

Carloviana

Carlow Historical and Archaeological Society

Cumann Staire agus Seandálaíochta Cheatharloch

2010 Edition



Winter Lecture Series
Heritage Week in Carlow
IHAI Award 2010
Irish Sporting Heritage
Provenance
Vikings in County Carlow
Business Archival Sources for the Local Historian
Landlord Supremacy In 19th Century Carlow
Hacketstown and the Parnellite Split
County Carlow and the Mansion House Famine
Relief Fund
Snippets
Counsellor William Francis Finn
A Review of the Library Service 1930-1980

The Bagenal Letters
John Neale Surgeon and Musician
History of RTC & ITC - Part 6
Leaves from a Carlow Sketchbook 1869-1871
Carlow Workhouse
Lewis's Carlow
A Survey of Neolithic Tombs in Counties Carlow & Dublin
"A rich variety: shops and shopkeepers in an
Irish Provincial Town, 1850 - 1920."
Carlow County Museum
Jim Morris 1917-1982
The Building of Scoil Muire Gan Smal
Coonamble, 'at the end of the world'?

SPONSORS

OUR SPONSORS

Inside the outer cover front and back you will see our sponsors entries. By taking an entry you are assisting in the publishing of Carloviana. It is also a record of enterprises existing in Carlow area in the year of issue. We wish to sincerely thank those who have taken space in the current year and ask others who would wish to have an entry to contact our Society for future listing.

Dan Carbery
President

FIVE STAR CLEANING CONTRACTORS

Tullow Road, Bennekerry, Co. Carlow.
Tel: 059 9137737 Fax: 059 9146929 Mob: 087 2210964
Email: fivestarcleaners@eircom.net

NEW DAWN DEVELOPMENTS LTD.

St. Martins, Blackbog Road,
Carlow

Tel: 059 91 37060 Mob: 087 9258081

CARLOW CORNICE & MOULDINGS LTD.

Tinryland, Carlow
Tel: 059 9143930 Mob: 087 2632329 Fax: 059 9133258
Cornice, Centrepieces, Arches, Panelling, Corbels, Niches,
Supplied and Fitted
Specialists in Fibrous Plaster Restoration & Design

Carlow District Credit Union Ltd.

CREDIT UNION HOUSE, ASKEA, CARLOW
Phone: 059 9131994/9131643. Fax: 059 9134288
Email: info@carlowcreditunion.ie Web: www.carlowcreditunion.ie

Bramleys
OF CARLOW

ENGAGEMENT & WEDDING
RINGS MADE TO YOUR DESIGN
IN OUR WORKSHOP

62-64 DUBLIN ST., CARLOW.

JEWELLERS

T: 059/9131346 E: bramley@iol.ie W: irelandjewellers.com

TULLY'S TRAVEL LTD

137 TULLOW STREET, CARLOW, Ireland
Tel: 059 9136100 Fax: 059 9136180
Dublin 01 6767777
Web: www.tullys.ie



SEVEN OAKS HOTEL

* Dinner Dances * Wedding Receptions
* Private Parties * Conferences * Luxury Lounge

ATHY ROAD, CARLOW. Tel: 059 9131308

Email: info@sevenoakshotel.com. Web: www.sevenoakshotel.com

KEHOE AUCTIONEERS

PROPERTY AND ESTATE AGENT

57 DUBLIN STREET, CARLOW.

Tel: 059 9131678 Fax: 059 9141818

Email: info@kehoe.ie Web: www.kehoe.ie



JONES BUSINESS SYSTEMS

- Carlow 059 9132595
 - Kilkenny 056 7763655
 - Waterford 051 374896
- Total Office Solutions**
www.officestuff.ie



Clogrennane Lime Ltd
Clogrennane, Carlow, Ireland.
T: 059 9131811
F: 059 9131607
E: office@clogrennane.ie
www.irishlime.ie

Sothorn



37 Dublin Street, Carlow.
t: 059 9131218
f: 059 9143765
e: info@sothorn.ie
w: www.sothorn.ie

M.P. DOYLE LTD

Shamrock Business Park,
Graigucullen, Carlow.
Tel: 059 9131 847
Fax: 059 9143 008



Carlow Advertiser and Printing



contact Barry or Shane Duggan

Strawhall Industrial Estate, Athy Road, Carlow.

T: (059) 9131512 | F: (059) 9140016

E: carlowadvertiser@eircom.net

MAGAZINES
BROCHURES
LEAFLETS
MENUS
LETTERHEADS
BUS. CARDS
COMP. SLIPS
DOCKET BOOKS

CARLOW COUNTY MUSEUM

OPENING SUMMER 2011

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

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

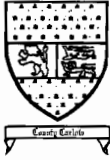


Carlow County Museum

CARLOVIANA

December 2010

No. 59



Joint Editors:

*Martin Nevin**Pat O'Neill*

Printed by: CARLOW ADVERTISING & PRINTING

I.S.S.N. 0790 - 0813

EDITORIAL

The production of an annual journal of local history is a peculiar venture and can only be undertaken by those who, while they earn their livings in many and varied ways, are historians by vocation.

Our society has been fortunate throughout our sixty years existence in that we have managed to attract enough writers to enable us to produce our journal each year.

Who are our contributors? They are an eclectic mix, ranging from university academics to society members, both active and retired, and from winners in our schools competition to lecturers in our series of winter lectures.

Our objectives are twofold. We strive to publish material, in so far as is possible based on original sources, which will record aspects of the past in the county. We also endeavour to create a record of events and people which will become in turn the source material for future historians. To do this we need to constantly engage new contributors especially from the recent graduates of our universities and regional institutes.

We also need ideas and suggestions for future research and articles, particularly those which can be based on hitherto unused source material.

We appeal therefore to the two categories, to the writers and to those with ideas, to let us know of your existence so that together we can continue to fill the pages of our journal.



Pictured at the launch of Carloviana 2009 were Kay Carbery, Joe O'Brien and Martina Darcy P.R.O.

Front Cover**Provenance**

This was Carlow artist Frank O'Meara's last painting "On the Quays of Etaples" (pencil on oil tinted canvas 111.5cm x 98cm) 1888 on the Pas-de-Calais coast near Boulogne, France.

Presented by Mrs Wengel, 1904.

Collection of Dublin City The Hugh Lane Gallery.

Contents

Message from the President	2
Winter Lecture Series	3
Heritage Week 2010	4
IHAI Award 2010.....	6
Irish Sporting Heritage	7
Provenance	9
Vikings in County Carlow	10
Business Archival Sources for the Local Historian	14
Landlord Supremacy In 19th Century Carlow	15
Hacketstown and the Parnellite Split	25
County Carlow and the Mansion House Famine Relief Fund	32
Snippets	38
Counsellor William Francis Finn	42
A Review of the Library Service 1930-1980	44
The Bagenal Letters	48
John Neale Surgeon & Musician	52
History of RTC & ITC	55
Leaves from a Carlow Sketchbook 1869-1871	72
Carlow Workhouse	80
Lewis's Carlow	86
A Survey of Neolithic Tombs in Counties Carlow & Dublin	92
"A rich variety: shops and shopkeepers in an Irish Provincial Town, 1850 - 1920."	110
Carlow County Museum	113
Jim Morris 1917-1982	115
The Building of Scoil Muire Gan Smal	116
Coonamble, 'at the end of the world'?	120
Officers and Members	122

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

FROM THE PRESIDENT

It is that time of year when with the coming of long winter nights, the publication of our annual journal *Carloviana* moves centre stage. It is one of my more pleasant duties as President to record my view of our activities of the past year.

In November 2009, Joe O'Brien, agricultural correspondent of RTE and a native of Carlow town launched our 58th issue of *Carloviana* at a well attended and enjoyable function in the Seven Oaks Hotel.

The sub committees of our main board continue to, very skilfully, undertake the tasks allotted to them. The outings committee, convened by Bertie Watchorn, organised a very successful four day outing to Northern Ireland in June. Despite the intervention of Icelandic ash clouds the lectures committee convened by Martina Darcy organised our series of winter and heritage week lectures. An additional Heritage Week lecture by Honora Faul of the National Library was organised by Noreen Whelan. The work of the *Carloviana* sub committee can be judged by what you now read.

Jim Shannon continues to look after our website and together with Richard Codd organises the schools history competition.

After years of planning it is wonderful to see that the refurbishment and development of the former chapel of the Presentation Convent in College Street, which will be our new County Museum, has started. We look forward to the opening in 2011.

Before preparing these notes I had a look at the ninth edition of *Carloviana* which was published fifty years ago in 1960. The joint editors were W.V. Hadden and Miss M.T. Kelly. The journal, on sale at a price of one shilling, recorded the opening of the two new primary schools, St. Joseph's and Scoil Mhuire gan Smal. I attended the fiftieth anniversary celebrations of both schools this year, having been at the official opening as a young man on Sunday 26th June 1960. It is sad to see that so many of the businesses who took advertisements in *Carloviana* in 1960 have since closed. These include Corcoran & Co., Governeys Boot

Factory, Barrow Milling Co. and many others. The then editors expressed the hope that our members would continue to record the history and traditions of the town and county of Carlow and I now as President renew that appeal to today's members.

I thank all members of the management committee, sub committees and members for their work on behalf of our society during the past year.

Dan Carbery
President

- OUTINGS -



This year the society undertook its longest ever outings event in Ireland when the sub committee, under convenor Bertie Watchorn, arranged a four day trip to Northern Ireland.

Based in Dundalk, the society members visited several sites of historical interest in counties Armagh & Down as well as in Belfast. They also visited Stormont, (pictured above).

OBITUARIES

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

- Sean Collins, Killeslin, Carlow.
- John Fitzgibbon, Malahide, Co. Dublin.
- Mary Kearney, Cathedral Close, Carlow.
- Frank Kiernan, Borris, Co. Carlow.
- Peter Thomas, Hermitage, Carlow.

WINTER LECTURE SERIES

We were very pleased with the attendances at our winter lecture series 2009/10.

The gods, however, interfered with our planning as they occasionally do. In December Dr. Garrett Fitzgerald was forced to cancel his lecture due to ill health, and when he very kindly rescheduled his lecture for last April the Icelandic ash cloud marooned him in Europe. We look forward to seeing Dr. Fitzgerald and hearing from him on November 3rd.

Our former president, James Shannon, stepped into the breach in December and delivered his lecture on " Hacketstown and the Parnellite Split ".

We are delighted to have, as articles in this issue of Carloviana, three of the lecture delivered last year, viz those of James Shannon, Dr. Colman Etchingham and Dr. Roisin Higgins.

Our sixty fifth series of winter lecture opens on October 20th. With Robert Doyle--" a public health professional by necessity and a historian by vocation ", as he describes himself - giving a lecture on the life and career of Myles Kehoe of Leighlinbridge.

We hope our lectures will continue to be supported by both our members and the public.

CARLOW HISTORICAL & ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

LECTURES

YEAR 2010-2011

DATE	LECTURER	TOPIC	VENUE	TIME
20th October 2010	Robert Doyle	Myles Kehoe Born to Soldier	Tinryland Parish Hall	8.00 pm
3rd November 2010	Dr Garrett Fitzgerald	Education & The Irish Language 18th-19th Centuries	Seven Oaks Hotel Carlow	8.00 pm
8th December 2010	Shane Kinsella	The Alexanders of Milford	National School Leighlinbridge	8.00 pm
19th January 2011	Ciaran & Margaret O'hOgartaigh	The History of Business in Carlow	Seven Oaks Hotel Carlow	8.00 pm
16th February 2011	Cyril White	J.J. Keane & the History of Irish Athletics	Seven Oaks Hotel Carlow	8.00 pm
23rd March 2011	Tim Pat Coogan	Collins v Dev.	Seven Oaks Hotel Carlow	8.00 pm

HERITAGE WEEK

2010

Saturday 21st to Sunday 29th August

Saturday 21st August

Wild Child Day, Ballon, Co. Carlow.

Join Dr. Betsy Hickey, ecologist, on a morning exploring nature, picking blackberries and looking for other wild foods. A scavenger hunt will also take place. Parents are encouraged to attend and refreshments will be provided. Please wear suitable clothing. This event is being organised by the Ballon Improvement Group.

Tour of Cathedral of the Assumption, Carlow town.

A special Heritage Week guided tour of the Cathedral, hear about JKL, the bishop who built the Cathedral as well as the buildings many features. The Cathedral which was completed in 1833 was designed by architect Thomas A. Cobden. It was reordered in the mid 1990s with the stone for the refurbishment of the Cathedral coming from quarries in Old Leighlin, where St. Laserian led the ancient Diocese of Leighlin

Sunday 22nd August

Guided Tour: Altamont Gardens, Ballon/ Tullow.

Widely regarded as the jewel in Ireland's gardening crown. Altamont Gardens are an enchanting blend of formal and informal gardens with riverside walks covering 40 acres. A fascinating walk through the Ice Age Glen with its canopy of ancient oaks and huge stone outcrops leads the visitor to the River Slaney.

Weaving & Spinning, Weaver's Cottages, Clonegal.

Mary O'Rourke, professional weaver will demonstrate weaving and spinning. Also view the restored weavers cottages and the display of photographs, furniture and items from 1850-1950 which are located in the beautiful village of Clonegal. Also view the Childrens' Model of Social History in the cottages. This Childrens' model of social history of Clonegal (1810-1850) has been constructed after three months role play in the period by the local school children.

Event: Exhibition: County Carlow Military Museum,

Located in the Old Church in the grounds of St Dymphna's on the Athy Road in Carlow Town. View the variety of displays that bring Carlow's proud military history to life. You will find artifacts dating from the late 18th Century to the present day and details of the history of the Irish Army, Local Reserve Defence Forces, UN Peacekeeping, Carlow Militia, World War 1, War of Independence and much more.

Walking Tour of Tullow

This walking tour is presented by the Tullowphelim Historical Society. Tullow, Co. Carlow. Local historians will lead a walk around historical places of interest within the Tullow town boundaries.

Exhibition: Bishop Daniel Delany Museum, Tullow.

Located in the grounds of the Bridigine Convent, Tullow, Co. Carlow. The focus of the displays is on Bishop Daniel Delany and the work of the Bridigine Sisters & the Patrician Brothers who were founded in the town. In 1807 Bishop Daniel Delany, then Bishop of Kildare & Leighlin founded the Bridigine Order and a year later in 1808 he founded the Patrician Brothers, named in honour of Ireland's patron saint St. Patrick. For the past 200 years both Orders have cared for students in schools, both primary and secondary while always being faithful to the vision of Bishop Daniel Delany, who saw education as a pathway to a fuller and better life for all.

Monday 23rd August

"Don't Litter Your Heritage", Heritage Talk and Clean Up at Carlow Castle, Carlow town. This is a Carlow Local Authorities sponsored clean up event. To help raise awareness of litter and illegal dumping Carlow Local Authorities are organising a number of cleanups at heritage sites through out the county. A clean-up is being organised in a number of locations working with the local Tidy Towns groups, residents associations, FAS schemes, scouts etc. Join in the clean up and hear about the history of Carlow Castle, one of Ireland's oldest.

Song & Story Night, St. Brigid's Hall, Clonegal.

Like the old style of dropping into a house for a chat, volunteers will tell a story, sing or play a tune followed by a cup of tea. Come along and listen or even join in with your own story! This is a 10th Anniversary night presented by Clonegal Tidy Village.

Tuesday 24th August

Lecture: "Carlow's Ecclesiastical Heritage" by Dr. Margaret Murphy.

This illustrated talk is based on the recently launched publication "Carlow - Trails of the Saints" which has been developed by Carlow Local Authorities & Carlow Tourism. There are at least twenty two early saints associated with Carlow, some were born here, others came to be educated or founded monasteries in the county. Dr. Murphy is a medieval historian and is a lecturer in Carlow College. Free copies of the booklet will be available on the night.

"Don't Litter Your Heritage", Clean Up at Clashganny, Borris,

This is a Carlow Local Authorities sponsored clean up event. To help raise awareness of litter and illegal dumping Carlow Local Authorities are organising a number of cleanups at heritage sites through out the county. A clean-up is being organised in a number of locations working with the local Tidy Towns groups, residents associations, FAS schemes, scouts etc. Join in the clean up at the most photographed lock on the Barrow Navigation.

Wednesday 25th August

"Don't Litter Your Heritage", Heritage Talk and Clean Up at the Quays, Bagenalstown,

This is a Carlow Local Authorities sponsored clean up event. To help raise awareness of litter and illegal dumping Carlow Local Authorities are organising a number of cleanups at heritage sites through out the county. A clean-up is being organised in a number of locations working with the local Tidy Towns groups, residents associations, FAS schemes, scouts etc. Join in the clean up and hear about the history Bagenalstown & the River Barrow.

Lecture: "Ephemera: The Stuff of History" by Honora Faul

This illustrated talk on the National Library of Ireland ephemera collection will be given by Honora Faul. The lecture is presented by the Carlow Historical & Archaeological Society in St. Patrick's Carlow College in Carlow town.

Thursday 26th August

"Don't Litter Your Heritage", Heritage Talk and Clean Up at the Thomas Traynor Monument, Tullow,

This is a Carlow Local Authorities sponsored clean up event. To help raise awareness of litter and illegal dumping Carlow Local Authorities are organising a number of cleanups at heritage sites through out the county. A clean-up is being organised in a number

of locations working with the local Tidy Towns groups, residents associations, FAS schemes, scouts etc. Join in the clean up and hear about the history of. Join in and hear about the history of Tullow as well as Thomas Traynor, who was executed during the Irish War of Independence.

Lectures: “Carlow Famine Relief 1880” by Jim Shannon; “George Bernard Shaw-Carlow Connection” by Martin Nevin; “the new County Carlow Museum premises” by Dermot Mulligan.

The annual 3 twenty minute talks on different aspects of Carlow’s history presented by the Carlow Historical & Archaeological Society. Jim Shannon, former President of the Society will talk about famine relief in the county during the 1880s while Martin Nevin, also a former President of the Society, will highlight the connection between Carlow town and George Bernard Shaw who inherited a number of properties in the town. Dermot Mulligan, Curator of Carlow County Museum will talk about the development of the new Carlow County Museum premises that is presently under construction and will open in 2011. Lectures take place in St. Patrick’s Carlow College, Carlow town.

Saturday 28th August

Tour of Cathedral of the Assumption, Carlow town.

A special Heritage Week guided tour of the Cathedral, hear about JKL, the bishop who built the Cathedral as well as the buildings many features. The Cathedral which was completed in 1833 was designed by architect Thomas A. Cobden. It was reordered in the mid 1990s with the stone for the refurbishment of the Cathedral coming from quarries in Old Leighlin, where St. Laserian led the ancient Diocese of Leighlin.

Sunday 29th August

Bread & Butter Making, Weaver’s Cottages,

Demonstration of the tradition of butter making and sample home made bread. Also view the restored weavers cottages and the display of photographs, furniture and items from 1850-1950 which are located in the beautiful village of Clonegal. Also view the Childrens’ Model of Social History in the cottages. This Childrens’ model of social history of Clonegal (1810-1850) has been constructed after three months role play in the period by the local school children.

Exhibition: Bishop Daniel Delany Museum, Tullow

Located in the grounds of the Bridigine Convent, Tullow, Co. Carlow. The focus of the displays is on Bishop Daniel Delany and the work of the Bridigine Sisters & the Patrician Brothers who were founded in the town. In 1807 Bishop Daniel Delany, then Bishop of Kildare & Leighlin founded the Bridigine Order and a year later in 1808 he founded the Patrician Brothers, named in honour of Ireland’s patron saint St. Patrick. For the past 200 years both Orders have cared for students in schools, both primary and secondary while always being faithful to the vision of Bishop Daniel Delany, who saw education as a pathway to a fuller and better life for all.

Exhibition: County Carlow Military Museum

Located in the Old Church in the grounds of St Dymna’s on the Athy Road in Carlow Town. View the variety of displays that bring Carlow’s proud military history to life. You will find artefacts dating from the late 18th Century to the present day and details of the history of the Irish Army, Local Reserve Defence Forces, UN Peacekeeping, Carlow Militia, World War 1, War of Independence and much more.

Week Long Events

Cathedral of the Assumption Exhibition, Carlow Town.

A special Heritage Week exhibition of artefacts that are associated with the Cathedral, its priests & bishops. The Cathedral which was completed in 1833 was designed by architect Thomas A. Cobden. Exhibition by the Cathedral in association with Carlow County Museum. The Cathedral is in use for 177 years but some of the

artefacts will pre date the construction of the Cathedral.

St. Mullins Heritage Centre, St. Mullins, Co. Carlow.

View the recently renovated exhibitions on St. Moling, the Pattern, local archaeology, 1798, MacMurrough Kavanaghs, Milling, the river Barrow, everyday life in the south of Carlow and avail of their genealogy service. The new exhibitions have been designed and built by the students of the School of Architecture in UCD (University College Dublin).

Tullow Museum Open Week & Thomas Traynor Exhibition

View the new exhibition on Thomas Traynor from Tullow who was executed in Mountjoy Jail during the Irish War of Independence. The museum also houses a huge range of items of a historical nature, including the vestments of Fr. John Murphy of Boulavogue who led insurgents from the 1798 rebellion and was executed in the Square in Tullow, as well as photographs, bill heads, journals, and many other items from Tullow’s past. The exhibitions are presented by the Tullowphelim Historical Society. Tullow, Co. Carlow.

Tinryland Heritage Trail

Produced by the Tinryland Area Development Association this self guided trail visits over twenty sites in the surrounding areas from the stone age as well as the graveyard with Walt Disney’s ancestors. The Trail starts at Trail Finder Map which is located in Tinryland Village. The free trail brochure is available from at Deane’s Shop, Tinryland. Tinryland is located approximately six kilometres from Carlow town, leave Carlow town on the N80 to Wexford and follow the signs for Tinryland.

Forest, Woodlands & Train Rides at Rathwood, Tullow.

Enjoy a walk in the forest (free) to view the wildlife at the pond or a visit to the Falconry & Birds of Prey Centre (admission charge). Also available are train rides for all the family through the forest (admission charge). Free map & parking available at Rathwood Centre, Tullow, Co. Carlow

Weavers Cottages, Clonegal.

View the authentically restored cottages located in the heart of the beautiful village of Clonegal which has a display of photographs, furniture and items from 1850-1950. Also view the **Childrens’ Model of Social History** in the cottages. This Childrens’ model of social history of Clonegal (1810-1850) has been constructed after three months role play in the period by the local school children.

Altamont Gardens, Tullow.

Widely regarded as the jewel in Ireland’s gardening crown. Altamont Gardens are an enchanting blend of formal and informal gardens with riverside walks covering 40 acres. A fascinating walk through the Ice Age Glen with its canopy of ancient oaks and huge stone outcrops leads the visitor to the River Slaney.

Duckett’s Grove & Walled Gardens:

Visit the wonderfully restored walled gardens and view the stunning ruins of the estate house which is now in the ownership of Carlow County Council. Once home to the Duckett Family, who owned over 12,000 acres in area, this impressive example of Gothic revival castle is well worth seeing. Immediately adjacent to the house are two large interconnecting walled gardens and pleasure grounds.

Oak Park Forest Park, Carlow Town

Enjoy the beauty & tranquillity of this 120 acre mature woodland near Carlow Town. The Park has a picnic area, informal leisure areas and wheelchair accessible walkways. The Park is ideal for leisurely strolls and walks, a visit here is relaxing and pleasurable experience

IHAI AWARD 2010

Former President of the Carlow Historical and Archaeological Society Dr. Michael Conry was conferred with the Best Publication Award by the Industrial Heritage Association of Ireland at a recent ceremony at ESB Hqrs, Fitzwilliam Street, Dublin. The presentation was made by Ms. Brid Horan, Executive Director of Energy Solutions, ESB, Dublin who had this to say:

In his citation the President of the Association, Dr. Colin Rynne, UCC, pointed out that 'Michael was a former soil scientist and agronomist with An Foras Taluntais. Since his retirement he has become a prolific author on various aspects of Ireland's cultural and industrial heritage, with six major publications which include *Culm Crushers*, *The Carlow Fence*, *Dancing the Culm*, *Corn Stacks on Stilts* and *Carlow Granite: Years of History Written in Stone*.

Dr. Rynne went on to say that his book *Carlow Granite*, for which Michael received the award, and which was dedicated to the memory of Dan Morrissey (1911-70), founder of the Co. Carlow quarrying and concrete company was 'a lavishly illustrated 368-page hardback, which examines every aspect of granite in Co.

Carlow. Part 1-The Carlow Landscape - describes how granite has affected the county's topography, soils and agriculture. Part 2 - *the Built Heritage* — begins with a discussion on the various sources of granite, its qualities and how it was extracted, transported and worked to its final form. A wide range of granite structures are then highlighted. Less obvious utilitarian features are also covered such as the Carlow fence, gate posts, cornstands, culm crushers, duck houses, milestones and stiles. Part 3 - *The Last of the Stonecutters* - focused on the numerous stonecutters in different parts of the county, in many instances with photographs of the men and their crafts.

Dr. Rynne concluded *One can only gasp in awe at the meticulous fieldwork which must have gone into this book. It is extremely readable and virtually every page has at least one instructively captioned full-colour illustration. The book is indeed a great tribute to the late Dan Morrissey.*

In receiving the award, Michael Conry thanked the members of the Morrissey family Bennekerry without whose generous financial assistance the book would not be published.



Dr Michael Conry with Mr Dan Carbery and Mr Martin Nevin, President and Vice President respectively of the Carlow Historical and Archaeological Society at the presentation.

IRISH SPORTING HERITAGE

Dr. Roisín Higgins

When people think of Irish heritage they rarely think of sporting grounds. Perhaps Croke Park, because of its links to cultural nationalism and the revolutionary period, comes to mind, but we tend not to consider the humble concrete stand on the sideline of a playing field as part of the country's heritage. We are accustomed to characterise heritage as that which gives physical manifestation to political, social or religious power. Therefore old parliament buildings, big houses and churches are obvious parts of the heritage trail while rugby clubs, GAA pitches and handball alleys are seen as of less importance. Yet, if we think of the stories encompassed in sporting sites we begin to see how intrinsic they are to local history and how, together, the places where we have played reveal a great deal about the social and economic history of Ireland. The Irish Sporting Heritage Project is currently collecting information about sporting sites across the country and is appealing to the public to become involved in the development of a national database of all sporting sites in Ireland, existing and historical, from 1850 – present.

Sporting Sites and Local History

Sport is essentially about human association. Modern games require transport and communication networks in order to survive: railways, roads, newspapers, radio and television have helped to promote varieties of physical contest organised at the level of parish, county and nation. Railways were particularly linked to the development of horse racing and golf. The first passenger train to arrive in Carlow, on 4 August 1846, was scheduled in order to accommodate those travelling to the Ballybar (Carlow) Races. In the years that followed, special trains were organized carrying race horses and visitors numbering between 30,000 and 40,000. Ballybar attracted a 'large and fashionable crowd' and brought trade to local hotels and hostleries. Although racing no longer takes place in Ballybar the ground is still known locally as 'the race field'. Therefore, although racing in Carlow has left few records, such was its significance that it survives in the folk memory of the landscape.

Rugby in Carlow began under the patronage of the local landed gentry. However, it took almost one hundred years after its foundation in 1873 before the rugby club finally owned its own land, purchased from the Land Commission in 1964. Once the land was acquired, finances for the development of the club were raised by the organization of dances which were held as far apart as Wexford and Drogheda. Stories of running concerts, raffles, sweeps and plays in order to raise money for facilities are familiar to

clubs of all sporting codes across Ireland. Carlow Rowing Club's 'Barrow Pool' and the 'Fortnight's Fortune' draw, run with the Carlow Little Theatre Society, generated money and publicity for the club and its clubhouse at the Canal Store. The significance of sporting sites to their communities often goes far beyond the buildings raised.

However, buildings can also preserve some important aspects of Irish history. In 1972 Carlow Rugby Club purchased the Georgian-style jockey changing rooms from Baldoyle Racecourse. With a sprocket roof and corrugated iron walls this is an interesting piece of sporting architecture. Racing was first held in Balydoyle in 1829 and, through the twentieth century, the racecourse had become the most modern and popular in Ireland. However, racing ended in 1972 and parts of the infrastructure were auctioned and sold. From the late 1990s some 2,000 houses were built on the old racecourse at Baldoyle, as well as a flood relief pumping station for the area. Since the economic downturn, the ongoing plans for the redevelopment of the site have stalled. Beyond the new houses lies a wasteland of open ground, as well as a few walls of racecourse buildings that have become popular with graffiti artists.

Ireland's sporting heritage can rest in physical buildings that exist as a tribute to local voluntary effort or as reminders of once vibrant sites that are now derelict. Others are singular events that continue to capture the imagination and mark an important historical moment.

Ireland hosted the world's first closed circuit motor race in counties Kildare, Carlow and Laois in 1903. The Gordon Bennett Motor Race was the precursor of the Grand Prix and was a huge undertaking for a country which, up until this point, had about 300 motor cars on its roads. The route of the historic race is part of Ireland's heritage trail and each year vintage car enthusiasts gather to remember the Gordon Bennett race. Sport has often been a means of bringing modern ideas and technology to new audiences. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the arrival of an international motor race to Ireland in 1903.

The race was supervised by 7,000 policemen at a cost of over £3,000. Traffic from Dublin to Naas was heavily controlled and all livestock was banished from the roads in the area. It was recorded that 380 cars were shipped across on the Holyhead-Dublin ferry alone and there were fears that supplies of petrol would run low. Although the Gordon Bennett race was a remarkable event, it was also

representative of underlying trends in Irish sporting development. A wealthy patron, a well-organised sporting body and commercial interests came together to create an event which required improved transport networks and was designed to attract tourists to an occasion which encapsulated the very essence of modernity.

The Irish Sporting Heritage Project

In order to record and preserve these sporting stories the Irish Sporting Heritage project has compiled a database of all sporting sites in Ireland, existing and historical, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. This work is funded by the Department of Tourism, Culture and Sport and provides an important resource which is available on our website. No inventory of Ireland's sporting heritage currently exists. Yet redevelopment and changes to land usage are destroying a rich nineteenth and twentieth century legacy. It is vitally important, therefore, to record the disappearing and disappeared sites where sports have been played.

Project Aims:

- To record Ireland's built sporting heritage existing and historical.
- To acknowledge architectural innovation in design from previous eras.
- To celebrate sporting sites as important social spaces in the history of the island.
- To identify the sports of all traditions and social classes.
- To embrace those places where sporting legends were made and to record the spaces where they have been commemorated.
- To promote an understanding that sport has and will continue to play a central role in the history of Ireland and its people.
- To develop an understanding of sports places as centres of social interaction, entrepreneurship, architectural innovation and community.

The Project will Produce:

- A database and inventory of all sporting sites in Ireland, 1850-2010.
- A searchable website for public use.
- Books on Ireland's sporting heritage.
- Radio and print-media output.
- Outreach activity: engaging members of the public and encouraging them to submit information to the project.
- Educational activity: working with schools and museums to enhance an understanding of the historical significance of sport.

How can the public get involved?

We are now looking to the public to help us add and develop the information available on our database. Some members of sporting organisations in Carlow have been extremely helpful, however, only a small proportion of the information contained on the Irish Sporting Heritage

database on the county has been contributed by the people of Carlow. Most has been generated by the audit of the Department of Tourism, Culture and Sport along with the Irish Sporting Heritage Project. This means that a great deal of the data is brief and underdeveloped. It also means that there is little information on sites that are no longer used for sport even though they continue to hold a special meaning in local or national memory. This is a vast project and the support of the public is a crucial element. We would appeal to anyone who has material, memories or other memorabilia to offer it to the Irish Sporting Heritage Project.

Schools Project

The Irish Sporting Heritage Project has designed schools projects for History, Geography and Transition Year students. These have been developed to complement the schools curricula and staff at Boston College-Ireland, which is running the project, will provide any advice and support teachers or students may require. Focusing on a sporting site or ground is a very effective way to engage students in academic subjects and to involve them in the history and heritage of their local community. Student involvement can include working in groups or individually to provide a comprehensive historical or geographical study of a sporting site in the area (from handball alleys to large stadiums and golf courses). It can involve interviewing local people on the importance of the site in the locality, photographing and surveying the venue.

If you would like to contribute to the Irish Sporting Heritage Project, and for more information on our schools projects, visit our website at www.irishsportingheritage.com or contact Roisín Higgins, Higgins@irishsportingheritage.com Tel. 01 614 7452. Irish Sporting Heritage, Boston College-Ireland, 42, St Stephen's Green, Dublin 2.

Carlow - Trails of the Saints

It is not often we can claim a first in Co. Carlow but this year Carlow Tourism launched "Carlow- Trails of the Saints - the first guide to religious tours produced in the country.

Based on three saints - St. Patrick, St. Lasarian and St. Moling, and mapped & signposted throughout - the three trails will bring you through the northern half of the county, the central area and also the deep south.

The booklet, forty pages of beautiful photographs, information, and fascinating snippets of information and maps lists, some fifty one ecclesiastical attractions.

It is one of the best guides to County Carlow to be produced for many years.

PROVENANCE

(derivation, origin)

"A flow of words is a sure sign of duplicity"

Honoré de Balzac. (1799- 1850)

Noreen Whelan

When using source material in the course of historical research one of the most important tasks facing the researcher, be he/she an amateur or professional is to establish the provenance of the material being studied.

Is the author coming from a particular background, has he an axe to grind or are the facts being presented in such a way as to conceal the original information. Why was the document created - for what purpose. These are just some of the questions which should be borne in mind by the researcher.

In today's world when information is presented by professionals it is referred to as spin and a brilliant example of this has surfaced on the internet and can be found at an Australian blog site www.billmurney.com.

In Australia, Judy Rudd, a genealogy researcher in the state of Queensland was doing some research into her own family tree. She discovered that she shared an ancestor with the then prime minister of Australia, Kevin Rudd.

Judy found a photograph of this ancestor, Remus Rudd, during the course of her research but, unfortunately it showed him standing on the gallows at Melbourne Gaol. On the back of the photograph was written: *"Remus Rudd horse thief, sent to Melbourne Gaol in 1885, escaped 1887, robbed the Melbourne-Geelong train six times. Caught by Victoria Police Force, convicted and hanged in 1889"*.

Hoping that the prime ministers office might have more information about this colourful ancestor she emailed her request.

However it appears that the prime ministers office had only the same information that Judy had found on the back of the photograph, but see how it was presented.

This what the prime minister's office sent back:

"Remus Rudd was famous in Victoria during the mid to late 1800's. His business empire grew to include acquisition of valuable equestrian assets and intimate dealings with the Melbourne-Geelong Railroad.

Beginning in 1883, he devoted several years of his life to government service, finally taking leave to resume his dealings with the railroad. In 1887, he was a key player in a vital investigation run by the Victoria Police Force. In 1889, Remus passed away during an important civic function held in his honour, when the platform upon which he was standing collapsed."

Now that is spin---olympic standard.

History Project Competition for National Schools

The Carlow Historical and Archaeological Society decided a few years ago to inaugurate a history competition for schools in the county. The aim of the Society was to promote awareness of local history among young people and to encourage them to undertake active research into some aspect of that history, thus stimulating interest among them in the rich heritage of their native area.

The initial running of the contest attracted a very gratifying level of support and a very good standard of entries. Much encouraged, we ran the competition again a year later with even better results. This year, 2010, we ran it for the third time, and the response was better than ever. We received one hundred and forty seven entries from pupils in seventeen national schools in the county and our adjudicators commented very favourably on the high standard achieved by many of these young people.

The President of the Society, Dan Carbery presented their prizes to the winners at a function in the Carlow Rugby Club in April.

The winners for 2010 were:

First Prize (€100): Sarah Nolan, Ballon National School
Project Title: The Life of Jim Morris.

Joint Second & Third Prizes (€50 each)

Mikey Bambrick, Scoil Molaise, Old Leighlin
Project Title: Tom Bambrick, 1911 - 1939
and

Ciara Flanagan, Scoil Mhuire Lourdes, Tullow
Project Title: The history of Carlow Cathedral

Sarah Nolan's winning entry, a project on the life of her grandfather, Jim Morris, is published in this issue.

We intend to run this competition again early in 2011. Schools will be notified in January.

The competition is open to national school pupils who live or attend school in County Carlow. It involves researching and presenting a report on a person, a place, or an event in County Carlow. The relevant subcommittee of the committee of management is currently seeking the views of teachers and other interested parties as to how the competition might be improved in future years.

VIKINGS IN COUNTY CARLOW

The Battle of Cenn Fúait near St Mullins

Dr Colman Etchingham

Dr. Colman Etchingham lectures in history in the National University of Ireland Maynooth and has published on the organization of the church and its role in society, early Irish law, Irish kingship, the evaluation of the annals as a historical source, the Vikings as raiders and settlers and Viking Age relations between Ireland and Britain.

The battle of Clontarf in 1014 is the best-known event of the Irish Viking Age. The army of Brian Boru, mainly comprising Munstermen, defeated an alliance of Vikings and Leinstermen. Brian himself was killed, however. Despite its fame, Clontarf changed nothing fundamentally in Irish-Viking relations. Dublin remained an independent Viking statelet for another forty years, while the economic importance of Dublin and other Viking trading towns endured for one hundred and fifty years. Of much greater significance than Clontarf for the fortunes of the Vikings in Ireland is the far less well-known battle of Cenn Fúait. This was fought almost one hundred years earlier than Clontarf, on or shortly after the 11th of September 917, at a location in Co. Carlow, as will be argued below.

Vikings had been present in Ireland, first as raiders, then also as settlers, for over one hundred years, from 795, until 902, when the Irish expelled the Vikings from Dublin. A large new Viking invasion began in 914, when fleets massed at *Loch da Cháech* (Waterford Harbour) and plundered southern Ireland over the next three years. In 917, two further fleets appeared, both led by Vikings of royal status, and the military manoeuvres of their forces culminated in the battle of Cenn Fúait, in which the Vikings heavily defeated the men of Leinster. The Vikings regained control of Dublin. This inaugurated two hundred and fifty years of an unbroken Viking presence in Ireland — mainly at Dublin and other coastal enclaves of southern Ireland, notably Waterford, Limerick, Wexford and Cork — until they were over-run in the 1170s by the invading Anglo-Normans of Strongbow and Henry II.

In placing the battle of Cenn Fúait near St Mullins, it must be admitted that my title anticipates the case to be argued below. The location of the battle of Cenn Fúait is, in fact, disputed. I will summarise what earlier scholars have had to say, and outline the evidence that I hope will persuade readers that the battle took place in south Co. Carlow. The crucial evidence is in the annals, or contemporary annual records of events, made by professional clerical reporters, and consists of an account of military manoeuvres that preceded the battle of Cenn Fúait. This remarkable account, plainly contemporary, and probably by an eyewitness of some of the events, has not received the attention it deserves from historians. The account is notable both because it makes clear the location of the battle, and because it shows relatively sophisticated military planning, by Vikings and

Irish alike, eleven hundred years ago. The purpose of this study is not only to settle the vexed question of the location of the battle, but also to highlight the importance of Cenn Fúait for our understanding of early Irish military history.

The story found in the annals is reproduced in the appendix to this article.¹ Most importance attaches to the account in the *Annals of Ulster* (hereafter AU). The story begins with the arrival in southeastern Ireland, in 917, of two great Viking fleets with royal leaders: Sitriuc úa Ímair (as the Irish called him, Sigtryggr grandson of Ívarr in Norse), and Ragnall úa Ímair (Ragnaldr grandson of Ívarr). Sitriuc arrived at *Cenn Fúait i n-airiur Laigen* — the location to be discussed below — while Ragnall arrived at *Loch da Cháech* (see AU 917.2 in the appendix). We need to be clear that these two royal Viking fleets were based at different locations, but that their activities were co-ordinated. While *Loch da Cháech* is evidently Waterford Harbour, the location of Cenn Fúait has been debated in print since 1856. The great Gaelic scholar John O'Donovan, in his monumental edition of the *Annals of the Four Masters* (hereafter AFM), identified Cenn Fúait as Confey, near Leixlip, Co. Kildare. In 1867, however, James Henthorn Todd, a notable student of early Ireland at Trinity College, Dublin, favoured instead the vicinity of St Mullins. It will be apparent that I am not the first to advocate a Co. Carlow location for Cenn Fúait. There has been no consensus among writers since the mid-nineteenth century, and one commentator, as recently as 2002, opted firmly for Confey.

Before moving to the main argument, two rather technical points of Early Irish language need clarifying. Firstly, both O'Donovan and Todd mistakenly thought *airer* (in the phrase *i n-airiur Laigen* that locates Cenn Fúait, quoted in the previous paragraph) to be the same as *airther* (Modern Irish *oirtheath* 'east'). This would place Cenn Fúait in eastern Leinster. The two most recently published commentators on the matter in the twenty-first century made the same mistake. Others realised, however that *airer* is not the same as *airther*, but is a different word, meaning 'border, coast'. Since neither Confey nor St Mullins are on the coast, if Cenn Fúait is to be identified with either, it must be on or near the border of early Leinster, which, in fact, is true of both locations. The second linguistic point is that the form of the place-name tells against equating Cenn Fúait with Confey, Co. Kildare. The first historical reference to Confey is in a document of 1179, where it appears as *Confí*: there is no trace of the final -t- or dental consonant of Fúait.

The case against Confey is also historical, because if that was where Sitriuc's fleet based itself, the Viking military actions of 917 would be inexplicable. Modern writers favouring Confey were influenced by the sequence of events reported in the annals. This sequence is as follows: (1) military manoeuvres involving Ragnall's forces (AU); (2) the battle of Cenn Fúait involving Sitriuc's forces (AU); (3) a raid on Kildare by the Vikings of Cenn Fúait (reported

only in the *Chronicon Scottorum*, hereafter CS); (4) the taking of Dublin by Sitriuc (AU) forcibly against the men of Ireland (CS only). The Vikings of Cenn Fúait raided Kildare after the battle and before they took Dublin, prompting the conclusion that the proximity of Confey to Kildare and Dublin favoured it as the location of the battle. But a moment's reflection permits us to see that Confey cannot be the location of a battle that preceded the fall of Dublin. That would require that Sitriuc's fleet by-passed Dublin, going up the Liffey to Confey, near Leixlip. It is most improbable that Sitriuc would have left his retreat route vulnerable to being cut off, especially if, as CS plausibly claims, Dublin, when eventually taken, was in hostile Irish hands. If Confey were the location of the battle, then the battle and the manoeuvres that preceded it would only make sense as a sequel to the taking of Dublin. The annals are quite clear, however, that the fall of Dublin followed the battle of Cenn Fúait.

Why the Vikings in 917 did not simply take Dublin directly from the sea is not known. We may fairly guess that the Irish occupants blocked the Liffey mouth, or deployed their own fleet in Dublin Bay: we have independent evidence that at least some Irish, at the beginning of the tenth century, had a naval capacity, doubtless inspired or refined by Viking example. The fact that Kildare was raided after the battle, but before Dublin's capture, is actually an argument for the taking of Dublin from the landward side, by Vikings free to storm northwards through Leinster, after the catastrophic defeat of the Leinstermen in battle, much further south.

A further historical objection to Confey as the site of the battle - apart from the militarily inexplicable failure to take Dublin first - is the cause-and-effect relationship between the battle and the preceding military manoeuvres, a matter we will now look at closely. These manoeuvres did not occur in or near north Co. Kildare, but involved the Waterford-based fleet of Ragnall, the other royal Viking player in the crucial events of 917. The account of these manoeuvres (AU 917.3 in the appendix) begins with Níall, 'king of Ireland', leading his forces to Munster, specifically, to war against Vikings. Níall encamped on the 22nd of August at a place - Topar Glethrach, precise location unknown - in Mag Feimin, which is in south Co. Tipperary, between Cashel and the River Suir (see map). 'Heathens' arrived to take up the challenge the same day, 'heathens' who are clearly identified somewhat later in the report as the Vikings of Ragnall, who is entitled 'King of the Dark Foreigners'. Ragnall's fleet had arrived at Waterford earlier in 917 and now moved up the Suir to take on the leading king in Ireland.

The Irish attacked about nine am and day-long skirmishing ensued till evening, apparently at a low level, as there were only about one hundred casualties. Both sides seem to have adopted a cagey approach, evidently wary of an all-out pitched battle of unpredictable outcome. Three batches of reinforcements arrived from the Viking encampment (*longphort*). This was probably on the day(s) after 22nd of August, unless fighting on that day persisted after dark, which was not unheard of but rather unusual. The last Viking reinforcement, led by Ragnall himself, now forced the Irish to retreat to their encampment (*dúnad*). Ragnall's opposite number Níall led a select band, seemingly to provide cover, so that the retreating Irish were not slaughtered. It seems that disaster was but narrowly averted

for the Irish. A stalemate then followed, as Níall encamped against the Vikings for twenty nights.

Níall Glúndub mac Áeda, 'king of Ireland', had initiated the hostilities by moving down from his northern base into Munster against the Vikings. How should we evaluate the tactical retreat of the Irish, a barely averted slaughter and an ensuing stalemate? Was this a major failure by Níall to force Ragnall's Vikings either to fight a pitched battle, or to withdraw east back to Waterford? Alternatively, should it be regarded as a modest success on Níall's part to have locked the Vikings into a stalemate and prevented further raiding of southern Ireland? In any event, Níall now tried a new tactic, suggesting he felt the need to force the issue. He summoned the aid of the Leinstermen, in a manner I will explain shortly. To anticipate briefly, the Leinstermen's attempt to obey Níall's instructions led to their disastrous defeat at Cenn Fúait, by the separate Viking force led by Sitriuc. This took place at least twenty days after the initial skirmishing between Ragnall and Níall in south Tipperary, and, therefore, on the 11th of September, or a day or two later - if the engagement of three consecutive batches of Viking reinforcements occurred not after dark, on the 22nd of August, but on the following day or days.

What I have summarised here is not war reporting of the calibre of Robert Fisk, or even of Xenophon in the fourth century BC, but the circumstantial detail of the manoeuvres recorded here is without real parallel in the Irish annals for hundreds of years. The account of the manoeuvres may derive from an on-the-spot observer accompanying Níall's army in south Tipperary. The account of the actual battle of Cenn Fúait is, by comparison, an anti-climax, reported in the stereotyped formulae more typical of the Irish annals: 'battle defeat of X (place) upon Y by Z, in which A, B & C were killed'. It does not match the interest in circumstantial detail of our putative on-the-spot reporter in south Tipperary. Yet the battle is linked to the preceding manoeuvres by Níall's call for the Leinstermen's aid. What it was that Níall summoned the Leinstermen to do, as we shall see, indicates that the location of the ensuing battle of Cenn Fúait was indeed in the vicinity of St Mullins.

What Níall 'king of Ireland' summoned the Leinstermen to do to assist him, when tied up in a stalemate with Ragnall's forces, has been misunderstood to various degrees by all previous commentators. The relevant Irish text and translation is highlighted in bold towards the end of the report in AU 917.3 included in the appendix. Earlier writers mostly imagined that Níall simply instructed the Leinstermen to attack Sitriuc's encampment at Cenn Fúait, or that the Leinstermen undertook such an attack, but not exactly in compliance with Níall's instructions. No one has explained how such an attack on Sitriuc's encampment at Cenn Fúait could have benefited Níall in his stalemate with Ragnall. One writer almost stumbled on the true significance of what happened, claiming that Níall urged the Leinstermen 'to attack the foreign encampment "from a distance"'. The expression *dí céin* (see appendix) does indeed mean 'from a distance', but how could one attack a camp 'from a distance', without, for example, artillery, which was obviously not available in the tenth century?

The Leinstermen were not, in fact, summoned to 'attack', but, rather, to 'blockade' the Viking encampment (*longphort*). That is the meaning of the word *cacht* in the

expression *cacht di c ein frisn longport* ('blockade the encampment from afar'), in AU 917.3 (see appendix). It is also the meaning of the word *cacht* in three other examples in the annals for the ninth and tenth centuries. The target of the intended blockade was not Sitriuc's base at Cenn F uait, though this was where the Leinstermen were ultimately slaughtered. The only Viking encampment previously mentioned in the report in AU 917.3 is the *longphort* of Ragnall, from which reinforcements had come against Niall's forces in south Tipperary, on or after the 22nd of August. It was this encampment that the Leinstermen were instructed to blockade 'from afar', by cutting off Ragnall's retreat or supply line, either at his base camp at Waterford, or west along the River Suir, between Waterford and south Tipperary. The purpose of Niall's instruction to the Leinstermen was to increase pressure on Ragnall, in an effort to break the twenty-day stalemate with Niall and force Ragnall to retreat to Waterford, or to risk the pitched battle that he and Niall had hitherto avoided.

Moving down the River Barrow, in compliance with Niall's summons, the Leinstermen, however, had first to deal with Sitriuc's base at Cenn F uait. If this was near St Mullins, then Cenn F uait would have provided cover for Ragnall's advance base in south Tipperary. It seems that Sitriuc established the base at Cenn F uait as part of a co-ordinated plan to protect Ragnall's retreat or supply-line along the Suir from being cut off by a southward advance by the Leinstermen along the Barrow. Such an advance was precisely what Niall tried to bring about.

There is a further dimension to this remarkably sophisticated military manoeuvring, on both Viking and Irish sides. A look at the map might well prompt a question: why did the Leinstermen try to go directly past Sitriuc's base at Cenn F uait, in an effort to fulfil Niall's instruction to cut off Ragnall's encampment? Why not pass Brandon Hill to the west, through Co. Kilkenny, and cut off Ragnall along the Suir, somewhere to the west of Waterford? Modern Co. Kilkenny was, at the time, the main component of the kingdom of Osraige (Ossory, still the name of the diocese). Osraige was certainly allied with the incoming Vikings in 916, and perhaps so since major fleets first appeared at Waterford Harbour in 914. Ragnall and Sitriuc's grandfather  mar had been allied with Osraige in the mid-ninth century. In 917, therefore, Co. Kilkenny was enemy territory for the Leinstermen, through which an attempt to proceed south was no easy option. They preferred to try to force their way past Sitriuc's forces to get to the Suir.

It is unclear why the Leinstermen got into a pitched battle with Sitriuc's Vikings at Cenn F uait. Niall and Ragnall's Vikings had studiously avoided a pitched battle, for three weeks previously, in south Tipperary. Did the Leinstermen underestimate Sitriuc's forces? Did they consider it a greater risk to leave Sitriuc's forces undefeated in their rear, as they moved south? Did they take that risk, but were intercepted? In any event, the outcome at Cenn F uait was disastrous for the Leinstermen. The king and leading aristocrats of Leinster were killed. There were over 600 casualties overall (CS), indicating relatively modest fighting forces of perhaps a few thousand on each side. The outcome of the battle ended Niall's effort to deploy the Leinstermen to blockade Ragnall and ended the attempt to snuff out the new Viking invasion of Ireland that had been underway since 914.

The operational link between Niall's extended confrontation with Ragnall in south Tipperary and Niall's summons to the Leinstermen to blockade Ragnall's rear is the clinching historical argument against Cenn F uait being Confey in north Kildare. The incompatibility of the name-forms Cenn F uait and Confey, and the implausibility of Sitriuc's leaving Dublin untaken in his rear as he ventured up the Liffey to a location near Leixlip, in any event tell against locating the battle site at Confey. Conversely, the link between Cenn F uait and the military manoeuvres in south Tipperary makes perfect sense of locating the battle near St Mullins. This emerges from a careful study of the account in AU 917.3 (reproduced in the appendix) alone.

Supporting evidence is provided by a poem, of uncertain date, tacked on to the account of the battle of Cenn F uait in AFM. This seems to imply that the slaughter of the Leinstermen resulted from a surprise attack and plausibly specifies the location as *isin nglenn uas Tigh Moling* ('in the glen above St Mullins') (highlighted in bold in the appendix). The 'glen' is the steep-sided valley of the little River Aughavaud, which flows down to its confluence with the Barrow at St Mullins. This valley is entirely unsuitable as a field of battle and so cannot have been deliberately chosen as such. In all likelihood, it was simply the site of a slaughter of the Leinstermen, as a result of their being intercepted or surprised. The 'glen' is reflected in the name of the little hamlet of Glynn (*An Gleann*), about two kilometres northeast of St Mullins. We can envisage Sitriuc's ships run ashore or tied side by side at St Mullins, while his forces moved up to occupy a strategic position. Glynn is in the middle of a narrow passage (here about 5 kilometres wide) between the River Barrow and the Blackstairs mountains, through which the Leinster army had to try to pass.

Conclusion

Clearing up the confusion about the location of Cenn F uait was the first objective of this article. The second was to draw attention to the uniquely informative account in AU of the Irish and Viking capacity for sophisticated military manoeuvres in the early tenth century. Sitriuc's base at Cenn F uait was carefully planned to provide cover for his royal brother or cousin Ragnall's drive into Munster. A further element of the military strategy involved here was an alliance with the Osraige of County Kilkenny. The Irish too had a capacity for military planning, seeking to force Ragnall's Vikings to fight in, or retreat from south Tipperary. When plan A did not achieve this, Niall deployed plan B: induce the Leinstermen to blockade Ragnall from the rear. In this particular instance, the Vikings proved the better strategists, or were favoured with better luck.

Things might have been very different if Sitriuc had not defeated the Leinstermen at Cenn F uait. Ireland's Viking experience might have been much slighter and shorter, for better or for worse. As it was, Sitriuc's comprehensive victory allowed him to re-occupy Dublin. This renewed Viking presence persisted for 250 years. The economic, social and cultural impact of the Vikings in Ireland has been highlighted particularly by the remarkable discoveries of archaeology, notably at Dublin, especially since the 1960s. Were it not for a little known battle in south Co. Carlow, perhaps none of this would have been.

Appendices

Annals of Ulster

AU 917.2 Sitriuc húa Ímair with his naval expedition (*cona chobluch*) reached Cenn Fúait on the border/coast of Leinster (*i n-airiur Laigen*). Ragnall húa Ímair with his second naval expedition (*cona chobluch ailiu*) reached the Foreigners of Loch Da Cháech. Slaughter of the Foreigners at Neimlid by the Munstermen. A second slaughter by the Éoganachta and Cíaraige.

AU 917.3 A hosting of the Uí Néill of the South and the North with Níall mac Áeda king of Ireland (*rig nÉrenn*), to the men of Munster to war against the Heathens (*Gennti*). He encamped (*scorais*) on the 22nd of August at Topor Glethrach in Mag Feimin. The Heathens came into the land on the same day. The Irish (*Goidil*) attacked them between the hour of tierce [9 am] and midday and they fought until evening [literally 'till vespers', *co espartain*], and about 100 men were killed, but more of the Foreigners (*di Ghallaibh*) were killed. There came re-inforcements (literally, 'three [waves of] help[s]', *teorcobraid*) out of the encampment (*longport*) of the Heathens to reinforce their comrades (*fri tóir a mmuintire*). The Irish turned back to their encampment (*a ndúnaidh*) in the face of the last reinforcement (*resin tóir dédenaigh*), that is, in the face of Ragnall king of Dark Foreigners (*rí Dubgall*), and a host of Foreigners with him. Níall mac Áeda with a small number proceeded against the Heathens, so that God prevented their slaughter [that of the Irish] through him. Níall remained after that twenty nights encamped (*andúnadh*) against the Heathens. He summoned the Leinstermen to blockade the encampment from afar (*ara ngabtais cacht di céin frisín longport*). The battle of (Cenn) Fúait was won against them by Sitriuc húa Ímair, and there were killed there Augaire mac Aillello king of Leinster, Máel Mórda mac Muirecáin king of Eastern Liffey, Máel Móedóc mac Diarmata master (of learning) and bishop of Leinster [and abbot of Killeslin, Co. Laois, *Annals of the Four Masters*], Auigrán mac Cennétig king of Laois, and other leaders and nobles.

AU 917.4 Sitriuc húa Ímair entered Áth Cliath.

Chronicon Scottorum

CS 917 (s.a. 916) has an account of these events that appears to be independent. For the most part, it is of limited value for the present enquiry. It lacks entirely the circumstantial description of the military manoeuvres, and draws no connection between these and the summons to the Leinstermen to become involved, which connection reveals the general location of Cenn Fúait. CS merely reports a campaign by Níall's forces (*fir Érenn* 'men of Ireland') against the 'Foreigners of Loch Da Cháech' and a conflict in which 'Foreigners and Irish' were killed, three northern kings/chieftains being identified by title, two of them named. The 'battle-slaughter' of Cenn Fúait follows, with no connection made with Níall's campaign. A slightly garbled statement suggests 600 casualties or more; the four casualties identified in AU are confirmed, some with slightly different titles, to which are added Cináed mac Túathail, king of Uí Enechglais (east Co. Wicklow). CS is most important for the present enquiry because its account of Cenn Fúait is followed immediately by - Plunder of Kildare by the Foreigners of Cenn Fúait

Taking of Áth Cliath by the Foreigners forcibly 'against the men of Ireland' (*for feraib Éreann*).

Poem in the Annals of the Four Masters

A poem in AFM follows its account of the battle in 917 (under the date 915) - an account which is itself of no independent value. My translation of the poem scarcely improves on O'Donovan and is tentative, to say the least, at certain points, and the manuscripts have not as yet been checked for the (strong) possibility that O'Donovan's text is faulty. The points essential for the present argument are clear enough, however:

Turus Laighen línibh ócc, iar rott ro geal rioghda cuairt,
Ní mat cualatar an séd fuaratar écc i cCind Fuaitt.
Flaithe Liphe leathan glonn cartait glonn fri feathal find,
Dus rimart cin céataibh cend isin nglenn uas Tigh Moling.
Mór a airbert im cech reut, deithbhir cidh airdire an fód,
Tair maighean co mílib céad tairius Laighean línibh ócc.

The expedition of the Leinstermen, with many warriors, along a very bright road, a royal circuit, Scarcely had they heard [sound of] the road, [when] they found death at Cenn Fúait.

Lords of the broad Liffey of champions [?], dispatched a champion with [?] a fair emblem [?].

There were cut off [?] hundreds of heads in the glen above Tech Moling.

Great its prowess in respect of every thing, properly, for the spot is renowned,

Over the plain with thousands of hundreds, the expedition of the Leinstermen, with many warriors.

'Apart from this essential annalistic data, references to other sources and to the works of earlier scholars, mentioned in this article, have been omitted for the sake of brevity; those seeking to follow these references up can consult a longer and fully annotated version of this article, forthcoming in the journal *Peritia*, volume 21.

© Colmán Etchingham NUI Maynooth



BUSINESS ARCHIVAL SOURCES FOR THE LOCAL HISTORIAN

Ciaran O'hOgartaigh and Margaret O'hOgartaigh

Four Courts Press

ISBN 9781846821332

Since 2000 several guides, written especially for local historians and giving details of specific collections of historical materials, have been published in the Maynooth Research Guides for Local Irish History series. One of the latest, number 16 in the series, is *Business Archival Sources for the Local Historian* which was published in April 2010.

The authors, Ciaran and Margaret O'hOgartaigh combine the areas of history and accountancy which is rare enough in the writing of Irish history. Ciaran is Professor of Accountancy at University College Dublin and Margaret works at All Hallows, Dublin City University. They have both researched and published widely on the history of business and accounting in Ireland and Margaret is the author of *Kathleen Lynn, Irishwoman, Patriot, Doctor* (2006).

Since the 1970's the National Archives of Ireland [NAI] and the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland [PRONI] have acquired significant collections of business records ranging from those in solicitor's offices to hospitals. While these records had been used by researchers, no comprehensive catalogue had been prepared. In 2002 the authors undertook the project of preparing such a catalogue - in their words "to establish and disseminate through the use of new technologies a database of accounting and corporate governance archives in the NAI and PRONI". The database was completed in 2004 and is the core of the book now published, reproduced on twenty nine of its ninety three pages. It contains three hundred and thirty two archival sources contained in the NAI and sixty eight in PRONI.

The unique feature of this database is that it is available on the internet at www.ucd.ie/research/people/business/databaseacga/. It is fully searchable and will be updated as new collections become available.

The authors review the use of these business archives as well as outlining several other collections of material available to the local historian. Between text and footnotes there are enough references to keep local historians busy for years to come. The authors caution the reader on the pitfalls which can arise in the use

of this material and set out challenges for the future researcher.

This research guide has broken new ground in bringing together, in a format fit for purpose in the modern world, details of a hitherto under-utilised resource. The authors have combined modern technology with scholarship and detail to provide the reader with an extensive catalogue of sources.

This guide will lead on to two beneficial outcomes - research and publication at a local level so that journals like *Carloviana* will thrive - and the deposition with NAI of more and more archive collections.

A unique and an important book - perhaps fortuitously timed in its publication in an Ireland suddenly aware of the importance of business and corporate governance.

Carlow entries in the Business Records of the National Archives of Ireland [NAI].

Reproduced with the kind permission of the Four Courts Press.

Catalogue Number	Name	Industry Sector	Local area	Period	Other notes
CAR 1	Traynor	Auctioneer and insurance agent	Carlow	1841-1936	
CAR 2	Young	Auctioneer, estate and insurance agent	Muine Bheag	1888-1937	
CAR 4	Dalton	Grocery and bar	Borris	1869-1922	
CAR 6	Coady	Grocer, draper, corn and wool merchant	Borris	1863-1948	
CAR 14	John Rice	Sack supplier	Carlow	1946-61	Sack hire books
CAR 15	Thomas Thompson & Son Ltd., Hanover Works	Structural engineers and manufacturers of specialised machinery	Carlow	1826-1970	Account books, wages books, damp press letter books, correspondence catalogues including records of the Neptune Iron Works, Waterford, 1856-78; the Irish Boring Co (1940) Ltd, 1940-54; the Waterford (Bilberry) Brick Company, 1920-47
CAR 17	William A. Young	Veterinary surgeon	Tullow	1887-91 1901-04	Account books
CAR 18	E. J. Doyle	Grocer and vintner	Ballon	1877-1901	Bills and receipts
CAR 19	Carlow Gas Co	Gas company	Carlow	1947-1933	Minute books
CAR 20	John J. Duggan	Solicitor	Carlow	19 th Century	Legal papers
CARLOW	Irish Sugar Co.	Sugar processing	Carlow, Tuam and Thurles	1926-	Administrative and operational records 500 boxes

LANDLORD SUPREMACY IN 19TH CENTURY CARLOW

From Domination to Dismissal.

M J Brennan

The story of the politics of County Carlow in the nineteenth century centres on the two largest land owning families, the Bruens and the Kavanaghs, who were really one extended family if marriage connections are taken into consideration. Between them their properties amounted to about one seventh of the total land in this intensively farmed county. In a period that historian Donal McCartney has called the 'Dawn of Democracy', through times that brought many radical changes, this elite group managed to maintain a feudal control over the parliamentary seats of the county until the forces opposing it acquired the essential determination and organisation. The relative importance of the Catholic Church among the forces influencing popular politics during the nineteenth century is a matter of some debate among historians, as pointed out by Sean Connolly¹. In the context of Carlow, Catholic clergy were certainly prominent among those that came to oppose the landlords' dominant position. This was only natural at a time when the priest was the social as well as religious leader in a rural community whose relevant structure was that of their local parish. However, the final episode that toppled the Carlow feudal landlords came when the elements of nationalism, religion, and land managed to achieve a combined force under a dynamic national leadership. It was one of the first signs of a powerful trend that was to shape the greatest challenge yet faced by the British presence in Ireland.

Carlow is with one exception the smallest county in Ireland. It is strongly cultivated, as one nineteenth-century source put it, 'there being of 221,340 acres, only 500 in water and a few thousands in waste, bog, and mountain'². After the Act of Union Carlow was represented in two constituencies, Carlow County with two seats and Carlow Borough with one. Until 1830, the borough seat was not contested in open elections, being under the control of thirteen burgesses from the Protestant establishment and nominated by the 'patron', Lord Charleville of Tullamore³. The parliamentary seats for County Carlow, although officially open to election, could be said to be in almost the same situation, being continually occupied by members of the landlord class, who literally owned most of the county.

Nineteenth-century elections were very far removed from the modern concept of popular choice by the majority of the people. Voting was strictly limited to males whose standing was defined by a property qualification. In 1831, for example, with a population in County Carlow of 72,564, the electorate was only 1246⁴. The core of the electorate consisted of tenant farmers, and the candidates were landlords who were members of a close-knit group of gentry, many of whom were related and all dedicated in their loyalty to the Union. With voting taking place in public, tenant farmers whose rents and tenures and very survival were at the whim of their landlord, had no real option as to how their votes were cast. In nine elections from 1802 to 1826, only two were contested, and whatever contests there were took place between rival members of this narrow elite community of landlords. During the period 1818-1826, the pattern of steady representation by the two biggest landlords in the county was established, and the Bruen

and Kavanagh families, each of whom owned some 16,000 acres within County Carlow, not to mention their possessions elsewhere, laid the foundations for their dominance of county politics that continued for two generations. Carlow was typical of a number of Irish counties where family dynasties established a forceful grip and built up local power for the Conservatives at that period⁵.

While the landlord class in Carlow differed utterly from the Irish majority population in their wealth, their identification with the British Establishment and their Protestantism, yet in the early decades of the nineteenth century, Catholics and Protestants within the county by and large lived on very amicable terms with each other. An important example of the favourable disposition of the Carlow landlords towards their neighbours was the erection of a church at Killeshin in the Graig-Carlow parish in 1819. Substantial donations made by the Bruens, Brownes, Burtons and other county gentry led the Catholic Carlow Morning Post to state: "To the liberality of the Protestant gentry the Catholics are chiefly indebted for the erection of this very handsome building"⁶.

The Bruens had established themselves in Carlow only recently when the first Henry Bruen, descendant of a Cromwellian soldier who was rewarded with land in the West, bought the Oak Park estate close to Carlow town, in the 1790s. He was an MP from 1790-95. His son, Colonel Henry Bruen, was first elected in 1812 and was to be involved in thirteen elections until his death in 1852. Of these, he was unopposed in four, won six, and lost three, one of which he successfully appealed. The McMorrough-Kavanaghs belonged to an ancient Irish Sept and long-time kings of Leinster. Ancestors included Dermot, held responsible for bringing the Normans to Ireland, Art, a thorn in the side of King Richard II in the fourteenth century, and, significantly, Morgan who represented Carlow in parliament for some years from 1613⁷. The family had retained their fortune, and their home, the magnificent Borris House in the south of Carlow by converting to Protestantism. Thomas Kavanagh first represented County Carlow as MP in 1826 and continued as a Tory candidate until his death in 1837. These two powerful families from north and south of the county became united when Thomas Kavanagh's daughter married Colonel Henry Bruen in the late 1820s. The aura surrounding these landlord MPs is suggested by the description in 1835 of Kavanagh as 'the scion of the oldest family in the British Empire, possessed of a princely income, a large portion of which is spent in improving the condition and promoting the comforts of his poorer neighbours'⁸.

The good neighbourliness between the two communities in Carlow changed during the 1820s largely as a result, of the launching of the Protestant evangelical crusade. This issue became very public in 1824 when the evangelical Carlow Auxiliary Bible Society challenged the local priests to a debate in the Presbyterian meeting house on the subject of bible distribution among the people. The meeting ended in disorder and conflicting versions of the dispute were subsequently published on a national scale⁹. This development came soon after the launching of O'Connell's Emancipation movement in 1823 and served to exaggerate the

fears engendered in Protestants.¹⁰ The only person on the side of the Catholics of equal status with Carlow's Protestant gentry was their bishop. Carlow was then, as now, the seat of the bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, and the incumbent from 1818 to his death in 1834 was James Doyle, widely known for his correspondence under the pen name, JKL, and one of the most resourceful churchmen of the century. He opposed the evangelicals and argued strongly for redress of the inequalities suffered by Catholics. Nevertheless, he showed a willingness to accept the Crown and live in harmony with Protestants. He even accepted shared education, asking only that proselytism be curbed. He accepted the bishops' role in promoting law and order, and was strongly opposed to the violence of such underground agrarian societies as Whiteboys and Ribbonmen¹¹. He disapproved of the direct involvement of priests in political affairs, but made no secret of his own support for the Liberal reform programme. This was to prove a factor in the first stages of the undermining of the county landlords' hegemony.

In the general election of 1830, the fact that Colonel Henry Bruen and Thomas Kavanagh were faced with an unsuccessful challenge from another landlord of similar background, Horace Rochford, of Clogrennane, illustrates the closed nature of the political scene in Carlow as landlords engaged in rivalry among themselves without any regard to possible outside interference. However, the events of 1831 brought a rude awakening. When a general election was called specifically on the big Liberal issue of Reform, Bruen and Kavanagh, who had opposed this legislation in the Commons found themselves unpopular with many of their erstwhile supporters. Bishop Doyle also made his position known very publicly and he promoted the candidacy of Sir John Milley Doyle, a British hero of the Peninsular War, to stand alongside a Catholic landlord, Walter Blackney, on the Liberal side. Their campaign took a loyalist stance and confused the position of the sitting MPs to such an extent that they felt bereft of support and resigned, to leave the field open to the Liberal candidates. In the recriminations that followed, the gentry realised that their lack of unity in the Conservative cause had resulted in the loss of what was seen as their birthright and that the time had come to close ranks against a common enemy¹².

The landlords' need to harden their resolve proved all the greater as the O'Connell tide attempted to sweep over Carlow during the 1830s. The 1826 election in Waterford had seen the Beresfords, a family similar to those in Carlow, finally overthrown in the first great success of the dynamic forces unleashed by the Catholic Association. With the 1828 O'Connell victory in Clare, and the triumph of Catholic Emancipation in 1829, politics became decidedly polarised on religious lines. In Carlow a vigorous Independent Club was formed to organise support for O'Connell and break the control of the Bruens and Kavanaghs; whether O'Connell's objectives on a national level were based on Reform or Repeal was not of primary importance to the local activists¹³. Historian K. T. Hoppen highlights the high costs involved in fighting elections, and the further costs of the petitions or appeals that often followed, with the necessity of hiring lawyers and detectives and probably bribing witnesses. This was not a problem for landlords like Henry Bruen whose election expenses in 1835 were the highest in the country in that year, amounting to some £5,000¹⁴.

To oppose them the choice of candidate was opened to those who could afford it, including liberal Protestants, supporters of O'Connell from outside the county, and even English Whigs looking for a suitable constituency. Carlow was unique as a constituency in not being divided into electoral districts, but having the same electorate for both seats¹⁵. Thorough party organisation saw to it that ticket voting was carried out

meticulously with great success as identical votes for the two on a particular side became the norm¹⁶. The opposition's high degree of organisation led to the Tory allegation that was to become standard, namely that the locally resident and concerned landlords would have the loyalty of their tenants but for the actions of outside agitators aided by the local Catholic clergy¹⁷. The question of clerical involvement was to prove persistent throughout the landlord era. JKL may have had a personal influence on politics to the extent of affecting the election in 1831, but, as already stated, he did not favour the direct involvement of priests in politics.

Bishop Doyle's successor, Dr Nolan voiced his opinion in 1834 that the clergy were to avoid general political activity, but that at the same time, a priest was bound to assist the people and explain to electors the real nature of the question they were deciding by their votes. Dr Nolan gave as examples, the issues of whether a vote would allow proselytism, or lead to the continuation of the established church and the Protestant ascendancy. Clearly, the Catholic Church did not see itself as neutral in the Carlow fight against the Tories¹⁸. Indeed, during these years, the presence of priests on the political scene was very marked and it was normal for clergy to be nominators of candidates. From 1835 to 1841, two parish priests, Fr James Maher of Graig and Fr Thomas Tyrrell of Tinryland played very prominent roles in campaigns for Liberal candidates¹⁹. Fr Maher was an accomplished theologian who had taken part in the ill-fated Carlow Bible debate of 1824 and is particularly noted by Desmond Bowen as a determined opponent of the Protestant evangelical movement, which he perceived as firmly supported by the Ascendancy²⁰. In July 1835, a French visitor to Ireland, Alexis de Tocqueville, reported on interviews he had with Dr Nolan and also Dr Fitzgerald, president of St Patrick's College Carlow. In his conclusions he remarked a very strong union between clergy and people. He observed that they shared a 'contempt and hatred' for the large landlords and that the hierarchy were 'clearly as much the heads of a party as the representatives of the church'. He was told that the Bruens and Kavanaghs were reacting to the political opposition by evicting Catholic tenants, enlarging the farms and introducing Protestant tenants. The divisions among the people of Carlow were such that 'the Catholics and Protestants of Carlow avoid seeing and speaking to each other.'²¹

Hoppen sees this period as a time when Carlow became notorious for the violence and corruption associated with elections²². The election of 1835 became the subject of a Committee of Enquiry on bribery and corruption, and the result was reversed twice by a new election followed by a petition. In 1841, Carlow elections became the focus of national interest when a Conservative publication produced in London was named *The Reign of Terror in Carlow* to describe the determined onslaught mounted by O'Connell. In this work, it was alleged that the tactics on the O'Connellite side included intensive intimidation of voters by their neighbours and co-religionists to the extent of isolating the supporters of Bruen in the local churches, and treating them violently when they emerged²³. 'Cooping' was carried out by both sides, with groups of supporters being herded together for days and denied access to all outside contacts until their votes were cast. The Conservatives scored a resounding victory and put an end to any opposition for ten years. Significantly, their victory was attributed to a group of 250 of Kavanagh's tenants from the parish of St Mullins who resisted O'Connell's personal appeals²⁴. Henry Bruen became acclaimed among Tories nation-wide when he resisted O'Connell's 'Reign of Terror' and achieved victory in 1841. He used money raised to celebrate the victory, to build the Protestant church of St Anne which stood as a monument to continued landlord dominance in Carlow²⁵.

By this time, County Carlow was a perfect example of the nation-wide linking of the landlords' cause with that of the Tory

Party and the Protestant religion. The gentry identified with the Brunswick Constitutional Club, founded in 1829 as a reaction to Catholic Emancipation, with its declared purpose to oppose in a determined manner all the new dangers to their Protestant heritage²⁶. On a national scale, the combined cause was led by the Irish Protestant Conservative Party, founded in 1831, which drew up detailed plans for local clubs, registration drives, and sectarian solidarity in employment and patronage²⁷. In 1836, the newly formed Irish Metropolitan Conservative Society was unequivocal in its ambition to maintain the Protestant interests in Ireland. In a practical manner it set out to ensure full registration of Protestant voters and to make relevant information available to all their 'Protestant brethren'²⁸. The power of the Tory landlords themselves was of course considerable. A typical action of Colonel Henry Bruen in 1835 was to make a list of tenants who had voted against him, have their various debts and arrears assessed, and take prompt legal action against them for distraints and evictions²⁹. By contrast, he could well afford to repay his loyal tenants with favourable terms and benefits. Clearly the landlords would continue to win seats as long as they did not face a united or organised opposition. With the political groundwork done by the Protestant organisations, their election strategy was simply to emphasise their own role as an integral and beneficial part of local society opposed only by a motley combination of troublemakers from outside and hot-headed local clergy.

As O'Connell's leadership waned in the 1840s, the effectiveness of the local organisation to contest County Carlow also declined. The situation in Carlow town was a critical factor in this, as it was here that both the religious leadership and that of the Independent party were centred. The Carlow Borough seat had been opened to election from 1835, and as Donal McCartney explains, the Irish Municipal Corporation Act of 1840 enabled Catholics to play a role in local administration by breaking the absolute Protestant control that had previously existed³⁰. From then on, the Carlow Borough seat was kept away from the Tories, except for 1853 and 1857, and this had the effect of reducing the concentration of Catholics on any contest with landlords in the county constituency. What was to be the last contested election in County Carlow for many years took place in 1852. The country was rife with sectarian controversy centred on the Ecclesiastical Titles Act of 1851³¹ and this caused a bitter and close election campaign, which resulted in a share of the spoils. While Colonel Henry Bruen held on to his seat, he was three votes behind John Ball, an Independent Liberal. On this occasion, religious issues were certainly highlighted by Catholic clergy, though probably not to the extent alleged by the local Tory newspaper: 'From the bishop to the curate, the Roman Catholic clergy appear to have thrown themselves into the contest with misguided zeal ... The people were exhorted to hate their enemies - the country gentlemen and all who were found at their side'³².

The absence of election contests between 1852 and 1880 appears strange following the frenetic activity that had gone before. However, Carlow could be reckoned as in line with the trend for the country in general as Conservative strength increased steadily between 1847 and 1859. In 1859 Conservatives returned 54 MPs which gave them a majority of the Irish members. Historians are of the opinion that this was more a sign of a Conservative revival rather than a failure of movements such as the Tenant League, the Independent Party, or the National Association³³. What Hoppen calls the 'symbiotic relationship between Conservatism and the landed classes' was the key to Carlow politics as it was elsewhere throughout the period³⁴. The Central Conservative Society of 1853 made legal assistance available to work with the local organisation and make sure that voter registration was regularly supervised in the constituencies. Their central report for 1859 shows that this was taken seriously in

County Carlow, where 'impressive activity' was reported³⁵.

The Irish Franchise Act of 1850 defined the franchise as based solely on property occupation to a certain poor law valuation (raised from £8 to £12), together with some tax and residence requirements. It also laid down a new system of registration that was to have an important influence on the course of electoral politics³⁶. While it appeared to guarantee the vote to all entitled, in effect it had legal loopholes involving objections and revision courts which were open to exploitation, and, as we shall see, Carlow was one of the locations where this was to become a major bone of contention. This overhaul of the franchise system in 1850 increased the proportion of voters to population, albeit to a figure that still represented only a tiny minority e.g. in 1862, 2520 out of 49,716 had votes. In practical terms, with the general consolidation on the land the voters now contained a greater percentage of strong farmers, who were both well-known to their landlords and easy to control by them. Vaughan recognises that the long delay in the development of an effective land movement originated at local level, where a movement among tenants against their landlords could not materialise in the absence of organisation and leadership³⁷. With the persistence of public voting, the feeling that tenants could not afford to incur the landlords' displeasure was apparently the controlling factor before the Ballot Act of 1872. Even when this was abolished, the effect was slow to be realised. With the dominance of all legal and electoral procedures by the Establishment and its supporters, the suspicion that the secrecy of the Ballot box was not inviolate was very persistent, as is evident from commentaries written and spoken during the 1870s³⁸.

1859 was to prove the peak year for the Conservatives and their seats fell in successive elections until in 1874, the Tories had returned to their 1847 figure. The Liberal rise from 50 MPs in 1859 to 66 in 1868, is seen by Hoppen as being the product of an alliance between the Catholic clergy, the farmers, and some urban middle class who united on the issues of disestablishment and land reform in neighbouring constituencies like Wexford, Queen's County and King's County³⁹. This was also evidenced in the Carlow Borough constituency. During the various elections of the 1850s and 1860s, something of the atmosphere of the 1830s was experienced in strongly contested elections. The Conservative retrenchment resulted in wins for their candidate, John Alexander, a landlord from Milford near Carlow town in 1853 and 1857. His first win was a defeat for John Sadleir, who had promised much when elected as an Independent Liberal in 1847 and 1852, but fell from grace as one of the self-serving 'Pope's Brass Band' and eventually committed suicide when the fraudulent activities of his Tipperary Joint Stock Bank came to light in 1856⁴⁰. Fr Maher and the other activists resorted to outside candidates Sir John Acton, Osborne Stock, and Captain William Fagan, who were successful in 1859, 1865, and 1868, respectively. These men had no connections with Carlow, and their outlook was summed up by Stock, a London man, who described himself in his brief election address as 'independent of means, and solely ambitious to promote your interests and those of the Irish people at large'⁴¹. With such tenuous credentials, it was not surprising that their good relations with their constituents did not outlast a single term in the case of any of the three so that each election required a substantial effort in order to hold ground.

Carlow County did not rise to a contest in those years because the necessary alliances did not materialise. For the county elections, there was no local organisation. The involvement of local clergy in the county had become more restricted. When Cardinal Paul Cullen became leader of the Catholic Church in Ireland he did not favour any direct involvement of clergy in politics and this had a widespread effect on local contests. In Carlow, Bishop Nolan, the incumbent during the activities of the 1830s and 1840s, died in 1856 and was replaced by Dr James

Walshe as bishop of Kildare and Leighlin. Although Walshe, formerly president of St Patrick's College Carlow, had been the official nominator of John Sadleir in 1852⁴², he had a reputation for what he called 'conservative leanings'.⁴³ He was against priests being involved in anything that threatened law and order, and typically expressed his wish at the time of the 1868 election that 'the whole proceedings will be contested in a manner becoming good and intelligent citizens'⁴⁴. In the 1870s the attitude of the general hierarchy became more firmly directed towards favouring political change. The early Home Rule movement, at first viewed with some suspicion, began to unite the clergy when there was universal resentment at the very offensive judgement about clerical involvement in the Galway and Kerry elections of 1872, delivered by the renegade member of the 'Popes Brass Band', William Keogh⁴⁵. On their part, Isaac Butt and his followers took on some of the Catholic leaders' principles on land and education issues. These factors at national level were soon to throw their shadow on Carlow.

When the 1874 general election was announced, Isaac Butt's Home Rule League was very much in the public consciousness. Its first National Conference in November 1873 had established its commitment to a new and independent line of action for nationally minded MPs, on such issues as the release of remaining Fenian prisoners, and the amendment of the Grand Jury Laws and the 1870 Land Act as well as the reestablishment of the Irish parliament⁴⁶. In Carlow this awareness was increased with the announcement of one H. Owen Lewis as the latest 'Independent' candidate for the borough seat. Lewis appealed for support as an Irishman and a Catholic pledging his support for a religious-based education and his 'entire and unqualified adherence to the principles of Home Rule'⁴⁷. Lewis had previously attracted the favourable attention of Cardinal Cullen as a candidate in Clogher in 1871⁴⁸. He now came on to the Carlow scene with the highest recommendation of his home Parish Priest, who in requesting the support of the redoubtable Fr James Maher PP of Graiguecullen, evoked the legendary political battles of the 1830s and 1840s. Not only did the ageing Maher respond with enthusiasm, but so also did other prominent Catholic clergy, the most notable being Dr Walshe, bishop of Kildare and Leighlin. The bishop made his approval public in a letter which stated: 'It seems only reasonable that the Liberal Party should have the Representation of the Borough, as I suppose the Conservative Party will have that of the County'⁴⁹.

Walshe's predictions about the county elections were completely borne out by the return of the latest generation of Bruen and Kavanagh without a contest, and without any public effort on their part outside of complacent statements of their trust that the Carlow County electorate would repeat their previous votes of confidence. The third Henry Bruen had represented Carlow since 1856 and his uncle Arthur McMorrough Kavanagh had joined him in 1868. This was the man known as the 'incredible Mr Kavanagh', who overcame the handicap of being born without proper arms and legs and led an extremely active life, travelling widely before settling down as head of the family. In the new parliamentary session, Isaac Butt and the Home Rulers pursued their policies with great energy and were well supported by Lewis, who consequently attracted considerable mention in the Carlow local papers. This served to focus attention on the entrenched Tory attitude consistently displayed by Bruen and Kavanagh as they loyally supported the Tory government in resisting the new pressures. Soon they became noted nation-wide as being consistently anti-Irish, as the Disraeli government, rather than yield to any new initiatives, attempted to reinforce traditional British dominance with coercion legislation such as the 1875 Peace Preservation Bill. This repressive measure was attacked by Charles Stewart Parnell, but vigorously defended by Arthur

Kavanagh who assured the House of the support of his 'well-disposed and peaceable' Carlow constituents who, he claimed, were as anxious as he was to punish outside troublemakers. Kavanagh frequently found it convenient to regard political foes as agitators who only found fertile soil in the 'chronic discontent, disloyalty and ignorance of the lower classes'⁵⁰. The Local Government Bill of 1876, on which Henry Bruen spoke with approval, was seen as a Tory attack on the municipal reform which had given Catholics a foothold in boroughs such as Carlow. This bill was also supported by Kavanagh and attacked by Lewis, as the issue raised the image of the Tories attempting to take over the borough as well as consolidating their hold on the county⁵¹.

In a pastoral letter to his priests in May 1876, Cardinal Cullen drew attention to conflicts going on between European states and the Catholic Church under Pope Pius IX. His call for Ireland to adopt the Cross as its standard gave a strong signal of his perception of the need for a religious dimension to Irish national politics. He stressed the importance of Catholic education and deplored the betrayal of the cause of a Catholic University by W. E. Gladstone. The Home Rulers under Isaac Butt responded to this call with their introduction of bills supporting the Catholic hierarchy's position on Catholic education, and specifically University education. Their next issue was the franchise and the rules governing registration. On this subject, the situation in Carlow County was singled out for particular attention. Together with Dublin, it was presented as an example of unscrupulous manipulation on the part of the wealthy Establishment candidates using money and legal chicanery to control the electoral register⁵².

Evidence of local support for achieving a more 'national' representation for Carlow County was first displayed in articles in the Carlow Post written by its editor, M. J. O'Connell in January of 1875. He pinpointed the voter registration process as the first hurdle to be scaled and suggested organisation at parish level to lead the drive. The habitual apathy of County Carlow's voting public seemed to prevail as a year passed without any visible reaction. Then in April 1876 the first positive action was taken at a deanery meeting of some twenty-five priests under the Very Rev Fr Patrick Morrin, PP of Bagenalstown in the centre of the county and Vicar of the Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin. Having disposed of their routine business, the subject of representation was raised and a lively discussion resulted in the priests giving unanimous support to a resolution for the formation of a county committee to seek the co-operation of other priests and influential laymen in promoting the full registration of all entitled to vote⁵³. The significance of this development was proved by the published reactions not only in the rival local newspapers, but also in papers with national circulation and those of neighbouring counties, which featured headlines such as 'Carlow preparing to assert herself'⁵⁴. Details of the complications and pitfalls of registration were listed in all the anti-Establishment papers with an explanation of what was involved, pointing out how all occupiers of land were required to have their poor law rates paid early in July. Shortly afterwards a supplemental list of voters was published. This list was open to names being removed at subsequent revision courts if an objection was raised and the person not there to defend it. It was stressed out that the landlords and their allies, using money and legal expertise, had brought the practice of objections to a fine art, and had names of non-supporters removed on very flimsy and technical issues, using subtle ways of keeping their tenants away from the revision court. In order to redress the situation, local organisation was needed to have money collected to pay for legal representation, and all entitled voters prepared to attend the court and fight their case⁵⁵.

The County Carlow Registration Association consolidated itself in further meetings with the election of officers. The first committee, which represented each parish in the county,

was under the chairmanship of Fr Michael Conroy, PP of Myshall, a country parish near the Wexford border. The treasurer was Fr John Kehoe, PP of Ballon, and the joint secretaries were Mr Patrick Hanlon a farmer of Grangeford near Carlow town, and Fr P. J. Ryan, a man who was to prove the driving force of the association. Fr Ryan came from a farming family from Killeen, located in the then Queen's County, but only five miles from Carlow town, and he was then a newly-appointed curate in his early twenties stationed in the southern Carlow parish of St Mullins⁵⁶. Prominent among the laymen on the committee was M. J. O'Connell of the Carlow Post. The collection of funds and the appointment of a solicitor to act on the committee's behalf were the first priorities. The 18th July 1876 saw the publication of a circular letter sent to 'all Liberal landlords and other persons of influence'. This letter stated that almost half of what they called the 'Liberal Electors' were being deprived of votes by the combination of apathy on the part of the Liberal Party and activity by the Conservatives were consistently successful in bringing objections to legitimate voters in the revision courts. The letter appealed for support, declaring that the only purpose of the association was to secure for each entitled person the right to vote. Funds would be thankfully received by the priests of the county, in addition to the named officers⁵⁷.

The financial response does not appear to have been very strong and accounts published a year later show a substantial dependence for funds on priests and the original committee members. Little interest was shown in centres such as Carlow town, where the contrast was to be seen with the collection for the Christian Schools in Carlow which received overwhelming support from the public, or indeed the collection for the pope in any individual parish around the county⁵⁸.

The dogged resistance of Bruen and Kavanagh to the Irish party at Westminster became a factor in Carlow now attracting national interest as a Conservative bastion, and prompted a strongly worded article headed 'Ascendancy in the County Carlow' published in the *Freeman's Journal* in early 1877. This article set out to demonstrate 'with tolerable completeness, how the Crown confides and fondles the children of the minority, and excludes from all share in dignity and emolument the whole Catholic body.' At that time, the total population of County Carlow was 51,680, of which there were roughly speaking 6,000 Episcopalians, Methodists and Presbyterians. The remaining 45,600 were Catholics. Nevertheless, there was a total Protestant domination of public offices. The positions reserved for Protestants included the lieutenant of the county, seven deputy lieutenants, the high sheriff, the resident magistrate, 45 out of 50 magistrates, the clerk of the crown, the clerk of the peace, and their deputies, the sessional crown solicitor, solicitor to the grand jury, county treasurer, grand jury secretary county surveyor and assistants, sub-sheriff, sheriff's returning officer, three out of four sub-inspectors, four out of six stamp distributors. In addition, no Catholic held any position of authority in the County Jail, the County Infirmary and the Poor Law Union Workhouse. Petty sessions clerks, postmasters and minor officials were all overwhelmingly Protestant⁵⁹.

This notoriety gave significance to a general meeting of what had come to be called the County Carlow Liberal Registration Association that was held on the 7 May 1877 in Maher's Hotel in Tullow in the heart of the northern Carlow farming area. Fr P.J. Ryan, as Hon. Secretary, produced an analysis of the registry lists for 1877 and gave a breakdown of 1,345 Liberals to 884 Conservatives, or a popular majority of 461. This majority could be increased to at least 511, if some 50-75 Conservative votes deemed to belong to people either dead or emigrated were withdrawn. General satisfaction was expressed and further efforts by the clergy in particular were expected. At a

further meeting in Tullow on the 28 May, Fr Ryan reported that all the priests of the county were now enrolled as members, together with two lay nominees from each parish⁶⁰. Fr Conroy, as chairman singled out Fr Ryan and Mr O'Connell of the Carlow Post for particular praise for their contributions to the Association's achievements to date. The appointment of Mr O'Shaughnessy of Dublin and Mr Gerard Cullen of Carlow as legal agents was approved. In preparation for the forthcoming revision of the electoral register, a meeting was held in Bagenalstown on the 7 June 1877 at which Mr Cullen confirmed arrangements for the revision. This was followed by a public announcement on 21 July 1877 that summarised the work of the Registration Association and went on to say that Mr Gerard Cullen, solicitor would attend at the various polling centres for the county at the times appointed for registration. All with claims to a vote were urged to 'attend, with a warning that non-attendance could mean that a vote would not be granted. This was repeated in preparation for the next time of registration, on the 6 October 1877. At the revision court, Messrs Cullen and O'Shaughnessy appeared for what were broadly termed the Liberals and Mr Robert Malcomson for the Conservatives. An account of the proceedings at Tullow shows the flimsy nature of objections raised to voter applications, including bad handwriting, inexact address, and actual time of posting. The revising barrister for the county, James Wall, QC, tended to make decisions in an arbitrary manner and both Cullen and O'Shaughnessy had to be quite aggressive in order to overcome the perceived bias in their opponents' favour⁶¹.

An example of how political adversaries could continue to have cordial personal relations arose at the celebrations in Borris House of the twenty-first birthday of Walter Kavanagh, son and heir of the head of the Kavanagh clan, Arthur Kavanagh MP. Fr Carey, PP of Borris, an active member of the Registration Association from the beginning, made a speech of total admiration and gratitude to the Kavanaghs, the 'uncrowned sceptreless monarchs who reign in the hearts and affections of the people'. This kind of adulation no doubt reassured the Carlow Tories that their dynasty would proceed unhindered. Local reaction, however, regarded this as another demonstration of Carlow's being a 'politically backward county', and lamented that it had not been found possible to form a branch of the Home Rule League as in other counties. In its absence, the only consolation for the nationally minded was drawn from the continuing efforts of the Registration Association and the advocacy of the *Carlow Post*⁶².

Political uncertainty ensued in the following year, as the Tory government, embroiled in foreign wars, gave short shrift to any moves of the Irish party, and Isaac Butt lost ground to the controversial new obstructionist tactics that eventually proved a successful gambit and provided a new leader in Charles Stewart Parnell. In August 1879, Fr P.J. Ryan found it necessary to appeal publicly for subscriptions from members, as well as sympathisers in order to continue their representation at the revision courts. Clearly at this stage, an unfair burden was being placed on a small number to work for and subscribe to the cause⁶³. Meanwhile, the three years from 1877 to 1879 saw poor harvests, and falling prices for farm produce caused widespread hardship throughout the country. The predominantly farming population of County Carlow experienced real difficulties in making ends meet, even if their condition was not as bad as that of their West of Ireland compatriots. Issues that were to affect profoundly the political process were beginning to come to the fore in Carlow from mid June 1879. Bad weather and signs of depression were taking their toll. Reports from the West of Ireland combined figures of increased emigration rates with news of numerous initiatives for distress relief and meetings of tenants seeking rent reductions. In Carlow, there were rumours of a movement growing among tenants and an approach to the Poor Law Guardians to provide for

help to the distress that was beginning to grow⁶⁴. Meetings of priests to organise distress relief and of farmers to demand better terms from landlords continued in the West, and after the influence of Parnell was combined with that of Michael Davitt in June, such meetings proliferated throughout the country⁶⁵. In Carlow, the initiative was taken in the Tullow area and a series of preliminary meetings of farmers during the summer of 1879 led to the plan for a major public meeting to be arranged with invitations to national political figures and the local clergy, farmers and traders on one hand, and local landlords on the other. The aims were stated as a reduction of rents, a peasant proprietary, and an equitable settlement of the land question⁶⁶.

When it was announced that Charles Stewart Parnell had accepted an invitation to speak, the event became publicised as a Monster Meeting, and the farmers of Leinster were urged to attend in their thousands. Fr Nolan PP, who was asked to take the chair, was told in advance by Bishop Walshe that he personally regretted the meeting and thought that landlords would have given 'kind consideration' to calm statements by tenants of their losses and needs. He hoped that the meeting would be held in a 'legal and orderly manner' and that 'violent language, inflammatory harangue and denunciatory phraseology' would be avoided⁶⁷. In the event, the attendance was indeed enormous, with over 15,000 reported as turning out despite the bad weather. Parnell was greeted by huge crowds lining many parts of his route from his shooting lodge in Aughavannagh in Wicklow through Hacketstown on the Carlow border, where he was entertained by the parish priest, and on to a hero's welcome in Tullow. The meeting was well supervised by numerous priests and local leaders, and was perfectly orderly, though the language was by no means as mild as Bishop Walshe would have wished. The organising secretary, T. P. O'Carroll read out, to loud groans, letters from landlords Bruen and Kavanagh, refusing to attend and voicing their disapproval of the principles involved. Kavanagh stated his strongest objection to appearing to sanction by his presence a 'movement that I cannot too strongly condemn' and went so far as to describe the Land League as 'unprincipled, unscrupulous' and equate its demands with communism. This was the cue for C. S. Parnell to conclude a forceful speech with the call for Carlow to end the return to parliament of two men 'who vote against tenant right, who vote for coercion, who vote against everything good for their country'. Among other speakers Fr Ryan of the Registration Association also took a strong anti-landlord tone, and the occasion was a major step in co-ordinating his organisation with the new and powerful spirit that the national land movement was bringing to Carlow⁶⁸.

In the weeks following the meeting, approaches were made to Henry Bruen and Arthur Kavanagh by groups of their tenants to negotiate rent reductions, only to meet with brusque refusals, Henry Bruen expressing satisfaction with his personal relationship with his tenants and regarding any combined approach as the work of agitators. Kavanagh in fact published correspondence with Fr Carey PP, who wrote to him in the tone suggested by Bishop Walshe, asking why a good landlord like him would not give an example to bad landlords who were the real target of the land movement. Fr Carey was told heatedly that the people were being totally misled on the matter and that 'treason and murder' had become the guiding principles of the land movement⁶⁹. Both landlords still regarded their own tenants as essentially loyal to them, but declined to give the 'kind consideration' to their needs about which the bishop had expressed his confidence.

On the 31 January 1880, Fr P. J. Ryan issued a buoyant statement from the County Carlow Registration Association. This reported a healthy subscription list and an assurance that the registry of electors was now so reformed as to provide a definite basis for the return of representatives for County Carlow whose

opinions were in accord with those of the people⁷⁰. The opportunity was not long delayed.

When the dissolution of the Westminster parliament took place and a General Election was announced on 13 March 1880, a meeting of the County Carlow Registration Association was convened to select candidates in the national cause. The Tullow branch of the Land League was strongly represented at the meeting. By a proposal of Fr Conroy seconded by John Kealy, chairman of the Tullow group, it was decided to look for the strongest possible candidate, in the person of Edmund Dwyer Gray, the lord mayor of Dublin. Gray was the sitting member for Tipperary and was very well known both from his public position and his family connection with the *Freeman's Journal*. As head of Dublin Corporation, he had acquired an aura that equated with being 'the first layman in the land'⁷¹. Because Mr Gray was in a position to select his constituency, a public petition to him was signed by twenty-five priests and the leading lay members of both organisations. Gray accepted the nomination probably with some relief, as there were indications in Tipperary that he had lost prestige because of a capitulation to the Viceroy over a social snub⁷². A second candidate was Donald H. MacFarlane, a wealthy Scottish Liberal who made himself available in the cause of Home Rule, and was chosen unanimously on the proposal of Fr John Kehoe, seconded by Patrick Kelly a farmer of Ballykealy. This was presumably for his ability to pay his own expenses, in keeping with the former pattern of Carlow Liberal candidates. Fr P. J. Ryan urged that local parish committees be quickly formed to fight the election. Each parish was to appoint a secretary to correspond through himself with the central committee of Fr Conroy, Fr Nolan, Fr P.J. Kehoe, Patrick Kelly, and John Daly. Both of the candidates, Gray and MacFarlane announced themselves as Tenant Rights supporters, committed to Home Rule and the 'Three Fs' of the Land League, as well as the long-standing issues of Catholic University education, and reform of the franchise and the grand jury laws⁷³.

The election statements of the sitting MPs, Bruen and Kavanagh on this occasion contained more than the complacent platitudes of 1874. The threat from a militant Irish party now led by Parnell was recognised as 'an ominous change that had come over the political scene', that parliament was 'being hindered by unnecessary and dilatory debate', and that 'principles of the wildest policy aimed at the destruction of the very foundations of society.' The electors were urged to oppose the 'so-called Nationalist representatives, the wildness of their theories and the extravagance of their demands'⁷⁴. Clearly the future of landlordism had become the very personal concern of both.

In the short time available, candidates Gray and MacFarlane canvassed the county energetically and addressed huge meetings at central points, notably St Mullins, Tullow, Ballon, and Myshall. One of the most spectacular was at St Mullins, the picturesque site of an ancient monastery, where a Norman motte stands in the centre of a natural arena on the banks of the Barrow. In this parish, the Kavanagh tenants of 1841 were still remembered for having stayed loyal to the landlord, but now a crowd estimated at 15,000 assembled with bands and banners from all over southern Carlow. In what was to become a consistent pattern, the meeting was chaired by the local parish priest. Both candidates made forceful speeches that were enthusiastically received. In the course of his speech, MacFarlane put his finger on the issue that made this election different. Stating that tenant right was the biggest question of all, he described it as affecting the welfare of more than three million people in every cottage in Ireland. The meeting was addressed by leading Home Rule MP A. M. Sullivan, who formally called on Carlow to join at last the other 31 counties in the struggle for their rights. He paid particular attention to the 'power of organisation, the zeal and devotion of the

priests of Carlow' singling out for special praise 'that glorious specimen of the young priests of Ireland, Fr P.J. Ryan' and the work he had done for four years in preparation for this election. The speakers went to some pains to stress the secrecy of the ballot and to warn the electors to disregard any tricks of landlords or agents to persuade them to vote for the landlord, or to stay at home. Sullivan reminded them that it was the man who stopped at home 'that everyone will recognise as being a coward and a slave'⁷⁵.

Equally enthusiastic crowds turned out in the other venues, with other leading Home Rulers joining the local priests and prominent liberals on the platforms. Fr Ryan was a vigorous speaker at each meeting, and Fr Carey of Borris was also prominent, probably to undo the effects of his 1877 speech at Borris House which was now being used as propaganda in the Tory cause⁷⁶. One election tactic attributed to Fr Ryan was a widely distributed pamphlet bound in a cover with the title *The Political Services of Kavanagh and Bruen, and what they have done for Carlow*, and emblazoned with the Orange slogan 'No Surrender'. Inside were ten blank pages⁷⁷. The enthusiasm did not fail on Election Day. Out of a registered electorate of 2,255, the number who voted was 1,857, representing a poll of some 82 percent overall, one of the highest figures in the country. The result was: Gray 1224, MacFarlane 1143, Kavanagh 714, Bruen 633⁷⁸.

The landlords and their supporters were devastated by the result and made bitter recriminations about the effects on the voters of clerical intimidation. It was calculated that voting took a completely sectarian course. Since the 2,255 on the register were made up of 1390 Catholics and 865 Protestants, it was concluded that there was a huge turnout of Catholics at 87 percent, that Gray's vote was completely Catholic and Bruen's completely Protestant, the only exception to sectarian voting being the 81 Catholics who supported Kavanagh rather than MacFarlane⁷⁹. Arthur Kavanagh was particularly disappointed. In a revealing letter to his wife written on 11 April 1880, just after the election, he described the defeat as a 'poisoned stab', the sharpest part the belief that a majority of his own men broke their promises - 'My confidence in them is gone, and a great interest and pleasure in home life gone with it'. He accused the Catholic clergy of using their influence to 'support the objects of the Communist' and warned of the 'inevitable consequences'⁸⁰. He took no further role in politics, and he died in 1889 at the age of 58. In a rare twist, his son Walter became a Nationalist and was returned unopposed to parliament in 1908, but retired after two years⁸¹. Henry Bruen continued to hold public office in Carlow as magistrate, but as far as parliamentary politics were concerned, the interests of the landlords were a thing of the past. For the next election in 1885 the borough seat was abolished and the County representation reduced to one. A much-increased franchise and the concentration on one seat, saw Dwyer Gray returned in a nationalist landslide which set the pattern for County Carlow elections up to the time of Independence.

From the time of O'Connell, local political organisation had been left almost completely to the clergy, as the only group in sight to give leadership, but now the situation was changing, with branches of the National Land League in many towns and parishes, while societies like the Irish Language Society and the GAA were bringing nationally-minded people together regularly on a social basis. Elected bodies such as the Carlow Town Commission had been in existence since 1854, but it had not looked on as proper that they should be concerned with national or religious issues, Establishment representatives quickly voicing disapproval when sentiments pertaining to current national issues were expressed⁸². One of the first principles enunciated by the Land League was a call for organisation at local level to support their central role, urging also that national issues should be the fore in elections to Town Commissions and Boards of Guardians⁸³. Gradually, the lead of such as Dublin Corporation was followed up

and the beginnings of healthy political debate were to be seen at this level. With the growth of political awareness at this level, the time was approaching when Carlow would at last have enough confidence to select a parliamentary candidate from the local scene. When this did happen, it was ironically when the rancour of previous contests was repeated in the Parnellite split that enveloped the by-election of 1891.

Fr P. J. Ryan continued his activities during the growth of the Land League in Carlow, but he was clearly out of step with his bishop's cautious approach. His County Carlow activities ended abruptly in 1883 with his transfer to Timahoe in Queen's County. This did not completely curb his political instincts and in 1886 he was silenced and ceased to be listed among the priests of the diocese⁸⁴. He later ministered abroad and died in 1905 at the age of fifty, and was buried with his parents at Killeen⁸⁵.

The long period of landlord hegemony in Carlow had come to a sudden end and many of the Ascendancy families were soon to disappear from the county and be forgotten. A generation later in the 1920s, not many people were aware of the irony involved when the church of St Anne, built in triumph by Colonel Henry Bruen but now fallen into disuse, was transferred stone by stone to become the Catholic parish church in Graiguecullen. While the era of the great landowners lasted, its story incorporated all the significant elements that made up the lives of Irish people living on the land. Because of the identification of the gentry with Protestantism, their fall and the part in it played by the Catholic priests could, however, be misconstrued as a triumph for the Catholic Church. In the Carlow context, Professor Emmet Larkin's opinion would appear to be borne out that the Catholic hierarchy were still comfortable in W. E. Gladstone's Britain, and wary of any precipitate change⁸⁶. While the lead given by priests was crucial to the events of 1880, in the final analysis it was the national land movement, about which there were misgivings by Bishop Walshe as well as by Arthur Kavanagh, which gave the essential boost to the efforts of Fr. Ryan and his association and succeeded in changing the face of Carlow politics. Fr Ryan was forced into obscurity in a sad illustration of the gap that existed at the time between the Catholic hierarchy and the national feelings of many young priests, but his achievement was already substantial long before his premature death. He was rightly eulogised twenty-five years after 1880 as the man who had played the principal role in 'dealing a death blow to the long reign of Toryism in the County Carlow'⁸⁷.

Reference:

- ¹Sean Connolly, *Religion and Society in Nineteenth Century Ireland* (Dundalk 1985) pp 37-38
²*Freeman's Journal*, 6 Apr. 1877
³Maura Duggan, 'Borough system in County Carlow' *Carloviana*, Vol. 2 No. 27 (1977/78) p.14
⁴Brian Walker, *Parliamentary Results in Ireland 1801-1922* (Dublin 1978) p.256
⁵John Bateman, *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland*, (4th ed. reprint, Leicester 1971, of orig. ed., London 1883), K. T Hoppen, *Elections, Politics, and Society in Ireland 1832-1885* (Oxford, 1984) p.153
⁶*Carlow Morning Post*, 30 Aug. 1819, cited in P. J. Brophy, 'Election Campaigns of The Early Nineteenth Century', in *Carloviana*, Vol. 1 No. 2, (1961) pp.20-22
⁷Robert Malcomson, *The Carlow Parliamentary Roll From The Earliest Times To The Introduction Of The Ballot* (Dublin 1872) p.35
⁸*Kilkenny Moderator*, 4 Jan. 1835
⁹W. J Battersby, *The only full, genuine and authentic report of the memorable discussion at the Carlow Bible Meeting, held on Thursday the 18th and Friday the 19th November, 1824, with the speeches of the Catholic clergymen and the Protestant ministers.* (Dublin 1825). Desmond Bowen, *The Protestant Crusade in Ireland, 1800-1870* (Dublin 1978) pp 201-203
¹⁰*Report from the select committee appointed to inquire into the State of Ireland.* H. C. 1825 pp47-49

- ¹¹Ibid. pp. 237-245
- ¹²*Kilkenny Moderator*, 14 May 1831, *Carlow Morning Post*, 19 May 1831. Robert Malcomson *op cit.* pp.38/39,
- ¹³Donal McCartney, *The Dawning of Democracy: Ireland 1800-1870* (Dublin 1987) p.125
- ¹⁴K. T Hoppen, *op. cit.* pp.84, 85
- ¹⁵Brian M. Walker, *op. cit.* p.xii
- ¹⁶Donal McCartney, *op. cit.* p.126
- ¹⁷*Carlow Sentinel*, 5 Dec. 1840, 17 July 1841
- ¹⁸Desmond J Keenan, *The Catholic Church in nineteenth century Ireland* (Dublin 1983) P182
- ¹⁹P. J Kavanagh, 'A priest in politics: Rev. Thos. Tyrrell, 1823-43' in *Carloviana*, Vol. 2, No. 25 pp.19-21, (1976/77)
- ²⁰Desmond Bowen, *op. cit.* p.50
- ²¹Alexis De Tocqueville *Journey in Ireland, July-August 1835*, Emmet Larkin ed., (Dublin 1990) pp.39-43
- ²²Hoppen, *op. cit.* pp 77, 85
- ²³Anon. *The Reign of Terror in Carlow* (London 1841)
- ²⁴*Leinster Reformer*. 20 July 1841
- ²⁵Robert Malcomson, *op. cit.* pp.50-51
- ²⁶*First General Meeting of the Brunswick Constitutional Club* NLI P1128-6]
- ²⁷K. T Hoppen, *op. cit.* p.280
- ²⁸*Report of the proceedings at the first public meeting of the Irish Metropolitan Conservative Society*, 16 Nov. 1836 NLI P1502
- ²⁹Bruen Papers, NLI Collection 23, MS 29778 (6)
- ³⁰Donal McCartney, *op. cit.* pp 147-48
- ³¹Maura Cronin, *History 3 Module NDEC: Land, Politics and Society in Ireland, 1840-1922* (Dublin 1997) p.12-7
- ³²*The Carlow Sentinel*, 24 July 1852
- ³³Cronin, *op. cit.* p.11-8
- ³⁴K. T Hoppen *op. cit.* p. 304
- ³⁵*Central Conservative Society of Ireland: Report of the Sub-committee, 1859* - copies Mayo papers, MS 11025, cited K. T Hoppen, *op. cit.* p.286
- ³⁶K. T Hoppen, *op. cit.* p.18
- ³⁷W. E. Vaughan, *Landlords and Tenants in Mid-Victorian Ireland* (Oxford 1994) p.202
- ³⁸*Carlow Post*, 3 Jun. 1876, 27 Mar. 1880
- ³⁹K. T Hoppen, *op. cit.* p. 273]
- ⁴⁰K. T Hoppen, *op. cit.* p.62, Robert Malcomson, *The Carlow Parliamentary Roll From The Earliest Times To The Introduction Of The Ballot* (Dublin 1872) p.91
- ⁴¹Robert Malcomson, *op. cit.* p.3
- ⁴²Ibid. p.91
- ⁴³K. T Hoppen, *op. cit.* p.238
- ⁴⁴*Carlow Post*, 31 Oct. 1868
- ⁴⁵K. T Hoppen, *op. cit.* p.246
- ⁴⁶*Irish Home Rule League, Resolutions of National Conference, 18-21 Nov. 1873* NLI
- ⁴⁷*Carlow Post*, 31Jan. 1874
- ⁴⁸Desmond Bowen, *Paul Cullen, 1803-1878 and the shaping of modern Irish Catholicism*, (Dublin 1983) p.273
- ⁴⁹*Carlow Post*, 31 Jan 1874
- ⁵⁰Sarah Steele, *Arthur McMorrough Kavanagh: a Biography* (London, 1891) pp188,237
- ⁵¹*Carlow Post*, 19 Feb. 1876, 1 Apr. 76
- ⁵²*The Nation*, 6 May 1876, 13 May 1876
- ⁵³*Carlow Post*, 22 Apr. 1876
- ⁵⁴*Carlow Sentinel*, 29 Apr. 1876, *Freeman's Journal and Nation* 29 Apr. 1876, *Wexford People* 15 May 1876
- ⁵⁵*Carlow Post*, 29 May 1876, *Freeman's Journal*, 10 Jun. 1876
- ⁵⁶*Nationalist and Leinster Times*, 28 Oct. 1905. *Gravestone inscription, Killeen churchyard.*
- ⁵⁷*Carlow Post*, 18 Jul. 1876
- ⁵⁸*Carlow Post*, 16 Jun., 23 Jun., 15 Jul. 1877
- ⁵⁹*Freeman's Journal* 6 Apr. 1877
- ⁶⁰*Carlow Post* 9 May, 9 Jun. 1877
- ⁶¹*Carlow Post*, 13 Oct. 1877
- ⁶²*Carlow Post*, 27 Oct. 1877
- ⁶³*Carlow Independent*, 9 Aug. 1879.
- ⁶⁴*Carlow Independent*, 28 Jun., 26 Jul., 9 Aug. 1879
- ⁶⁵*Nation*, various dates, May-Aug. 1879
- ⁶⁶*Carlow Independent*, 13 Sept. 1879
- ⁶⁷*Leinster Express*, 11 Oct. 1879
- ⁶⁸*Carlow Independent*, 4 Oct. 1879
- ⁶⁹*Carlow Sentinel*, 25 Oct. 1879
- ⁷⁰*Carlow Independent*, 31 Jan. 1880
- ⁷¹*Carlow Post*, 20 Apr. 1878
- ⁷²*Nation*, 27 Mar. 1880
- ⁷³*Carlow Independent*, 3 Apr. 1880
- ⁷⁴*Carlow Sentinel*, 27 Mar. 1880
- ⁷⁵*Carlow Independent*, 10 Apr. 1880
- ⁷⁶*Carlow Sentinel*, 27 Mar. 1880
- ⁷⁷O'Leary communication with pamphlet, Carlow Central Library
- ⁷⁸Brian M. Walker *op. cit.* p.123
- ⁷⁹*Carlow Sentinel*, 10 Apr. 1880.
- ⁸⁰Sarah L Steele, *op. cit.* pp202, 244.
- ⁸¹Jimmy O'Toole, *The Carlow Gentry* O'Toole,(Carlow 1993) p.136
- ⁸²e.g. *Carlow Sentinel*, 23 Apr. 1877
- ⁸³*Nation*, 5 Nov. 1879
- ⁸⁴Thom's Directory 1884, 1886
- ⁸⁵*Nationalist and Leinster Times*, 28 Oct. 1905, Gravestone inscription at Killeen churchyard. Notes of interview with Betty Ryan O'Gorman, October 2001, in possession of M. J. Brennan, Carlow
- ⁸⁶Emmet Larkin, *The Roman Catholic Church and the Creation of the Modern Irish State, 1878-1886* (Dublin 1975) p.391
- ⁸⁷*Nationalist and Leinster Times*, 28 Oct. 1905

Appendix I

Carlow Election Results 1800-1918
(source, Brian Walker, *Parliamentary Results in Ireland 1801-1922* Dublin 1978)

County Carlow (2 seats from Union until 1885; 1 seat from 1885 to 1918)

from Act of Union until Catholic Emancipation:

1802:	Col. David La Touche 524, Walter Bagenal 479	
1806:	Col. David La Touche, Walter Bagenal	No Contest
1807:	Col. David La Touche, Walter Bagenal	No Contest
1812:	Col. David La Touche 680, Col. Henry Bruen 597 Walter Bagenal 296	
1816	(Col. La Touche deceased):Robert La Touche	No Contest
1818:	Col. Henry Bruen, Sir U. B. Burgh	No Contest
1820:	Col. Henry Bruen, Sir U. B Burgh	No Contest
1826	(by - Burgh peerage):Thomas Kavanagh	No Contest
1826:	Col. Henry Bruen, Thomas Kavanagh	No Contest

From Emancipation to Famine:

1830:	Col. Henry Bruen C 242, Thomas Kavanagh C 216, Horace Rochfort 174	
1831:	Milley Doyle L, Walter Blackney L	No Contest
1832:	Walter Blackney L 657, Wallace L 647, Col. Henry Bruen C 483, Thomas Kavanagh C 480	
1835:	Col. Henry Bruen C 588, Thomas Kavanagh C 587, Maurice O'Connell L (R) 554, Michael Cahill L (R) 553	
1835 new:	N. A. Vigers L 627, Alexander Raphael L 626, Thomas Kavanagh 572, Col. Henry Bruen 571	
	(Election of Vigers & Raphael declared void, replaced by Thomas Kavanagh C, Col. Henry Bruen C)	
1837:	(Thomas Kavanagh deceased):N. A. Vigers L 669, Thomas Bunbury C 633	
1837:	N. A. Vigers L 730, J. A. Yates L 730, Col. Henry Bruen C 644, Thomas Bunbury C 644	
1840:	(N. A. Vigers deceased) Col. Henry Bruen C 722, Arthur Ponsobny L 555	
1841:	Col. Henry Bruen C 705, Thomas Bunbury C 704, J. A. Yates LR697, Daniel O'Connell Jr. LR 690	
1846	(Thomas Bunbury deceased): Capt. W. B. McClintock C	No Contest
1847:	Col. Henry Bruen C, Capt. W. B. McClintock C	No Contest

From Famine to Ballot Act:

1852: John Ball Ind. L 893, Col. Henry Bruen C 891, Bunbury C 878,

LANDLORD SUPREMACY IN 19TH CENTURY CARLOW

K'Eogh L 875		Year	Conservative/Unionist	Others
				(Liberal, Repeal, Home Rule)
1853: (bye Col. Bruen deceased):Bunbury C	No Contest			
1857: Bunbury C, Henry Bruen C	No Contest			
1859: Bunbury C, Henry Bruen C	No Contest	1832	30	72
1865: Henry Bruen C, Beresford C	No Contest	1835	39	66
1868: Henry Bruen C, Arthur McM Kavanagh C	No Contest	1837	34	71
		1841	40	65
		1847	33	62
		1852	40	64
		1857	46	60
		1859	54	51
		1865	47	58
		1868	37	66
		1874	33	70
		1880	25	78
		1885	18	85
		1886	18	85
		1892	23	71
		1895	21	70
		1900	21	76
From Ballot Act to 1918:				
1874: Henry Bruen C, Arthur McM Kavanagh C	No Contest			
1880: E Dwyer Gray HR 1224, W. H. McFarlane HR 1143, Arthur McM Kavanagh C 714, Henry Bruen C 633				
1885 (1 seat): E Dwyer Gray N 4801, Sir Thomas Butler U 751				
1886 (Gray retired.):John Blake N, No Contest				
1886: John Blake N				
1887: (Blake deceased): The O'Gorman Mahon N No Contest				
1891: (Mahon deceased.): John Hammond APN 3261 Kettle PN 1539				
1892: John Hammond 3738 McMahan 813				
1895: John Hammond 3091, Duckett 685				
1900: John Hammond	No Contest			
1906: John Hammond	No Contest			
1908: (Hammond dec.)Walter Kavanagh N	No Contest			
1910 (Jan.): Molloy N	No Contest			
1910 (Dec): Molloy N	No Contest			
1918: Lennon [SF]				

How Conservative strength in Ireland rose and fell in the course of the nineteenth century. Source: Brian Walker, *Parliamentary Results in Ireland 1801-1922* (Dublin 1978)

BIBLIOGRAPHY:**PRIMARY SOURCES****Manuscript material** (grouped according to repositories)

Dublin
National Library of Ireland
Collection 23, MS 29778 (6), Bruen Papers

Carlow
Carlow Central Library
O'Leary Document on 1880 Election, Carlow County Library

Nineteenth-century publications**Newspapers**

The Carlow Morning Post
The Carlow Sentinel
The Carlow Post
The Carlow Independent
The Leinster Express
The Freeman's Journal
The Nation
The Nationalist and Leinster Times

Reports

Minutes of evidence taken before the select committee of the House of Lords, appointed to inquire into the State of Ireland, 18 February- 21 March, 1825. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 14 April 1825 (Carlow Central Library)

First General Meeting of the Brunswick Constitutional Club, NLI, P1128-6

Report from the select committee on Bribery at Elections, H. C. 1835 NLI P1128-17

Report from the select committee on Carlow election petitions, together with the minutes of evidence taken before them. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 11 March, 1836 (Carlow Central Library)

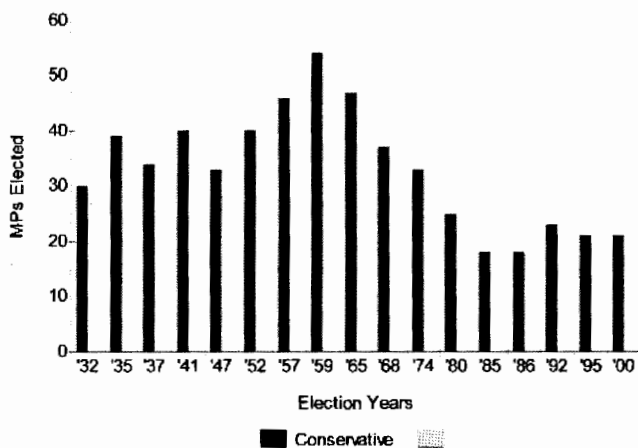
Report of the proceedings at the first public meeting of the Irish Metropolitan Conservative Society, 16 Nov. 1836 NLI P1502

Carlow Borough (1 Seat from Act of Union until 1880)

1801-1830,	No contest
1832: N. A. Vigors LR 145 Francis Bruen C 120	
1835: Francis Bruen C 150, N. A. Vigors LR134	
1837: Maule L, Francis Bruen C, Philip Bagenal C	
1839: Francis Bruen C 167, Thomas Gisborne L 164 - (reversed Gisborne elected)	
1841: Capt. B. V. Layard L	
1847: John Sadleir L 164 Layard L 101	
1852: John Sadleir Ind L 112 R. C. Browne C 95	
1853: John Alexander C 97 Sadleir 91	
1857: John Alexander C 127 Capt. A. E. Ponsonby L 79	
1859: Sir John Acton L 117 John Alexander C 103	
1865: Osborne Stock L	
1868: Capt. W. A. Fagan L 174 Col. H. Rochfort 150	
1874: H. Owen Lewis HR	
1880: Charles Dawson HR 149, Col. H. T. Butler C 135 Seat abolished in 1885	

Appendix II**Elections in Ireland, 1832-1900**

Rise and Fall of Conservative Strength



Minutes of evidence taken before the Committee on the Carlow County Election Petitions. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 11 May 1837. (Carlow Central Library)

Minutes of evidence taken before the Committee on the Carlow Borough Election Petitions, 4 June 1839. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 11 July 1839. (Carlow Central Library)

Central Conservative Society of Ireland: Report of the Sub-committee, 1859 - NLI, copies Mayo papers, MS 11025

Irish Home Rule League, Resolutions of National Conference, 18-21 Nov. 1873 NLI

Nineteenth Century Printed Books and Pamphlets

Bateman, John. *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland,* London 1883, (4th ed. reprint, Leicester 1971)

Battersby, W. J. *The only full, genuine and authentic report of the memorable discussion at the Carlow Bible Meeting, held on Thursday the 18th and Friday the 19th November, 1824, with the speeches of the Catholic clergymen and the Protestant ministers.* Dublin 1825

Butt, Isaac. *The Problems of Irish Education: An Attempt at its Solution.* Dublin, 1875 NLI Pamphlet

De Tocqueville, Alexis *Journey in Ireland, July-August 1835* Edited and translated by Emmet Larkin, Dublin 1990

Fitzpatrick, W. J. *The Life, Times and Correspondence of the Right Rev. Dr Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin* Dublin 1890

Healy, T. M. *Why there is an Irish Land Question and an Irish Land League,* Dublin 1880

Thom's Directory, various years

Anon. *The Reign of Terror in Carlow* London 1841

Anon. *The Political Services of Kavanagh and Bruen and what they have done for Carlow* 1880. Carlow County Library

Malcomson, Robert. *The Carlow Parliamentary Roll From The Earliest Times To The Introduction Of The Ballot* Dublin. 1872

Steele, Sarah *L. Arthur McMorrough Kavanagh: a Biography,* London 1891

SECONDARY SOURCES

Manuscript

In possession of M. J. Brennan, Strawhall, Carlow
Notes of interview with Betty Ryan O'Gorman, 15 October 2001,

Twentieth-century publications

L. D. Bergin, How the civic fathers began, in *Carloviana*, Journal of Old Carlow Society. i no.1 (1952) pp16-17

Bowen, Desmond. *The Protestant Crusade in Ireland, 1800-1870.* Dublin 1978

Bowen, Desmond. *Paul Cullen 1803-1878, and the shaping of modern Irish Catholicism.* Dublin 1983

Boyce, D. G. *Nineteenth Century Ireland: The Search for Stability.* Dublin 1990

Brophy, P. J. Election Campaigns Of The Early Nineteenth Century, in *Carloviana*, i no.2 (1961) pp20-22

Corish, P. J. (ed.) *A History of Irish Catholicism.* Dublin 1967

Cronin, Maura, *Land, Politics and Society in Ireland, 1840-1922, History 3 Module NDEC.* Dublin 1997

Davitt, Michael, *The Fall of Feudalism in Ireland or The Story of the Land League Revolution* London 1904

Duggan, Maura Borough system in County Carlow *Carloviana*, ii no.27 (1977/78) p.14

Hoppen, K. T. *Elections, Politics, and Society in Ireland 1832-1885.* Oxford 1984

Kavanagh, Kenneth. *Born Without Limbs: a Biography of Achievement.* Milton Keynes 1989

Kavanagh, P. J. The political scene, Carlow county and borough, 1831-1841. MA NUI 1974

Kavanagh, P. J Carlow Newspapers, 1828-1841 in *Carloviana*, ii no.24, (1975) pp 21-28

Kavanagh, P. J A Priest in Politics: Rev. Thos. Tyrrell, 1823-43 in *Carloviana*, ii no. 25 (1976/77) pp.19-21 '

Kavanagh, P. J Thomas Kavanagh MP 1767-1837 and his Political Contemporaries in *Carloviana*, ii 2 No. 26 (1977/78) pp 4-6

Keenan, Desmond J. *The Catholic Church in Nineteenth Century Ireland.* Dublin 1983

Larkin, Emmet. *The consolidation of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, 1860-1870.* Dublin 1987

McCartney, Donal. *The Dawning of Democracy: Ireland 1800-1870.* Dublin 1987

McCartney, Donal. Fr. James Maher 1793-1874 in *Carlow Past and Present*, i no.2 (1987/88) pp47-53

McCormick, Donald. *The Incredible Mr Kavanagh.* New York 1961

McGrath, Thomas. *Bishop James Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin:*

Malcolm, Elizabeth. "The reign of terror in Carlow": the politics of policing Ireland in the late 1830s, in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxii no.125 (May 2000) pp59-74

O'Toole, Jimmy. *The Carlow Gentry,* Carlow 1993

Vaughan, W. E. *Landlords and Tenants in Mid-Victorian Ireland.* Oxford 1994

Walker, Brian M. *Parliamentary Results in Ireland 1801-1922.* Dublin 1978

HACKETSTOWN AND THE PARNELLITE SPLIT

James P. Shannon

As the eventful decade of the 1880s gave way to the 90s the Hacketstown branch of the Irish National League continued to be active. On Sunday 2nd November 1890 John Lyons chaired the regular monthly meeting. The main business was arranging for the making of the annual collection for the Tenants' Defence Fund during the ensuing week. The meeting also considered a complaint from Mrs. Murphy about the activities of a number of persons from the Rathdangan district who were "in the habit of patronising and visiting objectionable persons on fair days and other times." The committee observed that some of their own parishioners, in both town and country, were open to the same remark. The committee also drew attention to the fact that "it seems strange and unfair to the blacksmiths of Hacketstown, who are patriotic enough to act up to their principles, that those in Coolmanagh do not do so." "We believe," said the committee, "there are none so ignorant but they know their duty."¹

The branch was represented on Monday November 17th, at a County Convention of the Tenants' Defence Association held in the Town Hall, Carlow, by delegates Pierce Butler, P.L.G., Edward Carroll and James Shannon. Fr. Boland, P.P. sent a letter of apology excusing himself from attending on the grounds of the inclement and uncertain state of the weather and that he had not enjoyed good health during the previous year.²

On that same day the verdict in the O'Shea divorce case branded Parnell an adulterer and some English commentators immediately called for his removal from the leadership of the Irish Party. Strangely, in view of subsequent events, the initial reaction of the movement was to back Parnell's leadership. At a great public meeting in Leinster Hall, Dublin on November 20th strong support for Parnell was expressed even by Justin McCarthy and Tim Healy who were very shortly to become his leading opponents. "Tory and Coercion journals", said Mr. Healy, "-English and Irish, of course-howl for Mr. Parnell's withdrawal from public life, simply to injure the Irish Party, and to impede the progress of the Irish cause, and hinder the realisation of her hopes of self-government."³

All of that changed very quickly as the reactions of Gladstone and of the Irish bishops came into play. On December 5th the Party finally split on the question of Parnell's leadership when a majority of the Irish M.P.s led by Justin McCarthy walked out of the meeting in Committee room 15 of the House of Commons. An equally deep and bitter split in the country followed this split in the parliamentary party, and of course the movement in Hacketstown also divided on the question.

Nicholas O'Toole of Scotland came out early against Parnell and he had a letter published in the "Nationalist" on January 17th 1891 in which he stated that he had supported Parnell's leadership to the point of going to jail rather than pay rent at the time of the No Rent Manifesto in 1881. The purpose of this action, he maintained, had been to secure the release of their jailed leader. It was not therefore true to say, as Parnell had said, that nobody was now against him but those who had been against him from the start. He was delighted to see that almost all his old acquaintances from

Naas prison were of the same mind as himself, and he concluded by expressing the opinion that Parnell himself would be beaten in his native county of Wicklow.⁴

The anti-Parnellite wing of the party won a by-election in Kilkenny North on December 22nd 1890 and another in Sligo North on April 2nd 1891, defeating pro-Parnell candidates on both occasions. In early March 1891 they set up their own paper, the *National Press*, since *United Ireland* was still in Parnellite hands. On March 10th 1891 they launched a new constituency organisation, the Irish National Federation, led by Justin McCarthy, William O'Brien, John Dillon and T.M. Healy.⁵



Justin McCarthy
Courtesy National Library of Ireland

A large meeting was held at Rathvilly on Sunday April 12th for the purpose of forming a branch of this new organisation in the area. Rev. John Phelan, P.P. chaired this meeting and the speakers included three members of parliament, namely T.D. Sullivan, David Sheehy and Denis Kilbride. Deputations from Carlow, Tullow, Baltinglass, Borris, Hacketstown and Castledermot attended. The Hacketstown delegates were Nicholas O'Toole, PLG, John Lyons, PLG, Patrick Cullen, L.Lyons, Peter Foley, PLG (from Knockananna), Maurice Fitzharris, senr., Maurice Fitzharris, junr., James Whelan and Michael O'Neill.⁶

The platform for the meeting had been erected in front of the parish church. When the Reverend Chairman was concluding his speech of welcome there was some disturbance, occasioned by a small group of Parnell supporters who commenced cheering for Parnell. This group of fifteen or twenty came from Rathdangan, led by "an officer of the Rathdangan League"⁷. They are variously described in the *Nationalist* account of the meeting as "roughs," "rowdies," "desperadoes," and "ruffians," (which tells us something as to where that paper stood in this dispute) and they were, according to the same source armed with "sticks and clubs which they exhibited and flourished in a most threatening manner" The large crowd at the meeting showed signs of resenting this interference and violence was only avoided because of the advice of the chairman to the crowd and the action of the police in isolating these men and keeping them apart from the crowd until they finally left the village.

On June 15th 1891 died the O’Gorman Mahon, M.P. for Carlow, at the age of 91, thus precipitating a by-election in the constituency that took place on July 8th. This became a bitterly fought contest between the two factions of the party. The Parnellites hoped that the marriage of Parnell and the former Mrs. O’Shea, which took place in Steyning near Brighton on June 25th, would help to restore respectability to their leader’s image and enable them to reverse the unfavourable trend of the earlier by-elections. For the anti-Parnellites the registry office ceremony did nothing to rehabilitate Parnell’s reputation. Indeed many of them seemed to take it as a further brazen defiance on his part of the opinion of the public.

The anti-Parnellites held a convention on June 23rd to select their candidate. Among the delegates was Revd. Michael H. Bolger C.C., Hacketstown. This presumably indicates where the sympathies of the Hacketstown clergy lay. The parish priest, Fr. Boland, was at this time very ill and unable to take part himself. (In fact he died the following day.) No other delegate from Hacketstown is listed among those present at this convention. The candidate selected was Mr. John Hammond.

The Parnellites had some difficulty in finding a suitable candidate to represent their cause. Eventually Andrew J. Kettle of Co. Dublin agreed to run, not it appears from any ambition to be an M.P., but from a belief that somebody had to carry the flag. He was formally selected as the Parnellite candidate at a convention on June 24th.

The campaign that followed was remarkable for its bitterness and it was evident that intense passions had been aroused. On Friday June 19th Mr. Jeremiah Jordan, M.P. came to Hacketstown in the course of a tour of the area in the anti-Parnellite interest and called to the parochial house. Both the curates were out, having gone for a walk, and the parish priest was gravely ill in his bedroom. Mr. Jordan took a seat in the drawingroom to await the return of the curates. A crowd of Parnell supporters assembled outside and became very noisy in expressing their opposition to his presence. Mr. Patrick Cullen then offered him hospitality for the night, which was gratefully accepted, but the shouting continued for some time.



Charles S. Parnell
Courtesy National Library of Ireland

In a letter to the *Nationalist* the following week Nicholas O’Toole expressed great indignation at the behaviour of the Parnellites, and concern for its effect on the dying Fr. Boland. He also said that when John Lyons, P.L.G., brought Mr. Jordan out of town in his trap the following morning, accompanied by the two curates, “the conduct of a few of the same party of the night before was far

worse and as disrespectful as it well could be towards both rev. gentlemen.”^{viii} Mr. O’Toole went on to suggest that those who had votes in the election should be aware of how Fr. Boland had been treated. “Every vote given against the Parnellite candidate,” he said, “will be a blow in vindicating independent action and in putting down publican dictation.”

The *Nationalist* issue of June 27th also commented on this incident, deploring the fact that the last hours of the dead parish priest of Hacketstown “were made hideous by a mob of yelling, infuriated men who preferred to mob and threaten and cover with abuse a political opponent rather than let their old faithful pastor die in peace.”

There was no sign of repentance on the part of the Parnellites. On the contrary, Mr. John Kelly, the Parnellite organiser, in a speech at Hacketstown said “he had heard from Mr. Jordan, M.P., that Hacketstown was a hot spot as it was, but he hoped they would make it hotter.”^{ix}

On the night of Saturday June 27th there was more hooting in the street of Hacketstown, this time at a man from Cork named O’Reilly who had come to see a brother of his, and who was mistaken for one of Justin McCarthy’s followers.^x On Sunday June 28th Rev. Fr. Fenlon addressed the people from the altar after Mass and urged them to vote for Hammond. Fr. Bolger did the same after Mass the next day, which was a Church Holyday. One or two men left the church while Fr. Bolger was speaking.^{xi} At that time of deeply felt religious conviction and respect for the clergy a walk-out like that was almost unheard of, and it shows how deep the political divide had become that even one or two were prepared to brave the execration of many rather than quietly listen to what the priest had to say.

Nomination papers for the two candidates were handed in to the High Sheriff, Major Alexander, J.P., and the sub-sheriff, Mr. Jameson, at the Court House, Carlow on July 1st. Mr. Hammond was nominated by the bishop of the diocese, Dr. Lynch, and by many of his clergy. Oddly, no Hacketstown names appeared among his nominators. Mr. Kettle’s leading nominator was Rev. Bernard O’Neill, the parish priest of Bagenalstown. Mr. Kettle was also nominated by, among others, Garrett Reilly, Hacketstown; Richard Kelly, Hacketstown Lower; Hugh Gillespie, Brown Bog; Patrick McDonnell, Hacketstown Lower; Patrick Shannon, Eaglehill; Thomas Dalton, Hacketstown Lower; Edward Whelan, Constablehill; Sylvester Toole, Hacketstown Lower; James Kavanagh, Kilconnaught and John Dalton, Hacketstown Lower.^{xii}

On the same day Parnell visited Hacketstown. He drove from Carlow, accompanied by Mr. Kettle. Along the way there were demonstrations both friendly and hostile. Mr. Edward Harrington, M.P., and the local band met him outside the town, and accompanied him to the town square where he addressed the assembled people, described by the *Nationalist* as “a small meeting,” and by the “*Carlow Sentinel*” as “a large assemblage.” He reminded them of his previous visit in September 1879 and went on to speak of his views on the Land Bill then before the House of Commons. After that he discussed the merits of the two candidates and “took occasion to doubt Mr. Hammond’s claims to be a Nationalist at all.”^{xiii}

Mr. Harrington invited the Hacketstown people to go with them to Rathvilly, which, he said, was a hostile district. About fourteen cars of Hacketstown men accordingly accompanied them. On the way some of these seriously attacked a reporter from the *National*

Press named Carey, "who was saved from serious violence only by the intervention of Mr. Parnell."^{xiv}

On arrival in Rathvilly it was soon seen that Mr. Harrington's estimate was accurate. Parnell and Kettle were denied a hearing by a crowd that beat tin kettles, cans and trays incessantly and called out inquiries after "Kitty." The Parnellites attempted to escape the attentions of these opponents of all ages and of both sexes by moving the location of their meeting some distance away, but the noisy mob followed them and it was only by the intervention of the police, who formed a cordon round the Parnellites and thus kept the opposing sides apart, that the meeting was able to be held at all. Even as it was the speakers could not be heard except by those immediately next to them. Mr. Kettle "who was able to make himself audible to the representatives of the Press, regretted that Rathvilly should be so ungrateful as not to grant a hearing to a man who had done so much for Ireland."^{xv} Mr. Edward Harrington then followed and while he was speaking "a portion of the crowd got into the chapel yard and there added to the uproar by vigorously beating the door."^{xvi} Two of the clergy watched this from the doors of their residences, but neither attempted to intervene. When Parnell himself attempted to speak the noise was such that he gave up the attempt and simply thanked his friends from Hacketstown. After that the Parnellite group left Rathvilly amid "a renewal of the shouts of "Kitty" and a continued thumping of kettles and cans with ashplants and blackthorns."^{xvii}

That same week a group of Parnell's supporters from Hacketstown who attended a rally in Carlow were attacked by a party of women and children and a driver from Hacketstown sustained serious facial injuries as a result.^{xviii}



John Redmond
Courtesy National Library of Ireland

On the day of the poll, one of the curates, Fr. Timothy Fenelon, acted as Mr. Hammond's personating agent in the Hacketstown polling booth, which was situated in the Courthouse.^{xix} This, which would seem highly unusual if it were to occur nowadays, was the normal practice of the time, and the same thing was happening all over the county on that day. Presumably the priests would see to it that no fraud would take place, and the presence of one of the parish clergy in the polling booth would be a useful reminder to the voters of what their spiritual leaders expected of them.

The result of the election was a heavy defeat for the Parnellites. Hammond won the seat with 3,755 votes to Kettle's 1,539. The only district thought to have returned a majority of votes for Parnell's candidate was Hacketstown. It would appear that Hacketstown was out of step with the rest of Carlow on this important occasion.

The anti-Parnellites came up with various explanations for this. Hacketstown was said to have a large number of illiterate voters. (The assumption here would appear to be that such voters were more likely to favour Parnell, though the presence of Fr. Fenelon in the polling booth would presumably have acted as a strong disincentive to any illiterate voting against the clergy's preferred candidate) Hacketstown was also thought to be influenced to some extent by Mr. Hume Dick, who, as a Tory was naturally supposed to be backing Parnell's candidate as a way to wreck the hopes of the Home Rule Party.^{xx} Finally an article in the *Wexford People* referred to "the terrorism of porter and pence in Hacketstown" which, it said had "led some fifty or sixty there astray."^{xxi} This reference, taken with a similar remark in Nicholas O'Toole's letter quoted above, points to a definite involvement of Hacketstown publicans with the Parnellite cause. One such publican was certainly Thomas Shannon. James Shannon may have been another. It is not clear why publicans in Hacketstown should have been using their businesses to support Parnell, but there undoubtedly was a belief that they had done so. There was also a belief that some people had been promised monetary rewards to support Parnell's candidate and that this would be channelled through the publicans. The *Nationalist* of September 12th under the heading "Notes from Hacketstown" reported that "the noble sum of £5 has reached a Leadership publican in Hacketstown to be disposed of as he thinks fit." The anonymous writer was of the opinion that of the several claimants the bandsmen would have the best chance, since "they will drink it; the poor mobsmen or women might eat it; consequently the former will have it."^{xxii}

At the Hacketstown Petty Sessions court on August 6th Mr. W.E. Jones, J.P., dealt with several cases arising out of the election. John D'Arcy charged S. Doyle with using provoking language towards him and with presenting a fork at him on the street. The case was dismissed.

Thomas McArdle, an old man, summoned a youth, John Doran, for spitting in his face on his way to vote on the day of the election. Doran charged McArdle with assaulting him. Mr. Jones said he was himself a witness to the incident, dismissed the charge against Doran, and fined McArdle 2s 6d and costs.

M. O'Neill charged J. Neill with abusive language. J. Neill counter-charged M. O'Neill with assaulting him by dragging him along the street to the barrack. The blood, he said, "was coming out, or just on the point of coming out, the butts of his ears." M. O'Neill denied using unnecessary force. He had only brought the boy to the barrack to ascertain his name. Mr. Jones held that a technical assault had been committed and fined Mr. O'Neill 1d and costs. For the abusive language J. Neill and his mother were both fined 2s 6d and costs. M. O'Neill commented, "They are only part of an organised mob that is kept on the street to annoy me and others. It is unbearable, this conduct."

Christy Callahan, described as "a local tinsmith," and his wife were both convicted and fined for imbibing too freely during the election. Mrs. Callahan said, "It was all in regard of poor Charlie."^{xxiii}

No reports of any branch of the new (anti-Parnellite) National Federation being founded in Hacketstown appear in the papers at this time. There was however such a branch in Knockanna. The president was Fr. M.H. Bolger, C.C., the hon.sec. was Peter Foley, P.L.G., and the treasurer was George Graham. Among those who attended a meeting of this branch on Sunday 17th September 1891 were Hugh Keefe, Edward Gibbons, Andrew Coots, James

Connor, Henry Kavanagh, Patrick Hughes and Daniel Whelan. The Rev. Chairman expressed satisfaction that the branch already had eighty members, though this was only their third meeting and that this flourishing branch drew its members “from that very portion of this country which might be considered the very stronghold of Parnellism, namely the Hacketstown district of Carlow and West Wicklow.”^{xxxiv} It was also commented that “the good and patriotic people of Askanagap Chapel district” had “almost to a man joined this branch.”

On Friday the 16th of October 1891 an extraordinary meeting of the Hacketstown Dispensary Committee took place for the purpose of electing a medical officer for the Hacketstown and Coolkenna Dispensary District. There were five applicants for the position, but in the end the choice came down to two, Dr. Jackson who had been proposed by the Hon. H.W. Boscawen and seconded by A. Lawrenson, and Dr. Esmonde who happened to be a Catholic and who was proposed by John Lyons and seconded by Nicholas O’Toole. Mr. O’Toole said that he felt obliged to support the election of a Catholic. He and his fellow Guardians had learnt that lesson from the Protestant Guardians in the room who were never known to miss an opportunity of supporting men of their own religion, therefore it was necessary for them to go and do likewise. The vote was taken and the result starkly illustrated the religious and political divide. Six members, all Unionist and Protestant, voted for Dr. Jackson – Hon. H.W. Boscawen, Major Newton, W.E. Jones, J.P., A. Lawrenson, T.F. Haskins, P.L.G., and John Young. Dr. Esmonde had the support of seven members, all Nationalist and Catholic – John Lyons, P.L.G., Nicholas O’Toole, P.L.G., Pierce Butler, P.L.G., John Kelly, P.L.G., P.Byrne, P.L.G., E.J. Ferris, P.L.G., and Pierce Butler. Dr. Esmonde thus became the first Catholic doctor ever elected in the Shillelagh Union.^{xxxv}

The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the Knockananna branch of the National Federation at a meeting on October 25th, on the proposal of L. Gartland :- “That we, the members of the Knockananna National Federation, henceforth do our utmost to quell the spirit of faction that has arisen in the once united and indomitable national ranks of Ireland, and that we show ourselves ever willing to extend the hand of friendship to those of our former comrades who for a short time may have erred in the path to Ireland’s victory.”^{xxxvi} Presumably the death of Parnell on October 6th had inspired a hope that the movement could reunite now that the cause of the split had been removed from the scene. If that was the wish of the Knockananna men it was to be disappointed. The bitterness of the split had been too great, the personal abuse too hurtful and too widespread for any easy healing of the division. The movement nationally was to remain divided for the rest of the decade, and there is no reason to suppose that this area was any different in that respect from the rest of the country.

The continuing strength of Parnellite sympathies in Hacketstown was dramatically illustrated on Christmas Eve 1891 when word reached the town of John Redmond’s victory in the Waterford by-election. The *Nationalist’s* correspondent caustically described the celebrations: “the street, the lanes, the rows, were made hideous by the yelling of a crowd of half-drunken, whole-frenzied women, and men and boys. They roared for hours and one in ten did not know why. Strange to say ‘tis the women (the most of whom if not the wives of tinmen are worthy of that honour) who are the leaders of Parnellite political thought and action in that town. A few of the respectable shopkeepers lighted up their establishments through fear.”^{xxxvii}

Thomas Shannon, one of the shopkeepers in question and the

principal organiser of the celebrations, vehemently denied this latter allegation in a letter to the Carlow Vindicator. Describing the *Nationalist* as “your Whig contemporary” and its description of the celebrations as “the lying report anent the proceedings in Hacketstown on Christmas Eve” he went on to say that “the publicans who illuminated their houses on the occasion are all Parnellites, and required no intimidation from any quarter to do honour to their dear departed Chief’s representative, J. E. Redmond.”^{xxxviii}

There were some signs that the anti-Parnellite National Federation branch in Knockananna was not receiving the degree of support that its leaders would have liked. A meeting of the branch on March 6th 1892 called on the “good men of Rathshanmore and other districts not as yet adequately represented here to join this branch without further delay.” The Rev. Chairman, Fr. Bolger, felt it necessary to make it clear that he had the authority of the parish priest, Fr. Monahan, for his involvement in the movement. Indeed, he said, when he took the chair he did so not only with the sanction, but with the well wishes of his superior, and those good wishes he and the members of the branch still enjoyed.^{xxxix} Fr. Bolger explicitly stated that he was making this statement to “dispel the fears of some who ... still abstain from joining our Federation, because, as they say, they fear it has no higher sanction in the parish than mine.”

The Parnellite National League held a County Convention in Carlow on Sunday April 24th. This convention elected Michael Governey of Carlow as President, John P. Clowry as Secretary and John Whelan as Treasurer. The delegates from Hacketstown were: Pierce Butler, PLG; J.P. Kealy; Thomas Shannon; James Carroll; James Hutton; Daniel Ward; Patrick McDonald; Edward Carroll; E.P. O’Kelly; John Ward; James Shannon; John King; John. Kelly and J. Byrne.^{xl}

The general election of July 1892 that brought Gladstone’s Liberal Party back to power in Britain was of course bitterly contested in Ireland between the Parnellite and anti-Parnellite wings of the Home Rule Party. In Hacketstown a trivial celebration of an electoral gain led to the prosecution of three of the most prominent local Parnellites. On the night of July 13th Pierce Butler, PLG and James Carroll knocked on the door of Thomas Shannon at 11.15 p.m. Mr. Shannon came to the door and enquired if they had any good news, to which Mr. Butler replied, “Yes, Luke P. Hayden is in for Roscommon.” Mr. Shannon then invited them in and said he would treat them. Sergeant Dalton followed the men in and summoned Mr. Shannon for having his premises open for the sale of intoxicating drink after hours, and the other two men for being “found on.” The case came before R.R. Kennedy, R.M. and W.E. Jones at Hacketstown Petty Sessions on July 28th. The sergeant gave evidence of entering the premises and finding the two men in the kitchen. Mr. Butler and Mr. Shannon swore that Mr. Carroll never asked for drink. Mr. Shannon told the court that he was treating the two men and the case was dismissed.^{xli}

Parnellite supporters, styling themselves “Independent Men of Hacketstown” presented John Redmond, M.P., with an address of welcome when he addressed a large meeting at Aughrim in August.^{xlii} Redmond on that occasion made a major speech that looked forward to the speedy introduction of a Home Rule Bill, but also called for the two sides of the Nationalist community to come together to work for the relief of evicted tenants.

In October of that year, in response to a question in the House of Commons from Patrick O’Brien the Postmaster-General announced the government’s intention of establishing a telegraph

office in Hacketstown as soon as possible after the end of the following March.^{xxxiii}

A meeting of Hacketstown Dispensary Committee on October 24th for the purpose of electing a midwife for the district gives us a very interesting glimpse of local politics. Fr. Thomas Monahan had now become chairman of the committee. Only five other members attended – John Lyons, PLG; Nicholas O'Toole, PLG; Pierce Butler, PLG; Thomas Dowling, PLG, and John Young. There were ten candidates for the position and a Mrs. Carley of the Rotunda Lying-in Hospital was elected unanimously.^{xxxiv} Where were the Unionist members who had supported Dr. Jackson for the medical officer's post just one year earlier? Of them all only John Young was present. Had the others concluded that they were now permanently outnumbered by the Nationalists on the committee, making it useless to oppose the Nationalists' choice, or was there no candidate of a Unionist complexion seeking the job? It certainly began to look as if the Nationalists had now established firm control over this particular committee, and the fact that Fr. Monahan had succeeded Fr. Boland in the chair is an indication of the importance attached by the clergy to the work of the committee and to maintaining clerical control.

Fr. Monahan also became President of the Knockananna branch of the Irish National Federation at a meeting called to reorganise that branch on the first Sunday of November 1892. A circular had gone out calling on the people of Knockananna and neighbouring districts to attend. A large number did attend including many of the old members of the Land and National Leagues. Peter Foley, PLG was there as were George Graham, P. Nolan, John Ryan, J. Kinsella, P. Farrell, J. Keeffe, Edward Farrell, P. Byrne, J. Dowling, A. Coates, H. Kavanagh, D. Whelan, J. Cullen, Philip Doyle, L. Gartland, J. Connor, H. Keeffe, Jas. Ryan, J. Dunne, D. Connor, P. Hughes, Denis Cullen and Edward Gibbons. Fr. Monahan made a long speech in the course of which he called for support for the Irish Party at Westminster who, he said, could be trusted to do what was right, to support the Liberal government when it was good to do so and to oppose them when they had reason. He also decried those in other parts of the country – some not far from home, he said, – who raised the unnatural cry – "No priests in politics." Generally, he said, when people don't want the priests with them in politics they don't want them in anything else.^{xxxv}

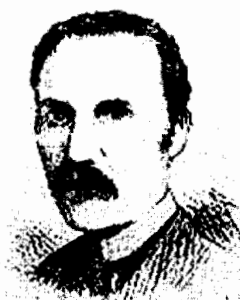
In early 1893 the editor of the *"Nationalist"*, Mr. Conlan, found that his robust support for the national cause could be costly when an aggrieved political opponent sued him for libel. Mr. Conlan lost the case and as a result faced heavy financial loss. A Nationalist Indemnity Fund was immediately set up to help defray his expenses. This fund attracted a great deal of support, many of the subscribers seeing in the libel case a barefaced attempt by establishment supporters to muzzle the *"Nationalist"*. The Hacketstown subscription list was published on March 11th 1893 and the amount subscribed amounted to £3. 17s. 6d. all of which was given by just ten individuals. Fr. Monahan gave £1, Michael O'Neill, James Shannon and Patrick Cullen 10s. each, Mrs. Murphy, James Whelan, Michael Gartland, Nicholas O'Toole and John Lyons 5s. each, while James O'Neill subscribed 2s. 6d.

In November 1894 a vacancy in the Coronership of County Carlow led to a renewal of the bitterness and division between Parnellites and anti-Parnellites. There were three candidates for the position. Dr. Joseph John Nolan was the candidate of the anti-Parnellites. Mr. J. Hammond, M.P. proposed him and Mr. M. Molloy, T.C. seconded the nomination. Michael Governey proposed Mr. Edward Thomas Mulhall, solicitor of Athy St.,

Carlow, and he was seconded by Mr. William Curran of Busherstown. The third candidate was Dr. Francis Philip Colgan of Athy St., Carlow, proposed by Fr. James Robinson, P.P., Tinryland and seconded by Mr. Patrick Kinsella, Ballytarsna. During the campaign there were accusations from some of Mr. Mulhall's supporters that Dr. Colgan had promised support to their candidate and had actually canvassed with him, which leads one to suppose that the Parnellite vote was being split between two candidates.

The election took place on Friday 23rd November and the result was: - Nolan 1913; Mulhall 950; Colgan 232. The anti-Parnellites had once again carried the day.

Hacketstown voted:- Nolan 126, Mulhall 82, Colgan 0. William Byrne of Hacketstown was Nolan's agent for the area and Pierce Butler acted in the same capacity for Mulhall. Hacketstown, like the rest of the county and country was still divided along the lines of 1890. Indeed the *"Nationalist"* of December 1st 1894 in a rather distastefully triumphalist article stated that Dr. Nolan's committee had made a point not to ask any avowed Redmondite for a vote, and, continued the article, "on the other hand, all that remained of the defunct ascendancy party joined hand in hand heartily with the destroyers of Irish unity to strike a blow against Dr. Nolan's cause."^{xxxviii}



T. Harrington
Courtesy National Library of Ireland

By the time of the general election of 1895 the Parnellite cause was so weak in County Carlow that no candidate was even nominated. Mr. Hammond retained the support of the clergy, being nominated by the bishop, Dr. Lynch, by his coadjutor, Dr. Comerford and by many parish clergy. His only opponent was Mr. Steuart Duckett (Unionist) who polled 685 votes to Mr. Hammond's 3,091. In Hacketstown on election day Mr. Hammond was well represented, having as agents at the polling booths Michael O'Neill, Patrick Cullen, Nicholas O'Toole, John Lyons, Patrick McCall, Thomas Donohue and Hugh Coogan.^{xxxvi}

Despite their inability to field a candidate the zeal of the Parnellites (or Redmondites, as they were now known) was undiminished, and in late January 1896 they held a large meeting in Carlow town, which was chaired by Michael Governey and addressed by John Redmond himself. A large delegation from Hacketstown included Pierce Butler, PLG, J.P. Kealy, T. Shannon, J. Doyle, R.Kelly, E.P. Kelly (Rathdangan), P.McDonnell, J.Carroll, T. Dempsey, A. Kavanagh, J.Byrne, J.Doyle (Coolmanagh), E.Carroll, J.Doyle, L.Walsh, M.Doyle, W.Doyle, E.McDonnell, J.Kelly, T. Bennett, H.Jordan, E. Walshe, T.Reilly, D. Shannon, M.Reilly, W. Lawlor, J. Dempsey, R.Butler (Rathvilly), and P. Lawlor (also Rathvilly.) This delegation also presented an address to the meeting, which was signed by Pierce Butler, PLG, Garrett O'Reilly, J.P. Kealy, Thomas Shannon, Andrew Kavanagh and Patrick McDonnell. This document failed

to impress the *"Nationalist"*. "The Hacketstown incense bearers," said that publication "dragged in Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Wolfe Tone in the most approved hillside fashion."^{xxxvii}

Another indication of lingering esteem for the lost leader was the attendance at a commemorative parade in Dublin of Patrick McDonnell and Thomas O'Reilly of Hacketstown G.A.A. Club. This parade, from St. Stephen's Green to Glasnevin cemetery, took place on October 6th 1896, the fifth anniversary of Parnell's death.

Two years later the centenary of the 1798 Rebellion inspired a revival of nationalist sentiment throughout the country and much energy was devoted to the organisation of commemorative events, the erection of monuments and the making of patriotic speeches. The dedication of the Carlow-Graigue '98 Memorial in July 1898 was a well-attended event that appears to have drawn support from both sides of the Parnellite split. John Hammond, MP and Michael Governey were both present. The Hacketstown delegation was as follows:- Pierce Butler, PLG, John McArdle, Michael Barry, Edward Carroll, William Dempsey, Michael Doyle, Edwd. Walsh, Patrick Doyle, John Cullen, Patrick Kennedy, John Byrne, James Byrne, William Spooner and Patrick Delaney.

In August 1898 the British Parliament passed the Local Government (Ireland) Act, which abolished the old landlord-dominated Grand Juries and replaced them with county councils, borough corporations, urban district councils and rural district councils.

A very large crowd attended a meeting in Hacketstown on Sunday 26th February 1899 for the purpose of selecting candidates to represent the Clonmore and Hacketstown division on the county council and rural district council. The *"Nationalist"* estimated fully 400 persons were present. The meeting, on the motion of Nicholas O'Toole, chose Rev. Thomas Monahan as Chairman and Fr. Ramsbottom and Mr. P. Delany as Secretaries. Maurice Roche of Ballyshane proposed John Lyons as a candidate for the county council, describing him as the unanimous choice of the men of Clonmore. James Shannon seconded this proposal and Nicholas O'Toole warmly supported Mr. Lyons. Patrick Shannon, Eagle Hill, proposed James P. Kealy of the Hotel and Lar Brennan, described by the *"Nationalist"* as "labourer", made an able speech in support, quoting "apt passages from the Encyclical of Leo XIII on the labour question."^{xxxviii} No other candidates were proposed. Mr. Kealy thanked the meeting for selecting him and promised to do all in his power for the good and benefit of the labourers.

The meeting moved on to selecting candidates for the Rural District Council. Mike Doyle proposed Lar Brennan, labourer. After a considerable pause the Rev. Chairman asked was there a seconder and "strongly deprecated the idea of sending in, as guardian of the poor, those who would be unfit to discharge their duties, or have not time to devote to them." Despite this remarkable intervention Mr. James Kealy seconded Mr. Brennan's nomination. Mr. Patrick Cullen of Hacketstown and Nicholas O'Toole of Scotland were also selected.

When the elections took place in early April 1899 John Lyons defeated James Kealy by 180 votes to 154 for the county council seat. Hacketstown's two rural district council seats were taken by Patrick Cullen, with 132 votes, and Nicholas O'Toole, with 122. Lar Brennan was a distant third with 69 votes. The influence of Fr. Monahan was obviously strong. Nevertheless James Kealy's surprisingly strong showing against so popular, experienced and respected a candidate as John Lyons seems to indicate continuing Parnellite strength in the district.



Tim Healy

Courtesy National Library of Ireland

The longrunning split in the nationalist forces was finally healed by the re-unification of the Home Rule Party under the leadership of John Redmond in early 1900. The United Irish League was recognised as the constituency organisation of the Party. This led to a revival of enthusiasm for party politics in many parts of the country where there had been little sign of activity since the split. Hacketstown was no exception. A large public meeting was held there on Sunday July 14th 1901 for the purpose of forming a branch of the United Irish League. Fr. Ramsbottom, a curate in the parish chaired this meeting. Nicholas O'Toole proposed the establishment of the branch and John Lyons, in seconding the proposal, made reference to the necessity for farmers to unite in supporting the League if they wanted to see compulsory purchase from the landlords introduced. Now that the Ulster farmers, under Mr. T.W. Russell, had joined the movement it was impossible, he said, that the day of final emancipation from landlordism could be long delayed. Thus urged, a large number of members enrolled and the meeting closed.

Another very large meeting was held in Hacketstown on Sunday December 22nd 1901. Another curate, Fr. Thomas Byrne, chaired this meeting, which was addressed at great length by Fr. Ramsbottom and by E.P. O'Kelly of Baltinglass, the chairman of Wicklow County Council, who laid great stress on the need for unity and strength in the face of the government's coercion policy.^{xxxix}

Another big meeting of League supporters took place in Hacketstown on Sunday, January 19th 1902. Chaired once again by Fr. Byrne, this meeting was called to respond to an auction announcement of the letting on the eleven months' system of a seven hundred acre grass farm in the area. The two principal speakers were John O'Donnell, MP, and Mr. James Kennedy, solicitor, Naas, both of whom urged the listeners to have nothing to do with this auction. Landlordism would have to be got rid of, they both said, and these big grazing ranches broken up into smaller holdings. Mr. Kennedy was especially eloquent on the evils of landgrabbing and urged his audience to make up their minds to get rid of the landgrabber. The people of Carlow and Wicklow, he said, had not been half alive enough up to this.^{xl}

Fr. Ramsbottom also addressed the meeting and pointed out that the 700 acres now about to be used for grazing was once divided between 14 or 15 families who had been dispossessed "because they refused to send their political principles to damnation," and now all the farm was – which he might call a grazing ranch – the property of one man only. He would advise those listening to him

to let that ranch severely alone. (That last phrase is reminiscent of Parnell's famous exhortation on what to do with a man who took a farm from which another had been evicted.) The advice of the speakers was heeded and the strong feelings aroused throughout the community proved sufficient to prevent the letting of the land. The people attended the auction in numbers and there was a sizable force of the R.I.C. on duty in case of trouble, but no bids were made. However S. Somers of Hacketstown in a letter to the "*Nationalist*" on March 6th referred to rumours that two lots of land had been subsequently taken and called for the Hacketstown branch of the United Irish League to take the question up strongly.⁴¹

At this stage it seemed as if the Parnellite split was healed. The Home Rule Party was reunited, the United Irish League enjoyed the support of Parnellites and anti-Parnellites alike, and the people were once more focussing on the struggle against landlordism.

This restored unity was fragile however as was shown by the campaign for the Clonmore and Hacketstown county council seat in 1902. John Lyons was running for re-election, and this time around Pierce Butler opposed him. Mr. Butler succeeded in getting one of the local curates, Fr. Byrne, to nominate him, thus causing a certain amount of consternation, particularly among Fr. Byrne's fellow priests in the parish. At a public meeting on May 25th 1902, called for the purpose of supporting the candidacy of John Lyons, Fr. Ramsbottom condemned in forthright terms the action of his fellow curate in opposing Mr. Lyons, but put it down to youth and inexperience on Fr. Byrne's part.

The parish priest, Fr. Monahan, who chaired the meeting, was not so diplomatic. He blamed James Kealy for putting Mr. Butler forward as a means of getting revenge for his own defeat at Mr. Lyons's hands three years earlier. Fr. Monahan was very critical of the action of Fr. Byrne in nominating Mr. Butler "without the least warning to or consultation with the other four priests of the division"⁴² and he ascribed Fr. Byrne's action to the fact that he held a grudge against John Lyons because Mr. Lyons had failed to support Fr. Byrne's brother when that gentleman was seeking appointment as returning officer for the election. (Mr. Lyons had also voted against the same brother when he sought appointment as a rate collector with the county council.) This plain speaking indicates perhaps a feeling on the part of the parish priest that his curate had overstepped himself. There may also have been a fear that clerical support for Mr. Butler, unless disavowed by superior authority, might damage Mr. Lyons's chances.

In the end such fears were groundless. John Lyons polled 209 votes to Mr. Butler's 115. Mr. Lyons's position was as secure as it could be for the foreseeable future and the Butler challenge was likely to be the last serious effort to unseat him.

The dissension did not die with the election. Letters in the "*Nationalist*" from Nicholas O'Toole, John Hutton, Pierce Butler and John Lyons himself kept it alive until the editor appealed to the parties to allow the controversy to cease.⁴³ Thus it can be seen that the ill feeling caused by the Parnellite split was still very much in existence in Hacketstown ten years and more after the Chief himself had gone to his rest in Glasnevin.

References

- ¹ *Nationalist*, November 8th 1890
- ² *Nationalist*, November 22nd 1890
- ³ *Nationalist*, November 22nd 1890
- ⁴ *Nationalist*, January 17th 1891
- ⁵ A Chronology of Irish History since 1500, Doherty and Hickey, Dublin 1989, p.166.
- ⁶ *Nationalist*, April 18th 1891
- ⁷ *Nationalist*, April 18th 1891
- ⁸ *Nationalist*, June 27th 1891
- ⁹ *Nationalist*, June 27th 1891
- ¹⁰ *Nationalist*, July 4th 1891
- ¹¹ *Nationalist*, July 4th 1891
- ¹² *Nationalist*, July 4th 1891
- ¹³ *Carlow Sentinel*, July 4th 1891
- ¹⁴ *Nationalist*, July 4th 1891
- ¹⁵ *Carlow Sentinel*, July 4th 1891
- ¹⁶ *Carlow Sentinel*, July 4th 1891
- ¹⁷ *Carlow Sentinel*, July 4th 1891
- ¹⁸ *Carlow Sentinel*, July 4th 1891
- ¹⁹ *Nationalist*, July 11th 1891
- ²⁰ *Nationalist*, July 18th 1891
- ²¹ *Nationalist*, July 18th 1891
- ²² *Nationalist*, September 12th 1891
- ²³ *Nationalist*, August 8th 1891
- ²⁴ *Nationalist*, October 3rd 1891
- ²⁵ *Nationalist*, October 24th 1891
- ²⁶ *Nationalist*, October 31st 1891
- ²⁷ *Nationalist*, January 2nd 1892
- ²⁸ *Carlow Vindicator*, January 9th 1892
- ²⁹ *Nationalist*, March 12th 1892
- ³⁰ *Vindicator*, April 30th 1892
- ³¹ *Vindicator*, August 6th 1892
- ³² *Vindicator*, August 27th 1892
- ³³ *Vindicator*, October 15th 1892
- ³⁴ *Vindicator*, November 19th 1892
- ³⁵ *Nationalist*, November 12th 1892.
- ³⁶ *Nationalist*, July 27th 1895.
- ³⁷ *Nationalist*, February 1st 1896
- ³⁸ *Nationalist*, March 4th 1899
- ³⁹ *Nationalist*, December 22nd 1901
- ⁴⁰ *Nationalist*, January 25th 1902
- ⁴¹ *Nationalist*, March 22nd 1902
- ⁴² *Nationalist*, May 31st 1902
- ⁴³ *Nationalist*, June 14th 1902

COUNTY CARLOW AND THE MANSION HOUSE FAMINE RELIEF FUND

James P. Shannon

The late 1870s were bad years for rural Ireland. Agricultural depression was widespread and severe, caused by unprecedented competition from many quarters. The invention of refrigerated shipping enabled Argentinean ranchers to flood the European market with cheap beef. Australia and New Zealand did the same with lamb and wool, while the farmers of the American Midwest used the new transcontinental railways to ship enormous quantities of grain to the ports for export to Europe. The effect of all this was seriously to drive down prices for all agricultural products, which was good news for consumers but disastrous for farmers, particularly for Irish farmers who found that their costs of production were as high as ever, as were their rents, while their incomes had suffered a crippling fall.

On top of this already serious situation came a series of bad harvests in the late 1870s. Then, as a final misfortune, the year 1879 turned out to be the wettest year in history. Between March and September rain fell on 125 out of 183 days. The results were that the year's harvest was the worst since the Great Famine and that practically none of the turf cut that year was saved.ⁱ

As a result, by the end of 1879 many parts of Ireland were experiencing serious levels of deprivation. For many years before this great numbers of the poor had lived a very precarious existence and now the combined effect of agricultural depression and atrocious weather was to push them into actual famine. This famine is sometimes known as the "Little Famine" in order to distinguish it from the appalling catastrophe of the 1840s, but there was nothing little or trivial about the plight of thousands of people who faced utter destitution and starvation unless something could be done to aid them.

The Duchess of Marlborough, wife of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland established a fund for the relief of the starving tenantry on December 18th 1879. Then on January 2nd 1880 a very well attended public meeting at the Mansion House, chaired by Edmund Dwyer Gray, the Lord Mayor of Dublin, who later that same year became Member of Parliament for Carlow, set up the Mansion House Fund for the Relief of Distress in Ireland. The idea for such a fund had actually come from Gray's predecessor as Lord Mayor, Sir John Barrington, whose earlier meeting for the purpose had been adjourned to January 2nd to enable more people to attend. The organisers were at great pains to emphasise that they did not intend their fund to be in competition with the Duchess of Marlborough's Fund.ⁱⁱ Several speakers also stressed that the distress, while not on the scale of the 1840s, was yet verging on famine conditions in several parts of the country, particularly in the west and south, but not only in those areas. There was also severe distress in Dublin, among respectable tradesmen who had hitherto been able to earn a decent living, as well as among the very poor.

A voluntary committee of which Edmund Dwyer Gray was himself the Chairman ran this Fund. Money was raised in Europe, North America and as far away as India and Australia, as well as from charitable people at home. There was a General Committee which co-ordinated business and a series of subcommittees, which did most of the actual work. There were seven Honorary Treasurers and seven Honorary Secretaries, all elected and all members of every subcommittee. There was also a



Edmond Dwyer Gray
Courtesy National Library of Ireland

small staff of salaried clerks, headed by the Assistant Secretary, J.H. Wright, who was himself a salaried official.

At the inaugural meeting many sizeable contributions were pledged by some of those in attendance. For example the Lord Mayor gave £50, Sir Arthur Guinness £200, Sir John Arnott £100 and so on. By January 7th the fund had gathered £2,790.ⁱⁱⁱ

The money raised was distributed to local committees in distressed districts with the proviso that it was to be spent on food, fuel or clothing.

Borris

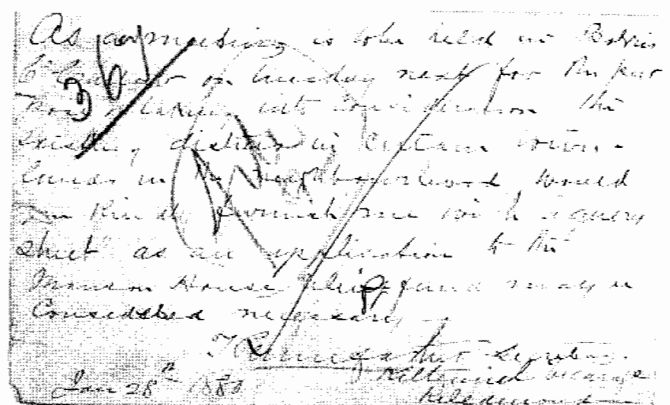
The first contact with the Mansion House Committee from Co. Carlow came from the Borris area, in the form of a postcard that read as follows:

As a meeting is to be held in Borris, Co. Carlow on Tuesday next for the purpose of taking into consideration the existing distress in certain townlands in the neighbourhood, would you kindly furnish me with a "query sheet" as an application to the Mansion House Relief Fund may be considered necessary.

T. Pennyfather, Secretary
Kiltannel Vicarage
Killedmond

Jan 28th 1880

This postcard is marked "file 8/2" but there is no record of any further correspondence in the matter.



Killedmond Postcard
Courtesy National Library of Ireland

Leighlinbridge

The next Carlow application to the Mansion House Committee came from Leighlinbridge in a letter dated March 6th 1880 and signed by Rev. J.W. Abbott, Secretary of the newly formed Leighlinbridge Dispensary District Relief Committee. This letter said that a list of over five hundred persons in the area who were in a state of destitution had been prepared by the police on a house-to-house canvass.^{iv}

In reply to this initial letter the Mansion House Fund sent out its standard application form, which was returned completed on March 16th.

In this application form the Leighlinbridge committee defined its area of operation as the dispensary district comprising the electoral divisions of Leighlin Bridge, Old Leighlin, Rathvindon and the Ridge.

The committee said that no application had been made to the Marlborough Fund or any other fund, but left blank the question that followed; if not, why not? The rate in each division of the committee's area for that year was stated to be respectively 2/-, 1/10d, 1/-, and 1/8d in the pound.

The Leighlinbridge Committee estimated that there were close on a thousand persons in need of relief in the area, and that that number "will probably be still further increased as the malt houses, which at present give some employment, will be closed for the (season?) about the end of May."^v

Question 8 on the application form was "what has been the condition in life of these in past time, and to what causes may their present destitution be mainly attributed? The Leighlinbridge committee's answer to this was "Principally of the labouring classes, the present exceptional distress being chiefly caused by the unfavourable season, which has narrowed the resources of the farmers, and consequently the means of subsistence of those dependent on such employment for their support."^{vi}

In answer to Question 9, "what efforts have been made and what money has been subscribed towards relieving the distress in the district?" the Leighlinbridge Committee replied, "Public subscriptions & interest amounting to £15 on bequest, in all about £55."

In their application the members of the committee stated their intention was to distribute any relief obtained from the

Mansion House Fund in food only, and they undertook to abide by the requirements of the Committee of that fund that they keep a book containing the names of those given relief, their ages, occupations, numbers in families, amount of land held, and amount and duration of relief given, this book to be available for inspection by the Mansion House Committee. They further bound themselves to "keep an account showing the receipts and disbursements of any sums received from the Fund, and to furnish weekly a statement of the manner in which such grants have been expended, with the vouchers for the same."^{vii}

The application form also required the applicants to write the names of the local committee and the names and addresses of the Officers, with the religion of each member. Clergy of all denominations were to be included where practicable and where not practicable a reason had to be given. The Leighlinbridge answer was as follows:

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| George Alexander Esq., Rathvindon, Leighlinbridge, Chairman. | Rev. J. Dempsey, R.C.C. |
| Revd.J. W. Abbott, The Rectory, Old Leighlin, Secretary. | Mr. Patk. Foley, R.C. |
| Rev.J. Dunny, R.C. Curate, Leighlinbridge, Treasurer | Mr. Jas. Foley, R.C. |
| Rev. J.D. Wyer, P.P. | Mr. Robt. Kehoe, R.C. |
| Major J. C. Vigors, J.P., I.C. | Mr. John Nolan, R.C. |
| J. Innis Bathe Esq. I.C. | Mr. Michl. Jeffers, I.C. |
| R.K. Philips, M.D., I.C. | Mr. John Kinsella, R.C. |
| Hugh Cullen Esq., R.C. | A. McClintock Esq., I.C. |
| Mr. Phillip Brennan, R.C. | Mr. Edwd. Fennell, I.C. |
| Mr. John Brennan, R.C. | |
| Mr. John Smyth, I.C. | |
| Mr. Thomas Agar, I.C. | |

Philip Brennan, from Leighlinbridge, and Patrick and James Foley of Old Leighlin were farmers. Richard Philips was a doctor in Leighlinbridge, and John Nolan appears to have had extensive business interests in that town, being listed as a grocery and spirit dealer, a hotelkeeper, linen and woollen draper and haberdasher as well as the proprietor of a public house.^{viii}

On receipt of this application form the Mansion House Committee acted promptly. The Mansion House Committee received the application form on 16th March. On March 18th £20 was sent to the Leighlinbridge committee, and their receipt for this amount, dated March 20th, was signed by G.Alexander, Chairman, and L.W. Abbott, Hon. Sec. As well as this official receipt (no. 1313) there was a letter of thanks from Rev. Abbott, also dated March 20th.^{ix}

By the end of the month the money was spent and on March 29th Rev. Abbott wrote again to the Secretaries of the Mansion House Fund stating this, and that "destitution still continues to spread at an alarming rate."^x The response to this was a further grant of £15, which on April 3rd was duly acknowledged on Receipt no. 1768, signed by L.W. Abbott, Sec. and James Dunny, Trs.^{xi}

A further appeal from Rev. Abbott, which was received at the Mansion house on May 12th, resulted in another grant of £15. This too was acknowledged in Receipt no. 3342, signed on May 15th by Rev. Abbott and Mr. Alexander.^{xii}

On May 28th Rev. Abbott wrote once again appealing for further help. "Although our available funds are not yet exhausted," he said, "still they must come to the end in a week or two, and unless we can obtain some additional help we shall have no means of coping with the destitution which will doubtless exist among us for the next three months."^{xiii}

This time the response was different. Mr. Abbott's letter is marked "refused 31/5" in blue pencil on the front, and two lines in blue pencil are drawn in the margin beside the phrase "not yet exhausted."

This refusal seems to mark the end of the Mansion House Committee's aid to the Leighlinbridge committee. It would appear that the Mansion House Committee was not satisfied with

Write Names of your Committee, and the Names and Addresses of the Officers, with Religion of each Member on this page.

[N.B.—On this Committee Clergy of all Denominations should be included where practicable, and where not practicable, a reason must be given.]

George Alexander Esq. (I.C.) Chairman
 Rathvindon, Leighlin Bridge
 Rev. J.W. Abbott Secretary
 The Rectory, Old Leighlin
 Rev. J. Dunny, R.C. Curate Treasurer
 Leighlin Bridge

COMMITTEE:

Rev. J.D. Wyer, P.P.	Rev. J. Dempsey, R.C.C.
Major J.C. Vigors, J.P., I.C.	Mr. Patk. Foley, R.C.
J. Innis Bathe Esq. I.C.	Mr. Jas. Foley, R.C.
R.K. Philips Esq. M.D., I.C.	Mr. Robt. Kehoe, R.C.
Hugh Cullen Esq. R.C.	Mr. John Nolan, R.C.
Mr. Phillip Brennan, R.C.	Mr. Michl. Jeffers, I.C.
Mr. John Brennan, R.C.	Mr. John Kinsella, R.C.
Mr. John Smyth, I.C.	A. McClintock Esq., I.C.
Mr. Thomas Agar, I.C.	Mr. Edwd. Fennell, I.C.

Leighlinbridge Relief Committee - Courtesy Dublin City Archives

the accounts of expenditure supplied by Leighlinbridge. On May 28th Rev. Abbott addressed another letter to the The Secretary, Mansion House Relief Fund. This letter was received at the Mansion House on May 29th and it is worth quoting in full:

Dear Sir,

Kindly excuse my not having replied sooner to your letter of the 17th inst., the delay being occasioned by my not having an earlier opportunity of getting the correct figures from the Treasurer. The inaccuracy to which you call attention arose wholly from my having supplied the figures from memory, without having actually vouched them by the Treasurer's account. I now enclose forms for all the weeks since the first distribution, which I trust may be received in good time.

Very truly yours etc.^v

This was followed by a postcard dated June 16th and received at the Mansion House the following day. It went as follows:

Sir,

The query sheet, of which you write, was forwarded to you a day or two after its receipt by me, so that any inconvenience that may have arisen is not due to us.

The Rectory, Leighlin Bridge

L.W. Abbott, Clk.

June 16 1880^{vi}

This rather terse and somewhat tetchy document seems to have concluded the dealings of the Leighlinbridge Committee with the Mansion House Fund. Presumably therefore no further aid came to the district from that source, and the local committee was left to deal with the destitution that they themselves expected to last for the next three months with whatever resources they could muster from other quarters.

Clonmore

There appears to have been some initial confusion regarding Clonmore's application to the Mansion House Relief Committee. A letter from John Boland, P.P. to that Committee, dated March 1st 1880 refers to an application "forwarded to the above" that had been signed by "the only representatives in the district for which relief is sought, namely Clonmore, Co. Carlow."^{vii} This letter is marked on the back, "not known" in blue pencil.

However a completed application form arrived at the Mansion House on March 13th from the Clonmore Relief Committee. The district to be covered by the operations of this committee was defined as "Five miles = Clonmore = Milltown = Ballyduff = Ballinakill = Killalongford and Minvaud = all in the Co. Carlow."^{viii} There were no other local committees in the district. The Clonmore committee had "applied to New York Herald Committee = to none other = nothing received up to this date = 12th March = sought aid as outdoor relief for the very destitute from Shillelagh Union = refused = offered the shelter of the workhouse." The rate in the area was 1/7d in the pound. There were three hundred people in need of relief, with "more daily clamouring for aid."

To Question 8 – "what has been the condition in life of these in past time and to what causes may their present destitution be mainly attributed?" the Clonmore committee came up with a succinct and comprehensive answer: "Great number made a support by turf = this season they had little saved and scarcely any for sale = others a few acres of bad land = rackrented and no return for their labour = by reason of the failure of their crops = some others in daily employment with the farmers of this district = who are now unable to give continuous employment = almost all the landholders in the different districts where distress prevails are very needy = no aid from public works = no reproductive works undertaken by landlords or others = no circulation of monies in

any of these divisions."

In response to the next question as to what efforts had been made and what money subscribed towards relieving the distress in the district the Clonmore committee answered, "No efforts whatever = save the private charity of food and money from neighbours." The committee proposed to distribute any relief obtained in the form of food and clothing and they undertook to keep the books and accounts required by the Mansion House Committee.

The list of committee members ran as follows:

John Boland P.P. Chairman

Michael Doyle Secretary

Arthur Smyth Treasurer

Committee;

Rev. John Boland P.P. Catholic Clergyman = Coolkenna = Tullow = Co. Carlow

The Venerable Archdeacon Stopford = Protestant Rector = Clonmore

The Revd. Thomas Fenlon C.C., Catholic Curate = Coolkenna

The Revd. Josiah Home = I. Church = curate to Archd. Stopford = Clonmore

Edward Ferris, P.L. Guardian of the district = Catholic = Ballyduff = Clonmore

William Moody = Protestant = Redbog = Clonmore = Farmer

William Jervis = Catholic = Ballinakill = Clonmore = Farmer

Francis Hannan = Protestant = Redbog = Clonmore = Farmer

Arthur Smyth = Catholic = Clonmore = Shopkeeper and Farmer

John Bourne = Protestant = Minvaud = Farmer

Martin Tompkin = Catholic = Redbog = Farmer

William Proctor = Protestant = Clonmore = Farmer

Joseph Archer = Catholic = Redbog = Farmer

John Kelly = Killalongford = Catholic = Farmer

Richard McCall = Catholic = Killalongford = Farmer

Michael Doyle = N. Teacher = Catholic = Clonmore = Teacher

The Mansion House Committee responded immediately and their grant of £20 was acknowledged by Receipt no. 1260, dated March 22nd and signed by John Boland Chairman, Josiah Home vice-chairman and Arthur Smyth Treasurer.^{ix}

Write Names of your Committee, and the Names and Addresses of the Officers, with Religion of each Member on this page.

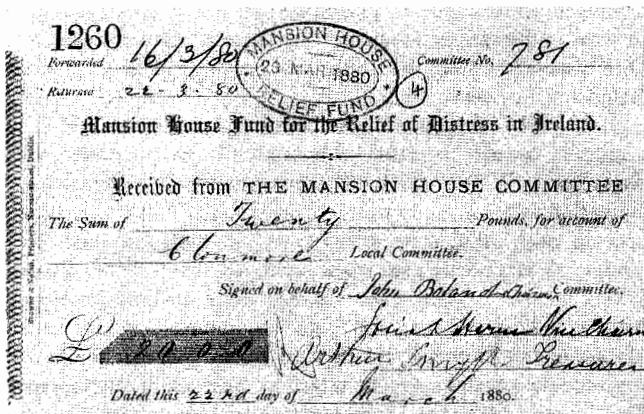
[N.B.—On this Committee Clergy of all Denominations should be included where practicable, and where not practicable, a reason must be given.]

Mr. John Boland, P.P. Chairman
 Michael Doyle Secretary
 Arthur Smyth Treasurer

COMMITTEE:

Rev. John Boland, P.P. Catholic Clergyman = Coolkenna = Tullow, Co. Carlow
 The Venerable Archdeacon Stopford = Protestant Rector = Clonmore Co. Carlow
 The Revd. Thomas Fenlon, C.C. Catholic Curate = Coolkenna = Tullow, Co. Carlow
 The Revd. Josiah Home = I. Church = curate to Archd. Stopford = Clonmore Co. Carlow
 Edward Ferris, P.L. Guardian of the district = Catholic = Ballyduff = Clonmore
 William Moody = Protestant = Redbog = Clonmore = Farmer
 William Jervis = Catholic = Ballinakill = Clonmore = Farmer
 Francis Hannan = Protestant = Redbog = Clonmore = Farmer
 Arthur Smyth = Catholic = Clonmore = Shopkeeper and Farmer
 John Bourne = Protestant = Minvaud = Clonmore = Farmer
 Martin Tompkin = Catholic = Redbog = Clonmore = Farmer
 William Proctor = Protestant = Clonmore = Farmer
 Joseph Archer = Catholic = Redbog = Clonmore = Farmer
 John Kelly = Killalongford = Catholic = Clonmore = Farmer
 Richard McCall = Catholic = Killalongford = Clonmore = Farmer
 Michael Doyle = N. Teacher = Catholic = Clonmore = Teacher

Clonmore Committee - Courtesy Dublin City Archives



Clonmore Receipt - Courtesy Dublin City Archives

One week later Fr. Boland wrote again to the Mansion House Committee, thanking them again for the £20 and asking for more, as "we are not in receipt of one shilling from any other fund and in the same state of destitution as at our first appeal." This letter is blue-pencilled "deferred."^{xxx}

Fr. Boland wrote again on April 5th, saying that, "We are in dire want." This letter is blue-pencilled "£20 6/4", and the Clonmore officers acknowledged this grant in Receipt no. 1955 on April 8th.^{xxii}

In his next letter, dated April 17th, Fr. Boland reported that the £20 had, by April 10th, been distributed to 103 families, numbering 480 individuals, "leaving many unprovided for in food and clothing." He referred also to "the appalling destitution of the poor of the district." This latter phrase has been underlined in blue pencil, and the letter is marked "£20 19/4."

Fr. Boland sent Receipt no. 2337 for this latest £20 on April 22nd. Around this time the Clonmore committee appears to have been informed that no further aid could be expected from the Mansion House Committee. The response was the following letter addressed to the Lady Mayoress and dated 25th April 1880:^{xxiv}

May it please your Ladyship,
The unparalleled distress of the poor of this village and its surrounding populous vicinity called for the formation of a Local Relief Committee, which has been established in connection with the Mansion House Fund Committee, Dublin. On applications for relief this Committee promptly came to our aid and have made us three separate grants of £20 each, for which we can never be sufficiently grateful. The recipients of this timely-administered relief shall never forget their beloved benefactors, who relieved them from their fearfully wretched state. Many of those then famishing creatures would assuredly have succumbed to their inevitable fate without such assistance.

The Committee believe that their last Grant has now been received, and we have no resources left to battle with the yet unabated distress. Their situation is most painful. One hundred and eight families, consisting of four hundred and ninety individuals, almost daily cry out to them, "Has any more relief come?", "Shall we be allowed to starve?", "Is there no hope of getting either food or clothing for us?"

We are literally besieged with applicants for relief and many of our members, overpowered by some affecting appeals, have most generously drawn on their own purses to satisfy the cravings of the hopelessly destitute.

But this state of things cannot continue. We were intended to expend this last Grant in clothing, but owing to the extraordinary famishing state of the distressed we could not appropriate the relief to any other purpose than that of satisfying the craving desires of the hungry. Could we but procure some kind of cheap and substantial clothing for the almost naked children,

many of whom cannot attend school or chapel, in consequence of their pitiable condition, we would have accomplished one of the greatest acts of Charity a mortal could render his fellow creatures. The principal proportion of our suffering poor depend for their subsistence during remainder of the year upon their production of turf in the summer season. Owing to the unparalleled severity of last Season their efforts in that direction were completely frustrated, and if Providence in his merciful dispensations would enable us to provide them with some means of tiding over the few weeks elapsing between this and the commencement of the "Bog Season" we would feel then indeed sanguine of their future prosperity.

The subsistence doled out so sparingly to each having now been entirely exhausted, we have asked of them to wait for a few days longer before they can expect more. But God knows from what source shall it then be obtained. We were daily expecting relief in some shape from the New York Herald Fund, but we have now despaired of their succour.

We have looked around us, and your Ladyship has appeared on the horizon of our hopes. Shall our poor find in you that divinely-favoured benefactress, destined to save them from their impending calamities. Oh! assuredly the beloved partner of our honoured Lord Mayor and County Member, for whom many sacrifices were made by our patriotic electors, will not allow us to remain in blank despair, and the poor in the torturing pangs of hunger.

A thousand times, No!

With confident trust in God we leave the case in your Ladyship's hands, fervently hoping for speedy succour.

Most anxiously awaiting a cheering response from our dear Lady Mayoress,

We beg to remain,

Your Ladyship's

Most obedient servants,

John Boland, P.P.

Chairman

Michael Doyle

Secretary

This letter is marked (in the usual blue pencil) "£20 3/5 Final" Meanwhile the Secretary, Michael Doyle, had written to the Mansion House Committee in response to an enquiry from that committee regarding an overexpenditure by the Clonmore committee of 1/6d. In this undated letter, received at the Mansion House on May 1st, he explains the overspending as arising from a case of particular distress, says that the money was spent with the consent of the local committee, hopes that this is sufficient explanation and pleads for more help.^{xxv}

On the same day, May 1st, the Mansion House Committee received another undated letter, this one from Fr. Boland, who pleaded for more aid and mentioned a number of circumstances to back his case. Among these were "refused outdoor relief at Shillelagh, no work undertaken to employ young or old, unnoticed by the landlords save to enforce the payment of rents, eighty per cent above the valuation in many cases."^{xxvi} He goes on to describe conditions in the Red Bog: - "wretched hovels, unfit to shelter a donkey = the scant covering = daily clothing so worn to tatters as to deter many among them to roam to seek employment abroad."

This letter is blue-pencilled "Refused 7/5" in very large writing, as if the pencil wielder were losing patience with the Clonmore committee.

Michael Doyle tried again in a letter dated May 17th. He states that there is no employment available in the district, the spring's work on the farms now being over. People were "haunting the roads, footsore in search of work." He remarks that nobody is

working the bogs, and again appeals for help.^{xxxvii} Sadly, on this occasion he did not get it, the letter being blue-pencilled "Refused 19/5"

On May 20th 1880 J. H. Wright, the Assistant Secretary of the Mansion House Committee, notified the Clonmore committee that no further assistance could be expected from that quarter. In response to this Fr. Boland wrote on May 20th to say that the poor of the district were driven to desperation by the news that they would get no further help from the Mansion House Fund. They, he said, "are in a friendless destitute condition. The announcement of your decision echoed as the knell of the death-signal to their hopes." (underlined in blue pencil)

Fr. Boland's letter concluded, "I and our committee are grateful and thankful to you, and sincerely hope and pray for your temporal and eternal happiness."^{xxxviii} This last sentence is also marked with blue pencil, and it seems that somebody in Dublin was moved by his pleadings, because the letter also bears the notation "£15 26/5".

This £15, the last received from the Mansion House Fund, was acknowledged by Receipt no. 3182, signed by Josiah Home and Arthur Smyth and dated 31st May 1880.^{xxxix}

The final document in the Clonmore file is a letter from Fr. Boland to the Mansion House Committee, dated June 1st 1880:^{xl}

Relief Committee – Clonmore – Hacketstown- Co. Carlow
Gentlemen,

I am directed by the Members of the above Committee, met on the 31st May, to forward the accompanying resolution unanimously agreed to:

Resolved, that we hereby thankfully and gratefully tender, for ourselves and the destitute poor of the above district, our indebtedness to the Mansion House Committee, in aiding our poor people, to meet the inevitable distress consequent on the failure of their usual means of support."

Signed, on behalf of the Committee,
John Boland = P.P. Chairman

Hacketstown

Distress in the parish of Hacketstown had been evident since well before Christmas in 1879. Workingmen could find no employment with the hard-pressed farmers of the area. A number of them asked the parish priest, Fr. McDonnell to intercede with Mr. Ellis, the Relieving Officer, for them. Mr. Ellis however could do no more for them than to promise to bring their request to the attention of the next meeting of the Shillelagh Board of Guardians. In the face of this response the curate, Fr. Griffith, and two local businessmen, Edward Kealy and Edward P. Kelly, took up an emergency collection that raised enough to keep the men and their families alive for that week.^{xli}

Subsequently the Shillelagh Board of Guardians refused to give any Outdoor Relief, insisting that destitute persons must enter the Workhouse if they wanted relief. This solution to the problem did not appeal to many, as people were hopeful that the awful crisis would prove to be temporary only, and that the next harvest would see improved conditions. Fr. McDonnell suggested the formation of the Hacketstown Poor Relief Committee and it was duly set up with Thomas Hinch as Hon. Secretary.

This committee set about soliciting contributions from private sources such as local landlords. Henry Bruen, M.P. gave £2, A.M. Kavanagh, M.P. £2 and Lord Fitzwilliam £1. Disagreement soon arose among the committee members regarding the distribution of this money and the result was the replacement of Mr. Hinch as Hon. Secretary by Ed. P. Kelly of Main Street. A case was subsequently brought against Mr. Hinch for the recovery of two sums of £5 each that he had received from

Lord Rathdonnell and Mr. Fitzwilliam Dick. Mr. Hinch was able to show to the satisfaction of the court that he had distributed Mr. Dick's money among the needy and that he had returned Lord Rathdonnell's contribution.

Why Mr. Hinch should have decided to return that £5 is a mystery because the need for assistance to the poor was in no way abated. By late March 1880 the committee's resources were exhausted and E. P. Kelly wrote to the Mansion House Committee seeking help. "The poor in this town," he said, "are badly fed, badly clad, and poorly paid when employed, therefore the distress is very intense."^{xlii} This letter was received at the Mansion House on March 22nd and the usual form was immediately sent to the Hacketstown committee. The urgency with which that committee regarded the situation may be judged by their alacrity in response. By March 24th the completed form was back in the Mansion House.

On this form the members of the Hacketstown Poor Relief Committee stated that their area of operation was the electoral divisions of Hacketstown and Coolballintaggart in the Shillelagh Union. They had not applied to the Marlborough Fund since the Shillelagh Union was not "scheduled for relief," and they had hoped that private charities would suffice. They said the poor rate in their area was 1/10d in the pound at that time and the average of the last three years was about 1/9d. They estimated the number in need of relief as about 105 families or 525 persons and they expected that number to increase "as both outdoor relief and the Seeds (Ireland) Act are opposed by the Poor Law Guardians."^{xliii} [The Seed Supply (Ireland) Act, passed by the Parliament on March 1st 1880, authorised Boards of Guardians to supply tenants with seed potatoes.]

To the next question, "What has been the condition in life of these in past time, and to what causes may their present destitution be mainly attributed?" the Hacketstown committee answered, "Always poor. Now wretched because the farmers are reduced to poverty, and not able to give good wages or much employment – the highest wages for this fine and busy time being 1/8d per day without food & up to a week ago, only 1/- per day without food & only few employed.

The wages will be reduced to the latter low scale in a few days & very little employment can be calculated on. No resident landlord or wealthy gentleman here to employ or do anything for the poor.

The almost entire failure of turf and potato crops."

Describing the efforts made and money subscribed towards relieving the distress in the district the committee said, "The gentlemen connected by Property with this place have been written to last December. Our Treasurer received about £15. Lord Rathdonnell opened work for ten men & the townspeople and clergy have to do the rest.

The Townspeople and Clergy cannot continue doing so. The Committee was formed at a meeting & all persons present were the members. Some have since been unable to attend the meetings & their names are not sent to you."

The names of the Hacketstown committee were listed as follows:

Edward Kealy, Hacketstown, R.C. Chairman
Edward P. Kelly, Hacketstown, R.C. Secretary
Richard Kelly, Hacketstown, R.C. Treasurer
Revd. Patk. McDonnell, P.P., Hacketstown
Revd. George Watson, I.C. Hacketstown
Revd. T.M. Rice, I.C. Hacketstown
Michael Gartland, R.C. Hacketstown
Charles Dowzer, I. C. Hacketstown
John Hutton, R.C. Hacketstown
Willm. Fitzpatrick, R.C. Hacketstown

COUNTY CARLOW AND THE MANSION HOUSE FAMINE RELIEF FUND

Write Names of your Committee, and the Names and Addresses of the Officers, with
References of each Member on this page.

(N.B. - On this Committee, Clergy of all Denominations should be included
where practicable, and where not practicable, a reason must be given.)

Edward Kealy Hacketstown, R.C.
Edward P. Kelly, Hacketstown, R.C.
Richard Kelly Hacketstown R.C.

COMMITTEE:

Rev. Patk. McC. Donnell, P.P. Hacketstown, R.C.
Rev. George Watson, J.C.
Rev. J. W. Rice, Clonmore, R.C.
Michael Gartland R.C.
James O'Reilly R.C.
Charles Dowser J.C.
John Hutton R.C.
William Fitzpatrick R.C.

Hacketstown Committee - Courtesy Dublin City Archives

Edward Kealy was a hotelkeeper. The two Kellys, E.P. and Richard, were grocery and spirit dealers. Michael Gartland and William Fitzpatrick were provision dealers. John Hutton was a grocer and shoemaker and Charles Dowser was a grocer and draper.^{xxxiv}

The Mansion House Committee sent on £25 on March 25th, which was acknowledged on Receipt no.1602, signed by Richard Kelly, Treasurer, and Edward P.Kelly, Secretary, on March 27th 1880.^{xxxv}

The Hacketstown Committee's secretary wrote again to the Mansion House Committee on April 19th in the following terms:

The Secretaries

Mansion House Committee

Gentlemen, I herewith send the return of the Expenditure of the £25 recvd. from your Comtee. recently.

The excitement and hurry of the late Election will, I trust, be ample excuse for not sending up my returns weekly as your Comtee requires.

As our Committee anticipated in their Memorial the temporary employment has almost totally disappeared and at present I am sorry to have to say, utter distress prevails amongst our labourers both in this & Coolballintaggart Electoral Divisions. We recvd. no grants whatever from any other funds only 12 Tons Seed Potatoes from Marlborough Comtee which we are distributing through the labourers and farmers of our whole Parish & which certainly will do an immensity of good – my book of details is at your services any time you wish to inspect same. If your Comtee can aid us further our Comtee will be very thankful.

I am Gentlemen

Your obdt svt,

E.P. Kelly, Hon. Sec.^{xxxvi}

This despatch, received at the Mansion House on April 20th, is blue-pencilled "Deferred", which was then crossed out and "Refused" written in.

It appears that Hacketstown received no further aid from the Mansion House Fund. Unlike their neighbours in Clonmore it seems the Hacketstown Relief Committee was prepared to take "no" for an answer, despite the continuing very serious distress. There was one more letter from E.P. Kelly, but he did not ask for more aid. It reads as follows:

Relief Comtee Rooms
Hacketstown
May 24th 1880

Gentlemen,

Enclosed you have 1 very short follow up – the distress in both of our Electoral Divisions unfortunately still continues and unquestionably will until the new potatoes come in

– the Board of Guardians totally refuse to relieve the distress in any way – though they and the L. G. Board have been frequently written to –

Yours respectfully,

E.P. Kelly, Hon. Sec.

That concluded the dealings of the Mansion House Committee with County Carlow. Undoubtedly much good work had been done and much distress had been relieved. Nevertheless, it was still only early summer and the new crops would not be ready for harvesting for many weeks yet, so it is to be supposed that the local relief committees were hard-pressed to aid their people in the intervening period. Indeed it is clear from the correspondence that the local committee members foresaw much suffering in the time between then and the harvest. The late summer had always been the hungry months, when the previous year's food supply was exhausted and the current year's crops not ready for harvesting. In the parishes of Clonmore, Hacketstown and Leighlin the late summer of 1880 must have been a grim time indeed.

In the event the harvest of the year 1880 turned out to be a good one, so the threat of famine receded and the Mansion House Committee was wound up before the end of the year. Beyond question it had done good work and there is little doubt that without the aid provided from Dublin the suffering in County Carlow would have been even more awful than it was. Even with the Mansion House money the local committees were unable to meet all of even the most urgent needs of the poor of their districts. Without that aid their resources would have been totally inadequate.

References

- ⁱ Doherty and Hickey: A Chronology of Irish History since 1500. Gill and MacMillan, Dublin, 1989, p.153
- ⁱⁱ Freeman's Journal, January 3rd 1880
- ⁱⁱⁱ Freeman's Journal, January 7th 1880
- ^{iv} Dublin City Archives, Ch 1/52/788/2
- ^v Dublin City Archives, Ch 1/52/788/1
- ^{vi} Dublin City Archives, Ch 1/52/788/1
- ^{vii} Dublin City Archives, Ch 1/52/788/1
- ^{viii} Slater's Directory 1881
- ^{ix} Dublin City Archives, Ch 1/52/788/5
- ^x Dublin City Archives, Ch 1/52/788/4
- ^{xi} Dublin City Archives, Ch 1/52/788/6
- ^{xii} Dublin City Archives, Ch 1/52/788/7
- ^{xiii} Dublin City Archives, Ch 1/52/788/9
- ^{xiv} Dublin City Archives, Ch 1/52/788/10
- ^{xv} Dublin City Archives, Ch 1/52/788/11
- ^{xvi} Dublin City Archives, Ch 1/52/788/12
- ^{xvii} Dublin City Archives, Ch 1/52/781/2
- ^{xviii} Dublin City Archives, Ch 1/52/788/1
- ^{xix} Dublin City Archives, Ch 1/52/788/3
- ^{xx} Dublin City Archives, Ch 1/52/788/4
- ^{xxi} Dublin City Archives, Ch 1/52/788/5
- ^{xxii} Dublin City Archives, Ch 1/52/788/6
- ^{xxiii} Dublin City Archives, Ch 1/52/788/8
- ^{xxiv} Dublin City Archives, Ch 1/52/788/10
- ^{xxv} Dublin City Archives, Ch 1/52/788/11
- ^{xxvi} Dublin City Archives, Ch 1/52/788/12
- ^{xxvii} Dublin City Archives, Ch 1/52/788/14
- ^{xxviii} Dublin City Archives, Ch 1/52/788/15
- ^{xxix} Dublin City Archives, Ch 1/52/788/17
- ^{xxx} Dublin City Archives, Ch 1/52/788/16
- ^{xxxi} Carlow Independent, December 20th 1879
- ^{xxxii} Dublin City Archives, Ch 1/52/810/2
- ^{xxxiii} Dublin City Archives, Ch 1/52/810/2
- ^{xxxiv} Slater's Directory 1881
- ^{xxxv} Dublin City Archives, Ch 1/52/810/3
- ^{xxxvi} Dublin City Archives, Ch 1/52/810/4

SNIPPETS

Sean O'Shea

Giraldus Cambrensis: (Gerald of Wales)

Giraldus Cambrensis (Reverend Gerald Barry) was an early Norman Historian and the first foreigner to write a book about Ireland. In fact he wrote two — *Topographia Hibernica* and *Expugnatio Hibernica* (The Conquest of Ireland). He was the youngest son of William de Barry of Monorbier in Pembroke, Grandson of Nest, the famous Mistress of Henry I, and nephew of her son, David Fitzgerald, Bishop of St David's Cambria. He was also a Welsh cleric, who visited Ireland in the 1180's, later becoming Archdeacon of St. Davids. His Brothers were participants in the invasion of Ireland.

Brophy Papers

Diarmait Mac Murchada

Diarmait Mac ivlurchada or "Diarmait of the Foreigners" as he was called, King of Leinster was responsible for bringing the Normans to Ireland in 1169, to help restore his power following differences with Tiernan O'Rourke of Breifne and Ruaidri Ua Conchobair, High King of Ireland.

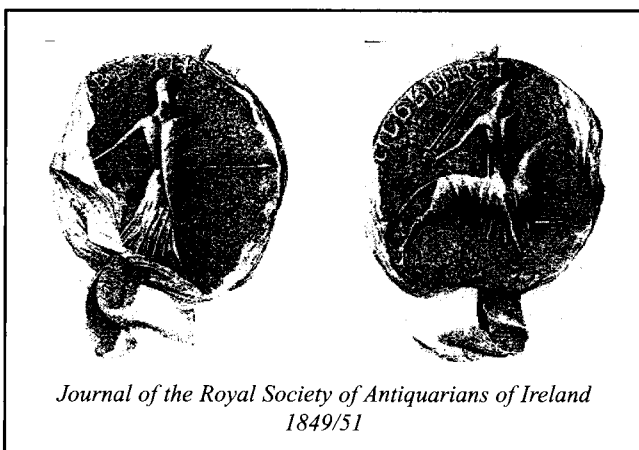
Diarmait was tall and well built, a brave and warlike man among his people, whose voice was hoarse as a result of constantly having being in the din of battle. He preferred to be feared by all rather than loved - all men's hands were raised against him, and he was hostile to all men.

Giraldus Cambrensis

Strongbow: -

Richard Fitzgilbert De Clare, Earl of Pembroke, (Strongbow) headed the invasion of Ireland by the Normans in 1169. He married Eva daughter of Diarmait Mac Murchada and on the death of Diarmait in 1171, became Lord of Leinster.

Seal of Richard Fitz-Gilbert Surnamed Strongbow



Strongbow was somewhat ruddy and of sanguine complexion and freckled face, his eyes grey, his face feminine, his voice small and his neck little, but somewhat of a high stature; he was very liberal, courteous and gentle, what he could not compass and bring to pass in deed, he would win by good words and gentle speeches. In time of peace, he was more ready to yield and obey, than to rule and

bear away. Out of the camp he was more like a soldier companion, than a Captain or Ruler, but in camp and in wars he carried with him the state and countenance of a valiant Captain. In the fight of battle, he was a most assured token and sign to the whole company, either to stand valiantly to the fight or for policy to retire. In all chances of war he was still one of the same manner of man, being neither dismayed with adversity nor puffed up with prosperity.

Giraldus Cambrensis

Henry 11

Henry 11 King of England during the Norman invasion of Ireland, aiming to create a stable and prosperous Lordship in Ireland, established a Castle Building Programme (apparently almost exclusively timber ones) in the years 1181-1182. At that time "Expugnatio Hibernica informs us Hugh de Lacey built a Castle (or fortress) on the Barrow for John de Clahull. De Clahull a Feif of Strongbow had been allocated Lands in parts of Carlow, Leix and Kilkenny. Excavations carried out by Dr. Kieran O'Connor and his team at Carlow Castle in 1996 revealed evidence of a timber castle pre-dating the present ruined Castle. This timber Castle seems to conform with the Castle built for John de Clahull.

A description of Henry by Giraldus Cambrensis tells us "Henry II of England had hair almost red in colour, grey eyes and large round head. His eyes were bright and in anger fierce and flecked with red. He had a Fiery complexion, his voice was husky, his neck bent forward a little from the shoulders and he had a broad chest and powerful arms. His body was fleshy and he had a very large belly."



Henry II

Who was John De Clahull

Following the Norman invasion of 1169, Strongbow acquired the Lordship of Leinster. In 1172, as first lord of Leinster, he granted the territory of Obargy to John de Clahull, who was one of his marshalls. Obargy consisted of the Barony of Slieve Margy in Leix, and parts of the Baronies of Carlow and Idrone West, County Carlow. It included Glenn Uissen (Killeshin) and Sleibte (Sleaty). The 'Song of Dermot' tells us these lands were situated between Eboy (Barony of Ballyadams) and Lithelyn (Old Leighlin). Historians understand that John de Clahull originally placed his caput possibly at the motte in Killeshin in the early 1170's, but as the area was difficult to defend, he moved to Carlow.

In the years 1181-82, Henry 11, wishing to strengthen his control in Ireland, established a programme for building castles in strategic locations throughout the country, similar to the policy adopted by his predecessors in England, following the conquest of that country in the previous century. These castles (fortresses) were apparently almost exclusively built with timber.

John de Clahull accordingly arranged for Hugh de Lacy to erect a castle for him at Carlow. This is recorded in *Expugnatio Hibernica* (The Conquest of Ireland), which states that in 1181, Hugh de Lacy built a castle on the Barrow (Super Aquay Berue), for John de Clahull, in Obargy not far from Old Leighlin. It was a timber construction, as excavations carried out by Dr. Kieran O'Connor and his team in 1996, revealed there was evidence of a timber building, pre-dating the existing castle ruin. When William Marshal became Lord of Leinster c1208, he replaced the timber castle with a stone and masonry structure.

John de Clahull held Obargy for at least the first three decades of Norman control of Leinster. He had two sons, John and Hugh, who were minors at the time of his death in 1221. It is unclear if the land reverted to the overlord-Marshal, but it is recorded that John de Clahull's first son, John, held Obargy in 1247. John died without issue, and his estates passed to the descendants of his brother, Hugh, who had pre-deceased him. Hugh had two daughters, one of whom married Sir Walter Purcell.

Reference:

Knight's Fees in counties Wexford, Carlow and Kilkenny.

Hugh Delacy

Hugh Delacy the elder a noted Castle Builder (built Carlow Castle) was appointed Chief Governor by Henry II in the years 1173, 1179 and 1181. His son Hugh De Lacy the younger, possibly also a Castle Builder was appointed Chief Governor in 1189 (Richard I) and 1203 (John). (*Liber Munerum Publicorum, Hiberniae Volm I*). Hugh De Lacy the elder came to Ireland with Henry II, and for his services, the English Monarch granted him by Charter the territory of Meath, some 800,000 acres. De Lacy was constantly building Castles and Forts, and met with his Death whilst overseeing the erection of one of these buildings — a fort at Durrow. Giraldus Cambrensis represents De Lacy as "dark, with dark, sunken eyes and flattened nostrils. His face was grossly disfigured down the right side as far as his chin by a burn, the result of an accident. His neck was short, his body hairy and sinewy. A short misshapen man, he was verie greedie and covetous of wealth and possession"

As De Lacy was stooping down in one of the trenches a man named O'Meyey approached A M, seized a battle axe which he had concealed under his long mantle and at one blow struck Hugh De Lacys' head. O'Meyey fled and made his escape to the woods of Kilcash.

William Marshall

William Marshall was born in the year 1145. He was tall brown haired well made, wiry and very athletic. At an early age he distinguished himself in the tournament lists, and was able to leap fully armed into the saddle without touching the stirrups. He married Isobel De Clare, daughter of Strongbow and Eve MacMurchada, and in right of his wife became Lord of Leinster. Marshall employed Hugh De Lacy to build the Stone Castle in Carlow, "replacing the Timber one which was erected during the years 1208-1212. Marshall granted the first charter to be received by the burgesses of Catherlagh.

Marshall and Isobel had ten children five sons and five daughters, his five sons died without leaving a male heir. William, the eldest, married Eleanor sister of Henry III -died 1231. His brother Richard was mortally wounded at the Battle of the Curragh with

the O'Connors in 1234.

Gilbert the third son married Margaret daughter of William King of Scotland — died in consequence of a fall from his horse at a tournament 1242. Walter the fourth son died in 1245 and Anselm his youngest son, who married Matilda daughter of the Earl of Hereford also died in 1245.

Marshall's five daughters were Maud, Joan, Isobel, Sibilla and Eve. Maud inherited the Castle and County of Carlow.

Brophy papers W. V Hadden

Carlow Castle — The Exchequer:

By Harris' History of the Antiquities of Dublin, we find in page 41, of the work, that in the reign of Edward III the Common Pleas and Exchequer were held at Carlow. In the 37th year of that reign, (1363), the Common Pleas was, by writ, removed from Carlow to Dublin and the reason given in the record, for doing so is, "because Carlow was surrounded by enemies: the wall about it much decayed and the place reckoned unsafe for the Kings Ministers to reside in". This would have been a good reason for removing the Exchequer at the same time; yet it continued here long after. In the first year of Richard II 1377; The Ministers of the Exchequer petitioned parliament for an augmentation of their salaries in regard, that being obliged to sit at Carlow, for their proper habitations, they could not have their own provisions for their subsistence, and by their fees of office, by which they used to be supported while the exchequer was in Dublin, they could not live". Upon the reason alledged in the Petition, their salaries were augmented, and an order issued for continuing such additional salaries while the Exchequer sat at Carlow. The Common Pleas was removed back to Carlow: and that Court was held here in 1389, and was, with the Exchequer, removed to Dublin, in the reign of Henry IV by patent, dated 27th June 1401.

Carlow Morning Post Jan 1818

Carlow Castle: Owners

William Marshall came into ownership of territory in Leinster in right of his wife Isobel, daughter of Strongbow (Richard Fitzgilbert) and Eve Ni Murchada. Carlow Castle was erected in the area on his behalf by Hugh de Lacy c 1208-1212.

On the death of Marshall in 1219, his eldest daughter Maud inherited the Castle and Manor. She married Hugh Le Bigod Earl of Norfolk and the property remained with the Le Bigod Family until 1301 when Roger Le Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, Lord of Carlow willed the castle and manor to the crown.

King Edward I (Plantagenet) granted the Castle and Manor to his son Prince Thomas De Brotherton, who then became Lord of Carlow. On his death, John De Seagrave, who was married to Thomas's daughter Margaret, succeeded to the title and ownership of Carlow Castle and Manor.

John De Seagrave conveyed the property and title to John De Mowbray, who was married to his daughter Elizabeth. The Lordship of Carlow then descended in succession with the De Mowbray family until an only daughter Ann remained. (Ann was betroth to Richard Plantagenet, son of Edward IV who was assassinated in the Tower of London 1483). On Ann's death the Property and Lordship of Carlow was divided between John Howard Duke of Norfolk, and William De Berkeley Earl of Nottingham. (Kinsmen of Ann). Both the Howard and Berkely families forfeited their Right of Ownership of the Castle and

Manor under the "Statute of Absentees" which became law in 1537, with the property reverting to the Crown, until the reign of James I.

By Royal Grant of James I in 1604 the Castle and Manor became the property of Donatus O'Brien, Earl of Thomond (A lineal descendant of Brian Boru). The Historical Property remained in the family of the O'Brien's until Henry, Earl of Thomond sold the Castle and Manor to James Hamilton, a rich miller for the sum of £20,000 in 1721; The Castle Ruin and Garden is now in the Guardianship of the state.

In 1814 the Castle was leased to Dr. Middleton, who in order to create more room for the building of a Lunatic Asylum damaged part of the Castle. As a result most of the Castle had to be demolished for safety precautions leaving only two towers and adjoining wall.

Griffith's Valuation and Map of 1852 shows the property i.e. Castle Ruin and garden with John Curran (later Mary Nolan) being the immediate lessors and occupied by Thomas Corcoran. The Curran/Nolan family and Corcoran Company were custodians of the Castle Ruin and Garden until taken into the care of the Office of Public Works.

Throughout its lifetime the Castle was attacked on a number of occasions. Silken Thomas Fitzgerald captured it in 1535, in his rebellion with Henry VIII, but it was retaken after a short siege. During the 1640s the Castle changed hands many times, before being taken by Cromwell's forces in 1650, but was later returned to the Earl of Thomond.

Brophy papers
Lord Walter Fitzgerald

Other

Croine Beg: -

Croine Beg was the daughter of Sedna Mac Erca son of Fergus, 'son of Conal Gulbin, son of Nial of the Nine Hostages (King of Ireland 379-405). Ainmire (K. I 568-571) was brother of Croine, and his son, her nephew was slain at Dunbolg AD598, and buried at Kilranelagh, about fourteen miles east of Carlow.

A recluse, she established her Cell in Carlow. Dr Comerford held that her cell was situated "somewhere about where the Town Hall now stands." Croine's name is perpetuated in the name Templecroiney, which applies to the far side of Haymarket. The natale of Croine was February 7th. She is invoked in St. Moling's poem to the saints of Leinster in Boromha Tract: -

"O Nun from the Cetharlacht

O High Happy Nun

O Cron, Daughter of Sedna,

Bless the tract of my way"

Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland (1875)

William Farrell:

William Farrell wrote his account of "Carlow in '98 between the years 1832 and 1845, when he was an old man employed as a gate keeper in the Carlow Mental Hospital (St. Dymphna's).

The following extract from sworn evidence given by Farrell in a court case involving the Manager of the hospital and a young girl employee, who was Farrell's Servant, gives some insight into his life at that time in 1842.

"The following witnesses were then examined:- William Farrell sworn and examined by Mr Martley, QC"

"I am Gate Keeper to the Institution about seven years; I live in the Gate Lodge; The Gardner, Edward Drennan, also lives there in apartments on his own; he has a wife, two children, but no servant; I have a servant girl, and had these five years past; kept servant maids as assistants; Mary.__(The Prosecutor) was in my employment about a year and a half, and something more up to the 21st of June last; My servant maid always assists me in the performance of my duty; It is my duty to see that no one leaves the institution or enters without some business or authority; The manager gives a written pass to the servants when they want to go out; My authority for letting people in is when I think they have proper business; I am constantly in attendance - but when absent, the girl has charge of the keys; I go sometimes to first mass, and sometimes to last prayers; first mass is at 8, the second mass at 10, and the last at 12 o'clock; Mary came to my employment on the 9th of December, 1840; I was appointed to my place by the manager; When the gates are locked at night I either go with the keys at 10 o'clock, or send them by my servant maid; it is not my duty to go with letters to the post office; I occasionally do so; the keys are generally sent down at six o'clock in the morning; the board - maid gets the keys from me at night;" etc.

Closh

The name "Closh" has applied for centuries to the Eastern approach to the town of Carlow by way of Tullow Road and Staplestown Road. In an article of *The Irish Penny Journal* of 1833, it appears that the ancient inhabitants assembled in the locality to play a game called Closh-Cayle, thus the name Closh has endured to the present day. It is not known what precisely the game involved, but Henry VI11 made an act prohibiting the game with others in 1541. (.Statutes of the Realm - 33rd Henry VI11 C.8.9. 1541-42).

"An Acte for Mayntenance of Artyllarie and Debarring of Unlawful Games".

Section 1 (part)Unlawful Games Invented:- .

"And also by means and occasion of customable usage of tennys playe bowles Cloyse and other unlawful games, phibited by manye good and beneficiall estatute by auctoritie of Parliament in that behalfe pvided and made, great ymproverishment hathe ensued and manye haynous murders robberies and felonyes were comytted and done." etc.

Section V111 (part)None shall keep houses for unlawful Games

"That no manner of pson of what degree qalytie or condicon soever he or they may be, shall for his or their gayne lucre or lyvinge, kepe houlde occupie excise or maynteyne any comon house alley or place bowling Closh Cayles half bowle tennys dysing table or cardinge or any other manner of same phibite by anye estatute heretofore made or any unlaull newe game now invented". etc.

Section XV; "Servants may play at cards dice or tables by license of their masters".

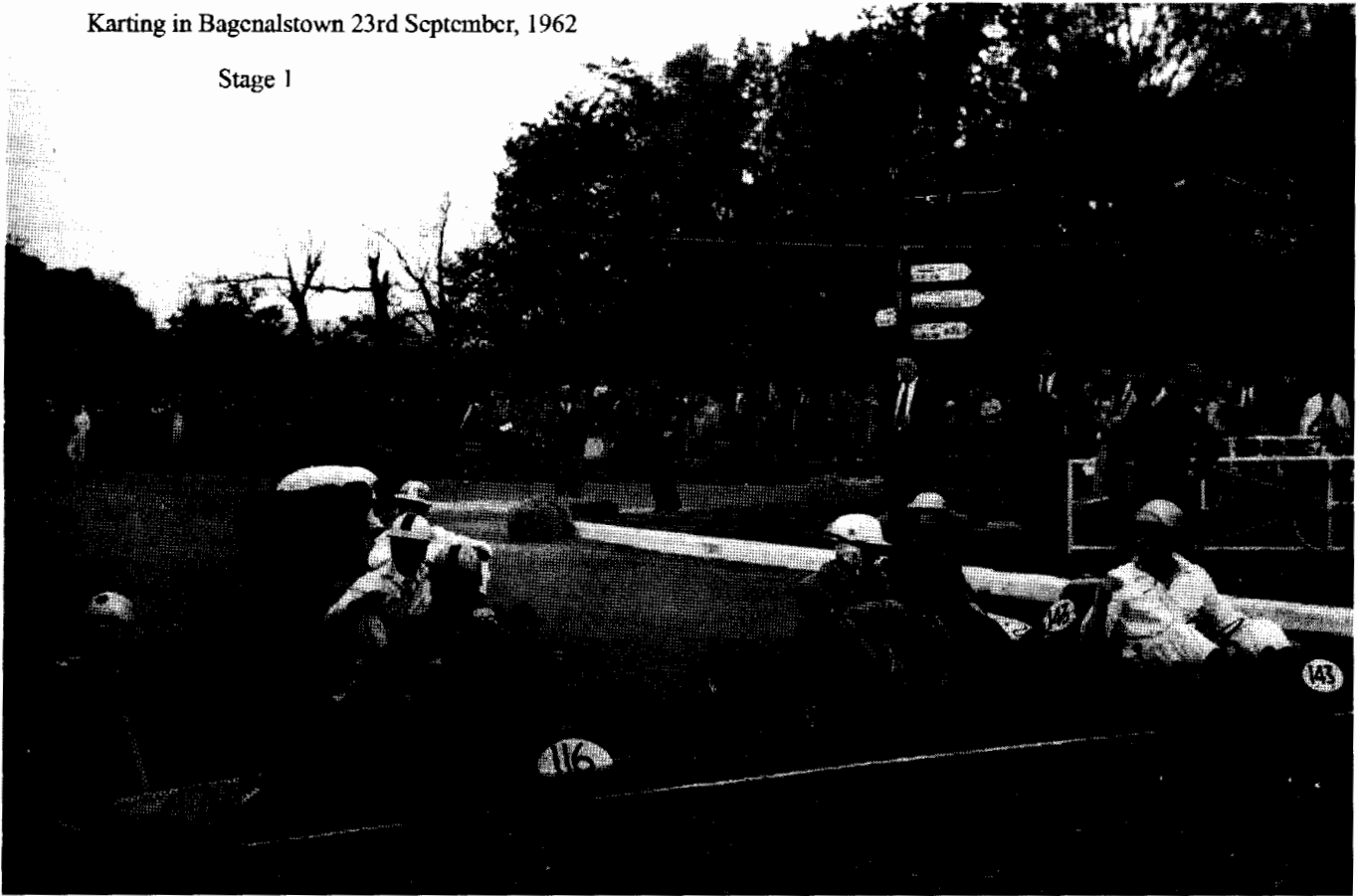
Section XVI; "Noblemen may license playing cards dice tables bowls or tennis in their houses".

It appears from the foregoing that the above games were prohibited due to violence and criminality. It also appears that practically all games were allowed under certain conditions other than the game of Clogh Cayle.

KARTING IN BAGENALSTOWN

Karting in Bagenalstown 23rd September, 1962

Stage 1



Karting in Bagenalstown 23rd September, 1962

Stage 2



COUNSELLOR

WILLIAM FRANCIS FINN

Sean O'Shea

William Francis Finn died in December 1862. He is interred in the Catholic Church in Tullaroan, Co. Kilkenny, with his wife Alicia by his side, both having died within hours of each other.

His obituary of that month states that he was "at the founding and working of the Catholic Association. He was in the front rank, and few men more distinguished themselves, or brought greater talents to the advocacy of Emancipation, than Counsellor Finn." The obituary also suggests "that next to O'Connell, no man took a more prominent part in the struggle of the previous fifty years."

To ascertain how a member of a prominent Carlow town family and his wife were afforded the privilege of burial in the Church, it is necessary to return to pre Catholic Emancipation days. William Francis Finn's father, also named William, was a prosperous Carlow merchant and tanner, who resided at Coal Market (Kennedy Street) Carlow. His brother, Edmund Finn produced "Finn's Leinster Journal", later known as the "Leinster Journal". The "Journal" was established on the 24th January 1767, at an address in St. Mary's grave-yard, Kilkenny. William Snr. helped finance the paper, particularly from the time of Edmund's death in 1777. He was frequently referred to as the proprietor of the paper, although his name never appeared in a publication. The "Journal" passed from the Finn family in the early 1800s, when it was purchased by Patrick Kearney.

William Snr. was one of the Carlow delegates to attend the Back Lane Parliament (Catholic Convention), held in Tailor's Hall, Dublin, in December 1792. John Troy DD, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, and Francis Moylan DD, Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork, represented the Catholic prelates and clergy of Ireland at the Convention. William was also opposed to the "Act of Union". Referring to him, "The Sentinel" remarks that he was "an unflinching patriot, who despite of menaces and remonstrances, stood firm in opposing to the last, the baneful measure of the Union."

Apart from his political interests, William Snr. accumulated a considerable portfolio of property in Carlow town, particularly at Cuckoo Lane (Brown Street), which at that time was the principle residential area in the town. He also held lands in Graiguecullen, and farms in Kilkenny. William had four sons: Thomas, William Francis, Patrick and Michael.

Thomas, the eldest son (1772-1842) resided at Burrin Street, Carlow. He was an able journalist and accurate historian if somewhat eccentric, and is accredited with many articles relating to Carlow in 1798. In "The Irish Magazine and Monthly Asylum for Neglected Biography 1811, Vol.4," there are eight articles on slaughter in Carlow by a "Carlow Friend," (an eye-witness of the scenes described). It has been suggested by historians that the author was certainly Thomas Finn of Carlow.

Never one to shirk confrontation, he had differences with the renowned Bishop J.K.L., which he gave voice to in public journals. Thomas died on the 11th March 1842, at Bellfield, Clontarf.

William Francis, the second son and subject of the title, was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, qualifying with a BA degree in 1805. The previous year he obtained a medal for history in the

college Historical Society, and later a medal for oratory. Following an impressive career at Trinity, he studied for the Bar, and became a friend of Daniel O'Connell who was then commencing his distinguished legal career. When qualified, William was generally referred to as "Counsellor" or "Counsellor Finn", a title he was pleased to acknowledge.

When O'Connell sought a husband for his youngest and favourite sister Alicia, his choice fell on William Francis, but William had first to prove that he was financially eligible. In a letter addressed to O'Connell dated the 23rd June 1811, William informed O'Connell that his father who was in poor health had made his will, and had bequeathed him farms in Kilkenny at present set in leases, which brought in £400 a year, but when the leases expired, would be worth £1000, and also freehold property. O'Connell was apparently satisfied as the marriage took place a few months later. Despite O'Connell's insistence on proof of Finn's financial credentials, it is ironic to note that his own financial affairs were anything but in order. Some six years later, in a letter dated 1st March 1817, his brother James expressed his astonishment at the number of bills undischarged by O'Connell, including a sum of £800 due to Counsellor Finn.

O'Connell was a frequent visitor to Carlow town, where he stayed with Alicia and William at their residence at Evergreen Lodge in Cox's Lane. With the establishment of The Catholic Association the visits became more politically orientated, as William with O'Connell was one of the founding members. The Association was the vehicle employed by O'Connell to gain Catholic Emancipation, by use of all constitutional means available. Its membership included the Catholic masses, who subscribed 1d per month, to provide O'Connell with a fighting fund. Committees were established in each county, with the main strength of the movement concentrated in Leinster and Munster. The Catholic Clergy aided the Association, and played an important role in its promotion. Patrick Finn, William's brother, was actively involved in the County Carlow committee, and was also for many years secretary of the "Friends of Civil Religious Liberty of the Town and County", with William as chairman.

Due to the close co-operation that existed between the Catholic Association and the clergy, O'Connell became an associate of Bishop J.K.L., who was also friendly with the Finn family. In early 1828, when a committee was established by J.K.L. to erect the "new chapel of Carlow", William Francis was the vice-president and Patrick the treasurer of the committee.

In July 1828 the Catholic Association was eventually successful in having O'Connell elected for the constituency of Clare. But to facilitate the Emancipation Act of 1829, and to enable O'Connell to take his seat in parliament, the Association was required to immediately dissolve, and agree to the disfranchising of the forty shilling free holders, by raising the franchise qualification to £10 per freeholder. The last meeting of the Association was held at the Great Rooms, Corn Exchange, the Association's headquarters, on the 12th February 1829. William Francis took an active part in the proceedings, making many contributions prior to its dissolution.

While the Emancipation Act 1829 gave all £10 freeholders residing in the counties the right to vote in parliamentary elections, most Corporation members, including the members of Carlow

Corporation, retained their right to elect candidates to parliament, as heretofore. However, the Liberal Party, whom O'Connell supported, had promised when returned to power, to introduce parliamentary reform by legislating to abolish the privilege enjoyed by Corporations. The Liberals gained power in 1831, and as promised introduced and passed the Reform Act 1832. This Act accordingly, gave holders of property in the Boroughs, with a valuation of £10 or more, the right to elect members to parliament, thereby diminishing the political power of Corporations.

A Liberal club (corresponding to a modern Cumann) was established in the town, with the Finn family prominent among its leaders. The clergy were also politically active in the club. Towards the end of 1832, a general election appeared imminent. There were four would-be contenders for the Borough of Carlow, namely: Peter Gale from the Queen's County, William Francis Finn, Carlow, Nicholas Aylward Vigors, Old Leighlin, and Francis Bruen, Enniscorthy, who represented the Tories. Gale dropped out of the contest, leaving Vigors, a Protestant, or Finn to represent the Liberal party. The club naturally backed Finn, but contrary to expectations, Bishop J.K.L. endorsed the candidacy of Vigors. This he did, because Vigors undertook to support a measure for Poor Law Relief, something dear to the Bishop's heart. Here he differed with O'Connell, who felt that the money used on Poor Law Reform would be put to better use by promoting Ireland's commercial interests, and reviving the country's manufacturing, by investment of capital. O'Connell was also of the opinion that hand outs would demoralise the Irish people. William Francis Finn sided with O'Connell. This caused a split in the Carlow Liberal (Repeal) party, with those backing Finn referred to as the "Finn Party".

William Francis was well known and respected in the Leinster and Munster areas, through his involvement in the Catholic Association. Stately and prepossessing in personal appearance - highly polished, and a clever fluent speaker, he was one of the most popular orators of the period. The "Dublin Evening Post", writing at the time was of the opinion that "It is of the utmost importance to Ireland the Mr. William Finn should be a parliamentary man - to place him in a position by which he will be enabled to make Ireland great, glorious and free."

In late August 1832, the "Waterford Chronicle" reported, that following a Baronial meeting at Ballyhale to make arrangements for the impending election, a deputation of free-holders from the Baronies of Knocktopher, Kells and Ida, met with William Finn. They requested him to stand as a candidate for County Kilkenny with Colonel Butler, and they would ensure his return without one shilling expense. William thanked the deputation, but indicated that he could not give them a positive answer, before consulting with his Carlow friends, who had already invited him to stand for Carlow town, where he himself was sure of his return. However, Vigors, with the backing of the Bishop and clergy, was considered the most likely candidate to be returned for the Borough.

It was November before William Francis finally declared his intention to stand as a candidate for the constituency of County Kilkenny. This resulted in a considerable number of the Carlow Liberal Party, including Patrick and Thomas Finn defecting to the Conservative Francis Bruen, (in fact Patrick Finn seconded Bruen's nomination). The Liberal Party was decimated in Carlow town, and remained so for some time. Nevertheless, Nicholas Vigors was elected to parliament (145 votes to Bruen's 120). However, Francis Bruen was subsequently successful in the 1835 election.

During the election campaign William Francis described himself as — "a radical reformer in church and state — a bona fide uncompromising repealer — seeking the complete extinction of tithes." He was elected with Colonel Butler for the constituency of County Kilkenny unopposed, and was also returned unopposed in the 1835 election. By this time he had settled in Tullaroan, County Kilkenny.

William Finn was recognised as one of the most accomplished speakers of the time in the House of Commons, where he gained some notoriety by drawing upon himself the censure of the speaker. This occasioned the following allusion to him in verse by Pread, on seeing the speaker asleep in his chair:

"Sleep, Mr. Speaker; slumber lies
Light and brief on a speaker's eyes,
Fielding or Finn in a minute or two
Some disorderly thing will do;
Riot will chase repose away —
Sleep, Mr. Speaker, sleep while you may."

In 1837 William Finn withdrew from parliamentary representation, and proposed Major Bryan to be returned in his place. After retiring, he continued to take an active part in parliamentary politics, and was the proposer and seconder of one of the candidates at every election up to the time of his death in 1862.

Contemporary records describe William F. Finn as an advocate of the peoples' rights, and a fearless supporter of civil and religious liberty for all Christian denominations. During his residence in Carlow town, he was renowned for his contributions to charity.. While residing in Tullaroan, he donated land to the clergy, for the erection of a church and school, possibly resulting in granting him the honour of interment with his wife in that church...

William F.Finn died on the 10th December 1862. The following are extracts from his obituary printed in local newspapers at the time.

Death of Counsellor Finn and Mrs Finn (Sister of O'Connell)

Two remarkable deaths, and under very remarkable circumstances, have just occurred in this locality. Counsellor Finn, the brother-in-law of O'Connell, one of the founders of the Catholic Association, and formerly representative for the county of Kilkenny, died at his residence at Tullaroan, on Tuesday night, at the advanced age of 78 years; and on the same evening, a few hours previously, Mrs Finn, the beloved sister of the illustrious Liberator, breathed her last in an adjoining-room, the one surviving the other but a few hours.

Having no issue, they had long lived a secluded life; and in their last moments there was not a single friend to watch over their mournful couches, or to receive the last sigh of such distinguished personages, save two old and faithful attendants. At five o'clock Mrs Finn breathed her last, and at 12 o'clock Mr Finn, who, not being informed of what had happened, about ten minutes before his death, inquired how the old lady was, and the attendant replying that "she was better," he remarked, "You always had the good story," and shortly after expired.

The remains of Mr and Mrs Finn were interred side by side on Friday, in the Catholic church of Tullaroan.

References:

"The Carlow Sentinel"
"Old Kilkenny Review"- "Finn's Leinster Journals" — Maly Kenealy
"Genealogical Memoirs of the Members of Parliament for the County and City of Kilkenny" — George Dames Burtchell
Brophy Papers
O'Connell Papers N.L.I. "Carloviana"
"Nationalist and Leinster Times"
Peader MacSuibhne
"The Carlow Morning Post"
County Kilkenny Barony and Townland
"Kilkenny Moderator"
"Kilkenny Journal".

A REVIEW

OF THE LIBRARY SERVICE

1930-1980

Hanna O'Sullivan

As 1980 was the fiftieth year of Library Service in County Carlow it was appropriate to give a brief review of the service over that period of time.

Carnegie Library Scheme

In September 1928 a committee was set up "to consider the advisability of putting into operation in the County Carlow the Carnegie Library Scheme". Having heard from the Secretaries and Librarians as to the satisfactory working of the Scheme in Counties Kildare, Leix, Wicklow and Wexford and from the Secretary of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust offering a grant of £700, the Committee were of the opinion that the Public Libraries (Ireland) Act 1855 should be adopted provided it did not involve the Council in an expenditure out of the rates exceeding ½d in the £. These recommendations came before the Quarterly meeting of the Council in February 1929.

On the proposal of Mr. P. MacGabhna Seconded by Mr. Fenlon it was resolved to adopt the Public Libraries (Ireland) Act 1855 for the County Carlow (exclusive of the Urban district of Carlow) with an agreed rate of ½d in the £ for the purpose.

There was some delay, however, in putting the Scheme into operation. Discussion took place over a period of time with the Urban Council regarding its decision to strike a rate for Library purposes Carlow Urban district did not come within the scope of the Scheme until 1943.

Appointment of Committee under the Public Libraries (Ireland) Act 1894.

In August 1929 the following Committee was appointed:-

Rev. James Coyle P.P., John A Kehoe and William Walsh (Leighlin)

Rev. A Lynam P.P., Canon Bradshaw and William Kelly (Bagenalstown)

Major McMurrough-Kavanagh, Rev. Fr. Dunne, Messrs James O'Connell and O'Shaughnessy (Borris)

Rev. Michael Kennedy P.P. Dr. F. Humphreys, Messrs John P. Nolan and Patrick Doyle N. T. (Myshall)

Mr. Edward Doyle T.D. (Ballon)

Rev. James Mahon A.D.M. Bro. Leo, Rev. M. Hagley, Mr. Thomas Hayden and Mrs. McCarthy (Tullow)

Most Rev. Matthew Cullen D.D. Rev. J.J. Dunny C.C. Rev. John Killian, A.D.M.

Rev. T. Keogh, Bro. Foran, and Canon Ridgeway (Carlow)

Mr. Edward O'Toole and Very Rev. Monsignor Delaney P.P. V.F.

(Rathvilly)

Messrs James Hickey and Patrick Sheehan (Clonegal)

There was further delay in the appointment of a Librarian, it was not until September 1930 that Miss Iona MacLeod, Sandyford, Co. Dublin took up duty as County Librarian.

Commencement of service

Library Accommodation consisted of two rooms in the Courthouse, a bookstore and an office. During the first six months the actual work of organisation began, the bookstore was shelved, stationery ordered, book lists were drawn up (these had to be approved by the Committee prior to purchase). The Clergy were approached and permission sought to set up a library centre in their administrative areas, local people acted as honorary librarians and books were delivered by hired car.

In the first Annual Report dated 20th October 1931, the Librarian stated that six months after its inception "the Scheme was being hailed with acclamation from all sources". Tullow was the first town to obtain books. The following table of statistics is given in the Report to illustrate the progress made during the first six months.

Centre	No. of Borrowers	No. of Issues	No. of Books
Myshall	96	53	228
Bennekerry	58	519	218
Clonegal	81	618	225
Hacketstown	103	1211	269
Rathvilly	50	205	110
Borris	238	1645	285
Bagenalstown	182	1515	344
Newtown	72	590	321
Tullow	231	1640	330
Ballon	86	672	236
Leighlinbridge	113	700	274
Glynn	66	450	82
	1,376	10,218	2,922

War Years

By 1939 it was apparent that the premises in the Courthouse were obviously too small, it was no longer possible to operate the service to an increased number of centres. The Committee inspected a number of premises and recommended to the Council the taking of two rooms in Mr. Byrne's house, Burrin Place, at a rate of £45 per annum, letting to be for a term of five years.

While the Scheme was implemented with enthusiasm and well received in the early years, little progress was achieved during the period 1939-1944. It is a tribute to the Librarian, Library Committee and all concerned in the running of the library that a service was maintained at all during the war years.

With petrol scarce or unobtainable, books had to be delivered to

centres by pony and trap. Book production deteriorated and while books were dull and badly produced they were also in short supply. The cumbersome method of selection whereby books had to be listed for approval slowed down the ordering process. In her Annual Report of 1944 the Librarian identifies the problems thus "restricted transport, shortage in book production and lighting conditions in rural areas"

Service extended to Urban area:

In April 1943 the Scheme was extended to cover the Carlow Urban area. To cope with the increased demand, the library was by September 1944 in search of a new home once again, this time the Headquarters and town branch library were transferred to 30, Dublin St. According to a report in the "Nationalist" these premises were a great improvement on the previous Headquarters at the Courthouse and Burren Place and were adapted to the best possible advantage". But all was not well, however, as we read in the next sentence "the larger room upstairs was condemned by the Engineering experts as they considered the floor unsafe for the incursion of a large number of people" (i.e. public use). A separate juvenile library was opened for the first time and on the 31st March 1946 there were 5000 borrowers registered. The total stock was approximately 17,200 about 49.5 books per hundred of population. Total expenditure for the year amounted to library expenditure to £859.2s. 3d. It should be remembered however, that it was only in 1946 that the rate limitation on library expenditure was abolished (Local Government Act, 1946)

1951/60

Lack of suitable accommodation was highlighted by the librarian in successive reports. The mobile library was considered the most efficient method of serving the rural population. It should be stated, however, that somewhat similar conditions existed throughout the country. Lack of development of libraries in the 1950's must be viewed against the background of a depressed economy with widespread unemployment and massive emigration. Between 1956-1961 212,003 persons emigrated. Any money available was spent on roads, housing, health etc., Libraries were way down the list of priorities.

The Library Council established under the Public Libraries Act 1947, carried out a survey on county and city libraries during the mid-fifties. The First Series of Reports on County Libraries was issued in 1955 and in the Summary to the report under the heading "General conditions of the County Libraries", it stated: "The County Library service is not, in general, in a satisfactory condition as regards books, buildings or staffs; it is used by too small a proportion of the population; people living in country areas are getting limited services; it has expanded more on the recreational than its educational side; the needs of the young people are not adequately met; and a relatively small number of schools are served. Inadequate financial provision for the county libraries has more than any other single factor retarded development.

The Sixties, however, brought new hope with the Government's white paper called Programme for Economic Expansion (1959-1963) The primary objective of the programme was to bring about an increase in the rate of growth in national income so as to reduce emigration and unemployment. This programme was very successful, the growth rate more than doubled that sought by the programme.

An important event took place at this time regarding public libraries, in November 1961 the Minister for Local Government announced his system of grants. The Library Council was enabled to recoup half the annual loan charges incurred by local authorities

on projects of a Capital nature approved by the Council. While there was some criticism of the scheme, it did, however, establish the principle of state for libraries, up to this they were financed solely from the rates. Librarians began drawing up development programmes for their services.

Change of Librarian

On taking up duty as County Librarian on 1st April 1971 Miss Kathleen Turner carried out a general survey on the County Library Service and submitted a report to the Co. Manager on the standard of library service in the county. The report looked at the service under the following headings:

(1) Headquarters and Carlow Branch Library

The building which housed the H.Q. and branch library were found to be totally inadequate and unsuitable. The acquisition of a suitable site in a centre location and the erection of a purpose-built library were strongly urged.

(2) Book Stock

The raising of a loan to build up a basic stock was suggested, a major portion of the stock was regarded as worn-out.

(3) Staff

The immediate appointment of an Assistant Librarian and Clerk/Typist were recommended.

(4) Administration

It was felt that the appointment of an Assistant Librarian who would carry out staff training would help greatly to make routine administration more efficient.

(5) School Librarian

The purchase of a shelved delivery van to service primary schools in the county was recommended. Service to primary schools was to be discontinued until such time as the Department of Education subsidise the scheme on a per capita annual grant. Co-operation between the County Council and the V.E.C. in setting up a library in the Regional College was advocated.

(6) Mobile Library Service

The suitability of Carlow County for the operation of a mobile was pointed out. The mobile was considered the most efficient method of providing a library service to the rural population.

(7) Branch Libraries

A new modern branch library open full time was recommended for Carlow town.

Town Hall

It was obvious by the late sixties that the branch accommodation at 30, Dublin St., was totally unsuitable to serve a town the size of Carlow with a population of 9,321. It was decided to transfer the library to the auditorium in the Town Hall. This was understandably resisted by many who felt that if the library was moved as a temporary measure it would remain there permanently. At its monthly meeting on 9th November 1971, Carlow County Councillors heard a strong case here from a five man deputation about why the branch library should not be transferred to the Town Hall.

The Vocational School which was to be vacated by the end of the year was suggest'd as a possible home for the library. Differences were resolved, however, and the temporary branch library in the Town Hall was opened in March 1972. Opening hours were extended from 12 to 27½ per week.

Development Plan 1976

During 1976 a development plan was submitted to the County Manager by the then Librarian Muiris O'Raghail. It included:

The erection new branch Library in Tullow.

The erection of a new branch library in Muinebheag.

Book loans for both branches

Purpose-built branch for Carlow Town

Provision of schools delivery van.

Audio-visual material (for Carlow Town Branch)

During 1975/76 the Vocational school was renovated at a cost of £30,000 and officially opened by the Minister of Local Government Mr James Tully, on Wednesday, 3rd March 1976. The building is interesting on two counts, the first in that the front portion dates back to 1794 and was known as the Assembly Rooms which were used for dinners and balls "by the nobility and gentry of County Carlow". It is also interesting because of the Shaw connection. George Bernard Shaw inherited the building from his great granduncle Thomas Gurly but transferred it in 1917 to five trustees representing the County Carlow Technical Instruction Committee.

The renovated building had much improved facilities for both adults and children and was open 43 hours per week. The greater use of the library is reflected in the book issues for the year: In 1975, 52,716 books were issued and this increased to 95,620 in 1976.

Mobile Library Service

Up to 1977 rural areas were served by small centres set up in schools and parish halls. There were obvious short-comings in this method of service, the number of books at each centre was small and changed irregularly, there was little or no contact with Headquarter's staff. The provision of any service at all depended on the enthusiasm and good will of the local librarian.

In July 1977 the mobile library went into operation serving a population of 11,000 in rural areas. It calls on 33 separate service points throughout the county. The duration of "Stops" varies depending on population figures and local demand. The success of the service to date more than justifies the additional expenditure involved. It has approximately 3000 borrowers and issues 39,276 books annually.

Primary School Scheme

The Scheme came into operation ten years ago with a contribution of 20p per pupil from the Department of Education provided a matching contribution was made by the local authority. Operated through the public library service it was envisaged that the per capita grant would increase each year to cover increased cost of books and administration costs. In point of fact, the Departments contribution was withdrawn entirely in 1975 but restored in 1976, at the rate of 25p per capita and it has not been increased since. The library Association of Ireland has (without success) on a number of occasions made representation



*The Vocational School on
Dublin Street*

to the Department to have the grant increased and the scheme extended to include post-primary schools.

With over 7000 pupils attending primary schools in County Carlow we receive a grant of £1747 from the Dept. Up to 1979 books for each school were selected by the library staff, packed in cartons and delivered to schools by means of private transport. This method of selection and distribution was unsatisfactory on many counts but principally in that teachers had no say in the selection of books for their schools. A shelved van with a carrying capacity of 1500-2000 had for some time been recommended as the most effective method of service. In June 1978 a Ford Transit van was purchased and shelved and went into operation in April 1979. Schools have since been visited once a term mostly, requests are supplied in so far as they are available and in that the book fund will allow, slides and film strips are issued from Headquarters. The Schools' Librarian is in daily contact with teachers which allows discussion and an exchange of ideas to take place continually.

At branch level the service to young people has expanded under the direction of the Schools' Librarian. Group visits by pupils of primary and post-primary schools are encouraged, guidance is given in research techniques and story telling sessions have begun on a weekly basis.

Branch Libraries

Muinebheag

The present branch library in Muinebheag is housed in a comparatively small room in the McGrath Memorial Hall. Open 16 hours per week it gives a very limited service. Despite these limitations, however, it has close on 1,000 borrowers and issues 13,072 books annually.

We are fortunate, however, in that Council land is available centrally in the town and site approval has been obtained from The Library Council. The proposed library will merit a grant of 50% of loan charges on capital expenditure. When complete it will be open to the public full time (36 hours per week) and have the following departments.

Adult lending

Adult Reference

Children Lending & Reference

Browsing Area

Exhibition space and display area.

A trend towards more active community use of library buildings has taken place over the past few years. In the International Federation of Library Associations Standards for Public Libraries which were adopted for Ireland in 1975, it is stated. "Every public library should provide opportunities for exhibitions not only of books but of other objects and illustrative material various kinds, as an extension of its educational cultural and informational functions. Muinebheag has a large collection of museum exhibits and other artifacts stored presently in a local convent school due to lack of exhibition facilities.

Tullow

Like Muinebheag the branch in Tullow is housed in a small room in the Courthouse. Open 16 hours per week it has approx. 900 registered borrowers and issues 13,443 books annually.

Borris

Up to October 1980 Borris was served by the mobile library and a small branch open a few hours per week. The library was housed in a community hall in the village centre, which was most unsuitable. The branch was closed down on the retirement of the branch librarian. The mobile continues to serve the village.

Local History

Every effort is made to purchase new and second-hand books and material relating to the County. As this material must be exploited as fully as possible the use of a Microfilm Reader/Printer and more especially the photocopier have played a key role in making rare and out-of-print material widely available.

There are now a number of special collections in the library:-
Burton Collection:- Private papers dealing with Burton family of County Carlow from 1570 - 1920.

Vigors Papers:- Papers, documents etc. relating to the Vigors family of Burgage Estate, Leighlinbridge.

Tyndall Collection:- John Tyndall, natural philosopher and scientist was born in Leighlinbridge, Co. Carlow in 1820. The Library has an extensive range of books by and about Tyndall, also letters, papers and family documents (this collection has been built up with the help of the Tyndall Committee)

We are always interested to hear of material of local interest that may come on the market and are willing to look at collections with a view to purchase. We are of course most grateful for donations or items given on permanent loan. It is sad but true that the public library is sometimes overlooked as a repository for items of local interest. I would like to take this opportunity to thank all those who have over the years donated books, periodicals, family papers etc, their generosity is much appreciated.

Staff Training

It is now generally recognised that the most important resource in any organisation is the staff. Along with ability and motivation training is the major factor in improving employee performance. One assistant has completed the two year course leading to the Diploma in Librarianship at U.C.D, a second has completed the first year of the course.

The County Manager has been most generous in allowing the members of staff time off to attend conferences, seminars and other relevant external courses.

Every effort is made to carry out on-the-job training, by way of talks, discussions, practical work sessions and the use of a staff manual.

Future Development

It is hoped to have the proposed Branch Library in Muinebheag built and operational within the next year or two. Ideally situated in the town centre it should have an immediate impact on the recreational, educational and cultural life of the community.

Tullow:- Library accommodation on a temporary basis is actively sought in Tullow Town Centre until such time as a purpose-built library is executed. The present service is so limited that suitable premises here must be regarded as a priority. The Library Councils grants scheme was extended in the late seventies to cover leasing, this must be borne in mind when investigating suitable premises.

Headquarters:

Council land is available on the eastern side of town beside Askea Church and it has been recommended that a site be retained here for library purposes i.e. Headquarters with branch library attached. The present H.Q. has very limited stacking space for reserve stock - this has to be shelved in the old building at 30, Dublin St. Split accommodation creates many administrative problems. The primary schools department is presently housed in a corner of the general office, there are no facilities for teachers visiting the centre, extra display space is also required. Additional accommodation will be necessary when a library service is extended to post-primary schools.

The population of Carlow Town has increased considerably over the past ten years. The town is now a large industrial centre with many new large factories such as Braun and Lapple and many smaller industries located at the Industrial Estate at Strawhall. There are a number of large schools, primary and post-primary together with the Regional Technical College.

The location of the present branch while central to the town does not cater for the huge residential development on the eastern side of town. In the event of a new branch being built here, the present library would be retained as a central library for the town.

Acknowledgements

I wish to record my grateful thanks to Carlow County Council, without whose generous support and understanding no progress could have been made.

I wish to thank the Co. Manager Mr. M. J. Boyce for his co-operation in the development of the service.

To the Co. Secretary, Co. Engineer, Finance Officer, Senior Staff Officer, Mr. John and all their staffs and to all sections of the council without whose help the work of the County Library would have been much more difficult, I offer my sincere thanks and appreciation.

A special word of thanks to the Chairman of the Library Committee, Councillor Mary McDonald, her support and interest in the Library service is much appreciated.

To the members of the Committee I am most grateful.

To the library staff, I offer my sincere thanks. Without their effort and dedication the progress that has been made would have been impossible.

Statistical Information from 1950 appended.

Is mise le meas,

THE BAGENAL LETTERS

Richard Sheehan

Those mentioned in the following letter have connections with the Bagenal and Newton families.

The writer of the letter to, My Dear Niece, is Hope Bagenal, (1888-1979). Architect, Acoustician and Writer. Son of Philip Henry Bagenal, OBE. Served as a sergeant in the RAMC Field Ambulance 9th Scottish Division, from Oct.1914.

Faith Bagenal, sister of Hope.

Nick (Nicholas) Bagenal, brother of Hope.

Uncle Beauchamp, (Beauchamp Frederick Bagenal, 1846-1930), Bennekerry House. Brother of Philip Henry Bagenal.

Aunt Ethel, (nee Hall-Dare, Newtownbarry House, Newtownbarry, now Bunclody, Co.Wexford).

Jack (John) Bagwell, Howth (and Marlfield, Clonmel, Co.Tipperary). He was appointed Senator to the Senate of the First Irish Free State Government, 1922.

Henrietta Philippa (Hariot) Bagwell, (nee Newton, Dunleckney, (1853-1937), Marlfield, Clonmel.

Richard Bagwell, DL.,JP., and Historian, Marlfield. (Parents of Jack Bagwell).

P.H.B., Philip Henry Bagenal, OBE., (1850-1927), Bachelor of Laws, Dublin and London, and Writer, Author of, "Vicissitudes" of an Anglo-Irish Family. Brother of Beau-champ Frederick Bagenal.

Nanny Vesey, (1847-1927), (nee Anne Newton, Dunleckney), Dunleckney Manor. Widow of William Muschamp Vesey.

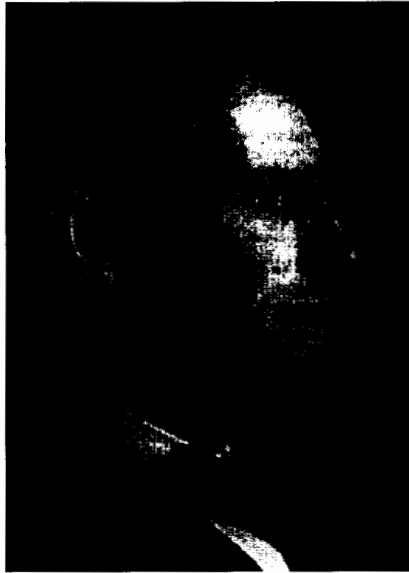
Mrs.Caroline Hall-Dare, (nee Newton, Mount Leinster Lodge, Bagenalstown), Newtownbarry House, Newtownbarry, Co. Wexford.

Emily Trant, (nee Newton, Dunleckney), Dovea, Thurles, Co.Tipperary.

Captain William Forbes, Rathwade House, Bagenalstown. Violet Forbes, Rathwade House, daughter of Capt. W. Forbes.

Aunt Jane Le Fanu, (nee Hore, sister of Hariot Bagenal, wife of Philip Henry Bagenal). Lived near Bray, Co. Wicklow, with her husband Rev. Fletcher Le Fanu.

"The Irish Side" (Ireland in the 1914 War).



(Philip) Hope (Edward)Bagenal. (1888-1979). Architect, Acoustician and Writer. A registered Quaker and not believing in War; he wrote, "If there is an opportunity of serving without contributing to the general slaughter and a man prefers to choose that".



Philip Henry Bagenal (1850-1927) OBE, BL. Married Hariot Hore in 1884

Hope Bagenal's letter to his Niece.

My Dear Niece: I wonder whether you have ever thought about the Irish side of your mother's family. It is worth thinking about because "Anglo Irish" can be a true mix with a genius of its own. And this was first borne in upon me in the works of Bernard Shaw and Yeats and Synge, and in reading and attending the Irish plays at the Abbey Theatre Dublin, 1909-1912, in the early years of this century.

It is something much more than a mere revolt against English dominance. For me, my father's good qualities contribute to the Anglo Irish picture. He had an invincible good temper and generosity of mind; he was full of stories and jokes. But also he sang Irish songs and loved an "Irish story" with its genius for the, whimsical. In my father there went also an understanding of, and deep appreciation of women and also of 'young people.' I recall an incident when I was an engineering student at Leeds University (my parents then living at Harrogate). I had been working hard for the Intermediate exam B.Sc.Engineering, I finished the last paper and returned to Harrogate convinced that I had failed and in deep despair. I found my father working happily on his rock garden - a really fine lay-out, by Wood, for rare alpiners. He came towards me and must have realised my state of mind. Without a word he took my arm and walked me up and down a garden path - up and down - expressing something deeper than sympathy, expressing sorrow at my sorrow. And his touch was a re-assurance - like removing a burden, and I am still grateful to him - grateful for his recognising the sorrows of youth.

And he could stand up to the younger generation. I recall, during a vacation, a real combative argument in his study when Faith from Newnham, Cambridge, and Nick from King's, answered his tirade wittily and condescendingly.

He was incensed, but also delighted at their sword-play. He laughed and called us "A set of infernal young sparks who think they know everything."

Here is a letter from him posted to me in France (to the 27th. Field Ambulance 9th. Division), dated May 24th.1916, from Bennekerry in County Carlow - the ancestral home of Newtons and later of Bagenals.

"My dearest boy," he writes, " You will see where I write from. Your Uncle Beauchamp is sitting in a chair in breeches and gaiters,



Bennekerry House

reading the paper - the picture of a rural squire and magistrate. Hair now white and scanty and nose a little red: he is lame now in one leg from rheumatism, but is otherwise exceedingly cheery and hearty. We all went to church yesterday and had Communion together. It is hard to believe that I am as old as 65 - when everything else seems unchanged here except the faces of the people one meets, now nearly new to me. This old earth of ours is an index of immortality. Through this valley of the Barrow no less than 12 generations of our family have traversed their mortal lives in peace and war - losing their lives some by violent deaths, others in their beds. But the scenes are the same and now here we are - your Uncle B. and I - filling the same places (geographically) as those who have gone before us. You and Nicholas (your brother) have no such traditional sentiments as I have. Every road and hill and 'place' to me has a feeling of home which strikes my heart every time I return. This seems to me something to cherish. It is responsible for much in English life, and it has conspired to keep alive a patriotism of locality which bred up without an anchorage must lack. I often wonder what perspective of the past you, and others - bred up as you are - possess? What values you estimate and hold, and how the past strikes you? The vicissitudes of my life have been many and strange but I always hark back in Soul, and in memory, to this county with extra-ordinary feelings of affection - something no doubt like the feelings of colonists for the old Country. This is why I am enjoying a quiet week here with Uncle B. and Aunt Ethel. The latter is great on econmy, and has invented a war bread of her own - quite excellent it is too. She has a chicken farm. Yesterday (Sunday) I saw a hawk swoop down and fly off with a little white duck - and it squawking. Such a tragedy must be avenged and your Uncle B. - gun in one hand and walking stick in the other, went out with me to try and trace the aeroplanic enemy. No luck. But we are planning a campaign to counter-attack and destroy the bird-Hun.

I have been staying with Jack Bagwell at Howth, a lovely spot, for a couple of nights, and thence went on to Marlfield (to stay with Jack's parents - Richard and Hariot Bagwell). And the study of the Anglo-Irish mind (as seen in Richard Bagwell the learned historian and fierce Protestant-Unionist) was, of old, an interesting study in psychology. At Marlfield there also Richard's land agent - Mr. Seigne (pronounced Synge) who many interesting Irish stories. One is worth recording.

Dean Swift was riding through a wild part of Tipperary and a severe snow storm, with thunder, overtook him. He sheltered beneath a tree where crouched a tramp and his female companion.

To his surprise the man addressed him, not for alms, but marry him to the woman. She had long urged him, she said, to make an honest woman of her, and now it seemed that an opportunity arrived, and he was willing to do what she asked. The Dean considered the request and then consented. When he had tied the knot man asked him for "a bit of writing" to serve as marriage lines. The Dean considered this a good sign and taking a piece of from his wallet wrote as follows:-

"Beneath an oak in snowy weather/
I married this rogue and this whore together
No power save that which rules the thunder
Can part this rogue and this whore asunder."

This story was told to Mr. Synge by a peasant cottier - a old man, on the Tipperary hills, who said he had it from his father who had it from his father and grandfather, and that it had been handed down from the tramp himself who had kept the scrap of paper as evidence of the marriage. The lines certainly bare the sign - manual of Swift.

From Marlfield I went to Dunleckney where we had a meeting of patriarchs and matriarchs - Nanny Vesey, Mrs. Caroline Hall-nee Newton, Emily Trant nee Newton, Captain William Forbes whose daughter Violet was a girl that your brother Nick was on the eve of loving once upon a time - now a most beautiful girl.

It was in fact all very delightful in that 'House Beautiful (Dunleckney) endeared to me by a hundred associations with the past.



Mrs Forbes with her daughter, Violet (at Dunleckney) Rathwadee House. Her husband was Capt. William Forbes.



Anne Vessey (nee Newton, Dunleckney) widow of William Muschamp Vessey. Inherited Dunleckney on the death of her father, Philip Jocelyn Newton in 1895. She died in 1927 aged 80 yrs.

One day we had twenty ladies assembled for their weekly manufacture of hospital necessities - all dressed in white antiseptic overalls - and they all looked their best. One job was filling pads with spagnum moss from Mount Leinster - the latest medical fad. Have you had any of this article sent out to you? Its healing properties are said to be remarkable.

I leave here on Thursday and conclude my Royal Progress with Aunt Jane Le Fanu who I am happy to relate is practically cured, and in excellent spirits. She is now a glutton for fresh air, she who could never stand an open window. After I had been here for a week I feel greatly refreshed

Your loving Dad -P.H.B.

Reading my father's letter again I find the story of Dean Swift and the marriage lines, written for a vagrant couple under a tree, bears indeed - as my father says - the sign manual of Swift. It expresses a heartless contempt for human nature - an arrogance that makes fun of the poor. That Irish woman pleading for the name of wife - she of the wandering classes who know the meaning of poverty - will be owned by the Lord of Creation before the great intellects and self-worshippers.

What sequel was there? Let us conjecture and add to the story. With her new self-respect the "whore" has a powerful natural desire to stop wandering about, and to find some 'home'. And that desire was even stronger when she found that she was pregnant. And that unlooked marriage under an oak tree by his Reverence - so impressive - also made her think and think. And her powerful longing of body and mind was dynamic - of the kind that had

swayed primitive man, and produced early shelters and primitive store-houses, and barns. And by her persistence and pleadings her man now thought about it more seriously. And he remembered that the farmer at 'Barneen', a farm-house not far off, would sometimes take casual labourers. So thither they went and the farmer agreed to employ him but said, "I've no house-room. Ye'll have to sleep in the barneen." (A barneen is, in dialect a corner of a big barn partitioned off as a room where casual labour could sleep in the hay). And so there they were, and were all owed to cook in the old harness-room. And her baby was born, and a healthy boy rustled and sneezed in the hay. But it turned out also that there was another good reason for taking on casual labour at the farm, namely that the farmer's wife had had a baby, but had difficulty in suckling it. And it came to pass that the wife of the vagrant was able to help the wife of the farmer - she having by God's grace milk enough for twins. And so it came about that two babies often rustled and sneezed in the hay together; and the two mothers became allies, and the farm prospered.

I write this because in Ireland in old days the "wet nurse" was often called in, and many a child (including the writer of these lines) was suckled by a healthy peasant woman, recommended by the family doctor. My mother told me herself about my case. And then I wondered whether my sympathies for things Irish, and for Irish minds, arises from the early warmth and reassurance brought to me by an Irish peasant foster mother.

And there the letter ends.



Beauchamp Frederick Bagenal (1846-1930) son of Philip and Georgina Bagenal, Bennekerry. Fought for Garibaldi in a romantic interlude in his early life. Later he was commissioned in the 45th Regiment and saw service in Ethiopia with Napier's expedition in 1868, returning to Bennekerry for the rest of his life, farming, playing cricket and hunting. He married Eithel Hall-Dare, Newtownbarry (Bunclody) Co. Wexford in 1870. They had five children.

THE BAGENAL LETTERS



The ladies who came to Dunleckney to make comforts for the soldiers and necessities for the hospitals during WWI, organised by Mrs Anne Vessey, Dunleckney Manor. Mrs Vessey is seen at the centre of the back row with her hands clasped in front of her. On her left are members of the house staff - Ellen Mernagh, Brigid Doyle, and Kate Barron. The young lady standing to the right of the photograph is Dr Hope Trant, home on leave from France where she works caring for the casualties of the war. Standing behind her is her mother, Emily Trant (nee Newton, Dunleckney) Doves, Thurles, Co. Tipperary. She too has her hands clasped. Seated in front on the left is Mrs Owens, wife of James Owens, the medical Hall, Bagenalstown. In the centre is Mary Anderson, Steward's House, Brown's Farm. She later married Richard (Dick) Gregor and they lived in Regent Street. Regrettably the other names are not noted.



Dunleckney in the late 1800s, architect, Daniel Robertson.

JOHN NEALE

SURGEON AND MUSICIAN

Nicholas Carolan

Just outside the village of Leighlinbridge, Co Carlow, on the old Carlow-Kilkenny road and near the ancient seat of the kings of south Leinster at Dinree, is the partly neglected and overgrown graveyard of Ballyknockan. Close to its ruined church which formerly belonged to the Church of Ireland, a large gravestone marks the 1791 burial place of Surgeon John Neale of Dublin, a well known figure in the Ireland of his day although now almost forgotten. The gravestone itself gives rise to a tantalising mystery about Neale himself and his origins.

John Neale was prominent in the Dublin worlds of both medicine and music in the second half of the eighteenth century, and was a member of a family that had dominated the Dublin music trade from the yard of Christ Church cathedral in the city centre since the 1720s.¹

His paternal grandfather, also John Neale or Neal² (*ante* 1700–*post* 1740), is first seen about 1700 as a musical-instrument maker on Christ Church Lane in Dublin, specialising in the manufacture of recorders. His origins are obscure, in spite of his later prominence, and it is not known whether he was Irish or English, Protestant or Catholic. By about 1714, with his son William (c. 1700–1769), he was a member of a socially and religiously mixed group that met for music and conversation in taverns around Christ Church. By 1718 this group had become formalised as The Charitable and Musical Society, its charitable activities being directed to freeing prisoners from the marshalseas of Dublin. John Neale eventually became president of the society, at whose gatherings the father and son played flute and fife. By the early 1720s the Neales had set up shop in Christ Church Yard. For some two decades there, they successfully made and imported musical instruments, published and imported sheet music and music books, organised concerts and recitals, and speculated in property. The shop ceased trading in the 1740s when John Neale died and William Neale became involved in a more ambitious undertaking: the building and operation of a music hall in Fishamble Street beside the cathedral in 1741. This enterprise was highly successful, and it has established the name of William Neale in music reference books world-wide because it was the venue in 1742 for the premier of George Frederic Handel's oratorio *Messiah*.

Within two generations the Neales had risen from the status of tradesmen to that of gentlemen.³ The next generation



The broken table tombstone in Ballyknockan Graveyard

would become more socially prominent again, in the person of Surgeon John Neale. Surgeons are nowadays of high status in the medical profession, but before the eighteenth century they were regarded as separate from and inferior to physicians, and were associated with barbers and bloodletters. This situation had evidently changed even in Dublin by the mid-eighteenth century. Surgeon Neale seems to have had a brother Thomas who was also a surgeon⁴ and his sister was married to another surgeon, John Ford.⁵

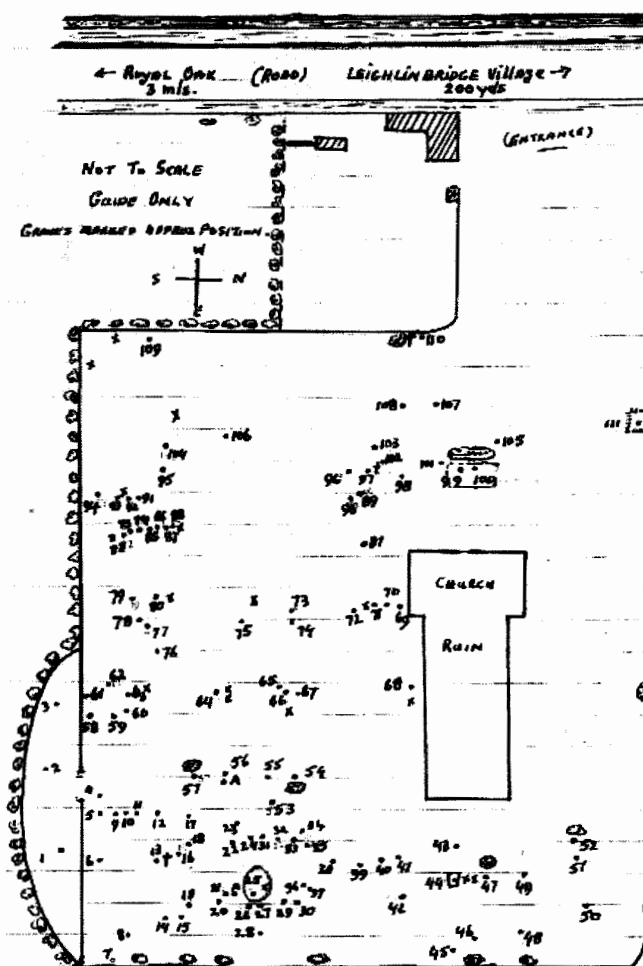
Surgeon John Neale was the son of William, but his date of birth is not known. Although it not possible to be certain, he may have been the 'Master Neale, a child of ten Years Old' who performed 'a Concerto on the Violin (and Elin a Roon) with all its Variations' in Dublin in 1743.⁶ The assumption that he was may have given rise to the birth-date of c. 1733 sometimes cited for him;⁷ but at any rate a date approximate to this year would be plausible. It is not known where he trained or qualified, but by 1756 John Neale was a surgeon, and had been appointed as surgeon to the Charitable Infirmary on Jervis Street, across the river Liffey from Fishamble Street.⁸ In this he seems to have been following in the family tradition of charitable activity, and he continued in the position with the Infirmary for over three decades, until 1789. In 1766 he married an Anne Wainwright in the church of St John the Evangelist on Fishamble Street,⁹ and he lived variously at Essex Quay, Mary Street and finally in the fashionable Dominic Street.¹⁰ Doubtless he also had a private practice. In 1780 he was active in raising the status of his profession in Ireland by participating in the establishment of the Dublin Society of Surgeons, and the Society succeeded in being given its royal charter in 1784.¹¹ In 1787 John Neale was appointed State Surgeon for Ireland.¹²



General view of graveyard

Surgeon Neale also led a prominent life in Dublin as an amateur musician. Described as 'one of the first gentlemen performers on the violin in Europe',¹³ and specialising in the music of the baroque composers Geminiani and Corelli,¹⁴ he was a member of the Musical Academy founded in 1757 by Garret Wesley, Lord Mornington, professor of music in Trinity College Dublin and father of the Duke of Wellington. His friends included Thomas Kelly, master of revels in Dublin Castle and father of the future famous tenor Michael Kelly, friend of Mozart.¹⁵ In 1773, at a typical concert given by amateurs, the Musical Academy orchestra included Surgeon Neale among the violins with Count M'Carthy, Right Hon. Sackville Hamilton, Very Rev. Dean Bayly, Deans Burke and Hamilton, and Dr Hutchinson, while the bassoons included Colonel Lee Carey, the cellos the Earl of Bellamont and Sir John Dillon, the flutes Lord Lucan, the harpsichordists the Right Hon. W. Brownlow and Lady Freke.¹⁶ In 1787 Neale was among the 'amateurs of the highest distinction' who played at a Handel commemoration in St Werburgh's Church in Dublin, and his fellow-musicians there included Sir Hercules Langrishe, Baron Dillon, Lady Portarlington and the Hon. Mrs Stopford.¹⁷ In the same year of 1787 (also the year of his elevation to State Surgeon) Neale's musical reputation led to an invitation to play before George III at St James's Palace in London,¹⁸ and in 1789 he led the orchestra playing in Christ Church at a thanksgiving service for the King's recovery.¹⁹ As had also happened to both his grandfather and father, Surgeon Neale was complimented by a contemporary poet:

Harmonious *Neale* can tune Apollo's Lyre,
With heavenly Music cheer the Maiden-Choir,
Command the Passions, cause to laugh or weep,
Or with soft Notes lull tyrant *Saul* to sleep:
O'er sounding Strings his graceful Fingers roll,
And fill with melody the enraptur'd Soul.
He's no less famous for chirurgic Skill,
And in Society has wit at Will.²⁰



Plan of graveyard as sketched by Fieldcrest Reynolds

A later writer had more difficulty in reconciling Neale's two avocations:

Think of him – carrying up the steps of the Infirmary a case containing the awesome instruments of amputation, a saw, long razor-keen knives, and the cruel searing cauterizing irons. Or alternatively, arriving at Lord Mornington's Academy bearing a case in which lay his violin and bow, soon to resound in the same hands, pouring forth 'heavenly Music'.²¹

John Neale did not however live long to enjoy the position of State Surgeon. In September 1791 the Dublin and Leinster newspapers announced his death in Leighlinbridge in Co Carlow. It had occurred 'at Mr. Roche's' according to one. It was reported variously that he had died on 8 or 9 September,²³ and that his position as State Surgeon had been worth £400 or £500.²⁴ All the sources were agreed that he had been a violinist of European stature and a person of admirable personality: 'there is seldom such an assemblage of genius, good sense and benevolence as were so happily united in the character of this amiable man'.²⁵ He was buried in Ballyknockan cemetery on 11th September.²⁶

Did Surgeon John Neale have a particular connection with Leighlinbridge, or did he just happen to die there? Why was he buried there rather than in his native Dublin where he had been so prominent and admired, and where relatives lived?²⁷ This mystery is added to by the fact that Surgeon Neale's tombstone in Ballyknockan gives his name as 'Oneill' rather than Neale: 'Sacred to the Memory of John O'neill esquire State Surgion and Member of the Royal College of Surgeons...'.²⁸ Could a monumental sculptor with local knowledge have known that the dead man was one of the Carlow O'Neills and that this was the correct form of the family name?²⁹ Or is it an error concerning a Dublin stranger unknown to him? The answers to these questions could throw light on the now obscure origins of this highly prominent musical family of eighteenth-century Dublin.

Irish Traditional Music Archive, Dublin

¹ For detail on the Neal/Neale family and source references see Nicholas Carolan ed. *John & William Neal: A Collection of the Most Celebrated Irish Tunes Proper for the Violin, German Flute and Hautboy, Dublin 1724* (Irish Traditional Music Archive, Dublin, 2010).

² The family name frequently appears in manuscript and print in both forms.

³ In the 1740s, in property transactions recorded in the Registry of Deeds, William Neale describes himself as 'musical instrument maker'; by the 1750s in the same records he describes himself as 'Gent.' (Carolan 2010, p. 24).

⁴ Edward A. Martin ed., *A Dictionary of Bookplates of Irish Medical Doctors*, De Búrca, Dublin, 2003, pp. 97–8.

⁵ This appears from a transcript of Surgeon Neale's will, Graham Papers, National Archives, Dublin, notebook 5. Ford was also a surgeon with the Charitable Infirmary (Eoin O'Brien, *The Charitable Infirmary, Jervis Street, 1718–1987: A Farewell Tribute*, Dublin, 1987, p. 261).

⁶ *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 11–15 Jan. 1743. Although tickets for this performance were sold in the shop of John and William Neale, Master Neale appeared at a recital by another John Neale, a London flute and oboe player, and he may have been his son rather than the son of the Dublin Neales.

⁷ For instance Brian Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar 1700–1760*, Dublin, 1988, p. 286.

⁸ O'Brien 1987, p. 14. See also J.D.H. Widdness, *The Charitable Infirmary, Jervis Street, Dublin, 1718–1968*, Dublin, 1968, pp. 66–8.

⁹ Samuel Carlyle Hughes, *The Church of St John the Evangelist*, Dublin, 1889, p. 100.

¹⁰ See contemporary Dublin directories.

¹¹ Charles A. Cameron, *History of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland and of the Irish Schools of Medicine*, Dublin, 1886, pp. 111–8.

¹² Cameron 1886, p. 106.

¹³ Obituary in the *The Dublin Evening Post*, 15 Sept. 1791.

¹⁴ Hogan, Ita Margaret, *Anglo-Irish Music 1780–1830*, Cork



Tombstone clearly gives the surname as 'Oneill'

University Press, Cork, 1966, p. 10.

¹⁵ Michael Kelly, *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly*, vol. 1, London 1826, p. 6.

¹⁶ W. H. Grattan Flood, *A History of Irish Music*, 4th ed., Dublin, 1927, p. 303.

¹⁷ Grattan Flood 1927, p. 310.

¹⁸ Cameron 1886, pp. 111–8; Hogan 1966, p. 10, quoting Kelly vol. I, p. 6.

¹⁹ Hogan 1966, p. 43, quoting *The Hibernian Magazine*, March 1793.

²⁰ John Gilborne, *The Medical Review: A Poem*, Dublin, 1775, pp. 40–1.

²¹ J.D.H. Widdness 1968, quoted in O'Brien 1987, p. 14.

²² *Finn's Leinster Journal* 10–14 Sept. 1791. It has not been possible to identify this Mr Roche.

²³ *Dublin Evening Post*, 13 and 15 Sept. 1791.

²⁴ *Dublin Evening Post*, 15 Sept. 1791; *Finn's Leinster Journal* 10–14 Sept. 1791.

²⁵ *Finn's Leinster Journal* 10–14 Sept. 1791.

²⁶ *Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead, Ireland. Journal for the Year 1893*, vol. 2, no 2, p. 269.

²⁷ Such as his niece Miss Jane Ford, who was the executor of his will (dated 20 June 1791, proved 19 Oct. 1791 – National Archives: Betham papers vol. 53 IA.44-6).

²⁸ Transcription in Reynolds Fieldcrest, *Ballyknockan Church & Cemetery*, Bagnelstown, 1993. This transcription was kindly confirmed for me by Martin Nevin, joint editor of *Carloviana*, who uncovered the overgrown tombstone in April 2010. A transcript of the burial register of Ballyknockan, however, gives the name as 'Neale' (Representative Church Body Library, Dublin, MS P. 335.1.1, p. 3).

²⁹ There are several other O'Neills buried in Ballyknockan cemetery.

This is part 6 of the 'Carlow Regional Technical College - Institute of Technology Carlow History' with previous material published since 2003 in *Carloviana*. The material in this and previous parts of this series are those of the various named authors or interviewees and do not constitute official view of the Institute.

HISTORY OF RTC & ITC

(PART 6 - SPECIAL FEATURE ON 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF IRELAND'S PROTOTYPE RTC)

Edited by Norman McMillan & Martin Nevin

MANAGEMENT HISTORY

John Gallagher founding Principal of Carlow Regional Technical College in conversation with Dan Carbery, August 2010.

Dan – well John I want to hear about the early days back in 1970 when you came to Carlow and I was Chamber of Commerce nomination to the new Regional Technical College board.

John – When I think of the early days it brings me back to the very start of the College, it was very much a new concept in education and I don't think anyone knew really how to tackle the job, but there was quite a lot of interests involved who were anxious for the success of the colleges. Before any of the Principals were appointed there had been a report completed for the government which was called the 'Steering Committee Report' and it had been done by people who were familiar with the European education system. This report compared the European with the Irish scene. They recognised that there were certain elements of the education system absent in Ireland which were available in other countries. This gave the government both the initiative and the will to fund various institutions. The steering committee report was also very complete in the sense that it gave a very good outline plan of what the colleges should consist of and how they should tackle the job. However, it was very much a rough cut, but at the same time, it pointed in a certain definite direction. This was, if you like, the political side of the equation on the national scale. Then the government decided that the colleges should be built and run under the auspices of the Vocational Education Committee (hereafter VEC) of the county in which the colleges were to be located. This was despite the fact that the colleges were to serve a much larger surrounding region. The next step I suppose was the appointment of Principals of the new regional colleges and when the Principals were appointed through an interview process, the VEC structure was the first port of call backing up the department of education and the inspectorate. I think you can say they saw it as their job to ensure the success of this new stratum in the education system and the inspectorate had the duty of helping as much as possible with the project. The first point of contact really in terms of working was with the inspectorate. They were analysing the steering committee report and roughing out a structure for all of the colleges. Each college were all intended to have a somewhat similar structure and in fact that was reflected in the buildings themselves. They were built by a design group and the same design was used throughout the country so irrespective of what region you went to you recognised the Regional College immediately as it was like the one at home. So there was a lot of interaction if you like with the officials of the Department particular in relation to the purchase of equipment, the finishing of the building and of course in preparing syllabi and course materials for the opening of the colleges. That was done in co-operation with all of the colleges, so there would be a fair amount of uniformity in terms of the structure of the syllabi. What emerged from that process was certainly a uniform structure in



Dan Flinter, CEO Forbairt, Edmund Burke, Chairperson Carlow IT and John J Gallagher, Director of Carlow IT at quarterly meeting of Chairpersons and Directors of the IoTs, December 1994, at Kilkea Castle, Co. Kildare.

terms of three schools business, science and engineering together with a series of basic courses which were to be of a certain duration to reach certificate and diploma level. So a lot of planning went in at this time and we were very busy. At the same time, there was a tremendous job to be done in advertising the new colleges and explain what they were going to offer to the public for potential students in the region. There was a tremendous publicity job to be done with the public and with schools and with prospective students. A lot of work went into preparing of the prospectus and all that sort of thing. On the other hand, all these preparations would come to nought if we did not have staff, so there was a tremendous staff recruitment drive that went on at the same time as this other work. As soon as staff had been recruited, they were put to work in coordinating the syllabi, organising timetables and putting together the options that would be made available for students. The staff of course had to be advised of what was intended in terms of the whole regional college structure and what part they were going to play. The staff included of course not only academic staff, but there was also technical staff, administration staff and maintenance staff. So coupled with all the other preparations for the opening, there was quite a widespread recruitment drive and induction of all kinds of staff.

Dan - looking back on the first 40 years what do you feel was the most important development of the time? It was new to all of us all. I was sitting on the Board of Management and it was certainly new to me. What do you recall about the fact that there was a gap between degree engineers and the trades? Is it correct that it was this a technician gap that we were trying to fill?

John – that was very correct and it was internationally recognised because some of the OECD reports in the education area had

Owen McManus Memories of RTC's First Two Weeks of Operation

I applied for teaching position in Carlow Regional technical College in July 1970, and was successful. As a result of this success, I was called to a staff meeting in the college on the 15th August by the Principal John Gallagher. There were 11 staff members present (Editors-There is some dispute about this, as at Seamus McCormack at his recent retirement spoke of 'The Magnificent Seven' on the first day!). I remember being impressed by the plans outlined for the future of the new college, and the amount of money that appeared to be at the disposal of the Principal. After that meeting, I secured digs for the year. I spent the last two weeks of August wondering if I had made the biggest mistake of my life by accepting this position in the Carlow Regional. Nobody knew what future the Regional had, if any!

Soon it was the 1st September 1970, and my first day in the new job. The Regional looked more like a building site than a College. I met John Scott on the first morning and all of us were welcomed by John Gallagher and Dan Carbery a member of the Board of Management. Later we received a similar welcome from Padraig O'Faolain, Head of the Business Studies School. There were no students to be seen, but lots of workers trying desperately to get everything ready for mid-September and the arrival of the first cohort of students. During our first coffee break however we noticed some mature students and were then told these were apprentices. John and I soon met them as we were assigned to teach them communications. This was somewhat scary as we were not much older than these young men.

After coffee, we were shown to our staff room, on the main corridor, not far from the office of our Head of Department. This staff room was clean but a mess. There were bags of cement and pieces of timber and paper lying in one corner. We borrowed a brush, swept up the papers and persuaded a Mr Lee, foreman of the building site, to take it all away. We had a desk and chair

each, but no work to do apart from preparing classes for the apprentices. We did hear that students from the local Vocational School would be using the college facilities for a while and that we would be meeting some of their teachers. In due course we met Kevin O'Regan, Des Hogan and Aidan Fox.



Owen McManus

We used to arrive for work shortly after 9am. It was usual for John and I to buy two national newspapers, which we used to read openly in our office. We swap these after the first one was read. One morning, John Gallagher dropped in to see us and suggested we cease reading papers as it might give the wrong impression. We became more careful, but kept up the habit. To help us concentrate on our work, Padraig O'Faolain suggested we might do "writing and things" – whatever that meant. Classes with the apprentices however gave us a focus and a purpose to the day. With our good friend, Paul Kinsella, from the nascent Science Department, we used to go down to the Four Lakes or Holland's for lunch. One day, we were asked to go to Dublin, to buy a tape recorder for general use in the Department, but apart from that responsibility, most days petered out around 4pm. After two weeks, John and I decided to share digs in Sycamore Road and to play badminton at St Dymnna's.

Time passed very slowly those first two weeks. By the 22nd September 1970, the Vocational School students arrived back after their extended holidays. The peace and quiet had ended never to return. Our Secretarial and Business students joined our Leaving Certificate class. Students appeared to be everywhere. We were presented with timetables which ensure we were in class for 29 hours a week. Mr Lee, who helped us clear out our staff room said he was delighted to see us working at last.

already identified this gap. My own experience in England was very much the same, as I worked in industry for quite some time and there was a whole range of educational certificates and awards available for technicians in laboratories and so on. You worked with these technicians in both production and research units; they were excellently trained and they were in possession of recognised awards. They were part of the production structure and part of industry and part of business but such personnel were more or less absent here. Dan – when I left secondary school in 1956 and wanted to go into the family building business. There was no third level course on construction in the country, so I ended up doing a Quantity Surveying course in Bolton Street College in Dublin. Now these courses are available in all the Institute of Technology. These courses would have been very relevant to what I was looking for in 1956 but these were just not available. Can you give some views on the trade apprenticeship training that was given to the college in those early years.

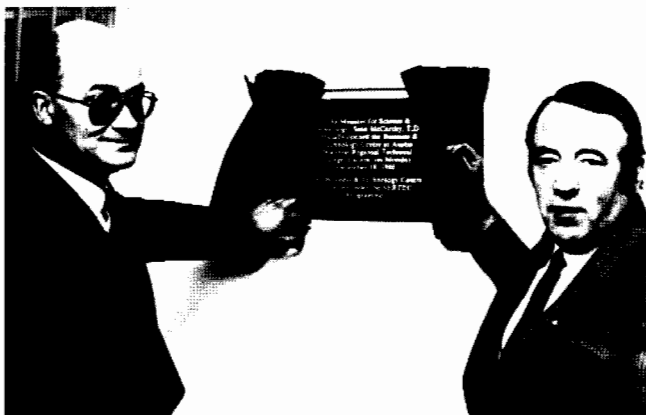
John – yes there was quite a developed apprenticeship training locally here under the V.E.C. and the intention was to transfer apprentice courses into our new college. That was a boon for them as well because there was a re-equipping of all the laboratories and the apprentices benefited very much by having up-to-date equipment. There was quite an investment in that area and again it was the same in the science laboratory where there was a lot of that

type of equipment- quite simply, that was not available in secondary schools and even in the universities there would have been a shortage of such equipment.

Dan – with respect to staff we were obviously starting from scratch in recruiting staff. Was there a transfer of staff that had been in the Vocation Educational scene? Some of them were transferred from the school and some came directly into the college. Can I ask you to discuss this briefly as my early memories were that we seemed to be forever interviewing staff and it seemed to take up an awful lot of our time?

John – well it was quite an interesting process. We were able to place staff advertisements in the national newspapers and that brought in a lot of interest from a wide variety of areas because at that time emigration was quite prevalent. There were a lot of qualified Irish people abroad who wanted to come back home and saw the necessity I suppose for what we were doing and had the basic intention of returning home anyway. In practice this meant we had quite a lot of applications for every post, and all the people who were eligible had to be interviewed. We were looking for people who would be enthusiastic about what we were trying to do and also who had the best preparation to support us. As a result, we got people coming back from not just England, but also there were applicants from America. Indeed, we had queries from Australia I

remember. I was actually amazed that one small advertisement in a newspaper could attract so much and it was quite a long job and the board of management were involved in all of the interviewing. This demanded a lot of patience and time and a lot of sifting to try and pick the most suitable people who would form a team and ensure the success of the courses and the college and so on.



The Minister for Science and Technology, Dr Sean McCarthy T.D. opening the Business & Technology Centre on December 19, 1988. Mr J.J. Gallagher, Principal is clearly happy at this first RTC research development which has led directly to the thriving research environment in the modern Institute.



Mr J.J. Gallagher and Dr McCarthy, Minister listen to Dr Norman McMillan, Senior Lecturer explaining the use of a micro-development system for a microfluidics (word at time not in use) project funded in first ever tranche of RTC research funding in a Carlow project that had won the Regional SERTEC Prize against competition from RTCs in the Region.

Dan – I recall the board of management joined up with other boards of management. I think we went up to Kevin Street College in Dublin and we split up the different interview boards and the interviewees applied for work within the system giving their preferences to which college they would like to go to, but if memory serves me right, we seemed to have interviewed for the whole system initially as distinct from the Carlow college itself.

John – well that was to a certain extent what I would have regarded as an emergency measure, because just to take my own personal example, I was employed about March 1970 when I took up the post here. It was anticipated that the first courses would open in September and at that stage there was only two staff employed in the Carlow College, namely myself and the first administrator.

Dan – Big building and no staff!

John – even the building work was not finished and as it happened, and so far as I can recall, some of the sub-contractors went bust before they could finish the work. So there was an extreme urgency in recruiting staff for the development of the college and of course the priority was the recruitment of senior staff the Heads of Department for the Academic Schools (today these positions are called Head of School) and that task was undertaken on a national basis because of the urgency and as a result as you say all of the V.E.C. representatives were involved in the interviewing in Dublin on a unified basis. There was then a sifting done to identify the staff who were interested in a particular area and secondly more sifting for each region of the country they wanted to work in. We respected the candidates preferences, so there was a lot of things to be sorted out and it all had to be done fairly quickly.

Dan – was it at that point we obtained the various Heads of Departments – engineering, business and science for Carlow?

John – there was three separate vocational areas. We appointed Frank Dawe as Head of Engineering, Sean Cawley as Head of Science and Pat O’Faoláin Head of Business.

Dan – I remember them all well they had to set out and develop each department.

John – that’s right, they were the key people internally in the college and they were there most of the time. They would have to attend meetings for co-ordination purposes, but they were dealing on a day-to-day basis with staff, time tables, accommodation and with future planning and they worked full-time together as a team.

Dan – was that full time for them doing that, or were they expected to give lectures as well at that time? Early on, there was there was not an awful lot of back up full-time administration for you. I think Mary Jordan had already come aboard.

John - Mary was actually employed before myself, so that when I came, Mary was made available to me as she had been working on a temporary basis in the V.E.C.

Dan – but she was with Austin Waldron who was the CEO of the County Carlow VEC and was the man who became secretary to our board. He was doing all the minutes and dealing with all the correspondence. It was a pretty lean team initially wasn’t it? I mean for such a big task.

John – it was a lean team

Dan – it was evolving I suppose?

John – but it was a lean mean team we were able to work together and it wasn’t cumbersome in any way.

Dan – there was not too many layers.

John – exactly, we were always available to each other. It meant that there was very good communication and everybody was aware of what everybody else was doing. So the co-ordination was good, and in terms of the teaching, I know Frank Dawe taught, I taught for a while, Sean Cawley I think taught and Pat O’Faoláin certainly taught particularly on the evening courses. Pat was really interested in the adult education and he spent an awful lot of time in the college.

Dan – *I think Frank was from a Marine Engineer background wasn't he? He was very inland in Carlow for a Marine Engineer! I recall Frank was very much a great hands-on-man with great practical experience that he brought to the college.*

John – Frank was excellent, because he had experience working as an engineer, but also he was teaching in a Polytechnic in England, in Reading I think.

Dan – *and then Pat O'Faoláin, was he from a business background.*

John – Pat was another fantastic character.

Dan – *he was pretty unique I think would be fair to say?*

John – I had great admiration for Pat O'Faoláin, he was an extremely capable man and very well qualified. He had worked for Sean Lemass at one stage and he was very fluent in Spanish from when he worked in South America where he was Manager of a very large railroad. So he was excellent in terms of planning and handling staff and in team work generally. He was a tremendous help to me because of this vast experience.

Dan – *Sean Cawley was a very highly qualified man who decided to come to Carlow and was over the Department of Science.*

John – Sean was highly qualified and highly experienced and I think he wanted to do everything in a first class manner and he was balanced with Frank and Pat who had a lot of practical experience

Dan – *I suppose it's fair to say that science by its nature was academic to a large extent. The teaching is academic and the application of it comes later, but it is in its nature a very academic subject isn't it?*

John – it is, and Sean was quite analytical basically. The whole science area benefited from the local Erin Foods and Sugar Company connection.

Dan – *and then you had An Forus Talúntas (hereafter AFT) which became Teagasc. You had a big number of graduates living and working in the Carlow area, isn't that true?*

John – Carlow was very unique that way, because between the Agricultural Institute, Sugar Company and Erin Foods there was quite a number of people qualified at PhD level. There was a scientific community here already in Carlow and there was quite a number of technician staff working locally. While they weren't recognised, there was quite a range of staff who had scientific qualifications that they had accumulated over the years and they were at the time looking for recognition for their qualifications and an enhancement of what they had learned. We were very lucky, because we got in students who were already pre-tuned to many of things that we were going to teach and it meant that we could as a consequence carry on things in the science area to quite a high level and that was recognised on both sides. We were delighted to have them and they were delighted to have the opportunity to advance whatever qualifications they had already and that certainly worked very well in the science area.

Dan – *the question concerns possible problems you had with V.E.C. control of the Regional Colleges on a personal level. Did this control inhibit matters or is it fair to comment on that area?*

John – it's fair to comment that there could have been problems, but I never in fact had any difficulty with the VEC who had after all been doing a job that was badly needed for years and years.

FROM PLANS TO REALITY



John O'Keeffe (CEO, Carlow V.E.C.) Michael Smith T.D. (Minister) John Gallagher (Principal), and Jim McEntee (Industrial Liaison Officer) viewing plans for two pioneering facilities; the BTC a Business and Innovation Centre research facilities.



The reality of the Innovation Centre



The reality of the CIM Centre

Dan – *the V.E.C. had a long track record in technical education and dating from the early years of the State at least and even going back further. I suppose when there was technical education in the time of the British administration.*

John – That's right, the VEC had built up a structure and they struggled to build it up and there was no two ways about that either. I suppose the strong arm of then VEC system was the apprenticeship area and that was very good and it existed over mechanical, building and carpentry. There was quite a wide range of trades. There were the traditional trades; newer trades had not been accommodated with the progress if you like of technology. With were relatively the old trades, you were coming from a fixed situation, however a new structure of Regional Colleges was coming in and we wanted, if you like, to implant a national structure in technical training. We had to marry the different aspirations of what you might call the older V.E.C. with the future technical training and there was quite a lot of debate as how that might be best managed on a practical basis; also on a certification basis it was terribly important that a ladder structure was generated so that a student could progress right through as far as his ability would take him and there was obviously quite a lot of people in the trade areas, simply because it was the only thing that was available to them. Many of them were able to progress quite a way beyond the trade area in science or engineering as the case might be so there was an outlet for them there that had not been there before so that was very useful because you had a cohort of potential students who wanted to progress out of what they had been doing. They were straight jacketed to a certain extent.

Dan – *the early years as I recall, was that after two years, you got your certificate and you could go into employment with that, but then the ones that wanted to go on to a third year gained a diploma and subsequently you added to bring students to degree level.*

John – yes but there was quite a problem there which became apparent as the students came through the system because we were quite happy that two years education the student would earn a certificate and then those students who wanted to go on because there was obviously more things to be learnt and to advance themselves with a further additional third year. The new certification was called a diploma. But now you had an educational structure that was fitting in between the old trade area and degree area and we were coming, if you like, face to face with university qualifications. Then there was the question again of matching at the interfaces, because with our qualifications some of the people wanted to go on even further than what we had available and take degrees in various areas, so we started speaking to the universities asking them would they take our students at certain stages and allow them to progress to degree level.

Dan – *you would get them exemptions for two years of a four year course or something like that was it?*

John – whatever we could and there was a mixed reception to that. Some people were very open particularly in the areas where they would be familiar with the type of work such as engineering or science, but then again the universities had developed over the years very many specialised courses and science in particular was broken into so many areas that someone from an RTC, with a certificate or a diploma in science, might really not fit in terrible well into their course.



Continuing Education award: Dr P. Mulcahy, Head of Development; student; Mr J.J. Gallagher, Director; Mr J. McEntee, Head of External Services wearing Chain of Office for Carlow Chamber; Ms A. Meaney, Manager of Programme.

Dan – *they probably did know how to handle them or how they fitted in really.*

John – well they did not know which year to put them into in their own courses and some universities matched our courses even better. I know we developed quite a strong link for science with Galway University

Dan – *Galway was one of the early links.*

John – It just so happened that what we did suited the courses that they did in Galway and we were able to get some of our students right through and in fact one of our more recent staff Dr Patricia Mulcahy was a student who went through Carlow transferred to Galway and eventually obtained her PhD and after some experience indeed became Head of Development in our own College here. Dr Mulcahy was recognised as one of the best scientists I reckon in the country and just to give a small example she was an assessor for the Aer Lingus Science Competition so she was well known and well recognised and a tremendous triumph I think for whole RTC system that somebody could be so successful and great credit was due to her, but Patricia is of course only one of a whole range of students.

Dan – *but moving on then, sure it was 1970 until 2003 that's seven years ago that you were in the College so it was thirty three years and that's a long time – I did twenty of those years roughly on the Board. Recruitment when everybody who was qualified expected to be interviewed it was pretty onerous wasn't it? With that number of people that had to be interviewed we could spend days down there from 10 am in the morning until 6 pm in the evening and later even at times. You had to pick them from quite a wide variety of people to make recommendations – I found it very stressful myself because I was trying to be fair to people who I had only seen for the first time that day, but I don't know whether you would of had a chance to even read their file.*

John – well there's no doubt about it, it was very demanding in terms of a physical day, but I certainly did have an advantage over the board members, because I had the opportunity of going through all the applications before the interviews. This gave me an opportunity to see where or how they might fit into the structure that we were building and the courses they intended to teach. I knew a fair amount about a person before they came. It was

important that the interviews were very thorough because you were making a State appointment, which was a pensionable post of long duration and a long salary, and, you were going to have to have that person work on a team. It was very important that the right people were selected and hence the interviews had to be quite rigorous and demanding and good decisions made. I think that is where I could say was the main work of the board. While it was demanding, I think we got the best people for the job but it certainly was a demanding job.

Dan – *I would like to think overall, given all the interviews we did, that we got a good high percentage of success in them. Obviously, sometimes people did not fit in later on, for whatever reason, but I always recall that despite what the public might think, that there was no favouritism or wheels within wheels. I was not personally aware of anything as everything was guided by Austin Waldron's administration process. I would like to think we were very fair and I'm pretty confident that we were indeed very fair overall in placing people. I think we used to decide on order of merit and we might place three or four people in order of merit. If number one choice did not take the position, it went to the number two, and then down to number three and then to number four. We did not put them on the list unless we were sure of them. We did not put them in line for acceptance unless we were sure of the people, isn't that right? Also, I recall during my twenty years there were times when things were hectic outside in the business world and the number of applications would be down. When there was any sniff of a recession, you would get numerically huge applications, but it varied didn't it John? There were times when you had applications from three or four people, all of whom you would of been happy to appoint, and other times you found it hard to get somebody to fill the position.*

John – that's right – well then there was the other side of it as well as a lot of the people who took appointments in the Regional Colleges would not have during their career thought they were going to end up in a lecturing or teaching function. We at the same time, were looking for people who had a lot of experience in their own area, so if we wanted to employ an Engineer, we were looking for something like 5 years engineering experience with a wide as possible range of experience, so that they could pass it onto the students they were going to teach. It was the same in every area. Now when jobs were scarce, we automatically had a lot of graduates applying to us as simply a job opportunity, but we were looking for experienced people. The other side of it was that if people were experienced, they were well along in their career and perhaps the thought of changing and becoming a lecturer wasn't uppermost in their minds. A lot depended on the industrial and economic climate, but it varied greatly. The biggest variations used to be in engineering and I think you had accountancy sometimes where there were plenty and sometimes very few. On the other hand, we had courses that were expanding and depending on where our student's interests lay in the area. We wanted to recruit staff, so we did the best we could, but in terms of favouritism or anything like that, I don't think there was even an opportunity for it, because we had people coming from all ends of the country. It wasn't so much that they were local people that we knew or anything like that. Most people we interviewed we had not seen before. It was fairly rare that you would meet somebody that you had experience of their career or character.

Dan – *now the academic developments in the first part as your time as Principal and then you became a Director, John was that what they called you afterwards. You were a Principal when I was*

on the board.

John – well a lot of that was buried in tradition, because in the vocational system the highest post in a school was Principal.



*Taken during the filming of a future installment in the "Learning for Life" series to be seen on R.T.E.
L to R: Bob Bell (sound), Ken Murphy (camera), Patrick Mannion (caretaker RTC), Dr Jimmie Parkes (Science Dept. RTC) John Gallagher (Principal RTC), Dr Sean Cawley (Head of Science Dept. RTC) and Ramunid Dodd (producer).
"Nationalist" October 11, 1978*

Dan – *John, I've covered a fair bit here this could go on for many many chapters couldn't it, so I think I'll wind up now with a question towards the end like regrets or things that you might of liked to have changed over the years. I would like to think that there was more plus than minus anyway overall. Have you any regrets?*

John – Oh, by far I found the job very fulfilling because you were doing something that you thought was very worthwhile in terms of the young people in the region and that gave a great fillip to anything you did. Also, to the staff, it meant that everybody was going in the same direction largely. The other thing is the development of the college, because the RTCs were successful, the government were happy to pour in more money. All of the colleges were in a growth phase all the time that I worked there, so that was very satisfying from the job point of view. We might have had to struggle and things might have been tight from time to time, but overall the colleges have developed, the numbers have increased, the buildings have improved, and the amenities are tremendous like when you compare what is available now with what was available in 1970. In fact, in many ways, what we have now compares with anything elsewhere and that leads to a tremendous satisfaction in the job. I think the staff were always delighted to see new buildings and more facilities for themselves they regarded it as a reward to a certain extent in what was obviously a rewarding environment.

Dan – *The Learning and Resource Centre of course is really a testament to your own vision John. I know you put so much work into this development which transformed the RTC into the modern third-level institute we see there today on the Kilkenny Road. We both I think found it difficult enough to make anything meaningful out of this recording and to put something together for the 2010 Carloviana. It is of course the 40th anniversary of the RTC foundation. The plan is to have your interview in this special part of a history that has been developing now over some six editions*

of Carloviana. Obviously, as founding Principal of the RTC, your contribution here will be most important. In the very early years there was 15 acres between the Green Road and the slip road adjoining the College and there were suggestions of building houses on it. Since this was acquired by the college it has allowed the sports facilities in the IT Carlow to develop, which is a wonderful development. As you know John, I was forever barking on about sports facilities, but the monies were not available in the early years. I think you and I would agree that when we look from where we are here speaking now* in my home across the road from the college to see the wonderful social and sporting facilities that are being provided today that allows for a balance between the academic studies and the physical and recreational development of the student. I think that it's as good as anywhere virtually now it's coming on line attached to the college as distinct from having to go 4/5 miles from the college. So I think you and I as two 'auld fellows' could only wish them well below in the college in their endeavours to proceed on from the early years. I think we will wind it up at that John and thanks very much for your time talking to me.

*Accurate and full transcript of recording made 10th September 2010 at home of Dan Carbery on Green Road.

Memories of my years on the Board of Management of Carlow Regional College - Dan Carbery

I attended the first meeting of the Board which was held in the Council Chamber of Carlow Courthouse on Wednesday 14th January 1970. The College buildings were still being completed by John Sisk Building Contractors on the Kilkenny Road, so we could not hold it there.

The College is built on a site behind what was The Green Dragon Inn had to be demolished. It was a large site which adjoined the Old Union (Carlow Workhouse), which is now the Carlow Vocational School site. It was in the past the venue of Carlow Agricultural Show and also the site of "The Parish Pound". It was designated in the 1950s for a new County Hospital and in fact a new Medical Dispensary was constructed at the rear of the site on the Green Road so it would adjoin the new hospital. This was an example of good forward planning except the hospital was never built. The Dispensary building eventually became the Business and Technology Centre for the College.

The story of how Carlow got the Regional Technical College is told elsewhere in this series of articles in *Carloviana* but I would very much wish to acknowledge the role played by Austin Waldron the Chief Executive Officer of Co. Carlow Vocational Education Committee in both obtaining the College for Carlow and his direct involvement in the early years in the affairs of the College.

Austin Waldron was a gentleman and it was an experience to observe how he guided the Board of Management through all those meetings I attended. Austin with his meticulous minutes would accurately record the proceedings so that a full account was on file. I recently spend four hours reading through these early minutes of 1970s and it brought to mind all the time I spent down in the College at board meetings.

The attendance at the first Board of Management meeting included:

Very Rev. Tom Brophy, Adm. Representing the Carlow V.E.C.

J. Nolan M.C.C. also from V.E.C. representing Agricultural interest.

Brian Kennedy – a local Trade Union secretary representing Irish Congress of Trade Unions.

Dan Carbery representing Carlow Chamber of Commerce.
Dr. F O'Ceallachain, Inspector from Department of Education.

Austin Waldron C.E.O. V.E.C. ex officio.

John Gallagher, Principal of the College ex officio.

Austin Waldron chaired the meeting while we elected our first Chairman Fr. Tom Brophy.

The Board was set up under the V.E.C. Act of 1930 to run the College and to report to the County Carlow V.E.C. We held our meetings in the College (as soon as it was available) on the 2nd Monday of each month at 10.00am to allow minutes to be prepared and tabled for approval at the V.E.C. monthly meetings on 3rd Monday of each month.

We the Board were in fact a sub-committee of the V.E.C. but were allowed to run the College with very little comment from the V.E.C.



Conferring 1980

Back: Dr Sean Cawley (Head of Science Dept.), Mr Frank Quinn (Head of Business), Mr Austin Kinsella (Academic Council), Ms Betty Kelly (Exam Sec.), Mr Frank Dawe (Head of School of Engineering), Mr Mike Baker (Head of Electronics), Mr John Doyle (Head of Mechanical Engineering), Front: Mr John O'Keeffe (CEO, Carlow VEC), Mr Padraig Mac Diarmada (Director of N.C.E.A.), Mr Sean Prendergast, Mr John McNally (Chairman of Carlow VEC), and Mr J. J. Gallagher (Principal).

At the meeting of 9th March 1970 I was elected as Vice Chairman of the Board a very young and inexperienced man for such a position but I quickly learnt by observation and participation. At this March meeting John Gallagher our Principal tabled his proposals for the College structure. These were presented hand written by him on plain sheets of paper (I presume he did not yet have secretarial support). There would be three Departments, Business, Engineering and Science. It was early days and in fact we were pioneers doing our best in a whole new venture.

At the April meeting I read about where I proposed outside dressing rooms for Sports. Anyone who knows me is aware of my passion for sports and I continually pressed for sports facilities. It was with very little success in the early years, but having obtained some time later 15 acres of land adjoining the College from the County Council (sin scéal eile) field sports were now possible. It is with great pleasure that I now observe the development of such wonderful facilities for sport including spectator stands and floodlighting. It is my belief and accepted by many that physical exercise gives a wonderful balance to the academic endeavours of students and should be encouraged. I never missed an opportunity to promote sports in the College and am just sad that the early students did not have available to them anything like the current facilities.

In July 1970, the board members attended at Kevin Street Dublin to interview for staff for the new Regional Colleges. Joint interview teams comprising representatives from several colleges were set up and we interviewed for the college system rather than for an individual college. The interviewee was allowed to give their preference of college if they so wished. I recall Sean Cawley giving a very impressive interview.

As well as attending monthly board meetings, all members acted as the interview board for new staff. This was quite an onerous task being very time consuming. We could start at 10.00am break for lunch in the Royal Hotel 1.00 – 2.30pm and return sometimes until after 6.00pm. The full meal for lunch was not a great idea as one could easily tend to dose off during the afternoon session. The procedure was that the Chairman welcomed the candidate and then they were passed on to the Principal John Gallagher who took them through their qualifications and work experience. Each individual board member one at a time was given an opportunity to ask questions. Finally, the candidate was asked if they had any queries. It was a very orderly process, but must have been quite stressful for the interviewee with such a large group. I found sitting on these interview boards somewhat unsatisfactory. You did not know beforehand who was to be interviewed and only had a short time to study their application and then sit through the interview. It was often a rather tense situation with very anxious candidates doing their best in front of seven people across a table. I feel many good applicants did not do themselves full justice and would have done better in a difference more relaxed setting but this was not possible with the numbers involved.

One morning early in my time on the Board, I had returned from work to my home in Pembroke Road to prepare to go to interviews when the doorbell rang and my brother Des who was an engineer in the Sugar Factory in Thurles was standing there when I opened the door. He had his young son Michael with him and asked could my wife Attracta mind Michael while he (Des) went for an interview for a job at Carlow Regional College. I was taken by surprise as was he when I told him I was due to sit on the interview board. He did not know I was on the board and I did not know he had applied for a job. I immediately phoned Austin Waldron and excused myself from the interviews. He got the job without me getting any chance to put him to the test.

My brother Brendan was appointed as one of the first Chaplains to the College. He had been ordained as a priest in Portlaoise Church in 1968 having studied from 1961 at Maynooth College. Brendan set about seeking the best assistance for student's welfare in so many areas. He actively sought to have separate facilities for sport and recreation and also pressed for student accommodation

attached to the College. He had written to the Board regarding these matters in January 1973. A special meeting was arranged for the Board for Monday 22nd January where he was to discuss in detail his plans along with Church of Ireland Chaplain Archdeacon Patton. Unfortunately, this meeting never took place. On Wednesday 17th January while travelling in fog with his college colleague Charlie O'Boyle to a meeting in Athlone on College business their car was in collision with a lorry outside Portlaoise on the road to Mountmellick. Charlie died early on Friday 19th at Portlaoise hospital and Brendan some hours later in the Richmond Hospital Dublin. Their joint funeral at Carlow Cathedral on Sunday 21st January was the largest I ever witnessed in Carlow. Charlie had six of his brothers to carry his coffin as had Brendan. The Carberys and O'Boyles are very large families. The loss to the College of these two young men can never be fully assessed.

I note that at the April meeting 1970 I was pushing for dressing rooms for sports while a small computer was sought for the principal. It was very early days for computers. I recall Brendan Little (who had replaced J. Nolan in November 1970) discussing the future for computers where students could link by telephone line to databases of information that would avoid the need to go to the library. It is difficult today to imagine how unlikely this all seemed at the time.

Each meeting included a list for approval for members of staff attending various courses, events, conferences, seminars as well as expenses incurred. These all needed to be formally approved and recorded. It was difficult for me from outside the College to make a judgement on these so I usually pressed for a recommendation from the Principal. I think one was expected to travel by public transport where possible and not claim for use of a private car. We seem to have been working to guidelines more applicable to 2nd level vocational schools than to a 3rd level college.

Each year a lengthy ceremony of conferring of awards took place. This took some hours as all students were conferred at the one ceremony. It was later broken up into separate award ceremonies for each school. It was a very important event for each student and their parents, but I found sitting for so long quite difficult. I recall Bishop Patrick Lennon sitting beside me at one of the conferrings and saying that in future I was not to comment on how long he took at ceremonies in the Carlow Cathedral.

The Board of Management changed after each local election when a new County Carlow Vocational Education Committee was formed. I was nominated by Carlow Chamber of Commerce but had to be appointed by the V.E.C.

A new Board of Management (2nd) met on the 9th September 1974 when Brendan Little was elected Chairman. Further Chairmen were Tom James (3rd) elected on 9th July 1979 and Sean Prendergast (4th) on 9th September 1985. The local public representatives liked to have the Chairmanship on their C.V. I was happy with this as it was easier to attend meetings and comment as you wished rather than having to chair the meetings. It was interesting to observe and experience the "manoeuvres" to obtain the chair. This was local politics in operation. I served as vice-chairman for three periods from 1970 to 1991 and confirm that local politics had no other influence on the working of the board during that period. All the Chairmen in my time were very dedicated and did an excellent job.

First meeting of colleges body

THE public demand was for enlarged and better educational facilities and the new association would have a valuable contribution to make, said Mr. J. J. Gallagher, Principal of Carlow Regional College who gave the opening address at the inaugural meeting of the Association of Vocational Education Colleges (A.V.E.C.) which was held in Carlow on Friday, (March 22).

Mr. Gallagher, representing the Management of Regional Technical Colleges and Colleges of Education, said the Association has been formed to co-ordinate the work of the Irish Vocational Education Association in order to ensure that resources were used to the best effect.

president of the new association. The new body A.V.E.C. elected a standing committee and will advise the I.V.E.A. on matters concerning technical education at national level.

Also present at the meeting was Dr. D. F. O'Ceallachain, Assistant Chief Inspector, Department of Education, who represented the Minister for Education.

Mr. Gallagher briefly sketched the rapid changes which had taken place since the opening of Regional Technical Colleges four years ago. Education, he said absorbed an increased proportion of public expenditure and contributed greatly to the growth of the economy. It was vitally important that resources were used to the best effect.

Early article in "Nationalist & Leinster Times" on the inaugural meeting of A.V.E.C. in Carlow.

In February 1980, the board was enlarged by adding representatives from Vocational Education Committees of adjoining counties.

- Fr. Tom Brophy Wicklow V.E.C.
- Pat McGill Wexford V.E.C.
- Ronan Rice Laois V.E.C. C.E.O.
- Ger Cummins Kildare V.E.C. C.E.O.

At the March 1980 meeting we were joined by Michael Farry a representative of the College staff.

We now had a twelve member board. For the purpose of interview for new staff we elected a smaller group for each set of interviews. In the original setting up of the boards I expect that the Chamber of Commerce nomination was to represent the employers and the Congress of Trade Unions nominated to represent employees. This might have led to differences of opinion from time to time but I have to say that Brian Kennedy and later Frank Gannon Trade Union representatives were always motivated by what they saw as best for the College and the students. I do not recall any occasion where they and I had any serious differences. In fact, I could say that the Boards of Management I served on were among the best committees I experienced.

The students did not have a representative on the board during my period as a member. On one occasion I had a visit from the student's President and another student asking that I consider giving them the seat I held. I suggested that it was not a good idea to remove the business representative from the board and they should seek representation in their own right and not by removing another member. In fact, I thought they were better served by a Student Services Committee later formed on which I served. The students gave me a much appreciated presentation when I finally retired from the board.

On 9th September 1991 a new Board met and included George Fitzgerald who replaced me as Chamber of Commerce representative. This ended my period on the board.

The early years were an exciting time and I was very pleased to be

part of the board for over twenty years. When I left secondary education in 1956, I attended Bolton Street in Dublin to study Quantity Surveyor for a career in our family building construction business. I was well aware how the 3rd level courses there for Architecture, Engineering and Quantity Surveying (Construction) fitted so well into a Trade School. It pleases me to note that the trade apprentices are back on the Institute of Technology Carlow campus where they were in the early years.

I live on the Green Road at the end of the College grounds and it is exciting to see the progress made over the years and all who played a part in the first 40 years of the College can take pride in its development.

I finish by wishing the now Institute of Technology well over the coming years at all times being mindful of the past and all those students and staff who have moved on.

Civil Engineering at Carlow IT - Michael Glynn

Introduction

Apart from a short innings in the early '70s, the provision of Civil Engineering education began at Carlow RTC in September 1984.

On my arrival at Carlow in late 1980 I recall the warm welcome from Head of Department, John Doyle, a quick tour of the facilities, introduction to existing staff and then the unexpected announcement from John that he hoped to have a Civil Engineering course developed within the next couple of years! I had been married for just under a year, Grania and I were expecting our first baby, we had undertaken a new town, new job – I was moving to lecturing from Local Authority engineering – and now I was to become a course designer as well! There were just two Civil Engineers on the staff of the Department, Paddy O'Brien and myself. The only full-time day course in the Civil / Building area was a two year National Certificate in Construction Studies, providing middle management technicians to the region's building industry. Running in tandem was a Carpentry & Joinery block, manned by Paul McKeivitt, soon to be joined by John Whitty and Denis Doran. Catering ably for the Construction Studies area were Eamonn Moore, Course Organiser, Tony D'Arcy, Architect, Michael Barrett (RIP), Quantity Surveyor, and Structural Engineer Jim McCotter (RIP), Pat O' Connor and Mary O' Connor providing the Mathematics input. My initial lecturing



2003 Civil Eng. Class with lecturers Martin O'Neill, Gerry Gallagher and Mike Glynn



First Civil Engineering Class-1986 with members of staff - Paddy O'Brien, Mike Glynn and Don Sexton

duties also included night modules for a City & Guilds qualification in Civil Engineering, which I shared with Jim McCotter. The provision of the City & Guilds modules would cease when our full time course was ready to go.

So, in 1981 with little experience in course design and an abundance of blind enthusiasm, Paddy O' Brien and I set out to coordinate the compilation of an application to the National Council for Educational Awards, (hereafter NCEA) for a National Certificate in Engineering (Civil Engineering). We availed of the vast experience of John Doyle, Eamonn Moore and Jim McCotter, as well as the specific expertise of the various staff members. Eamonn contributed syllabus material in Construction Technology, Engineering Materials, including Concrete and Soils Technology and Drawing, Tony D'Arcy prepared syllabi for Engineering Drawing and Site Administration, Paddy O'Brien provided all the material for Surveying, as well as Water Engineering, Michael Barrett took care of Quantity Surveying and Measurement, Jim McCotter designed the Structural analysis and Structural Detailing syllabi, while I teamed up with Eamonn Moore in designing the Engineering Materials, Soils Technology and general Civil Engineering Technology subjects. Knowledge and expertise in the area of Computer technology was limited and computer equipment even more so. This was an area that would gradually develop, as funding became available for packages suitable for individual subject areas. In the meantime a short syllabus of basic programming was prepared as a support to other subject areas and received contributions from many sources. The subject Mathematics was devised and serviced initially from the School of Science and Rea Jordan made a significant input to this syllabus. In compiling the submission one heading that generated much debate was that of "Aims & Objectives". Did one part of that heading refer to generalities while the other might refer to specifics and, if so, which was which? This debate was to be ended in later submissions with the introduction of Learning Outcomes, regarded by many as being a more realistic approach.

National Certificate in Engineering

Following much internal debate, a final document was agreed and presented to a visiting panel in early 1984. This received approval and facilitated the beginning of a new era of Civil Engineering Technology at Carlow RTC in the autumn of that year.

Subjects in year 1 included Construction Technology & Plant, Site Management & Administration, Structural Mechanics, Surveying, Engineering Drawing and laboratory based Engineering Materials. Year 2 included Concrete & Soils Technology, Water & Wastewater Engineering, Surveying & Setting Out, Quantity Surveying, Theory of Structures and Design & Detailing both years included Maths and Computing. Overall student participation amounted to 1630 hours in year 1 and 1640 in year 2, with class contact of 25 hours per week in both years.

Apart from formal lectures and practical laboratory and studio sessions, the learning experience included site visits to various regional live projects, facilitated by contractors and Local Authorities, as well as visits to production plants and quarries. Notable among these was the locally based firm Dan Morrissey Ltd. Denis Doran was the main organiser of these visits for many years and had an instinct for locating and finding contacts with the important construction sites, ably assisted by Andrew French, when it came to the actual logistics.

Short work placements were arranged also as part of year two and this involved many private companies and Local Authorities in the south east.

The programme began in September 1984. It was well under way when I was given the opportunity by Fr Aengus Finucane, then Chief Executive of Concern, to return to Bangladesh to continue a rural development programme in the district of Mymensingh, which I had worked on in the late seventies. My wife, Grania, and I, along with our two children, Fiona and Aoife, took off for Dhaka in August 1985 for a one year period, leaving the new course in the very capable hands of an augmented staff, now joined temporarily by Pat Buckeridge, later by Cronin Nagle, another ex Concern volunteer, and later again by Don Sexton. We returned in August 1986, in time to see Carlow RTC produce its first group of graduates of Civil Engineering technology.

National Diploma in Engineering

Immediately following the introduction of the National Certificate course, there was a demand for further development in the Civil Engineering technology area. Students who were about to graduate at National Certificate level began to apply to other colleges for a National Diploma. As the course that was being run



*Staff gathering on the occasion of John Whitty's retirement.
Back: Mike Glynn, Martin Nevin, Con Doran, Tony D'Arcy,
Tommy Whitney, John Whelan, Eamonn Moore,
Michael Doran, Paul McKeivitt.
Front: Tom Cowper, Austin Waldron, John Whitty, Eleanor Kelly,
Yvonne Finn, Elizabeth McEvoy and Ann Berney.*

at Dundalk RTC at National Diploma level appeared most compatible to the Carlow National Certificate, students began to gravitate towards that course. Indeed a few graduates began to look even further to degrees in Civil Engineering and had begun to go from Dundalk to Queen's University Belfast (QUB). Thus began an informal link between the Civil Engineering studies at Carlow and Dundalk RTCs, a link that has grown over the years and survived to this day, with cooperation at various levels from course development to external examination of courses. A further informal link was to develop later between QUB and Carlow RTC.

Around 1989 work began to prepare a formal submission to the NCEA for approval for a National Diploma.

Initially the submission was of a general Civil Engineering nature without any particular specialisation and this submission was presented to a visiting panel, headed by Professor De Courcy of UCD's Civil Engineering Department, in 1990. The panel generally approved of the idea of a National Diploma at Carlow RTC, but recommended that the Course Board examine the possibility of a specialisation, as had happened in other colleges. As I had just completed a Master's Degree at UCD in the area of Geotechnical Engineering, it was recommended by the panel that we consider this area. In early 1991 a redraft of the National Diploma was presented to the visiting panel, this time with the written objective "Specialised knowledge in the area of geotechnical and highway engineering." This submission was approved and a National Diploma began in September 1991.

Entry to this Diploma course required a Credit (now referred to as Merit) or Distinction at National Certificate level, or alternatively a Pass plus at least one year of relevant post Certificate experience.

The syllabus consisted of a one year add-on programme in the subject areas Geotechnical Engineering, Highway Engineering, Structures, Civil Engineering Economics, Mathematics/Computing and Integrated Project.

The Geotechnical Engineering subject was taken by myself, other than the element on Geology, which was presented by Eamonn Moore. Highway Engineering was presented by Paddy O'Brien and myself, Paddy dealing with the geometric design part of the subject, while I presented the materials and pavement design elements. Structures was once again prepared by Jim McCotter, assisted by Don Sexton, and included the beginning of computer aided detailing. Don also presented a significant part of the introductory Civil Engineering Technology. As Michael Barrett had retired in 1987, his place was now taken by Martin O'Neill, a Quantity Surveyor who had qualified originally at Certificate level in Construction Studies at Carlow RTC. Mathematics was at this stage lectured by Con Doran, another graduate of the Mechanical and Civil Department at Carlow. John Whitty lectured Computing and also provided the necessary support to students in presenting their project work using the improving computer facilities. On Jim McCotter's retirement in 1994 Don took on additional work in the Structures area, joined by Structural Engineer, Gerry Gallagher, and together they introduced more Computer Aided Design (CAD) elements to the course, as packages became available.

The Integrated Project was a very significant part of the Diploma course and, with an input from all available staff, created links with industry which proved very valuable to graduates in gaining employment later. Their presentation skills continued to improve under John Whitty's guidance and became a further "selling point", when graduates presented themselves at interview. Paddy

O'Brien had become expert at the use of the Department of Environment Roads (DOER) programme and this greatly enhanced the relevance of Carlow's graduates in the growing industry of roads construction. Indeed the capability of Carlow graduates in modern surveying practice received widespread acclaim nationally.

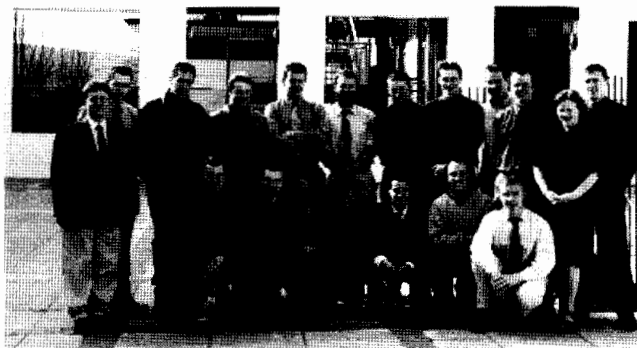
In the area of Quantity Surveying and Civil Engineering Economics, there had been a move towards the use of computer packages also and this trend was immediately responded to by Martin O'Neill, who introduced further packages annually and acquired training in their use as part of his own continuing professional development. In 1993 autonomy was granted to individual colleges, including Carlow RTC, thus ending the long standing link with the V.E.C. administration. In 1998 the RTCs became Institutes of Technology and former Principals became Directors. IT Carlow was an exciting and progressive place to be from the Engineering School's perspective.

Architectural Technology had also been growing in Carlow since the mid '80s, under the guidance of Architects Tony D'Arcy and Tom Cowper. They were joined by Architect Eleanor Heylin Kelly later in 1995 and, while these lecturers were not directly involved in the Civil Engineering area, their presence added greatly to the general portfolio of expertise within the Department and contributed to the general pool of ideas in project work. Similarly, as the Construction course developed, the Department benefited in areas such as Building Services and the introduction of Services Engineer Yvonne Finn to the staff.

Students and graduates continued to look for further education to degree level, especially as the construction industry continued to grow and offer more and more opportunities.

IT Carlow did not work in isolation, but engaged in creating links with other institutions and colleges, as the opportunities arose.

IT Carlow's Head of Mechanical & Civil Engineering, Mr John Doyle, approached QUB, with a view to improving links and arranging a possible transfer of students who had completed their Carlow Diploma successfully. Another interesting link with QUB was brought about by research work that I had undertaken. My supervisor, Dr Tom Whiddis of the Civil Engineering Department of UCD, had suggested the use of a large shear box to test material from Glenmore, Kilkenny - on the route of the N25 road between Waterford and Cork - which was central to my studies. Dr Whiddis asked me to make contact with Dr Sheila Mc Randall in Queens, to inspect a shear box that she had constructed, with a view to building one in Carlow. Following a very pleasant visit to



2004 Civil Engineering Certificate with lecturer, Mike Glynn.

Belfast, Dr McRandall offered me the use of their apparatus on loan – an offer that could not be refused! Not only did Sheila make this kind offer, but, when transfer of the equipment directly to the Republic posed certain logistic difficulties, she decided to bring the equipment down to Carlow herself in their own university van! This wonderful display of generosity generated a further bond of friendship between Queen's University and IT Carlow, which was to grow and flourish in the following years, as well as generating and strengthening further links with UCD.

QUB reviewed the course content of our Civil Engineering Diploma programme, requested additional coverage of the area of Fluid Mechanics as a core subject, and subsequently accepted graduates directly to the third year of their honours degree programme. The Mechanical & Civil Engineering Department was in turn approached by a few British colleges, looking for suitable candidates to join their Civil Engineering programmes at an advanced level. Most prominent among these were the University of Glamorgan in Wales and Napier University in Scotland. A pattern developed where students with high Merit or Distinction results at Diploma level were offered similar places to that offered by Queen's University, and visits from Richard Rayment from Glamorgan and Frank McDermott from Napier became annual events, attracting large groups of graduates annually to these colleges.

In the late 90s Glamorgan's honours degree was discontinued, but graduates continued to flow from IT Carlow to QUB and Napier University, as well as to Irish based Universities NUIG and TCD. It was evident, as we approached the Millennium, that IT Carlow might have to consider a further step of course development in the Civil Engineering area.

Ordinary and Honours Degrees

In the early years of the new millennium a number of significant changes took place.

Firstly, with delegation of authority to award one's own degrees imminent for colleges in the IT sector, Quality Assurance (QA) was on everyone's lips. With it came the introduction of Programmatic Reviews at Departmental, School and Institute levels. The School of Engineering at IT Carlow had its first Programmatic Review in 2004. Significant in this review for the Department of Mechanical & Civil Engineering was a commitment to develop courses to Level 8 or Honours Degree level. This was seen as a 'necessary target' by the external panel carrying out the review.

Secondly, in 2005 delegated authority to award degrees up to Level 8 was granted to IT Carlow and following this the National Diploma qualification was replaced by an Ordinary Degree.

Thirdly, the Civil Engineering area acquired additional lecturing staff. From the late '90s the growing construction industry had brought about an increase in student numbers. This in turn brought with it a demand for additional courses and additional staff. In the computer area we won and lost! Noel Dunne joined the Department in 1998, but in 2003 John Whitty retired. In 2004 Structural Engineer Chris O' Byrne and Civil Engineer Shane Murray joined the ranks and they were later joined by Geotechnical Engineer Brian Byrne in early 2005. Brian had been head of the Geotechnical division of Arup Consulting Engineers in Ireland.

Changes were taking place in both School structure and management personnel also. The position of Head Of School, which had been vacant since the retirement of Frank Dawe, was filled temporarily by Mike Baker and then permanently in 2005 by David Denieffe.

In the Department of Mechanical & Civil Engineering John Doyle's position as Head Of Department had to be temporarily filled in 2005, due to illness and I was appointed in an acting capacity. Later, in 2006, with the retirement of John Doyle as Head Of Department, I was appointed permanently and at the same time the School Of Engineering was restructured, with again two Departments. Brendan Laffan continued as Head of Electronic, Mechanical and Aerospace Engineering, while my position was Head of the Built Environment, to serve the areas of Civil Engineering, Construction Management, including Quantity Surveying and Facilities Management, Architectural Technology and the returning apprentice area of Carpentry & Joinery.

With this new structure in place and a greatly enhanced staff, the objective of course development to Level 8 could now be vigorously pursued in all of the areas outside the apprentice area. In the case of the latter, the re-introduction of course provision at Phases 4 and 6 in Carpentry & Joinery was welcomed by the entire Department and this began in January 2006.

B.Eng. Hons. In Civil Engineering

Within the general Course Board a Civil Engineering sub-group was set up in late 2005 to seek approval for a Bachelor of Engineering (Honours) degree. Once again, the debate began over areas of specialisation, areas to be included or excluded, a debate made all the more difficult by the wealth of expertise and experience present within the Department. The final product was more inclusive than was considered possible initially with in-depth coverage of geotechnical & highway engineering, structural analysis/design and environmental engineering.

The most heated part of the debate centered around standards for entry to the course and, in particular, the standard of Mathematics that would be required. The committee was well aware of the further fences which would have to be jumped, if we wanted approval by external professional bodies. This debate would have to be resumed at a future date. Eugene Carbery quietly took on the design of the Maths programme and later taught the programme.

Final approval of the two year add-on honours degree course was achieved in mid 2006, allowing the programme to commence in September of that year.

A sufficient number of students accepted places on the B.Eng.(Hons) course, to begin the programme. Quite a number of students opted for the tried and tested route in colleges elsewhere, however, knowing that they would be definitely attending a professionally accredited programme and that they would eventually achieve Chartered Engineer status. Our programme would have to complete one full cycle before we could achieve accreditation and the students who accepted places did so in the belief that we would succeed. The pressure was on the staff and the Department to meet their expectations.

Meanwhile additional staff requirements had to be met as a priority. The outcome was the welcome addition in 2007 of Civil Engineers Jer Keohane and Emer McGann and Quantity Surveyor Fiona

Dawson to our ranks. In January 2008 the team was further augmented by Civil Engineer, Anthony Dempsey.

Professional Accreditation

The programme completed its first of the two add-on years and simultaneously a new committee was formed which would undertake to make a submission to Engineers Ireland as soon as was feasible, following the completion of the two year cycle.

Well in advance of the submission a date had to be set for the visit of the accreditation panel. At the beginning of the next academic session an arrangement was made by David Denieffe with Engineers Ireland that they would visit in early October 2008.

The focus, however, was on providing the best quality degree possible to those students who had chosen IT Carlow's course as the foundation for their engineering careers. New projects were set up, involving once again cooperation with UCD's Civil Engineering Department. IT Carlow was fortunate to have the assistance and advice of Dr Ken Gavin, former student and graduate of the old Carlow RTC and now external examiner to the B.Eng (Hons) course as well as lecturer at UCD. He and Brian Byrne set up a pile testing research programme on a site provided by Carlow County Council and funded by a number of interested companies. New site investigation equipment was purchased and long standing Civil Engineering technician, Martin Meehan, received special training in its use. Martin had from the beginning maintained the Civil Engineering laboratories and had contributed greatly to their steady improvement over the years. This equipment would soon be put to good use in providing Arup with the data necessary to design foundations for the new sports stands on campus. A Universal Testing Machine was purchased for research work on materials testing, under the expert guidance of Chris O'Byrne and a new hydraulics laboratory was equipped under the guidance of Shane Murray. Computer hardware and software in the CAD and Quantities and Project Management areas were also acquired. In the area of surveying IT Carlow had for a number of years been enjoying modern GPS equipment, kindly provided by Topcon, and this was being upgraded on a regular basis and exploited to the full by Paddy O'Brien.

These and many other improvements made the new degree course comparable to any other of its kind in the country. It was not surprising, then, that IT Carlow enjoyed a very successful visit from Engineers Ireland on the 9th and 10th of October 2008, leading to accreditation of both Ordinary and Honours degrees in Civil Engineering.

Acknowledgements.

There are many other events, not mentioned above, which contributed significantly to the rise of Civil Engineering in Carlow, and many other people who played important roles in its overall development.

A number of lecturing staff became immersed in new subject areas, when the need arose, or honed their own subject areas to suit the building or civil engineering needs. When the Carpentry & Joinery area was closed down in the mid '80s, John Whitty re-trained in Computer Studies and CAD, while Denis Doran took on Model Making and he and Paul McKeivitt became more involved

in teaching Civil Engineering Technology. Paul also became involved in Building Services. Later, John Whelan embraced the subject of Water & Wastewater Engineering and made it his own. Michael Doheny, a Mechanical Engineer, re-oriented his knowledge of Structural Analysis to meet the needs of building design. Michael Doran took on Structural Mechanics, while he and Con Doran also contributed to the CAD programme. Years previously Con had embraced the Mathematics area and had become the resident lecturer in that area, coming originally from the Mechanical Engineering side of the School. Tommy Whitney became part of the family too, with his great CAD skills and we also received assistance in this area from Jason Townsend and Martin Nevin.

Accessing new equipment was often a problem – more often than not we didn't have the funds! In such circumstances we were often rescued by the skills and talents of Martin Fox, Paddy Kelly and George Twinham, who modified, rebuilt or redesigned pieces and the Soils Laboratory in particular is much the better for their talents. Upkeep of the laboratories and drawing offices and regular maintenance was essential and this was carried out in excellent fashion by Martin Meehan, John Keogh and Andrew French. John was also called on regularly for his skills with video and camera.

For a short period a number of people joined the staff temporarily, before moving on to other pastures, including Brian Mackey, John Flanagan, Cyril Morris and Carmel Nolan. We were fortunate, too, to have subjects relevant to Civil Engineering practice, but outside the scope of our expertise, in the areas of business and economics serviced by lecturers from the Business Studies School, such as John Tully, Madeline Ronan and Mairead Bohan.

Over the past few years additional funds have been made available through Student Services to assist students who had difficulties in certain subject areas. The main difficulty proved to be in the Maths area and very positive results were achieved through the work of Martina O'Gorman, Anthony Dempsey, Des Carbery, Moira Purcell and James Egan. In order to identify those in need of additional help, Shane Murray coordinated a system of assessment which allowed the system to work.

We benefited greatly over the years from the advice and support of External Examiners, who took a keen interest in our courses and in maintaining the highest standards. Some of these were from an academic background and some from industry. From the Local Authority ranks we had at one time Phil Callery, Wexford County Engineer, and later John O Flynn, Waterford County Engineer. Special mention must be made of Liam Fitzgerald from Carlow County Council, who contributed a great deal of time and effort to the progress of the Civil Engineering courses, both as a member of the IEI (Institute of Engineers of Ireland, later to become Engineers Ireland) and as External Examiner. From the academic ranks we had John Murphy from IT Tralee, John Fogarty from UCC and most recently Maria Coyne from Limerick IT, and 'our own' Ken Gavin, all of whom gave fair, friendly advice and criticism and helped us in every way they could.

I acknowledge the contribution made by people from industry who from time to time gave lectures on their own areas of expertise, such as Dermot O'Donovan of Roadplan Consulting and Michael Quinn of MTS Ltd.

The advice and support of John Carley, Director Of Services with Carlow County Council was very valuable approaching the assessment by Engineers Ireland. He also lent his full support when the piling research programme was being set up.

Bringing it all together would have been impossible without the administrative back up. This came from many quarters in the college but special mention must be made of the skills and patience of Elizabeth McEvoy, Betty Kelly, Mary O'Loughlin and Dairde Doorley.

Finally, I acknowledge again the presence of the broader 'family' not already mentioned, the Architectural Technology staff Tony D'Arcy, Tom Cowper, now retired, Eleanor Heylin Kelly, Ann Berney, Allan Read, Sujana Sudhir, Dan O' Sullivan, Noel Dunne, Margaret Doyle Hughes, Paul Lawrence, the Carpentry & Joinery staff of Willie Bloomer, Kevin Irwin, Frank Trench, Pascal Harte, Packie Hennessy, Jim Maher and Barty Turner and the Building Services staff, Yvonne Finn, Ciaran Finn and Eoin Homan. Most of these people were not directly involved in the Civil Engineering programme, but were members of the overall Departmental Course Board. As participants in this key central body they all contributed to project work, to overall administration, to general problem solving and most importantly to the spirit of camaraderie that exists in the School of Engineering and the Department of the Built Environment.

I retired in October 2009 and the Department of the Built Environment is now in the capable hands of Padhraic McGinn, the Civil Engineering programmes have as Course Directors Gerry Gallagher and Brian Byrne and, despite recession, with their leadership and commitment, Civil Engineering at IT Carlow should climb to even greater heights in the years ahead.

**Carlow's Higher Education Heritage -
an Evolving Academic Landscape -
Brian L Bennett
Registrar IT Carlow**



Brian Bennett

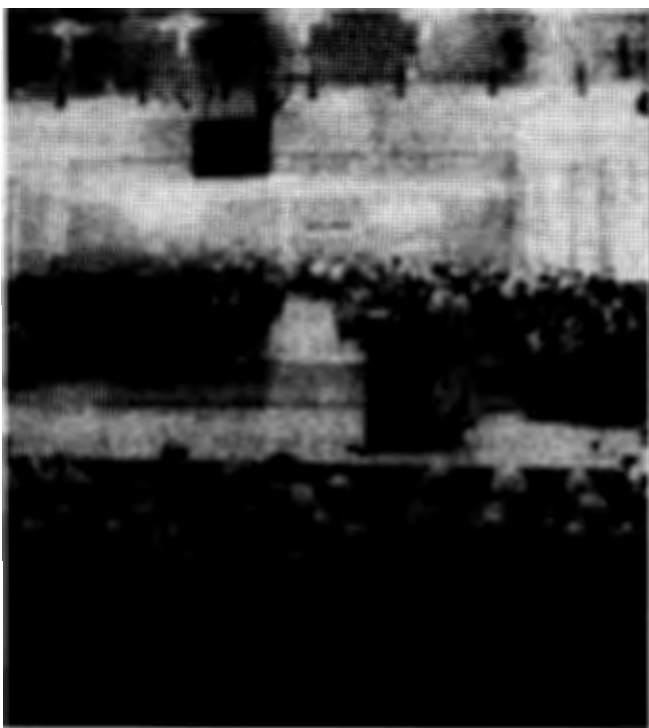
Academic politics is rarely mentioned in the history of Higher Education Institutions. In many ways this is seen as sensible and mannerly; after all, is not the delivery of courses, the instigation of research, the production of graduates, not the essence of life in such colleges? Don't be fooled for one minute! It took the wit of Winston Churchill to encapsulate the other unspoken essence of academic life; 'Academic politics are particularly vicious because the stakes are so low'

Of course joking aside, the stakes will never make one rich, famous possibly (after death), but many are attracted into academic work because of their interest in the education of others, and their values and commitment to work which has as its main reward a march towards a progressive but rigorous human development both intellectually and emotionally; work that will gradually lift the human spirit to greater achievements.

Speaking of politics, it took 22 years for the Irish Government to give the Regional Technical Colleges a glimpse of academic independence and autonomy. This came with the passing in 1992 of the Regional Technical Colleges Act. Harking back to 1970, Carlow RTC was one of only 5 regional colleges that opened its doors to students then; the others were in Athlone, Dundalk, Sligo and Waterford; the fact that Carlow, one of the smallest and most politically unimportant counties in Ireland got such a prize in 1970, owed much to the activities of its local Vocational Education Committee at the time and to one man's influence in particular, Austin Waldron (1924 – 2010). The College recognised his significant contribution when in 1989 its name changed to 'Austin Waldron RTC'.

In the very early 1970s pioneering days leaving certificate and apprenticeship courses dominated the College offerings. This rapidly changed with genuine third level courses such as the National Certificate and Diploma qualifications. By 1993 the number of students in the College reached just under 2070 from a base of around 70 students back at its beginning in 1970. It had 13 Certificate, 12 Diploma and 3 degree programmes, along with 3 research and 3 professional (accountancy) programmes. It was into this emerging Higher Education College that I landed in November 1993 into the post of Registrar, Carlow's first Head of Academic Affairs.

The 1992 RTC legislation laid the foundations for Carlow RTC to set in motion academic structures and organisational arrangements to allow the College mature into a university level college. When I arrived in Carlow I already knew the county well; I had a cottage within the vale of Mount Leinster and loved its rurality. I found the College Director John Gallagher to be a man of genuine positive vision and commitment for the future national and international standing of the College, and I was joined by other Senior Managers with similar vision and purpose. We were all poised to



*Conferring 1978
Held in the Gym and Lecture Theatre.*

Nationalist November 17, 1978

bring about the implementation of the new 1992 legislation with enthusiasm. However, as all know who try to bring in new horizons, change (even if for the better) is not universally welcomed.

I came to Carlow RTC from a background of university lecturing and academic management in two Universities, Imperial College London and the University of Kent in Canterbury. In these institutions independent academic structures for the creation and overseeing of teaching and research was taken for granted, almost an invisible infrastructure of guidance that all in those colleges knew instinctively. These structures had been around for centuries and were buried in traditions of autonomy and academic freedom. They had academic councils, boards, and committees that carried out the daily work hidden from view, but a necessary life-blood carrying in it all the academic proposals for new courses, new research, and regulations for student assessment that ensured all students would be treated equally, in a fair and consistent way. I had taken the leap to Carlow for two reasons; I wanted to make a contribution to higher education in Ireland, and I wished to return home.

The RTC 1992 legislation created two important legal entities in the College; a Governing Body and an Academic Council. In December 1994 this first statutory Governing Body approved a constitution for the Academic Council, and the Council had its first meeting on 10th February 1995. It had 30 members plus a recording secretary. It had committees for academic planning and quality, research development and consultancy, student services, information services, academic regulations, course boards, staff training and development, postgraduate qualifications, and continuing education. In looking back at that first meeting of Council, it started at 3pm, suspended its meeting around 5pm and reconvened at 5.20pm, to finish at around 6pm! What the minutes do not show is the tension, argument and finally the resolve to agree a constitution and a structure of Council that would be the engine of academic progress for the College until it became truly autonomous with its own degree awarding powers in 2005. In the 15 years between that inaugural meeting of Carlow's supreme academic body and the new powers it gained in 2005, Academic Council and its committees oversaw many detailed reviews of individual programmes, departments, schools and eventually the very first total Institutional Review in 1997. The memberships of all these committees and of Council changed every 3 years, and students were always represented on these. Many staff members worked hard on these committees, creating, reviewing and ensuring the quality of the academic work of the College and protecting its standards, so that students and graduates would continue to benefit from a high quality of relevant third level education.

Today we have a smooth, efficient and effective Academic Council and Committee structure that has benefited enormously from the work carried out by earlier versions of these bodies. This in itself reflects organisational learning and learning is what education is all about. The renowned educational psychologist David Kolb said "learning is by its very nature a tension-and-conflict-filled process." In my own case I learnt that fundamental change takes time, and that resistance to change can be at times strenuous and vehement. However this is a stage that people and organisations have to grow through and with time and patience most people will accept positive change once they see good results. I firmly believe that if an organization does not change and adapt to its new environment then it is on a slow decline. Organisations by their

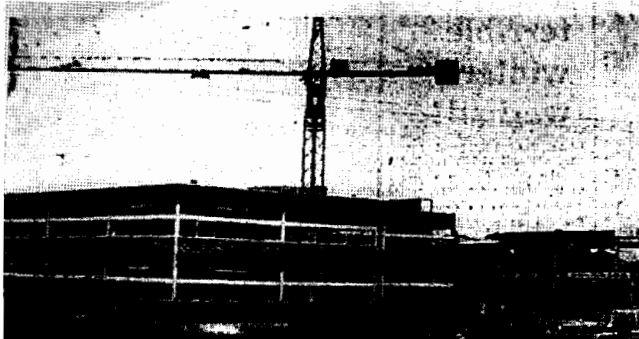
very nature condition individuals, and yet academic organisations while requiring conformity to their cultures expect individuals to be creative, innovative and at the forefront of learning and change; sometimes these expectations clash.

What's in a name? The College has had three name changes in 40 years of existence. In 1970, it was Carlow Regional Technical College' in 1989 it became 'Austin Waldron Regional Technical College', in 1992 it became simply 'Regional Technical College Carlow' and in 1998 was renamed 'The Institute of Technology Carlow'. It has evolved from delivering pre third level courses in 1970 to honours degrees, masters' degrees and doctorate degrees in 2010. From 70 students to almost 5000 students, and from a small campus in Carlow to a large campus and a number of outreach centres, the largest being in Wexford. It has national partnerships and international collaborations across Europe and Asia, as well as Canada and the USA. It is a major employer in the Region and delivers over 100 programmes from apprenticeship training to doctoral education. To date it has over 25,000 graduates.

From a small quiet county town to a large international higher education provider in four decades is not an insignificant achievement. Academic Institutions thrive on a long pedigree of history, tradition and scholarly achievement. The Institute of Technology Carlow is in those terms youthful; however it is making significant strides, and despite (and maybe because of) its early internal conflicts, arguments and resistance to change, it has now achieved the full third level ambition; to become a university level institution in all but name. In the next few years though it may have another change of name; together with the other institutes of technology it is engaged in putting forward proposals to form a Technological University. That will herald a new era indeed. However that structure itself will require its own academic council, committees, commitment of staff etc.

I sometimes wonder if we are on a wheel of history where everything eventually repeats itself!

See the first part of the series of articles on the History of the RTC - ITC in Carloviana (2003) for details of pioneering role of Carlow VEC in establishing the basis for the entire RTC structure. The Minister signed the first contract for work in Carlow to establish the first ever RTC and this led to political wrangling in the Cabinet to secure RTCs in other centres. The original plan of the Carlow pioneers was to a national institute in Carlow to provide facilities for the national apprentice training going on in the Sugar Company; technician training for An Foras Taluntais; the University of London examinations in the VEC School; and a range of other educational initiatives that had been pioneered nationally in Carlow. Such a programme of activities was not seen in the country outside of the DIT, Dublin or the Crawford Institute in Cork.



The building of the new Carlow Regional Technical College

Views of the Institute of Technology as it is today



LRC



Multipurpose Centre



The Portal of Light



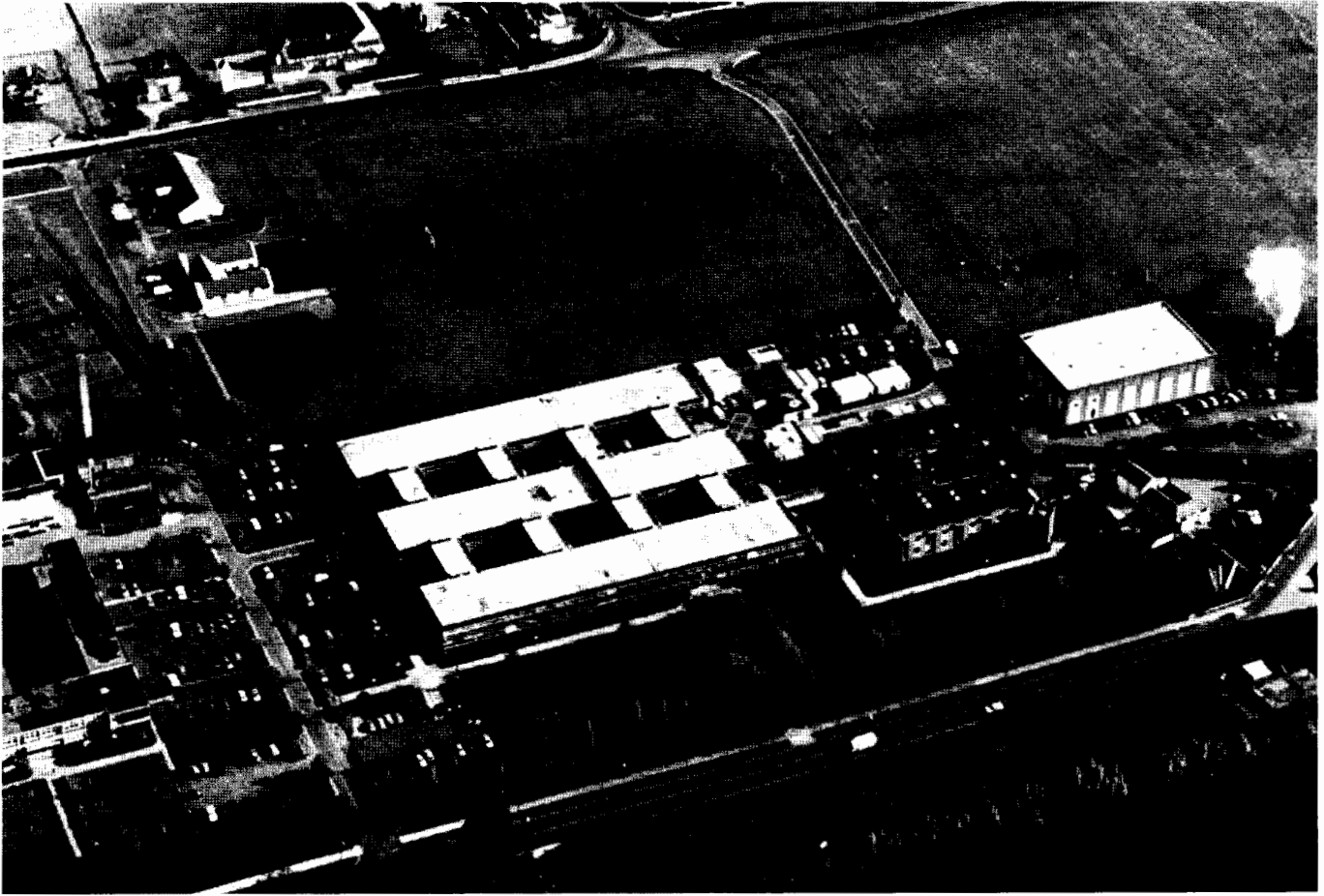
Front view of ITC



*Back of the ITC
& Rugby stand*



*A rear view of the ITC
after renovation in 2010*



Aerial view in 1990s



RTC in 70s

LEAVES FROM A CARLOW SKETCHBOOK 1869-1871

Mary Stratton Ryan

*A sketch is generally more
Spirited than a picture.
It is the artist's work when he
is full of inspiration and ardour,
when reflection has toned down
nothing; it is the artist's
soul expressing itself freely.*

(Diderot, Salon Review, 1765).

Sketchbooks are among the most vulnerable of all artists remains. Few major 19th Century Irish Artists sketchbooks have survived intact. The temptation to dismember them to separate particularly beautiful pages has too often proved destructive, and torn leaves have been forever scattered far and wide. Once a sketchbook has been ripped apart in this way it is often very difficult to work out which particular sketchbook a sketch came from or to establish the original order of the drawings. Once a sheet has been trimmed, mounted and framed it is almost impossible to deduce whether it was once in a sketchbook or not. Sometimes commercial vandalism perpetrated by avid market forces is to blame but not always many less well bound sketchbooks understandably fall apart due to the ravages of time and the hardships of wear, tear and travel. There has been no outcry against the common practise of breaking up a sketchbook after an artists death so this practice sadly continues.

Fortunately thanks to the generosity of the purchaser, a welcome gift from a Carlow business and unfailing local enthusiasm Frank O'Meara's canvas covered Carlow Sketchbook (1869-71) did not suffer quite so severe a fate. Its pages although separated from their canvas cover are beautifully restored and accessible to the public.

Pages from an artists sketchbook can be one of the most revealing aspects of his work. Within these wood pressed pages lies the heartbeat of his secret domain. Inviting blank leaves carry records of his fleeting impressions and explorations. His first ideas or concepts in evolution, all fuel that important creative need to see an idea realized. Pages of a sketchbook provide unrivalled insights into an artists mind and methods.

Undercover and bound together are to be found an artists treasures, his dreams. It is typical of the sketch to consist not only of rapid strokes, but also of overlapping and interweaving lines, as the artist experiments with different solutions to the problems of the subject. In his own sketchbook Leonardo da Vinci wrote *The Sketch itself represents*



the moment of arrival, not the moment of departure.

A sketchbook is carried close to an artists person in a breast pocket or under his arm. Therefore it holds an artists imprint, the imprint perhaps of his body, his hand, his finger prints. Sketchbooks may contain notes and addresses creating a historically invaluable record. They serve as an artists library, a portable studio, a fluid source of subject matter. The swiftness, incompleteness and immediacy of sketching is particularly expressive of the artists personality. Sketches are demanding of the viewer as their incompleteness only hints at the artist's vision. All this make sketchbooks a subject of compelling interest.

Advice to young Artists

When French artist Jean Baptiste Corot's (1796-1875) early sketchbook was exhibited in Paris in 1931 the forty page book used between 1822 and 1825 displayed an invaluable record of his studio training. Notes contained in two of his sketchbooks are advice he gave to young artists setting out on the challenging path to become an artist.

Never lose the first impression which moved us. Drawing is the first thing to pursue- then values- relations between forms and values- those are the mainstays-afterwards colour –last execution.

In his 1847 sketchbook (RF8726) Musee du Louvre;

One should embrace the artists profession only after recognising in oneself an intense passion for nature and the disposition to pursue it with a perseverance that nothing can shatter, thirst for neither approval nor financial profit. Do not be discouraged by censure that might fall upon ones work –one must be armoured with a strong conviction which makes one go ahead fearing no obstacle.

Carlow Family Background.

Frank O'Meara greatly admired the artist Corot. With his Carlow sketchbook under his arm young Frank O'Meara set out for Paris and a new life in the world of art. Having chosen not to pursue a career in medicine like his two older brothers William and Thomas he had also applied for a position in the British Civil Service, this too he decided against.

Frank O'Meara (1853-88) was the son of Carlow born Dr. Thomas O'Meara and his English wife Sarah Mary Isborne who he had met while studying medicine in London. Thomas had lodged at no 5 Little Street with Charles and Ann Isborne. They had three children, Sarah was the eldest, next Jessica and her twin brother George. Thomas and Sarah married on the 16th November 1841 in St. John the

Evangelist Church in the County of Middlesex. Dr, Thomas O'Meara's father was named on their marriage certificate as Daniel O'Meara of Carlow.

Daniel O'Meara born 8th May, 1782, died 26th December, 1850 in Carlow, his occupation was Superintendent of the Butter Market. His wife was Ann Mc Quirk (1788-1844). They are both buried in the Old Carlow Cemetery by the banks of the river Barrow. Also buried there is Frank O'Meara's great grandfather, Michael, 4th July 1842 aged 96 and other members of the O'Meara family. Therefore Frank O'Meara was a true Carlovian, by several generations. Formerly written information provided by the last surviving member of the O'Meara family claiming descent from Dr. Barry O'Meara, Napoleons famous physician, as his grandfather has therefore no solid foundation, in the light of new Frank O'Meara research.

Sketching Trail.

Frank O'Meara's early education was at home under Master Hoey. At the age of twelve he became a student at Carlow Lay College. He grew up beside the banks of the River Barrow. As a boy he spent hours boating bathing and fishing in it's clear waters. His brother William remembered him travelling about the Carlow countryside driving his father's pony and trap and sketching while his father visited his patients.

One regular journey along the River Barrow carried him over Graiguecullen Bridge past Carlow Castle following the winding Barrow past loughs and mills, Clogrennan Gate Lodge was up hill on occasion and a little further away from the river was the ancient 12th Century Romanesque Church ruins of Killeshin Co.Laois.

Further down river he would come to Milford Bridge and Purcels Mill then to the Black Castle at Leighlin Bridge crossing its ancient stones to return home by the opposite bank of the Barrow. This was the fertile ground full of motifs which was his early sketching territory. The beautiful Barrow fringed with wild woods of Irish oak, beech, willow and hazel its splendid bridges of warm grey granite are mirrored in his later river paintings of Grez sur Loing.

A very fine painting of Frank O'Meara *On the Bridge at Grez*, 1884 (NGI) painted by his friend and fellow Irishman John Lavery (1856-1941) depicts O'Meara leaning against the Bridge with his painting accoutrements by his side, his sketchbook is clearly visible beside his easel, paint box and canvas. Lavery writes in a letter to a friend dated November 22nd 1893 from 7 Ainslie Place, Edinburgh that *I did paint a smaller picture of the bridge with poor O'Meara leaning on the parapet.....I shall send a photograph to you.* At that point the painting sat on the mantelpiece in Laverys studio

and hanging beside it was O'Meara's own painting entitled the 'Widow' painted also in Grez. [ref. Lavery photographic plates no.22,23, & 26 taken in his studio Glasgow]

Frank O'Meara's earliest Carlow Sketchbook dated between 1869-1871 and records pages from the Barrow Valley trail. His sketches of animals would have been encouraged by his father for Dr. Thomas O'Meara was not only a medical doctor but also a Professor of Zoology in Carlow College. It is of interest that at this early stage Frank had designed his own artistic monogram of his initials embedded in an artist's palette. He signed all his early sketches with this monogram, with the exception of the sketch of Caernarvon Castle, Wales and his animal sketches which are signed F.J.D. (Francis Joseph Daniel) O'Meara..

Few of Frank O'Meara's drawings or sketchbooks from France have so far come to light, with the exception of the R.L.Stevenson, Silverado Museum collection, four sketches from Grez which includes his self portrait (Carloviana 2009). One is forever hopeful that more will one day be found.

A preparatory drawing for his painting *On the Quays, Etaples* carried out in 1887-8 shows excellent draftsmanship and a very skilled execution of figure studies. It is part of the Hugh Lane Gallery, Dublin City, Collection, of large scale 111.5 x 98cm (44x38ins) and carried out in pencil on canvas. O'Meara had arrived in Etaples which is on the Pas-de-Calais coast near Boulogne on 16th November 1887 accompanied by his fiancée Mary Isabelle Bowes, (1864-1937) an English girl [born in Australia] who he had met in Grez sur Loing. Here he joined his fellow artists Eugene Vail, Middleton Jameson, Louis Hawkins and Birge Harrison. There was already a small colony of English French and American artists working there. This major drawing is very different from O'Meara's other compositions in which the focus is usually on one isolated figure study. In this composition O'Meara placed several figures, an elderly woman and young girl with a group of figures in the background. We see fishing boats and the rows of fishermen's cottages sketched on a high horizon line. On a wet winter's day the families are collecting freshly caught fish from the fishing boats, sketched alongside the quay. The fish are collected in willow baskets, one of which is carried on the back of the young girl who is chatting to an elderly woman, perhaps her grandmother.

Dr Julian Campbell writes that *this is an underdrawing for a painting and that the old woman is similar in appearance to the study for October*. There are strong similarities between the two models, however, *October* was painted in Grez and the model was a old woman O'Meara had met while walking to the neighbouring village of Nemours on a very cold autumn day. She was carrying an earthenware vessel filled with hot cinders and when O'Meara asked her

why, she explained that *one must do everything one can to keep warm in this weather* O'Meara asked her to model for him and she was the inspiration for *Study of an Old Woman* and *October*. [Hugh Lane Gallery, Dublin City]

In the drawing *On the Quays Etaples* the elderly woman is a fisherwoman and even in old age she joined the younger girls shrimp fishing on the shore. She was photographed by Mary Isabelle Bowes who was a very skilled photographer. The passage of time youth and old age feature strongly in this study. O'Meara made two colour studies in oil of this scene in preparation for the final work. He was painstakingly particular with all his preparatory studies, setting just the right mood for his final painting. This was to be O'Meara's last canvas for he became very ill and returned home to Carlow.

Frank O'Meara's pages from his early Carlow sketchbook with sketches executed when he was seventeen are very precious for they show the early developing talent of the young Irish artist. Within the following eighteen years O'Meara became a very gifted, influential and much loved painter.

Acknowledgements:

I am very grateful to the following;
National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.
Hugh Lane Gallery, Dublin City,
Musée du Louvre, Paris.
Carlow Art Collection.
Braun Ireland Ltd.(presentation of sketches on 14th July 1994)
Genealogist Kieran Owens, O'Meara Family Historian.
Carlow Archivist Michael Purcell.

Further reading and sources:

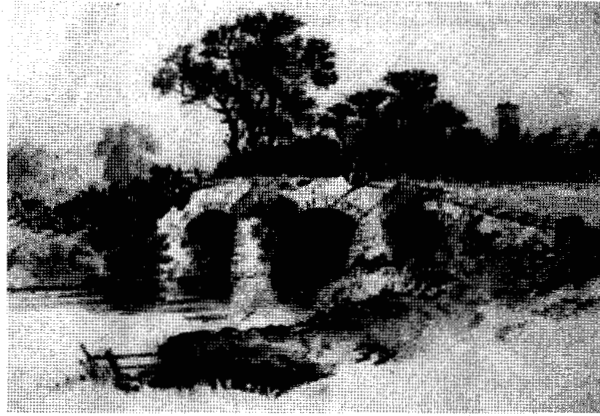
Campbell Dr Julian, *Frank O'Meara and his Contemporaries*, Hugh Lane Municipal Gallery 1989.

Campbell Dr Julian, *The Irish Impressionists Irish Artists in France and Belgium 1850-1914* N.G.I. 1984.

Upstone Robert *Sketchbooks of the Romantics* .London 1993.

Stratton Ryan, Mary *The Early Grez Days of Carlow Artist Frank O'Meara*. "Carloviana" 2009.

Stratton Ryan, Mary *The Irresistible Frank O'Meara 1853-1888.* Artists du Bout du Monde. Grez sur Loing Autumn 2009.



Size
9.5" * 13"

Boys fishing on a bridge over the River Barrow



Size
9.5" * 13"

Carlow Woods - Study of Trees



Size
12" * 8.75"

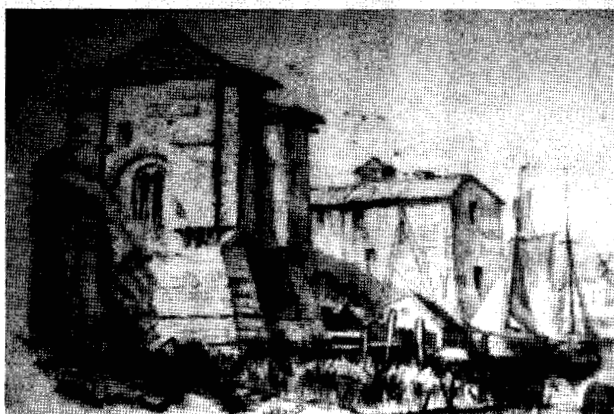
Study of Trees, Carlow Woods

Size
7.75" * 10.5"



Purcell Water Mill, on Barrow

Size
8.5" * 12"



The Port of Antwerpt

Size
6.5" * 10"



River scene with boats and fishermen



'Trees'
Size 12" * 8.75"



The Gate Lodge
Size 6.25" * 8.25"



Caernarvon Castle
Size 11" * 8"



Shore line with boats and figures
Size 8.5" * 12"



'Moulin au Vent' Windmill at Estaples 1887-1888. N.G.I.

CARLOW WORKHOUSE

Seamus Murphy



The Workhouse

This study is confined to the period of the life of the Carlow Workhouse.

The routine business of the Board of Guardians of the Workhouse is not recorded, only decisions which could be considered as important in the life of the people at that time.

The first period deals with the 1840's, when the workhouse was built, and the Famine years..

The second are the changes after the Local Government Act. of 1898 and up to 1922, when under Dail Eireann, the function of Workhouse was altered to being a County Home. On a historical note, the National Army, occupied the Workhouse from early 1923 until later in the 1920's. The building was unoccupied except for a caretaker until it was demolished, prior to the building of the Vocational School.

The staff and patients were transferred to the Military Barracks, in Barrack Street. This premises became the County Home and continued as such until the building of the Sacred Heart Hospital.

The Board of Guardians, who were elected to administer the workhouse. These people were either landlords or large rate payers who carried out their duties in a very effective manner.

Under Brehon Law, there was an obligation on the ruler of every territory to provide 'facilities for sick and homeless and a welcome to every face'.

The arrival of Christianity saw the establishment of monasteries. The monasteries assumed the care of the destitute and sick.

The Cistercians gave shelter and care to anyone arriving at one of their monasteries. All Cistercian had infirmaries and many had

leper houses.

The Augustinian Hospitallers also established hospitals in various parts of the country.

When the Normans came they continued the custom of founding religious establishments. William Marshall established the Augustinians at St. John's Abbey in Kilkenny. This Abbey was to honour God and St. John, and support the sick.

In her *Women and the Church* Dianne Hall, states that 'Giving any form of charity or alms to paupers was form of personal piety for which there are few records. In medieval Ireland preachers emphasised the role of charity, and alms giving as part of the duties of Christian life'

With the destruction of the monasteries during the Reformation, this system ceased, leaving the country without any established system to support the poor and sick.

In England the Poor Relief Act of 1601 offered relief. Under this Act. a rating system was introduced on real estate which made the local property owners responsible for relief in the area.

This act is responsible for the modern rating system and for the use of the word 'Union' as used in Union Workhouses.

Under the act a number of neighbouring parishes combined to form an area to implement the Act. This combination of parishes was known as a 'Union'.

In Ireland, when the act setting up the workhouses was passed the official term used was 'Union' as neighbouring baronies were combined to be responsible for the workhouse.

The early years of the 17th century saw the end of the Nine Year

War, the Flight of the Earls, and the plantation of Ulster. The middle years witnessed the Rising of 1641, the Cromwellian invasion, and its aftermath, the Cromwellian Plantation. The closing years of the century saw The War of the Two Kings which led to further confiscations and evictions.

In *Hell or Connaught* Peter Beresford Ellis states that to gain control of the Country the Cromwellian Army adopted a 'scorched earth' policy. Crops were destroyed and livestock killed. The consequence of this policy was that the population had only the potato crop to survive on.

It is estimated that the population in 1641, at the commencing of the insurrection, was one and a half million. By the end of the war that numbers had fallen to one million. There is the figure of 40,000 mentioned as having left the country, to join continental armies, and 100,000 men, women, and children who were sent as slaves to the American colonies, which gives a reduced figure for the actual population for that period. The Cromwellian confiscations would have led to further reductions, as many land owners emigrated, in preference to going 'to Hell or Connaught'

Many members of the Irish Army who did not emigrate, carried on a guerrilla war on the new settlers. They were called Tories by the authorities.

The counties Carlow, Kildare, and Wexford, were particularly affected by these irregular attacks. Of local interest is how the authorities in Carlow dealt with the problem. As Carlow was one of the counties affected by the Tory attacks, they made an agreement with Major Charles Kavanagh, who had been in the Royalist army in the 1641 Insurrection, not to confiscate his property, provided he organised a group which would combat the Tories in all the neighbouring counties.

The War of the Two Kings did not affect the population to the same extent as the Cromwellian War. Confiscations were on a much smaller scale, but the people were still affected. Tenants were evicted, which led to a movement of the population within the area.

When I asked the late Andy Jordan N.T. Myshall of a tradition that Wexford families had come to Co Carlow at that time he assured that the story was true. He said that his family was one of them. Other names he mentioned were the Mullins, Neills, Kellys, and Murphys. He said that the families 'crossed the mountain and settled on unclaimed land' Decedents of those families are still in that area. these continued to be a close relationship between the two counties for about 100 years, as Fr John Murphy stayed with cousins, near Ballymurphy, after Kilcumney. He said his last Mass at Jordan's, Andy Jordan's home place near Myshall. One of the suggestions of why Fr. Murphy was in the Tullow area was that he was going to visit his cousin, Mrs Dawson, of Crosslow. She was a native of Ferns Co. Wexford.

Despite the conditions in the country the population increased to three million by 1720 and was to be double this figure, a century later.

The first provision to deal with the problem of begging and the homeless in this country was in 1703 when money was provided for the erection of a House of Industry in Dublin. This house was to be under the control of a 'Governor and Guardians of the Poor' In 1730 the Irish Parliament passed an Act, which obliged this institute to accept all foundling children from the churchwardens of all Dublin Parishes.

The name was changed to *The Foundling Hospital and Workhouse of Dublin*.

In 1735, Cork submitted a request to Parliament for a similar premises. The hospital was eventually opened in 1747, for foundling children only.

In 1752 Belfast set up a similar organisation. The premises was opened 'for the poor' in 1774

In 1768 the Royal Dublin Society published proposals for the establishment of county poor houses. These proposals did not receive any public support.

In 1772 an Act was passed to allow corporations throughout the country to accept gifts, and acquire land to establish workhouses for the relief of the poor.

There was no response to this offer.

1845

The Carlow Workhouse was available for inmates in 1844 The Minutes of 31st March 1845 record that the following had been elected to the Board, of Guardians for Carlow Workhouse, for the coming year.

Messers, Bruen, Lecky, Haughton, Thomas Butler, Fishbourne, Vigers, Waters, and Cary. The Board consisted of two thirds elected and one third appointed members. The appointed collectors of the cess were —Matt Griffin, Carlow, Joseph, Malone, Grangewatt and Tullow, John Moulton, Barragh and Myshall, John Cummins, Kiltannel, Boris, Bagenalstown, Martin Hughes, Idrone West, Matt Griffin Kellystown, Fenagh, Numey, Matt Farrell, Shrule, Graigue, Arles.

Estimate on provisions:

400 white bread @11/4each

200 brown bread@ 1d each

40lbs meat@33/41b

800 qts. buttermilk 1d per 2qts.

400qts sweetmilk 2dperpint

Average cost per pauper per week 1/10dper week.

Inmates 261 Deaths 6.

This diet was to be the type of diet which, with variations, was to be the diet, which would be in use in the workhouse, for most of its existence.

Later oatmeal and Indian meal were incorporated into the diet, but the cost per inmate did not increase.

A stone wall is to be built in front of the workhouse. It was also decide that the inmates would be given broth instead of milk, one day each week for their dinner.

Rt Rev Haly recommended the appointment of Rev Thomas Tyrell as R.C. chaplain to the Union.

On 8th November the Commissioners recommended the manufacture of potato flour or starch or pulp from diseased potatoes.

1846

In 1846 the numbers of inmates housed increased On 3rd January the number was 353, and by the end of the year there were 792 inmates.

On the 14th November 1846 it was decided to build a house in Graigue, for the admission of persons affected with fever and other infectious diseases and the necessary expense to be made chargeable to the Queen's County portion of the Union solely.

There is no other mention of this house in the Minutes.

In anticipation of fever and epidemics from famine, a Fever Act was passed in this year. Under this Act Commissioners could be appointed. The Medical Officers would also be appointed to the Union and paid by the Treasury.

The Board of Health could direct the Guardians to provide fever hospitals and dispense and supply necessities and medicines to these hospitals. The Act was to cease in 1847 but was extended to 1850. Patients who could not be accommodated in hospital was to be provided with medical attention and necessities

Provision was to be made for the internment of fever victims. The fever in 1845 and 1846 was usually typhoid and young people were more liable to be victims and the fever in 1847 was cholera.

The Guardians decided to inform the authorities on 28th November 1846 that with 706 inmates that the workhouse was almost full. The master was directed 'to take proper steps, to discharge all able bodied males.

The master was also directed to give inmates 1/2 Indian meal and 1/2 oatmeal for breakfast instead of oatmeal. Inquiries are to be made for a house suitable to act as a hospital, capable of holding 100 patients.

On 10th August the Guardians noted that there was an almost a total failure of the potato crop and that there would be a deficiency in the wheat crop and that the oat crop would show a defiance also owing to the late rains, and the crop was in danger of being lost in the Hill area of the Union. On 19th December Rev W. Joyce replaced Rev. Tyrell as chaplain.

1847

At the first meeting in 1847 it was decided to rent Mr. Clarke's house to act as a hospital, at this time the numbers had reached 843. and that any part of the Union that could be made available for the reception of paupers was to be fitted up for that purpose.

In June the Medical Officer informed the Guardians that the fever was of the typhoid type requiring most active means to combat it by remedial and at the same time sustaining agents. The number of the fatal cases come into the House in a dying state, and were admitted, more with a view of checking and removing contagion, than with any curative object. The disease has been on the increase among the surrounding population and would have been attended by great mortality but for the timely means so promptly procured, to meet the present epidemic by the Board of Guardians.

With the increase in admissions to the workhouse there was an increase in the number of deaths with the total deaths for this year being 542, in the workhouse alone. Cholera had made its appearance, by this time also. With the increase in deaths in the workhouse the authorities in charge of local graveyards informed the Board of Guardians that they would not allow any burials in their graveyards, owing to lack of space.

The Guardians decided to advertise for land, suitable for a graveyard, within three miles of the Workhouse. and in the meantime, to continue burials in Quinagh and Cloughna. Scurvy also appeared, in some cases, owing to a lack of variety in the diet. R J Godley proposed a 2 1/2 million resettlement in Canada.

In January 1847 a decision was made to erect wooden sheds in the male and female yards and that space between the stores and gateways be appropriated for the same purpose. The Guardians also decide that as there were almost 1,000 inmates under their control, that Mr Clarke's house should be used as a hospital.

According to the records the Guardians had hospitals in Doonane Queen's Co, and Tullow and Kiltennel, Co Carlow, in addition to

the workhouse.

Mr William Johnson, one of the Guardians, was appointed to meet the owner of the 'New Malt house', with a view to renting the premises at £70 per year for two years. A short time later they rented this malt house known then as Fitzsimons for two years at £60 per year. This malt house was at the bottom of Montgomery St, on the Barrow track, and was known in later years as 'Duty Free'.

It was also decided to have a pipe, from the cess pool, near the women's dormitory, installed. This pipe was to discharge into the Barrow... Agreement had been reached with the owner and tenant of the property involved

The number under the care of the Guardians in the Workhouse was 1168, in early May 1847. By early July of that year; this number had increased to 1365, with 13 deaths. This appears to have been the highest number of inmates admitted to the workhouse suffering from fever, as the minutes report a decrease in the numbers seeking admission.

A letter was received from the Bank of Ireland requesting payment on four warrants. The clerk was instructed to inform the bank, that the Guardians had no funds at the present time to pay the warrants.

The number of deaths however continued to rise, as 21 deaths were reported on 26th August of that year. On 7th October 1847 the minutes record that 'been found to had been almost impossible to obtain land for a graveyard.' the recommendation was to enclose an area to the South-West at the back of the building. The area was enclosed with a hedge. The clerk was directed to inform the Commissioners of this decision, as there was a matter of public health involved.

Pits 12 or 13 feet were to be dug and 3 or 4 tiers of coffins were to be placed in them before covering them with 5 or 6 feet of clay.

[This graveyard continued to be used for a time after the exchange of premises with the Army].

With the increase in numbers the diet of the inmates had to be altered. In early 1847 it was decided that when the oatmeal was used up that a stirabout of equal parts of rice and Indian meal be used for breakfast and dinner for five days each week. On the two other days the inmates would get the usual ration of bread.

While the numbers being admitted to the Union Workhouse show a decline in 1847, the fever continued to rage. The deaths continued to rise and in this year there were on average one death each day. The numbers only were recorded in the Workhouse Minute Book so we have no knowledge of the names of the victims.

The Distillery in Graigue was used for patients as was a house in Mill Lane which was used as a dormitory for boys.. this allowed space for additional patients in the workhouse.

1848

Early in January the relieving officer for Carlow reported that upward of 100 paupers had arrived on a train from Dublin. The paupers were not from the Carlow Union area, but from many counties. He had arranged to have them supported as many were in very poor condition. He asked for advise if any support can be given help them to reach their own Unions.

The number of inmates continued to fall with 1795 in the end of January, but deaths continued to be very high. 17 deaths were recorded on 27th January and 25 and 27 respectively on the 3rd

and 10th February.

The number of deaths continued rise with a total recorded number of deaths in this month of 102.

The number of inmates decreased during the summer months, as was usual, but increased again in September but with a normal death rate, which show that the major outbreak of fever had passed, although, the incidence of fever continued into the 1850's.

The Guardians rented the Starch Store formerly owned by Mr Nolan and now in the possession of Mr Whitmore for £25 per year and the adjoining malthouse of Mr Naughton for £30 a year. The premises were on the Athy Rd and would accommodate 400 to 500 patients.

In March it was suggested that the sheds in Ballickmoyler would not be required. The Doctor reported that as there were almost 20 cases of fever in the Arles and Shrule district, he recommend that the sheds be retained.

A report to the Guardians at this time stated, that in the Clonbrook area 1/3 of the population had died of starvation.

A wall is to be built around the Workhouse.

Circular from the Commissioners requesting names of female orphans, suitable to go to Australia was received. The Board submitted 32 names of girls who be suitable. to emigrate. Of that number 15 girls went to Australia on a ship named 'The Lady Peel'. The girls were Sarah Britt aged 16 Ann Kane 16, Bessy Bruther 17, Alice Connolly 15, Eliza Coogan 18, Celia Dixon 19, Mary Fanning 18, Maria Garrett 14, Katherine Golden 16, Elizabeth Hickey 18, Maria Kerwin 17, Mary Lalor 16, Mary Richardsom 20, Mary Golden 17, and Mary Martin 16.

Other girls, numbering 18, who were from the county, emigrated from New Ross Union. These girls went on a ship named 'The Panama'.

At that time more than 4,000 girls were sent to Australia. The adjoining Unions sent the following numbers, Baltinglass, 16, Athy, 37, Kilkenny, 59, Shillelagh, 22, and New Ross 84. In addition to, 61 girls who went to Cape of Good Hope. As the workhouses were allowed to give assistance to people to emigrate almost 2, 600 people were given this assistance between 1848 and 1851.

On 5th May, on the guarantee of the Board, Sir Tomas Butler, William Duckett, and other Guardians gave a Promissory Note of Exchange, in order to raise £1,000, to carry on the business of the Union, shall have a first charge on the rates, retired at the Bank of Ireland offices and placed to the debit of the Board. There could be double the number of destitute people in the Hill area on account of these conditions.

The paupers in the workhouse were to be used in the preparation of the Auxiliary house in Graigue, in order to save expense.

The diet of the inmates was costed at 1/10 per week for adults, 1/7 for 9 to 13 year olds. 1/3 for 2 to 9 years and 1/1 for infants. Patients in the infirmary cost 2/7 each week. This concludes the extractions of the Minutes dealing with the Famine period.

1898

A Local Government Act was passed for Ireland in 1898. Similar Acts had been passed for England and Wales in 1889 and Scotland in 1890.

These Acts abolishes the Grand Jury type of local government and replaced it with an election based on the parliamentary register.

The Assizes Judge of the county appointed the Grand Jury, on which landlords of the county serve. They were in charge of roads, and the supervision of public works in the county. The Grand Jury levied a 'cess' on owners and occupiers in the county to pay for these works There was also a lesser Barony 'cess', which paid for minor works in the Barony.

Major changes in local government, under this act, were the transfer of the power of the Grand Jury over roads and sanitation in the county, and the setting of a county rate.

Ratepayers who had property in more than one electoral area, were allowed to a vote in these areas.

The creation of the new councils had a major effect, as it allowed local people to make decisions on matters affecting themselves.

The act affected the workhouses, because, where possible Poor Law Unions were to be in a single county.

The boundaries of counties. came into effect in mid-April 1899 and were defined by the Local Government Board for Ireland.

The area of County Carlow was defined as the existing judicial county of Carlow, plus so much of Queen's County as forms part of the town of Carlow.

At the meeting of the new Board on 20th April 1899 the Chairman elected was Mr Kelly.

Also elected were three lady members. They were the Misses P. Aughney and E. Brohan and Mrs Alexander .

The other members were Messers E.Byrne P.J. Byrne T. Byrne, Cleary, Connors, Connors, Delaney, Donohoe, E. Doyle, P.Doyle, Ennis, Gorman, Hanlon, Hayden, Hosey, Hughes, Kavanagh, Kavanagh, Kearney, Kehoe, Kelly, Kelly Keppel, Lennon Lennon, Maher, McDonald, McGrath, Murphy, Murphy, P, Hughes, Murphy, Neill, Nevin, Nicklonsen, Nolan, Nolan, Nolan, Rice, Whelan, Bruen, Rafferty, Hughes, Brennan, Byrne, Delaney, Doyle, Doyle, Doyle, Doyle, Gaffney, Gahan, Whelan, Harvey, Hayden, Kvanagh, Kavanagh, McDonald, Mealy, Purcell, Rourke, Mc Loughlin, Brennan and E. McLoughlin.

An Order read to the Board stating that all Officials who had been employed by the Board of Guardians were to continue in the employment of the new Board. The Queen's County Council was requested to pay for inmates who had been in Carlow Workhouse £800 was requested from the Carlow Co Council until the County Rate was struck. P. Hanlon proposed and Patrick Murphy seconded 'That we, the elected representatives of the people declare our loyal adhesion to the principle of home rule and we call on the Government, to satisfy the National aspirations of the Irish people by restoring to us our native parliament .

Richard Mc Donald proposed and Thomas Murphy seconded That we shall never cease our agitation on the question of formal relations between Great Britain and this country until the Government settles the land question .

James Harvey proposed and W.P. Delaney seconded 'We call on the Government to release all political prisoners.'

E. Hughes and R. Mc Donald proposed that we call on the Government to restore the evicted tenants' to their holdings.

Thomas Murphy and D. Kearney proposed 'That we look to the

purchase of the land by the occupier as the only satisfactory settlement to the land question and we call upon the Government to bring about such settlement as quickly as possible.

Pending the arrival of books and forms ordered from the printer, the Clerk is directed to continue to use existing books and forms.

On 5th October 1901 the Board requested neighbouring Boards to form a district school where school children could be sent to for education.

The sheds in the yard were to be used as dormitories for T. B. patients, and a modern four wheeled ambulance is to be provided for Tullow.

On 11th December 1920 the members of the Board were- Dan Byrne, Pat. Comerford, Rob. Mc Cullagh, John Gaffney, Ml. Farrell. Dan Grant, Jas Nolan, Ml. Governey, Pat. Connolly Thos. Neill, Jas. J Connolly, John Byrne, John Murphy and the Misses Mary Richards, Sarah Green and Sarah Treacy.

On 5th January 1921 Mrs Alexander ,Lady Denys- Burton, Mrs Brown - Clayton, Mrs Bruen, Mrs Governey, Mrs M. McDonnell, Mrs Ryan , Mrs Booth, Mrs Molloy, Miss A Murphy, Capt. Thomas, Maj. Alexander, Mr Shachleton. brought the children to the cinema. Tea and sugar were given to the patients in the Infirmary by Mrs Law, Mrs JitzMaurice, Rev. Fr Millar and Rev. Canon Ridgeway, at this time also On 23 Februar., 1921 Miss Richards presided at the Board meeting.

A letter addressed to the Clerk, in charge of Carlow Workhouse and Bagenalstown Hospital from T.A. Andrews, competent Military Authority, asking that he be informed, in writing, the names and descriptions of all those admitted to the Hospitals suffering from wounds caused by bullets, gunfire, or other explosives. Failure to comply with this order would render him liable to be proceeded for an offence against the Restoration Of Order Ireland Regulations.

Resolution from Carlow and Tullow branches of I.T & GWU complaining that the action of rate payers for not paying their rates, pointing out that this interfered with the employment of a large number of men

Agreement furnished by Terence Doyle SoIr. between William Burgess and the Board of Guardians relative to a premises acquired in Tullow as a dispensary.

Request from Dr Farrell, Muinebeag, for payment for acting as Medical Officer in Leighlin.

Payment to be made to Dr. Farrell subject to sanction by Dail Eireann.

That permission be granted to Tuberculosis Medical Officer to use Monacurragh dispensary be granted.

Miss Sarah Tracey presided at the meeting held on 26th February 1921. This meeting passed the following resolution.' That this Committee recommend to the consideration of Carlow County Council the advisability of taking steps for the closing of Carlow Union Workhouse, having regard to the enormous increase in the estimated increase of expenditure in connection therein as appears from the estimate submitted for the maintenance of said Institution for the year 1920-1921. The County Council had very little hope of paying the demand.

Resolution 'That We, the Board of Carlow Union condemn in the strongest manner, the action of certain merchants in dealing with Belfast firms We urge the public generally to endeavour to make

the boycott of Belfast houses more severe by refusing to purchase goods known or suspected to have come from Belfast'

That we offer our respected colleague Patrick Comerford, an expression of our sympathy on his recent expulsion from Carlow, also to Mrs Comerford in the matter. On 4th Marc a request from the Custom and Excise, Carlow, for particulars of Patrick Byrne an inmate was not afforded.

Miss Greene and Miss McWey proposed 'That We the Board of Guardians of Carlow Union beg to tender to the relatives of the Mayor and ex Mayor, also to the relatives of Mr Gerald Donohoe of that city, in the terrible calamity which has befallen them. Another resolution passed That we believe that the establishment of a market for store cattle in Dublin, on Wednesdays, would cause serious injury to the general public, while possibly benefiting a few.

A circular was read from Dail Eireann on the conduct of officials of Local Authorities who have declared allegiance to Dail Eireann and have severed relations with the British Local Board who still continue to communicate with that Institution, and its officials and reminding all officials in the Guardians service, the conduct, if persevered in, will have serious consequences.

A letter from Irish White Cross is to be sent to all Guardians with a request that members have local committees collect funds.

On 16 th April, 1921 a resolution, proposed by Messers Morrissey and O. Byrne 'To tender to the relatives of Michael Fay our sincere sympathy on the bereavement they have sustained by the death in action - fighting for the sacred cause of Irish freedom'. Mingled with our sympathy is our pride that young Irishmen can still be found to carry till death the fight that so many Irishmen have already died, and as a further mark of respect, we adjourn this meeting.

On 4th June, armed forces of the Crown visited the workhouse looking for a bicycle, and on 11th of same month Police and Auxiliaries searched the Workhouse and took away documents.

A circular from Dail Eireann gave instructions that in view of a Partition Parliament meeting in Belfast, that all notes and cheques drawn on the Belfast, Ulster or Northern Banks should not be accepted after the 7th June 1921.

A letter was also read from the Department of Local Government on the subject of organising local fish markets and asking the people of Ireland to conserve local fishries..

On 7th July a meeting at which Michael Governey presided it was decided not to fill any permanent posts, but would appoint temporary staff, until reforms under the Poor Law had been in place.

At the 4th August meeting Seamus Leonard presided. Sr. M. Domic was appointed as nurse in the absence of regular staff on vacation. Leave was also sanctioned for Miss B.M. Wall head nurse in Bagenalstown Hospital. P A Lawler was sanctioned as Clerk of the Union for a further 3 months at £175-0-0 per annum.

On the 15th a Military medical Officer visited the hospital and inspected some of the wards.

Rev. W. Miller requested that electric light be installed in the Chapel before the winter. The tender of Walter Kehoe for £3-2-0 was accepted.

Miss Richards presided at this meeting at which the Department's scheme for the transfer of the Laois inmates was outlined. Those

CARLOW WORKHOUSE

patients would be transferred to Abbyelex and Mountmellick chargeable to Slievemargy Rural District James Nolan, Rathlyon requested the use of Tullow Dispensary until the Town Hall was ready.

An overdraft of £4000 was requested. from the Bank of Ireland, and payment of £8-15- 0 to Mrs Lillis being amount of augmentation grant. Subject to Dail Eireann. P A Lawler was appointed for a further 3 months.

Resolved 'That We the Board of Guardians strongly protest against the treatment of our fellow men in various internment camps and prisons throughout Great Britain and Ireland and demand their immediate release or that they be accorded treatment accorded to all prisoners of war in all civilised countries.

A letter is to be sent to each member of the Board, with reference to Letter No 52, with reference to the abolition of Unions would be considered that day.

The circular referred to, points out that the Dept. of Local Government looks to each County Council and Board of Guardians to see that no extended or ignorant opposition delays the schemes of Poor Law reform, which have been promulgated after much much consideration by a Commission of experts, that the rates must come down , and to affect this through schemes for the abolition of Unions, as at present constituted and substituting for them one County Home and one well equipped County Hospital, that the schemes will have a far greater proportion of the money collected being expended for the sick poor and by a reduction of officials, and cutting down on establishment charges, the poor will get a better service at a reduced cost. Primacy responsibility must be accepted by local representatives who obstruct or delay schemes formulated by the Department to which they owe allegiance. The conference should be thoroughly representative when called to consider a scheme for the county, and the County Council should have a greater representation than a Board of Guardians in as much the Co. Council both levy and collect rates and are more directly responsible to ratepayers. The Department finally pointed out that whole time permanent officials under the existing system whose employment as a result of these may have a minimum of 50%of their years of service added for the purpose of computing their retiring allowance and these allowances will be strictly computed on the basis of section 8, which has been adopted by the Department. These officials will be enabled to turn their energies and abilities to work for real benefit to the country. The Department will deal justly with all existing officials but it realises its responsibility to ratepayers and it is convinced that the action it proposes to take in their interests, for from reacting unfavourably on the interest of the poor will ensure that the money raised that the money raised for their benefit will be applied more directly and in greater proportion to alleviation of their lot.

The Board decided to summon a conference to deal with the subject of the circular in so far as the same may affect Co. Carlow to send delegates to formulate a scheme on the lines set forth in this communication. 20 pairs of blankets were loaned to Bilboa I.R.A. camp. Michael Governey, presides at the meeting held on 17th November, 1921 and he thanked Capt. Thomas for a gift of fruit for the inmates.

A letter was received from Carlow County Council stating that a conference would be held on Tuesday, 29th November, 1921 at 12 o' clock to consider the question of amalgamation and inviting the Board to send 6 delegates. Delegates appointed were Patrick Mc Donald, James J. Connolly, James Murphy, James Nolan, James Leonard, and Sean Murphy.

It was suggested that the following Officers of the Board should also

attend, Dr Farrell, Muinebeag, Dr McCarthy, Tullow, Dr Ryan, Workhouse, Dr. Colgon, Fever. On 1st December, 1921 Michael Governey presided a the Board meeting.

The Clerk reported that he had a request from the Inspector, Dept. Local Government to transfer patients from Shillelagh Workhouse to Carlow . The patients would be domiciled in Carlow but would be charged to Baltinglass Union.

The matter was adjourned pending completion of Amalgamation with Carlow Co. Council. £200 was paid for a site in Kilcarrig to erect a doctors house.

At the meeting on 5th January 1922 a letter was received from the Clerk of Baltinglass Union stating that the Inspector, Dail Eireann had suggested that 12 patients, in that workhouse should be transfer to Carlow that on the 14th inst. The Republican Volunteer Police had brought the body of a deceased man to the workhouse, and had removed it during the Board meeting.

Mrs Law, Mrs Brown-Clayton, and Mr Shackleton had distributed tea, sugar and fruit supplied by Mrs. Fitzmaurice to the children.

The Constabulary had removed Mrs. Neill from the Maternity Ward and she was returned after 4 hours.

The Board of Guardians called on members representing Carlow-Kilkenny to vote for ratification of the *Peace Treaty* now before the Dail.

On 19th January attended by Peter McDonald, R. McCullagh, J. O'Neill and the Misses Sarah Greene and Anne McWey a letter was received from Gearoid O'Sullivan acknowledging receipt of a resolution and stating that he would vote for ratification of the Treaty and planned to remain as a public servant of the Dail.

The Clerk reported that in view of the fact that an amalgamation for the county had been approved by the County Council Conference, but not sanctioned by The Dept. of Local Government, he had been unable to prepare the estimate for the year ending 31' March, 1922, the Dept. is to be asked to extend the time for submission of estimate.

A letter from Custom & Excise, Carlow requesting information required on old pensioners could now be supplied in view of the transfer of his Department to the Provisional Government Irish Free State.

Messers Comerford and Morrissey proposed and seconded 'That the Government be requested to take all possible steps to secure the release of prisoners in Derry Jail at present under sentence of death.

The Clerk informed the Board that on the instruction of the Inspector, the estimates had been prepared in the usual way.

The Estimates were adopted and signed by the Chairman.

At the 16th February meeting a letter from the Officer, Custom & Excise stated that exception had been expressed for his use of envelops stamped 'O. H. M. S' He explained that those were the only envelops available.

The Clerk reported that all employees of the Board were affected by paragraph 13 of the Amalgamation Scheme for the County Council and would necessitate serving notice of retirement as, and from 31st March 1922.

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

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

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

CLONAGOOSE, CLONMULSH, CLOYDAGH OR CLODY, CRYCRIM OR CRECRIM, DIOCESE OF LEIGHLIN, DUNLECKNEY, FENNAGH OR FENAGH, GILBERTSTOWN OR BENDENSTOWN, GRAIGUE, GRANGEFORD,

LEWIS'S CARLOW

CONT.

HACKETSTOWN, HARLDSTOWN, KELLISTOWN OR KELLYSTOWN, KILEDMOND, KILLERICK OR KILLERRIG, KILLINANE, KILTEGAN, KILTENNEL, KINEAGH, LEIGHLINBRIDGE.

Photographs added by the editorial team.

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

Clonagoose

Aparish, in the barony of IDRONE EAST, county of CARLOW, and province of LEINSTER; comprising the village of Borris, which has a penny post to Goresbridge; and containing 2394 inhabitants. This parish, which is also called Clonegford, is bounded on the south-west by the river Barrow, the navigation of which extends to New Ross and Waterford, and up the river to Athy, where the canal to Dublin commences. It comprises 5392 statute acres in a high state of cultivation, as apploated under the tithe act; there are about 325 acres of woodland and 460 of waste. The principal seats are Borris House, the residence of the ancient family of Kavanagh. for a description of which see Borris; and Kilcoltrim, of Luke Hagarty, Esq. The living is a vicarage, in the diocese of Leighlin, episcopally united, in 1714, to that of Kiltennel, but recently separated from it, and in the patronage of the Bishop; the rectory is impropriate in Lord Cloncurry. The tithes amount to £255, of which £165 is payable to the impropriator, and £90 to the vicar, whose income has been lately augmented by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners with a grant of £20 per ann., from Primate Boulter's fund. A parochial church is in progress of erection, prior to which the only place of worship in connection with the Protestant establishment was a beautiful private chapel attached to Borris House, built by the late Mr. Kavanagh. In the R.C. divisions this parish is partly attached to the union or district of Borris, and partly to that of Dunleckney; at the former is a handsome chapel, lately built at an expense of £2000. A parochial school for boys and girls, and an infants' and a Sunday school, are supported by subscription; and at Borris, Ballymartin, and Ballymurphy are national schools for both sexes: the day schools afford instruction to about 400 boys and 320 girls. A charitable loan fund of £60 is conducted for the benefit of the poor of all.



Cross in the burial grounds at Kilogan in the townland of Garryhunden in the old parish of Clonmelsh once known as Rath Melsigi.

Photo: "Carloviana" 1983 by William Ellis.

Clonmulsh

A parish, in the barony and county of Carlow, and province of Leinster, 4½ miles (S.) from Carlow, on the road to Bagenalstown; containing 711 inhabitants. It comprises 3102 statute acres, as apploated under the Tithe Act, and valued at £2458 per annum. Garryhunden, the seat of Sir R. Butler, Bart., is situated on the townland of that name, which, by inquisition of Jas. I., in 1607,

was found to be in the possession of Theobald, Lord Butler; and by a similar inquisition, in 1623, the townlands of Ballybar and Clonmulsh are recorded as having been held by Peter Carew, Baron of Idrone. The living is a rectory, in the diocese Leighlin, and in the patronage of the Bishop: the tithes amount to £330 15 4¼. The church is a small plain building, situated near the road. In the R.C. divisions this parish is in the union or district of Leighlinbridge. On the townland of Powerstown there is a school, in which about 30 children are taught, aided by an annual donation of £6, late currency from the rector.

Cloydagh or Clody also called Clogrennan

A parish, partly in the barony of Slievemargy, Queen's county, and partly in the barony of Carlow, but chiefly in that of Idrone west, county Carlow, and province of Leinster, on the river Barrow, which is navigable to Waterford, 2½ miles (s.w. by s) from Carlow on the road to Leighlin-bridge; containing 1422 inhabitants, and comprising 4737 statute acres, of which 290 are woodland, and 3764 acres are apportioned under the tithe act and valued at £3774 per annum. The state of agriculture is very good, limestone abounds, and is applied both as manure and for buildings: there are limekilns on a large scale, the produce of which is chiefly conveyed into counties of Wicklow and Wexford. Coal also abounds, and is worked extensively. Sessions are held quarterly at Milford. Here are extensive corn-mills and malt-kilns, in which about 100 persons are employed. The principal seats are Clogrennan Castle, the residence of Col. Rochford; Milford, of J. Alexander, Esq.; Fonthill, of W. Fishbourne, Esq., and Lenham Lodge, of Capt. Butler. Clogrennan was formerly an estate of the Dukes of Ormonde. and gave the title of baron in the Irish peerage to the Earls of Arran. The castle was taken by Sir. Peter Carew, 1568, from Sir. E. Butler, who was then in rebellion: in 1642 it was besieged by the Irish but was relieved by Col. Sir. P Wemys; and here the Marquess of Ormonde mustered his forces prior to the battle of Rathmines. The ruins, overgrown with ivy and forming a remarkably picturesque object, yet exist, together with the remains of an old church, near the present house, which is approached through one of its gateways. The grounds, which are very beautiful are bordered on the west by the mountains of the the Queen's county, the sides of which are clothed with wood to a considerable height, and on the east by the course of the Barrow, adorned by several well-wooded islets. On the Bawn-Ree, Jas. II. Encamped after his defeat at the battle of the Boyne. Some curious relics of antiquity, including brazen swords and arrow-heads, were found in a ford across the Barrow, about ¼ mile distant, in 1819. The living is a vicarage, in the diocese of Leighlin, and in the patronage of the Bishop; the rectory is impropriate in Col. Bruen and W. Fishbourne, Esq. The tithes amount to £276. 18. 5½., of which £92. 6. 1. is payable to the vicar, and the remainder to the lay impropriators. The glebe-house was built by a gift of £400 and a loan of £360 from the late Board of First Fruits, in the 1813; the glebe comprises six acres, subject to a rent of £4. 4. per acre. The church, a plain neat edifice in good repair, was built by aid of a gift of £500 from the same Board in 1803, and to the repairs of is the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have recently made a grant of £167. 5.11. In the R.C. divisions this parish is in the union or district of Old Leighlin, and has a chapel. Besides the parochial school, there is one in the chapel-yard at Ballinabranna; the number of children in these schools is about 150; and in a hedge school are taught about 90 children. The ruins of the old church are in the demesne of Clogrennan; the cemetery is still used.

Crycrim, or Creecrim

A parish, partly in the barony of RATHVILLY, county of CARLOW, but chiefly in the half-barony of SHILLELAGH, county of WICKLOW, and province of LEINSTER, 4½ miles (E. N. E.) from Tullow; containing 510 inhabitants. It comprises 2431 statute acres, as apportioned under the Tithe Act, and is an impropriate curacy, in the diocese of Leighlin, forming part of the union of Aghold; the rectory is appropriate to the dean and chapter



*The ruins of Clody Church
in Clogrennan Desmone*



The graveyard entrance in Clogrennan Desmone at Clody.

of Leighlin. The tithes amount to £144.15. 1. of which £96.10. 1. is payable to the dean and chapter, and £48.5. to the appropriate curate. In the R. C. divisions it forms part of the union or district of Clonmore. At Ballyconnel there is a R. C. chapel, also a national school.

Diocese of Leighlin

Is the smallest of the five which constitute the ecclesiastical province of Dublin. Nothing particularly worthy of notice is recorded of the successors of St. Laserian till the time of Donat, who was made Bishop in 1158, and after whose death the succeeding prelates were invariably appointed from the English clergy. Notwithstanding the devastation and plunder of the see in the continued hostilities of early times, it experienced no irreparable impoverishment till the succession of Daniel Cavanagh, in 1567, during whose prelacy various grants and long leases were made to his friends, reserving for his successors only some very trifling rents; and to such poverty was it reduced that, after his decease in 1587, it was granted in cominendam to Peter Corse, Archdeacon of the diocese, and afterwards held with the deanery of St. Patrick's, Dublin. In 1600, Robert Grave was advanced to the see of Ferns, to which this diocese was then annexed, and both continued from that time to be held together till 1836, when, on the death of Dr. Elrington, the late bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, both sees were united to the bishopric of Ossory, under the provisions of the Church Temporalities' Act, according to which, the see estate of Ferns and Leighlin remains

with the Bishop of the three united dioceses, Ferns, Leighlin and Ossory; and the see estate of Ossory, which is the suppressed bishopric, becomes vested in the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, together with the mensal lands of Ferns and Leighlin; the residence of the bishop being by that act fixed at Kilkenny, where the bishops of Ossory have heretofore resided, the bishop therefore keeps his former residence and acquires a larger see estate. The diocese of Leighlin is of very irregular form, extending 50 miles in length and varying from 8 to 16 miles in breadth; it comprehends part of the counties of Kilkenny and Wicklow, a considerable portion of the Queen's county, and the whole of the county of Carlow, and comprises an estimated super flies of 318,900 acres, of which 17,500 are in the county of Kilkenny, 42,000 in Wicklow, 122,000 in Queen's county, and 137,050 in the county of Carlow. The lands belonging to the see comprise 12,924 statute acres of profitable land; and the gross annual revenue, on an average of three years ending 1831, amounted to £2667. 7. 63/4. The chapter consists of a dean, presentor, chancellor, treasurer, archdeacon, and the prebendaries of Telcolme, Ullard, Aghold, and Tullowmagrinnagh. The economy estate of the Cathedral arises from rents of tithes reserved by lease out of the parishes Tullowcrion, Sliguff, Ballinacarrig, Rahill, Liscolman, and Old Leighlin, which, on an average of three years ending Sept. 1831, amounted to £158. 13. 10. Per annum., applied to the payment of the perpetual curacy and repairs of the Cathedral. There are four rural deaneries, namely, Leighlin, Carlow, Tullow, and Marlborough.

The consistorial court of the diocese is held at Carlow, and consists of a vicar-general, three surrogates, a registrar, and two proctors. The total number of parishes is 80, comprised in 59 benefices, of which 14 are unions of two or more parishes, and 45 are single parishes of these, 5 are in the patronage of the Crown, 10 in lay or corporation patronage, 9 in joint or alternate patronage, and the remainder are in the patronage of the Bishop or incumbents. The number of churches is 49, and there are four other episcopal places of worship; the number of glebe-houses is 25.

In the R. C. divisions this diocese is united with Kildare, and is suffragan to the R. C. archiepiscopal of Dublin: the number of parochial benefices and clergy is given with the diocese of Kildare; the number of chapels is 64.

The parish comprises 9738 statute acres, as apportioned under the tithe act, and there are about 400 acres of bog. Agriculture is improving; there are limestone and flagstone quarries, and coal exists but is not worked. Old Leighlin is a rectory, belonging in moieties to the bishop, as part of the see estate, and to the chapter of the cathedral, as part of the economy fund the rectory of Tullowcrion belongs also to the economy fund, and a perpetual curate is endowed to officiate at the cathedral and to attend to the duties of both parishes, of which the dean and chapter are the incumbents. The tithes amount to £461. 10. 9 the glebe - house was built by a gift of £450 and a loan of £50 from the late Board of First Fruits, in 1820 the glebe comprises 12 acres. The cathedral, which is also the parish church, is situated in a secluded spot surrounded with hills: it is a plain ancient structure, consisting of a nave, 84 feet long, and chancel, 60 feet in length, with a square tower 60 feet high, surmounted by a low spire. It was rebuilt, after having been destroyed by fire during the prelacy of Bishop Donat; and the choir was rebuilt by Bishop Sanders in 1527; the western entrance has a handsome doorway and window, and there are two side entrances; in the chancel are the bishop's throne and the stalls of the dean and chapter; and the interior contains several ancient monuments, with many of the 16th century and upwards. On the north side are the remains of two roofless buildings, one of small dimensions, and the other 52 feet long and 22 feet wide, with a window of elegant design at its eastern extremity. Of the episcopal palace, which was repaired by Bishop Meredyth in 1589, there are no remains. About 100 yards from the west end of the church is the well of St. Laserian, formerly much resorted to; and in the church-yard is a stone supposed to have marked the boundary of

the old borough. In the R. C. divisions the parish forms part of the union or district of Leighlin-Bridge. About 80 children are taught in the parochial school, which is supported by donations from the dean and chapter, the incumbent, and the governors of the Foundling Hospital; and there are six private schools, in which are about 420 children. There are some chalybeate springs, which are used medicinally.

Dunleckney

A parish, in the barony of Idrone East, county of Carlow, and province of Leinster, on the road from Carlow to Borris; containing, with the post-town of Bagenalstown, 4217 inhabitants. This place which is situated on the river Barrow, was anciently the seat of the Kavanaghs, Kings of Leinster; and in 1300 a preceptory of the Knights Templers was founded here, which continued only 'til 1308, when it was suppressed. It was also the residence of the Bagenal family from the 16th to 18th. Century. and is at present the property of Walter Newton, Esq. In 1545, a battle took place at Ballynakill, near Garry Hill, in this parish, between the Kavanaghs in the latter place and those of Polmonty, in which, after 100 on each side were slain, the former were victorious and secured possession of the territory which was the object of their contention. The parish comprises 7751 statute acres, as apportioned under the tithe act the land is good and the system of agriculture in unimproved state. Limestone abounds and is quarried for agricultural purposes, and there are quarries of fine granite, which is used for building: the Barrow is navigable to Waterford. The principal seats are Dunleckney, that of W. Newton, Esq. Bagenalstown House, of Miss Newton; Garry Hill House, of Viscount Duncannon; The Lodge, of Mrs. Weld; Rathwade House, of B.B. Norton, Esq.; Lodge Mills, of S. Crosswaite, Esq.; and Clonburrim, of W.B. Cooke, Esq. The manufacture of starch is carried on, and there is an extensive malting concern in the parish belonging to Mr. Crosswaite; fairs and petty sessions are held at Bagenalstown. The living is a vicarage, in the diocese of Leighlin, united in 1795 to that of Agha, and in the patronage of A. Weldon, Esq., who is proprietor of the rectory. The tithes amount to £830. 15. 4 1/2., of which £553. 16. Is payable to the impropiator, and £276. 18. 51/2. To the victor; and the vicinal tithes of the union, to £415. 7. 81/4. The glebe-house is a neat residence; the glebe comprises 10 acres. The church is a small edifice, and has been recently repaired. In the R.C. divisions the parish the parish is the head of a union or district called Bagenalstown, comprising also of the parishes of Agha, Fenagh, and Sliguff. The chapel, a handsome edifice lately erected at an expence of £2000, is situated at Bagenalstown; and there are chapels also at Newtown and Balinakill, and places of worship for Wesleyan Methodists and Walkerites. The Parochial school-house, a neat building in the Grecian style, is in Bagenalstown, where also is a handsome court-house in the same style, lately erected at the expence of Philip Bagenal, Esq., in which quarter sessions are held at the usual periods. Besides the parochial school, there are two private schools in the town. The side walls and gables of the old parish church are still remaining in the church yard; the interior was lighted by narrow lancet-shaped windows. At Ballymoon are the ruins of the castle of the preceptory of the Knights Templers; the walls, which are 8 feet in thickness and 30 in height, enclose a square of 130 feet, flanked by four square towers, and having a gateway entrance on the west side.- see Bagenalstown.

Fennagh

or

Fenagh

A parish, partly in the barony of SHILLELAGH, county of WICKLOW, but chiefly in that of IDRONE EAST, county of CARLOW, and province of LEINSTER, 5 miles (S. E.) from Leighlin-Bndge, on the rivers Slaney and Burren, and on the road from Bagenalstown to Newtown-Barry; containing 4324 inhabitants. This parish comprises 11,942 statute acres, as apportioned under the Tithe Act, and valued at £1230 per ann.; about 600 acres are mountain, nearly 120 bog, and the remainder good

arable and pasture land in a good state of cultivation; there are some quarries of fine granite. The village of Fennagh is beautifully situated, commanding picturesque and grand views of Mount Leinster; the surrounding country is thickly planted, and the gentlemen's seats afford some good specimens of ancient architecture. Here was a well-fortified castle, the seat of one of the kings of Leinster. The principal seats are Castlemore House, the residence of B. Eustace, Esq.; Hardy Mount, of Hardy Eustace, Esq.; Janeville, of W. Garrett, Esq. Lumclone, of T. H. Watson, Esq.; Kilconner, of -Watson, Esq. Ballydarton, of 3. Watson, Esq. Upton, of l. Grey, Esq.; Clonfert, of T. Dillon, Esq.; and Garryhill House, a residence of Viscount Duncannon. A penny post to Leighlin-Bridge has been established, and here is a constabulary police station. The living is a rectory and vicarage, in the diocese of Leighlin; the rectory is in the patronage of the Crown; and the vicarage is endowed with the townlands of Castlemore, Ballybenard, Tullowbeg, Drumphrey, and Ardowen (which in the vicar's title are called chapels), and is in the patronage of the Bishop. The tithes amount to £646.3.1., of which £415.7. 8.4. is payable to the rector, and £230. 15. 4¼. to the vicar. The glebe-house is a neat building, and the glebe comprises 16 acres. The church, a neat plain edifice, was erected in 1790; and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have recently granted £206 for its repair. In the R.C. divisions the parish forms part of the union or district of Myshall the chapel is at Drumphrey. There is a place of worship for the Society of Friends. The parochial school for boys is aided by donations from the rector and vicar, and about 50 girls are taught in a school supported by subscription; there are also five private schools, in which are about 270 children, and a dispensary. At Ranageragh are some remains of a castle, which anciently belonged to the Kavanaghs; at Drumphrey are the ruins of an ancient monastery; and at Castlemore is a remarkable moat.

Gilbertstown, or Bendonstown,

A parish, in the barony of FORTH, county of CARLOW, and province of LEINSTER, 3 miles (S.) from Tullow, on the road to Leighlin; containing 567 inhabitants. Building stone is found, and there is some bog. Prior to 1830 the parish formed part of the union of Aghade. The living is a rectory, in the diocese of Leighlin, and in the patronage of the Bishop: the tithes amount to £250.0. 8. In the R. C. divisions it is the head of a union or district, also called Ballon and Rathoe, comprising the parishes of Gilbertstown, Ballon, Kellistown, Templepeter, Aghade, and parts of Fennagh and Urglin. in which union are two chapels, situated at Ballon and Rathoe. About 180 children are educated in a national school.

Graigie

A suburb of the town of Carlow, in the parish of Killeshin, Queen's county, and province of Leinster, containing 1976 inhabitants. It is situated on the right bank of the river Barrow, over which there is a bridge into the town of Carlow, but is entirely exempt from the jurisdiction of the sovereign of that borough, although included within its limits for electoral purposes. It comprises 114 acres and includes 234 houses, a large flour-mill, two tanyards, and a distillery which manufactures more than 36,000 gallons of whiskey annually. It is a constabulary police station, and has fairs on Jan. 6th, Feb. 18th, April 1st, and Oct. 6th. A court-house is about to be erected, in which the general sessions for the district will be held. The parochial church, the R.C. chapel and the parochial and national schools, are in the village; near which about 600 of the men who were killed in the attack upon Carlow, in 1798, were buried.

Crangeford

A parish, in the barony and county of CARLOW, and province of LEINSTER, 2 miles (S.W. by S.) from Tullow, on the road to Carlow; containing 926 inhabitants. By inquisition taken in 1601 it appears that it belonged to Fferdoroghe O'Gormogane, but it was granted to Sir John Ponsonby in 1669. It is a rectory, in the diocese of Leighlin, forming part of the union of Urglin: the tithes amount to £264. In the R. C. divisions it is part of the union or district of



Ballydarton, Fenagh was the place where the last wolf in Ireland was shot

Tullow, and contains a chapel. There is a public school, in which about 150 children are educated.

Hacketstown

A market-town and parish, partly in the barony of BALLYNACOR, county of WICKLOW, but chiefly in that of RATHVILLY, county of CARLOW, and province of LEINSTER, 6¾ miles (S.E.) from Baltinglass, on the road from Wicklow to Carlow containing 4434 inhabitants. In 1798 it sustained two attacks from the insurgent forces, one on the 25th of May, which was successfully repulsed by the yeomanry and a detachment of the Antrim militia; the other on the 25th of June, when a body of insurgents, amounting to several thousands, advanced against it at five in the morning. The garrison, consisting of 170, mostly yeomen, marched out to meet them, but, after a few volleys, were obliged to retreat, the cavalry by the road to Clonmore, and the infantry, 120 in number, into the barrack, where they maintained their position through-out the day behind a breastwork in the rear of it. The town was fired in several places by the rebels, who, after various ineffectual attempts to force an entrance to the barrack and a garrisoned house by which it was flanked, retreated, and in the night the garrison retired on Tullow. The town, which consists of 131 houses, is situated on a rising ground, below which flows a branch of the Slaney, and commands fine views. It is a constabulary police station, and has a penny post to Baltinglass, and a dispensary. A patent was granted in 1635, by Chas. I., to the Earl of Ormonde for a market on Wednesday and fairs on the Tuesday after Nov. 1st, and the Thursday after Trinity Sunday. The market is now held on Thursday, but only during the summer months from March to August, for the sale of meal and potatoes; and the fairs are on Jan. 13th, the first Thursday in Feb., March 12th, April 13th, May 4th. June 2nd, July 13th, Aug. 21st, Sept. 18th, Oct. 17th, the third Thursday in November, and Dec. 21st.

The parish comprises 31,570 statute acres, of which 11,954 are apportioned under the Tithe Act: about one-sixth of the land is arable, nearly one-half pasture, and the remainder bog and waste; the latter is chiefly situated in the eastern part of the parish, and large blocks of granite are dispersed throughout. The principal seats are Woodside, the residence of S. Jones, Esq.; Ballyhelane, of J. Brownrigg, Esq.; and Ballasallagh House, of J. Hogier, Esq. The living is a rectory, in the diocese of Leighlin, episcopally united in 1693 to the vicarage of Haroldstown, and in the patronage of the Bishop: the tithes amount to £553.16. 11., and of the benefice to £619.15.11. The glebe-house was erected in 1819, by a gift of £300 and a loan of £500 from the late Board of First Fruits; the glebe comprises 8¼ acres. The church is a neat building, with a square embattled tower surmounted with pinnacles, which was

erected and the church roofed anew, in 1820, by a gift of £600 and a loan of £500 from the late Board of First Fruits; it has recently been repaired by a grant of £559 from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. In the churchyard is a monument to the memory of Capt. Hardy, who was killed in 1798 while defending the town. In the R.C. divisions it is the head of a union or district, comprising the parishes of Hacketstown and Moyne, and parts of Haroldstown, Clonmore, and Kiltegan; and containing chapels at Hacketstown, Killamote, and Knockanana. Near the church is a very neat place of worship for Wesleyan Methodists, recently erected. The parochial school is supported by the rector and a small payment from the scholars; and there is a national school in the R. C. chapel-yard.

Haroldstown

A parish, in the barony of RATHVILLY, county of CARLOW, and province of LEINSTER, 14 mile (S.) from Hacketstown, on the road to Carlow; containing 838 inhabitants. It comprises 2778 statute acres, of which abmit 200 are bog, 1000 arable, and the remainder meadow and pasture. Agriculture is improving, and limestone is found here. It is a vicarage, in the diocese of Leighlin, forming part of the union of Hacketstown; the rectory is appropriate to the Dean and Chapter of Leighlin. The tithes amount to £188. 9.4., of which two-thirds are payable to the dean and chapter, and one-third to the vicar. In the R. C. divisions it forms part of the union or district of Hacketstown. There is a dispensary; also 5 parochial,

Kellistown or Kellystown

A parish, partly in the barony of Forth, but chiefly in that of Carlow, county of Carlow, and province of Leinster, 4½ miles (S.E.) from Carlow, on the road from that place to Newtown-Barry; containing 662 inhabitants.

It comprises some elevated grounds, which command extensive prospects; and in it is Moyle, the residence of T. Bunbury, Esq. The living is a rectory, in the diocese of Leighlin, and in the gift of the Crown for two turns, and the Bishop for one: the tithes amount to £361. 12. 6. The church is a small plain building, for the erection of which the Board of First Fruits granted a gift of £600 and a loan of £100, in 1810; it was lately repaired by a grant of £155 from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The glebe-house was built in 1801, by aid of a gift of £100 from the late Board; the glebe comprises 20a. 2r. 23p. In the R.C. divisions the parish forms part of the union or district of Gilbertstown. One of the ancient round towers stood here until 1807, when it was pulled down to make room for the belfry of the church. The remains of the old church denote an early date; in the burial-ground are some tombstones of the Cummins family, formerly proprietors of this place.

Killedmond

A village, in the parish of Kiltannel, barony of Idrone East, county of Carlow, and province of Leinster, on the road from Myshall to Enniscorthy; containing 47 houses and 236 inhabitants. This place being situated at the western foot of Mount Leinster, includes within its scenery the Blackstairs mountains and Scullage Gap: during the disturbances of 1798 it was burnt by the insurgents. It contains the parish church and school, and has fairs on March 12th, and July 15th.

Killerick or Killerrig

A parish, in the barony of county Carlow, and province of Leinster, 5¼ miles (E.by N.) from Carlow, on the river Slaney; containing, with part of the suburbs of the post-town of Tullow, 1261 inhabitants. A preceptory of Knights Templars was founded here in the reign of King John, by Gilbert de Bocard, which, at the suppression of that order, was granted to the Knights Hospitalers, and, at the general dissolution, to Sir Gerard Aylmer. In 1331, the Irish burnt the church with the priest and eighty persons who had

assembled in it; but the Pope ordered the Archbishop of Dublin to excommunicate all the persons engaged in the perpetration of this atrocious act, and to lay their land under an interdict. The parish comprises 3841 statute acres, as applotted the Tithe Act, and valued at £3405 per annum, which, with the exception of about 100 acres, is good arable and pasture land. The principal seats are Duckett's Grove, the residence of J. D. Duckett, Esq.; and Russells-town Park, of W. Duckett, Esq. It is an impropriate curacy, in the diocese of Leighlin, forming part of the union of Urglin: the rectory is impropriate in Messrs. Humphreys and Bunbury, who receive the tithes, amounting to £360, out of which £18. 9. 2¾. is paid to the curate. At Friarstown are the ruins of a castle and of a religious establishment.

Killinane

A parish, partly in the barony of Idrone East, but chiefly in that of Idrone West, county of Carlow, and province of Leinster, 1½ miles (S.W.) from Bagenalstown, on the road from Gowran to Carlow: containing 899 inhabitants. Killinane House is the residence of - Groome, Esq., and Malcolmvile, of Capt. Mullhallen; The latter is situated on highground above the river Barrow, and commands extensive views. The living is a rectory, in the diocese of Leighlin, forming the corps of the the chancellorship, and in the gift of the Bishop: the tithes amount to £270. This parish is annexed, under the provisions of the act of the 4th. of George IV., c. 86, to the parish of Wells, and the inhabitants enjoy all the rights of its church, as if they were parishioners. In the R.C. divisions it forms part of the union or district of Old Leighlin. The old church is in ruins.



Grave at Killinane where foodbowl was found

Kiltegan

A parish, partly in the barony of Rathvilly, county Carlow, and partly in the barony of Ballincor, but chiefly in the barony of Upper Talbotstown, county of Wicklow, and province of Leinster, 3 miles (W.N.W.) from Hacketstown, on the road to Baltinglass; containing 3815 inhabitants, of which number 136 are in the village. This parish comprises 15,681 statute acres, under an improving system of agriculture, and there is a large tract of bog and mountain land. Limestone gravel is burnt for manure, and granite is abundant. High Park is the residence of E.H. Westby, Esq.; the original mansion was burnt by the insurgents in 1798; the demesne, which comprises about 400 statute acres, contains some very fine old timber. Hume Wood is the residence of W.W. Filzwilliam, Esq. The village contains 22 houses and a dispensary, and is a station of the peace preservation police, of which there is also a fort granite. A patent exists for four fairs in the year, but none are held. The living is a vicarage, in the diocese of Leighlin, episcopally united, in 1804, to the rectory and vicarage of Kilranelagh, and in the patronage of the Bishop by agreement of the Crown; the rectory is impropriate in Sir R. Steele, Bait. The tithes amount to £516, of which £340 is payable to the impropriator, and £176 to the vicar, the tithes of the union amount to £369.16. 11. Adjoining the church is the glebe-house, for the erection of which the late Board of First Fruits, in 1816, gave £400

and lent £370: the glebe comprises 20 acres, for which £2 per acre is paid. The church is a handsome edifice with an embattled tower and spire, erected by a gift of £500 and a loan of £320 from the same Board; it was enlarged in 1826, at an expense of £1200, half of which was defrayed by the Board, and has been recently repaired by a grant of £191 from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. In the R.C. divisions the parish forms part of the union or district of Hacketstown, and has a chapel at Kilmoat. In the village is a school supported by the trustees of Erasmus Smith's charity; the school house was built at an expense of £300; there are about 52 children of both sexes in the school. There is also a national school for male and females; the schoolhouse is in the old chape-yard-yard. At High Park and Kilmoat are raths; on opening one at the former place, about three years since, an urn of coarse pottery was discovered, which contained ashes and bones. There are ancient burial-places on the townlands of Kiltegan and Drim.

Kiltennel

A parish, in the barony of Idrone East, county of Carlow, and province of Leinster, $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles (N.E. by N.) from Graigue, on the road to Enniscorthy; containing 3206 inhabitants. It comprises 1826 statute acres, as apportioned under the Tithe Act, and is a wild district bordering on Mount Leinster. The living is a vicarage, in the diocese of Leighlin, and in the patronage of the Bishop; the Rectory is inappropriate in Lord Cloncurry. The tithes amount to £385, of which £250 is payable to the choral, impropriator, and £135 to the vicar. The church which is in Killedmund, is a neat building. In the R.C. divisions it forms part of the union or district of Borris. There are a parochial and national school, in which about 280 children are educated; and the two private schools, in which are 200 children. The ruins of the old church is covered with ivy; there are also the remains of a chapel at its eastern end, which was erected in 1789 by Capt. E. Byrne, and the fragments of a granite cross and cairn.

Kinneagh

A parish, in the barony of Rathvilly, county of Carlow, but chiefly in that of Kilkea and Moone, county of Kildare, and province of Leinster, 2 miles (W. by S.) from Baltinglass, on the road from Dublin to Wexford; containing 1441 inhabitants. Agriculture is improving, and there is fine granite for building. The principal seats are Bettyfield, the residence of - Hutchinson, Esq.; Ricketts-town, of the Rev. J. Whitty; Philipstown, of J. Penrose, Esq. The living is a vicarage, in the diocese of Dublin, and in the patronage of the vicars Choral of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin; the rectory is partly appropriate to the Bishop of Kildare and the vicars choral of St. Patrick's, and partly inappropriate in the Duke of Leinster. H. Cumming, Esq., and J.D. Duckett, Esq. The tithes amount to £334. 2.21/2., of which £80 is payable to the bishop, £80 to the vicar's £21. 17. 9. to the Duke of Leinster, £14.11. 7. to H. Cumming, Esq., £22. 18. 9. to J.D. Duckett, Esq., and £114. 14. 3/2. to the vicar. There is a glebe-house, and the glebe comprises 18a. 3r. 24p. A neat church was built about 1834, by a grant of £900 from the late Board of First Fruits. In the R.C. divisions it is partly in the union or district of Castledermot in the diocese of Dublin, and partly in that of Rathvilly, in the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin. Here are the ruins of the old church and of an abbey.

Leighlin-Bridge

A market and post-town partly in the parish of Augha, barony of Idrone East, but chiefly in that of Wells, barony of Idrone West, county Carlow, and province of Leinster, 6 miles (S.) from Carlow, and 45 (S.S.W.) from Dublin, on the mail coach road to Cork; containing 2035 inhabitants. This place derives its name from a bridge over the river Barrow, which connects the two parts of the town on its opposite banks with each other, and also with the road leading to Old Leighlin, in contradistinction to which, previously to the erection of the bridge, it was generally called New Leighlin. It was originally granted by Hugh de Lacy to John de Clahul, or de Claville, who in 1181 erected a strong castle or fortress, which was one of the earliest defences of the English in Ireland. Towards the

close of the reign of Henry III., a Carmelite monastery was founded near the castle, on the eastern bank of the barony, by a member of the Carew family, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. The bridge of nine arches, was built in 1320 by Maurice Jakis, a canon of the Cathedral of Kildare, to facilitate the intercourse between the religious houses of Old and New Leighlin. As the English settlement here became more insecure, the monastery was much exposed to the hostile attacks of the native Irish, and in 1371, Ewd. III. granted ten marks annually for the repair and rebuilding of the house, which grant was renewed six years afterwards. In 1378, Rich. II., in consideration of the expence and labour of supporting the house and the bridge against the king's enemies, granted to the prior an annual pension of 20 marks out of the rents of the town of Newcastle of Lyons, which he confirmed in 1394, and it was also ratified by Hen. IV. and Hen. V., the latter monarch ordering that all arrears then due should be paid. In 1408, Gerald, fifth Earl of Kildare, built another fortress here, which he called the White Castle; and after the dissolution of the monastery was also converted into a fort and occupied as a military station by Sir Edward Bellingham, Marshal of the British army and Lord-Deputy of Ireland. This fortress was taken in 1577 by Rory Oge O'More, dynast of Leix, who destroyed the town by fire; and in 1649 it surrendered to the parliamentarians under Col. Hewson, soon after which the main army under Ireton, on their march to Carlow, laid waste the neighbouring country.

The town, which is chiefly the property of W.R. Stewart, Esq., still retains many indications of its earlier importance as a military station; it is pleasantly situated on the river Barrow, by which it is divided into nearly equal parts, and contains 369 houses, of which 178 are in the parish of Augha and 191 in that of Wells. The market is on Monday and Saturday, and is amply supplied with corn and butter; fairs are held on Easter Monday, May 14th, Sept 25th, and Dec 27th, and there is a constabulary police station. The parish church of Wells and a R.C. chapel are in that portion of the town which lies on the Wells side of the river, and there is also a national school. About a mile distant is a celebrated spa, which is much resorted to. At the foot of the bridge, and on the eastern bank of the river, are the ruins of the Black Castle, consisting of an oblong tower, about 50 feet high, completely capped with ivy; one of the floors resting on an arch is still remaining, and there is a flight of steps leading to the summit; it appears to have formed the north-western angle of a quadrangular enclosure, 315 feet in length and 234 feet wide, surrounded by a wall seven feet thick, with a fosse on the outside; part of the wall is standing on the west side, and at the south-easter angle are the ruins of a round tower, the walls of which are ten feet in thickness. At the south end of the west wall of the quadrangle was the ancient monastery, of which an old building with loop hole windows and a stone doorway are supposed to be the only remaining portion, adjoining it and within the enclosure was a cementary, now converted into a garden. In the neighbourhood was the abbey of Achadfinnglass, founded by St. Fintan, who died in the 6th century; it was plundered by the Danes in 864, and there are no remains, even the precise site being unknown.



The bridge at Leighlinbridge

A SURVEY OF NEOLITHIC TOMBS IN COUNTIES CARLOW & DUBLIN

Seamus Murphy Jnr.

Introduction

"Ireland has several regional styles of portal tomb... [and] like the Welsh and Cornish portal tombs, the locations of Irish sites seem to be close to the coast or river valleys and most are on level land and below 122m altitude" (Malone 2001, 134-136)

Portal tombs are amongst the earliest megaliths to be found in Ireland dating from around 3800 BC to 3500 BC (Waddell 1998, 92). With the dawn of the Neolithic age around 4000 BC and its general cessation and transition into the Bronze Age by 2500 BC (Cooney 1989, 51-52), these tombs have remained a dominant feature of the later Neolithic landscape and ensuing archaeological periods. Despite being almost 6000 years old these epic feats of human engineering have survived through the millennia peppered across the Irish landscape. Through the mists of time, they act as an agency of communication for an ancient invisible people proclaiming their engineering skills, their religious or cultic beliefs and the way in which they saw the world around them. But like a game of Chinese whispers, the original once clear message has become distorted, warped and almost entirely lost as the decades, centuries and millennia passed. Today their existence is steeped in mystery and magic and saturated with superstitious beliefs, which have descended from our ancestors. Often superstition has been the main incentive for humans using the land in later periods, to leave the tombs as they found them in the landscape, frequently farming immediately around the monuments, much like a "fairy-tree" can stand inconveniently in the middle of a ploughed field today.

With the dawn of archaeological surveying in Ireland in the 1830's through the commencement of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland, the large field monuments from every period of Irish prehistory were recorded systematically by surveyors and antiquarians across the island. This set the stage for the establishment of archaeological societies throughout the country (Waddell 1998, 1). Gradually new academic interpretations began to formulate about the origins of the prehistoric monuments in Ireland. Over the decades as new evidence came to light through archaeological excavation, surveying and debate, the knowledge and understanding of these monuments expanded, initially through the learned upper classes and eventually through academic circles. Our modern interpretations of these tombs however, most likely remain unrelated to the original point the builders tried to get across despite advancements in archaeological knowledge. Without writings from the period, interpretations are based on the burials, material culture, artwork and post-holes left behind by these elusive people.

Much portal tomb interpretation has been founded on survey rather than excavation. This is due to the fact that few excavations have been carried out on the tombs in Ireland as many are known to have been emptied of their contents in the past

(Malone 2001, 136). Indeed Kiltieman portal tomb is the only dolmen surveyed as part of this extended essay, to have been excavated (O hEochaidhe 1957, 221) while all three of the other Tomb types, a chambered cairn in Dublin (O hEochaidhe 1957, 221) and two Linkardstown type burials in Carlow (Waddell 1998, 101) have been excavated. Much the same as previous studies, survey and published texts will form the main sources of consultation for this essay. In order to better understand the spread of ideas, texts which describe portal tombs in other parts of Ireland will also be consulted. Due to the proximity of the Irish and Welsh coasts and the clear marine skills the Neolithic people must have had in order to reach these islands off the European mainland, Welsh examples and interpretations will also be consulted to understand the spread of ideas.

This extended essay aims to add a new-dimension to the heavily layered archaeological interpretations of Neolithic portal tombs in Ireland. The essay aims to focus on the landscape in which the tombs were constructed. It aims to establish a possible understanding as to why portal tombs were placed and orientated in the positions that they are found today rather than a different position in the landscape. It also aims to understand whether there was a rigid set template for the builders as to how they should go about constructing their tombs, through the presence of an established Neolithic cult, or whether regional variations were applied to a universal idea much in the same way that various religious groups extend from one universal idea today. The research for this essay was carried out on selected tombs in two counties; Carlow and Dublin.

To highlight the complexity of the portal tomb interpretations, two different ideas exist about the tombs along the eastern side of Ireland. The first interpretation is that they are associated with two different grouping of tombs. The first in Dublin and North Wicklow and the second in the south-east covering counties Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford and Waterford with a few in South Wicklow. These two groupings are separated naturally by the Wicklow Mountains (O Nuallain 1983, 81-82). Other interpretations associate the tombs with a band of tomb building ideas which extend from Dublin to Waterford skipping west of the Wicklow Mountains and taking in the Carlow examples on their way (Brindley & Kilfeather 1993, 1). To better understand the possibility of an established cult, a select number of different Neolithic burial sites will also be consulted in these counties.

This essay will initially discuss the methodology used during the survey of the tombs and the texts consulted as part of further research. Subsequently the results for each monument will be discussed in narrative form based on the findings logged in Appendix 1-4 (attached). Following this the findings will be discussed and interpreted before a final conclusion will be drawn together. Tables are also enclosed with the findings from each site

logged as raised by questions asked in the survey and any additional points that were noted. All photographs are the authors own unless otherwise referenced.

The tombs to be discussed are as follows:

- Brownhill Dolmen, Kernanstown, County Carlow
- Ballynoe Dolmen, Ballynoe or Newtown, Co. Carlow
- Haroldstown Dolmen, Haroldstown, Co. Carlow
- The Druids Alter, Larch Hill, Co. Dublin
- Woodtown, Mount Venus, Co. Dublin
- Kiltiernan Portal, Kiltiernan, Co. Dublin
- Linkardstown Cist, Linkardstown, Co. Carlow
- Baunog, Baunogenasraid, Co. Carlow
- Tibbradden Chambered Cairn, Tibbradden,

Methodology

A number of methodologies were employed as part of the completion of this extended essay. The primary sources were the surveys carried out on each tomb by the author on a number of dates in the months of February and March 2010. The site was walked initially before the survey sheet was produced. The purpose of this exercise was to try and take in the main features of the tomb without having any key questions in mind. It aimed to gain an understanding of the tomb as it stood plainly without any focused research ideas in mind. Indeed this exercise became much harder to carry out successfully on those tombs surveyed latest as the research questions had almost been learnt off due to repetition through the preceding sites!

Initially the survey focused on the construction of the tomb itself. This study included notes on the survival of the tomb and its state of preservation, the dimensions of the tomb including its capstones and pillar stones and a noting of its orientation. With the initiation of the first survey at Kernanstown, County Carlow, it was found that the orientation of the tomb was not always simply about the direction in which the chamber faced. This aspect will be further discussed in the "Survey Results" and "Discussion" sections. As part of the survey on the tomb (but consulted after the survey) was the establishment of whether there were any excavations carried out on the tombs and if so whether any finds were found which could act as another means of determining ideas of the presence of a cult through the material culture in the burial context. Following this drawings were taken of the tomb and its orientation noted to back up the text. Following this photographs were taken of the tomb itself. Further photographs were taken of particular details on the tomb.

Subsequent to the focus on the tomb itself the landscape or field in which the tomb was immediately situated was focused on. This aimed to understand whether a particular factor stood out in a field which might have influenced the Neolithic tomb builders to pick that spot for their monument. This incorporated the noting of the visible and acoustic effects of water on the individual from the site and also the spatial relationship between the monument and water. This often brought up interesting results again discussed in "Survey Results". Next the aspects of the ground on which the tomb stood were noted. This queried whether the tomb stood on a flat or sloping landscape or whether the tomb was situated in or above a valley for example. Following this directions of approach and access points to the tomb were discussed also with the intention of logging and noting any patterns among all the tombs. Next the land around the tomb was studied in order to estimate the

size of a crowd that could gather around the tomb. This was carried out in an attempt to shed light on aspects of site use, estimations on the possible size of the community using the portal tombs or even how often the tomb would have been used by the Neolithic community as a whole, as a small gathering space would not allow for many events to be organised. Finally the rock types used in the tomb and the rock type of the surrounding landscape were compared. This would help to better understand if the stones were sourced locally or whether they were dragged from long distances. The presence of large stones scattered around or near the tomb was also noted as another point of back up for this section as it would help to come to a conclusion on whether the stones were locally or more widely sourced.

Once the questions about the local landscape were completed the widespread landscape was focused on. This focus took note of the principle features of the landscape as it could be seen from the tomb. Highly interesting aspects on the siting of portal tombs in the landscape were uncovered which will be discussed in the following sections. This focus took note of the key features which dominated the landscape such as mountains, rivers, coastal views and even if any other monuments from the period were visible. Next the survey questioned whether any features were in direct alignment with the tomb. As can be seen in the following sections, there was almost a direct link between this question and the orientation of the tomb itself on the site. Photographs were also taken of the most dominant features in the landscape at each tomb. Photographs were also taken of the general view to the north, south, east and west.

Once the landscape aspects of the tombs themselves were logged, the survey moved on to focus on certain points in the landscape around the tombs. Points were chosen 100 metres to the north, south, east and west of the tombs. From these points the same questions about the landscape immediately around the position and the view of the wider landscape was noted. Again this particular exercise brought up very interesting results when compared to the results found at the tombs themselves. Again photographs were taken of the dominant features in the landscape and a general view to the north, south, east and west.

Following the survey of each tomb, Ordnance Survey maps were consulted. These were utilised to establish the names of mountains in the landscape and the spatial relationship between the monument and any water if water was invisible from the monument. It also served to back up the orientation of the tomb which was found during the survey. Maps were consulted after the survey as it helped to understand the landscape at first hand rather than upon consultation of documents..

Once the initial survey and reports had been fully researched and logged, consultation of texts began. These included texts which gave detailed accounts of the tombs themselves such as *The Archaeological Inventory of County Carlow* (Brindley & Kilfeather 1993), *Prehistoric and Early Christian Ireland - A Guide* (Estyn Evans 1966) and *"A Prehistoric Burial Mound at Baunogenasraid, Co. Carlow"* (Raftery 1974). Also consulted were a multitude of general texts either about Neolithic tombs or the Neolithic period itself in both Ireland and Wales for example *Neolithic Britain and Ireland* (Malone 2001), *Landscapes of Neolithic Ireland* (Cooney 2000) and *The Prehistoric Archaeology of Ireland* (Waddell 1998). The main text which was consulted however as a comparison for the discussion

was O Nuallain's *"Irish Portal Tombs: Topography, Siting and Distribution"* in *JRSAI Vol1113 (1983)*. This offered an excellent source for discussion and comparison with the findings in the author's own surveys.

The methodology is as varied as possible to offer as much signals as possible for either the presence of a standardised cult or local variations on a universal idea. Due to the fact that the number of non-excavated tombs in the chosen list outweighs the excavated tombs, it is hard to safely establish any links in the burial practices between the tombs especially since only one of the six portal tombs, the main focus of this extended essay, has been excavated. Finds from excavated portal tombs elsewhere in Ireland will be discussed as part of this as similarities or variations in the different bands of construction could hint at a cultic force or local force in the choice of the burial practice O Nuallain 1983, 75-82). Also problematic is the small sample which was utilised as part of this extended essay. The results found here are from a bare handful of the massive numbers of portal tombs and other Neolithic burial types across the country. Further study at other tombs needs to be carried out in order to fully back up the evidence in the "results" and "Discussion" sections. The following chapter will discuss the results which arose from this methodology.

Results

The results from the surveys carried out as the primary source for this extended essay can be seen in Appendix 1-4. Appendix 1 contains tables which give a brief overview of each site including its name, location, Grid Reference, SMR number, survey date, excavation date (if any) and finds associated with the site. The portal tombs are sorted by county while the other tombs are sorted by monument type. Appendix 2 contains tables which summarise the findings for the immediate landscape from each tomb while Appendix 3 summarises the findings for the widespread landscape. All tomb types are logged together here. Finally Appendix 4 contains tables of the findings for the positions away from each site. Below are the issues which arose upon consultation of maps and documents after the surveys.

As is clear from Appendix 1 very few of the tombs which were surveyed as part of this extended essay were excavated. As a result, the presence of a cult cannot be identified through the burial context itself. The identification of a cult through the burial practice would initially require the excavation of further tombs especially those where there is a possibility that their contents have remained undisturbed which unfortunately remains a problem for so many Neolithic tombs today. Their sheer size, and the wonder so many command, has been one of the many causes for their survival across the millennia, however this has also inspired a destructive side in so many people in the past as it became known that many contained items of value and so their contents were removed or else disturbed and damaged by those looting for artefacts (Malone 2001, 136). This may have come about as people began to investigate the wedge tombs of the Bronze Age period which look so similar to the large megaliths of an earlier time to find fine metal and ceramic objects in these tombs (Waddell 1998, 140). What is clear from those tombs that were excavated is that pottery played a key role in the burial practice. At Kiltiernan the remains of two pots were found interred in the tomb. The two Linkardstown type burials at Baunogenasraid and Linkardstown, Co. Carlow contained decorated pottery and each contained a round bottomed pot (Raftery 1974, 307).

Linkardstown contained sherds from five incomplete bowls. Of these the most complete pot was a large round bottomed pot with grooved or channelled ornament known as Grooved ware. The other sherds came from one plain vessel and three highly decorated vessels including two bipartite bowls. At Baunog however only one bowl was found in the Neolithic burial and like those at Linkardstown this too was decorated (Waddell 1998, 101). At Tibbradden, Dublin however, two burials were found each containing ceramic vessels. The primary burial contained a 'food-vessel' while the secondary burial was a Bronze Age urn burial (Evans 1966, 111). This is a good example of the continuation of burial practices between the Neolithic and the Bronze Age. Not only were the cremated and uncremated Bronze Age burials found in or beside ceramics similar to burial styles in the Neolithic, but the Bronze Age wedge tombs also show a continuation of the megalithic tradition (Waddell 1998, 140). What is interesting is that at Linkardstown and Baunog the human remains were found disarticulated in the burial (Waddell 1998, 101) while at Tibbradden the remains in the primary burial were cremated (Evans 1966, 111). Both these burial practices represent considerable effort on the part of the living in their treatment of the dead. Cremation was a lengthy process in the past where the fires used to cremate the individual would have been burned in the outdoors subjecting it to wind and rain. The fires would have been tended, to ensure the body was fully burned as the high heats for the body to combust would have been difficult to attain due to weather forces. High winds would have burned the fuel out too quickly while rain would have also acted upon the size of the fire. When the fire had eventually gone out it would have been a laborious task to pick through the burnt remains of fuel, mainly wood, and bone to find every piece of the skeleton of the burnt individual (Buckley & Buckley 1999, 25-26). On the other hand disarticulation would have required defleshing of the body before burial. This again would have been a lengthy process as the living waited for the flesh to decay before the bones were gathered up and interred in the chamber. Many of the small bones were missing in the Linkardstown-type burials either due to loss during the gathering process, the acidic limestone on site eroding the small weaker bones or else due to rodent activity possibly indicating the chamber was left uncovered for a period before it was completely sealed off (Raftery 1974, 283). The remaining contents of the tombs vary across the tombs. At Kiltiernan a stone arrowhead and stone scrapers were found in the tomb (O hEochaidhe 1957, 221) while at Linkardstown a worked piece of animal bone and a lignite object, possibly a toggle, were found in the burials (Waddell 1998, 101). While it cannot be accurately stated due to the tiny sample, it can be suggested that here is a representation that rules were kept during the Neolithic at these burial types about the deposition of pottery with the human remains while each community could choose at will to inter other objects with their dead if they so wished. Here two of the four excavated tombs had other finds along with the pottery. Upon consultation of published works regarding other portal tombs and Neolithic burials around the country and in Wales, a similar story begins to emerge. For example excavations show that Early Neolithic pottery is the dominant artefact interred in Portal Tombs followed by Middle Neolithic pottery. Lithics are also found in some tombs and their use peaks at the Early and Middle Neolithic. The choice of other finds being interred with the burials can be seen from only a small sample of excavated tombs also. Polished stone beads are known from two portal tombs at Clonlum, Co. Armagh and Ballyrenan, Co. Tyrone while a mushroom headed antler pin was found at Poul nabrone Co. Clare along with pottery

contained in all of these tombs (kytmannow 2008, 96-97). The deposition of human remains in portal tombs is itself a complex story and appears to vary between the sites just as much as the decision to inter extra artefacts along with the individual. Unburnt bones were found at Ballywholan, Co. Tyrone and huge amounts of phosphates in the burial context indicate an inhumation at Ballykeel, Co. Armagh. Cremation burials, however, are recorded at eight Irish sites (Henrity & Eogan 1989, 91). At Poul nabrone Co. Clare, disarticulated bones from at least 22 individuals are present in the burial context from 16 adults and 6 children. Just as happened at Linkardstown and Baunog, the disarticulation of the 22 individuals indicates a primary burial to allow defleshing of the corpse to occur before the formal burial took place (Cooney 2000, 96). A large body of Welsh portal tombs remain unexcavated, just like their contemporaries in Ireland as once again these monuments have been looted and raided in the past. The portal tomb at Dyffryn Ardudwy was excavated in the 1960's however the tomb was found to be void of any cremated remains. This has led to suggestion that single inhumation was the dominant burial rite in Wales however this interpretation has remained unconfirmed due to the lack of excavations carried out on these tombs (Lynch 2000, 72).

Due to the deficiency of archaeological excavations at portal tombs in both Ireland and in Wales the identification of standardised cultic practices in the archaeological record must rely on other aspects of these monuments. In the medieval period settlements and houses were established at crossing points on rivers for example or on prominent locations in the landscape which allowed certain members of society to better manage trade and people in the land around them which they controlled. In the contemporary world sites are chosen for a variety of reasons also such as access to roadways, views of the landscape or even for sentimental reasons. Like all humans throughout time who have intended to construct something, the Neolithic people would surely have chosen the location of their structures for a complex variety of reasons also. Again these choices may have been for a combination of practicality and symbolism which intertwined in complex ways. The question is why did they choose the particular spot their tombs stand in today and not a spot in the next field, valley or mountainside? The survey for this reason focused on both the immediate and distant landscape in two parts.

The results for the immediate landscape in which the tombs were placed are quite interesting and can be viewed in Appendix 2. All the portal tombs were found on sloped land. The tombs at Brownshill and Mount Venus stand on terraced land which slopes gently to the east. The tombs at Ballynoe, Larch Hill, Kiltiernan and Haroldstown all stand on land which slopes to the west. Ballynoe is on a terrace which drops sharply just west of the tomb down to the River Dereen. Larch Hill is located on a terrace, on a steep eastern river valley slope. Kiltiernan is also located on a terrace barely big enough to accommodate the tomb on a steep valley slope while Haroldstown is located on land which slopes gently west to the river Dereen. When the OS maps are consulted along with the survey findings, especially for those tombs where water is not visible or audible, other interesting aspects of the siting of the tombs stands out. The tombs at Haroldstown and Ballynoe are located on the banks of the River Dereen. Both stand with the river to the west flowing south. The same occurs at Larch Hill with the River Glin flowing north and at Kiltiernan with the Loughlinstown River flowing east, with all rivers west of the tomb. At Woodtown, the river is to be found to the east and south,

flowing north while at Kemanstown a stream is to be found to the east flowing south. All dolmens are located relatively close to the source of these rivers and streams except Ballynoe which can be found near the confluence of the River Dereen and the River Slaney. The capstone at Haroldstown is extremely interesting. The top of the boulder is scarred and weathered with channels which look like rivers and streams which all flow into one another. These channels are aligned parallel with the river 100 metres to the west. When the findings from the other tombs are analyzed a different picture emerges. The Linkardstown tumulus sits halfway between the sources of two streams one to the north-east which flows north and bends west and one to the south-east which flows south and bends west. Baunogenasraid stands flanked by two streams to the east and west which flow south to the river Burren approximately 1.5 kilometres from the site. Tibradden is to be found on a mountaintop flanked to the east and west by river valleys which flow in a north-westerly direction. With the tombs in Dublin there is little link with the coast despite its proximity to the tombs. In fact a deliberate attempt is made to avoid the coast in some sites such as Larch Hill and Kiltiernan where the coast can be viewed at a short walk away from the tomb. Mount Venus however looks straight out onto the sea and the same goes for Tibradden. All tombs are located in excellent farming landscapes except the Chambered cairn at Tibradden and the land immediately around Mount Venus. At Tibradden however, Kilmashogue Mountain, which forms the opposite side of the eastern valley, is topped with a Neolithic field system (www.archaeology.ie) while the wider land around Mount Venus is under pasture. Today the land around Ballynoe, Haroldstown and Kiltiernan is used for both pasture and tillage farming while the land around Kiltiernan and Larch Hill is under pasture. All the portal tombs can accommodate a large gathering with the largest flat space to the east of all the tombs except at Kiltiernan where the terrace is extremely small and narrow so a gathering space is flattest to the south. At Linkardstown an assembly can gather at the base of the hill to the south or on the relatively level land to the north, east and west of the burial site. Baunog is situated on a flat plain of land and so assemblies could gather all around the large tomb while at Tibradden, assembly is possible all around the wide mountaintop. Also there is no indication of specific approach points except for a river fording point of huge granite boulders at Ballynoe. Finally the stones used in the construction of the tombs appear to be of local source. All are of granite and situated in granite landscapes, a fact noted by O Nuallain (1983, 81-84).

The wider landscape produced the most exciting results by far and these can be seen in Appendix 4. Through the survey it was found that every single tomb surveyed, aligned with mountaintops in the landscape to the west, east and south except at Kiltiernan (west and south) and at Haroldstown (south, with small valley ridges highest points to east and west aligned with tomb). In addition to this the tombs often reflect the landscape with the highest point of the capstone aligned with the highest point in the landscape, and the sides of the tombs running parallel with ridges in the landscape. Nowhere is the former more evident than at Kiltiernan and at Brownshill. The latter can be seen at Haroldstown and Brownshill for example where the two ridges to the east and west of the tomb forming the small valleys in which the tombs are situated, run parallel with the sides of the tombs and the same thing occurs with the Castlecomer Plateau to the west at Brownshill. Not only are the tombs as a whole orientated with the landscape but points on the tombs themselves also align with mountains in the landscape. The highest points of the capstones as

previously stated often align with the highest points in the landscape (Figure 10). When sitting in the chamber of some tombs certain mountains in the landscape can be seen looking directly into the tomb such as at Ballynoe and Kiltiernan (Figure 11 & 12). At Tibbradden the tops of mountains appear to align with one another through an invisible line which crosses over the position of the tomb. An invisible line runs from Fairy Castle Mountain to the southeast, over to Cruagh Mountain to the Northwest. An invisible line also runs from the Hellfire hill, north-north-west across the tomb to the sparkling granite peak of the Great Sugarloaf Mountain to the south-south-west. The southern side of Baunog aligns beautifully with the landscape. When standing at the south-eastern point and looking in that direction, the point at which the Blackstairs Mountains appears to bend east into the Wicklow Mountains is visible while the south western point aligns with the point where the Blackstairs flows into the Castlecomer Plateau. This is an excellent example of the view of the landscape at each tomb. The landscape appears enclosed by a mixture of near and distant mountains, hills and valleys all flowing into one another either from the east or north-east down to the south and back up to the west or north-west in a giant U-shape with the landscape relatively open to the north in all cases except at Brownhill Dolmen and Kiltiernan Dolmen and at the two Linkardstown-type burials where a bowl shaped landscape occurs. At Brownhill, the bowl shaped landscape is formed by hilltops around the tomb but these are further enclosed by a U-shaped landscape behind the hills formed by the Wicklow Mountains to the east flowing into the Blackstairs Mountains to the south and back up towards the north through the Castlecomer Plateau to the west.

The consultation of the Ordnance Survey maps also revealed some interesting features. Standing stones survive in and around the same area as some of the portal tombs. This was first observed on the survey of Ballynoe when a standing stone was passed en route to the tomb. Subsequently the area around each tomb was studied on Ordnance Survey sheets 61 and Sheet 50. It occurs at most sites that a number of standing stones have been erected sometime in the past in close proximity to the tombs often on the other side of the valley possibility indicative of the now invisible access routes and pathways to the tombs.

The following section will now discuss the results from this survey in relation to one another while utilising the findings in published works in order to interpret the possibility of a standardised cult in the Neolithic period in Ireland and possibly overseas in the Welsh countryside.

Discussion

"Whatever definition one cares to use it can be said that the Neolithic was certainly established by 4000 BC in Ireland [introducing] a range of mortuary structures... including megalithic tombs" of stone (Cooney 2000, 14). By 2000 BC the beginnings of metallurgy in Ireland were being established bringing with it new cultural ideas and views of the world (O'Kelly 1989, 147). Portal tombs were among the first megalithic burials in Ireland and these grand statements of stone were among the first major human impacts on the Irish landscape. Radiocarbon dates from Poulabrone indicate a 600 year use of these sites between 3800-3200 BC spanning almost half of the Neolithic period. Pottery dating in Wales has prompted dates for site use there to between 3800-3500 BC (Waddell 1998, 91-92). These dates

however are based on those established at twenty three portal tombs; 4% of the total number of surviving tombs in Britain and Ireland (Kytmanow 2008, 109). Despite the possibility of bias from the small number of samples, it can be suggested that portal tomb construction was a tradition used for centuries rather than as a short-term phenomenon. The term "megalithic tomb", suggests that the primary function of these monuments was as a burial chamber. However the small sample of tombs excavated reveal that only a handful of individuals were interred under the massive capstones. At Poulabrone for example 22 individuals, men, women and children were buried in the chamber (Waddell 1998, 91), while an excavation at Glengesh in Co. Donegal produced almost no human remains at all except a few flecks of cremated bone (Kytmanow 2008, 90). Even if these sites were intended as tombs in the first place few people are venerated over a number of centuries even today or in the medieval period when documents allow for the survival of their memory often through use of propaganda and mythology also. The exceptions are those tied to religion and even their memory has relied on texts for their survival such as Muirchin's *Life of Saint Patrick* and of course the Bible. In the same way few buildings have a life span over a few hundred years old with continuous or renewed usage. Again the exception is most commonly those buildings with religious meanings or purposes which unite communities and populations together (Figure 13). Perhaps what we see today are the remains of some of the earliest human religious structures to stand on the face of the earth (Figure 14 & 15). Perhaps their original intention was as a temple to Neolithic gods and over time certain members of the community such as shaman (Figure 16) or the social elite (Figure 17) became important enough to be buried in the house of the gods. It may also be that certain members in Neolithic communities were revered due to a belief that they had healing powers or were in touch with the otherworld or even, like the story of Jesus some 3000 years later, it may have been possible that certain members of society were believed to be from the otherworld or god-like themselves. Upon their death their memory was passed on through the generations preserved by the visual impact the tombs of their descendants and other members of their community built for them. It may also be however, as stated by Cooney & Grogan, that they were intended as burial places, and "even if a tomb went out of burial use its presence in the landscape would have given it a continued significance and left it open to new interpretations and new meanings" by later generations (Cooney & Grogan 1994, 54). Either way it is clear that only certain members of Neolithic society were viewed as important enough to be interred in such monuments by their living contemporaries. Neolithic burial centred on the single burial including the Linkardstown-type burial. (Cooney & Grogan 1994, 54). Perhaps the Linkardstown type burials and the chambered cairn at Tibbradden represent those members of societies already discussed who were viewed as otherworldly or part of the social elite of the period. Indeed these sites are not the type where one can walk into like a temple such as the portal tombs, passage tombs and court cairns, rather they are sites locked away in the soil which provides the world around them with life. Instead of being interred with the gods they were given a mini temple of their own which was of course smaller than those to the gods themselves.

If any relationship existed in the Neolithic between the tombs and water, it certainly varied between tomb types judging by these examples. The portal tombs are sited close to one river or stream while the other types are flanked by two rivers or streams. While the chambered cairn and the Linkardstown type burials

were intended for one individual (Estyn Evans 1966, 111; Cooney 2000, 97), the excavation of portal tombs have often revealed multiple individuals such as at Poulabrone in Co. Clare (Cooney 2000, 96). Carlow is a landlocked county and this is reflected in the choice of townland names, where few refer to water. O Nuallain in *JRSAI Vol. 113* stated that his study "established [the] clear importance of coasts and rivers in the distribution pattern of portal tombs (O Nuallain 1983, 87). However this study has shown that in the case of Brownshill there is no apparent relationship between the tomb and any river with the closest, the River Burrin, located some 2 kilometres away. The closest water source is a stream some 500 metres away, however the landscape has changed dramatically since the Neolithic period and a small stream may not have existed 6000 years ago. In a similar way at Larch Hill and Kiltiernan the coast is deliberately avoided where a short walk away from the tombs brings the scenery of a beautiful Dublin Bay into view which would have been blessed with added visual appeal in a land with little human impact thousands of years before the establishment of Dublin by the Vikings; however the same cannot be said for Mount Venus, Haroldstown, Ballynoe or Tibbradden highlighting the complexity of Neolithic burial practices. It is possible however that later agricultural practice has since changed and infilled streams which once ran through or near the site. In the 6000 years since the sites construction, any memory of such water courses has since vanished with the dead.

In the course of survey as part of this extended essay, it has been found that the dominant link between all the tombs is the visibility and alignment of mountains with the tomb. It appears that the Neolithic people could build their tombs whatever way they wished as long as certain features of the landscape were observed. The highest points of some capstones point towards what is visually the highest mountain in the landscape. The tombs themselves reflect the shape of the landscape with the sides of the tombs running parallel with valleys or ridges to the east and west in the landscape. At Baunogenasraid the corners of the tomb align with points in the landscape where one mountain range ends and another begins. The landscape at every tomb is enclosed either in a bowl shape or in a U-shape which extends to the north with no obstacles in the view. Often the tomb is on the side of this bowl shaped or U-shaped landscape rather than in the centre which allows it to align with hilltops and mountain tops highlighting their importance to the positioning of the tombs. It even occurs at some tombs that a mountain looks into the tomb when one sits in the chamber. At Haroldstown a wide gap between the two capstones accommodates this while at Ballynoe a wide gap between the two eastern orthostats also allows a mountaintop view to enter the tomb to the east. "For farming communities the link with the land would have been critical, and what better way to express that bond than to build a special place to hold the ancestors and the leading members of preceding generations who had inhabited the land before them" (Cooney 1989, 53) or to house the gods. Surely a farming community would recognise the importance of the sky, with its light and rain, and the earth, with its minerals and life. For this reason they may have had a number of gods one for the sky and one for the land. Perhaps the rivers running through the landscape reflected the veins which visibly run under the human skin indicating to the Neolithic people that the land was a living thing like themselves but more powerful; a god. The land itself is undulating rising and falling with valleys, mountains, and hills and rolling plains. Of course mountains are the par excellence of the landscape which command the landscape ever watchful of what is happening below them. Perhaps mountains were regarded as the

residence of these Neolithic gods and so the tombs were placed where these gods could see them or even look into them like at Ballynoe. Even the chambered cairn which itself commands a high position and view of the landscape stands on a mountain which is dwarfed to the south by the towering Glendoo mountain which, despite its proximity to Tibbradden flits in and out of view eerily as mountain cloud floats past its peak and slopes. The sun rises in the east and sets in the west rolling across the sky to the south. The U-shaped or bowl shaped landscape appears to form a barrier which encloses sun light into the landscape around the tomb uniting both the sky gods and the land gods together surrounded by high walls which hold it in. By reflecting the bends in the enclosed landscape the tomb becomes one with the landscape and in turn one with the gods. It is evident from the survey positions away from the tomb that the landscape is no longer enclosed or mountain ranges have disappeared compared to the view from the monuments themselves. These clearly do not fit with the landscape and may have been seen as a scar on the body of their gods. When mountain ranges disappear the position becomes invisible to the gods from their thrones on the mountain tops of the landscape.

It would appear from these findings that a standardised cult did exist in the Neolithic. The fact that the enclosed or bowl shaped landscape is visible from all tombs is itself an indication that similar ideas were at play in the minds of tomb builders in the Neolithic. Also the fact that the tombs align with mountains, and the edges and sides of the tombs reflect the edges in the enclosed landscape, is another possible indication of a standardised cult. Variations between the design of the tombs and the burial practice would indicate that the cult was lenient to local traditions. The burial rite was variable possibly depending on local practices and traditions much the same as today. It would appear that like the different styles of Neolithic tombs, the builders could choose the design of their tomb, its size and the number of stones used in its design. This is similar to church design and construction today. Churches can be of different size and shape as long as they reflect the symbolism of their religion. In the same way Neolithic tombs could be designed in whatever way they wanted as long as they reflected the symbolism of their religion.

Conclusion

The tombs surveyed as part of this research project are but a scratch on the surface of the collection of tombs which still survive in Britain and Ireland today, without even beginning to consider the amount of tombs which have been destroyed in the 6000 years or so since their construction. When one considers that the dates for portal tombs relies on 23 examples, a mere 4% of the total that survive today (Kytmanow 2008, 109), it highlights the minor part these tombs play in a large-scale tradition. The methodology relied primarily on the survey of chosen tombs followed by secondary research and comparison to findings in published works. Many published works are centred on evidence from a far greater spread of tombs from right across Ireland and Wales which this survey entirely missed out on. O Nuallain lists 8 different tomb-building groups of which he lists the south-east and Dublin as separate (O Nuallain 1983, 75-82) while in the *Archaeological Inventory of County Carlow* the tombs of Carlow and Dublin are grouped together (Brindley & Kilfeather 1993, 1). The connection between portal tombs and water which has been cited as linked by previous surveys (O Nuallain 1983, 87) has hit a few problems in relation to this survey. It has often occurred that tomb types are seen to reflect cultural norms and so unusual tombs

are excluded from discussions as they do not reflect the picture that is being painted by the author. Survey and excavations show that every tomb has unique aspects (Cooney 2000, 93) and perhaps this is what is at play with the links to water and the design of portal tombs. This survey proposes that the landscape was what tomb-builders held in mind as they chose the location of their tombs. Perhaps the tombs needed to reflect the landscape so as to blend in with the body of their land god. Mountains provided the gods with positions from which to watch the land below them. For this reason the tombs were positioned so as many mountains as possible aligned with the tomb.

It is however interesting to note that the landscape features visible from the portal tombs in Carlow are similar to those found approximately 80 kilometres away in Dublin. Even more interesting is the same principle occurs at two different monument types, chambered cairns and Linkardstown type burials. The chambered cairn reflects an already established theory that the siting for portal tombs was aimed at lower altitudes while other tombs were sited on higher altitudes and on mountain tops. This is reflected in both the Dublin and Mourne Mountains (Cooney 2000, 145) and the Carlow tombs are all in lowland areas (O Nuallain 1983, 82).

As previously stated this survey is but a scratch on the surface of the megalithic tomb record in Ireland and Wales. With the occurrence of the enclosed landscape, the visibility of mountains and the reflection of the tomb of the landscape at all sites it suggests that the same ideas were at play in the siting of megalithic tombs through an established standardised cult which worshipped the landscape and the sun. This survey needs to be extended to those tombs in other parts of Ireland which form other groupings such as in the north, west and south (O Nuallain 1983, 75-82). It also needs to be extended to other monument types especially court tombs which are often believed to be the origins of portal tombs and often the same finds occur at both monument types (Flanagan 1998, 55; Waddell 1998, 91). The survey also needs to be extended to Wales and Cornwall where the tradition of megalithic tombs is reputed to have transferred over and back (Flanagan 1998, 56). Finally it would be very interesting to see if Neolithic settlements follow the same pattern as the tombs.

The variation in the design and the variation in the burial record from those tombs that have been excavated, indicates that a complex story is being told by our Neolithic ancestors who are regarded as primitive folk by so many in the general public today, who view the Neolithic as a time of primitive stone tools, wooden houses and small farming communities. However the archaeological record from the tombs combined with the sheer grandeur of the tombs themselves indicates that this was a complex society whose outlook and knowledge of the world around them was far more advanced than they are often credited for in the public eye. The variation in the number of stones, the capstone shape and size and the design of the portal tombs is testament to their original thinking, without even beginning to take into account the form and variations in the other tomb types from the Neolithic period. This research project is but a shadow in the face of the towering numbers of megalithic tombs in Ireland and Britain. Despite the small sample however, like a shadow is a reflection of a body when cast upon by light, this survey may be the shadow of a Neolithic cultic tradition.

Bibliography

- Brindley, A. & Kilfeather, A. 1993 *Archaeological Inventory of County Carlow*. Dublin; The Stationery Office. Pp 1-3
- Buckley, L & Buckley, V. "Ashes to ashes? The archaeology of cremation". In *Archaeology Ireland 1999 (13) (4)*. Wicklow; Archaeology Ireland Ltd. Pp 24-28
- Cooney, G. 1989 "*Life in the Neolithic*" In *Archaeology Ireland 1989 (3) (2)*. Dublin; Wordwell Ltd. Pp 51-54.
- Cooney, G. 2000 *Landscapes of Neolithic Ireland*. London & New York; Routledge. Pp 14-19; 92-99; 143-145
- Cooney, G. & Grogan, E. 2000 *Irish Prehistory: a social perspective*. Dublin; Wordwell Ltd. Pp 52-54
- Estyn Evans, E. 1966 *Prehistoric and Early Christian Ireland: A guide*. London; B T Batsford Ltd. Pp 63-64; 109-112
- Flanagan, L. 1998 *Ancient Ireland Life Before the Celts*. Dublin; Gill & Macmillan. Pp 55-60.
- Henrity, M. & Eogan, G. 1977 *Ireland in Prehistory*. London & New York; Routledge. Pp 85-93
- Kytmanow, T. 2008 *Portal Tombs in the Landscape The Chronology; Morphology and Landscape Setting of the Portal Tombs of Ireland, Wales and Cornwall*. BAR British Series 455. England; Archaeopress. 89-99; 100-116.
- Lynch, F. 2000 "The Earlier Neolithic". In F. Lynch et al. *Prehistoric Wales*. England; Sutton Publishing. Pp 70-73
- Malone, C. 2001 *Neolithic Britain and Ireland. USA & Britain; Tempus Publishing*. Pp 132-136.
- O hEochaidhe, M. 1957 "Cairn at Tibbradden, Co. Dublin"; Portal Dolmen at Kiltiernan, Co. Dublin. In Prof J.G.D. Clark et al. *Prehistoric Society Proceedings Vol.XXIII*. Cambridge; The University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Downing Street. Pp 221.
- O'Kelly, M.J. 1989 *Early Ireland an Introduction to Irish Prehistory*. United Kingdom; Cambridge University Press. Pp 147-149.
- O Nuallain, S. 1983 "Irish Portal Tombs: Topography, Siting and Distribution. In *JRSAI Vol 113*. Pp 75-105.
- Raftery, B. 1974 "A Prehistoric Burial Mound at Baunogenasraid Co. Carlow". In *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy Vol.74*. 277-312.
- Waddell, J. 1998 *The Prehistoric Archaeology of Ireland*. Galway; Galway University Press. Pp 1-7; 88-103; 140
- OS Sheet 61, Discovery Series Ireland
- OS Sheet 50, Discovery Series Ireland

CARLOW PORTAL TOMBS

Site Name	Brownhill Dolmen
Townland	Kernanstown
Area Code	-
SMR number	CW 007-010
OSI Grid Reference	S745 768
Survey Date	13-02-2010
Part of Complex?	Two further sites stood 45m to North and South of site recorded by Borlase in 1897 and planned by Margeret Stokes(Brindley & Kilfeather 1993, 2). No visible trace today
Excavation date if any	No excavations
Associated Finds	No finds



Site Name	Ballynoe
Townland	Ballynoe or Newtown
Area Code	-
SMR number	CW013-036
OSI Grid Reference	S856 692
Survey Date	27-02-2010
Part of Complex?	No but downriver of Haroldstown Tomb. 5 stones form semicircle set in ground to south east of tomb facing south
Excavation date if any	No excavations
Associated Finds	No finds



Site Name	Haroldstown
Townland	Haroldstown
Area Code	-
SMR number	CW 009-008
OSI Grid Reference	S901 774
Survey Date	17-03-2010
Part of Complex?	No visible traces of other tombs in vicinity. Up river of Ballynoe tomb.
Excavation date if any	No excavations
Associated Finds	No finds

DUBLIN PORTAL TOMBS

Site Name	Larch Hill/ Druids Alter
Townland	Kilmashogue
Area Code	Dublin 16
SMR number	DU025-006
OSI Grid Reference	O147 238
Survey Date	07-03-2010
Part of Complex?	Area heavily used in Neolithic. Top of Kilmashogue mountain has Neolithic field system. Surrounding mountain tops topped with Neolithic tombs
Excavation date if any	No excavation
Associated Finds	No finds



Site Name	Woodtown
Townland	Mount Venus
Area Code	Dublin 16
SMR number	DU025-002
OSI Grid Reference	O127 247
Survey Date	07-03-2010
Part of Complex?	No but surrounding landscape heavily used during Neolithic
Excavation date if any	No excavation
Associated Finds	No finds



Site Name	Kiltiernan
Townland	Kiltiernan Domain
Area Code	Dublin 18
SMR number	DU026-019
OSI Grid Reference	O198 224
Survey Date	18-03-2010
Part of Complex?	No but megalithic tombs on surrounding mountains.
Excavation date if any	Excavated in 1956 by Marcus O hEochaidhe in National Monuments Branch of the OPW as part of maintenance work (O hEochaidhe 1957, 221).
Associated Finds	Heavy coarse pottery fragments belonging to two vessels, flint scrapers, hollow based chert arrowhead(O hEochaidhe 1957, 221).

LINKARDSTOWN - TYPE BURIALS

Site Name	Linkardstown
Townland	Tinryland
Area Code	-
County	Carlow
SMR number	CW012-017
OSI Grid Reference	S746 708
Survey Date	28-02-2010
Part of Complex?	No visible signs of other tombs
Excavation date if any	Excavated 1944 by Barry Raftery. "Low circular mound 75cm high x 25m diameter with kerb of low stones and covered a large centrally-placed pit... Polygonal cist with large inward sloping granite blocks, roofed with two capstones and built on the old ground surface which formed the floor of the tomb" (Waddell 1998, 101)
Associated Finds	Disarticulated unburnt bones of adult male (with several fracture marks on skull) mixed with sherds of five incomplete bowls, polished stone axe. Most complete pot large round bottomed with grooved/channelled ornament. Other sherds from one plain vessel and three highly decorated vessels including two Bipartite bowls (Waddell 1998, 101)



Site Name	Baunog
Townland	Baunogenasraid
Area Code	-
County	Carlow
SMR number	CW008-031002
OSI Grid Reference	S794 741
Survey Date	16-03-2010
Part of Complex?	No
Excavation date if any	Excavated August/ September 1972 and April 1973 by Barry Raftery. Damaged tomb 18m diameter x 5m high with polygonal cist beneath (Raftery 1974, 277)
Associated Finds	Disarticulated bones of large adult male, decorated bowl, worked pointed piece of animal bone and small perforated lignite object possibly a toggle from the grave (Waddell 1998, 101-103)

CHAMBERED CAIRN

Site Name	Tibradden Chambered Cairn
Townland	Tibradden
Area Code	-
County	Dublin
SMR number	DU025-023001
OSI Grid Reference	O145 223
Survey Date	19-03-2010
Part of Complex?	Area extensively used during Neolithic period. Many surrounding visible hilltops have remains of Neolithic sites
Excavation date if any	Opened in 1849 with cairn only covering a central cist 3ft x 1.5ft but no reference to chamber in account. In 1956 conservation work confirmed a growing suspicion that the chamber and passage were constructed around 1850 to give access to the cist (Evans 1966, 111).
Associated Finds	Cremated bones with food vessel. Secondary urn burial also (Evans 1966, 111)



IMMEDIATE LANDSCAPE

Tomb	Water Audible	Near Water	Sloping land	Land quality (Agriculture)	Easily approached	Large Assembly	Local Stone
Brownshill	No	500m to stream 2km to river	Terrace on East sloping (gentle)	Excellent	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ballynoe or Newtown	Yes	40m to river	West sloping (gentle but near drop to river)	Excellent	Yes	Yes	Yes
Haroldstown	Yes (bridge echo)	River 100m West	West sloping (gentle in small valley)	Excellent	Yes	Yes	Yes
Larch Hill	No	River 200m to West	Terrace on steep west slope river valley	Sloped but field system on top of valley	Yes	Yes	Yes
Woodtown	No	River 200m to East. Dublin Bay visible to East	Large terrace on steep sloping valley side	Poor (rocky)	Not from South due to large cliff possibly due to later activity	Yes	Yes
Kiltiernan	No	Loughlinstown river to east	Tiny terrace on steep west sloping valley side	Poor due to large granite boulders and gorse but used for pasture.	Unable to determine from East and South due to gorse	Terrace to south or else on steep slope	Yes
Linkardstown	No	Stream 1km North-east and south west and	Hilltop sloping steeply south and north and gently west	Excellent (currently ploughed and used for orchard)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Baunog	No	Streams to east and west	No	Excellent	Yes	Yes	Yes
Tibradden	No	Water channels visible in both valleys. Dublin Bay visible	Terrace on steep valley side close to steep drop to East	Poor	Up steep mountain but easily lost in mountain fog	Only on terrace to South. Also on higher terrace to West	Yes

WIDESPREAD LANDSCAPE

Tomb	Mountain visibility	Water Visibility	Mountain alignments	Highest points aligned (landscape-tomb)	Tomb mimics landscape shape	View enclosed from East-West-South	View open to North
Brownshill	Blackstairs to S, Wicklow Mtns to E, CCP to W	No	Direct alignment with tops of hills to E, W and S. NE tip of tomb points to Lug na Coille, SE tip points to Mt Leinster. Tomb aligned with valley. Round back of tomb aligned with curve of CCP	Yes highest point of Dolmen to SE points to Mt Leinster (visibly highest mtn in landscape). NE tip points to Lug na Coille	SE tip points to Mt Leinster. Tomb sides aligned with valley sides to E & W. Round back of tomb aligned with curve of CCP to W	Entire landscape enclosed in bowl shape	Entire landscape enclosed in bowl shape
Ballynoe or Newtown	Blackstairs to S, Wicklow Mtns to E, CCP to W	River Dereen visible to N, W and SW.	Eastern tip of capstone and pillarstone points to E to Wicklow Mtn. Wicklow Mtn looks into chamber from directly E. NE tip of capstone points to high hill to NE.	S point of capstone points to Mt Leinster	Highest point on capstone points to highest visual mountain. Rounded side of capstone runs parallel with river and CCP to W. Capstone sides aligned with valley to E & W. Bends in capstone mimic landscape bends.	Landscape appears in a bowl shaped landscape	Landscape appears in a bowl shaped



Tomb	Mountain visibility	Water Visibility	Mountain alignments	Highest points aligned (landscape-tomb)	Tomb mimics landscape shape	View enclosed from East-West-South	View open to North
Haroldstown	Mountains visible South of tomb. Lug na Coille visible to NE. High valley to East and West with a wide floor in which the tomb sits dominate the view on those sides	River not visible but channel cut by river is visible	Large mountain to South looks into chamber through gap between the capstones.	No	Tomb narrowest to N mimicking narrow point where landscape extends. River flows S bends W before bending S again. NW corner of tomb aligns with second bend and tomb N and W sides run parallel with river. Tomb runs parallel with valley to E & W. Grooves on capstone run parallel with river	Yes land completely enclosed from NE-E-SE-S-SW-W-NW	Yes land opens in narrow tunnel like a gully running through the valley and opening out to the North
Larch Hill	Top of Kilmashogue mtn visible to E. Montpelier hill to W of tomb. Continuous ridge appears to occur from Kilmashogue to Montpelier going S	No but located in river valley	Chamber is on invisible line between Kilmashogue and Montpelier. Edge of North orthostat aligned with point where landscape opens	No (collapsed)	Hard to judge due to collapsed state but sides of tomb do run parallel with the valley	Yes continuous ridge appears to exist from E-S-W	Yes

WIDESPREAD LANDSCAPE CONT'D

Tomb	Mountain visibility	Water Visibility	Mountain alignments	Highest points aligned (landscape-tomb)	Tomb mimics landscape shape	View enclosed from East-West-South	View open to North
Woodtown	Dalkey Island clearly visible off coast to East. Mountain and ridges begin at coast to SE coming around to S and back up along W running N	Coast visible to NE	Top of Dalkey Island to East aligns with Montpelier to W running over Dolmen. Three Rock to SE aligns in SW axis with Montpelier over tomb also Tibradden and Kilmashogue look into chamber from S.	No (severely collapsed)	Despite collapse earth fast eastern side of tomb runs parallel with coast and S side runs parallel with narrow gully formed by mountains to W and coast to E	Land enclosed by mountains from ESE at coast to W along the S by an almost continuous ridge of mountains.	Yes but not visible from site due to formation of mound around site.
Kiltiernan	Mountains and ridges all around from SE -S-W running N. Top of hill immediately East indicated by rise in gorse overgrowth. Land almost extends to N except slight rise in hill 100m away. Visibility to SE slightly hindered by gorse	No	Western tip of capstone points to Three Rock Mtn. Two Rock is immediately W of position. Mountain immediately S.	Best example of this occurrence is at this site. Three Rock Mtn is highest point in landscape and the rise in the capstone points directly at this	Highest point of capstone points to highest point in landscape. The tombs and capstone align with the capstone with the corners of the tomb aligned with the corners of the landscape	Landscape appears entirely closed	Landscape appears entirely closed



Tomb	Mountain visibility	Water Visibility	Mountain alignments	Highest points aligned (landscape-tomb)	Tomb mimics landscape shape	View enclosed from East-West-South	View open to North
Linkardstown	CCP clearly visible running SW-W-NW. Slope ends to NW where landscape opens but closes again the NE with large hilltops from E-SE which slope off to S revealing Blackstairs to S which run back into CCP	No	Highest hilltop in landscape is directly E. Highest points of CCP are directly W. Directly S is the second highest hilltop in the landscape.	-	No	Landscape completely enclosed from NE-E-SE-S-SW-W-NW	Landscape opens out and extends to N
Baunog	Large hilltop to N runs E which slopes revealing the Wicklow Mtns running S bending at a SE point into the Blackstairs from the SE-SW which flow into the CCP running along the W before flowing back into N hilltop	No	Mount Leinster is directly S of tomb. Two Wicklow Mtns with ridge between them forming "M" shape lie directly E. Large hilltop stands directly N	-	Whole tomb is aligned with landscape. SE & SW corners align with where Blackstairs to S bends into the Wicklow Mtns to E and CCP to W. E and W side run parallel with ridges of land formed by hills and Wicklow Mtns to E and CCP to W	Yes	Yes

WIDESPREAD LANDSCAPE CONT'D

Tomb	Mountain visibility	Water Visibility	Mountain alignments	Highest points aligned (landscape-tomb)	Tomb mimics landscape shape	View enclosed from East-West-South	View open to North
Tibradden	Mountains visible from E-SE-S-W-NW. Howth and Dalkey Island visible off coast.	Coastline visible from NE-E. River gulley also visible on Cruagh Mtn to W flowing E towards coast.	Fairy Castle lies directly E of position. This aligns with Cruagh Mtn directly to the West also. Glendoo Mtn towers to the S. Hellfire and Great Sugar Loaf	-	Tomb is circular	Land entirely enclosed from from E-S-W-NW by mountains and ridges flowing into one another	Land extends breathtakingly to the N
Tibradden	Mountains visible from E-SE-S-W-NW. Howth and Dalkey Island visible off coast.	Coastline visible from NE-E. River gulley also visible on Cruagh Mtn to W flowing E towards coast.	Fairy Castle lies directly E of position. This aligns with Cruagh Mtn directly to the West also. Glendoo Mtn towers to the S. Hellfire and Great Sugar Loaf align NNW – SSE across tomb. Dublin Bay to E appears as a reversed landscape enclosed at the top and open at the bottom	-	Tomb is circular	Land entirely enclosed from from E-S-W-NW by mountains and ridges flowing into one another	Land extends breathtakingly to the N
Total	9/9	4/9	9/9	3/6	7/9	9/9	9/9



NORTHERN POSITIONS - IMMEDIATE LANDSCAPE

Tomb	Water Audible	Near Water	Sloping land	Land quality (Agriculture)	Easily approached	Large Assembly	Local Stone
Brownshill	No	500m to stream 2km to river	Terrace on land sloping down to E	Excellent (tillage)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ballynoe or Newtown	No	50m west to river	Steep slope up to N-E and down to W & S	Excellent (tillage)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Haroldstown	Yes	Riverbank next to River Dereen	Flat land dropping 1m into river	Excellent but susceptible to flooding	Yes	Yes but not to N	Yes
Larch Hill	No	River 400m to West	Steep slope down to W	Sloped but field system on top of valley	Yes	Yes	Yes
Woodtown	No	River 300m to East. Dublin Bay visible to East	Steep slope down to E	Poor (rocky)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Kiltiernan	No	Loughlinstown river tributary down slope to west	Extremely undulating extremely steep slope down to W	Covered in granite boulders and gorse	Yes	Undulating surface hinders gathering	Yes
Linkardstown	No	Stream 1km Northeast and southwest	Gentle W & S sloping land	Abandoned field but reeds indicate waterlogging	Yes	Yes	Yes
Baunog	No	Stream to east and west	No	Excellent	Yes	Yes	Yes
Tibradden	No	Dublin Bay to East. Position on side of river valley	Terrace on steep sloping valley side down to E. Close to drop and steep incline to E	Poor	Yes but easily lost in mountain fog	Assembly to South. Also to West on higher terrace.	Yes

SOUTHERN POSITIONS - IMMEDIATE LANDSCAPE

Tomb	Water Audible	Near Water	Sloping land	Land quality (Agriculture)	Easily approached	Large Assembly	Local Stone
Brownshill	No	500m to stream 2km to river	Gentle slope to south and east lower than tomb	Excellent (ploughed field)	Yes	Yes but on slope	Yes
Ballynoe or Newtown	Barely if total silence	River Dereen to west approx 100m	North and west sloping land	Excellent (pasture)	Yes	Yes but slope steepens to NW	Yes
Haroldstown	Yes (bridge echo)	River 100m West	West sloping (gentle in small valley)	Excellent (pasture)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Larch Hill	No	River 200m to West	Terrace on steep west slope river valley	Sloped but field system on top of valley	Yes (natural gully to North leads to position)	Yes	Yes
Woodtown	Denied access	Denied access	Denied access	Denied access	Denied access	Denied access	Denied access
Kiltiernan	No	Loughlinstown river tributary down slope to west	Undulating steep west slope on valley side	Heavily gorse overgrown.	No visible signs due to gorse overgrowth	Position too steep for assembly	Yes
Linkardstown	No	Stream 1km Northeast and southwest	At foot of hill sloping steeply N to cist site	Excellent (currently ploughed and used for orchard)	Yes	Best to south	Yes
Baunog	No	Stream to east and west	No	Excellent (pasture)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Tibradden	No	Glendoo tributary visible to west cutting down mountain side	Extremely steep west sloping valley side	Poor (heather)	Steep climb and easily lost in mountain fog	No due to slope	Yes



EASTERN POSITIONS - IMMEDIATE LANDSCAPE

Tomb	Water Audible	Near Water	Sloping land	Land quality (Agriculture)	Easily approached	Large Assembly	Local Stone
Brownshill	No	500m to stream 2km to river	Bottom of gentle slope from Dolmen	Excellent (tillage)	Yes all land slopes to position	Yes but surrounding land slightly higher	Yes
Ballynoe or Newtown	Yes	160m west to river	Terrace on uphill slope to N, S & E but down to W	Excellent (tillage/pasture field boundary)	Yes	Sloped. Best assembly to west	Yes
Haroldstown	No	River 200m West	West sloping valley slide (steep)	Excellent (pasture)	Yes	Yes but on steep slope	Yes
Larch Hill	No	River 300m to West	Extremely steep west slope	Steep so only suitable for animals	Yes but with effort	No due to severity of slope	Yes
Woodtown	No	River 200m to East. Dublin Bay visible to East	Steep east slope on valley side	Poor (rocky)	Yes	Yes but on steep slope	Yes
Kiltiernan	No	Loughlinstown river tributary down slope to west	On top of valley hill	Gorse overgrown and poached due to cattle	Approached easily in all directions except South due to gorse	Large assembly possible	Yes
Linkardstown	No	Stream 1km Northeast and southwest	Position slopes south	Excellent (currently ploughed and used for orchard)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Baunog	No	Stream to east and west	No	Excellent (pasture)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Tibradden	No	River Glin at bottom of valley	Position on small terrace on east sloping valley side	Poor	Yes	Assembly possible to East on terrace	Yes

WESTERN POSITIONS - IMMEDIATE LANDSCAPE

Tomb	Water Audible	Near Water	Sloping land	Land quality (Agriculture)	Easily approached	Large Assembly	Local Stone
Brownshill	No	500m to stream 2km to river	Side of steep slope up to west	Excellent	Yes	Yes but on slope	Yes
Ballynoe or Newtown	Yes	On Riverbank	Flat shelf immediately next to river which rises to east extremely sharply	Poor susceptible to flooding	Yes	No	Yes
Haroldstown	Yes	On riverbank	Flat area next to river	Excellent but susceptible to flooding	Yes	Yes to South and East	Yes
Larch Hill	No	River 100m to west	Relatively steep slope down to Weston valley side	Sloped but field system on top of valley	Yes	Yes	Yes
Woodtown	No	Owendoher river 100m east of position	Flat surface above steep slope to modern levelled carpark	Surrounding land bad for agriculture	Yes	Large gathering possible to North	Yes
Kiltiernan	No	Loughlinstown river tributary down slope to west	Near bottom of steep west sloping valley side	Land under pasture	Yes	Assembly possible but on steep slope	Yes
Linkardstown	No	Stream 1km Northeast and southwest	Small terrace on land sloping down to West	Excellent (currently ploughed and used for orchard)	Yes	Heavily sloped but open	Yes
Baunog	No	Stream to east and west	No	Excellent	Yes	Yes	Yes
Tibradden	No	Glendoo tributary on opposite mountainside	Extremely steep slope down to west on valleyside	Poor	No easily lost in mountain fog	No assembly possible due to slope severity	Yes



NORTHERN POSITIONS - WIDESPREAD LANDSCAPE

Tomb	Mountain visibility	Water Visibility	Mountain alignments	View enclosed from East-West-South	View open to North
Brownshill	Blackstairs Mountains and tail end of Castlecomer Plateau. Most of Wicklow mountains invisible	No	Benekerry hilltop directly to South. Mount Leinster to South east	Almost. Gap appears in landscape between end of Castlecomer Plateau and Benekerry hill	No bowl shaped
Ballynoe or Newtown	Blackstairs to South and tips of CCP to West. Wicklow mountains invisible	River visible to South west	Mountain top in Blackstairs only alignment	Opens to Northwest and to south east. Whole landscape appears to flow into river	No hilltop to North open to southeast and northwest
Haroldstown	No mountains visible	Yes river flows east-west beside position	No mountains visible	No extends to East	Yes
Larch Hill	Mountains to West, South west and South. Top of valley to East	No	Montpelier directly West of position only alignment	Extends in gap between Montpelier and Cruagh Mountain to West	Yes
Woodtown	Dalkey Island & Howth to E. Mtns from S-NW form ridge	Dublin Bay and Liffey Estuary to E	Tibradden to S. Dalkey Isl. And Montpelier align across position	No land to E and NE and wide gaps in mountains to south	Yes but not clearly due to slope
Kiltiernan	Mountains to South and West	No	Two Rock Mtn to W.	No opens out to East and gap appears in mountains to South	Yes
Linkardstown	CCP runs NW-W-SW. Hilltops to SE and E	No	Hilltop to E	Gaps to S and between SE and E hilltops	Yes
Baunog	Blackstairs S-SE. CCP to W. Hilltop in field to N-NE-E	No	Mount Leinster to S. Hilltop to E & NE in field blocks view	U- shaped but opens to NW rather than North	No
Tibradden	Mtns to NE & E. Tip of mountain to S & NW. No view to S-SW-W.	Coast and Dublin Bay to NE	Fairy Castle to E	Yes enclosed by valley	Yes

SOUTHERN POSITIONS - WIDESPREAD LANDSCAPE

Tomb	Mountain visibility	Water Visibility	Mountain alignments	View enclosed from East-West-South	View open to North
Brownshill	Only Blackstairs visible to S.	No	Blackstairs to SE and hilltop to S	Yes by hilltops and Blackstairs to S	No enclosed in bowl shape by gentle slope
Ballynoe or Newtown	Same as at Dolmen except two Wicklow mtns appear to E and W hilltop not aligned	River visible to and SW	Small Wicklow Mtns to E but dwarfed by mountain which aligns with tomb.	Yes but completely enclosed except to NW	No enclosed but opens to NW
Haroldstown	Mtns to S, SE and NE. Hilltops to NE & NW indicate top of valley	River only noticeable by field boundary	Mountain to S only alignment	Enclosed from NE-E-S-SW. Opens to W and in gap to SE between mountains and valley top	Yes
Larch Hill	Mtns to SW, W & NW	No	Cruagh Mtn to W only alignment	Enclosed completely except to NNW	Enclosed completely except to NNW
Woodtown	Denied access	Denied access	Denied access	Denied access	Denied access
Kiltiernan	Mtns to S & W. Gorse blocks view to N & E	No	Two Rock to W	N passage between mountains to S	Gorse to overgrown to judge
Linkardstown	Blackstairs partially visible to S. CCP to W	No	Eastern hilltop barely visible aligns with position	No, land is entirely uneven and broken up. CCP only enclosure	No completely enclosed by cist site
Baunog	Blackstairs to S-SE. Wicklow Mtns to E, CCP to W	No	Hilltop to N. Mt Leinster to S. No E alignment. CCP to W	No landscape opens to E	No but opens out to NW
Tibradden	Mtns SE-NW to W. No view to E or N	No	Glendoo to S & Cruagh to W.	Enclosed completely by valley except for passage between two mtns to NW	No



EASTERN POSITIONS - WIDESPREAD LANDSCAPE

Tomb	Mountain visibility	Water Visibility	Mountain alignments	View enclosed from East-West-South	View open to North
Brownshill	Blackstairs to S very visible. No other Mtns visible.	No	Mt Leinster directly S of position	Position at bottom of bowl shaped landscape	No landscape bowl shaped
Ballynoe or Newtown	Blackstairs to SE. Top of CCP to W. Tip of Wicklow Mtn to E	No	No features align with position	Landscape completely enclosed except to NW	Landscape completely enclosed except to NW
Haroldstown	Mountains to SE and NE	River indicated only by field boundary	No features align with position	No enclosed to E & W in gulley extending to N & S	Yes
Larch Hill	Mountain to W, SW, ENE	Edge of coast barely visible to NNE	Montpelier directly West of position	Landscape enclosed all around except to NW	No opens out to NW
Woodtown	Dalkey Island to E. Mountains to S & W	Coast visible to E and Dublin Bay	No alignments except Liffey Estuary directly E	Coast runs from E-NE	No immediate slope blocks view to N
Kiltiernan	Mountains to W. No view to S due to gorse	No	No alignments	No extends to E and N	Yes
Linkardstown	Hilltop to E. CCP to SW. All mtns disappear behind hills close by	No	Large hilltop to E only alignment	Landscape uneven with distant hills disappearing behind close ones	Yes and also to NW
Baunog	Mtns to E & S. CCP to W. Hilltop to N barely visible	No	Barely visible mtn to E. Slieve Bawn in Blackstairs directly S but dwarfed by Mt Leinster	Landscape completely enclosed	Landscape completely enclosed
Tibradden	Mtns to NE, E & SE. No view to W due to terrace	Coast and Dublin Bay visible to E	Fairy Castle directly E. Cloughnaghun to S	No large gap between mountains to SE allows visibility of coastline	Yes

WESTERN POSITIONS - WIDESPREAD LANDSCAPE

Tomb	Mountain visibility	Water Visibility	Mountain alignments	View enclosed from East-West-South	View open to North
Brownshill	Blackstairs to S. Wicklow Mtns to E. CCP disappears	No	No visible alignments from position	Landscape entirely closed	Landscape entirely closed
Ballynoc or Newtown	Blackstairs to S all other mountains hidden	Bends in river visible to NW and SW	Mount Leinster to S only alignment	Landscape entirely closed cut by river in middle	Landscape entirely closed cut by river in middle
Haroldstown	Mountains to SE. Valley tops to E & W	River immediately beside position	No features are in direct alignment with the position	No landscape enclosed to E & W but extends to N & S	No landscape enclosed to E & W but extends to N & S
Larch Hill	Mtns to W and SW	No	Montpelier directly West of position	No landscape extends to S between Kilmashogue and Tibbradden	Yes
Woodtown	Mtns to W-SW & SE-S	Coast visible from SE-NE	No feature directly align with the position	Landscape enclosed from SE-W. Coast from SE-NE	Yes
Kiltiernan	Mtns from NW-W-S. Valley ridge from NE-S	No	Two Rock Mtn to W	No opens between Mtns to S and to NW	No but opens to NW
Linkardstown	CCP from NW-W-SW. Hilltops to S	No	Hilltop to S only visible alignment	Landscape open to E and N	Yes
Baunog	Mtns E-SE-S. CCP to W. Hilltop to N	No	Tomduff (small mtn at end of Blackstairs to S). Wicklow mtn to E	Landscape almost fully enclosed except to NW	Landscape almost fully enclosed except to NW
Tibradden	Mtns from S-W-NW. Mtn to NW	Glendoo tributary visible on opposite side of valley	Cruagh Mtn to W.	Landscape completely enclosed except to NW	Landscape completely enclosed except to NW



1940s view (looking south) of the bridge in Leighlin.
 Courtesy: Mr Jer Monaghan

“A RICH VARIETY: SHOPS AND SHOPKEEPERS IN AN IRISH PROVINCIAL TOWN, 1850 – 1920.”

Carmel Flahavan

The variety of commodities available to online shoppers today and also the phenomenal growth of shopping centres and suburban malls may give the impression that shopping was a rather dull experience in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A study of commercial life at that time however reveals that on the contrary there was a rich variety of goods available in the local shops. Furthermore there was an emphasis on quality and excellence of service which must have added greatly to the shopping experience for the customer. Shopkeepers knew their local customers well and made time to talk and exchange local news. Another factor which is interesting is that shopkeepers used very similar marketing techniques in the advertising of their wares as they do today. They held regular clearance sales, announced the arrival of the latest fashions and enticed the shoppers with superlative turns of phrase. However even as early as 1850 things were changing fast and the local shopkeepers no longer had exclusive access to the local customer base...As we will see the coming of the railway was a major factor in the growth of this competition in the retail market in Carlow. The town was linked as early as 1846 with Dublin and by this time Sir John Benjamin MacNeill had designed a fine station house. In addition, William Dargan who had worked with MacNeill on the development of the railway line was born close enough to Carlow to be considered a native. In 1850 Carlow town could boast significant public buildings and in the vicinity were a number of fine houses occupied by the landed gentry. The surrounding farm land was rich and extremely arable. Trades and professions were strongly represented in the town also. The less fortunate poor were housed in the workhouse which was situated on the Kilkenny Road. The main shopping streets of Carlow were Tullow Street and Dublin Street and at their crossing point continued respectively as Castle Street and Burrin Street. Some businesses were also to be found in Carlow Graigue – a suburb built on the far side of the River Barrow and known today as Graiguecullen.

In the 1850's Thomas Edwards had a Book, Stationery and General Fancy Warehouse in Dublin Street. He appeared to classify his stock as being from his "Housekeepers List" or "Medicine List." The former featured provisions such as jellies and jams, Dundee marmalade and real Irish mustard but also more unusual products like pickled walnuts. This list also included household items such as sweeping and scouring brushes and Batt's knife powder. Mr. Edwards obviously catered for the horse owner as he stocked stable sponges and Harris' harness paste as well. The medicines list included the familiar items like cod liver oil and cough lozenges but also De Roo's renal pills and a mysterious item known as the "Poor Man's Friend". The same Thomas Edwards also announced that large consumers of stationery would have the same advantage purchasing from him as they would from the Dublin stores. With the arrival of summer the same store sold Bewley and Evans Lemonade, Soda Water and Seltzer Water as well as other soft drinks. In November he proudly announced fresh supplies of the new paraffin oil lamp which would give a light as cheap as gas and the lighting power of four candles.

Luxury items were sold at Rowe's licensed watchmaker and jeweller also in Dublin Street. Here one could find English, American, French and German clocks, wedding rings, brooches and pins and more amazingly musical instruments. At Graigue

Bridge was situated the new ironmongery warehouse belonging to a Mr. E. Clarke. This shop owner was at pains to point out that his kitchen fire ranges were being sold "under Dublin prices" and had gained the approval of local gentlemen notably Mr. Herring Cooper of Shrule Castle in the vicinity of Graiguecullen. This same gentleman attested to the fact that only two and a half stoness of coal was consumed by the range between the hours of six o'clock a.m. and ten o'clock p.m. This testimony perhaps said as much about the length of the servants' day as the quality of the product.

Lawrence M'Caul was a merchant tailor and clothier in Burrin Street. This shop cannot have been long in existence in 1858 as Mr. M'Caul thanks his numerous friends and customers for patronage extended to him since his commencement in business. His excellent and elegant goods included fur beavers, Shetland and Angola tweeds and Irish friezes. With the Christmas season approaching Thomas Edwards was now the purveyor of Directories and Almanacs, and a selection of books dear to the Victorian family – Bibles and prayer books and childrens books too. His list of sundries might well be called stocking fillers and these included diaries and pocket books, scrap books and fruit knives as well as a variety of sweet confectionery, jams and jellies. With the turning of the year Mr. Edwards' stock for 1859 featured a splendid assortment of bog oak ornaments.

Bread and butter issues were catered for too when Patrick O'Farrell of Tullow Street announced that you could see your bread weighed at his establishment and that furthermore there was a greater reduction in the price of his 2lb and 4lb loaves at two and a half pence and five pence respectively. Mr. Walshe at his timber, slates and coal yard at Carlow Graigue was very anxious to call the public's attention to the quality of the local timber and slate. His advice to prospective building customers was to buy in stocks of materials with little delay as possible due to the likely price rises in timber due to advances in first cost and freight. Samuel Haughton offered similar merchandise at his timber, slate deal and tile stores in Carlow. He announced very low prices in fire clay goods and his tile list was extensive. Ridge, flooring, octagon and angle tiles were all available and he also operated a saw mill from which he could supply scantlings at short notice.

The latest fashions were obviously in rich variety in Carlow in the late 19th century. Henry Banks of Tullow Street stocked beautiful dresses, mantles, shawls, ribbons and trimmings as well as bonnets, furs, plumes, jewellery and flowers. The same Mr. Banks must have had a thriving business as he had earlier advertised for two smart youths, respectably educated as apprentices to the general drapery trade and he also required to engage a young girl as an outdoor apprentice for his millinery branch. It is to be noted therefore that it was probable that the wealthy local ladies could avail of hat selections and fittings in the privacy of their own homes. At the same time as the said Mr. Banks was advertising his wares he and his Carlow contemporaries could well have found themselves in competition with Benjamin Hyam a Dublin outfitter who endeavoured to gain the custom of country customers who might purchase superior clothing at his premises at a little than half the usual cost following a pleasant railway excursion at low fares. The railways

he added were now spreading out in all directions.

With the arrival of a new decade householders or at least those who could afford it could look forward to considerable opportunities for modern home improvements. Mr. J.C. Deighton of Tullow Street proclaimed that he was now prepared to supply and install water closets, baths and hot water apparatus. His extensive stock included the said water closets as well as brass grates, hand basins, metal troughs for laundry and a range of gas light fittings of every description. The householder could choose from single, double or treble light pendants, hall lamps and a variety of foreign gas shades in cup, globe, saucer and other plain or ornamental designs. He also stocked the patent atmospheric bell which was easily fitted up requiring he stated neither cranks, springs or wire. Meanwhile also in Tullow street, the Scotch House under the ownership of J. Henderson was announcing the alteration and extension of that premises. Fancy dresses, printed muslins, bonnets and ribbons and hosiery and gloves were accordingly to be sold at reduced prices. Later the same proprietor was announcing the arrival of new and fashionable goods at the full reduction in consequence of the recent alteration in the French Tariff. The customers thus elegantly attired could perhaps, take themselves off to the newly opened portrait rooms in Tullow Street. Here photographic likenesses could be taken each Monday from 8 o'clock until dusk and the resulting portrait taken home in a neat gilt frame from prices of one shilling. The same photographer was offering likenesses taken on leather for transmission by post and according to the "American principle".

The Furniture Warehouse was situated at 44, Dublin Street. The owner sold new and second hand furniture. He proclaimed that he was determined not to be undersold by any house in Dublin. Furthermore he made hair mattresses and repaired old ones. His furniture stock included drawing room, parlour and bedroom chairs, easy chairs in walnut and mahogany, Albert bedsteads in American birch and camel backed couches in walnut and so on in endless variety.

Mr. Thomas Edwards of Dublin Street announced that he could supply the Dublin papers on the morning of publication and what's more he would deliver them free within the borough of Carlow. He also stocked weekly titles among them being "The Welcome Guest", The Halfpenny Journal and the London Herald. As the year 1861 closed the same Mr. Edwards stocked almanacks and directories. His stock of books classed as "remainder" were being sold off at half price and new titles at a discount of 33 and a half per cent or one third less than their list price. The three for two was obviously still a long way off!

In October 1874, a Miss Baker from London opened here French Millinery and Ladies' Hatter business at 49, Dublin Street. Here she displayed the latest Paris styles. The Misses Nolan also stocked millinery, felt and straw hats and bonnets. They also stocked a fine selection of black and coloured silks and poplins and homespun tweeds. Here one could also purchase French and Danish kid gloves as well as mantles and shawls. They also ran a dressmaking business. In the meantime in Tullow Street W.H. Boyd was announcing the arrival of new goods at the Old Glasgow Boot & Show Warehouse where his prices defied competition.

In December 1875, the Old Scotch House drapery store reopened under the ownership of another firm. Cullen & Company were the new proprietors of this old established premises. In addition to the usual range of haberdashery and fabrics the customer could also purchase household goods such as flannels, blankets, quilts and linens, sheetings and towellings. Their inspection was respectfully solicited.

The Christmas trade was also well supplied by John McQuaide at his premises in Dublin Street known as the Stamp Office. Here he supplied a range of stationery and account books,

Christmas and New Year cards and almanacks and annuals for the coming year. Christmas gift items of a more luxurious sort were to be found at W. M. Douglas where watches clocks and jewellery could be purchased. Two beautifully toned musical boxes playing eight and ten tunes were also to be seen in their Carlow establishment

At Christmas time 1876, Michael Molloy's Irish Woollen Warehouse at 24 Tullow Street carried a large stock of blankets, flannels, winceys, tweed, cords and calicoes suitable for charitable purposes. Here too the Princess of Wales' machines were available for sale or hire. Louisa Price sold Catholic Directories and Latin Ordos as well as school books at her premises on Dublin Street.

Building requisites were to the fore as the 1870's drew to a close. Albert Morris builders' ironmonger and house furnishing had high quality cutlery in stock including Joseph Rodgers ivory handled table knives and tea and coffee services in genuine electro-plated nickel services. The bridal lists were obviously well furnished in this store.

Peter Belton at his warehouse sold a similar range of goods with the addition of saddlery of all kinds and he also proclaimed himself as an agent for Pierce's Patent Fan Bellows. The famous firm Pierce and Company of Wexford also reopened their Mill Road Iron Works premises in Carlow as an agricultural machine and implement factory. There the new combined machine and one horse combined machine served the needs of the Carlow farming community. Inner health was catered for at Mrs. Morton's in Dublin Street where one could purchase Epsom salts and almost every description of known patent medicines.

As the nineteenth century reached its closing decades retailers became bolder in stating their prices. They also adopted newer marketing techniques – for example Michael Molloy advertised men's shirts at one and sixpence each but worth two and sixpence. He also sold ladies' umbrellas at one shilling each which he declared to be "great value". He had an enormous quantity of drapery and hosiery items and dress and mantle making were available on the premises too. Shopkeepers increasingly advertised their wares in lots. Mr. & Mrs. Thomas Murphy stocked a lot of 65 pairs of blankets and 75 pieces of Irish tweed. They even stated that they had bought very cheap a lot of blue beaver overcoats with velvet collar with warranted fast colours which they would sell at nineteen and sixpence but actually worth thirty shillings. They also executed wedding and mourning orders with punctuality. T.F. Markey conducted another ready-made and outfitting warehouse in Dublin Street where it would recompense purchasers to come and see for themselves. Michael Molloy also offered "Desperate Bargains" at the time of his purchase of the stock of Thomas Cullen who had retired from business. Mrs. Dowling ran a wonderful emporium at her new address in Castle Street. While her speciality was in millinery she also sold ladies' alpaca umbrellas, childrens' fur coats from three shillings and sixpence and infants' wool hoods from ninepence which she declared to be the best value in town. Alexander Smyth of Tullow Street offered a selection of long wear and low priced boots for the winter trade. W.J. Ross stocked hats, caps, shirts, collars and scarves at their premises in Dublin Street. T.F. Markey advertised fur muffs and fur and feather boas as well as the more commonly found tweed jackets, capes and ulsters. Nicholas P. Roche had an opening sale at the Leinster Woollen Hall also in Dublin Street. By the end of the nineteenth century there was no shortage of outfitters in Carlow with a variety of goods to sell for men, women and children.

But the public did not live on clothing alone and so it was necessary to advertise food and drink also. The London and Newcastle Tea Company had a branch in Carlow where they sold

their pure Indian tea, a wide range of new season's jams and sweets and biscuits in infinite variety. They claimed to use facts in their advertisements rather than humbug where as they said - in advertising a lot of talk is freely used! Mr. James Morris ran a family grocers in Carlow where Doomvera tea was readily available. A household name in Carlow was the Corcoran & Company mineral water firm who could proclaim that they had received gold medal and diploma for their various soft and alcoholic drinks including lemonade, double soda water and aromatic ginger ale to name but a few. Their works at Wellington Square, Carlow had been established as early as 1827.

And so the new twentieth century dawned and as sure as the changing seasons, Michael Molloy announced his spring sale when he could offer special terms for goods for charitable purposes. Thomas Murphy of Tullow Street catered equally for those upstairs and downstairs as he had in stock servants' muslin aprons and childrens' muslin pinafores, as well as ladies white and mixed sailor hats.

With the new century new modes of transport became available in town when N.P. Roche opened the Carlow Cycle Emporium In Tullow Street. He could supply the Centaur bicycle. The best models retailed at twelve pounds and ten shillings and ten pounds and ten shillings. Mr. Roche also sold a wide selection of cycling accessories in his store and he also kept a stock of cycles for hire. A cycling club existed in Carlow around this time and no doubt some of the members availed of this rental service at N.P. Roche's.

Ford and Company were another drapery firm who stocked a large variety of dress and costume materials, felt hats, mantles and furs. They seemed to carry a similar stock to that of Molloy's Woollen Warehouse. They declared their annual cheap sale which would continue until further notice. No details of the actual bargains were given but then the shopping public would no doubt be familiar with what could be expected from their local store. Boake's also ran a general drapery and millinery in Burrin Street. They too announced a general clearance sale prior to stocktaking.

In the meantime, The London and Newcastle tea company were giving away a discount of sixpence with every pound of tea. In addition they also sold biscuits, sweets, soap, candles and matches. It is interesting to note some of the sweet varieties which were popular in the early 1900's as being mixed mints, conversation (probably conversation lozenges), butter scotch candy and jubes. Luxury items were to be had at Donaldson's Jewellers where the newest Parisian jewellery was in stock. They also sold 8 day clocks and Connemara jewellery. Photo frames and cigarette boxes were among the smaller items available there.

By 1910, developments in motorised transport resulted in even more variety in the types of retail outlets trading in Carlow. Mark Purser of Tullow Street operated works at Green Lane close by the railway station. These same works had according to the proprietor had a gate entrance twelve feet wide capable of admitting the largest motor car traction engine or farm implement. Crossley's electric type gas engine was in use there and parts could be made on the premises in the event of a delay from manufacturers. Town centre businesses in Carlow appeared to be thriving around that time also as two shop owners announced that they were about to make alterations or improvements in their premises. Mr. J. Farrell was clearing out all his stock to accommodate the forthcoming works and so was Mr. Clarke in his general drapery and shoe stores.

In the meantime Maher's Dublin Bakery of Dublin Street were operating daily deliveries by van to town and country. As well as their own celebrated brown bread they were also agents

for Turog brown bread. This local firm had been in business since 1855. The occupants of the big houses were obviously being catered for in Carlow too as J.C. Williams worked as a sporting tailor and breeches maker at No. 4 Dublin Street where ladies' riding habits and costumes were a speciality.

In December 1910, the name W. & G. Hadden whose name is still synonymous with Tullow Street shopping began to advertise reliable furs. Elegant luxury items were clearly illustrated. Stock included black and brown hare necklets and a Russian fitch with throw over tie and muff to match. Good furs were proclaimed to be a good investment and customer inspection was solicited. The grand show of Christmas goods at Burns' Supply Stores would do justice to Charles Dickens. Here the housewife could spread her family table with the best of Christmas goods - Christmas cakes and puddings, chocolates, confectionery and even crackers. For home baking a range of figs, almonds, machine seeded raisins and currants were stocked. The children could look forward to Christmas stockings too. Music at Christmas must have been part of the celebration also because Burns' also sold accordions, concertinas and violins.

By the time that the next decade of the 1920's arrived advertising columns were increasingly featuring motorised transport. At George B. Jackson's demonstration models of 1920 Buicks had arrived. They were priced at 700 pounds each. Trial runs could be arranged by appointment where Mr. Jackson could be contacted by telegram or by phone to Carlow 30. As early as January of that year the same proprietor was appointed an authorised Ford dealer. Ford cars had electric starters and lighting equipment. One could choose from a touring car at 250 pounds, a van at 240 pounds, a chassis for 200 pounds or a town car (probably a runabout in today's terms!) for 330 pounds. The ton truck chassis was available too for 200 pounds. Motor cycles too were beginning to make their appearance when Triumph motor cycles of 3-4 horse power with chain and belt drive or Ariel motor cycles of 1-3 and a half horsepower were offered to prospective customers. First cheques would secure these models. However the pedal cycle remained more affordable and with summer time approaching Mr. Jackson's sales pitch was aimed at the leisure cyclist where several well-known makes of cycles were for sale. These included the Shamrock, the Olympic and the Speedy Hobart.

However the drapers were still very much in business and Thomas Murphy's Great Summer Sale was announced for July 26th. People still got married too and once the question was popped young couples could head to W.M. Douglas for their 9 or 18 carat gold wedding rings and keeper rings. Carlow shopping life had seemingly come full circle.

This survey of the retail trade in Carlow over a seventy year period from Victorian times to emerging nationalism shows a town where there was a rich variety in shops and merchandise. It was a town where store owners and business people needed to show great ingenuity and marketing skills to keep up with the still greater variety in city stores. These latter stores were made even more accessible by the early railway links with Dublin and the consequent cheap excursion fares which enticed Carlow shoppers to the capital.

It seems that today nothing much has changed.

Note on sources.

This article was researched from advertisements which featured in Carlow local newspapers as follows:

Carlow Post 1853 - 1877

Carlow Weekly News 1858 - 1863

Nationalist and Leinster Times September 1883 - December 1920.

CARLOW COUNTY MUSEUM

Dermot Mulligan, Museum Curator

In April 2010, following years of discussion and planning, Carlow Town Council awarded the contract for the construction of the new Carlow County Museum to Bam Building Ltd., Kill, Co.Kildare.

The new development involves the restoration and extension of the former Presentation Convent chapel in College Street, Carlow. In January 2011 the Presentation Sisters will celebrate the bi-centenary of their arrival in Carlow and until 1989 their convent stood at the junction of Tullow and College Streets. The existing chapel building will be converted into the museum's exhibition galleries and the already in-situ Carlow Tourist Office will become the entrance to the museum. The extension, built to the rear of the chapel and clad in Carlow cut limestone to contrast with the original rubble limestone of the convent, will house the museum's ancillary facilities.



Carlow County Museum Contract Signing in the Town Hall, Carlow on April 20th

Back (L to R) Dermot Mulligan, Museum Curator; Martin Nevin, Museum Board; Cllr. Rody Kelly, Joe Watters, Town Clerk; Noreen Whelan, Museum Board ; Cllr. John Cassin, Cllr. Walter Lacey, Chairman Board of Carlow County Museum and Seamus Murphy, Museum Board.

Front (L to R) Tom Barry, County Manager; Leo Harmon Bam Building Ltd; Cllr. Des Hurley, Cathaoirleach of Carlow Town Council and Dan Carbery, President of the Carlow Historical & Archaeological Society.

Speaking in the Town Hall at the contract signing Cllr. Des Hurley, Cathaoirleach of Carlow Town Council welcomed the development stating that "the building is in a prime town centre location and is part of a complex that already houses the Co. Library, Archive and the Tourist Office". The majority of construction costs are being met from within Carlow Town Council's own resources but grant assistance has been received from the Heritage Council and the Department of Environment, Heritage & Local Government.

The museum is located in what is now referred to as the cultural quarter of the town. The cultural quarter runs from

Tullow Street along College Street to the Old Dublin Road and includes the County Library, Archive, Tourist Office, the presently under construction new Carlow County Museum premises, the Cathedral of the Assumption, Carlow College, the Cathedral Parish centre, Visual Centre for Contemporary Art & The George Bernard Shaw Theatre and the magnificent early 19th century Carlow Courthouse.

The museum will help cater for the cultural and educational needs of the community and provide a much needed indoor heritage tourism amenity for the county. The museum already contains a growing collection of over 5,000 artifacts. The collection represents a wide range of

periods and topics including natural history specimens, stone and bronze age archaeological objects, coins, medals, stamps, religious objects, military and police artefacts and memorabilia, agricultural implements, trade, craft and industrial items, sporting memorabilia and a large collection of photographs and archival material. It is a good representative collection of the county, containing many interesting objects some of which are of national and international importance.



Excavating the old ground floor which was the primary school classrooms until it was relocated to Green Lane when Scoil Mhuire gan Smál was opened.

Carlow County Museum is being developed in association with the Carlow Historical & Archaeological Society (CHAS). The Society, founded in 1946, opened a museum in 1973 and it was relocated in 1979 to the former theatre of the Town Hall, a space provided by Carlow Town Council. Dan Carbery, President of CHAS, said that “the society operated the museum on a voluntary basis and the redevelopment of the museum by the Town Council is a source of pride for both the society and its members”.

The society will retain a role in the development of the County Museum, through its representation on the Museum Board which will develop the County Museum’s policies. At present the board consists of seven members, three from the Town Council: Chairman of the Museum Board Cllr. Walter Lacey, Cllr. John Cassin, Cllr. Rody Kelly & Michael Brennan, Town Clerk is the County Manager’s nominee. The Carlow Historical & Archaeological Society is represented by three of their members, Noreen Whelan, Seamus Murphy & Martin Nevin. The chairmanship of the committee rotates on an annual basis between the members of the Town Council and the CHAS representatives.

Dermot Mulligan, Museum Curator said that “the role of Carlow County Museum is to collect, preserve, conserve, document and display the history of the county. County/ City museums are significant in that they are a home for a county’s many historic treasures and maintain high standards of collections care”. Currently there are twelve county museums in Ireland. Carlow is now the second county museum in Leinster, the other being in Co. Louth.

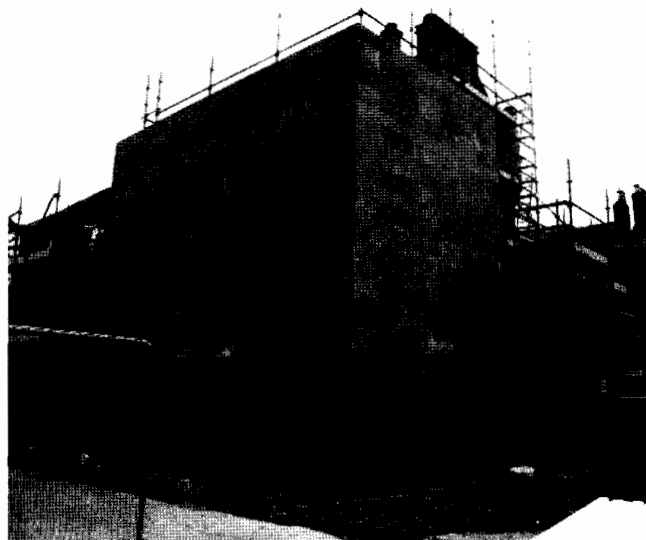
Carlow County Museum works closely with the National Museum of Ireland, particularly in the area of archaeological finds. The National Museum of Ireland is the authority responsible for the care of all archaeological artefacts. Significantly when the museum opens archaeological artifacts found in Co. Carlow can finally be displayed in the county in which they were found. Also under the Designation Status Carlow County Museum will be able to request archaeological artifacts previously sent to the National Museum to be returned to the County Museum for display.

Joe Watters, Town Clerk (since retired) said that “today is an historic occasion and the culmination of a shared vision by the Town Council and CHAS to secure the future of Carlow’s many historical objects”.

The Museum Construction Design Team is made up of structural engineer and design team leader Ivor Bowe of Bowe Consulting Engineers, Andy Quinn from McCullagh Lupton Quinn, quantity surveyor and Eddie Doyle of Doyle Environmental, mechanical and electrical engineer. The Town Council is represented by Michael Brennan, Town Clerk, Tim Madden, Clerk of Works and project coordinator Dermot Mulligan, Museum Curator.

Bam Building Ltd are the main building contractor with the following companies undertaking sub-contract works: Seamus Byrne Electrical Ltd is the electrical contractor, Murphy & Kelly are the mechanical contractors, Kone Ireland Ltd will install the lift, the nine leaded windows will be restored by Irish Stained Glass & Leaded Window Company while the conservation and restoration of the gilding of the former chapel ceiling and oil paintings will be undertaken by Naomi McBride & Associates.

The museum is scheduled to be opened to the public in the summer of 2011.



The newly constructed Museum extension clad in Carlow cut limestone.

JIM MORRIS 1917-1982

Winner of the 2010 History Project Competition for National Schools

Sarah Nolan

The Life of Jim Morris

Jim was born in 1917. He grew up in Ballon with his 6 sisters and 3 brothers. His house is where Kavanagh's pub is. His father ran a public house and drapery. He went to primary school in Ballon, secondary school in Knockbeg and college in St. Patrick's College where he started his football career. He married Peggy Nealon from Kildimo, Co. Limerick in 1952. They moved into the school house in Ballon and went on to have seven children – Ann, Eamon, Kieran, Bernadette, Deirdre, Fidelma and Paul. Jim then began his principal's job in Ballon Boys in 1951 until his retirement in 1982. He lived and worked in Ballon until his untimely death in 1982.

The Gaelic Football Career of Jim Morris

Jim Morris' football career officially began as a student in St. Patrick's College of Education in Drumcondra in the mid to late 1930's and it was here while playing for the college club, Erin's Hope, that he first came to the attention of the Carlow selectors. Jim then played for Carlow for 14 years. During that time from 1940 Luke Kelly and Jim played together for the first time. Their outstanding mid-field play helped to win the Leinster Final for Carlow's first time in 1944. Carlow were unlucky to lose to Kerry in the All Ireland semi-final in 1944. Jim had very lucky and unlucky matches in his 14 years of County Carlow's mid-fielder.

Teaching

Jim's teaching career started in Daingean, Co. Offaly in 1938 where he taught for three years before being appointed as principal of Clonegal N.S., very unusual for such a young teacher. From Clonegal he moved to Finglas and while there he took the opportunity to attend UCD at Earlsfort Terrace where he graduated with a BA degree. He also did a Higher Diploma in Education which qualified him as a secondary school teacher. When Patrick Mulvihill died in Ballon in 1951, Jim was appointed as principal of the Boys National School. He returned to Ballon a single man and lived in the pub for a while. The following year he married Peggy Nealon from Kildimo, Co. Limerick and the couple moved into the School House in Ballon. They had met at UCD while Jim was studying for his arts degree. When co-education came to Ballon with the opening of the new school in 1969 Jim assumed the responsibilities of principal in the amalgamated school. Jim retired from his post in Ballon in July 1982 having held the position for 31 years. At his retirement presentation his great friend, Fr

John Flood PP, summed up Jim's teaching career in one sentence "One hundred per cent teacher!"

Music

In Ballon N.S. in the 1950's the rock'n'roll era had not yet arrived and the ambitions of the boys were to only get a place on the school football team or playing in the school band. Jim Morris was not only a teacher ahead of his time, but a multi-talented man who believed in passing on his skills to all his students. Every music student was given equal time and opportunity. The boys were sent home with their homework assignments to practise. The hard work and rehearsals were rewarded by various appearances at local concerts and functions including a broadcast from Radio Eireann on the childrens' programme. After a week's preparation they eventually found themselves in a studio in the old Henry Street premises of the station. There they were introduced to the finer arts of recording, with a producer/sound engineer forbidding the boys to tap their feet to keep them in time!!

No tribute to Jim's musical abilities would be complete without mention of the major role he played in the Ballon church choir. It was here everyone saw his true ability as a fine and accomplished musician and leader, sight reading all the pieces and teaching them hymns for all occasions both singly and with harmony.



*Back: Jim Shannon, Dan Carbery & Mrs. Peggy Morris
Front: Mikey Bambrick (Joint Second), Sarah Nolan (1st Prize),
and Ciara Flanagan (Joint Second).*

THE BUILDING OF SCOIL MUIRE GAN SMAL

PRESENTATION NATIONAL SCHOOL CARLOW

Dan Carbery

On Sunday 26th June 1960 as a young man of twenty years, I attended the official opening of the new Presentation National School at Green Lane, Carlow (I still have the official invitation). Solemn High Mass was celebrated in the Cathedral at 12.00 noon and the blessing of the school by Bishop Thomas Keogh and the official opening took place later in the afternoon. St. Joseph's National School was also opened on the same day.

I have fond memories of the building of these schools as the main contractor was our family building business of D + J Carbery.

The Presentation National School was a very large building and we were quite pleased to obtain the contract as building work was scarce in 1950's.

Bishop Keogh had turned the sod on the site on the 28th February 1958 with my father Dan Carbery attending as contractor. The photograph in the Nationalist newspaper of the ceremony shows the following also in attendance Fr. Michael Coughlan Administrator, Fr. Thomas Waldron, Fr. Niall Crowley, Fr. Sean O'Laoghaire together with Des Governey TD, Ray McDonnell, councillor and Paddy Barnard, the county engineer.

In 1958 I was studying quantity surveying in Bolton Street College in Dublin, but my father became ill and in May I left my studies to return home to the family business. My father died on 1st July 1958 so he did not live to see this fine school building completed.

The architect for both the Presentational National School and St. Joseph's National School was Patrick Campbell. He is still alive and living in Dublin. In 1970 he designed my bungalow home on the Green Road where I am now happily retired writing articles like this one.

On the back pages of my father's pocket diary I found the list of the contractors who tendered for the job. The list, showing the tenders submitted, is reproduced at the end of this article. D + J Carbery were the lowest at £66,816. There were fifteen contractors on the list the only other local contractor who tendered was Thomas Thompson who at that time were very involved in general building contracting in addition to their very successful structural steel and other general engineering work. Many of the contractors listed have since ceased trading but I note Sisk and Crampton two of the largest national names submitted tenders. The prices varied from £66,816 to a high of £78,070. The figures give evidence of the huge reduction in money value that has taken place since those times.

My father had worked with the same architect on the Brigidine School in Tullow some two years previously so Patrick Campbell was familiar with D + J Carbery as contractors.

When I returned to Carlow from Bolton Street College work had already started on site. This was a very large school building by the standards of the day. There was a two storey classroom block and also a single storey block. These were joined by a single storey administrative block.

A major decision was made to purchase a Liebherr tower crane to facilitate the hoisting of materials to the upper levels for floors,



The official opening of Scoil Mhuire gan Smal on Sunday 26th June 1960. Included are - Bishop Thomas Keogh, Msgr. Conway, Frs. Coughlan, Waldron, Crowley, O'Leary and Dunny, Joe, Dan & Mrs. Kathleen Carbery and Patrick Governey.

walls and roofs. Prior to this getting materials to upper floors involved extensive manual labour using pulleys and ropes. Another method was forming sloping ramps with planks and manually pushing wheel barrows of concrete, sand etc. up to the higher levels. An improvement on this was a mechanical barrow or platform hoist. This was a steel framed timber platform on which a wheelbarrow could be positioned or loose concrete blocks and other materials placed. This platform was attached to a vertical steel mast and assisted by a series of steel ropes and pulleys driven by a petrol engine the loaded platform travelled up and down vertically.

The tower crane was small by today's standards but was the first time our firm had used such mechanical plant. It travelled in a straight line along standard railway tracks which were laid on timber sleepers beside the new building, which in this case was the two storey block. The crane was powered by electricity and was self erecting which meant it did not need other equipment to assist in the initial erection. The crane could be operated from the base of the tower or in a small cabin at high level. Our general foreman Tommy Corcoran assisted by our crane driver Ned Begley learned how to erect and take down this crane. It was quite an operation in those early days of mechanical equipment on small building sites. The main materials hoisted by the crane were concrete blocks and freshly mixed concrete. The blocks were placed on a timber pallet to allow them to be safely lifted to the upper levels. Concrete which was mixed on the site was poured into a special steel bucket/chute and it was then hoisted to required location. The manual pulling of a lever discharged the concrete.

The operations just described are very common today on building sites but in 1958 in Carlow they took much of the heavy labour out of everyday activities on site.

Daily activities on site were so different from today. Most operations were largely dependent on basic manual labour so this meant large numbers of men working on site. Foundations for walls were not dug with JCB's but manually with the use of pick and shovel. This was quite a skill and it was wonderful to see the accuracy with which the trenches were dug with neat vertical sides and level bottoms. Today we take ready-mix concrete for granted but it was not available then. All concrete was mixed in a

delivered by tipper truck by the various suppliers, in this case mainly personally by Dan Morrissey the founder of that fine family company which still bears his name. The cement was delivered in one cwt bags as loose cement in silos was not used on this site. Billy Hutton our lorry driver with his helper Bill Thompson regularly travelled to Dublin to pick up the cement from a railway siding on the North Wall where it was sent from the factory in Drogheda. The lorry carried ten tons so they had to manually lift two hundred bags one at a time and walk them from the railway carriage unto the lorry which was pulled up alongside. Having driven to Carlow each bag was off loaded and carried into the cement shed, a temporary storage unit beside the mixer on site. Later each bag was carried from the shed to the mixer as required. I can assure you this was heavy work but the men became very skilled at lifting cement bags unto their shoulders and then tossing them off to stack them beside the mixer. The mixed concrete was transported by mechanical dumper to the foundations or by the crane bucket where it could reach. The concrete mixer was set up within reach of the radius of the crane bucket. While one mix of concrete was rotating there was a skip of the next being prepared. The gravel was loaded in by hand shovel and one bag of cement was opened. The full bag of cement (one cwt) was placed on the gravel in the skip and opened by use of the blade of the shovel to split it open. Then more gravel was loaded into the skip. When the skip was full and the previous mix of concrete discharged into the crane bucket or dumper a lever was pulled which tipped up the full skip of gravel and cement into the drum of the mixer which took some minutes of rotating and the addition of water by way of hosepipe connected to the mixer. There were restrictions on the amount of water to be added to the mix. The men on site liked to add plenty of water which allowed the concrete to flow easily into beams and columns and reduced the requirement to compact the concrete which had to be done manually with timber rod. Only in later years did we acquire mechanical poker vibrators to assist with this operation. As I mentioned previously so much of the work operations required pure manual effort to complete. Today almost all concrete is premixed at a concrete plant where scientific control the of amount of sand, stone chippings, cement and water gives the require grade and compressive strength and is then delivered in ready-mix trucks.

Concrete blocks for use on this job were manufactured by a small gang of about five or six men with a smaller concrete mixer and a mechanical block making machine. Small timber pallets were fitted into the bottom of empty moulds of the machine and then freshly mixed concrete was filled into the moulds. These were then vibrated and compacted. The newly shaped blocks were then immediately removed on the timber pallets and carried and stacked on the ground to set overnight. In warm weather they would be sprinkled with water to prevent them drying too fast. In cold weather they would need to be protected from the effects of frost which prevented the concrete from setting. After two days the blocks would be removed from the pallets and stacked leaving them ready to be distributed around the site for the masons to build the walls. This block making operation occupied these men continuously on site until the block laying section of the building and boundary walls was complete. Towards the end of the contract we purchased some blocks in Dublin made by Clondalkin Concrete (who became Roadstone) and C.P.I. (Concrete Products of Ireland) in Lucan. It was some years before Dan Morrissey Ltd began to make and sell concrete blocks in the Carlow area.

There are panels of stonework under windows and a large area of stonework at the gable end of the Assembly Hall. These were built in granite stone obtained from Nolans of Ballon who are still in business today.

The stonework is random rubble so it was only necessary to roughly prepare the stone for building. Nolans of Ballon organised

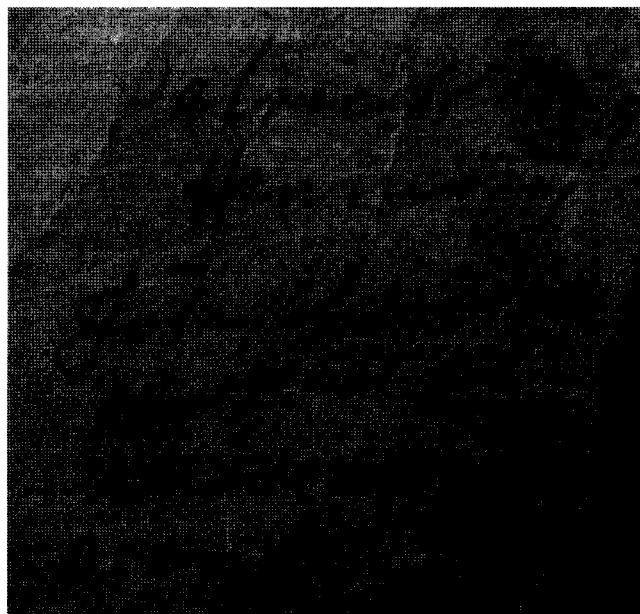
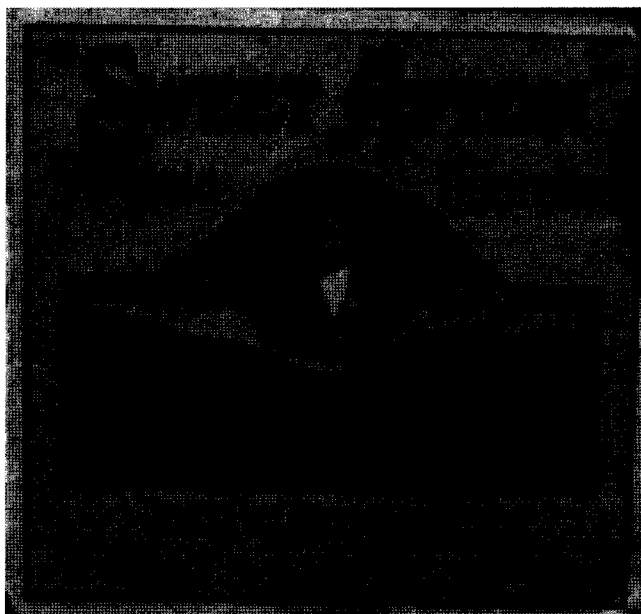
the procurement of the stone and the shaping into size for building. Large boulders of granite stone were uncovered in fields by farmers in the Ballon area. These would be pushed to the perimeter of the fields along the hedgerows as they restricted ploughing of the land. The Nolan's would go to the fields and work on the stones with hand tools drilling and splitting the stone into block sizes for building random rubble walls. Billy Hutton would go with the lorry and helper out to the fields and hand load the stone and bring it back to the school site. There it would be tipped up (there was hydraulic topping gear on back of lorry) for use by the building masons. Nolan's were paid wages for this operation and I am not aware of any charge for the supply of the stone. The farmers were probably happy to have the boulders broken up and removed.

The laying of the stones on site was carried out by masons including Jack Hanley of Rathvilly. This was heavy work as many of the stones were heavier than concrete blocks. Most of masons work on building at the time was with concrete block and not all were skilled at stonework. It had gone out of general use as it was expensive so we were fortunate to have some skilled men to do the work. The gable end of the Assembly Hall facing the Green Lane entrance to the school is a fine example of this work and looks good to this day.

Mention of the Assembly Hall reminds me that this was not approved by the Department of Education with the original contract. However Fr. Coughlan and Patrick Campbell the architect pressed hard and had it approved during the course of the building of the school. Many generations of pupils and staff should be so thankful that it was built at the time complete with fully equipped stage. What a wonderful facility it proved to be for all the activities over the years and in particular for the training of all the wonderful bands by Sr. Anna.

I digress so back to the building of the school. The first floor and all flat roofs of the school are reinforced concrete so this involved sorting and fixing all the reinforcing steel in position. Temporary formwork had to be erected. This was supported with timber props not the steel screw props used today. The timbers were trimmings from the forest that is short lengths of tree complete with bark. They were placed on the lower concrete floor using some loose concrete blocks if they were too short and timber chase wedges to get them to the exact height. These supported timber beams which supported the flat formwork or special steel forms for the ribbed floors and roofs. All this was very labour intensive. When concrete was sufficiently set after about two weeks the timber wedges were removed which allowed the props drop enough to release them and then the formwork and beams were carefully removed. Carpenters assisted by labourers (now called general operatives) carried out all this work.

The flat roofs were eventually covered in asphalt. This was a specialist operation carried out at the time by companies such as South of Ireland Asphalt Company. The pitched roofs on the single storey classroom block and assembly hall were constructed of timber rafters and covered with slaters felt, battens and natural slates. This slating work was carried out by Frank Hammond of Dublin. The slates had to be sorted and nail holes drilled in them (two per slate). We had a very old hand drill to do this work which could be set to drill both holes at the same time including counter sinking for the nail heads. After the building of this school (they were also used on St. Joseph's School) natural slates for roofs went out of general use as concrete tiles and asbestos slates came more into use. In recent years natural slates are in much greater use and are imported from all over the world, many coming from Spain. There had been Irish slates from Killaloe but I am not aware of any slates now quarried in Ireland.



In July 2010, workers on the renovation of Scoil Mhuire gan Smal found, hidden behind a press fitting, part of a Sweet Afton cigarette packet on which the following message was written "Patrick Hennessy and John Curran worked on these schools. Pray for us, 1959". Dan Carbery remembered these two workers very well and while they both passed away several years ago the handwriting on the packet was identified as belonging to John (Jakes) Curran by his son also John Curran.

The windows for the school were galvanised steel sashes either by Smith & Pearson or George Milner of Dublin and the glass was single pane. Insulation by double glazing had not yet become the norm.

We had a joinery workshop over our offices in College Street where much of the joinery for the school was made. All apprentice carpenters at the time were given training in this shop by Jack Fitzgerald, John Whelan and others. Builders at the time had their own joinery shops but now very few have as there are specialist joinery works all over the country and builders subcontract the joinery work.

Plastering work on the job was carried out by Peter Carroll of Dublin. His brothers Aidan and Matt worked with him but he also engaged local plasterers. The internal walls were done in sand/cement nap finish for hardwearing.

Electrical installation was carried out by Michael Pender, a local electrical contractor. He had worked with the ESB but set up his own contracting business. This was a large building contract and galvanised steel conduit was used. This was recessed into the blockwork of the walls and plastered over. The chasing out of the walls was done manually with lump hammer and flat steel chisel. In later years unplastered pointed blockwork was used and steel conduit was exposed and just fixed to surface of the walls.

Ceramic wall tiling, floor and wall terrazzo was carried out by D.D. O'Brien of Dublin. On a recent visit I was pleased to see how well the terrazzo floor looked after fifty years. It is a wonderful finish but too expensive for today's budgets. The classroom floors are hardwood timber blocks about one inch thick. These were done by McMahons of Limerick. The lower surface of the blocks were dipped in black adhesive and laid on the floor. They were tongued and grooved. When set the floors were sanded by belt machine and polished. I understand the original woodblock has survived and is still giving good service.

The painting work was carried out by local contractor Frank

Slattery with his brother Michael and their team of painters.

Some of the plumbing work was carried out by Tommy Whelan of Athy and his brother Paddy who still lives in Rathnaphish.

The foreman on the building of the school was Tommy Corcoran a very experienced man. He had served his time as a carpenter with D + J Carbery before the war and worked on the building of the Ritz Cinema in Tullow Street 1938. During the war years he worked with the U.S forces in Derry for a period. He went to New York for a short period about 1950 to work with his brother Seamus but returned to work with D + J Carbery until he retired.

The Presentation Sisters were an enclosed order at the time and many discussions took place on how they were to get from their convent in Tullow Street to the new school. There were suggestions of going through the grounds of St. Patrick's College. I think the younger nuns were happy to walk up Tullow Street and Green Lane but for a period after the school opened Fitzpatrick's hackney car carried some of the older nuns up and back to the school.

These memories of mine are just that and I am open to correction on any recollections I have written. They were very different times and I wish to acknowledge the fine body of men who worked on the building of the school. Most of them have passed on and may they rest in peace, all good building men.

I attach a list of some of the men taken from wages books that I have retained. It does not include all the sub-contractors.

LIST OF SOME MEN WHO WORKED ON BUILDING OF PRESENTATION SCHOOL, CARLOW 1958 – 1960.

1. Office/Management

Dan Carbery (Senior)
Joe Carbery
Dan Carbery (Junior)
Tom Whitmore (Office Manager)
Tom Corcoran (Foreman).

2. **Carpenters:**
 John McGill
 Jack Fitzgerald
 John Whelan
 Eamon Horan
 Larry Smith
 Leo Connolly
 John Purcell
 George Hicks
 Michael Meaney
 James Ryan
 A.B. Corcoran
 Joe Callinan
 Barney Ffrench
3. **Masons.**
 J. Nolan (Stone)
 P. Nolan (Stone)
 J. Nolan Jnr. (Stone)
 Noel Nolan (Stone)
 Jack Hanley
 Matt Reilly
 Patsy O'Rourke
 T. Farrell
 J. Farrell
 John Townsend
 J. O'Reilly
 J. Murphy
4. **Plumbers:**
 Tom Whelan
 Paddy Whelan
5. **Plasterers**
 Peter Carroll
 Matt Carroll
 Paudy Duggan
 Aidan Carroll
6. **Painters:**
 Frank Slattery
 Mick Slattery
 R. James
 W. Kelly
 J. Byrne
7. **General Operatives**
 Tom Nolan
 Bill Smith
 Paddy Fennell
 Billy Hutton
 Bill Thompson
 Larry Dowling
 Bill Ffrench
 Bill Nolan (Rancher)
 P Hennessey (Cha)
 W Murphy
 Hugh Keating
 P Moran
 T Butler
 Eddie Kehoe (Gianty)
 Eamon Brooks
 Paddy Comerford
 J Byrne
 M Nolan
 Sean Hurley
- Joe Rossiter
 James Keogh (Rocky)
 Ed. Begley
 Paddy Begley
 Jim Hurley
 Micky Keating
 Peter Ryan
 Dick Ryan
 J Curran (Jakes)
 T Murphy
 John Kearns (Busty)
 Martin Doyle
 Jimmy Carroll
 Paddy Rapple
 E Ryan
 Michael Dowling
 P Moore
 M Moran

**List of contractors who tendered for the building of the
 Presentation National School, Carlow.**

Name	Amount	Month
Carbery	£66,806	18
Geraghty	£67,309	12
Cummins	£67,940	18
Thompson	£68,000	8
Carty Construction	£68,575	12
P.J. McLoughlin	£69,098	13
Hannon Bros.	£69,926	14
M. J. David	£70,514	15
Duggan	£71,360	16
Bolger	£72,100	20
Stone	£73,477	12
Jennings	£76,288	18
Sisk	£76,579	23
McManus	£76,721	12
Crampton	£78,070	15

Reflections

The wages paid in January 1960 was 4/5 ½ per hour for tradesmen and 3/5 per hour for labourers. The standard week was 48 hours including half day on Saturday. This gave tradesmen £10-10-1 per week and labourers £8-0-4. There was only a very marginal change in rates of pay during the two years of construction on the school.

There have been so many changes in the building industry over my period of fifty one years working fulltime (I worked during school holidays prior to 1958). The working week is now five days and thirty nine hours. Most work is now carried out by subcontract with relatively few employed directly by the main contractor. During the building of the school there were up to thirty five directly employed on site apart from specialist sub-contractors.

In the past building contractors had their own joinery works. We had ours over the offices at College Street, Carlow. There was basic woodworking machinery (Wadkin) which enabled us to supply much of our joinery requirements. Now joinery is done by specialists and very few builders now have their own works.

Concrete blocks are now manufactured at central plants such as Dan Morrissey and delivered to site in trucks with hydraulic handling equipment for off loading and also hoisting to a limited height.

Only small quantities of concrete are now mixed on site. Generally readymixed concrete is prepared at a central batching plant and delivered in readymix trucks with capacity of 7 to 9 cubic metres. This ensures good control of mix to achieve required quality and also allows large pours of concrete to be carried out. Concrete at site can be discharged directly for floors and roads (some trucks have the use of an attached conveyor belt) or with concrete bucket and crane and in case of large pours with the assistance of concrete pumps.

Forklifts with extending masts (loadalls) unload and move materials around the site.

Most of the heavy manual work is gone from building operations and we now are expected to have instruction on manual handling given to operatives. This was a skill picked up from fellow workers in times past.

After over fifty years I can still clearly remember almost all of the men on the lists. Most men in those days obtained some work on building sites. You had to bring your own shovel and each man took great care of it. You would see them cycle along with the shovel tied to the cross bar of the bike.

I conclude my recollections by acknowledging all who worked on the building of the school as well as those associated with it in particular my uncle Joe Carbery of Athy who ran the firm after my fathers death, Tommy Corcoran our general foreman, Tom Whitmore our office manager, Patrick Campbell architect, Coleman Healy the quantity surveyor of Thomas Whelan's office and Mother Brigid and other Presentations Sisters of the time.

Finally I wish all the staff including Mrs. Keegan and Sr. Anna together with the pupils including my grandchild Hannah Dunphy all the very best for the future while being always mindful of the past.

Coonamble, 'at the end of the world'?¹

Call, response and early days of the Brigidine mission to Australia

Ann Power

Introduction

'Intense summer heat reaching 122°F in the shade', 'violent dust clouds like moving walls', droughts and floods of 'seething creeks' were apt descriptors for the hostile environment faced by the Mountrath Brigidine sisters in their 1883 mission outreach to Coonamble, New South Wales. Though late into the field of mission work, the Brigidines could be seen as part of the great nineteenth-century Irish missionary movement of 'pastoral evangelisation' to the Irish of the British Empire and the Americas. Such an outreach of Brigidine and other religious orders to the worldwide Irish diaspora would not have been possible without the development of the active female religious life which in itself was 'one of the strongest movements in the nineteenth-century Catholic church'.²

In Ireland, this development took place in a period where few opportunities were open to females. By joining a religious institution young women could experience a full time respected career other than that of marriage and motherhood. As nuns they were 'freed from familial and sexual demands', and thus Aspinall argues, they 'could realise themselves within a community of like-minded characters'.³ In this case the Brigidine pioneers fulfilled themselves in a life of exile and sacrifice dedicated to the education of Coonamble's 'squatrocity' and settler children.

Australia

The Australian zeitgeist from the mid 1850s onwards was one of liberal and secular opinion.⁴ It saw religious education as the 'preserve of the privileged classes' and not in accord 'with a liberal and democratic society' while it also clamoured for an end to the costly dual system of denominational and non-denominational education.⁵ In this climate the colonial governments passed a series of education acts in favour of a new system of free, compulsory and secular national schools – South Australia (1851), Tasmania (1868), Western Australia (1871), Victoria (1872) Queensland (1875) and New South Wales (1880). According to Fogarty, the education acts were seen by the bishops to 'conciliate the Protestant conscience' and therefore were Protestant bills and not acceptable to Catholic conscience.⁶ Another reason for their unacceptability was that for the Australian hierarchy education was a unity and thus they viewed the new state schools as the antithesis of the Catholic educational principles they had set out in the Provincial Synod of 1862:

Catholics do not believe that the education of a child is like a thing of mechanism that can be put together bit by bit – now a morsel of instruction on religion, and then of instruction in secular learning – separate parcels with as little reciprocal action as have two books

on the shelves of a library. We hold, that the subjects taught, the teacher and his faith, the rule and practices of the school day, all combine to produce the result which we Catholics consider to be education.⁷ As the Bishop of Melbourne stated 'every kind of instruction imparted to them [the children] should be interpenetrated by Catholic doctrine, by Catholic feeling and practice'.⁸

Such a 'wholly religious' education could only be given in a Catholic school but the problem the bishops faced was that without government 'grant aid' they could not provide a separate Catholic system of education. It was proving impossible to hold their lay teachers against the competition provided by the higher salaried positions of the state schools.⁹ The hierarchy were also afraid that the government's control of education was an attempt to weaken the Catholic Church as had happened with similar government systems in France, Germany and Italy.¹⁰ Thus resolved to dissuade Catholic parents from sending their children to public schools, the New South Wales Bishops' Joint Pastoral Letter of 1879 forcibly condemned the schools as 'godless' and 'founded on the principle of secularist education'. It characterised them as 'calculated to debase the standard of human excellence and to corrupt the political, social and individual life of the citizen'.¹¹ As a consequence of such a denunciation and faced with the task of providing a separate Catholic system of education, the bishops of necessity turned to the religious congregations of Europe for help and, as Fogarty points out, 'they had to be invited or rather begged to interest themselves in Australia'.¹²

Selection

In New South Wales funding of denominational schools ceased on 31 December 1882 when the Public Instruction Act (1880) came into force. Irish born Bishop James Murray of Maitland knew that the 'useful character' of the Brigidine system of free schools, fee-paying day and boarding schools was suited to his purpose of providing 'thorough Catholic schools'. It would, as he termed it, end the 'spiritual destitution' of 'back country' towns such as Coonamble. They were 'useful' in the sense that their fee paying schools would not only provide for the sisters' own welfare but the fees would also be used for the benefit of their schools. But it was not a foregone conclusion that the nuns would be allowed to accept Murray's invitation of 9 December 1882.¹³ Already in 1877 Bishop James Lynch, their ecclesiastical superior, had refused a request for the nuns to make a foundation in the diocese of Ossory on the grounds that they could not be spared from Mountrath.¹⁴ On this occasion, with the guarantee from Murray that their enclosure would be observed, he allowed the 'glorious' mission.¹⁵

Of those who volunteered, Lynch selected Mothers John Synan, superior, Gertrude Banahan, de Sales Maher, Stanislaus Hayden and Sister Catherine Bergen. They were between 28 – 48 years of age. Andrew Phelan, P.P. of Mountrath, a former Australian missionary, wrote of their suitability to Murray:

Miss Synan ... is very presentable and well educated. She is a member of a very respectable family in Co. Limerick, first cousin to the M.P. of that name. She has plenty of Irish feeling and dash in her and in every way I think suited for a new go-ahead country. Miss Hayden is a niece to the V.G. of Kilkenny who has Dr Moran's confidence. She has two sisters nuns in Tullow and is a really fine specimen of a nun. Miss Banahan is a member of a respectable family in the west of Ireland – was educated here and



The Catholic Church and Convent to which the Brigidine Sisters came in 1883.

This page is donated by The O'Connor & Burnheim Families

is a lady in every sense of the word. Miss Maher is from Co. Waterford is very sensible and good. The lay sister is from this town – looks rather delicate but is not so.¹⁶

Phelan's remarks display his knowledge of the sisters and the class values of the day as he did not think it necessary to name lay sister Catherine Bergen. With late selection of gifted musician, Ignatius Fitzpatrick, on 19 April 1883 the nuns boarded the S.S. Chimborazo for Australia. They were, in Synan's words, 'heart-broken' and 'desolated' leaving 'their beautiful land for ever'.¹⁷ After a two month sea voyage and tough land journey by train, coach and wagonette they arrived in Coonamble on 21 June 1883 to be greeted by the gathered townspeople and to the sound of the church bell ringing.¹⁸

New home and mission

The nuns' new situation, an isolated town surrounded by vast plains, was no sinecure. Archbishop Vaughan's description of Australia, as at the 'end of the world' must surely have resonated with the pioneers. Coonamble, from the aboriginal name meaning 'full of dirt', could not be a more apt title as drought periods were a fact of life for its eight hundred inhabitants.¹⁹ Another unwelcome fact was that the town, only gazetted as such in 1860, was also prone to flooding from the underground Castlereagh river. One newspaper report of 1890 noted the 'lime and dirt in every dwelling with slush and muck up to the knees' and warned visitors to 'skip Coonamble' or 'abandon hope'.²⁰ Moreover, the hostile conditions had given Coonamble parish, in area greater in size than Ireland, such a 'terrible name' that according to Bishop Byrne the 'senior priests would not take it'.²¹ The nuns did, deservedly earning the accolade 'saints' bestowed on them by their superior, Mother M. Fintan Fennelly.

Their new convent was not a fine stone building like Mountrath but Father Magrath's five roomed weather-board cottage presbytery which he had vacated for them.²² In 1893 two new Irish postulants were shocked to discover that their new home was 'a hut'. The heat in the wooden 'convent' often made the food unpalatable.²³ To make matters worse, water was expensive with prices ranging from nine pence to a shilling a cask. This burden was only eased when artesian water was discovered in 1892.

Their stoicism and endurance is all the more astounding when one contemplates the utter unsuitability of their dress. 'Devoured by myriads of mosquitoes' which left their 'rosy Irish cheeks like lobsters', they wore heavy voluminous serge habits with long pleated trains, tall starched forehead bands with long veils, and wide starched guimps.²⁴ The nuns' conditions were further exacerbated when they had to add monstrous outer sleeves and a heavy serge cloak if they were going on a journey.²⁵ Such was the distress of a sister on one occasion that, quote 'fearing heat apoplexy' she discarded her veil and guimp in favour of a 'light piece of muslin'.²⁶ To 'settle her conscience' she 'assured' the mother superior in Ireland that 'if she were here she would do the same'.²⁷

Amidst all these difficulties within weeks of the sisters' arrival two schools opened on 9 July 1883. About fifty children were enrolled for the primary school and eight or ten for the select school.²⁸ The primary school was held in the church with the sanctuary screened off, while the convent community room served as a school room for the select school as well as serving as the nuns' refectory.²⁹ Among the subjects and accomplishments taught were English, French, painting and drawing, music and singing, plain and ornamental work etc.³⁰ Within a year a new house to accommodate twelve boarders, including a schoolroom to suit both boarders and high school pupils was constructed at a cost of £800.³¹ It opened on 1 February 1884 with one boarder, Theresa O'Halloran but by year's end seven boarders attended. With some additions to the presbytery, the nuns coped with the primitive and crowded conditions until 1910 when a new convent and boarding school was built.

Their mission came at a heavy cost to their health. Many nuns died

from consumption in their early twenties but death was accepted as a cross to be borne for the 'sake of the kingdom'. But despite this burden the Australian outreach proved to be a decisive moment in the evolution of the Brigidine congregation. Though founded in 1807 by Bishop Daniel Delany of Kildare and Leighlin for the education of the children of the poor and affluent, the Brigidines had not established themselves outside the diocese up to this date. Their six foundations were Tullow (1807), Mountrath (1809), Abbeyleix (1842), Goresbridge (1858), Paulstown (1874) and Ballyroan (1877). The little band's spirit of adventure, mission and generosity became the exemplar for all those who followed and it also set down deep roots of Brigidine commitment to Australasia. Within forty years, nine foundations had been established in New South Wales, twelve in Victoria and four in New Zealand. Other foundations would follow in Queensland, Western Australia, South Australia, Australian Commonwealth Territory, Papua New Guinea, New Guinea and further houses in New Zealand.

References

- ¹Archbishop Vaughan, Pastoral, *A Suggestion for Lent*, 1881, pp5-6 in Patrick O'Farrell, ed., *Documents in Australian Catholic History Volume 1: 1788-1884* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1969), p.426.
- ²Anthony Fahey, 'Female Asceticism in the Catholic Church: A Case-Study of Nuns in Ireland in the Nineteenth Century', (PhD thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1982), p.1.
- ³Bernard Aspinall, 'Roman Catholic Orders in the Nineteenth Century' in W.J. Sheils ed. *Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition: Papers Read at the 1984 Summer Meeting and the 1985 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, Studies in Church History, vol. 22 (Oxford), pp.351-364, p.362.
- ⁴Raymond Fogarty, FMS, *Catholic Education in Australia, 1860-1950*, vol.11, Melbourne, 1959), p.472.
- ⁵Ibid.
- ⁶Fogarty, *Catholic Education in Australia*, vol.1, p.196.
- ⁷Patrick O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church in Australia A Short History: 1788-1967* (London: Geoffrey Chapman Ltd., 1969; first published Nelsons Australian Paperbacks, 1968), p.106; Fogarty, *Catholic Education in Australia*, vol.1, pp.187&188.
- ⁸Geoghegan Pastoral Letter, 1860, p.13
- ⁹Fogarty, *Catholic Education in Australia*, vol.1, p.244.
- ¹⁰John Luttrell, *Worth the Struggle Sydney Catholic Schools 1820-1995* (Catholic Education Office, Sydney, 1996), p.21
- ¹¹Joint Pastoral Letter of the Bishops of New South Wales, in Luttrell, *Worth the Struggle* p.21; Fogarty, *Catholic Education in Australia*, vol.1, p.250.
- ¹²Fogarty, *Catholic Education in Australia*, vol.11, p.257.
- ¹³Brigidine Sisters, Irish/UK Province Box 27B, item 324 Mountrath Annals, 1809-1926, Delany Archives, Carlow College.
- ¹⁴Ibid.
- ¹⁵Bishop James Murray to M. Fintan Fennelly, 25 February 1883, Box translated letters, Brigidine Archives, New South Wales Province, Sydney.
- ¹⁶Phelan to Murray, 23 January 1883, E.2.3, Maitland Diocesan Archives.
- ¹⁷Diary of Mother John Synan, Box translated letters, Brigidine Archives, N. S. W. Province.
- ¹⁸Coonamble Annals, Brigidine Archives, N. S. W. Province, p.14.
- ¹⁹Coonamble Shire visitor information sheet.
- ²⁰Unnamed newspaper cutting of 1890 in Coonamble Museum.
- ²¹Bishop Byrne to Mother M..John Synan, 18 May 1888, Brigidine Archives, N. S. W. Province.
- ²²Coonamble Annals, p.19;
- ²³Ibid., p.3
- ²⁴Paula O'Connor, *Co-ordinator, A Hundred years of Brigidine Sisters in Coonamble 1883-1983*, (Coonamble, 1983), p.15.
- ²⁵Ibid.
- ²⁶Mother M. Benedict to Mother General, Tullow, 29 December 1903, Box 18, File 230.06, Brigidine Generalate Archives, Delany Archives, Carlow College.
- ²⁷Ibid.
- ²⁸Coonamble Annals, p.16.
- ²⁹Ibid.
- ³⁰M.Fintan Fennelly to Bishop James Murray, January 1883, E.2.2 Maitland Diocesan Archives; Box 51 Brigidine Archives, New South Wales Province.
- ³¹Coonamble Annals, p.17.

2010

Officers and Members of Carlow Historical and Archaeological Society

PRESIDENT

Dan Carbery

VICE-PRESIDENT

Martin Nevin

SECRETARY

Kathryn Murphy

TREASURER

Des O'Mahony

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

Martin Nevin

Pat O'Neill

Dan Carbery

James Shannon

Jimmy O'Toole

Ann Power

TRUSTEES

Seamus Murphy

Dan Carbery

PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER

Martina Darcy

HONORARY LIFE MEMBERS

Thomas Clarke, Kevin Kennedy, Rose Murphy, Seamus Murphy,
Martin Nevin, William White.

COMMITTEE

Thomas Brennan, Kathryn Murphy, Margaret Minchin, Dan Carbery,
Dermot McKenna, Seamus Murphy, Martin Nevin,
Des O'Mahony, Pat O'Neill, James Shannon, Catherine McGuill,
Richard Codd, Peadar Cullen, Martina D'Arcy, Bertie Watchorn.

MUSEUM COMMITTEE

Noreen Whelan, Seamus Murphy, Martin Nevin

MEMBERS OF CARLOW HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

A

Alcock, Declan, 96 Pearse Road, Graiguecullen, Carlow
 Alcock, Noel, 42 Staunton Avenue, Graiguecullen, Carlow
 Alcock, Thomas, Oisín, Derrymoyle, Carlow
 Alexander, John, Milford, Carlow
 Atkinson, Bernie, 56 The Downs, Pollerton Big, Carlow
 Atkinson, Eric, Coolnakiska, Leighlinbridge, Co. Carlow
 Aughney, Robert, Lumcloone Cross, Fenagh, Co. Carlow

B

Baragry, Margaret, 8 Larkfield, Carlow
 Barron, James, Knockskire, Borris, Co. Carlow
 Bolger, James, 7 Henry Street, Graiguecullen, Carlow
 Boyce, Michael, 14 Braganza, Carlow
 Brennan, Joseph, 63 Green Road, Carlow
 Brennan, Joseph & Deirdre, 1 Strawhall Villas, Carlow
 Brennan, Michael & Joan, 2 Burrin Road, Carlow
 Brennan, Phyllis, 32 College Gardens, Granby Row, Carlow
 Brennan, Sheila, 32 College Gardens, Granby Row, Carlow
 Brennan, Thomas, 11 Kennedy Street, Carlow
 Brett, Mrs Brid, Ballyhide, Carlow.
 Briggs, Eric & Jean, Oakview, Donore, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow
 Brophy, Edward, 1 Sycamore Road, Rathnapish, Carlow
 Brophy, Gregory, Castlemore, Tullow, Co. Carlow
 Brophy, Mrs. Brigid, Slievereah, Rathdangan, Kiltegan, Co. Wicklow
 Browne, N.T., Fergal, Rutland, Carlow
 Bunbury, Turtle, Old Fort, Tobinstown, Tullow, Co. Carlow
 Burke, John, "Aghaboe", Knocknagee, Carlow
 Byrne, Margaret, 16 Sutton Grove, Sutton, Dublin 13
 Byrne, Michael, "St. Kierans", Rathcrogue, Carlow
 Byrne, Jr., Thomas & Anna, 18 Dublin Street, Carlow
 Byrne, P.P., Msgr. Brendan, Tullow, Co. Carlow
 Byrne, P.P., Rev. Gerald, Graignamanagh, Co. Kilkenny
 Byrne, Oliver, 4 Sycamore Road, Carlow.

C

Callinan, Joseph & Sarah, The Field, Pollerton Little, Carlow
 Carbery, Dan & Attracta, Glencarrig, Green Road, Carlow
 Cardery, Eugene, Mortarstown, Carlow.
 Carbery, Kay, 58 Monacurragh, Carlow
 Carmody, Sr. Mary, 4 Pinewood Avenue, Carlow
 Codd, Richard, Munny, Coolkenno, Tullow, Co. Carlow
 Cole, Mrs. Frances, Ballybar, Carlow
 Connell, Paul & Noeline, 11 The Glade, Oakpark Road, Carlow
 Connolly, Ann, Red Mills, Goresbridge, Co. Kilkenny
 Connolly, Mrs. Alice, Ellengrove, Maganey, Athy, Co. Kildare
 Conry, Michael, Avila, Tullow Road, Carlow
 Conway, James & Brenda, Coppengh, Tullow, Co. Carlow
 Conway, John, Rathvinden, Leighlinbridge, Co. Carlow
 Conway, L.V. & Rita, Straboe, Tullow, Co. Carlow
 Coogan, John & Dawn, Castlemore, Tullow, Co. Carlow
 Corrigan, Richard, Garretstown House, Rathvilly, Co. Carlow
 Corrigan, Thomas, Knockfield, Castledermot, Co. Kildare
 Corrigan, Robert, Ballyoliver, Rathvilly, Co. Carlow.
 Cree, Norman & Christine, Ballyknockan, Leighlinbridge, Co. Carlow
 Crowe, Ken & Maureen, Derrymoyle, Carlow.
 Cubberly, Kathleen, Ballycormack, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow
 Cullen, Kathleen, Killamoat, Rathdangan, Co. Wicklow
 Cullen, Peadar, Killamoat, Rathdangan, Co. Wicklow
 Cummins, Kieran, Upper Tomard, Milford, Carlow
 Cummins, Rodney, Ballinakillbeg Lodge, Bennekerry, Carlow

D

Dalton, Bridget, Mrs., Ballinvalley, Borris, Co. Carlow
 Darcy, Mrs. Martina, 8 The Glen, Mortarstown, Carlow
 Darcy, Pat & Eileen, Crossneen, Carlow.
 Davis, Jim & Marlene, 2 Borlum Wood, Carlow.
 De Roiste, Brid, 15 Clarence Gate, Bothar Cill Chainnigh, Ceatharlach
 Deane, Cynthia, Co. Carlow V.E.C., Athy Road, Carlow
 Deane, James, Tinryland, Carlow
 Deane, Macdara, The Shop, Tinryland, Carlow
 Deegan, Eddie, 2 Longwood, Bennekerry, Carlow
 Delaney, Eamon & Cathleen, Tobacco Meadows, Kilkenny Road, Carlow
 Dolan, Hugh, 35 Oakley Park, Tullow Road, Carlow
 Dolan, John, 7 Rivercrest, Graiguecullen, Carlow.
 Dollard, John & Mary, 8 Monacurragh, Carlow
 Donaghy, Paul, 80 Green Road, Carlow
 Donegan, James, St. Killian's Crescent, Carlow
 Doogue, Martin & Bernadette, Hillcrest, Baltinglass, Co. Wicklow

Dooley, Anthony & Phil, Barrowside, Mortarstown, Carlow
 Dooley, Pádraig, 23 Dolmen Gardens, Carlow.
 Doorley, Michelle, Kilree Street, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow
 Doran, Michael, Leighlinbridge, Co. Carlow
 Dowling, Anne E., Kellistown, Carlow
 Dowling, Mrs. Ann, Linkardstown, Carlow
 Dowling, John A., Linkardstown, Carlow
 Downey, Mr. & Mrs. Leslie, "Domo", Oakpark, Carlow
 Doyle, Owen, Tinnaslee, Graignamanagh, Co. Kilkenny
 Doyle, Lil, Ballycullane, Hacketstown, Co. Carlow
 Drea, Percy, Wells, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow

E

Empey, Bishop Walton & Louie, Rathmore Lodge, Tullow, Co. Carlow
 Etchingham, Dr. Colman, Ballinaguilky, Hacketstown, Co. Carlow

F

Feeley, Joseph & Charolette, Moytura, Dunleckney, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow
 Fitzgerald, Anne, 110 Beechwood Park, Pollerton, Carlow
 Fitzgerald, George & Nuala, 25 Riverside, Carlow
 Fitzgerald, William, 50 Sycamore Road, Rathnapish, Carlow
 Foley, Dr. Tom, Leighlinbridge, Co. Carlow
 Foot, Desmond & Jean, Pound Lane, Borris, Co. Carlow
 Froelich, Mary Mrs., Sandfield, Oakpark Road, Carlow

G

Gavin, Dr. Edward, West House, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow
 Gavin, Sean, Garryduff House, Paulstown, Co. Kilkenny
 Geoghegan, Thomas & Marian, Ballincarrig, Carlow
 Geraghty, Bernard, Oakpark, Carlow
 Gibbons, Jim, St. Anne's, Athy Road, Carlow
 Glancy, Christopher & Mai, 16 Oak Grove, Royal Oak Road, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow
 Goodwin, Kathleen Mrs., 7 Aylesbury, Dublin Road, Carlow
 Graham, Robert & Betty, Crossneen, Carlow
 Graham, Mrs. Ida, Lerrbank, Jerusalem, Carlow

H

Hancock, Jane, Corries, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow
 Healy, Patrick, Pollerton Castle, Carlow
 Healy, Rory, Pollerton Castle, Carlow
 Hennessy, Mrs. Anna, Ballytiglea, Borris, Co. Carlow
 Hogan, Seamus & Mary, Rathrush, Rathoe, Co. Carlow
 Hogan, Terry, 23 The Elms, Athy Road, Carlow
 Hosey, William & Kathleen, Castlemore, Tullow, Co. Carlow
 Hosey, Michael, Boulders, Tinryland, Carlow
 Hosey, Pierce, Boulders, Tinryland, Carlow
 Hosey, Mrs Pauline, Boulders, Tinryland, Carlow.
 Hughes, Cyril, St. Mary's, Knockbeg College, Carlow
 Hughes, Mrs. Betty, Ballinabranna, Carlow

J

James, John, 88 Sycamore Road, Rathnapish, Carlow
 James, Robin & Nora, "The Dormer", Brownhill Road, Carlow
 James, Roger, Knockullard, Borris, Co. Carlow
 Jones, Michael, Ballyduff, Tobinstown, Tullow, Co. Carlow
 Jordan, Margaret, 4 Borlum Court, Green Road, Carlow
 Jordan, Mr. & Mrs. Jim, Ratheaden House, Leighlinbridge, Co. Carlow
 Joyce, John A., Whitehall House, Graignamanagh, Co. Kilkenny
 Joyce, Thomas, Rathgervan, Ballymurphy, Borris, Co. Carlow

K

Kane, Una, Castledermot, Co. Kildare
 Kavanagh, Andrew, Borris House, Borris, Co. Carlow
 Kavanagh, Larry, Co. Carlow VEC, Athy Road, Carlow
 Keane, Paul, Tullow Road, Carlow
 Kearney, Deirdre, "Ardmore", Brownhill Road, Carlow
 Keenan, Michael, The Glade, Oakpark, Carlow
 Kehoe, Thomas, 57 Dublin Street, Carlow
 Kelly, Edward, 118 St. Clare's Road, Graiguecullen, Carlow
 Kelly, Kay, 58 Burrin Street, Carlow
 Kelly, Pat, Tonragee, Ballybar Upper, Carlow
 Kennedy, Edward & Margaret, Kyle Park, Carlow
 Kenny, David, Crosslow, Tullow, Co. Carlow.
 Kepple, William, Rathrush, Rathoe, Co. Carlow
 Keyes, Michael, Staplestown, Carlow
 King, Sean, 6 The Glade, Oakpark Road, Carlow
 King, Thomas, 7 Sycamore Road, Rathnapish, Carlow
 Kinsella, Michael & Catherine, Kilcumney, Goresbridge, Co. Kilkenny

L

Lacey, Rita, Clish, Ballinalan, Athy, Co. Kildare
 Lawler, Michael, 14 The Elms, Athy Road, Carlow
 Lawlor, Michael, 20 New Oak Estate, Carlow
 Leahy, C.C., Fr. Andy, Tullow, Co. Carlow
 Lee, Christopher, Station Road, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow
 Lennon, Declan, Knocknaboley, Stoneyford, Co. Kilkenny
 Lohan, John E., 33 Pairc Mhuire, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow
 Lynch, Martin, J., 118 Beechwood Park, Pollerton, Carlow
 Lyons, Barry & Mary, Crossneen, Carlow
 Lyons, Paul & Carmel, Oakpark, Carlow
 Lyons, Tony, Boherbee, Paulstown, Co. Kilkenny

M

Maharaj, Susan, 6 The Glen, Mortarstown, Carlow
 Maher, Donal, 35 Dublin Street, Carlow
 Maher, Paul & Deirdre, 98 Spindlewood, Graiguecullen, Carlow
 Manning, Joseph, Market Square, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow
 Matthews, Vincent, 37 Pembroke Road, Ballsbridge, Dublin 4
 Maye, Brendan, Gardenfield, Tuam, Co. Galway
 Maye, Mrs. Pat, "Atrium", Brownhill Road, Carlow
 McDonald, Edward, Clonmore, Hacketstown, Co. Carlow
 McDonald, Joseph, 4 Heatherfield Court, Carlow
 McDonnell, Jim, 17 Mirfield Road, Solihull, West Midlands B91JH
 McDonnell, P.P., Rev. Thomas, Parochial House, Sallins, Co. Kildare
 McEvoy, Tony, Cheshire Home, Tullow, Co. Carlow
 McEvoy, P.P., Rev. John, Tinryland, Carlow
 McGuill, Mrs Catherine, Blackbog Road, Carlow.
 McGrath, Seamus, Killerig, Carlow
 McGrath, Fiona, Killerig, Carlow.
 McHugh, Barry, Mountain View House, Green Road, Carlow
 McHugh, Michael, Oakpark, Carlow
 McKenna, Rev. Dermot, 20 Sherwood, Carlow
 McManus, Owen, Church Road, Staplestown, Carlow
 McNally, Richard, 9516 Lansford Drive, Cincinnati, Ohio 45242, USA
 McQuinn, Christopher, 18 Shillelagh Grove, Tullow, Co. Carlow
 Mealey, Fonsie, Georgian Mews, The Square, Castlecomer, Co. Kilkenny
 Meaney, Anne T., 3 Kilcarrig Street, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow
 Meehan, P. F., 2 Butler House, Peppers Lane, Portlaoise, Co. Laois
 Minchin, Peter & Margaret, Coolnacuppogue, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow
 Monahan, Michael, Johnsduffwood, Old Leighlin, Co. Carlow
 Mooney, Anne T., 41 Beechwood Park, Pollerton, Carlow
 Mooney, Clare, Poachers Lock, Leighlinbridge, Co. Carlow
 Moore, Charles & Ann L., Tullow Lodge, Tullow, Co. Carlow
 Moore, Eamonn A., Chaplestown, Carlow
 Moore, Francis, Donore, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow
 Moran, Margaret, 109 Beechwood Park, Pollerton, Carlow
 Morrissey, Luke & Helen, 30 Conway Park, Muinebheag, Co. Carlow
 Mulligan, Dermot, 19 Marble Court, Paulstown, Co. Kilkenny
 Mulligan, Patrick & Joan, Marian Ville, Tullow Road, Carlow
 Mulvey, Frank, Goleen, Milford, Carlow
 Murphy, Anne, Pollerton Little, Carlow
 Murphy, Christopher, Barnagoole, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow
 Murphy, Eileen, Drumphua, Garryhill, Co. Carlow
 Murphy, James, Drumphua, Garryhill, Co. Carlow
 Murphy, Kevin, Pollerton Little, Carlow
 Murphy, Liam, Kernanstown Industrial Estate, Carlow
 Murphy, John, Killinure, Tullow, Co. Carlow.
 Murphy, Michael, Seven Oaks Hotel, Carlow
 Murphy, Mrs. Betty, Ardattin, Tullow, Co. Carlow
 Murphy, Pdraig, 65 Blackheath Park, Clontarf, Dublin 3
 Murphy, Patrick, Ratheadon, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow
 Murphy, P.E., Fr. Alfie, Carbery, Co. Kildare
 Murphy, Ger & Kathryn, "Duncar", Browneshill, Carlow
 Murphy, Patricia, Killinure, Tullow, Co. Carlow
 Murray, Matt & Kathleen, Ballyhide, Carlow.

N

Nevin, Martin & Rosaleen, Carlow Road, Leighlinbridge, Co. Carlow
 Ni Fhaolain, Andrea, Pollerton Manor, Dublin Road, Carlow
 Nolan, Ann, Wayside, Station Road, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow
 Nolan, Breda, Station Road, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow
 Nolan, Catherine, 6 Bagnal Court, Court Place, Carlow
 Nolan, Eamon, 90 Green Road, Carlow
 Nolan, Henry Snr., 7 Oaklawns, Dublin Road, Carlow.
 Nolan, Claire, 6 The Orchards, Tullow Road, Carlow
 Nolan, Frank, "Sunnydale", Oak Park Road, Carlow

Nolan, Liam & Sheila, "Derrigavarra", Newtown, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow

O

O'Brien, Kennedy & Bernie, Tinryland, Carlow
 O'Brien, Rita, Castledermot Road, Tullow, Co. Carlow
 O'Brien, Tom & Joan, Emerald Lodge, Green Lane, Carlow
 O'Ceallaigh, Pdraig, Tonragee, Ballybar Upper, Carlow
 O'Connor, Mrs. Marie, 19 Beechwood Park, Carlow.
 O'Connor, Seamus, Carlow Co. Co. Athy Road, Carlow.
 O'Dea, Patrick & Mary, 2 Mount Clare, Killeshin Road, Carlow
 O'Donovan, John, Kilnock, Ballon, Co. Carlow
 O'Dowd, Peter, Shankill, Paulstown, Co. Kilkenny
 O'Driscoll, Mary, Browneshill Road, Carlow
 O'Dwyer, Anne, The Forge, Castlemore, Tullow, Co. Carlow
 O'Dwyer, Carmel, 14 Sharon Avenue, Brownhill, Carlow
 O'Farrell, Frank, Kilkeaney, Carlow
 O'Gorman, Mrs. Betty, 59 Dublin Street, Carlow.
 O'Gorman, John & Maura, Athy Road, Carlow.
 O'Hara, Anne, 13 Frederick Avenue, Carlow
 O'Hare, P. J., Glenamoy, Leighlinbridge, Co. Carlow
 O'Mahony, Des, "The Kerries", 22 Braganza, Carlow
 O'Malley, Gerry, 64 Green Road, Carlow
 O'Neill, Eilish, 22 Bagenal Court, Court Place, Carlow
 O'Neill, Maurice, Kilmurry, Ballon, Co. Carlow
 O'Neill, Patrick, 21 Bullock Park, Carlow
 O'Neill, Paul, Everton, Springhill, Carlow
 O'Rourke, Eileen, 35 Quinagh Green, Carlow
 O'Rourke, Martin, Talbot Terrace, Brownhill, Carlow
 O'Shea, Bernard, 34 Bullock Park, Carlow
 O'Shea P.P., Fr. Phillip, Myshall, Co. Carlow
 O'Sullivan, Mr. & Mrs. Jeremiah, Geatagreine, Coill Sean Dhuibh, Sean Leachquin, Co. Ceatharlach
 O'Toole, James & Carmel, Borlum House, Kilkenny Road, Carlow

P

Parkes, Dr. Jimmy & Mary, Duneoghan, Chaplestown, Carlow
 Pender, Mrs. Helen, Russellstown, Palatine, Carlow
 Poole Downey, Muriel, Ryle Belle, Ballinaboley, Leighlinbridge, Co. Carlow
 Porter, Patrick & Siobhain, 3 Slaney Meadows, Rathvilly, Co. Carlow
 Power, Ann, 42 Kilcarrig St., Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow
 Power, Noel J., 12 Radharc Oisin, Graiguecullen, Carlow

Q

Quirke, Marie, Newtown, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow

R

Racklyett, Simon, 3 College Gardens, Granby Row, Carlow
 Redmond, Mrs. Connie, Silverdale, Crossneen, Carlow
 Redmond, Paul, 22 Pollerton Manor, Palatine Road, Carlow
 Redmond, T. J., Heywood, Oakpark, Carlow
 Rice, Mena, Main Street, Borris, Co. Carlow
 Reddy, Mrs. Eithne, 28 Bourlum Wood, Green Road, Carlow
 Roche, Michael, 20 Tanner Hall, Athy Road, Carlow
 Roche, Patrick, Coolnakiska, Leighlinbridge, Co. Carlow
 Russell, Michael & Mary, 17 The Elms, Carlow.

S

Scott, John & Bernadette, Green Trees, Tinryland, Carlow
 Shannon, James, "Lorien", Scotland, Hacketstown, Co. Carlow
 Sheehan, Jack, Dunleckney, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow
 Sheehan, Richard, Dunleckney, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow
 Slattery, Martin, 86 St. Clare's Road, Graiguecullen, Carlow
 Smith, John, Connaberry, Ballon, Co. Carlow
 Smyth, Nancy, Ballinaboley House, Leighlinbridge, Co. Carlow
 Somers, Seamus & Bridget, Killinane, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow
 Stacey, Derek, Brannockstown, Naas, Co. Kildare
 Stratton, Jack, "Rockdale", Kilmeaney, Carlow
 Stratton, Valerie, Rockdale, Kilmeaney, Carlow

T

Tierney, Denis & Brigid, 2 Slaney Meadows, Rathvilly, Co. Carlow
 Treacy, Derek & Joan, 57 Highfield, Dublin Road, Carlow

W

Watchorn, Robert & Irene, Ballinakill, Ballickmoyler, Carlow.
 Whelan, Oliver & Mary, 152 Seapark, Malahide, Co. Dublin
 Whelan, P.E., Fr. Edward, Ballon, Co. Carlow
 Whelan, Tim & Noreen, 17 Sycamore Road, Rathnapish, Carlow
 White, Paul, Oakpark, Carlow
 Willis, Arthur, Rathrush, Rathoe, Carlow
 Wynne, Tony, 376 McKendry Drive, Menlo Park, California 94025

SPONSORS

<p>CARBERY CONSTRUCTION LTD. BUILDING CONTRACTORS Green Road, Carlow Tel: 059 9143252. Fax: 059 9132291 Email: info@carberyconstruction.com</p>	<p>HOSEYS SUPERMARKET & POST OFFICE Staplestown Road, Carlow Tel: 059 9131562 / 9132269 Fax: 059 9140333</p>
<p>SHAW'S <small>DEPARTMENT STORES</small></p> <p>SHAW & SONS LTD. TULLOW STREET, CARLOW. Tel: 059 9131509 Fax: 059 9141522</p>	<p>GAELSCOIL EOGHAIN UÍ THUAIRISC <i>Garrán na Finseoige, Ceatharlach</i> Fón: 059 9131634. Faics: 059 9140861 www.cgscoil.net Email: cgscoil@iol.ie</p>
<p>MATT D. DOYLE MONUMENTAL WORKS Pembroke, Carlow Tel: 059 9142048. Mobile: 087 2453413. Fax: 059 9142042 Email: mattd@indigo.ie Web: www.mattdoyle.net</p>	<p>A.I.B. 36-37 TULLOW STREET, CARLOW <i>Serving Carlow since late 1880s</i> Branch Manager: Gerry Murtagh. Manager: Martin Kelly. Tel: 059 9131758 Allied Irish Banks, p.l.c. is regulated by the Financial Regulator</p>
<p>R. HEALY & SON FUNERAL DIRECTORS Pollerton Castle, Carlow Phone: 059 / 9131286 Email: office@pollertoncastle.com</p>	<p>ST. MARY'S, KNOCKBEG COLLEGE, CARLOW COLAISTE MUIRE, CNOC BEAG, CEATHARLACH Phone: 059 9142127 / 059 9143705 Fax: 059 9134437 Email: knockbegcollege@eircom.net. Web: www.knockbegcollege.ie</p>
<p>O'NEILL & CO. ACCOUNTANTS & TAX ADVISORS TRAYNOR HOUSE, COLLEGE STREET, CARLOW Phone: 059 9141260. Fax: 059 9141371</p>	<p> DOOLEY MOTORS SLEATTY ROUNDABOUT, CARLOW Tel: 059 9131665. Fax: 059 9142118 Web: www.dooleymotors.com Email: sales@dooleymotors.com</p>
<p>THE NATIONALIST <i>Carlow's Newspaper since 1883</i> HANOVER HOUSE, HANOVER, CARLOW Tel: 059 9170100. Fax: 059 9131107 Web: www.carlow-nationalist.ie</p>	<p>JAMES DEMPSEY HARDWARE LTD. 87 TULLOW STREET, CARLOW Phone: 059 9131644, 9131084 Fax: 059 9143873 <i>For ALL your Building Supplies and General Hardware</i></p>
<p>ST. MARY'S ACADEMY, CARLOW <i>Acadamh Mhuire</i> STATION ROAD, CARLOW Bóthar an Staisiún, Ceatharlach Phone: 059 9142419/9142034. Careers: 059 9132035 Fax: 059 9130922. Web: www.cbscarlow.net. Email: principal@cbscarlow.net</p>	<p>Eamonn Nolan & Sons Ltd ELECTRICAL CONTRACTORS 16 Burrin Street, Carlow Phone: 059 9135035. Fax: 059 9135036 Eamonn: 086 2482735. David: 087 2666225. Frank: 086 8474705.</p>
<p> BERNARD JENNINGS, F.A.O.I. Optometrist 2 DUBLIN STREET, CARLOW Phone: 059 9143808. Fax: 059 9143245 Email: jenningsopticians@eircom.net</p>	<p>John & Beatrice Byrne LAMBERTS Phone: 059 9131921 Newspapers, Weekly Magazines, Stationery & Costume Jewellery <i>Newspaper Delivery Service</i></p>
<p>PAUL WHITE, M.P.S.I. <i>Prescriptions, Health & Beauty</i> 44 TULLOW STREET, CARLOW Phone: 059 9131229</p>	<p>PEADAR & ETA DOYLE - NEWSAGENTS - CARLOW SHOPPING CENTRE Tel: 059 9130169</p>
<p>A.E. COLEMAN MOTOR AND CYCLE DEALERS CHARLOTTE STREET, CARLOW Phone: 059 9131273</p>	<p>MALCOMSON LAW SOLICITORS Court Place, Carlow, Ireland Phone: 059 9131745. Fax: 059 9143695 Email: info@mlaw.ie Web: www.mlw.ie</p>
<p>ST. LEO'S COLLEGE DUBLIN ROAD, CARLOW Tel: 059 9143660. Fax: 059 9130114. Staff: 059 9140965 Email: info@stleoscarlow.ie Website: www.stleoscarlow.ie</p>	<p>CARPENTER BROS. <i>Luxury Lounge, Bar, Funeral Undertakers</i> BARRACK STREET, CARLOW Tel: 059 9131237</p>



The Staircase in Braganza formerly the residence of the Bishop of Kildare & Leighlin.

Courtesy of Mr Len Roche.