John Bennett as Lieutenant of the regiment.[30] Bennett was now playing a leading role as an officer in what Victor Hadden has describes as 'an army composed of propertied men with a personal stake in the preservation of public order'.[31] The offer was gratefully accepted and necessitated an almost immediate departure from Carlow for training purposes and active duty outside the county.[32] At this point, the house, farm and lands at Ballyloughan came under the sole management of William Bennett as John's role in the militia involved a lot of travelling. His first move was to Nenagh and then on to Charles' Fort near Kinsale.[33] On 18 September 1793, he personally commanded the Carlow militia as they escorted 17 cars with arms and ammunition to Limerick for the King's County Royal Militia which was garrisoned there.[34] John Bnennett was promoted to the rank of captain on 30 November 1795 and was present at the funeral of Col. Henry Bruen at Nurney the following month where the regiment travelled from their posting at Waterford to perform several military manoeuvres in his honour.[35] In 1796, the Carlow militia moved to Trim and Downpatrick. It is easy to imagine a stream of letters arriving for William Bennett from these various locations as his nephew informed him of his progress and inquired about his domestic affairs back in Carlow. By the autumn of 1797, as malevolent forces moved towards his homestead in Ballyloughan, John Bennett and his regiment were quartered at Blaris Hutts in Co. Down.[36]

Part 3:
William Bennett in 1797

By the time of his death, it is clear that William Bennett was well known and respected in the vicinity of Leighlinbridge and beyond. In the autumn of 1797, he had been long-entrenched at Ballyloughan having spent a good number of years living and farming there. He lived in an ancient environment rich in antiquities, with the ruins of the Ballyloughan Castle in his immediate neighbourhood. However, this peaceful and inspiring setting, heavy with the monuments of the past would soon bear witness to the violent passions of those desperate for a radical and revolutionary future. Bennett's fate lay in the transition.

He had prolonged agricultural experience, managing the significant farm and maintaining his late brother's good name and prosperity. Given Thomas's political and social credentials (especially his time as a grand juror), it is clear that William Bennett was well above the status of a small tenant farmer. From his memoir it is clear that William Farrell did not know Bennett personally but he recorded that stories and details about him were widely circulated after his murder. Farrell recalled that 'though he did not rank so high as a first rate gentleman, still he was in the front rank of what was called gentlemen-farmers'.[37] This tallies with the sociological ranking of 'Esquire' attached to his brother and nephew in the references given above. The authorities in Dublin Castle and some of the newspapers granted William Bennett this same classification which posited him as a gentleman of 'quality', beneath the landed gentry but above the vast majority of tenants and small farmers in the county hierarchy. However, closer to home, Robert Cornwall denied him this prestigious classification and referred to him simply as 'Mr. Wm. Bennett', probably betraying some of his own prejudices against those beneath him on the social scale, even among his own religious brethren.[38] Regardless of appellations, Bennett was clearly

something of a pillar in the local community and 'was in a most respectable station in life' according to Farrell and was regarded as a very well-to-do individual in contemporary Carlow.[39] His prosperity could easily be seen in the substantial two-storied dwelling house that he inhabited (albeit the property of his nephew) and the fact that he had at least two live-in domestic servants and probably employed a number of labourers as well.[40] His wealth can also be seen in the material possessions which were plundered on the night of the attack. Bennett's impressive silver watch, recently cleaned and repaired by Luke Foster, was a significant status symbol in itself; the timepiece highlighted Bennett as a man with resources out of the reach of many of his neighbours. He also kept cash in his house (allegedly in sums of hundreds of pounds) and at a period when authority and ascendancy were represented in arms, Bennett possessed several swords and pistols.[41] It is little wonder that by reputation and rumour, he 'had the name of being wealthy', a fact which might have been a source of envy among some of his later attackers as we shall see.[42]

Apart from his servants, Bennett lived alone and was a bachelor when he died. As stated above, it would seem the Bennett womenfolk had relocated to Dublin. His niece, Sarah Bennett died there, aged 26, just over three months after William's murder in February of 1798.[43] Left to his own devices in Carlow, William was no recluse and was regarded as a decent, affable and approachable man in the community. He was an open conversationalist who was well-respected and was on good terms with his neighbours. To many, he was best known for his useful skills as a 'doctor' (the only clue we have as to his possible education) and he was widely employed by all sectors of the population in the locality in this pursuit.[44] He was also renowned for his generosity, charity and counsel to the less-well off in society. Like William Farrell, Robert Cornwall was not personally acquainted with Bennett, but he was informed that he was 'a very respectable man & one of the best friends the poor had in the country'.[45] Bennett did not expect deference from his social inferiors and he enjoyed a positive reputation with all sectors of society for his manner, personality and benevolence. William Farrell records the view that 'he was kind and familiar to those in the humble walks of life. [...] There was a particular respect paid to him by everybody, rich as well as poor'.[46]

Part 4:
Leighlinbridge —A crucible for rebellion

There is no conclusive evidence about Bennett's politics apart from the defensive Protestantism of his brother and the fact that he participated in topical political chit-chat with villagers and neighbours in 1797, where talk inevitably swung to address the whispers of rebellion and the advances of the United Irishmen in Leighlinbridge. The movement was making remarkable progress in the area. Sprigs of trees were displayed in the windows of houses indicating solidarity with the United Irishmen and croppy haircuts were common. The houses of Protestants and loyalists in the area were regularly raided for arms and attempts by the local yeomanry units to combat these nocturnal forays met with little success. Members of the society were growing in confidence and at the fair of Orchard on 31 May 1797, two yeomen in the corps of John Staunton Rochfort of Clogrennane Lodge, were overpowered, beaten and disarmed at the Pike of Powerstown.[48] Only three days before Bennett's murder, Robert Cornwall wrote to government that 'the spirit of disaffection seems still to increase in this part of the country, notwithstanding the most spirited exertions of the corps of yeomanry which I have the honour to command'.[49] Cornwall was a Dublin attorney and a nephew of the Faulkner brothers of Castletown.[50] He also held property in Myshall and had recently purchased his seat in the Irish parliament for Enniscorthy, having first entered that house in 1795. He was a fervent loyalist and made regular, detailed reports to government about seditious activities in his neighbourhood. He was alarmed by the regularity of secret meetings held at night and as the captain of his yeomanry, he made nightly patrols of his district, covering a wide radius of many miles. These excursions were infamous and dreaded, and were described in Sir Richard Musgrave's history of the rebellion.[51] Featured as the villain in a local version of 'The Croppy Boy' ballad, Cornwall's name was well known and feared among members far and wide. In September, a United Irishman named Donovan was despatched from Dublin to distribute society papers but did not approach Myshall, 'as Cornwall's name was well known thro' all the kingdom , [...] who was so great a hunter of the United Men'.[52] Donovan announced to a local member of the organisation that £20 was being offered by the society's treasury for Cornwall's successful assassination.

In assessing proceedings in Kildare, Wicklow and Wexford in late 1797, Professor L.M. Cullen has argued that 'the situation was much uglier' in Carlow at this time, particularly in Cornwall's backyard.[53] On September 9, Cornwall estimated that there were already at least 400 men sworn United Irishmen between Leighlinbridge and Myshall.[54] Remarkably, in a plot that has not received any significant attention in previous surveys of the period, this group had already begun to make plans for decisive action, several months before the leaders in the capital had finalised their own plans. Whether the Dublin executive was aware of these plans is unlikely. Acting independently, it seems that the Leighlinbridge members had decided that the time to strike had arrived and they planned 'a general uprising' in the vicinity of the village for the 10 September 1797.[55] However, loose talk brought this to the attention of Cornwall who focused attention on the neighbourhood and succeeded in arresting some members, and the action was postponed. Cornwall was then lucky enough to intercept the drunken wife of one of the arrested United Irishmen who informed him that decisive action was now being planned for 1 November, All Saint's Day— an auspicious date on the Catholic calendar to launch an assault for freedom and establish a mini-Republic in Leighlinbridge.[56]

Cornwall was very critical of the local gentry and magistrates who were not sufficiently proactive and he feared this inactivity would allow the rebel group to prosper:

'If the few who are disposed to do their

duty as magistrates and men are not protected, they must relinquish their situation and leave this hitherto loyal county to plunder and assassination & all the dreadfull [sic] effects that may be expected to flow from those baneful principles that of late so much convulsed the kingdom'.

In October, he felt alarmingly alone in combating the progress of the rebel organisation of 'those infatuated people'.[57] He complained to Pelham that 'I have run every risque [sic] both as to person and property, having for nearly two months stood singly in opposing those infamous disturbers, except from the aid of Mr. Butler'.[58] His most faithful and active colleague was fellow magistrate John Butler of Sherwood, the first Lieutenant of his Myshall yeomanry cavalry.[59] A wealthy man worth £800 a year, he had already received threatening letters for his role as Cornwall's right-hand man. In the early hours of 21 October, just four days before Bennett's murder, Butler was returning to his house and decided to ride over the ditches rather than take the simple route through gaps where assassins might be lying in wait.[60] It was a sensible move as two gunmen lay behind a wall in Kilbride awaiting the arrival of Butler's horse. One fired on him and the bullet entered his left arm and passed through his elbow. The other gunmen also shot at him but missed.[61] The local United Irishmen had clearly embraced assassination as a tactic in their campaign. However, the first person they were to *successfully* eliminate was no hated yeoman or tyrannical magistrate. In targeting William Bennett, the choice of the United Irishmen proved to be hugely counter-productive.

Part 5:
William Bennett — 'A troublesome fellow'?

Such events would have been the topic of William Bennett's thoughts and conversations in the days leading up to his murder. In Leighlinbridge in late 1797, he perceived that the United movement was gaining ground every day in numbers, support and popularity. It was a source of enthusiasm in the village where the confidence of its members was reaching its height. The attack on Butler was an escalation in proceedings and was a worrying indication that the United Irishmen were now prepared to kill for their cause, which to him, was a shocking innovation. As a Protestant, Bennett enjoyed many of the privileges enshrined by the Protestant Ascendancy and if one were to believe the later version of events presented by the polemical Sir Richard Musgrave in his account of the rebellion, it would appear that Bennett was a rabid loyalist, intent on violent opposition to the United movement and with a personal vendetta against certain local members.[62] However, Bennett was no such unthinking adherent to the loyalist cause; indeed, his loyalist credentials were far from definitive. The fact that he had not joined the yeomanry is in all probability a political statement in itself, in the highly-charged political atmosphere of the times. Abstentionism from such movements may not necessarily imply disapproval or opposition to loyalist objectives, but it was certainly regarded as such by the local authorities (magistrates like the Rochfort brothers of Clogrennane, Cornwall, William Burton etc.) in the paranoia of the times. As another Leighlinbridge native, David 'Hibernicus' Byrne puts it, 'there was no such thing as neutrality allowed of in the kingdom, the government maxim then being, "He that is not for us is against us"'.[63] It was a stance all the more remarkable given Bennett's deceased brother's role as grand juror and his nephew John's service in the Carlow militia. In fact, given the undertone of his letters up to that point, Cornwall probably believed that Bennett was the victim of his own political passivity. Ironically, Bennett's murder largely eliminated such neutrality from the local scene and people were obliged to come down off the fence on one side or the other.

Bennett's reluctance to take up arms against his Catholic neighbours as a yeoman could have been prompted by his age or it might suggest that he opposed the use of violence; Given our knowledge of his character and his apparent humanitarian agenda, he was wary of the growing militarisation of society and would probably have opposed the militancy of the Orange Order in a similar fashion the following year, had he survived. However, he was just as wary (if not more so) of arms being assumed by radicals and he was vocal in his opposition to the advances of the United Irishmen in the county. He clearly feared radicalism and predicted a violent clash which would impact negatively on all members of the community. He may well have wished to remain outside of politics but the attack on John Butler told him that things had already gone too far. In a county which was rapidly polarising along political and religious grounds, the expression of any such opinion automatically placed him in the camp of 'the enemy' in the eyes of the local United men.

He was known to be an open and confident man in his views and according to one newspaper report, he 'was very resolute' in his thinking.[64] He was in Leighlinbridge village on the weekend of the 21-22 of October when he entered into a conversation with some acquaintances about the movement, who were attempting to 'recommend it in glowing terms' according to Farrell.[65] Honest, independent and public-spirited, Bennett felt secure in expressing his own personal reservations about the organisation and predicted an inevitable and bloody conflagration between the contending forces. William Farrell later heard an account of Bennett's disapproval of the dangers inherent in the movement and he allowed Bennett to speak for himself in his memoir (albeit in invented dialogue): "I'll tell you what, my good friends", said he; "you are not aware of the kind of business it is at all and I tell you now that it will bring destruction on the country and on every one that has a hand in it".[66]

He probably sympathised with the Society's hopes of improved social relations and better conditions for the poorer members of society (as suggested by his charitable acts), but he would not sanction armed resistance to the *status quo*, and feared the consequences of the society's inherently violent agenda. His statement shows that he believed the ordinary man was being misled and hoodwinked into a subversive campaign. Some of the group attempted to contradict Bennett and persisted in praising it. However, Bennett remained characteristically adamant and for a second time, he warned against the United schemes. Apart from this friendly advice, there is no other conclusive evidence that he was

an active opponent of the society. However, in Musgrave's partisan account, Bennett is depicted as an impassioned loyalist in the conversation, an Orangeman-in-waiting who apparently had an axe to grind with one particular United Irishman. According to this source, Bennett declared his 'detestation of an United Irishman and that he would give £500 for the head of one'.[67] However, even if we ignore the excesses of Musgrave's account, we must consider that Bennett may well have spoken out against the movement on more than one occasion and the claim that some of his servants aided and abetted in the crimes against him a few days later could suggest that Bennett had made his feelings known to his staff and had warned them against joining the organisation.

Contemporary commentators and some modern historians feel that Bennett was unwise to speak out so candidly and publicly against the movement, however mild his criticisms were. In Farrell's account, he spoke 'honestly but unguardedly', and Musgrave claims he 'was rash enough' to state his opinions.[68] Similarly, Sr Maura Duggan has assessed that Bennett was 'foolhardy enough to warn some men whom he knew to be members of the United organisation, of the folly of their actions'.[69] However, it is not clear if Bennett was aware that some of his party were members. He seems to have been well-acquainted with his audience and obviously felt safe and comfortable in expressing this opinion without thinking that there might be some in the group who could took offence at his disapproval and be wounded by it. This suggests a naiveté on Bennett's part as it clearly did not occur to him that some of the group might be United Irishmen themselves and the incident shows that he had underestimated the successful spread of the movement to date in his neighbourhood. It also tells us that he was felt comfortable and safe in expressing his opinion and never questioned his own safety.

Bennett's views would certainly have been seen as an attempt to put the brakes on a phenomenon that was giving hope, interest and energy to a large sector of the local community. His views could damage the ascent of the movement and were regarded by some as dangerous and oppositional. Whether disappointed that their enthusiasms were punctured, or angry that their grand scheme had been criticised by a superior Protestant gentleman, Bennett's views were unappreciated by some in his company that day who became determined to blacken his name and punish him into silence. The story of the conversation was repeated to other United Irishmen in the village and soon reached the ears of the local leadership. The conversation was deliberately exaggerated and embellished to Bennett's detriment. According to Farrell, 'the story got wind', and soon reached Carlow town, 'told of course with alterations and additions'.[70]

For such actions, the local United Irish leaders deemed him to be 'a troublesome fellow' (as one of his assassins charged him moments before the murder), and one who had merited the assault that was to come.[71] It is a significant measure of the passions, confidence and determination to succeed among the United Irishman that this single episode was deemed sufficiently serious to warrant a death sentence. In the remarkable context of the times, murdering Bennett was decided upon as the best way of reinforcing the movement and preventing further criticisms. As we have already seen, Bennett was universally respected in the village up unto this point and his murder ironically lends a further insight into Bennett's elevated position in local society as he was deemed worthy of being made an example of which would send a powerful message to all their Protestant and loyalist opponents. And the message was clear: dissent or opposition, however benign or well-intentioned would not be tolerated. This sentence on Bennett was reached quickly and put into effect only a few nights later.

Part 6:
Murder at Ballyloughan

October the 25th 1797 was a normal working day for William Bennett and his household at Ballyloughan and nothing out of the ordinary marked the day apart from any other. In Musgrave's account, the author claims that in a conversation during the day, Bennett announced his desire for the head of a United Irishman, but he is the only source to mention this. That night between nine and ten o'clock, the master of the house went upstairs and prepared for bed.[72] Some of his servants remained awake downstairs, preparing for the following day's work. However, in the darkness outside, United Irishmen across the county were resuming their nocturnal campaign of confiscating arms across a wide area. In Tullow that night, Col. Wolseley's arsenal at Mount Wolseley was taken by members of the society. At the same time, a large group of local United Irishmen made their way across the fields to Bennett's farmhouse in Ballyloughan. They approached silently in the darkness and took up positions, surrounding the house in case their target attempted to escape into the night. Unlike their comrades in Tullow, these men came with murder in mind and carried a significant number of arms (allegedly with swords and pistols).[74] The guard around the house appear to have been instructed to fire on sight. Having established this cordon around the premises, a smaller group then approached the front door and gained easy entrance to the dwelling. It is this fact that led the reporter of the *Whitehall Evening Post* to suggest that one or more of Bennett's servants (probably a member of the United Irishmen) colluded with the attackers and left the front door ajar.

However, it is clear that not all of the inhabitants were in on the plot. When the intruders made their presence known on the ground floor, they used threatening language and demanded to be brought to Bennett's room. Some members of the household protested against them and generated sufficient noise to awaken or warn their master upstairs. After recent events in Leighlinbridge and the attempted murder of John Butler the previous weekend, William Bennett may have anticipated an attack and was probably sleeping lightly at this time. This is supported by his reactions to the arrival of the intruders. Instead of innocently inquiring what the problem was below, Bennett sprang into action and attempted to make good his escape. He leaped out of bed and went to a back bedroom hoping to alight through the window. However, in opening it, he was spotted by the men on the ground below who immediately took aim. According to one reporter, 'a guard of these desper-

adoes, however, surrounded the house, and this unfortunate gentleman, in attempting to get out of the window, was fired upon by one of them and wounded'.

The gunshot and calls from the men outside alerted the leaders to Bennett's presence upstairs. The reporter of the *Whitehall Evening Post* appeared to think that Bennett should have persisted in his escape attempt, especially given the accounts he had received of Bennett's courage and 'resolute' nature. The reporter evidently felt that it seemed out of character for Bennett to give in so easily, despite the fact that he had just been shot: 'Finding that he must lose his life if he endeavoured to escape in that manner, he made no further effort but chose to trust to the mercy of the villains who were in the house. [...] The thought to defend himself on this occasion was useless, when so many were in the gang who attacked him.'

In reality, Bennett was probably terrified: confronted by a large body of aggressive men, late at night. He had already been shot at and was in a state of shock. He probably hoped that his attackers would slink back into the night, having made their point, like the Whiteboys of old. However, when he heard a group of men ascending the stairs, he realised that the attack was not over and that his life was in imminent danger. They found him in the back bedroom and presented arms at him, calling for money and weapons. Bennett was apparently still mobile and attempted to reason with the group. He handed over his keys, gathered his silver watch and his purse with 'all the money he had in the place, which he said he freely gave them, and what arms were in the house, hoping it would induce them not to take away his life'. This attempt at a material bribe may have incensed some of his attackers who felt their motives were lofty political ones rather than a hope for material gain.

At this point, one of the men stepped forward and addressed Bennett. He told him that he was not satisfied with such offers and that he knew Bennett to be 'a troublesome fellow' to the cause of the United Irishmen. Such was his organisation's verdict, and he raised his pistol to execute the sentence. He aimed directly at Bennett's head and fired. However, clear the intention, the execution was botched. The ball made a second wound in Bennett's neck but did not kill him outright. Another man stepped forward at this stage with a blunderbuss and shot at Bennett's body, where he fell to the floor and convinced his attackers that he was dead. In Robert Cornwall's account, Bennett's attackers had 'put him to death, and mangled him in a shocking manner by firing several shots into him'.

In the minutes that followed, some of the group acted in a way that showed that not all of the party were motivated by lofty political ideals, and the petty robberies which took place tarnished the reputation of the local United Irish movement. Bennett's watch and money were stolen and the raiders also ransacked the house, where 'they then plundered the house of every article of value'. The terrified servants made no attempt to interfere with these acts and to Cornwall's annoyance, the raiders 'got clear off'. When they left, the servants approached their master. He may have been still alive and informed them of the attack, or they may well have witnessed the event themselves. The proclamation issued by Dublin Castle on 4 November appealing for information relied on 'information taken upon oath' by an unnamed individual (probably one of these servants), and goes on to clarify that death was not instantaneous. Rather, Bennett '*almost* immediately died' [author's emphasis] after receiving the shots. This servant is also the most likely source of the information contained in the report of the *Whitehall Evening Post.*

It had been usual for the United Irishmen to take arms from local Protestants and loyalists in the previous months so the robbery of Bennett's two firelocks, a case of pistols and four swords was a typical act in the society's programme of armament as part of an overall campaign for social and political reform.[75] The robbery of his personal goods and belongings spoke of more selfish, greedy and self-serving impulses at play. Musgrave claimed that as large a sum as £500 was taken that night.[76] Such claims made it easy for propagandists to portray the event as an opportunistic burglary where the bloodthirsty passions of the native Irish had got the better of them. In reality, however, were some of the men only too happy to see a local 'gentleman' toppled from his financial and social pedestal and his material possessions free for the taking? For some of the party, was this the extent of their hopes in joining in with the United Irish craze: a chance to see some of the local bigwigs get their comeuppance, and a chance to grab some of their wealth for themselves? Indeed, William Farrell implies that the murder was committed by what he deems to be an 'unthinking' element within Leighlinbridge's United movement who had not only acted barbarously and precipitously by employing unjustifiable violence, but who had failed to resist petty thievery after the event. He claims that the politically and intellectually-minded members of the movement in Carlow were horrified by the act but were unable to voice this in case it damaged solidarity within the society: 'the thinking element [my emphasis] of the United Irishmen could only whisper their sorrow to each other'.[77]

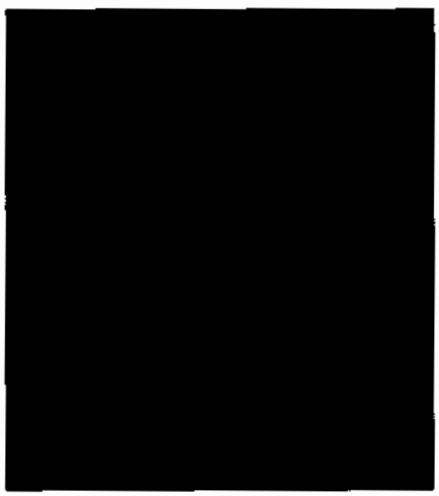
Part 6:
The murder as a forge for loyalist solidarity

William Bennett's silver watch found itself in a new pocket that night and it became an entirely different kind of status symbol for its new owner. Contemporary accounts portray the group as criminals as opposed to rebels or political subversives. The newspaper report depicts them as 'a banditti of atrocious villains' and 'monsters'. To Robert Cornwall they were 'a gang of villains'.[78] He learned of the murder early the following day, 26 October, and he was greatly unnerved by the audacity of the perpetrators. It marked a new phase in the movement for Cornwall as it proved that loyalists were now no longer safe in their beds. After the attempted murder of his trusted lieutenant the previous weekend, Bennett's death was the pinnacle of the 'fresh acts of barbarity in this hitherto peacefull [sic] county'. On Thursday morning, 26 October he rode out to investigate and made minute inquiries into the affair. On his return to Myshall Lodge later that day, he wrote a requisition calling for special sessions of the magistracy of Carlow county to counteract such developments. He hoped this would shake

them up and 'bring them to a sense of their duty'.[79] He then put pen to paper to inform the Chief Secretary in Dublin Castle, Thomas Pelham, of the barbarous events in Ballyloughan. Cornwall informed him that 'I have used every exertion to try to bring the perpetrators to light. I have traced them to Leighlinbridge, but have not been able as yet to discover any names'. As a remedy, Cornwall believed it was necessary to immediately proclaim the county and hoped that the magistrates would sanction this. He was far from confident about this, however, and believed that the local gentry were too divided by petty party politics when they should have been standing united and solid against a formidable common enemy which had been allowed to grow and strengthen in the shadows. He was unsure if he could rely on the support of all the magistrates and one can sense the desperation in his letter and his fears that the Protestant gentry would not stand up and confront the rebels who were now prepared to employ murder:

> 'I am sorry to say that the spirit of party seems to operate too strongly on those who ought to be the first in stepping forward. I have signed a requisition for a special sessions where I trust gentlemen will be prevailed upon to do their duty, yet I entertain little hopes from men, who have been heard publickly [sic] to declare, that they never would act as magistrates under the present administration'.

However, Cornwall's fears were not realised. Bennett's murder shocked the entire county and woke up many Protestants to the seriousness of the threat in their midst. According to Farrell, 'terror and dismay flew in every direction on the announcement of the bloody tragedy'.[80] A large number of magistrates attended the special meeting convened in the county courthouse in Carlow that Saturday, 28 October. William Burton chaired the meeting and presided over one of the most single-minded and cooperative meetings of the Carlow gentry for many years. Bennett's murder acted as a catalyst, shocking Carlow's ruling Protestants into unanimous action. In an attempt to secure a conviction and prevent further outrages, the assembled



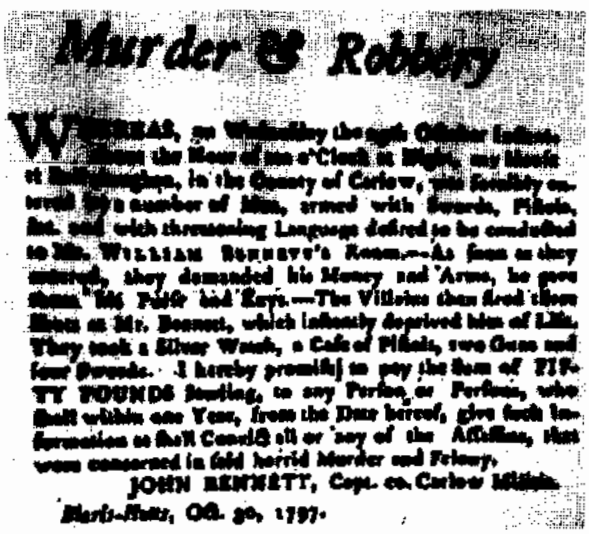
Thomas Pelham, 2nd Earl of Chichester and Chief Secretary in Dublin Castle in 1797. He was greatly alarmed by Bennett's murder and wrote letters to Carlow seeking details of the inquest into his death. By Samuel William Reynolds, National Portrait Gallery London, NPG D1409.

magistrates sent resolutions to Dublin Castle seeking detachments of military for Leighlinbridge, Goresbridge and Borris, 'without loss of time'.[81] They realised that informants would have to be generously coaxed to part with details and that rewards (for information on the attacks against both Butler and Bennett) would have to be a sufficient compensation for the risk of bringing the wrath of the United movement upon themselves. Accordingly, the substantial sum of £100 (which amounted to several years of an average labourer's wages in Carlow, where they earned from six to eight pence a day at this time) was offered by the group:

> 'to be paid by our treasurer, to the person or persons who shall within three calendar months from the date hereof, discover, and prosecute to conviction the person or persons concerned [or] shall give information to any magistrate of this county, by which his or their accomplices may be discovered and brought to punishment —such person or persons shall not only be entitled to the above reward, but his, her or their names shall be kept SECRET (if required) and application shall be made to Government, for his, her or their pardon.[83]

They were also determined to publicise their resolutions and directed that details of the reward be published in the *Dublin Journal*, *Dublin Evening Post and Leinster Journal*. Handbills were also printed and distributed across the county. The notice continued to appear in the Dublin papers until early December.[84] However, even this substantial sum was no inducement for local people to inform on the United movement and no further information emerged on Bennett's attackers. On the same day as the meeting took place, the county coroner was conducting an inquest into Bennett's murder, but no new information came to light.

As this meeting was taking place, a letter



Murder & Robbery

WHEREAS, on Wednesday the 25th October Instant, about the Hour of ten o'Clock at Night, my House at Ballyloughan, in the County of Carlow, was forcibly entered by a number of Men, armed with Swords, Pikes, &c. and with threatening Language ordered to be conducted to Mr. WILLIAM BENNETT'S Room.—As soon as they entered, they demanded his Money and Arms, he gave them his Purse and Keys.—The Villains then fired three Shots at Mr. Bennett, which instantly deprived him of Life. They took a Silver Watch, a Case of Pistols, two Guns and four Swords. I hereby promise to pay the Sum of FIFTY POUNDS Sterling, to any Person or Persons, who shall within one Year, from the Date hereof, give such Information as shall Convict all or any of the Assassins, that were concerned in said horrid Murder and Felony.

JOHN BENNETT, Capt. co. Carlow Militia.

Blaris-Hutts, Oct. 30, 1797.

Reward notice issued by Capt. John Bennett after his uncle William's murder. Freeman's Journal, 8 November 1797. Courtesy of Carlow County Library.

was making its way north to Captain John Bennett, probably written by a member of the Ballyloughan staff, informing him of his uncle's sad demise. At Blaris Hutts on Monday 30 October, he took some time out from his duties to pen an advertisement to be inserted in the provincial newspapers. In it, he commented on the 'horrid murder' at 'my house in Ballyloughan' and announced a reward of £50 for information 'as shall convict all or any of the assassins'.[85] In Dublin Castle, Thomas Pelham and his colleagues were also deeply disturbed

when they learned of the event. The day after the meeting in Carlow town, the chief secretary wrote to Burton looking for the findings of the inquest into Bennett's fate. A copy of the report (which has not survived in the archives) was not sent to Dublin until 2 November, but the delay proved to be immaterial as it offered no new insights into the crime. Despite Burton's efforts over these days, he informed Pelham that 'I have not been able to procure any further information on that business'.[86] The local community had closed ranks.

Part 7:
Leighlinbridge's Ten Day Republic

Despite the intention of loyalists to act, it took a number of days for their campaign to begin. In the meantime, the United Irishmen began to believe that they were untouchable. The immediate aftermath of Bennett's murder was for them a time of triumph and a cause for celebration in Leighlinbridge and heralded what could be termed 'Leighlinbridge's Ten day republic'. From Thursday 26 November to Friday 3 October, the United movement held sway in the village where it openly and provocatively announced its rising power in a very public way. Solidarity and camaraderie were at their height. Having made a bold statement with Bennett's murder, members of the society got carried away by the apparent success of their actions. It had been relatively easy to silence this opponent and they gained a false and dangerous impression of their powers. Instead of going to ground and considering their actions as premature, or an excessive and counter-productive mistake, local rebels believed they had gained the upper hand and had the tradition rulers of the county on the run. After the event, William Burton observed anxiously that the United men 'in that neighbourhood seem to be growing more daring by the day'.[87] Tales of the state of affairs in Leighlinbridge spread quickly throughout the country. On 7 November, future attorney general, John Stewart of Tyrone reported to his patron Lord Abercorn that 'in Carlow and the south, the madness is breaking out. It runs like an infectious fever over the kingdom'.[88]

Whatever about the plans of the magistracy, Protestants and loyalists on the ground in Leighlinbridge and beyond were in a state of terror after Bennett's killing. Farrell mentions something of this in his account when he claims that 'gentlemen were taught silence by his [Bennett's] fate'.[89] They waited in vain for the arrival of government troops. The loyalist population in the vicinity felt completely at the mercy of the United Irishmen who were now acting in the open. They were intimidated and attacked, and even members of the local yeomanry were man-handled and humiliated. In Musgrave's estimation, 'this money [robbed from Bennett], and their success in gratifying their vengeance against so respectable an enemy, inspired them so much with the hope of accomplishing their main design [i.e. their proposed uprising on 1 November], that they began to assemble in great numbers, and to organise with great celerity'.[90]

It actually resulted in increased action by the local arm of the society and Bennett's immediate neighbours were targeted and probably threatened with a similar fate. A week after the murder, Burton reported to government that 'there have been several parties of United Irishmen who have gone to several of the most respectable farmers' houses in the neighbourhood of Ballyloughan where the late Mr. Bennett had been murdered and have taken the arms from all the houses for many miles round that district'.[91] He expressed his opinion that the tardiness of government in sending troops to the area was a factor in facilitating the lawlessness that had prevailed over recent days: 'I cannot avoid saying that if the representation of the magistrates at the October sessions for sending troops to Leighlinbridge had been attended to, that much mischief might have been prevented'.[92] After this smack on the wrist, Pelham applied to the Commander in Chief, General Lord Carhampton, only to find that he had already issued orders for that purpose. Pelham also informed Burton that he had summoned a special sitting of the Privy Council 'in order to issue the Proclamation respecting the murder of Mr. Bennett'.[93] The seriousness of events on the ground was also reported to government by Col. John Stanton Rochfort of Clogrennane Lodge on 2 November, who referred to a growth in the numerical strength and dominion of the Leighlinbridge Republic. He had previously sent the Carlow magistrates' resolutions to Pelham and was alarmed by the lack of official reaction. His letter of the 2 November is worthy of a lengthy quotation:

> 'I am very sorry that subsequent events not only prove the danger I then stated but also justify my stating the extent of the danger to be considerably greater. I have now to inform you that almost all that part of the county between the county of Wicklow & Wexford & the county of Kilkenny is united, and that their numbers in this county now amounts to 3,000 men. If there are not troops stationed immediately at Leighlinbridge [...] that part of the county Carlow on the west side of the river Barrow will be [...] forced to join the United men. [...] If the representations of the magistrates are not attended to, it will be totally out of my power or that of the other magistrates of this county, to preserve it in that state of goodwill & peace for which it has hitherto been so remarkable'.[94]

Events in the Leighlin Republic were regularly reported in the British press in the days after Bennett's death. Burton, the governor of the county, requested government to make hand grenades available to him for the protection of Burton Hall: 'I should willingly pay for them, and am sure that the gentlemen of this county would be glad to do the same'.[95] Matters reached a crescendo on the night of Wednesday 2 November when a confident attempt was made by the United Irishmen to extend their power base. Local landlord John Steuart of Steuart's Lodge later agreed that the events of that night constituted 'an almost general uprising of the people of Leighlinbridge and vicinity'.[96] A carnival air took hold of the village after darkness fell and large groups of United Irishmen (between four and five hundred in some reports) gathered in the market square 'and with unexampled audacity took possession of the market-house, where they staid long enough to consume a barrel of ale'.[97] It was reported that an unnamed innkeeper from the village 'was

a leader in this banditti'.[98] They managed to apprehend the drummer of the local Yeomanry unit who was forced to beat his drum as they paraded through the streets behind him.[99] 'With much tumultuous shouting, a drum beating &c. they proceeded in different directions to the several country seats in that neighbourhood, to search for arms. In this design they succeeded at Mr. Mulhallens [Holloden], Mr. Kearney's, Mrs. Humphrey's [of Killinane] and some others; and it is said obtained a considerable number'.[100] The home of Henry Rudkin esq. of Wells (brother-in-law of William Bennett's niece, Mary) was also raided for arms and he also estimated that there were over 500 people in the attacking party.[101] This suggests that many United Irishmen were drawn to Leighlinbridge from a wide radius on this night, inspired by the successes of local members and eager to participate in the affairs of their little Republic.

However, their high spirits were soon dampened. On approaching Beauchamp Bagenal's residence at Dunleckney (an acquaintance of Captain John Bennett's), one contingent encountered a group of 12 of his yeoman infantry and a firefight occurred in which over 100 shots were fired at the house. The insurgents were obliged to retreat, 'leaving many dead, and not a few wounded on the ground, according to one report.[102] The *London Packet* even claimed that one of the rebels who lay mortally wounded was turned on by his own comrades who 'fired three shots into his body, and finished him, lest he should have made any discovery when taken'.[103] Things were falling apart and the murder of Philip Cole (who had informed on the society which led to the arrest of a United Irishman) later that night by another party of United men who had gone to Bagenalstown, meant that the government's reaction in the wake of Bennett's murder would be even more decisive.

Part 8:
The Government responds

The ascendancy enjoyed by the United Irishmen in Leighlinbridge since William Bennett's murder was broken on the morning of Friday 3 November when a party of the 9th dragoons arrived from Carlow town, who were to play an infamous role in the prosecution of the rebellion the following summer. They were joined by a party of the Wicklow militia from Kilkenny, and the following morning, at daybreak by a further party of the 9th who arrived in the village with the yeomanry corps of Sir Richard Butler and William Burton and a unit from Tullow.[104] A London newspaper reported that these forces:

> 'surrounded the town, and made a strict examination of the idle and disorderly persons, eleven of whom were made prisoners, and sent to Carlow jail. Two or three other persons have since been taken up; several idle persons have left the place, and the town of Leighlinbridge is again restored to its accustomed tranquillity'.[105]

The innkeeper of Leighlinbridge who had played a leading role in the events of the ten day Republic was one of those apprehended. Prisoners, guilty and innocent alike, awaited support and character references from eminent loyalist and Protestants in their favour, but as Cornwall reported, 'even those who used their utmost exertions but a few days before to liberate persons I had sent to jail under treasonable charges' were now no longer willing to assist the suspects. The attitudes of all loyalist and the gentry was

> 'now unanimous. I trust we shall soon be able to put down that spirit of rebellion that of late, like a torrent, has spread itself over this hitherto peacefull [sic] county. [...] I have great satisfaction to find that the people of this district seem to get a sense of their danger and are taking the most effectual means towards averting it'.[106]

By 9 November, Robert Cornwall was smug in the extreme, delighted that his suspicions and fears had been realised and that his defensiveness had been justified. The Ten Day Republic had the effect of promoting his eminence in loyalist circles as he had been the only one to suspect proceedings. His efforts had even been brought to the attention of Lord Lieutenant Camden, as Pelham informed him by letter. It is little wonder that Cornwall described himself as 'exceedingly happy' at this point.[107]

That same Saturday as Leighlinbridge was locked down, six privy councillors and Lord Lieutenant Camden made their way to the council chamber in Dublin Castle to plan their response to Bennett's murder. Camden was quite well aware of the situation in Carlow from his discussions with his favoured chaplain, Rev. Robert Rochfort of Clogrennane, later known as the 'slashing parson'. Camden's council consisted of some of the most notable politicians in the Irish establishment and included chief secretary Thomas Pelham, commander-in-chief Lord Carhampton, and attorney general Arthur Wolfe (later created Lord Kilwarden, who was killed on Thomas St. in Dublin during Robert Emmet's abortive rising in 1803). They issued a proclamation looking for information on the assaults on both Butler and Bennett, offering a £100 reward in each case, for each of the first three informants to come forward (thus making available a total potential reward pot of £600) and giving a deadline of 4 May 1798 for information. The proclamation was widely distributed and published and proved that the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland were 'fully determined, as far as in us lies, to bring the persons concerned in the said felony and murder of said William Bennett [...] to speedy and condign punishment'.[108] However, like in Carlow, the reward pot was never touched.

Even though Leighlinbridge was now under control, a further meeting of the Irish ministers took place on 14 November to consider proclaiming Co. Carlow under the Insurrection Act, as called for by local magistrates who wanted to utilise the momentum and crush all sedition in the county.[109] A proposed amnesty for rebels who handed in their weapons and took an oath of allegiance had proved ineffective. Lord Ely (Charles Tottenham Loftus) wrote from Dublin to fellow privy councillor Viscount Clifden (Henry Agar, a Kilkenny native) about the delays experienced by the Irish cabinet in securing the proclamation of the county:

> 'The counties of Cork, Carlow and Waterford are in a most disturbed state. We had a meeting the night before last [14 November] at the

> Lord Lieutenant's Closet. Present: Commander-in-Chief, Lord Carleton, Yelverton, the Attorney-General, Pelham and your humble servant, to consider of applications made from the magistrates of Carlow to have the entire county proclaimed, and it was our unanimous opinion that, as the Governor [William Burton], etc, had repeatedly urged the measure, that it ought not to be refused, and it was strenuously urged by the two Chief Justices and the Attorney-General. Consequently, it was agreed that there should be a Council summoned yesterday [15 November] at one o'clock for thepurpose.'[110]

From this source, it is clear that the proclamation of Carlow was seen at the highest official level as a pressing necessity and the county was subjected to martial law on 15 November.[111] In this manner, one of the direct consequences of Bennett's murder was the earning of a unique status for Carlow as the only Leinster county to be proclaimed in its entirety at this point.

The authorities continued to make arrests for criminal activities which had taken place on the 1 and 2 of November. Some of these arrests were obviously made on very grounds. As L.M. Cullen argues:

> 'The contrast between Carlow and other counties — Tipperary, Kilkenny, Wexford, Wicklow and Kildare — was that the leading body of gentry magistrates in Carlow were in agreement on stern methods [...] The legal basis for the arrests was probably slight: the apparent success of the magistrates was based less on the quality of their information than on the fact that as the only county in the region which was proclaimed in its entirety at an early date, the light burden of proof resting on determined magistrates meant that they could effect at will a policy of almost indiscriminate arrests'.[112]

This group as a whole was tried at the assizes in Carlow town the following year. News of the arrests spread far and wide. In London, Lord Clifden reported that 'in Carlow gaol, as I understand, there are over 100 person confined for the murders and outrages committed last November'.[113] In fact, an astounding total of 162 men were brought for prosecution for the crimes of 1 and 2 November in the vicinity of Leighlinbridge, namely unlawful assembly and carrying arms as members of an illegal association. For example, the charge against one group of prisoners was 'that they with many other evil disposed persons unknown, 7th November [...] at Leighlinbridge being armed with firelocks, forearms and other offensive weapons,contempt[uousl]y,mal[iciousl]y did rise, assemble and appear armed [...] and that each of them did assume the particular name and denomination of a United Irishman'.[114] These details are taken from a remarkable document now housed in the small private collections of Carlow County Archives in the county library.[115] It is an account of a eight day general assizes —remarkable in itself in that no previous assizes had lasted more than three days[116]—which began in Carlow on 26 March 1798, and was almost entirely devoted to the prosecution of United Irish suspects who had been active in Leighlinbridge and environs in the wake of Bennett's murder the previous week. Suspects came from Carlow, Kilkenny and the Queen's county and included farmers, smiths, shoemakers, publicans and shopkeepers among their number. Despite the fact that the authorities were obviously adamant to crush the movement, the document records how most of the prisoners were discharged having been granted bail, on condition of future good behaviour. However, some were subjected to vicious punishments for their alleged participation in the Ten Day Republic. John Kelly was found guilty and sentenced to be 'publically whipped from the late Amyas Thomas's dwelling to the pound in Leighlin and back again'.[117]

However, according to this source (and the other surviving ones), no individual was ever brought to account for Bennett's killing. However, some invaluable family folklore from the Leighlinbridge area must be recounted here. The late Myles (Miley) Kehoe (of the famous Keogh family from Orchard, who count the distinguished Col. Myles Kehoe among their ancestors), expressed his family's belief to local historian, Martin Nevin that his ancestor, Patrick "Patt" Keogh of Leighlinbridge, had been charged with Bennett's killing before he was hanged in Carlow jail on 9 June of 1798.[118] Patrick Kehoe ran an extensive linen and woollen drapery business in the village and ran a trade in the spirit and grocery line, close to where the old Garda barracks stood in the village.[119] As well as being one of the wealthiest men in the vicinity, Keogh was also a United Irishman. After the Battle of Carlow, he was arrested and sent to the jail where 'he seemed to have a presentiment of his fate'. He endured 'a sort of a trial', according to Farrell: 'we all knew he never took any active part in the unfortunate business'. No conclusive sentence was passed on Keogh, but he was nevertheless hanged the following day. It would appear the officers in charge were lacking evidence and they may have invented a charge against Keogh relating to Bennett's murder seven months previously. In his last letter to his mother, he wrote: 'I am very happy in my mind and will, with the assistance of the Almighty God, meet my fate, be it what it will, with resignation'. He was buried in Dunleckney cemetery. Kehoe was 25 years old. In all likelihood, the authorities had executed the wrong man, but this would have been no source of regret for them at the time. The real ringleader in Bennett's murder was probably the unnamed inn-keeper who played a dominant role in the Ten day Republic and who was arrested in early November 1797.

The March assizes were so effective that on 1 April, John Staunton Rochfort, freshly confident with the Orange Order behind him, was able to report to government that they had the United movement on the run: 'If the gentlemen in every other county conducted themselves as they have in this county [Carlow], rebellion would soon be stifled'.[120]

Part 9:
William's silver watch and the later career of John Bennett

No details have survived about William Bennett's funeral, his place or date of burial. Although he is not named on any of the family memorials in Clonmelsh graveyard, it is highly likely that he was

buried there. It seems his death prompted his nephew John Bennett to resign his position in the Carlow militia and return to Ballyloughan. The murder generated significant sympathy for the family in loyalist circles and certainly helped John on his mission to assume greater civic office. On 30 January 1802, the Lord Lieutenant announced that he was appointing John Bennett as High Sheriff of Carlow for the ensuing year, and for that purpose Bennett took up lodgings in Carlow town. It was only a matter of weeks after he assumed this prestigious and important office that his murdered uncle's watch came out of hiding. It had been retained and hidden by one of his attacking party that night — possibly the mason, Robert Lawler. Well aware of the object's contentiousness, Lawler was careful to bide his time and waited over four years before bringing it out in the open. Whether because of poor personal circumstances, or a desire to rid himself of criminal evidence, Lawler clearly wished to offload the valuable item by March of 1802. When he entered Luke Foster's shop that day, he was unaware of the remarkable coincidences that Foster had already repaired the watch and would almost immediately recognise it, or that a nephew of Bennett's was now acting as the symbol of law and order in the county. In confronting Lawler, Foster made a sort of citizen's arrest and pocketed the watch at the same time. He succeeded in bringing his prisoner to Bennett's accommodation 'to hand said Lawler over to justice'.[121] However, the High Sheriff was not at home and Lawler 'found means to make his escape'. Foster waited for Bennett's return and told him the full story when he arrived. He also handed William Bennett's watch over to his nephew, who must have felt some sense of satisfaction at this point on William's behalf. From the hands of a gentleman farmer, to a mason to a provincial watchmaker, and back into family hands, the watch had e ndured an unfortunate and violent history.

The same might also be said of John Bennett's later career. Although outwardly successful and prosperous, his public life was marred by a series of mishaps. Early in the new century, he leased Viewmount house, the former residence of the tragic Sir Edward Crosbie, executed in 1798— increasing the house's sad attachment to the violence of that era. He married his cousin, Mary Going of Traverston, Co. Tipperary, whose mother was Grace Bernard of Castle Bernard (now Kinnity Castle) in King's county.[122] The couple were childless but were appointed as guardians of a young kinswoman, a daughter of Thomas Bernard of Gayville in Carlow.[123]

Bennett embraced the life of a country gentleman and enjoyed hunting and shooting and enjoyed socialising with the élite of ascendancy Ireland. In January of 1807, he was in a shooting party at Newcastle House in Co. Longford, over the demesne of Laurence Parsons, the 1st earl of Rosse.[124] However, his gun went off by accident and connected with a large horn of gunpowder 'which exploded in Mr. Bennett's hand and blew the horn into a thousand pieces'. The clothes on his right side were apparently burned to a cinder and his cheek and right eye were severely scorched. Luckily, Captains Montford and Robinson of the local yeomanry were on parade in the adjoining field and witnessed the accident. Bennett was removed to Captain Robinson's house where he remained for several days in recovery. For the next two decades, we hear little of Bennett apart from regular appearances on Carlow's Grand Jury. The last major public event of his life was another unfortunate and violent affair.

In April of 1826, we know that John Bennett had retained his associations with the Bruens of Oak Park. In that year, Henry Bruen (son of the man who had first commissioned Bennett into the Carlow militia) was MP for the county and succeeded in having his father-in-law, Thomas Kavanagh of Borris, elected with him. At this time, John Bennett was acting very publicly 'as the personal representative of Mr. Kavanagh', who was regularly indisposed by ill-health.[125] So it was that on 6 April 1826, it was Bennett who headed the traditional electoral celebrations known as 'the chairing'. This involved the successful candidate being driven or carried through the streets as he distributed silver coins to the poor. When John Bennett stepped from the courthouse in Carlow that day, he ascended 'a very handsome triumphant chair, which was surmounted by a splendid and lofty canopy, the frame covered with pink gauze and blue lutestring silk, encircled with bandeaus, and tufted at top and sides, with numerous bunches of silk ribbon, of the gayest hues; the whole placed upon the frames and wheels of the chaise'.[126] Bennett stepped aboard and was drawn through Burrin and Dublin streets by the people, 'showering silver crown pieces and smaller coins through the myriads of persons to the right and left'. The car doubled back into Tullow St. and travelled to Potato Market. However, at this point, the unruly and disgruntled elements of the crowd seized matters into their own hands:

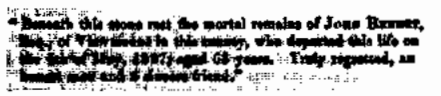
> 'Here the unruly and boisterous populace dashed the worthy Gentleman from his seat, and the chair and canopy disappeared in a moment. Mr. Bennett was shamefully trodden down; his hat, which contained, we understand, at least fifty pounds in silver, was wrested by the host of pillaging vagabonds around, from a friend who endeavoured to retain it'.

Interestingly, Bennett's watch was also almost torn from his grasp but was retrieved; it is not too much of a stretch to imagine that this was in fact his uncle William's watch, still being worn as a memento of his murdered relative. For a time, some in the crowd feared that John Bennett would himself be killed. He took refuge with his supporters in Edward Keating's shop until the crowd forced entry and stole Keating's till. It was a scene of chaos within and without. Colonel John Staunton Rochfort was struck by a rock on the head and a young girl lost two of her fingers in the scurry to pick up the scattered coins. A group of magistrates soon arrived followed by the police from their barrack and several arrests were made.

It was a shocking event for Bennett, then aged 62, who had to be escorted by the police to a safer house in Dublin St. It was to be the last major public event of his life. Just over a year later, on 4 May 1827, he died at Viewmount and was buried close to his parents and siblings in Clonmelsh cemetery. As an advertisement of his perceived social stature, his tombstone is headed by a carved family

crest, which is in fact a combination of his family arms with those of his wife: of the Bennett (a bezant between three demi-lions) and Going Families (a palm tree with serpent). The text records that tombstone that Bennett was 'truly regretted. An honest man and a sincere friend'. Viewmount passed back into hands of the Browne family and the lands of Ballyloughan were either sold or distributed among relatives. His widow, Mrs Mary Bennett appears to have left Carlow for Dublin at this point. She died aged 85 on 27 December 1856 and is buried in Mount Jerome cemetery, not alongside her husband in Clonmelsh.[127]

John Bennett's badly damaged tombstone in Clonmelsh graveyard, Carlow— nephew of William Bennett. The tombstone for John's parents and siblings is behind and to the right, obscured by a sycamore tree.



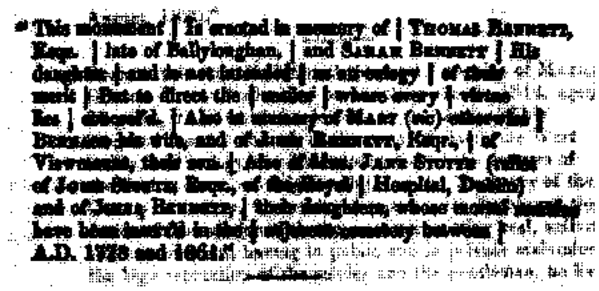
Text of John Bennett's tombstone in Clonmelsh as recorded by Fieldcrest Reynolds.

Conclusion

An intense silence hangs over the small churchyard of Clonmelsh, despite the nearby quarries. Between the brambles and nettles which climb over the monuments, the Bennett tombstones record the effects of the centuries. Largely hidden by a sycamore tree, the text on Thomas Bennett's tombstone is well worn and would be illegible were it not for the invaluable transcriptions of 'Fieldcrest Reynolds' some decades ago. John Bennett's stone is badly cracked and broken. The wall tablet in the small church to the Bennetts of Ballyloughan as recorded by P.D. Vigors in the *Journal of the Association of the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead in 1895* has sadly disappeared, symbolising perhaps how the history of the family in Carlow has been largely erased— dominated by a violent deed and a death that was a prelude to rebellion.[128]

Stone carving at the head of the tombstone of John Bennett (1764-1827) in Clonmelsh graveyard. Nephew of William Bennett. The image is a combination of the family crests of Bennett and his wife, Mary Going. On the left are the bezant between three demi-lions of the Bennetts, with the palm tree and serpent of the Going crest on the right. Mrs. John Bennett (1771-1856) was not buried here, but in Mount Jerome cemetery, Dublin.

In the aftermath of the 1798 rebellion, Lord Clifden reflected on events in Carlow and tried to establish why events there had not reached the heights of neighbouring Wexford. In his estimation, in Carlow and Leighlinbridge, while 'the seeds of rebellion were well sown, they were not quite so ripe here as elsewhere'.[129] However, the thesis of this article is that the fruits of the society of United Irishmen had ripened healthily but too soon in Leighlinbridge which allowed for a premature and ultimately broken harvest. Bennett's murder had brought the scythe down on their crop too soon. Within a fortnight of the event, it can safely be argued that his death was regretted by the perpetrators of the deed. As an act of a political agenda it had backfired abysmally. Rather than fortifying the strength of the United movement, it had sent the movement underground and taken many members out of action. For the county organisers, his death was seen as a mistake, a precipitous action which had brought unwanted attention to their activities before they were sufficiently prepared to launch a larger, cohesive rising. For the members in Leighlinbridge,— even those 'unthinking' members who may have acted out of personal animosity towards Bennett — it was also a matter of regret as it had resulted in government attention being focused on their centre of members with the arrest of many and increased military vigilance over their village. It



Text of the wall tablet commemorating the Bennett family of Ballyloughan, which once hung on the wall of Clonmelsh church but is now missing. Recorded by P.D. Vigors in 1895.

The Bennett tombstone in Clonmelsh graveyard, Carlow.

Here Lieth the Body of Thomas
Bennett Esq^r who Dep^d this Life Janu^y
the 2^nd 1778 aged 46 years.
also M^rs Mary Bamfrey died 6^th Jan^y 1804
aged 70.
also Sarah Bennett died February 1798 aged
31 years. Also John Bennett died 5^th March 1837
aged 59 years. Also M^rs Jane Stoyte (relict
of John Stoyte Esq^r of the Royal Hospital
Dublin) died 4^th March 1861 aged 90 years
daughters of the above Tho^s Bennett Esq^r
and Mary his Wife

Text of the tombstone for Thomas Bennett (1732-1778) and his family in Clonmelsh graveyard — brother of William Bennett. Transcribed by Fieldcrest Reynolds. From County Carlow IGP website.

was now effectively in the hands of the local yeomanry units and the notorious 9th Dragoons. In many ways, it had ignited a helplessness and fear in many loyalists who became determined to match rebellious violence with a ferocity of their own. The death of the Ballyloughan farmer extended an invitation to the Orange order to take root in Carlow.

For the poor of the neighbourhood, Catholic and Protestant, for those who had relied on Bennett's medical skills, and for the rest of the population who were swept unwillingly into the maelstrom of these political events, Bennett's murder was a shocking, unjustified and regrettable deed. Many decades after the rebellion, the event was still being discussed and his name was a source of despondency for many Carlovians. His name was enrolled on a bloody page in Leighlinbridge's history, renowned more for the manner of his death than for any achievement in life. When William Farrell put his quill to parchment in the 1830s, he recorded for posterity that 'to this day, the name of Mr Bennett of Ballynocken [sic] is mentioned with grief and regret by every one that knew him'.[130]

Footnotes:

[1] See the 'Slaughter in Carlow' articles, most likely written by Thomas Finn, in several issues of the *Irish Magazine* of 1811.

[2] The details of this incident are taken from the statement of Luke Foster to Henry Rudkin, Justice of the Peace, on 13 Mar. 1802, in the Pat Purcell Papers. With thanks to Michael Purcell for kindly providing me with copies of this document.

[3] Maura Duggan, *County Carlow, 1791-1801: a study in an era of revolution*, p. 89.

[4] See Cornwall's comments on the plan in National Archives, RP 620/34/24, 22 Oct. 1797.

[5] L.M. Cullen, 'Politics and rebellion: Wicklow in the 1790s' in Ken Hannigan & William Nolan (eds.), *Wicklow: history and society* (Dublin, 1994), pp. 411-501, at p.419.

[6] Ibid, p. 446.

[7] The Rebellion papers in the National Archives, Dublin, on microfilm; Sir Richard Musgrave, *Memoirs of the different rebellions in Ireland* (Dublin, 1802), vol. ii, p. 245; Roger McHugh (ed.), William Farrell, *Carlow in '98* (Dublin, 1949); *Whitehall Evening Post*, 2-4 Nov. 1797.

[8] Farrell, *Carlow in '98*, p. 51; *Whitehall Evening Post*, 2-4 Nov. 1797

[9] On Ballyknockan see J. Feeley and J. Sheehan, 'The lepers of Leighlinbridge' in *Carloviana* (2005), pp. 83-4 , Nicholas Carolan, 'John Neale: surgeon and musician' in *Carloviana* (2010), pp. 52-4, and Martin Nevin, *Leighlin remembered for "The Gathering"* (Leighlinbridge, 2013), pp. 114-16.

[10] Farrell, *Carlow in '98*, p. 51.

[11] Martin Nevin, *The sprig in the window: 1798 in the Leighlin area* (Leighlinbridge, 1998), p. 2. Also, e-mail correspondence with Nevin, 18 Feb. 2014, regarding William Bennett in Leighlinbridge's folklore: Nevin recalls hearing a tale from renowned local historian Alan Doran that Bennett had been shot on the bridge at Leighlin.

[12] *Finn's Leinster Journal*, 1-4 Nov. 1797; *Dublin Gazette*, 7 Nov. 1797.

[13] RP 620/34/25.

[14] On the ancestry, genealogy and property of the Steuarts of Leighlinbridge at this time, see Mary Stewart Blakemore, *A narrative genealogy of the Stewarts of Sequatchie Valley, Tennessee and allied families* (Virginia, 1960), pp. pp. 20-21, 37-8, 147-8 and 155-7. See also the memoir of Henrietta Hickey (neé Steuart), Not us from kings but kings from us (1862), from the Pat Purcell Papers, by courtesy of Michael Purcell. Available online at http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~irlcar2/Letter_20.htm, accessed 3 Apr. 2014.

[15] *Finn's Leinster Journal*, 8 Nov. 1797.

[16] For the text of the Bennett headstone at Clonmelsh graveyard, see Fieldcrest Reynold's transcription at http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~irlcar2/Lorum'-Old_Graves21.jpg, accessed 12 Jun. 2012. See also the transcription of the tablet on the wall of the ruined church at Clonmelsh as given by P.D. Vigors in *Association for the Preservation of the memorials of the dead, Ireland*. Journal for the year 1895 (Dublin, 1895), p. 15, which refers to 'Thomas Bennett, late of Ballyloughan'.

[17] See Irish Church Records online at http://churchrecords.irishgenealogy.ie/reels/c-317-1-1-056.pdf, accessed 1 Apr. 2014.

[18] See http://churchrecords.irishgenealogy.ie/churchrecords/.

[19] All dates calculated from the Bennett tombstone and wall plaque at Clonmelsh, except those of Mary Bennett who married Henry Rudkin. For her headstone details at Lorum cemetery, see Journal for the *Preservation of the memorials of the dead* (1888), vol. i, p. 68.

[20] See his headstone in Clonmelsh cemetery, Carlow.

[21] *Finn's Leinster Journal*, 25 Mar. 1767. Transcribed in *Carloviana* (2002), p. 15.

[22] Dates based on advertisements run in *Finn's Leinster Journal* for these years.

[23] *Finn's Leinster Journal*, 18 Apr. 1772 and 7 Jul. 1773.

[24] *Belfast Newsletter*, 14 Aug. 1773.

[25] *Finn's Leinster Journal*, 6 Apr. 1776.

[26] Ibid, 16 Oct. 1779.

[27] For Mary Bennett's marriage, see Edmund T. Bewley, 'The Rudkins of the county Carlow in *The Genealogist* (London, 1905), vol. xxi, edited by H.W. Forsyth Harwood, pp. 145-162, at p. 157. The marriage is also mentioned in John Ryan, *The history and antiquities of the county of Carlow* (Dublin, 1833), p. 372.

[28] Freeman's Journal, 5 Feb. 1791. The advertisement is signed by 'John Bennett, Esq., Ballyloughen'.

[29] Ibid, 4 Sep. 1792; Bennett tombstone, Clonmelsh.

[30] Ryan, *History and antiquities of the county of Carlow*, p. 312.

[31] Victor Hadden, 'The Carlow militia' in *Carloviana* (1960), pp. 20-24, at p. 20.

[32] Ibid, p. 21. For the training regime of the Carlow militia between April and October 1793, see Ivan F. Nelson, *The Irish militia, 1793-1802: Ireland's forgotten army* (Dublin, 2007), pp. 74-5.

[33] Ryan, *History and antiquities of the county of Carlow*, p. 313.

[34] *The Times*, 24 Sep. 1793.

[35] Pádraig Ó Snodaigh, 'Ceatharlach i 1798— nua

amhare ar na staraithe' in Thomas McGrath, *Carlow: history and socity* (Dublin, 200), p. 594-5; Robert Malcomson, *The Carlow parliamentary roll* (Dublin, 1872), p. 28.

[36] Ryan, *History and antiquities*, p. 313.

[37] Farrell, *Carlow in '98*, p. 51.

[38] RP 620/34/25.

[39] Farrell, *Carlow in '98*, p. 51.

[40] The account in the *Whitehall Evening Post* refers to Bennett having 'servants' in the house when Bennett retired to bed.

[41] Reported by Cornwall, RP 620/34/25.

[42] *Whitehall Evening Post*, 2-4 Nov. 1797.

[43] See http://churchrecords.irishgenealogy.ie/reels/c-317-1-2-089.pdf, accessed 4 Dec. 2013.

[44] Farrell, *Carlow in '98*, p. 51.

[45] RP 620/34/25.

[46] Farrell, *Carlow in '98*, p. 51.

[47] Nevin, *The sprig in the window*, p. v.

[48] Alan Doran, 'Light and shadow on 1798' in *Carloviana* (1988-89), pp. 19-20.

[49] RP 620/34/24, 22 Oct. 1797.

[50] On Cornwall see Edith Mary Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish parliament* (Belfast, 2002), vol. iii, pp. 509-10, and Mary L. Duggan, *County Carlow 1791-1801 a study in an era of revolution* (1969), unpublished MA thesis, UCD, p. 33.

[51] Sir Richard Musgrave, *Memoir of the different rebellion in Ireland* (Dublin, 1802), vol. ii, p. 245-6.

[52] RP 620/34/26.

[53] Cullen,'*Wicklow in the 1790s*', p. 446.

[54] RP 620/34/21.

[55] RP 620/34/24.

[56] Ibid.

[57] RP 620/34/24, 22 Oct. 1797.

[58] RP 620/34/27, 9 Nov. 1797.

[59] See RP 620/34/19, 29 Aug. 1797 and 620/34/24, 22 Oct. 1797. Butler was distantly related to William Farrell and played a significant role in his reprieve from execution in June of 1798. See Farrell, *Carlow in '98*, pp. 188-89, and 199-200.

[60] *Whitehall Evening Post*, 2-4 Nov. 1797.

[61] RP 620/34/24, Examination of John Butler, 21 Oct. 1797.

[62] Sir Richard Musgrave, *Memoirs of the different rebellions in Ireland* (Dublin, 1820), vol. ii, p. 245.

[63] Byrne, *Hibernicus*, p. 38.

[64] *Whitehall Evening Post*, 2-4 Nov. 1797.

[65] Farrell, *Carlow in '98*, p. 51-2. Farrell mentions that this conversation took place about three or four days before Bennett was murdered on the 25th.

[66] Farrell, *Carlow in '98*, p. 51.

[67] Musgrave, *Memoir of the different rebellions in Ireland*, vol. ii, p. 245.

[68] Farrell, *Carlow in 98*, p. 52; Musgrave, *Memoir of the different rebellions in Ireland*, vol. ii, p. 245.

[69] Duggan, *Carlow: 1791- 1801*, pp. 88-9.

[70] Farrell, *Carlow in '98*, p. 52.

[71] *Whitehall Evening Post*, 2 Nov. 1797.

[72] Robert Cornwall reported that the incident began at nine o' clock and the *Whitehall Evening Post* gives a time of ten o'clock. All details of the murder are taken from this latter source unless otherwise stated.

[73] Detail mentioned in Cornwall's letter to Pelham, RP 62/34/25.

[74] *Freeman's Journal*, 8 Nov. 1797.

[75] RP 620/34/25.

[76] Musgrave *Memoir of the different rebellions in Ireland*, vol. ii, p. 245.

[77] Farrell, *Carlow in '98*, p. 51.

[78] RP 620/34/25.

[79] RP 620/34/26, 31 Oct. 1797.

[80] Farrell, *Carlow in '98*, p. 52.

[81] RP 620/33/9.

[82] On contemporary wages, see Farrell, *Carlow in '98*, p. 45.

[83] *Freeman's Journal*, 1-4 Nov. 1797.

[84] *Dublin Gazette*, 5-7 December 1797.

[85] *Freeman's Journal*, 8 Nov. 1797.

[86] RP 620/33/9, Burton to Pelham, 2 Nov. 1797.

[87] RP 620/33/9.

[88] PRONI T2541/IB/2/2/30

[89] Farrell, *Carlow in '98*, p. 52.

[90] Musgrave, *Memoir of the different rebellions in Ireland*, vol. ii, p. 245.

[91] RP 620/33/9.

[92] RP 620/33/9.

[93] Ibid, Pelham to Burton, 2 Nov. 1797.

[94] RP 620/33/8.

[95] RP 620/33/33, 10 Nov. 1797.

[96] See Nevin, *Sprig in the window*, p. 16.

[97] *St. James' Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, 11 Nov. 1797.

[98] Ibid.

[99] *Evening Mail*, 13 Nov. 1797.

[100] *London Packet*, 15 Nov. 1797. On these raids, see also Nevin, Sprig in the window, p. 2, and his transcript of the trial of Patrick Ryan of Rathellen for alleged crimes that night, on pp. 14-17.

[101] RP 620/5/58/48.

[102] *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, 11 Nov. 1797.

[103] London Packet, 15 Nov. 1797.

[104] Ibid.

[105] Ibid.

[106] RP 620/34/27, 9 Nov. 1797.

[107] Ibid.

[108] *Dublin Gazette*, 7 Nov. 1797.

[109] See Duggan, *Carlow:1791-1801*, appendix L for a list of the magistrates who applied for the proclamation of the county.

[110] PRONI T3719/C/31/95

[111] Duggan, *Carlow: 1791-1801*, p. 91.

[112] Cullen, 'Wicklow in the 1790s', p. 477.

[113] PRONI T3719/C/32/14, 7 Mar. 1798.

[114] Carlow Archives, P2 0052, p. 26-7.

[115] Carlow County Archives, Small Private Collections 1, P2/0052.

[116] Diary of John Murphy, transcribed in Mick Kinsella, Edward N. Moran & Conor Murphy, *Kilcumney '98 its origins, aftermath & legacy* (Goresbridge, 1998), p.212.

[117] Carlow Archives, P2 0052, p. 23.

[118] E-mail correspondence with Martin Nevin on 7, 17, 18 and 20 Feb. 2014.

[119] See Farrell, *Carlow in '98*, pp. 128-30, and Nevin, 'Distinguished members of a Carlow family from Orchard, Leighlinbridge', *Carloviana* (1997), pp. 46-7.

[120] RP 620/36/110A, 1 Apr. 1798.

[121] Par Purcell Papers, courtesy of Michael Purcell, Luke Foster to Henry Rudkin, Justice of the Peace, on 13 Mar. 1802.

[122] Burke, History of the landed gentry of Great Britain and Ireland (London, 1871), vol. i, p. 515.

[123] Extract from *Carlow Morning Post*, December 1821 from the Pat Purcell Papers, transcribed on http://archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com/th/read/IRL-CARLOW/2012-05/1338298088, accessed 1 Jul. 2014. Thomas Bernard had died in 1807 and was buried in Clonmelsh. His grave is listed in *Journal for the preservation of Memorials of the Dead (1896)*, p. 207.

[124] *London Recorder and Sunday Reformer*, 18 Jan. 1807.

[125] *Carlow Morning Post*, quoted in *Glasgow Herald*, 17 Apr. 1826.

[126] Ibid.

[127] See her memorial listed at http://www.igp-web.com/igparchives/ire/dublin/photos/tombstones/1headstones/mt-jerome28.txt, no. 4151, accessed 1 Jul. 2014.

[128] *Journal of the Association of the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead* (Dublin, 1895), p. 15.

[129] PRONI T3719/C/32.69, 3 Jun. 1798.

[130] Farrell, *Carlow in '98*, p. 52.

Outing to Roscrea and Birr Castle on 21st June, 2014

The Downings of Bagenalstown

The Civil Engineer - Samuel Downing (1811-1882)

The Astronomer - Arthur Downing (1850-1917)

Myles Kavanagh

The Rev. Samuel Downing, rector of Fenagh in the Diocese of Leighlin and Anne Weld, daughter of the Rev. Joseph Weld, Archdeacon of Ross in the Diocese of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross, with a residence in the Lodge, in the townland of Moneybeg, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow, received a marriage licence in Old Leighlin on the 26th of February 1800.

Samuel and Anne lived in the Lodge, in the townland of Moneybeg, Bagenalstown and had a family of two girls, the youngest Susanna Hannah was born on the 12th March 1803 and baptised in Dunleckney on the 27th March. Mary Esther the second girl was born on the 13th June 1804, baptised in Dunleckney on the 24th June and buried in Dunleckney on the 24th March 1806. Anne Downing wife of Samuel and mother of the two girls was buried in Dunleckney on the 16th February 1805 at the age of 28 years.

Samuel remarried in 1808 Mable Anne (unknown) and they had a family of two girls and three boys, Mable born the 25th of December 1808, baptised in Dunleckney on 1st January 1809, Arthur Matthew born on the 10th June 1810, baptised in Dunleckney on the 17th June, Samuel born on the 19th July 1811, baptised in Dunleckney on the 25th July, Anne Sophia born on the 14th July 1812, baptised in Dunleckney on the 16th July, and William Henry born on the 15th January 1818, baptised in Dunleckney on the 29th January.

The church in Fenagh was erected in 1790 and extended in the 1850's by the Patrick Beresford family. The Glebe house was built circa 1829 and perhaps the Rev. Samuel may have lived there part time before his death on the 1st of January 1844 aged 75 years. He was buried on the 4th January alongside his wife Anne in the Weld group of graves at the east wall of Dunleckney Church.

The civil engineer

Samuel Downing second son of the Rev. Samuel Downing rector of Fenagh and Mable Anne Downing received his primary and secondary education at Kilkenny College; he then entered Trinity College, Dublin, in 1829 and graduated with the BA degree in 1834. There being no school of engineering he proceeded to Edinburgh to attend lectures in Natural Philosophy, which at that time included many engineering subjects obtaining at the same time a knowledge of mechanical drawing by spending all his leisure time in an architect's office.

He subsequently became a pupil of Mr. Bushe and then an assistant to Mr. Bushe and was engaged for him on dock works in South Wales. He also designed and executed a road bridge, 560 ft. long, joining the island of Portland to the mainland, at an expenditure of only £4,000, including road-approaches, toll-house, etc.

He was for some time engaged as resident engineer on a section of the London and Birmingham Railway and also filled a similar position on the Taff Vale Railway, where he had the superintendence of what were at that date considered some very special works, including an arched viaduct 106 ft. high on a 20-chain curve, constructed from a design of Brunel's with octagonal piers: of which he published a description in the Transactions of the Civil Engineers of Ireland. To that society he made several other communications, being one of its most active supporters, and for many years vice-president.

In 1847 he was appointed assistant to Sir John MacNeill the first professor in the School of Engineering at Trinity College, Dublin, which had been established in 1842. On Sir John MacNeill's resignation in 1852 he was appointed to the chair of the Practice of Civil Engineering and in 1862 the university marked the appreciation of his services by conferring on him "honoris causa" in company with Sir Richard Griffith, Sir John MacNeill and Mr. Robert Mallet, the then newly degree of Master in Engineering. He had previously taken the Doctorate in Laws in 1856.

Samuel Downing published several books and papers on engineering subjects including a treatise for the use of his pupils on the "Elements of Practical Hydraulics" and in 1875 the first volume of "Elements of Practical Construction".

As well as being active in the Civil Engineers of Ireland he was a member of

the Committee of Science of the Royal Irish Academy from 1868 – 1871 and was also active in the Geological Society of Dublin during the 1850's and 60's as treasurer and council member.

He held the chair of Practice of Civil Engineering until his death on the 21st April 1882.

According to the obituary in the Minutes and Proceedings of the Institute of Civil Engineering, his tenure of the chair was "characterised by punctuality, patience and unwearied industry, in imparting .... his varied stores of knowledge. It may be safely said that few men have passed so many years in any public institution and left behind him, both among students and colleagues, a memory so beloved ...."

The Astronomer

Arthur Matthew Downing second son of the Rev. Samuel Downing and Mable Anne Downing, and Mary Weld daughter of Matthew Weld and Mary Izod Nickson (of the Lodge Bagenalstown) received a marriage licence in Old Leighlin in 1839. Arthur and Mary's son Arthur Matthew Weld Downing of the Lodge Bagenalstown was born on the 13th April 1850 and baptised on the 26th May in Dunleckney. He received his early education under Philip Jones at the Nutgrove School in Rathfarnham, Co. Dublin which was established in 1802. In 1839 the school was under Mr. Philip Jones who was Principal until 1866 when the position was held by Mrs. Anne Jones. Arthur then attended Trinity College Dublin where he received a BA degree in 1871, gaining the gold medal of his year in Mathematics. He took his M.A. in 1881 and in 1893 received an honorary degree of Doctor of Science from Trinity College.

After graduating at the top of his year in Mathematics Arthur was successful in an open completion for the position of assistant at the Royal Observatory, Greenwich which commenced on the 17th January 1873.There he was placed in charge successively of the library and manuscripts, the time department and the circle computations. He had not been long at Greenwich before he made himself known by papers on the astronomy of precision which he communicated to this Society, the first of these being a short note on "Determination of the Semi-diameter of Venus at the mean distance of the Sun from the Earth", appearing in the Monthly Notices of May 1877. A series of papers followed, dealing with the comparison of star places in different catalogues, their correction for systematic errors, the computation of proper motions and other inquiries important in fundamental astronomy.

Following his election as Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society in 1875, he communicated 75 papers to the society. Among the papers was a calculation done in collaboration with G. Johnstone Stoney of perturbations suffered by the Leonid meteors, which predicted and explained the relative sparseness of the 1899 shower.

All these won him a reputation as an able and conscientious worker in his essential but less popular side of the science and when in 1891, Dr. J. Russel Hind Superintendent of the Nautical Almanac Office, resigned his post, Downing was clearly marked out as his proper successor. He entered upon his new appointment on the 1st January 1892 and remained in this post until his statutory retirement on the 13th of April 1910. During this period he brought out the Nautical Almanac for the years 1896 to 1912.

Samuel's chief contribution was the computation of precise positions and movements of astronomical bodies. As one of the founders of the British Association and subsequently nurtured of its early development, Downing contributed significantly to amateur astronomy. His consistent advance publication of particulars of astronomical occurrences, such as eclipses and occultations, constituted a valuable service to observers in many countries.

In 1896 Arthur was elected fellow of the Royal Society and officiated in Paris at the important Conference of Directors of Ephemerides which sought to attain uniformity in the adoption of astronomical constants. He collaborated with his U.S. counterpart Simon Newcomb in establishing an international standard for astronomical constants. His accomplishments placed him in an honourable place among professional astronomers.

His sudden death at 30 New Oxford Street, Bloomsbury, London on the 8th December 1917, leaving a widow Ellen Jane Downing, and their only child a married daughter, following several years of illness, was from a recurrent heart complaint. He was cremated on the 13th December at Golders Green Crematorium.

Note

HM Nautical Almanac (HMNAO) now part of the United Kingdom Hydrographic Office was established on the site of the Royal Greenwich Observatory (RGO), where the Nautical Almanac had been published since 1767. HMNAO produces astronomical data for a wide range of users, such as aviators, surveyors, the military, police, religious groups, schools, diary and calendar manufacturers, photographers and film crews.

Sources:

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Grace's Guide – British Industrial History
The Complete Dictionary of Scientific Biography
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Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
Carloviana 1997 – "Sir John Mac Neill's Chosen Successor" by Dr. Norman McMillan

For further reading see Weld article and family tree in this issue of *Carloviana.*

Hacketstown and the Great Famine

James P. Shannon

The potato blight that was the immediate cause of the Great Famine first appeared in the third week of August 1845. In the weeks that followed more and more outbreaks of the disease were recorded. The government was sufficiently concerned about reports of failure of the crop to seek information from the constabulary and from Resident Magistrates throughout the country in an effort to establish how great or how widespread the problem was. One constabulary report, sent from Carlow town on September 22nd 1845, went as follows: "The result of my own observation and enquiry upon the subject leads me to believe that the crop in the low wet land is seriously and extensively injured, the produce being found to be diseased or wholly rotten. The general crop on good ground presents at present an healthy appearance, but the late sowings appear of weakly growth & have suffered from the late frosts."[i]

Ch. Tuckey R.M., writing from Carlow on October 22nd 1845 reported that "the produce of the potato crop is abundant but unfortunately is more or less diseased in every part of the district and I fear a considerable quantity will rot in the pits. In the wet land & thro' the baronies of Rathvilly, St. Mullins & the hilly ground of Idrone West where soft white kind are generally cultivated the greatest injury has been sustained, the root is mostly attacked in the side. ..... There is a great deal of Wheat pretty well saved but the quality of the grain is indifferent in many localities. The oat crop is excellent and a great deal grown. Barley is also prolific but there is not much of that grain cultivated in the County Carlow."[ii]

Sir Robert Peel

Another magistrate, Mr. Warburton R.M., reported from Baltinglass on October 20th, 1845 that "Within the last fortnigh very little damage appeared to be done in this district but the disease now appears to have set in with much virulence and now that the digging out of the crop has become general I have not been able to learn that a single field has escaped". ..... "some potatoes taken this day to all appearance very little injured will not be fit for any use in 48 hours, the pigs are refusing to eat them."[iii]

By the middle of November, having received reports, which estimated that, allowing for the necessity to reserve some seed potatoes for the following year, only about three-eighths of the potato harvest of 1845 would be available as food for the people, the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel, was sufficiently alarmed by the prospect of mass starvation to order the purchase of £100,000 worth of Indian corn (maize) from the United States of America.

Peel did this on his own initiative, without consultation with the Treasury, a startling and bold action on the part of a Conservative Prime Minister, and one that shows just how seriously he viewed the developing situation. He could foresee that the widespread failure of the potato crop, on which hundreds of thousands of the Irish population were totally dependent, was about to result in a great demand for alternative foodstuffs, which would inevitably drive up the price of food of every kind. Indeed Mr. Warburton's report of October 20th had included the information that oats had on the previous Friday in the market in Baltinglass reached the price of 14 shillings a bushel. Clearly the price inflation had already begun. Peel's Indian

corn was meant to be sold to the needy at near-cost price and thereby help to keep down the price of foodstuffs to affordable levels.

In late November 1845 Peel's government set up the Relief Commission which was meant to advise the government on the extent of the crisis, to direct and support the work of local relief committees and to oversee the distribution of Indian corn. The commission set about its work right away and as an essential part of its task saw to the gathering of information on an ongoing basis so as to establish the extent of the distress caused in each local area by the failure of the potato crop.

The commission soon ran into difficulties in regard to the distribution of Indian corn and meal. On February 9th 1846 the Resident Poor Law Commissioner, Edward B. Twistleton, himself a member of the Relief Commission, refused the cooperation of his department on the grounds that giving relief outside the workhouse was illegal. This made it impossible for the Commission adequately to carry out its remit. The government intervened on February 19th and remodelled the Commission. However the reorganised Commission was made subordinate to the Permanent Under-Secretary, (the top civil servant in the Irish administration) Charles Trevelyan. Trevelyan was an able and conscientious administrator, but unfortunately for many thousands of the poor of Ireland, he was inflexibly wedded to the doctrine of *laissez faire*, the prevailing economic theory of the time, which held that governments should not in any circumstances interfere in the workings of natural market forces. He was capable of very harsh decisions in pursuit of his vision of economic orthodoxy, the victims of which decisions would be the poorest of the Irish, who would die in their hundreds of thousands as a result. Trevelyan is remembered today in "The Fields of Athenry" – "for you stole Trevelyan's corn/ so the young might see the morn ...." Tragically many of them didn't.

Within a week of its reorganisation the Relief Committee was again in major difficulty. There was a scarcity of ships for chartering, and because of this and because of widespread food scarcity throughout Europe and the consequent demand for imported food the cost of transport was escalating. This made it difficult for the Commission to import Indian corn at realistic rates. Despite this the Commission went ahead with its work. On March 25th 1846 Revd. Cuthbert Fetherstonhaugh, the Chairman of the Hacketstown Relief Committee sent a letter that neatly sums up the plight of the people of the Hacketstown area:[iv]

Rectory, Hacketstown

Sir,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your Circular respecting the different modes of using Indian Corn meal and to say I shall gladly disseminate the pamphlet with which it was accompanied – May I ask what would be the cost price per ton, when purchased for the purpose of selling it to the poor at a reduced price?

I take the opportunity of mentioning the great difficulty we shall have to contend with here, is, the want of employment after the Spring work is over, (not having resident gentry, Railroad or Public work in this neighbourhood) and the consequent inability of the poor to purchase provisions at the high rate at which they are at present and rising every day, not so much from loss of potatoes in this locality (for if we could pay for and keep our own we would have enough) as that they are bought for the supply of the wants of other localities not so fortunate as we have been, so that I am certain in a very little time there will be great misery and distress, there being an overflowing pauper population.

As far as in my power I am willing and anxious to cooperate in any plan may be deemed advisable to adopt and am

Sir

Your obedient servant

Cuthbert FetherstonH

Rev. Mr. Fetherstonhaugh could clearly see the coming tragedy if effective steps were not speedily taken to prevent it. Full-scale famine had not yet occurred but the poor were in hardship and would be in a much worse situation unless aid was forthcoming.

Not everybody agreed with Mr. Fetherstonhaugh's view. The Carlow Sentinel of May 23rd 1846 printed an article headed "The potato market" blaming the high price of potatoes on people who had been hoarding them in the hope of "famine prices" and greater profits for themselves. According to this report there had been 147 loads of potatoes offered for sale in Carlow market the previous Thursday and the vendors could get no more for them than "from 9s.6d. to 13s.6d. a barrel – that is, from 4 3/4d to 6 3/4d a stone". This report went on to state that "At Hacketstown, the stock of potatoes is so abundant, and of so fine a quality, they are sold at 4d. per stone. The huxters and petty usurers, availing themselves of this supply, congregated from different points to purchase in that town, but such was the excitement occasioned by their appearance in that locality that fears were entertained of a breach of the peace – to prevent which Mr. Tuckey, R.M., directed twenty of the constabulary to attend on the last market day in Hacketstown."[v] The "Sentinel" was of the opinion that "If the people will continue to consume the Indian meal mixed, where they can afford to do so, they will soon reduce the potato market to a proper level, and compel these detestable vampires, who live by forestalling and fraudulent dealings with the poor, to dispose of their potatoes at reasonable prices."

Charles Trevelyan

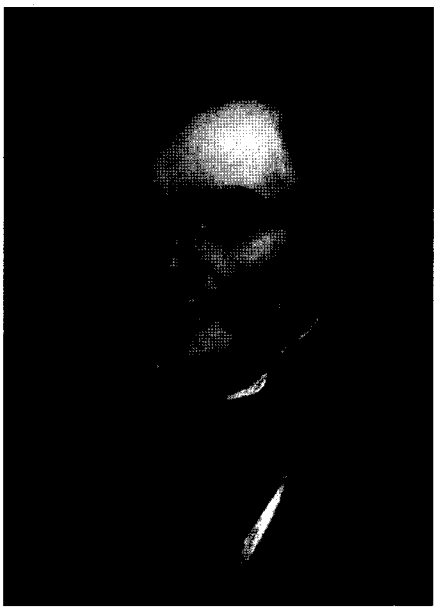
The "Sentinel's" optimism was somewhat in conflict with the situation on the ground, where distress was very real and hunger was starting to make people desperate. On the night of June 19th 1846 "a sheep, the property of Miles Bourke of Upper Hacketstown, was killed, and the carcass carried off."[vi] This was the first reported instance of such rustling in the area but there were to be several others in the months to come.

That same month of June 1846 saw momentous political developments in London. Prime Minister Peel in that month managed to persuade the Parliament to repeal the Corn Laws, probably the most important achievement of his career, and one that would eventually work out in cheaper bread for the ordinary people of Britain and Ireland. It was a development directly hostile to the interests of the great landlords however. They wished to keep the price of corn high because that meant prosperity for their tenant farmers and increased rental income for themselves. Consequently they saw Peel's repeal of the Corn Laws as an attack on their interests and a terrible act of betrayal. The direct result of that was a split in the Conservative Party and the defeat of Peel's government. Lord John Russell took office at the head of a Whig administration.

In July of 1846 the potato blight struck again. This time the failure was general throughout the country in contrast to the previous year when some districts had escaped. The situation was now desperate. After a year of distress, with the certain prospect of no potatoes that year, the people in huge numbers faced another year of starvation. Whatever small reserves they might have had in 1845 had long since been used up and they had no means of obtaining food unless the government would take effective action.

Trevelyan's response to this looming catastrophe was unbelievable. On August 15th 1846 he ordered the food depots and most of the public works to close. Two days later the Prime Minister defended this policy. The doctrine of laissez faire must be upheld despite the dreadful consequences in human suffering. All that the government offered was the Poor Employment (Ireland) Act which allowed the Board of Works to set up relief works on condition that the districts involved would repay the cost. The total sum advanced for this policy was £50,000.

The relief works were certainly instrumental in keeping some alive who would otherwise have starved, but the problem by this time was so huge that the money provided was nowhere near adequate. Furthermore there was confusion and



Lord John Russell

inefficiency in getting the relief works underway. Lieutenant Hotham, the Inspecting Officer for County Carlow, writing to the Secretary of the Relief Commission as late as October 22nd 1846 complained that he found in local relief committees "a general ignorance not only of their duties, but of actually whom they are composed of." They had received no instructions whatever, he said. He went on to ask that 12 copies of the instructions be forwarded to him to issue to local committees and to others as soon as they were formed. The reply to his letter contained the requested copies of instructions and an assurance that the names of new committees in his area would be sent to him as soon as they were received from Sir Thomas Butler, with whom the appointment of new committees rested.[vii]

Earlier there had been evidence of widespread distress in the Hacketstown area. The Carlow Sentinel of September 26th 1846 reported, *"On Saturday last large placards were posted up in Hacketstown, calling on the unemployed labourers to assemble on Tuesday and apply to the magistrates for employment.*

Mr Warburton was directed by the resident magistrate to have a large police force in attendance, to prevent any breach of the peace or attempt at intimidation.

At the close of the sessions business on Tuesday, the assembled persons crowded the court. Mr. Tuckey was the only magistrate present, Mr. Westby and Captain Dennis being obliged to attend at Baltinglass on that day.

The Rev. Cuthbert Fetherstone, the Rector, the Rev. Mr. Moran, P.P., with some of the neighbouring gentry, attended, and entered into a detail of the frightful destitution which prevailed in that town and neighbourhood. A petition to His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant was submitted and approved of; urgently pressing on government the necessity of commencing public works. The meeting at the close of the proceedings dispersed quietly, convinced that every exertion was being made to provide relief and employment."

The urgency of the situation was again emphasised in the following letter to the Secretary of the Relief Commission:

Moyne Glebe, Hacketstown, 7th November 1846

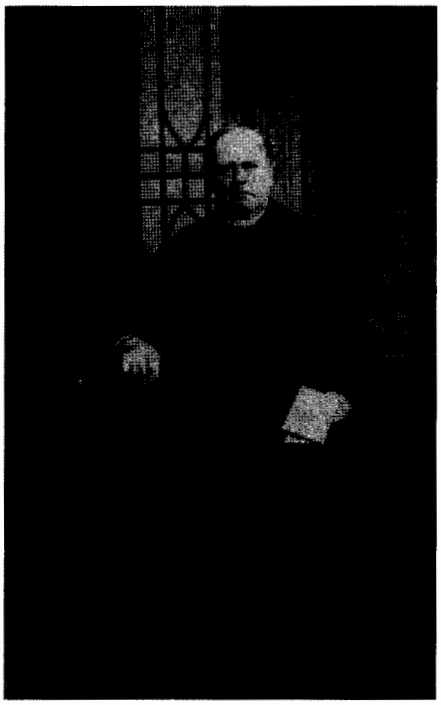
Sir,

I am again directed by the Chairman of the Moyne Relief Committee to apply to you for the necessary books and papers as the Vice Lieutenant of the County, whose letter I beg leave to enclose, has consented to the formation of our Committee.

I earnestly request you will send them as soon as possible for the lives of hundreds are depending on getting employment speedily to enable them to purchase provisions. The famine to my knowledge is making rapid strides in this district & if some work is not quickly set on the peace of our neighbourhood will soon be disturbed.

I remain, Your Obdt. Svt.

Thos. B. Fetherstonhaugh Sect. Moyne Relief Committee [viii]



Fr Patrick Morrin, P.P.
Courtesy Delaney Archives

The growing desperation of the people was reflected in an increase in the number of reported incidents of sheep stealing. On the night of November 26th 1846 *"a sheep, the property of Captain McClintock Bunbury, M.P., was killed on the lands of Lisnevagh, the skin was left behind and the carcass carried off. On the same night a sheep was stolen from Andrew Morris, near Hacketstown, and as yet there is no trace of the offenders."*[ix]

The next month *"a man named Kelly was committed to prison from the Petty Sessions of Hacketstown, charged with taking two sheep, the property of James Poole, of Graigue, County Wicklow."*[x]

A week later *"a sheep, the property of the Hon. and Venerable Archdeacon Stopford, was stolen from Clonmore Glebe on the night of the 10th inst."*[xi]

The winter of 1846/47 turned out to be a severe one, with a great deal of frost and snow. Also adding to the distress was the fact that cereal prices had risen enormously. January 1847 saw the outbreak of fever. There were two kinds of fever – typhus and relapsing fever- but they were both known as "famine fever" or sometimes "road fever" because they were carried by the hordes of desperate people who had left their homes and wandered the roads in search of sustenance. The fact that by this stage many hundreds of thousands were seriously weakened by malnutrition meant that their resistance to disease was practically non-existent and so the fever spread like wildfire among the starving masses.

The awfulness of the crisis forced the government at last to take some action. On April 27th 1847 the Irish Fever Act was passed to "make temporary provision for destitute poor persons afflicted with fever." This in theory should deal with the situation. How well it worked in practice may be judged from the following letter from a policeman in Aughrim, Co. Wicklow, to his superior officer, which makes clear that the fever was becoming a serious problem in his area and that the response of the authorities was, to say the least, inadequate:

Aughrim, June 16th 1847

I have to state that on the 11th inst a travelling pauper named Honor Kirwan & her child dropped on the highway near Aughrim, both being ill with fever & lay on the side of the road till the following day when I reported the case to Jeremiah Tool the Warden who had them conveyed to Rathdrum Fever Hospital immediately, but being refused admission there they were sent back to this place and left on the cross roads at Aughrim the most part of the night & then put into a shed. On the following day (Monday) I informed Doctor Atkins of the case who gave a certificate stating the poor woman had Fever and was a fit object for the Fever Hospital.

The Revd. Mr. Malony & two cess payers recommended them to the Fever Hospital also. These recommendations together with the Warden's note was forwarded same day with the poor woman to Arklow Fever Hospital and was also refused admission there stating they should have been sent to Rathdrum.

And had them conveyed back to Aughrim & left on the cross roads for the night to the great danger of the people of this neighbourhood.

On Tuesday myself and two of this party with some others of the neighbours procured timber and erected a shed, and put the two sick persons into it. I went through the neighbours and got a few pence to get nourishment for them and also procured a nurse tender to take care of them. It is a very hard case that there is no place to receive poor persons of this description when they fall on the public roads & although I am well aware it is no part of my duty to interfere in such cases, still every person calls on me to keep the public passageways clear of such nuisances. There is 8 or 9 families ill with fever in this neighbourhood, some of them in sheds and no place to receive them. I hope you will see if there is any remedy for this state of things.

John Norris Constable [xii]

The peak of the fever epidemic came in the first week of April 1847, when 2,613 deaths from fever were officially reported by the workhouses.

The original and overwhelming predicament facing the people – sheer starvation – far from abating was intensifying. On February 18th 1847 the Clonmore Relief Committee addressed the following to the Earl of Bessborough, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland:[xiii]

The Memorial of the Clonmore Relief Committee in the Barony of Rathvilly and county of Carlow

Most humbly showeth

That on the sixteenth day of January 1847 ninety five persons, representing ninety five families, averaging five individuals in each family, in this district were discharged from employment on Public works, the funds being then nearly exhausted, leaving thirty families still in employment which latter were continued at work till the fourth day of Feb. inst. after which all Public Work in this district entirely ceased nor was any new employment afforded till Thursday last and except a few individuals who took men into their private employment the inhabitants generally have been very backward in employing the poor.

That under these circumstances the Committee had no alternative but to act on the suggestions of the circular lately put forth by the Commissariat and distribute meal to those destitute families for whom no employment could be procured.

That this Committee have endeavoured by all means in their power to guard against the imposition likely to be attempted under these circumstances, but notwithstanding have been forced to expend for the last four weeks out of their capital Fund the sum of £38 -3s-9 ½ d in gratuitous assistance thereby reducing their fund to£42 -0 -0.

That since your Excellency was graciously pleased to grant them a donation this Committee have received the contributions set forth and certified in the annexed list amounting to twenty seven pounds sterling.

That a second application is in course of being made to landowners and others who have not yet contributed but the urgency of the pressure will not permit them to wait for the result.

This Committee humbly pray that your Excellency will in your wisdom see the necessity of granting as large a donation in aid of our subscription as possible.

Signed on behalf of the Committee

Henry S. Stopford Chairman and Rector of Clonmore Parish

Edward F. Lawler Secretary curate assistant Clonmore Parish

The list of subscriptions attached had just three subscribers. William Duckett Esq. had given £3, one Newcombe had subscribed £10 and the remaining £14 came from "Part of Collection in R.C. Chapel by the hand of Rev. W. Glynn PP." Written on this list there is a note in another hand "Recommend £27 R", followed by another in a third hand "Done EOSS." It looks as if the Clonmore Committee had been successful in their appeal. The £27 from the Lord Lieutenant would have been of some help, but in view of the numbers of destitute mentioned in their Memorial it would not have kept them going for very long. Some further help arrived in March when Rev. Edward Lawler received this letter:[xiv]

Central Relief Committee of theSociety of Friends 57 William StreetDublin 23rd of third month 1847

To Edward Lawler Clk

Hacketstown

Sent an order for one ton of rice value £25 to be distributed cooked to the most destitute in Clonmore.

Signed by William Hughes on

behalf of Joseph Bewley and Matthew Pim Secretaries

Around the same time Rev. Fetherstonhaugh, who was Rector of Moyne and Hacketstown replied to a questionnaire from the authorities in regard to the Barony of Ballinacor South (i.e. to those parts of his two parishes that were in County Wicklow)[xv]:

1. How long will the present Potato Crop in your district supply the labouring population with food?

About one month

2. Have the labouring classes in your district wholly subsisted on Potato diet before the present year?

Yes

3. Will the employment afforded by the ordinary sources in your district be sufficient for enabling the labouring population to obtain subsistence until the harvest of 1847 without extra Public works?

The employment will not be sufficient without extraordinary Public works.

4. If the ordinary sources at present made available be not sufficient to afford the requisite employment is there any certain prospect of an immediate extension of these sources by Landowners or occupiers with a view to improve cultivation?

I think not

5. Are there any and if so what public works in progress at present in your district?

There are none

6. What are the local circumstances and facts by which you have been guided in your answers to the 3rd and 4th questions?

3. There are no Gentry or Farmers in my immediate neighbourhood to give employment so as to enable people to buy food when the few potatoes are consumed and therefore some extraordinary public works will be necessary.

4. The Farmers are all small, with very few exceptions & unable to give employment so as to improve cultivation. They hold generally not more than ten or fifteen acres & farm it themselves.

Revd WM. Fetherstonh

Incumbent of Moyne

The Hacketstown Relief Committee finally resigned in protest at the lack of action by the authorities. Their letter to the Relief Commission in Dublin briefly sums up their frustration and emphasises the urgent need for action:[xvi]

Hacketstown

March 13th 1847

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that the Relief Committee has resigned on the 11th February and forwarded their reasons for doing so to the castle, their (sic) neither is nor was any soup kitchen or boiler, the district is extreamly (sic) poor and sickly, and is without any resident gentry, it theirfore (sic) needs your immediate and special attention.

I have the Honr. To be

Your obdt Srvt

C. Dowser Sec .to the late Relief Committee

In late April 1847 a deputation from the labourers employed on Board of Works relief works in the Hacketstown area went to Carlow to try to persuade the engineer and accountant in charge of the works to keep the public works open. There had been a twenty per cent reduction in the number employed, followed by a ten per cent further cut. The deputation was unsuccessful, because the scheme closed altogether on May 1st.[xvii] These Board of Works schemes had provided much-needed work, and the work continued to be sorely needed, but the cost was such that the local areas could not afford any longer to continue them. In the Barony of

Fr Morrin's Church at Killamoate

Rathvilly, for example, the expenditure on such schemes from October 1846 to the closure of the works on May 1st 1847 was £4,877, or a staggering one-seventh of the total valuation of property in the barony.[xviii] Clearly there was a great need for intervention by the government. The workhouses were overfilled and thousands upon thousands of destitute people sought relief in vain. The system was simply overwhelmed by the scale of the demand.

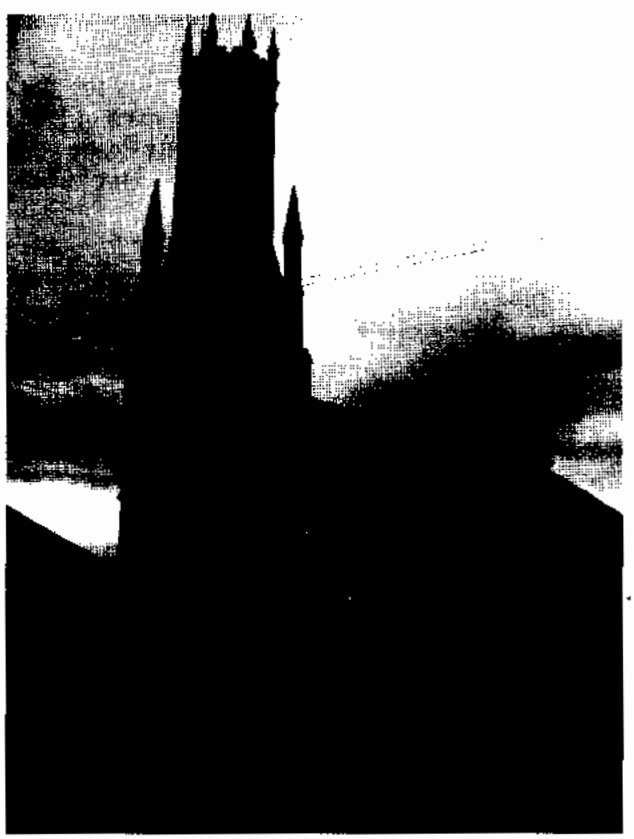
Finally the government acted. The Poor Relief (Ireland) Act of June 1847 allowed Workhouse Boards of Guardians to give outdoor relief. Even here however there was a drawback. To qualify for relief a person must not have more than a quarter acre of land. This meant that a starving person who had a small landholding was now faced with an awful choice – either to give up the holding so as to qualify for immediate relief, thus rendering himself destitute forever, or to face the prospect of starvation without relief until the harvest of 1847 might provide food.

The stealing of sheep had now become so common that individual incidents were seldom reported in the local paper. The Carlow Sentinel of May 1st 1847 simply stated that "several sheep were stolen from farmers during the past week." Then on the night of May 25th "a heifer, the property of Mr. Henry Coleman, was stolen from the lands of Rathnagrew." (near Hacketstown)[xix]

Distress was mounting. This year was to be long remembered as "Black '47." Starvation and disease were wreaking havoc among the population, particularly among the poor. Yet the authorities stuck rigidly to the doctrines of political economy and refused to spend the money that would have been needed to save the people. Indeed on September 10th 1847 the government announced that after October 1st of that year there would be no fresh moneys for relief. It would have to be funded locally. This was in effect a sentence of death for many. The scale of the crisis can be gauged from the fact that by July of the following year, 1848, the number of persons in receipt of outdoor relief had reached the enormous total of 833,889.

That month of July 1848 brought a further devastating double blow to the hope of improvement. Once again the potato crop was stricken by blight and on top of all the misfortune incessant rain devastated the wheat and corn crops. Then in November 1848 there was an outbreak of cholera, and in May 1849 the blight struck yet again and the cholera became a full-scale epidemic. By the end of that year the population of Ireland had passed through the most terrible five years in the country's history, with deaths in the hundreds of thousands and human misery on a scale never seen before.

As to how these tragic events impacted on the Hacketstown area in particular, the evidence of the clergy of both denominations quoted above shows that the effect of the famine on the area was severe. There was widespread distress, inadequate relief efforts and a great deal of human suffering as a result. And yet we find that during these very years the parish priest, Fr. Morrin, was building a new church at Killamoate and adding a bell tower to the church in Hacketstown.



St Brigid's Church Hacketstown

Undoubtedly by so doing he provided some desperately needed employment in the area and helped to some extent to alleviate distress. But where did he get the money? Obviously, despite the undoubted great distress in the parish, there were some parishioners still sufficiently well-to-do to be able to finance this building work.

The census of 1841 showed that the parish of Hacketstown had a population of 5,242 people and that it contained 856 houses, 28 of which were uninhabited. The census of 1851 showed a population of 3,522 people and a total of 648 houses, 36 of them uninhabited. The parish had suffered a drop in population of 32.8% in that ten-year period and the number of houses had dropped 26%.[xx]

It is a widely held opinion in the area that Hacketstown escaped fairly lightly in the Famine. Perhaps when compared to Skibbereen or the congested districts of the west of Ireland the scale of the devastation was not so catastrophic. Nevertheless for any parish to lose almost one third of its people and over a quarter of its houses in a ten year period has to be rated a major disaster. The suffering was widespread, the consequences were devastating, and the effects were to be felt in the locality for generations.

i N.A.I. , RLFC /2/Z 13210
ii N.A.I., RLFC 2/Z 14004
iii N.A.I., RLFC 2/Z 14016
iv N.A.I.,RLFC /3/1/4829
v *Carlow Sentinel,* May 23rd 1846
vi Ibid. , June 20th 1846
vii N.A.I., RLFC 3/2/3/1-3 Co. Carlow
viii N.A.I. RLFC 3/2/3/25
ix *Carlow Sentinel,* December 5th 1846
x Ibid., December 12th 1846
xi Ibid., December 19th 1846
xii N.A.I., RLFC /3/2/32/46
xiii N.A.I., Distress Papers 1847, D2252
xiv N.A.I. RLFC 3/2/3/1-3 Co. Carlow
xv N.A.I. RLFC 3/2/32/43
xvi N.A. I. RLFC 3/2/3/24
xvii *Carlow Sentinel*, May 1st 1847
xviii Ibid, May 29th 1847
xix Ibid., June 5th 1847
xx eppi.dippam.ac.uk/documents

Winter Lecture Series

We delivered our planned schedule of winter lecture 2013/14 without any changes to the programme which, considering the climate throughout the spring , was fortunate.

However climatic conditions of the past were very much to the fore at our lecture on " The desperate fight to save the harvest of 1946 and the bad winter of 1946-47". Delivered by Padraig Laffan in Tullow Community Centre we had a capacity attendance in the hall with some of our audience having to listen from surrounding corridors.

Our sixty ninth series for 2014-15 kicks off on 14th October 2014 and we hope these will continue to be supported by our members and the public.

The 69th Winter lecture Series 2014-2016

All lectures start at 8.00pm

15th October 2014	Jimmy O'Toole	Peter Fenelon Collier Carlow Emigrant & US Publisher	Adelaide Church Myshall
19th November 2014	Richard Kirwan	Ordnance Survey in Ireland The Early Years	Talbot Hotel
21st January 2015	Paul Maguire	War & Enlistment in Carlow 1914	Seven Oaks Hotel
18th February 2015	John Smyth	The Quakers in Carlow	Seven Oaks Hotel
18th March 2015	Nial O'Neill Deirdre Kearney	Ballon Hill; A hilltop burial complex	Ballykealy House Hotel Ballon
15th April	Myles Kavanagh	Eastwood House	Credit Union House, Bagenalstown

History Prize

JOHN TYNDALL OF LEIGHLINBRIDGE

(2 Aug 1820 – 4 Dec 1893)

Alicia Premkumar

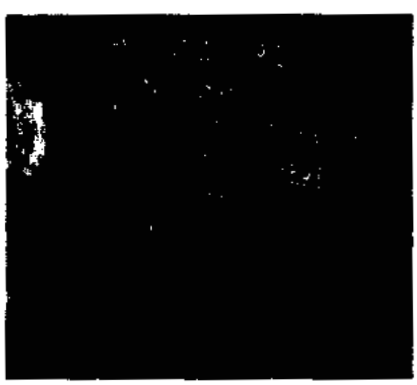
"Knowledge once gained casts a light beyond its own immediate boundaries"
John Tyndall

Introduction

Tyndall was an inventor, naturalist, physicist, mathematician and educator. He wrote 18 books, 147 papers and increased our understanding of the natural world. He started the study of climate change and amazingly, he also discovered why the sky is blue.

Tyndall's boyhood and education

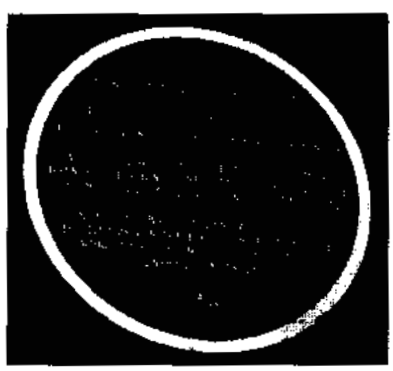
Born in Leighlinbridge, Co. Carlow on 2nd August 1820, he was born at the junction of Carlow Road and Tullow Street. In 1836, John went to Ballinabranna school where Master John Conwill, who had a good reputation, was teaching. He learned algebra, geometry and surveying and stayed in school until 17 which was unusual in those days. John was said to have hung off the bridge in Leighlin as a young boy, liked climbing, swimming, adventures and debating, poetry and reading.



Plaque on the old school in Ballinabranna

John Tyndall's starts out in life

In those days, you couldn't go to college unless you were a member of the Anglican Church and John was a Quaker, so further education was not possible. In 1839 he started work with the Irish Ordnance Survey and worked in Carlow then in Youghal. In 1842 Tyndall was transferred to Preston, Lancashire and he attended lectures at the nearby Preston Mechanics Institute.



In Preston he spoke out on how workers were treated, and lost his job in 1843. When he came home to Ireland in 1847, to visit his father who was unwell, he wrote of the awful famine conditions that he found at that time.

In 1847, he began teaching maths at Queenwood College in Hampshire. Tyndall and a chemistry teacher, Edward Frankland, built the first science laboratory in England and in 1848 both moved to Germany to study under Robert Bunsen.

Tyndall

Return to Queenwood and world fame

Tyndall returned to Queenwood in 1851 and became a fellow of The Royal Society in 1852. Tyndall's reputation created local interest in science back in Ireland and in 1853 The Carlow Mechanics Institute was founded. On February 11th 1853, Tyndall gave a theatrical evening lecture in London which created a lot of attention and he was offered a position as Professor of Natural Philosophy at the Royal Institute where he worked with Michael Faraday.

Mountaineer

Tyndall read about the idea of an Ice Age and in 1854 travelled to Switzerland to study glaciers for himself. He brought equipment to measure changes, and climbed the Matterhorn and Mont Blanc

several times. Climbing mountains was not just fun but made him wonder about the difference in air quality, how the atmosphere might absorb heat, properties of crystals and glaciers, the colours of the sunset and light itself. In fact, these questions would become the subject of his scientific experiments. The clean air and water also made him think about how micro-organisms grew. Tyndall found that movement of the glaciers was due to the ice cracking and then fusing together. He published books about the Alps in 1860 and 1871. Pic Tyndall is now named after him and there is a monument to him there. Mount Tyndall in California and Tyndall Glacier in Chile are now named after him.

In 1866 Tyndall became a government advisor, making designs for lighthouses, foghorns and even advised on how to repair Big Ben. He designed a respirator for firemen, and studied accidents in mines and explosions in steam engines. He studied how sound travelled through the air and presented Queen Victoria with an improved foghorn design at The Royal Society.

Tyndall's Alpine Summer Home at Alp Lusgen

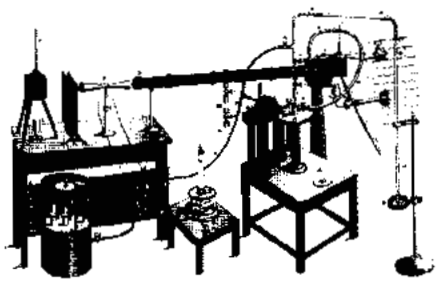
Tyndall Memorial above Alp Lusgen

Discoveries

The Greenhouse Effect

Tyndall realised that gases in the air helped to keep the Earth warm enough for water to flow and for life itself. Without this he said, it would be too cold for life to exist on Earth. In 1863 Tyndall wrote a book about it which was the result of 6 years research and he was given The Royal Societies 'Rumford Medal' in 1864

He was the first person to prove 'The Greenhouse Effect' and that ozone was composed of oxygen and not hydrogen.



Tyndall self built apparatus

The Tyndall Effect

In 1869, Tyndall discovered how light is scattered by particles in the air. This scattering of the sun's blue rays first is what makes the sky blue and is called the 'Tyndall Effect'. In 1870 he invented a 'light pipe' showing how light could travel inside water but he couldn't explain why. Amazingly, this was the first version of fibre optics which is used today for broadband internet.

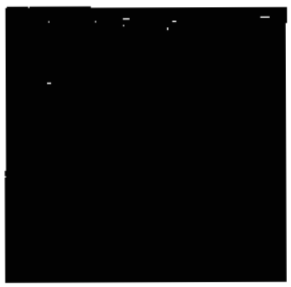
Tyndallization

In the 1870's, Tyndall and Louis Pasteur, developed the idea of germ theory. He showed that what he believed as dust in the air carried micro-organisms and it was this that made living tissues decay. He found a way to kill germs by heat – 'Tyndallization' proving that life forms could only be created if there was life already present. This challenged ideas about the origins of life on earth and confirmed Joseph Lister's work leading to sterile equipment and hygiene in hospitals. In 1875, Tyndall also noted how penicillin stopped bacteria growing, before Alexander Fleming.

Evolution

At a time when witches were still being hunted, Tyndall supported Charles Darwin's ideas of evolution. At a lecture in Belfast, Tyndall praised Darwin but was criticised himself by the Church for being an atheist. He sought the truth about the natural world and in 1878 wrote, "The real mystery of our universe lies unsolved, and, as far as we are concerned, is incapable of solution"

In 1872, Tyndall travelled to America to give lectures on light and even President Andrew Johnson attended. In 1876, he married Louisa Hamilton and they built a chalet in the Alps. In 1886 he became unwell and on December 4th 1893 Louisa mixed up his medicines and he died.



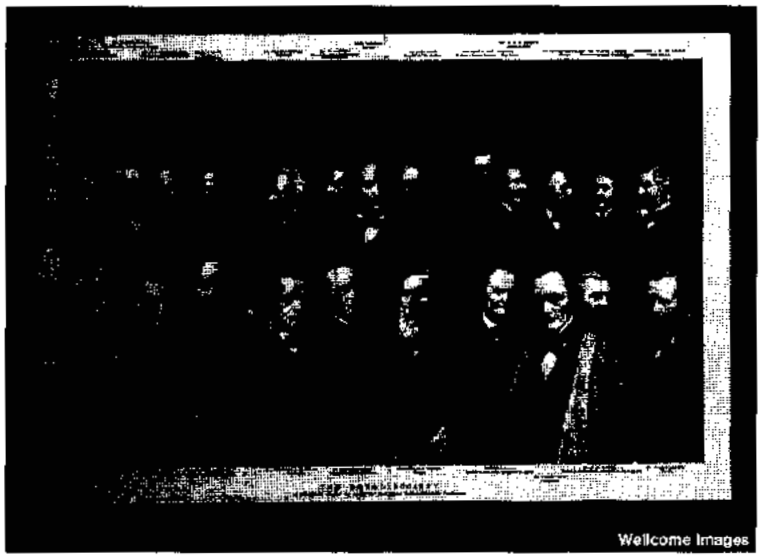
A section of Tyndall books

Remembering John Tyndall

His theatrical approach to teaching helped him to explain his ideas. He once created a blue sky on the ceiling of the lecture hall above the audience and even created a rainbow inside with a shower of water. He changed the way science was taught, moving away from text books and towards practical experiments. He gave lectures to working men on science and believed they should also be given the chance to learn. He proved that no matter what your background, you can succeed.

The Royal Institution of London

Without the use of a light microscope, he had to imagine what was going on invisibly. He wrote of "picturing atoms and molecules and vibrations and waves which eyes have never seen nor ear heard". Tyndall's work on germs led to the sterilising of equipment and hygiene in hospitals. His measurement of Carbon Dioxide in breath is still used to monitor hospital patients today.



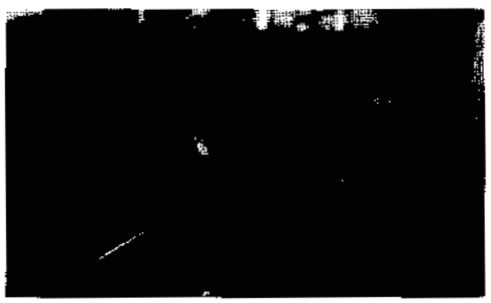
Fellows of the Royal Society

The Tyndall Institute in Cork and the Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research in the UK continue his work and Carlow Institute of Technology now have a Tyndall lecture every year.

Above all, Tyndall loved learning and in 1874 quoted the poet William Wordsworth, perhaps hinting at his own love of learning – "I have felt a presence that disturbs me with the joy of elevated thought"

John Tyndall will be remembered as an important scientist of the 19th century whose legacy continues today.

Blue sky glass



Heat radiant apparatus

Primary Schools History Prize Winners

Now in its eight year we are very pleased with the level of participation by primary schools in our annual history competition. The aim of the competition is to promote awareness of local history among pupils who live or attend primary schools in County Carlow.

This year's winners were:

1st Prize : Alicia Premkumar: Why is the sky blue? A brief history of John Tyndall

Pupil: Scoil Mhuire gan Smal, Green Lane, Carlow

2nd Prize: Adam Deacon: William Dargan

Pupil: Ballon National School

3rd Prize: Diarmuid O'Liathain O'Nuallain: John Tyndall

Pupil: Gaelscoil Eoghain Ui Thuairisc

We thank Dermot Mulligan, Curator Carlow County Museum, and his staff, who hosted a presentation ceremony in the museum on the 30th April, where the winners were presented with their prizes by the President of the society, and where family, teachers and friends celebrated with them.

We thank all the pupils and teachers who have participated down the years and Jim Shannon and Richard Codd of our society who have given of their time each spring to running the competition.

JONATHAN RICHARDSON SMITH

AN NINETEENTH CENTURY ANTIQUARIAN ON BALLON HILL

Pat O'Neill

Archaeology today is a professional pursuit, entry to which is gained through formal training, often at university level. It operates in a highly regulated environment with recognised codes of practices and procedures supported by a strong legal basis in the regulation of excavations and the recovery of archaeological remains.

This was not always so. In the nineteenth century archaeology was an altogether more unsupervised business. It was practised only by those with sufficient time and money to indulge their passion and there were no regulations in place to protect vulnerable sites from exploitation and destruction. The majority of excavations undertaken can justifiably be described as "treasure hunting" and most definitely operated under the principle of "finders keepers". Archaeological artefacts were traded and decorative pieces were given as presents to family and friends. This is the background against which the activities of J. Richardson Smith on Ballon Hill in the 1850s must be judged.

Who was Jonathan Richardson Smith? He was the brother in law of John James Lecky of Ballykealy House, Ballon. In 1853 he was a forty six year old married father of two children and lived in Lochgilphead in Argyllshire in Scotland.

Smith was born on the 9th September 1807, the second child and only son of John and Mary Smith of London. His sister Sarah Lucia Smith was born on the 28th May 1804. John Smith was a woollen draper and both he and his wife were members of the Society of Friends (Quakers).[i] He must have been a man of considerable means as he left both his children financially secure. Throughout his life Jonathan Richardson Smith described himself as having no profession and was of independent means.

We know nothing of Richardson Smith as a young man. His father died sometime before 1825 so presumably on his 21st birthday (1828) or shortly afterwards he came into his inheritance. In September 1843 at Funtington, near Chichester he married Harriet Miriam Deacon, youngest daughter of Rev. J. W. Deacon of Densworth, Sussex.[ii] The Smiths had four children, Miriam Emma (1846), Alice Clem 1848), John Lionel (1854) and Norman Dickson. We have managed to locate the birth records of only one of his children, his youngest, Norman Dickson who arrived at twelve noon on the 28th November 1856 at Achnaba House, Lochgilphead.

The Smith connection with Ballykealy came about in 1825 when on the 13th July of that year, in a ceremony before "a public assembly of the People called Quakers" in Grace Church Street, London, Sarah Lucia Smith married John James Lecky of Ballykealy. She was only twenty one years old at the time and the change from London to rural Carlow must have been quite a culture shock. Lucia's dowry was substantial as local folklore has always attributed the building of the present Ballykealy House, designed by Thomas Cobden, to the fortune brought to the marriage by Lucia.

The first recorded visit of Richardson Smith to Ballykealy was in 1853. However it seems hardly likely that 1853 could have been his first visit After all his sister had been living there for twenty eight years up to this point and he must have visited her during that time. When visiting he would have heard the stories of the "pots" and "crocks" found on the hill and the ancient vessels destroyed in tree planting.

He organised his first dig in June 1853 and in all carried out three separate excavations on the hill, June to July 1853, December 1853 to January 1854 and July 1855. His first dig was the longest and most productive. He spent five weeks on the hill and using local labour found seven or eight urns and other pieces of pottery. He also found a small razor-knife and three naturally-polished stones (see below). On his second dig, starting in December 1853 he spent three weeks working but only found three urns. His last trip in July 1855 lasted for ten days during which he found only two pieces of pottery. On that last trip he did however discover an almost complete human skeleton. Smith's interest in the hill seems to have evaporated at that stage as thereafter there is no record of him ever visiting again.

Ancient pottery vessels had been broken on Ballon Hill for centuries before the arrival of Richardson Smith. Rev. William Turner in his article in the Journal of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain & Ireland recounts the story related by an old man living near the place who forty six years before (1808) destroyed an urn "of beautiful fashion" since he believed such urns were made by witches.

The destruction brought about by Smith and his workmen was of an altogether different dimension. His workmen dug where they were instructed and on occasion anywhere they chose as they were "left to themselves". Some of the excavations were "carried to a depth of

six feet" or "carried to a depth of five feet". It is an axiom, even under the professional supervision of today that "all excavation is destruction". Imagine the hill after ten weeks of such digging! Scattered throughout Smith's diaries are such random notes as:

- "pans" and "crocks" found everywhere on the hill broken to examine the contents

- large numbers of fictile vessels destroyed in the planting of trees

- one man smashed four urns in a day

- another (a quarryman) broke eleven found close together in the quarry.

- at another spot a fine urn was found embedded in sand but it could not be preserved.

Smith moved quickly to gain recognition for the discoveries he had made on Ballon Hill. The Great Exhibition of 1853, modelled on the Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851, opened in Dublin on the 12th May 1853 and continued until the 31st October, drawing over one million visitors during that period. It was the brainchild of William Dargan, the Carlow railway entrepreneur, who helped to finance the exhibition and underwrote any financial loss which might be incurred.

An exhibition of Irish Antiquities was not among the original plans of the organising committee but was arranged at very short notice. "Side offices and sheds constructed for refreshment rooms ... suddenly converted into a line of galleries at the moment the necessity for such accommodation arose".[iii]

Most of the exhibits were supplied by the museum of the Royal Irish Academy (then undergoing repairs), the Commissioners of Public Works, the Fine Arts Committee of the Exhibition and the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain & Ireland. Other material come from the British and Belfast museums, the Royal Dublin Society and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

The antiquities section of the exhibition catalogue, listing ninety eight exhibits in total gave the following sparse description of exhibit 80: "Smith, J. Richardson – twelve cinerary urns, found in an ancient cemetery on the Hill of Ballon, Co. Carlow".[iv]

A member of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, Robert Hitchcock, who visited the exhibition left more copious notes on the entries. These were published in the Transactions of the Kilkenny Society and his description of Exhibit No. 80 is slightly more expansive: "Twelve cinerary urns, being a portion of one of the most remarkable discoveries ever made, I believe, in Ireland, were exhibited by J. Richardson Smith. They were found, sometime last summer, with many others of the same kind, in an ancient cemetery on the Hill of Ballon in the county of Carlow. The urns are of various sizes, and most of them are highly ornamented. There was one very large one, and an exceedingly small one, about the size of a small breakfast cup". [v]

What did Richardson Smith do with this pottery collection? It must be remembered that, according to the customs of the time, he would have regarded this collection as his own private property. He came under pressure to donate these artefacts to the museum of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society. Rev. Graves wrote that in respect of "the valuable collection formed by Mr. Smith I made an effort to procure for the Society's museum".[vi] Smith resisted and donated most of the items (possibly three quarters) to his brother in law, John James Lecky. This collection remained at Ballykealy until it was donated to the National Museum of Ireland in 1928 by Col Beauchamp Lecky. Smith retained at least three or four pieces for himself, adding to his archaeological collections from other sources. His entire collection passed to his son Norman Dickson Smith who in 1920 donated it to the British Museum.

Richardson Smith did not actually publish any account of his excavations at Ballon Hill. So we are extremely lucky in that two clergymen, both members of archaeological societies and both known to Smith and each having access to his diaries should publish accounts of his excavations.

The first account to appear was a lecture submitted to the Archaeological Society of Great Britain & Ireland on the third February 1854 and published in their journal. The author was Rev. William Turner, M.A., vicar of Boxgrove in Sussex and chaplain to the Duke of Richmond whose seat was at nearby Goodwood. Rev. Turner was a canon of the cathedral of Chichester. Rev. J. W. Deacon, Richardson Smith's father in law was also at one stage secretary, treasurer and perpetual chaplain to the Goodwood Cricket Club.[vii] From 1847 he was curate at West Stoke, Sussex, a few miles from both Goodwood and Chichester.[viii] It was certainly through Rev. Deacon that Smith would have known Rev. Turner.

In his lecture, which was in all probability delivered at Chichester, Rev. Turner does not refer to the source of the detailed information at his disposal but the Rev. James Graves states that the Turner lecture was "derived, I believe, from a copy of the journals of operations, having been kindly furnished by Mr. Smith of a copy from his diary at that time". As the time frame indicates Turner's lecture deals with the first excavation of the summer of 1853, although Turner was aware that Rev. Graves was preparing a more detailed account of Smith's activities on Ballon Hill.

Referring to his own writings Rev. Graves wrote "I had hoped to employ so valuable record in this paper but have been informed that having lent it(the journal) to a friend he (Smith) has never got it back" Was the Rev. Turner the friend who did not return the diaries/ journals?

The most complete account of the excavations was written by the Rev. James Graves and published in the Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society. Graves had the additional advantage of visiting Ballykealy and meeting Richardson Smith there. Strangely enough, after Smith's last visit to Ballykealy in 1855 he does not seem to have corresponded with Graves about Ballon Hill. In the Graves collection in the Royal Irish Academy there is not one letter from Smith.

Rev. James Graves (1815 – 1886) was a

Church of Ireland clergyman in the Diocese of Ossory and in 1849 was one of the founding members of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society. He remained an active member of the society throughout his life contributing many articles to its journal.

At a general meeting of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society held in the Society's Apartments, Patrick Street on Wednesday 2nd November 1853 John James Lecky and J. Richardson Smith were proposed for membership by Rev. James Graves and both retained their membership for the rest of their lives.[ix]

It was the practice that members made donations of books, documents or artefacts to the society's library and museum. Richardson Smith made three donations, the first of which was noted in the record of transactions of the general meeting of 12th November 1854 where his gift consisted of a " lithograph of an ancient cross existing on Oronsay Island, Scotland".[x] His next gift in July 1855 was a "communication of particulars respecting an ancient brooch, found in the cave of Braechain, on the Jura shore of the Gulf of Corryvrechain: as also of another, found in the island of Mull: presenting at the same time, seven hundred and fifty impressions of the accompanying beautifully lithograph of those remains, intended to illustrate his communication".[xi] His last gift was in May 1856 when he sent " -a fragment of a haulberk of chain mail, dug up in June 1842 from about two feet under the surface, in the moss or bog of Roslin near Craigbilly situate one mile and a half from Ballymena, county of Antrim"[xii]

While Ballon Hill is the only location where Smith engaged in archaeological excavations in Ireland, correspondence with the Kilkenny Archaeological Society does indicate one such excavation undertaken in Scotland. In an account presented at the general meeting of the 1st September 1858 Smith writes of a "discovery, in Argyllshire, at a farm called Carn Baan, near the Crinian Canal, of twenty eight pieces of flint ".From the same location he donated to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland a "sculptured end of a cist, found in Cairnbaan, near Lochgilphead, Argyllshire".[xiii] In his communication to the Kilkenny Society he described an examination made by him of a tumulus surrounded at its base by a circle of rough stones, The entire remain was similar to many pits discovered by him on Ballon Hill, in the county of Carlow, when in 1853/54 he explored the extensive pagan cemetery there". [xiv]

After 1858 nothing more is heard from Richardson Smith. His address in the membership lists of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society changed in 1869 indicating that he had left Scotland and was now living at Devonshire House, St. Leonards on Sea, Sussex. The 1871 UK census confirmed him living there with his wife and four children. He died on the 19th January 1874.[xv]

In the UK census of 1911 we find Norman Dickson Smith living at Beechcroft, Kilmington, Devon. He gave his birth year as "about 1857" and his birth place as "Lochgilphead Argylshire". Obviously there was still family money available as he described himself as not supporting himself and his family through any particular profession but by having "private means".

In 1920 Norman donated his (his father's) collection of archaeological artefacts to the British Museum. There are thirty eight pieces listed in the collection with seven of them listed as coming from Ballon Hill. The seven include three vases, one bowl and one each of an end scraper, a bead and a pin. However, Brendan O'Riordain in 1959 identified only the three vases as coming from Ballon Hill. Obviously Norman D. Smith did not have the same interest in matters antiquarian that his father had. When donating the collection in September 1920 he wrote the British Museum that "My father's death occurred in 1872 (recte 1874) since which time the things have not been unpacked."

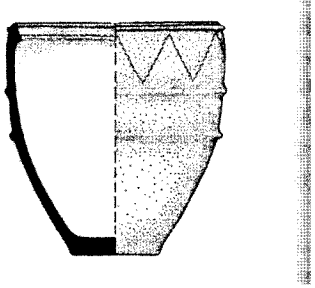
In 1928 Col. Frederick Beauchamp Lecky, of Ballykealy House, donated the family's collection of artefacts from Ballon Hill to the National Museum of Ireland.

In 1997 the Old Carlow Society received a postal package from a lady from Frant in East Sussex. The package contained a presentation box containing two naturally-polished stones and what appeared to be a bronze spear head (later identified as a razor-knife). The hand written label on the base of the box read: "Found on Ballon Hill, Co. Carlow – June 24th 1853 by J. R. Smith." This box is presently on display in the Carlow County Museum.

It is highly unlikely that any more artefacts from Ballon Hill will ever be discovered but who knows.

Notes:

[i] BMD Registers
[ii] *Oxford Journal* 2nd September 1843.
[iii] Catalogue of The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853, p 476
[iv] do. P 479
[v] Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, Vol II, 1852/53, p 283
[vi] do. Vol. II, 1853/53 p 302
[vii] *Hampshire Advertiser* 16th May 1840
[viii] *Lincolnshire Chronicle* 13th August 1847
[ix] Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, Vol Ii, 1852/53, p 383
[x] do. Vol. III, 1854/55, p 204
[xi] do. Vol. III, 1854/55 p 339
[xii] do. Vo. IV, 1856/57 p 73
[xiii] *Glasgow Herald*, 6th July 1860
[xiv] Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, Vol II, 1858/59, p 154
[xv] *London Standard* 27th January 1874



Collard urn (Sa 1928:444

This well made collard urn survives largely intact and dates to 1570-1500BC. It measures 34.5cm in diameter and 32.3cm in height.

Ballon Hill Archaeological Project 2014

Hacketstown's Building Boom of 1937

Patrick M. Byrne

By the middle of the 1930s the priests and people of Hacketstown realised that the old two-storey National School in the chapel yard was no longer fit for purpose and would soon need to be replaced

With this in mind, in the spring of 1936, Revd. Fr. James Dunne P.P. called a meeting to form a committee so that ideas could be put forward as to how funds could be raised to go towards the buying of a suitable site for a new National School somewhere close to the town. Those present at the meeting, which was held in the Town Hall, put forward many and various suggestions e.g. dog racing, pony racing, a football or hurling tournament, climbing a ten-foot greasy pole competition, staging several concerts in the Town Hall, lifting and tossing a 56 lb. weight competition and last but not least was the suggestion to bring a carnival to the town. After the various options had been debated for about two hours Fr. Dunne told those present that he would like to go with the carnival idea as it had the potential to raise the amount of cash needed to purchase a site for the school. He also undertook to get a group together to rehearse a play and stage a concert in the Town Hall so as to get the fundraising off to a good start.

Mr Pat O'Gorman, chairman of the newly formed Parish Fundraising Committee, and Fr. Dunne were then given the task, by a show of hands, of organising the carnival. It was also decided that in order to get in enough money the carnival should be the biggest and best to be found in the country. The committee with Fr. Dunne's approval put forward a motion that, as soon as a suitable carnival operator was located and engaged, they would then take out a half page advertisement in each of the local papers, the Carlow Nationalist and the Wicklow People. In the mid 1930s this was seen as very unusual and rarely done.

Pat O'Gorman and Fr. Dunne were now on the lookout for a field near the town that would accommodate a large carnival plus all its lorries and caravans. Fr. Dunne approached Mr. Jim Hill of the Green who readily agreed to let them use the big field known as "Hill's Lawn" beside the Tinahely road for two weeks to stage the carnival. In 1936 there were only two houses on the Green Upper, Mick O'Brien's and Jim Hill's, and everyone thought of them as being "out in the country" as people didn't consider the Green Upper as part of the town. Hacketstown did not have an electricity supply in those days, which of course meant that all carnival amusements with moving parts (except swinging boats) were powered by steam.

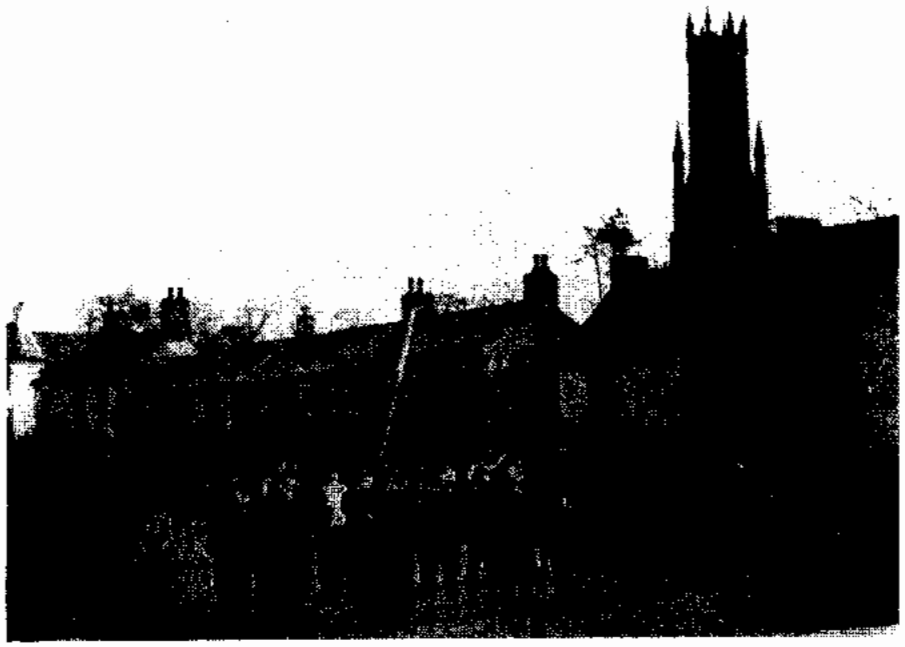
The long-anticipated day finally arrived when the carnival cavalcade moved slowly through the town in the summer of 1936. Large crowds of onlookers, or as they were described at the time "gawkers" turned out to watch it go past, as if it were a royal visit. When the lorries and trailers arrived at Hill's field on the Green Upper they immediately found that the gate was too narrow to allow them entry into the field with their large lorries, trailers and caravans, so a large gap had to be opened in the roadside ditch opposite where Coláiste Eoin now stands.. There were many willing hands, and men and boys with picks and shovels set to work, and soon a large entrance was ready and the lorries rolled on to the site in the late afternoon.

All that evening crowds of people from the town and countryside around arrived at the field and stood in groups around the lorries marvelling at their size and the loads they could pull. In almost every group there was a "know-all," a fellow who pretended to know everything about the workings of the carnival, but in actual fact he was making it up as he went along. This fellow would be explaining to the gaping crowd the finer points of how it would all be fitted together and the skills needed to do it properly.

In one such group that were loosely assembled beside a brightly painted lorry, a man known as "the tall tailor" was holding forth on the mechanics of hobby horses and swinging boats that were stacked on the back of the nearby lorry. (He was known as "the tall tailor" because he always used the expression "By the tall tailor, man alive, I'll explain that for ya." In actual fact the "tall tailor", whose first name was Jack, was a small man, about 5' 4" and chubby.) One man in the group got "pure sick", as the saying goes, listening to all the tailor's drivel, so he turned to him and said in a loud voice, so that everyone in the area could hear, "I think, Jack, you should give your tongue a rest, as you know as much about what's on that lorry as an ass knows about reading a newspaper."

By 7 p.m that evening the roughnecks, who were the unskilled workers that loaded and unloaded the lorries and did all the pulling, hauling and dragging of frames, poles, ropes and canvas into place, were busy unloading all the equipment so that the skilled workers, known as riggers, could assemble and fit it all together the next day. By the end of the second day after its arrival the carnival was almost ready to receive customers, and the Kevin Barry Brass Band were practising their musical skills in order to be ready for the opening on the coming Sunday afternoon. This band had been formed in the early 1930s and they used to practise in a shed in Jordan's field near the Church Hill, using empty tea chests for drums and rolled-up cardboard covered with tinfoil for cornets and tubas. The tinfoil came from the inside of the tea chests where it was used as lining to keep the tea fresh. By the mid 1930s they had a full set of musical instruments and drums, and they marched and played at all events all round the area, especially anything organised by Fr. Dunne to raise funds for the parish e.g. concerts, field days, sports or football matches. It was said by someone at the time that they played at every dog and cat fight in the parish and were only too anxious for any excuse to get out and bombard the ears of the natives with their resounding airs. By the year 1936 they had moved to the Town Hall for their practise sessions and at this stage they had been taught to read

music by Jim Byrne of Millpark, who was a founder member of the band. By all accounts at that time they were a very good band. The names of the bandsmen were as follows:- Jim, Martin, Billy and Paddy Byrne; Paddy (Vesty) McGrath; Paddy, Ned, Tom and Jack Kenny; Christy Copeland; Larry Tallon; Ned and Jim Bennett; Martin Leniston; Tom and Larry Connors; Jack Dalton; Mick Doyle, and flag bearer Jim Hill. This band also played at many events outside the parish of Hacketstown in towns and villages in county Carlow and west Wicklow. One particular bandsman on being asked where the band was from replied, "We come from the biggest small town in County Carlow."



The Kevin Barry Brass Band led by flagbearer Jim Hill marching down Water Street in 1938

Photo: P M Byrne

The opening day of the carnival came and the band marched and played to a large audience. The organising committee realised their carnival was on its way to being a brilliant success. On most evenings while the carnival was in full swing Fr. Dunne and two or three self-appointed guardians of the public morals patrolled the grounds, keeping a wary eye out for courting couples or boys and girls holding hands which seems to have been a big taboo in those days. The carnival was very well supported for the full length of its stay, with people coming from all the towns and villages within a twenty to twenty-five mile radius of Hacketstown. Playing Pongo in the large marquee tent seems to have been a very popular carnival attraction, a fore-runner of the present game of Bingo. The delph stall was another great attraction, with large crowds around it all the time. It turned out to be an excellent money spinner and it was always staffed by men and women from the local Duffys stores.

Eventually the closing night of the carnival arrived and once again a large crowd attended. As the people were leaving the field to go home the roughnecks were already dismantling the various tents, stalls and amusements. Then like something magical brightly coloured carnival disappeared into the night and life in Hacketstown returned to its normal slow pace. All the magic of the previous two weeks seemed to have melted back into Jim Hill's now empty grassy field until maybe some time in the distant future those colourful lorries and brightly painted wagons might decide to visit Hacketstown again.

When the excitement had died down and the dust had settled the proceeds were counted and Fr. Dunne and his committee were pleased to find they had raised enough money to purchase at least two statute acres 0f land on which to build their new school and still have some money left over. In 1936 you could buy an acre of ground for between thirty and forty pounds and it would go for as little as £20 in some areas, especially in the countryside. The hunt was now on to find some farmer with land close to the town who might be willing to sell Fr. Dunne a site for the proposed new school.

The proceeds from several concerts that played to packed houses in the Town Hall had also come in at this stage and halfway through a play called "Home on the Range" a collection had been held to put down a hard tennis court on a site leased from Mr. Jim Hill, on ground that was known as "Hill's Orchard" on the Green Upper. Another play undertaken earlier that year to supplement parish funds was "The Wicklow Wedding" starring Julia Bennett, James Byrne, Bridget Doyle, A.J. Kenny and Jack Dalton who played a comic role with great gusto and received loud cheers and applause for his efforts. A collection was also taken up midway through this play for the aforementioned tennis court, and work soon began with crosscuts and axes to clear the old apple trees out of Hill's orchard and to prepare the ground for laying the concrete court. By the autumn of 1937 the Hacketstown Tennis Club had a spanking new court and pavilion and was up and running and appeared to be quite successful in its efforts to sign up new members.

On June 12th 1938 Hacketstown Tennis Club beat a team from Leighlinbridge in what was described as a very one-sided match. It was said that the speed of the hard court in Hacketstown was too much for the visitors from Leighlinbridge. On the winning team were Sheila Deering & Joe McCoy, Eileen Darcy & Jim Deering, Tess McBride & Archie Hinfey N.T., Maureen Darcy & Wm. McFadden, Jack Connolly & P. O'Toole, John Doyle & Seamus Doyle.

Meanwhile back in the autumn of 1936 several owners of land close to the town had been approached by Fr. Dunne to no avail as they were unwilling to sell approximately two statute acres of their land as a site for the new school. However many landowners outside the town catchment area were more than willing to provide land at £40 per acre as it was considered to be a small fortune at that time. At this point it seemed very

Building the houses on The Green: Tom Shea on scaffolding, L. to R. Bill Kelly, Mick Byrne (Little Mick), Jack Willoughby, unknown, unknown, Jimmy Kelly, Jackie Tallon. *Photo:P M Byrne*

likely that the new school would have to be built at least a mile outside the town or else the whole project could be shelved for several years,

At a meeting of the Parish Committee called to discuss this very important matter a suggestion was made by Pat O'Gorman that they should approach Mr. Roche of Ballyshane, Clonmore, who, he said, owned all the land on the Town Hall side of the road from in front of Albert Cooke's house all the way up to the Tinahely- Ballasallagh Road junction. It was Pat O'Gorman's opinion that this man would be willing to sell them a site.

Contact was then made with Mr.Roche, who agreed to sell the amount of land required by the committee at the going rate of £40 per statute acre. This agreement was now put before Fr. Dunne, who expressed his complete satisfaction with it and so in a very short time it was signed, sealed and delivered. After this work soon began on the construction of the new Boys' and Girls' National Schools, separate schools, each of two classrooms but all under one roof, with separate playgrounds divided by a concrete wall.

While the site was being cleared for the schools other workmen were busy building a loading bank at the upper end of the old Town Hall so that cattle and sheep could be loaded and unloaded on lorries each Fair Day. (Hacketstown Fair was held on the last Saturday of each month.) The business people of the town provided the funds for the building of this loading bank. It was demolished in the mid 1980s, having far outlived its usefulness, since the fairs had long since died out.

There was another committee busily making plans at this time for the erection of a Vocational School in Hacketstown and it was also ready to start building in 1937. The Vocational Education Act of 1930 had stimulated the growth of technical education throughout the country. A building scheme was undertaken by County Carlow V.E.C. shortly after the passing of the Act, and a subcommittee was appointed on March 22nd 1934 to draft a scheme for the building of Vocational Schools in various towns around the county. This committee proposed a six-year building plan and recommended the immediate erection of two schools, one in Hacketstown and one in Borris. The plans when drawn up made it clear that each school would be three-roomed and inclusive of furniture and other equipment, e.g. fitting out a Science lab, they were cost no more that £2,000.

By the middle of 1936 a Hacketstown subcommittee was up and running and very anxious to get started. They were doing their best to locate a suitable site close to the town. At this stage an attempt was made to buy asite from Jim ?hill on the field where the carnival had been held. Talks on this proposal broke down, with the result that Jim Hill walked away and refused to sell them the site. The committee now decided to take a leaf out of Fr. Dunne;s book and a Mr. P.B. Walsh of the V.E.C. contacted Mr. Roche of Ballyshane, who was prepared to sell a statute acre of his land on the Green for £40. An inspector named Sheehy from the V.E.C. was sent down to Hacketstown to view the site and see if it was suitable for purpose. Mr. Sheehy spent several days giving it a thorough examination and he then signed the necessary documents approving the purchase. All was now in place and ready for contracts to be tendered.

In early December 1936 the building contract was awarded to Mr. Samuel Philips of No.2, Ormond Road, Drumcondra, Dublin, whose tender price of £1,900 was deemed the keenest. Building began early in the new year. The site was cleared and the foundations were all dug out using picks, shovels and spades, as was the norm at that time. The building of the walls, using mass concrete in wooden casing continued during the spring, summer and early autumn of 1937.

When the new Vocational School opened in October 1937 students could avail of full-time day courses in Rural Science, Woodwork, and Domestic Science. The school's first headmaster was Mr. W. J. McFadden, who left after 1 ½ years to take up another post elsewhere. He was replaced by Mr. James Doran who taught in the school from 1939 to 1945 all through the Second World War years. Between the years 1946 and 1949 Mr. Bartley Folan and Miss Evelyn B. Keegan served as Teachers-in-charge.

Towards the latter end of 1937 the new school had thirty pupils enrolled. Their names are as follows: Dorothy Dowling, Maura Doyle, Lucy Lindsey, Mary Smith, Kathleen King, Rita Mulhall, Julia Leniston, Mary Gibbons, Helena Molloy, Bridie Kavanagh, Molly O'Reilly, Esther McCall, Brigid Tallon,

Elsie Pollard, Sheila Murphy, Statia Tyrell, May McGuinness, Kathleen O'Brien, Lily O'Toole, Eamonn Coleman, Eddie Tallon, Patrick Tyrell, Liam Wolohan, Don Murphy, James Hunt, Wallace Hannon, Michael Hanley, Tim Connolly, Thomas Gartland and Michael Gartland.

In early May 1937 the Hacketstown Improvement Committee was up in arms due to the fact that the Fair Green had started to resemble a First World War bomb site as it was being churned up by lorries delivering building materials to the two new schools which were under construction. A meeting was called and held in the Town Hall, presided over by Fr. Dunne. A large number of town residents attended as wel as shop owners, publicans and business people and all were complaining that cattle, sheep and pigs were now being sold on the streets instead of on the Fair Green. John Duffy proposed to the chairman that if the Green, where animals should be sold, was harrowed and levelled he would be prepared to supply the grass seed free of charge to green it up again. Fr. Dunne and the committee considered this to be a very generous offer and gratefully accepted it.

Poultry Market Day

Courtesy P. M. Byrne

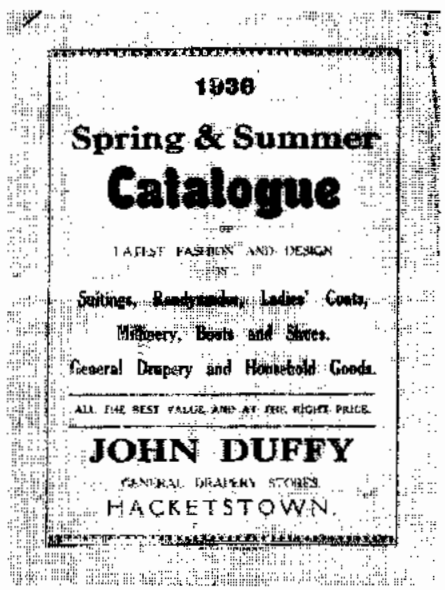
In the mid 1930s Duffys of Hacketstown were the major employers in the area, with men and women working there from many of the surrounding counties in the many departments of that establishment e.g. offices, grocery and provision stores, drapery, seeds and manures, bacon curing, tea blending, bakery, hardware and furniture, as well as vanmen, lorry drivers and their helpers who did all deliveries to villages and towns near and far.

With so many men and women in secure employment in Hacketstown more accommodation was needed, so with this in mind Carlow County Council decided that they would also try to purchase from Mr. Roche of Ballyshane enough land on which to build twenty houses. Mr. Roche again agreed to sell and so in a very short time the deal was completed and the contract was put out to tender. Mr. Tom Shea was eventually awarded the contract and building work began almost immediately as the stipulation was that the first ten houses should be ready by the end of 1937. These houses were built on Roche's land in the area left between the two new schools that were under construction on the Green. As with the building of the schools all the preparatory work of clearing the sites and digging the foundations was done by men using picks , shovels, crowbars and spades. The houses took shape quite quickly as they too were built using mass concrete in wooden casing. All sand and cement was mixed with shovels, with instructions from Tom Shea that it must be turned over nine times dry and nine times wet before compacting it into the wooden casing.

The houses were built two at a time which enabled the concrete to dry on one house while the men worked on the other. All the houses were detached with three bedrooms and a kitchen and none had running water, but each had an outside dry toilet. Each house on this scheme was allocated approximately half an acre of land so that they could grow their own potatoes and vegetables.

These first ten houses were all allocated and occupied within a short time after their completion and work soon began on the building of the second batch of ten. Internally this lot looked the same as the others, except that they had a different roof structure and they were tiled instead of slated.

As all this building work was progressing smoothly along it seems that the Hacketstown Improvement Committee was up in arms again, and they complained that the fowl market, which by tradition was held on the Town Square on Wednesdays, was being badly disrupted by heavy lorries delivering building materials to the schools and houses on the Green. Several geese and some guinea fowl had been crushed and killed by one of these lorries. There seems to have been very little sympathy for this situation in official circles, as the advice they got was the people concerned should stop selling ducks and chickens in the middle of the town square and move their birds closer to the footpaths. After this there were no more complaints and building work carried on to completion and so ended Hacketstown's building boom of 1937.

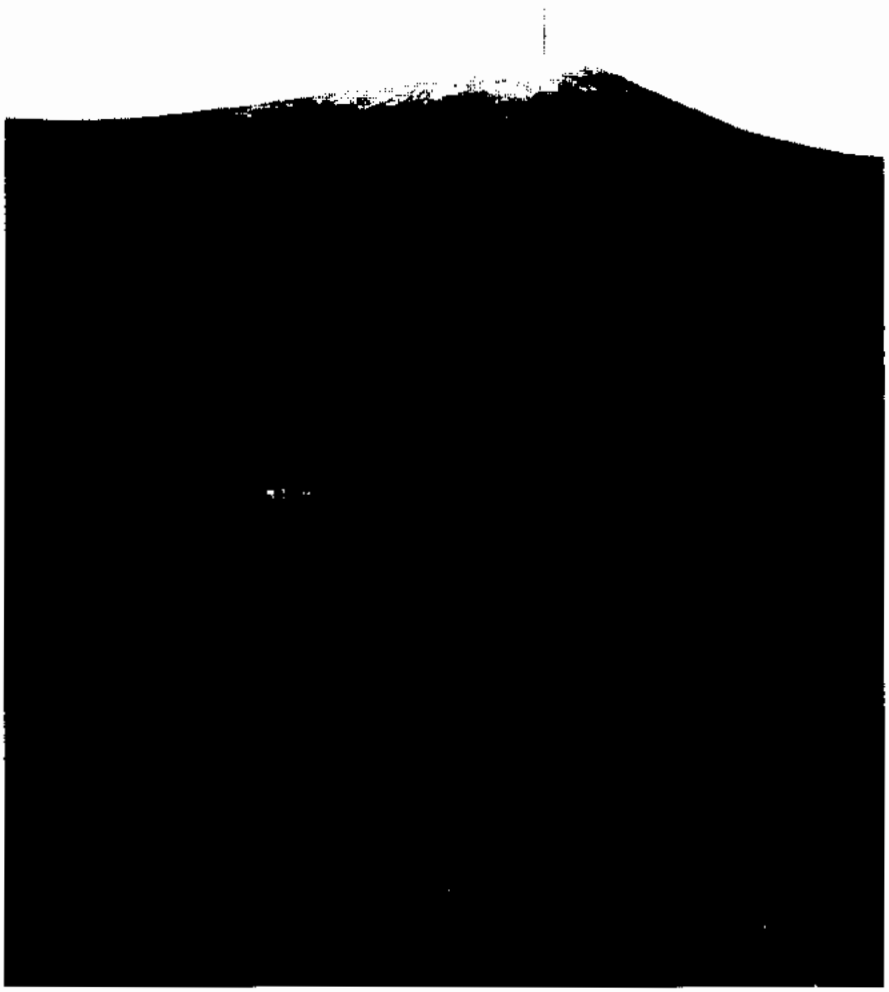


Courtesy Robert M. Duffy

Blackstairs and Mount Leinster

Barry Dalby

Thoughts on the origins of the names and the various significant features of these uplands

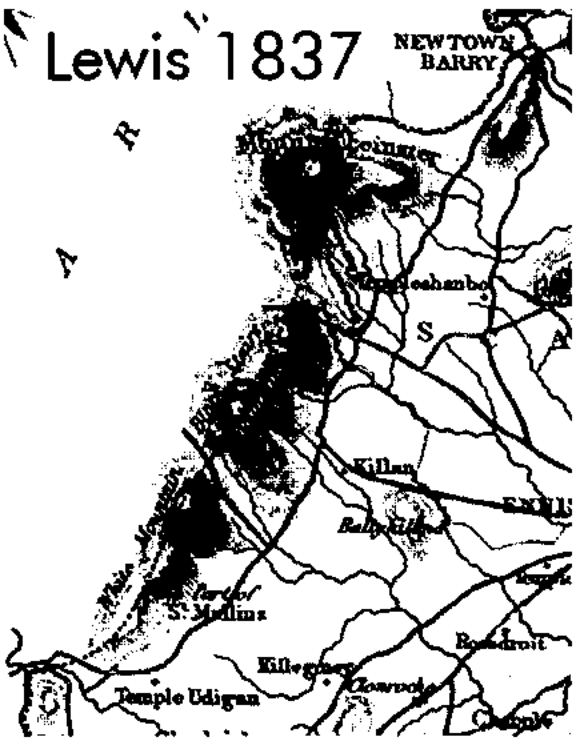


Mount Leinster or Stuadh Laighean from Ballinkillen in the west, showing the pointed shape of the summit

They say if you wish to learn a subject fully, then teach it. The same may be true of a region, if you wish to learn more of its topography and history, then make a map of it. It's an area which we have lived nearbyfor twenty years and one which I set about surveying & mapping in 2010. This task took about twelve months over a couple of years and brought me to many corners in terms of the landscape, people and history. The 'finished' map, entitled 'Blackstairs, Mount Leinster and The Barrow Valley', was published at 1:25,000 scale in 2013. It's available from various local shops or from www.eastwestmapping.ie

These uplands are long and relatively narrow in extent, perhaps 25 kilometres from Bunclody in the north to Ballywilliam in the south and varying from 4km to 10km in width, rising to just short of 800 metres. They are the southern part of that great rising of granite that extends north east towards Dunlaoighre in Co.Dublin. From a placename point of view, the first challenge is what to call this group of hills. They are widely called The Blackstairs nowadays but I can find no record of this collective name prior to the 1900s, it's a name I suspect 'adapted' for the convenience of school geography texts. Don't get me wrong, the name Blackstairs is well understood both historically and locally, but specifically as the mountain south of the Scollagh Gap (Sculloge) whilst Mount Leinster is the hill massif north of this gap. This is

well illustrated in the maps accompanying Lewis's guide of 1837 - here we see what are still locally understood to be the three main sections: Mount Leinster, Blackstairs and White Mountain.



John O'Donovan reporting to the Ordnance Survey in 1839 refers to them as the Carlow Mountains and noted "The following Irish saying preserves the Irish names of these pinnacles 'Stuadh Laighean agus Stuadh Leithghlinn, An dá stuadh is aírde a n-Éirinn, Dá mbeidheadh Cruicín Bhréannaill air Stuadh Leithghlinn' - which is to say that if the cap or cone of Brandon Hill were put on the pinnacle of Leighlin, which is the name of the southern shoulder of Mount Leinster, then these peaks would be the highest in Ireland. This makes topographical sense in that Mount Leinster (Stuadh Laighean) is c.60m higher than Blackstairs (Stuadh Leithghlinn) which difference is about the height of the summit cone of the adjacent Brandon Hill (Cruicín Bhréannaill).

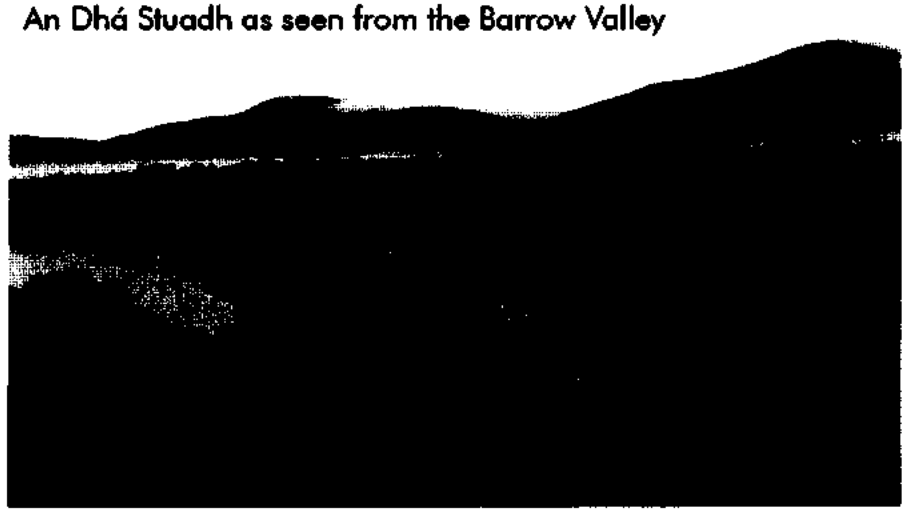
There are different theories as to the origin of the name Blackstairs but I would question the somewhat 'lazy' interpretation of the Ordnance Survey and the Placenames Commission who indicate that it's 'Na Staighrí Dubha' or 'An Staighre Dubh', literally the 'black stairs' as in a flight of stairs. In my research I found that the word Sturr or Sturra is associated by local hill farmers with both Blackstairs and Mount Leinster and I would postulate that the suffixes 'stair' and 'ster' are from the same source word, Sturr, meaning a peak. A similar form is found elsewhere in Ireland as Sturakeen, the little peak or pinnacle perhaps.

In the case of Blackstair, the word Sturra is still known for the summit area although the whole mountain is locally known as Blackstair. The Wexford folklorist, Patrick Kennedy (1801-73) relates a story concerning the 'Earl of Stair', a poor man who lives on the slopes of Blackstair above Rathnure and it is clear from this, that Stair is considered a place. O'Donovan noted 'Stuadh Leithghlinn', but I propose that the local name for this peak became or was also Sturraduff or Stiraduffe as recorded in 1819. It's the Black Sturr and the prefix 'black' is either to differentiate it from nearby White Mountain, from the dark bog of the summit but perhaps most likely for the dark north western flanks that rear up over Knock & Goolin on the Carlow side. These lie in shadow for much of the day in winter and are very notable.

Meanwhile up in Ballycrystal near Bunclody, the Dwyers live in the highest farm at the back of the valley, right under the height of Mount Leinster and they relate that they are long known as 'Dwyers of Sturr'. If 'sturr' is a peak, they are literally 'Dwyers of the Peak' which exactly describes their abode. Here the old form Stuadh Laighean seems likely preserved in the form Stoolyen, the local name for the southern shoulder of Mount Leinster and it's as if the old name has been shunted south by about a kilometre. But what are we to make of the name (Mount) Leinster? Is the name related to the provincial name Leinster or have they just ended up with the same name due to similarities in pronunciation etc. In the case of the provincial name, greater academic authorities than I have decided that the name derives from a combination of the territory of Laighean and the Irish word 'tír' or the Old Norse 'staðr', which translate as land or territory. (As an aside. given the relatively minor impact that the Norsemen had on Irish placenames compared to say, the Scottish Isles or the east coast of England, one might question how a Norse word came to be consolidated into the name of three of our provinces.) If we accept that 'ster' in Mount Leinster is a form of 'stair' or 'sturr', we can well argue that Leinster is simply a reversal of Stuadh Laighean - it's the Laighean Sturr or Lein-sturr or Lein-ster. So the two Sturr or peaks were simply known as the Black Sturr or Black-stair and the Laighean Sturr or Lein-ster. The English prefix Mount is then superfluous in the same manner as occurs in Avonmore River - the bigriver river.

Here we get into difficult territory that raises interesting issues concerning the relationship between the name Mount Leinster and the territory and later

An Dhá Stuadh as seen from the Barrow Valley



province of Leinster, which begat which? There are a couple of factors that we might consider: firstly that the adjacent Barrow valley, has been settled since very early times. For anyone settling in the Barrow valley or travelling up and down this important arterial river, these hill dominate the horizon, they are important topographic features. Secondly, the Kinsella and Kavanagh families of the Carlow & Wexford region held power in the territory of Laighean from 11th century onwards, so we could conclude that the peak of Stuadh Laighean takes its name from this ancient 'province'.

the co-ordinates 52.629276,-6.78004 into Google Earth or Bing to view. If this is the case, Mount Leinster or Stuadh Laighean blighted and all as it may be by modern communications infrastructure, may be deserving of far more respect than it receives.

This interpretation of course has to take into account that Munster and Ulster both have similar endings. It is quite possible though, that they are not incompatible and that the juxtaposition of events and language has led the mountain and province to have similar names from differing origins.

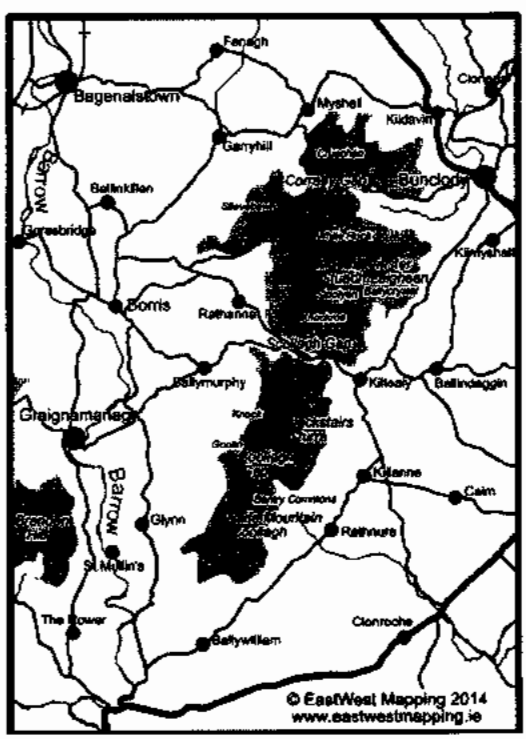
'White Rock, possibly Cnoc an Bocha on Mount Leinster'

Furthermore, the 19th century writer Patrick Kennedy mentioned above, records a tradition, that a place called Cnoc an Bocha – which he describes as 'an eminence on the Carlow side of Mount Leinster' was where the Kings of Leinster were crowned. Some readers will have parked at the Nine Stones - amongst other stories is a tradition that the Nine Stones was a coronation site. Others than I have doubted the authenticity of the rather insignificant group of rocks beside the road. A more compelling site for Cnoc an Bocha lies higher on the hill, where the Banks of Leoh are found. Here by the turf banks along the edge of the forest plantation lie a good number of very distinctive quartz rocks, known locally simply as White Rock. They are quite extraordinary in the context of the boggy, heathery nature of the terrain and may well be the original site of stones associated with the coronation site. There are other occasional quartz boulders found here & there over the hill but these are a very distinctive grouping. They are quite visible on satellite imagery, type in

And so to the gaps and other features, north of Mount Leinster lies the Corraby Gap (Corrabut on OSI), pronounced locally like Cor-a-bee, almost Korby. This is traverses by an old route from Kilbrannish to Myshall and north of this again lies Croaghaun, forested to its summit. Immediately south of Mount Leinster lies the aforementioned shoulder of Stoolyen, followed by a distinctive saddle for which I could find no local name. Knockroe lies south of this with its Round House on the summit and Giant's Table on east flank. The Scollagh Gap (Sculloge on OSI) follows, this links Kiltealy in Wexford to Ballymurphy and Borris in Carlow and has been an important pass for many centuries. There is ample historic evidence for the name Scollagh, the form is still widely used locally and should be restored to official signage. I believe it's related to the word Scoills or Scalls found further north in Wicklow - think of the steep broken ground above the Lough Brays corrie lakes, these are Scaills. The north side of the Scollagh Gap has this rocky nature.

We then rise relentlessly to Blackstairs or Sturra, passing a flat rocky area known as The Flags. There are two aircraft crash sites near the summit, 1941 & 1983. Continuing down southwards, we reach the rocky granite tors of Cathier's Den, where you may search if you will for the ill gotten gains of that notorious rapparee, Cathaoir na gCapall. Now we descend steeply to a third important pass, that between Killane & Rathnure in Wexford and Graignamanagh on the Barrow. The most common local name for this is The Meeting, a reference to Mountain Sunday, a Lughnasa type tradition held on the last Sunday in July, where local people from both Wexford & Carlow met to sport & court. This faded out in the 1970s but there is some talk of a revival. Patrick Kennedy writing in the 1850s refers regularly to this pass as the Cooliagh Gap or Mam a' Chuliagh and I found some local knowledge of the name still.

South of the Cooliagh Gap lies a long ridge characterised by a series of tors known as Brans - Branbeg, Branmore, Bran na Chró, Bran Scultair etc. This ridge has been known since at least the



early 1800s as White Mountain, though some on the Carlow side say that this name refers more to the southern end. It's important to appreciate that this ridge has two facets, the Wexford side is of more gentle gradient and was said to be easy going, grassy and heathy prior to the forest planting. This character possibly gave rise to the name White Mountain - pale sedges etc. The Carlow side by contrast is steep and rocky. Kennedy refers to this ridge as White Mountain but also as the ridge or range of Cooliagh. I have avoided applying the name Cooliagh to the ridge as a whole on the map as I could find no modern usage but I believe it is an old name for it.

What to make of the name Cooliagh? Liagh or leagh is a term associated with rock areas, found here on the steep Carlow slopes with extensive boulder fields. 'Cul' is a flexible term in the naming of places, often meaning the 'corner of' or the 'back' or 'side of' - so it could simply be 'the place or side of rocky slopes'. Most placenames in my experience derive from the prosaic ordinary nature of the landscape and we must be careful of fanciful thinking but I will leave you now with an alternative view based in mythology. You see, the Brans, the rocky tors that are scattered along the ridge, are recorded by the 19th century local historian Patrick O'Leary, as being named for Fionn MacCumhaill's hound, Bran who is said to have made prodigious leaps from one to the next. So it could come from Cú, the Irish for hound and indeed, if one views the ridge from near St.Mullin's, it bears an uncanny resemblance to a dog lying on it's haunches, with the ridge being the undulating backbone..

Bio notes: Barry Dalby is a surveyor, cartographer and publisher of mapping under the name EastWest Mapping.

Obituaries

Since our last issue several of our long standing members have passed away

James Bolger, Carlow
Mrs Alice Connolly, Burgage, Leighlinbridge
John Joyce, Graiguenamanagh
Rev. Dermot McKenna, Carlow
James Moran, Carlow
William White, Clonegal

The architectural history of Bagenalstown Courthouse, Co. Carlow (1826)

Richard J. Butler

In the absence of archival material, myths and legends can easily congregate around buildings and even whole towns. Many Irish people believe that their local nineteenth-century barracks, hospital, or school was destined to be built in India instead of Ireland, yet these are little more than myths. Local folklore has it that an architect or civil servant accidentally dropped the building's drawings in the 'Ireland' pigeon-hole instead of the 'India' one in some dim imperial office in London, and so an 'Irish' building now stands incongruously in some Asian desert, and an 'Indian' building – often, it is said, with Gothic turrets or polychromatic Italianate belvederes – ended up somewhere in the Irish landscape. It is unlikely any of these stories will ever be proven to be true.

In Bagenalstown, county Carlow, there is an even bigger myth: that the town was to be Ireland's answer to the French enlightenment, and a major new urban centre called either Versailles or New Versailles. Furthermore, it is impossible to separate the history of Bagenalstown from that of its courthouse, which has always played a major part in this urban legend. Over the past few years I have visited Bagenalstown many times by different modes of transport, but really the best experience is gained by arriving by train and stepping off at Ireland's finest polychromatic jewel-box station. By taking the short walk towards the sparkling granite Protestant church it immediately becomes obvious that Bagenalstown is quite unlike the average Irish town: it is planned to a grid. The main streets are so wide the town appears almost deserted: if there have been traffic jams, I have never seen one.

So what is the origin of the Versailles myth? The only source is a book published in 1746, *A tour through Ireland in several Entertaining letters,* which states 'The next Place worth Observation was *Bagenal's-Town*, laid out by WALTER BAGNAL [1671-1745], Esq. ... who once intended to erect one of the finest Towns in this Kingdom or in any of its neighbours by the name of Versailles.' Bagenal's efforts were thwarted when the main road was diverted away from his town, putting 'a Stop to the further Progress of the Buildings after an immense Expence.'[1] But could it really have been a new Versailles? A grid of some five streets by four hardly suggests this to be the case. Much more likely, it must be said, is that Walter Bagenal was speaking in exaggerated terms in what historians will recognise as a typical case of inflated Protestant ascendancy confidence. A descendant, Philip Bagenal, writing in 1925 about his family's history, dismissed what he saw as 'the somewhat ridiculous allusion to Versailles in the *[A tour through Ireland]* sketch'.[2] And yet the legend has endured, and nine-out-of-ten books or websites will take as fact the anonymous and good-humoured remarks of the 'two English Gentlemen' who dined with Bagenal and his 'several beautiful Children' at their Dunleckny home about a mile north of the town, sometime in the 1720s, and left us this tall tale. [3]

Apart from the grid layout, what had Bagenal actually achieved? Here again our only source is the 'English Gentlemen,' quoted (and sometimes misquoted) by historians ever since. My 1748 copy says Bagenal put up a 'magnificent Square, Court-House, and several other public Buildings [...] with Stones of different Kinds intermixed with Marble.'[4] Here we stumble upon the first reference to the town's *ne plus ultra* oddity: the courthouse. Where is it? You could easily pass it by, or at least miss its best façade. Some directions for visitors to the town, unfamiliar with its layout: from the Protestant church walk towards to the river, then veer right onto Main Street, and soon the courthouse will appear, shunning the street, turning its back on the ordered rhythms of Bagenal's 'Versailles': sullen, hidden, and obscure. You get the most fleeting glimpse of its Ionic portico from the small gaps on either side of its unpromising street façade. These gaps serve to set it apart from the fabric of the town. It seems to be aligned with nothing in particular, facing no-one, contributing who knows what. But – walk a little further on, down an alleyway and around a corner – and it opens up in all its strange glory, perched high over the Barrow on steeply sloping ground; its sparkling granite columns rising from a tended garden surrounded

by high walls and railings. This half-hidden space is surrounded, for its sins, by plastic rubbish bins, broken glass, old gas cylinders, mangled rusting construction fencing, and a surfeit of those awful towering plants which are quick to colonise neglected cubbyholes. If there is a Baalbek of post-Celtic Tiger Ireland, this is it. After some acrobatics involving an old stone wall it is just about possible to capture a photo of the Grecian portico minus the decay and abandon, but why, we might ask, take an untruthful photo?

There are no known drawings or letters pertaining to this courthouse. We know neither who the architect was nor when precisely it was started or finished. Here the legends and myths have taken off like the surrounding weeds. Firstly, some have suggested the 'Court-House' mentioned in 1746 is the building we see today, and that it is represents the 'only legacy of [Bagenal's] grand dream for a New Versailles.'[5] Others have added to the confusion by missing out on a critical comma in the important 1746 source and thereby suggesting that the original building was a 'Square Court-House' (compare with my quote above).[6] In truth the building we see today cannot be part of Bagenal's eighteenth-century scheme: Lewis (1837) and Fraser (1844) both refer to a 'lately erected' courthouse, with the latter describing an Ionic portico, and calling it a 'remarkable object' (though Lewis mistakenly and confusingly talks about 'four Doric pillars').[7] Whatever the 'English Gentlemen' saw in the 1720s, it cannot have been the building we see today. Furthermore it cannot then be the only surviving bit of the grand 'Versailles' plan: Walter Bagenal was almost a century dead by 1835, when paradoxically it is said by some sources that he employed the architect Daniel Robertson (who died in 1849) to design the building.

Enough of the legends and myths. It is clear from researching the history of the building, that the year of construction is not c. 1835 as currently thought, but almost a decade earlier, 1826. This distinction is important, as it re-attaches the commission to the great national wave of provincial courthouse building, in response to a combination of agrarian unrest, legislative reform, generous grants and loans from Westminster, and Grand Jury competitive pride. The source for this new evidence is, perhaps unexpectedly, buried in the annual reports of the Inspectors General for Irish prisons. Major Benjamin Blake Woodward, inspector for the southern district, noted in 1824 that 'A GAOL and courthouse are to be established in [Bagenalstown], but are not as yet built' (by 'gaol' he meant a small bridewell, in effect a few holding cells).[8] Then, in a report dated 1 February, 1827, he says 'In both these places [Bagenalstown and Tullow] new court houses and places of confinement have been built since my last inspection [c. 1825]. The court houses are on a good plan, quite suited to the importance of the use for which they are intended. But the Prison Act has been wholly overlooked in the plan of the Bridewells attached'.[9] Three years later, he notes 'The two cells at Bagenalstown are no longer used for prisoners, which is quite right, as the accommodation was illegal.'[10]

Accounts from the Board of Works show that money was loaned to the Carlow Grand Jury to help build Tullow courthouse around this time, but none was offered (or sought) for Bagenalstown.[11] Nationally this is unusual – Grand Juries regularly part-financed their building projects with central government money, generally repaid over 10-20 years.[12] Lewis (1837) says the new courthouse was 'erected at the expense of Philip Bagenal,' who inherited much of the Bagenal family property (and indeed changed his surname to Bagenal by Royal Licence) in 1832.[13] This, coupled with Woodward's condemnation of the attached bridewell, gives a valuable insight into the building and its context: it seems likely the courthouse was a pet-project of the young Philip, who financed it from his own private income. He appears to have cared little for the new government regulations for small prisons, in place since 1822. The fact that the cells in Bagenalstown were shut down just three years after construction speaks volumes for his lack of cooperation with the prison inspectors. His concern, as is evident from the building itself, was with the external appearance of the courthouse, and not with the attached small prison. The grandeur of the façade suggests that he saw it as important to continue the 'improving' work of his great-grandfather. Or perhaps, we might think, the building is a kind of folly. After all, the best view of the Greek portico is gained from the northern outskirts of the town, on the road to the Bagenal family's Dunleckny property. Here the pediment rises spectacularly above the surrounding buildings, and entering by the banks of the Barrow, there is a sense of anticipation that surely echoes the grandest of enlightenment planning. The Bagenals would have seen it every time they entered their town, every time they acted as magistrates in their courthouse. [14]

In spite of the lack of any definite evidence, it seems very likely Robertson was indeed the architect. Myles Campbell at Trinity College Dublin has recently found evidence that Robertson was active in Ireland much earlier than previously thought – as early as 1818 – and so the construction date of 1826 does not necessarily exclude him as architect.[15] Some of his other commissions, in particular Upton House in county Carlow, and the older of the gate lodges at Castleboro, county Wexford, are stylistically very close to Bagenalstown courthouse (the appearance of an Ionic portico at the former is especially striking). If not Robertson it is unclear who else the architect could have been: Thomas Cobden (1794-1842), perhaps, but the skilful rendering at Bagenalstown courthouse of the Greek Erechtheion Ionic, with a turned corner volute, is more sophisticated than the rudimentary quality of much of Cobden's work. Until new evidence comes to light, the attribution seems reasonably safe: during the 1830s and 40s Robertson built houses for many members of the Newton-Bagenal family, including not least a new Dunleckny, in a Tudor Revival manner.[16]

In the ten-year period 1825-35 the Grand Jury of county Carlow, with the notable help of some of the landed elite like Philip Bagenal, rebuilt all the courthouses and gaols in their county.[17] Accounts show over £15,000 was spent in this period, a figure which does not include some government loans or indeed private munificence. Over the next twenty years, only a third of this sum was expended: in other words, there is a discernible (and as yet, I would argue, underappreciated) great decade of

provincial building. Bagenalstown fits into this broader context, but clearly it also stands out as odd and perplexing for many reasons. Critically the date of 1826 places it *before* the County Courthouse (1827-32) in Carlow town, the celebrated Neo-Classical edifice designed by William Vitruvius Morrison. Bagenalstown's courthouse is lovable and strange, a gleaming granite folly in the Carlow landscape, or perhaps a light-hearted piece of civic architecture in a county which escaped much of the agrarian violence and outrages which racked Cork, Tipperary and the midlands for much of the 1820s and 30s. 'I am always rejoiced,' the indomitable Lord Norbury said addressing the Carlow Grand Jury in 1826, 'when I come to this part of Ireland which enjoys so much happiness and tranquillity, at a time when other parts of the country are overwhelmed with criminal excesses.' [18] And what came of Robertson, the architect? His later life was less cheery: declared bankrupt in 1841,[19] he is memorably depicted by Mervyn Wingfield, 7th Viscount Powerscourt: 'He was much given to drink, and always drew best when his brain was excited with sherry. He suffered from gout, and used to be driven about in a wheelbarrow with a bottle of sherry; while that lasted he was always ready to direct the workmen, but when it was finished he was incapable of working any more.'[20] Perhaps similar shenanigans took place on the banks of the Barrow.

Further reading

Frederick O'Dwyer, '"Modelled Muscularity": Daniel Robertson's Tudor Manors,' *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, vol. 15 (1999), pp. 87-97.

NIAH, *An introduction to the architectural heritage of County Carlow* (Dublin, 2002).

Thomas McGrath and William Nolan (eds.), Carlow: *History and Society, interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish County* (Dublin, 2008).

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I am grateful to Professor Edward McParland, Dr Christine Casey, Myles Campbell and Aaron Helfand for their help in preparing this piece, and to Tamela Maciel and Otto Saumarez-Smith for proof-reading and making suggestions. Some of my visits to Carlow were made possible by a generous Brancusi Grant from the University of Cambridge.

[1] Anon., *A tour through Ireland in several Entertaining letters...by two English Gentlemen* (1st ed. Dublin, 1746; London, 1748), p. 227. Portions of this text appear plagiarised in Philip Luckombe, *Compleat Irish Traveller* (London, 1788), vol. 1, p. 105, as quoted in Edward McParland, 'The Public Works of Architects in Ireland during the Neo-Classical Period' (Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1975), p. 127.

[2] Philip Bagenal, *Vicissitudes of an Anglo-Irish family 1550-1800:* a study of Irish romance and tragedy (London, 1925), p. 147.

[3] Catherine Ann Power, 'The Origins and Development of Bagenalstown, c. 1680-1920,' in Thomas McGrath and William Nolan (eds.), Carlow: *History and Society, interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish County* (Dublin, 2008), p. 405. NIAH, *An introduction to the architectural heritage of County Carlow* (Dublin, 2002), p. 8. John Gorton and G.N. Wright, *A Topographical Dictionary of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1833), vol. 1, p. 105. Patrick Comerford, 'Visiting Versailles and the Parthenon on the banks of the Barrow,' blog post, 4 July 2011 (retrieved 3 October2013),http://revpatrickcomerford.blogspot.ie/2011/07/visiting-versailles-and-parthenon-on.html. County Carlow Irish Genealogical Project (IGP), managed by Michael J. Brennan (retrieved 3 October 2013),http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~irlcar2/bagenalstown_town.htm

[4] Anon., *A tour through Ireland*, p. 227.

[5] Comerford, blog post.

[6] Power, 'The Origins and Development of Bagenalstown,' p. 409.

[7] Samuel Lewis, A *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* (London, 1837), vol. 1, pp. 99 & 584. James Fraser, *A hand book for travellers in Ireland* (Dublin, 1844), p. 171. Power repeats Lewis's error in referring to the order of the portico as 'Doric,' see 'The Origins and Development of Bagenalstown,' p. 409.

[8] *Second report of the inspectors general on ... the Prisons of Ireland,* p. 40, H.C. 1824 (294), xxii.

[9] *Fifth report of the inspectors general on ... the Prisons of Ireland,* p. 43, H.C. 1827 (471), xi. Woodward is referring to the Prisons (Ireland) Act 1822 (3 Geo. 4 c. 64).

[10] *Eight report of the inspectors general on ... the Prisons of Ireland,* p. 46, H.C. 1830 (48), xxiv.

[11] *An account of all Sums of Money placed at the disposal of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, for Public Works, during each of the last Four Years,* pp. 4-5, H.C. 1828 (464), xxii. Listed on p. 3 are applications which were rejected, and in which Bagenalstown does not appear.

[12] Ibid., pp. 4-7.

[13] Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland,* p. 584. Bagenal, *Vicissitudes of an Anglo-Irish family,* 'Pedigree of the Irish Branch of the Bagenal Family,' attached folding sheet.

[14] As they regularly did: 27 Petty Sessions were presided over by members of the Newton-Bagenal family in 1835. *A return of the courts of Petty Sessions in the several counties of Ireland ... for the year ending 31st December 1835,* p. 16, H.C. (415), xxxxii.

[15] Myles Campbell, 'British architects and the Tudor-Revival country house in Ireland, 1825-50' (forthcoming Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College, Dublin).

[16] Frederick O'Dwyer, '"Modelled Muscularity": Daniel Robertson's Tudor Manors,' *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, vol. 15 (1999), pp. 87-97.

[17] Tullow courthouse (c. 1825-27), Bagenalstown courthouse (c. 1826-27), Carlow courthouse (1828-32). Carlow county gaol (rebuilt 1828-32). This is evident from compiling the sums spent on courthouse and gaol building work given in the annual *Grand Jury presentments: abstracts of accounts of presentments,* H.C. 1824 (258), xxii, onwards.

[18] Anon., 'Lord Norbury's Charge,' *Freeman's Journal*, 25 Mar. 1826, p. 4.

[19] Anon., 'Insolvent Debtors,' *Freeman's Journal,* 22 Dec. 1841, p. 4.

[20] Mervyn Wingfield, 7th Viscount Powerscourt, *A Description and History of Powerscourt* (London, 1903), p. 77.

Rev. Dermot McKenna

During the year the Society lost one of its very active members in the passing of the Rev. Dermot McKenna. Dermot served for many years as a member, contributor to *Carloviana* and as secretary for ten years.

A Limerick man by birth, he was born in 1942, the son of a Church of Ireland clergyman and his mother was a doctor. Following his studies at Trinity College, Dublin, where he won several divinity prizes, Dermot was ordained as curate for the parish of Enniscorthy in 1964. Two years later he was instituted as rector of Kilabban Union-Castletown and Mayo, with Luggacurran.

In the early 1970s, he became rector of Killeshin, along with Cloydagh, Castletown and Mayo. He remained there, living at Castletown Rectory until he resigned in 1984.

He had already become associated with IT Carlow and did some teaching across the various disciplines until his retirement in 2007. He had many friends among the staff and was greatly valued by the students. He lived in the Pollerton area of Carlow Town and in his latter years helped out when ever needed in his ministry.

The late Rev. Dermot McKenna

Following some months of acute illness, Dermot sadly died on Monday, 7 April at St Luke's Hospital Kilkenny.

His funeral service took place on Friday, 11th April in Killeshin Church, Carlow followed by burial afterwards to St Mary's Cemetery, Dublin Road.

The service included prayers read by the Bishop, also participating were the Venerable John Murray, former incumbent the Rev Olive Henderson and clerical neighbour, the Rev. Patrick Burke.

The address was given by the Rev. Peter Tartleton, current incumbent of Killeshin.

Seline Waters, his niece attended the funeral from Manchester. Many parishoners and friends from the Carlow Historical and Archaeological Society and former colleagues from carlow IT were present at Killeshin Church to pay their respects to a man of many parts. One of these 'parts' was his political involvement with *Fianna Fáil* - and many of his former *'Cumann'* were among the congregation.

Dermot is fondly remembered by his nieces, cousins, former parishoners and colleagues, relatives and a wide circle of friends.

Message from the President

Since the last issue of *Carloviana* appeared life in the society has been busy on several fronts.

Our major undertaking during the year was the commissioning of an archaeological study of Ballon Hill. The study was organised and overseen by our members, Deirdre Kearney and Nial O'Neill and was finalised in April. Copies of the report have been donated to the County Carlow Library Service where it is available to all library users. In this issue of *Carloviana* we have two articles – one on the report and one on the person who originally excavated the hill in the 1850s. Articles in other archaeological journals are anticipated. Our thanks are due to Carlow Community Development Partnership Ltd. who grant aided this research.

As our contribution to the decade of commemoration the society has established a small number of working groups to research certain aspects of the history of the county in the years 1913 to 1923.We hope that the results of this research will lead to publication in *Carloviana*. If there is anyone who would like to help us in this we would be delighted to hear from them.

Our updated website and new facebook pages went live at the end of November 2013, thanks to the indefatigable work of our secretary, Deirdre Kearney, without whose skill and expertise the project would not have succeeded. Members and non members alike have been very complimentary in their reactions and the level of interaction by both has been greater than we anticipated and very encouraging. The website and facebook pages represent a sea change in the way the society communicates with its members and the wider community.

One of our members achieved a very creditable first during the year. Shay Kinsella's article on Robert Rochford, the slashing parson of 1798, was the cover article in the January/February 2014 issue of *History Ireland*. Shay is one of the new group of contributors to *Carloviana* and we extend congratulations to him. Our county also made the scene in *Archaeology Ireland* when they featured *The Rock Art of Carlow* as a supplement to their Spring 2014 issue.

Our thanks are due again to Bertie and Irene Watchorn who organised two summer outings in 2014.We went to Roscrea and Birr in June and the Devon & Cornwall area of the U.K.in late July.

I wish to thank all the members of our committee of management for their commitment to the work of the society during the year. I particularly wish to welcome the four new (and younger) members who joined our committee at the last AGM.

I especially want to thank both Martin and Jim for the hard work they have put in to creating another fine issue of *Carloviana*, and in particular their ability to find new contributors each year.

Finally I want to thank all those whose financial contributions help to keep the society going, our members annual subscriptions, our sponsors whose contribution is vital to the publication of Carloviana, and the many shopkeepers throughout the county who sell our journal each year.

Mrs Eileen Brophy, Chairperson of Carlow Town Council presenting to Mr Pat O'Neill, President of Carlow Historical and Archaeological Society a CD containing the list of artifacts handed over by the Society to Carlow County Museum.

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Myles Kavanagh, 10 Oak Grove, Royal Oak Road, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow
Deirdre Kearney, "Ardmore", Brownshill Road, Carlow
Anne Keating, 95 Beechwood Park, Carlow
Thomas Kehoe, 57 Dublin Street, Carlow
Patrick Kehoe, 1 Foxrock Green, Foxrock, Dublin 18
Edward Kelly, 118 St. Clare's Road, Graiguecullen, Carlow
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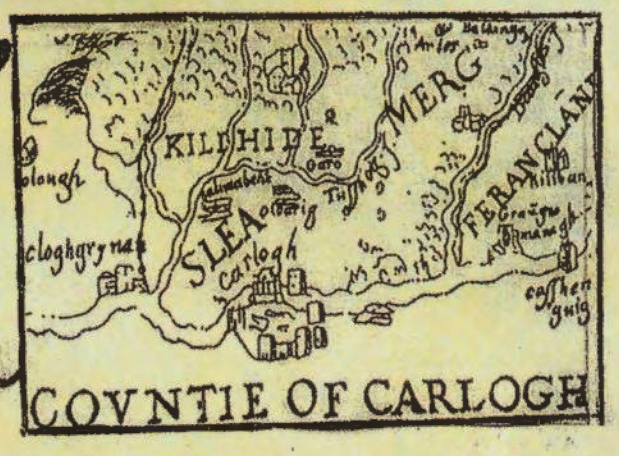

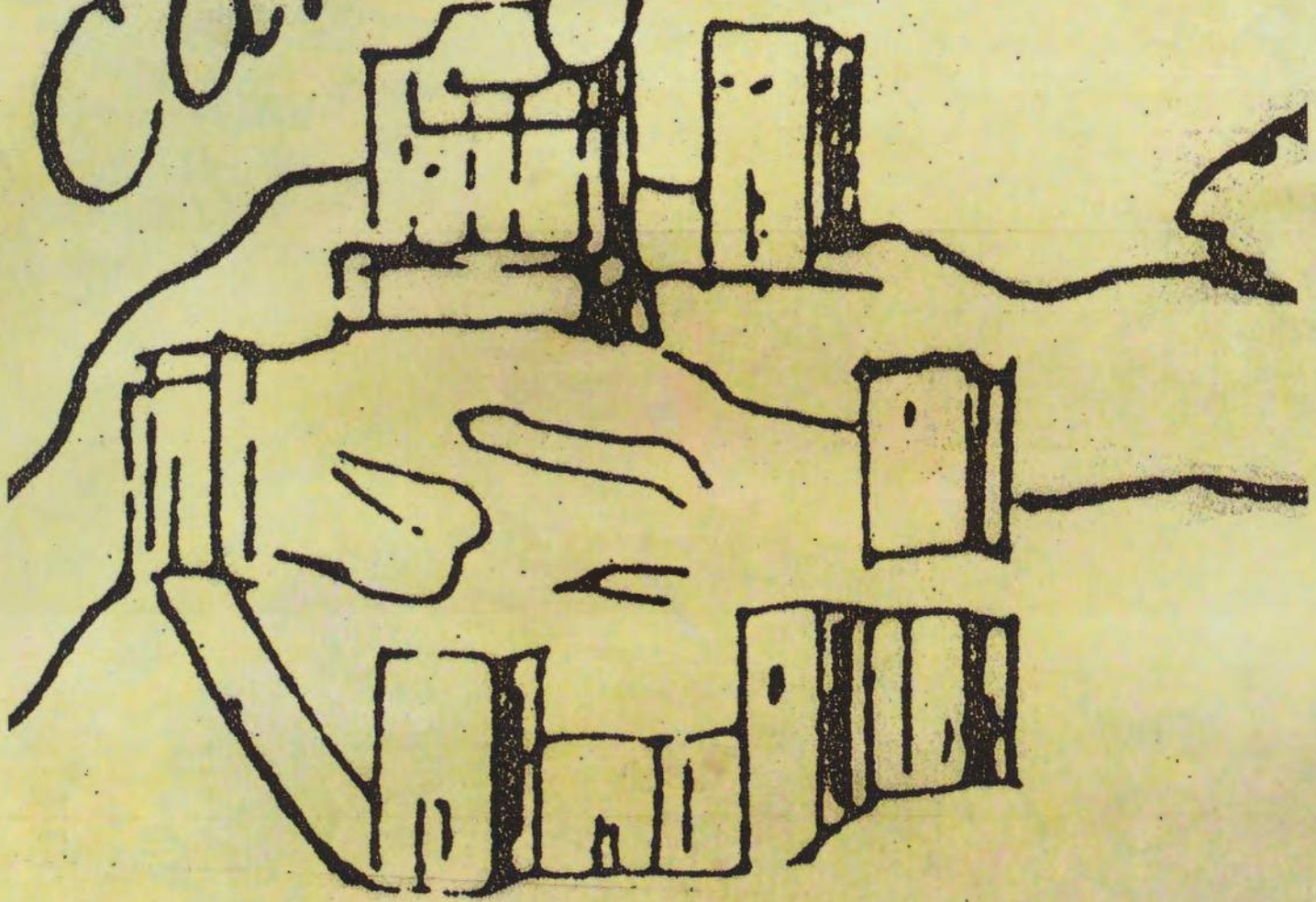

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