Golden Jubilee

IT was very appropriate that the first General Meeting of the Old Carlow Society would have been held in Carlow Technical School, formerly the Assembly Rooms. Nothing daunted by the date (1st April 1946) the Society launched an effort which would have gladdened the heart of the previous owner - G.B.S. Shaw made the gift of the premises to Most Rev. Dr. Foley for the people of Carlow and the premises started on a new lift as a two-roomed Technical School in 1923. A year short of its golden jubilee the Vocational School was transferred to new premises on the Kilkenny Road. Its history like numerous invaluable records has been preserved in the pages of *Carloviana* our journal a monument to its work a treasury of scholarship and research.

The object of the Society was to "foster and promote an interest in the history of Carlow and district and in particular to preserve a permanent record of life in Carlow in the past." There are three survivors of the original brave band who started the Society: only in the past few months has one of our past presidents passed to his Heavenly reward - Alec Burns, who was for years the back-bone of the O.C.S. Go ndeanfaid Dia tr6caire ar a anam dilis!!

Our Chairmen thro' the years have been staunch men and women who have kept the flag flying and made the Society the worth while entity that it is: the museum is a fact and surprises visitors (not only out-of-town ones) with its varying types of exhibits and is a tribute to those who worked so hard to establish it.

We have been blessed in our Secretaries who have kept the spirit of the foundation alive: the secretary is the hub on which all societies keep turning and draw life from. The O.C.S. seems to have had a large supply of them and keeps on producing them- both male and female. Long may it continue.

Our journal *Carloviana* is produced yearly and is a great tribute to the contributors of papers - many of them no longer with us - for the amount of work on historical research that was put into the collecting of material for their articles. If it were not for voluntary work these faithful and dedicated enthusiasts who contribute the papers, the editors who compiled them, the accompanying photographs and our faithful advertisers, there would not be a *Carloviana*. Thank you.

With this in view, we may hopefully, look forward to the next 50 years and hope that new members will strive with greater efforts to record the history and traditions of the town and county of Carlow.

*Thomas Mac Gabhann*  
*Deire Flor 1996*

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

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William J. Onahan became one of the leading figures in Chicago in the second half of the nineteenth century. In civic affairs, business, and religious circles, he was widely known, and respected. That much is well-known!

Leighlinbridge
What is less familiar is that he was born in Leighlinbridge, Co Carlow, on 24th November 1836. The entry in the Baptismal Register of the local Church can still be seen. Even though he was soon to emigrate, first to Liverpool, and later to America, he never lost the love of his place of birth as the following illustration indicates.

Shortly after his death, his daughter opened a letter addressed to him. It was from Fr Coyle, P.P. of Leighlinbridge, acknowledging the gift of £5 for the poor of his native town, his annual present to them. Leighlinbridge, and its people were always dear to him.

Liverpool
His Father, John Onahan, was a carpenter, and ship builder. His tools survived as an heirloom for later generations. William was the third youngest of a large family, most of whom died in infancy.

Like so many others, the family emigrated to Liverpool. Here William attended School, and served Mass at St Matthew's Church. Because of the religious tensions at that time, the boys from the Catholic, and Protestant Schools fought each other. William was hit on the forehead by a stone, leaving him with a scar for the rest of his life. He would later point to the scar as a sign of his willingness to stand up for his beliefs always.

It was in Liverpool that his Mother died from cholera. This was to make a strong impression on the young William. He describes the scene in his journal of 1857. He was sent to get remedies, and then the Doctor, and the Priest. When the others were gathered around her bedside, William was told to come close, and listen to her dying words. These included pleas that he would always remember his religious duties, respect his Father, and care for his two sisters. These wishes he carried out to the best of his ability.

America
Shortly after the death of his Mother, the family set sail for America. In New York, he got a job in a lawyer's office, cleaning, sweeping etc for $1 per hour, and his board, and his clothes.

In 1854 he decided to follow his Father, and sisters to Chicago.

Sixty years later he described what the city was like at that time to the members of the Illinois State Historical Society "we made our limited trips within the city on foot by omnibus - the latter made the journey on the south side from the Courthouse to State, and twelfth Street - over a planked roadway. Pedestrian exercise within the city was in those days a precarious, and often a perilous existence owing to the inequality of the sidewalks - scarcely any hundred feet being in the same level. It was up, and down - all the time, nor did the street offer an inviting alternative since few if any were paved. There were no "Sky Scrapers" in those days - the building seldom rose higher than three stories, and the third story was usually difficult to rent - there being no elevators to ease the burden of climbing."

An entry on one of his diaries recalls an unfortunate accident. He set out for a party in a new suit. It was a dark wet night, and there were few lights. His foot slipped on the broken wooden side-walk, and the new suit was ruined! His first job was that of a shipping clerk for the railroad, and later
became a book-keeper for a firm called Hale & Co; Packers.

New activities
In his spare time, he became acquainted with a large number of people, mostly Irish, many of whom later distinguished themselves in public affairs. He joined a Debating Society, known as the Chicago Lyceum. He also became the first President of the St Vincent de Paul branch in the Holy Family Parish; otherwise known as the Jesuit Parish. In addition to these activities he joined the Catholic Institute - a Society of Catholic laymen, becoming an active member.

Marriage
Many of his large circle were Irish. One of them was a Jeremiah O’Sullivan - a Justice of the Peace. He had a granddaughter Maggie. She is described as "a very lovely girl, her hair raven-black, and eyes of Irish blue. More than that, she played, and sang very well". William J. Onahan started visiting the house frequently, and the two fell in love.

Maggie was sent to boarding school at the Sacred Heart Convent in St Louis. Although letters from boy-friends were not allowed, William sent one. Maggie read it, and then in innocence, brought it to the Superior, Mother Gallway, to read. The good nun was not amused at first, but gradually relented. She made enquiries about him, and the feedback indicated that he was of good character, and a devout Catholic. Some time later she visited Chicago on Convent business, and met him. The two of them became lifelong friends.

The romance blossomed, and they were married on 8th July 1860. The date was only fixed the day before! Their daughter, Mary, described it as "an ideal union, and their fealty to each other, verging on my Mother’s part almost to adoration, never faltered. They were lovers to the end".

Civil War
Shortly after they were married, the Civil War broke out. Because he had a wife, a Father, and two sisters, to support, he did not enlist. Instead he helped to organise and equip the 23rd Illinois Infantry, known as the Irish Brigade. The Civil War claimed the lives of many people. These included one of his earliest, and closest friends James A. Mulligan who became a war hero. One time his horse was shot down. As his men were trying to lift him up from the ground, he noticed that the regimental colours were in danger of falling into enemy hands. He commanded them to "let me down, and save the flag".

School Board
He was elected to the Board of Education in 1862, and was one of the youngest holders of such an office. It is said that when he arrived for his first Board meeting, he was mistaken for a Schoolboy!

Civic Leaders
He soon became friendly with many of the leading citizens of Chicago. One such was Philip D. Armour - a leading beef merchant. At that time there was a civil war in Italy, and it was thought the Pope might have to move from the Vatican. He questioned Mr Onahan about this rumour. Then much to his surprise, Philip Armour suggested bringing the Pope to Chicago. William Onahan gasped at the idea, and asked did he realize what was involved. It was such a big undertaking that it was really out of the question! Philip was quite undaunted. He said that sufficient land close to the city could be bought on which all the Churches, and offices etc that were needed could be built. The increase in the value of land would pay for the whole project. He also offered to advance all the funds that were needed!

Philip Armour made a strong impression on William Onahan. Later he realised that his proposal about moving the Vatican to Chicago was not quite so impractical as it at first seemed!

Public affairs
He held many public posts. In 1879 he was appointed City Collector, and remained in that post until 1887 when he was appointed City Controller. In 1897 he was appointed Jury Commissioner. He also served on the Board of the Public Library. He also took an active part in the organising of the Columbus Club, a leading Catholic Society. Under the guidance of Archbishop Ireland, and several other Catholic Bishops, and Laymen, he organised the Irish Catholic Colonization Association. Their aim was to bring emigrants from destitute parts of Ireland, and set them up on farms in America. This was very successful.

Friendship with religious leaders
He became friendly with the religious leaders of Chicago. He read the address of welcome to Bishop Duggan on becoming its Bishop, and his successors during his lifetime. Close friendships were also developed with Archbishop Ireland, and several other Bishops. He also took an active interest in the various religious orders, his two sisters becoming Sacred Heart Nuns.

Catholic Congress
He organised the first general Catholic Congress in Baltimore.
in 1889 - a remarkable feat in itself. This was followed by the Columbia Catholic Congress in Chicago in 1893, held in conjunction with the World Trade Fair.

William J. Onahan was the first treasurer of the World's Fair. His daughter records enjoying going to the Inaugural Ball. Her Mother being unable to go, she was allowed to go instead. She was escorted in the carriage by Cardinals Gibbon, and Satolli, and later Archbishop Ireland, and her Father. She was not too impressed by such a distinguished group, and would have preferred younger escorts with whom she could dance!

Awards
Over the years he had contributed to different journals, and magazines. He was the Chicago correspondent of the New York Freeman's Journal, and author of articles in the Catholic World, Illinois Catholic Review, American Catholic Historical Studies, and other journals. For his writings, he received honorary degrees from the University of Notre Dame, St Xavier's College, Cincinnati, and St John's College, Chicago. In 1890, he was awarded the Laetare Medal by the University of Notre Dame.

This was accompanied by an illuminated address which contained the following words: "we regard you as the ideal American Catholic Layman. Your name has given repute to every work of charity, and patriotism in which the initiative of the lay element of the Church seemed necessary. You have been at the right hand of the Bishops in all the movements in which the co-operation of their flocks was needed. As a leader you have been great; as a follower of the pillar of cloud, even greater. Your labours in the organisation of the first Catholic Congress are a part of history; and no chronicle of the progress of the Church in the United States would be complete without the frequent repetition of your name. To you Notre Dame, gives her best, for you have proved most worthy."

For his work in organising the Catholic Congresses in Chicago, and Baltimore, Pope Leo X111 conferred on him the rare distinction of Camereri of the Cape, and Sword, and honorary private Chamberlain. At first he was reluctant to accept, but Archbishop Ireland pointed out that a refusal would greatly offend His Holiness! He was nominated for this award by Cardinal Satolli who in a letter said "I feel very glad to inform you that I had the pleasure of recommending you to the Holy Father as one of the most distinguished Catholic laymen of the country — After my recommendation the Holy Father, so able to appreciate the merits of men, and willing to reward them as far as he can, has named you a Camereri Sagrato di Cappae Spada Sopranumeraria of His Holiness".

A few years later he attended the funeral of Pope Leo X111 in Rome, wearing evening dress, and his Camereri chain around his neck.

Death of Mrs. Onahan
On March 10th 1902, Mrs Onahan died after a three month illness. A deeply religious woman, she was devoted to her family, and charitable works.

She attended daily Mass all her life. She had six children, but only the second youngest survived. Archbishop Ireland preached the sermon at her Requiem mass. It was a big shock for William, and Mary, their daughter!

Bank collapse
For some years William J. Onahan was President of the Home Savings Bank. The first hint he had of the impending crash of its parent bank - the Chicago National Bank - came from a question he was asked by a passer-by as he made his way to early morning Mass. Later he went to the bank, and noticed a large crowd, queuing to get in. Fixed to the door was a notice "closed by order of the United States Government".

When the bank opened, he went in, and encouraged every depositor to withdraw their money. Because he was a major shareholder, he lost heavily as did the other shareholders. Mr Onahan took pride in the fact that although he, and his fellow shareholders lost their money, no depositor lost anything.

The crash had been caused by John R. Walsh, the owner of the bank, and a friend of his. William did not criticise him, but remained loyal to the end. John R. Walsh was a brilliant banker, but over-extended the bank's resources when he became involved in financing the railroad. He was arrested, charged with violating Federal Banking Laws, and sent to prison. A year later he was released, but died shortly afterwards, a broken man.

Charity
The failure of the Bank meant that he could no longer give to charity as he would wish. His preferred method was to give cash etc immediately to those in need rather wait for a committee meeting! He used to say that they could have died by the time he was informed about this, he replied "Well, I am sure the poor fellow needs it more than I do".

He was charitable in word also, and did not pass judgement on others. One of his favourite poems which he kept pasted on the inner lid of his desk contained the words "when over the fair fame of friend or foe, the shadow of disgrace shall fall, instead, of words of blame or proof of thus, and so, let something good be said".

Final years
The final years were marked by the death of his closest friends for many years. When his daughter brought him the telegram containing the sad news of the Archbishop's death, Mr Onahan was in tears, and said "the light of my life has gone out". He attended the funeral, but lost interest in life afterwards. His grandchildren were his greatest joy, and consolation.

His last public appearance was at the State Centennial celebration of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society. and opening of the Quigley Memorial Hall on 13th December 1918. One of his grandsons, named after Archbishop Ireland, was a pupil at that School. He attended early Mass on Christmas Day with two of his grandchildren on either side of him as he walked through the snow.

In the New Year he became ill. An artery in his foot became clogged, and gangrenous. He received the Last Sacraments. The following night his speech went. As he lay dying, a small
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the crucifix was held to his lips, and he kissed it fervently. he passed away peacefully that night - 12th January 1919. "his funeral was held in St Patrick’s Church, the sermon was preached by very Rev. John Cavanagh, President of Notre Dame University, and the parting blessing by Cardinal Mundelein. All that is mortal of him rests in Calvary Cemetery beside the wife whom he dearly loved, and amid the friends who, with him, helped to make Chicago."

References
1. "Life of William J. Onahan" - Stories of Men who made Chicago by Mary Onahan Gallery. (Loyola University Press 1930)
3. "Who’s Who in America" V1 - p 537 (1899-1900)

Death of a Remarkable Carlow Woman-
Miss Mary Nolan
-well known as a writer, artist and Dramatic Reader

The St. Louis Republic of the 25th March says- yesterday morning at 10 o’clock Miss Mary Nolan, writer, artist, dramatic reader, chemist and inventor, died, at her home at 1211 Washington Avenue, after an illness of 20 years, at the age of 61. Such is the brief history of the passing of one of the best known women in St. Louis.

Miss Nolan was born in Carlow, Ireland, December 5, 1835. She was born in the seat of the Nolan family, for generations past, it being a common saying that everybody in Carlow is a Nolan, from the hangman to the Bishop. Her father, James Nolan, was at that time quite wealthy and Mary grew up amid all advantages for culture. The education of the Nolan family was entrusted to private masters. Financial reverses drove the family to America, when Mary was 10 years old. The four years they resided in New York she attended St. Joseph’s College on 5 Sixth Avenue. The family then removed to St. Louis, Mr. & Mrs. Nolan opening a select school at Eighteenth and Morgan Streets. She was subsequently made principal of the Carr School and was acting in this capacity at the outbreak of the war. Miss Nolan was an ardent sympathiser with the South. Because of her strong sympathies, she was subjected to the indignity of arrest. An inmate friend of hers was implicated in some political matters, and Miss Nolan was told she must tell what she knew of the circumstances or go to prison rather than prove false to her friend she went to prison.

During these years, Miss Nolan gave her attention to many subjects, coming into special prominence as writer for the magazines and daily press, having been a frequent contributor to the columns of the Republic. She wrote on every subject, her versatility being something remarkable. In 1872, she founded and edited the Central Magazine. She was not only the editor, but contributed articles of every nature over various noms de plume.

In 1876, she was appointed by the Governor to represent Missouri women at the Centennial Exposition. Her departure was delayed by the last illness of her mother, who died on March 24th, 1876. It will thus be seen that Miss Nolan died on the anniversary of her mother’s death, 20 years later. Her manner of representing the interest of Missouri earned her the lasting gratitude of the women of the State.

About this time, Miss Nolan brought out a fire-proof building material, which she called Nolanum, and which furnished the inspiration for many similar devices.

While at the Centennial Miss Nolan became a victim of the unsanitary conditions prevailing there, contracting blood poisoning, which developed into ostitis, from which she never recovered. For ten years she has been entirely helpless, her joints having become united. During all these years that she lay helpless her patience never became exhausted, nor was she ever known to enter a word of complaint. The only surviving member of the family, Miss Theresa Nolan, declares that she never heard her sister utter a hasty word. The last ten years of her life were spent in constant reading. Miss Nolan was strikingly beautiful as a girl and even at the age of 60, after an illness of nearly 20 years, all her beauty had not departed. Her funeral took place from St. John’s Catholic Church on Thursday morning, March 25.

Source: Carlow Nationalist & the Nolan Clan Newsletter

Photo: W Ellis

Newly found piece of rock art at Tomduff by John Doran
The Emergency
1940 - 1946:
Carlow men who Served
by
Seamus Murphy

1996, apart from being the 50th. anniversary of the founding of the Old Carlow Society, it is also the 50th anniversary of the demobilisation of the Army which served during the Emergency years.

In order to celebrate this anniversary, it was intended to publish particulars of the men who served in the Army, and the women who served the Army Nursery Corps, and whose home address was in County Carlow.

However, an application to consult the department of Defence in Army Headquarters relating to the Emergency years was not replied to, so the accompanying list was compiled from the memories of men who served.

For the benefit of readers, who are not familiar with the Emergency period and the Army, a short explanation is given of the commencement of the Emergency period and the composition of the Army in those years.

At the outbreak of World War II the Dail introduced emergency legislation and mobilised the Defence Forces.

At that time the Defence Forces consisted of 11,900 Regular and Army Reserves and 7,236 Volunteers, however, because of exemptions the strength of the Forces was down to 13,335 by 10th. May, 1940.

As a result of German successes in the Spring and early Summer of 1940, the Government, on the 7th. June, 1940 declared an Emergency and amended the Defence Forces Act which allowed the enlistment of personnel for the duration of the Emergency.

The result of this amendment was that the Army of the Emergency was composed of those groups.

The groups were:

1. Regulars. The men in this group had enlisted in the Army in the years since 1922. These men had enlisted for a period of years and then became part of the Reserve

2. Volunteers. These men were members of the Volunteer Force, which was initially recruited in 1934. The members of this group served a short training period, and were then included in the Reserves.

3. "E men". This group enlisted for the remainder of the Emergency. The result of this enlistment was that there was an Army of 39,744 in March 1941.

This period saw the founding of the Local Defence Force (LDF), in which, approximately 80,000 men served on a part-time basis

As already mentioned, the accompanying list was compiled with the help of men who served during the Emergency period. There are many more from the county who served at this time but after a lapse 50 years some names are bound to be forgotten, so the writer asks to be excused for any mistakes and omissions.

It will be noticed that there are different series of numbers in the list. Numbers commencing with 10 are early volunteer members while the numbers in the 20s. (are volunteers who joined in the 1938-40 period. The (E 43) are Emergency Service numbers.

Conclusion
The writer wishes to thank all who helped to compile this list of County Carlow men, especially Des Nolan, who supplied most of the names.

Also Lt. Col. J.P. Duggan for permission to use information from his History of the Irish Army and Mr. Michael Jones for his considerable help.

Readers who wish to know more of the Army of the Emergency could consult the above book and volumes XIX, Nos. 75 & 76 of The Irish Sword, journal of the Military History Society of Ireland.
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The Weatherman Murphy

Meteorological Quack or Maligned Scientist?

Dr. Michael Farry,

In an age of satellite imaging and meteorological centres the art of science of weather forecasting is very much taken for granted. 150 years ago, such was not the case and weather forecasting was of great importance to all. Weather has always been a discussion topic in rural Ireland and time was when every farmhouse had a copy of Old Moore's Almanac. Another lesser known Almanac was that of Carlowian, Patrick The Weatherman Murphy.

Almanacs
Traditionally, Almanacs provided useful weather information throughout each month of the year, detailing times of daylight and darkness, eclipses and movements of planets. Then as now, this information was extremely useful to navigators and farmers. Early almanacs were pamphlets containing predictions of ancient Persian and Roman astrologers and most readers will be familiar with that of Beware the ideas of March in Shakespeare's Julius Caesar. Modern almanacs contain all types of information and statistics, in England almanacs were published from about 1600 while in the U.S Benjamin Franklin published Poor Richard's Almanac in 1733.

Patrick Murphy was born the fifth son of John Murphy and Eleanor Kenny of Sligoufi who were married in Hacketstown on 26 October, 1777 and had ten children. He was born on April 3, 1784. (This birthdate was recorded by his father in family documents and the year 1782 which appears in the Dictionary of National Biography is incorrect) An ancestor of the Murphys of Kilcumney, County Carlow he became a student at St. Patrick's College, Carlow on October 3, 1797 at the age of 13.

His uncle, Rev Dr. Arthur Murphy was educated in the Irish College, Paris became Parish Priest of Kilcock and died in Kilcumney, County Carlow on October 3, 1797 at the age of 13.

Declined to accept the appointment as Bishop. He was acting Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin from July 1814 until the appointment of Rev. Cottorfan.

Independent means
Patrick Murphy lived at Ballyellen after the flour mill there was leased by his brothers and later in Ballinkillen. By the age of 37 he had independent means having an income of £150 a year from land in Crutenclogh and Ballinkillen in addition to £100 a year from the Ballyellen Mills (destroyed by fire in 1830). He decided to travel and embarked on a three year tour of England, France and Italy, returning in the summer of 1824.

The coldest day
He settled in London and became famous in 1838 for accurately predicting the coldest day of the century on 20 January of that year, in his book A Weather Almanac on Scientific Principles for every day 1838. He predicted Fair, prob. lowest deg. winter temp. It turned out to be a very cold day with the temperature at four degrees below zero. Reputedly the coldest day of the century, the prediction brought him immediate notoriety.

The author of The new theory of Meteorology and Physics and other works, his earlier attempts at weather forecasting were less successful. In 1834 he had written The Anatomy of the Seasons and Weather Guide-Book and Companion to the Almanac, 1834 an unspectacular and non event in its own right.

The Weather Almanac for 1838, however, brought him fame and fortune, selling for the then princely sum of 1s and 6d. Forty five editions of the Almanac were printed and Murphy made a profit of £3,000 which he allegedly lost soon afterwards in an unsuccessful speculation in corn.

Weather Prophet
When word of his accurate prediction spread he was dubbed the weather prophet and demand for his almanac grew. The crowds which gathered outside Whitaker the publisher's shop were so great that, according to reports, they nearly caused the destruction of the premises owing to the rush of customers anxious to secure copies of his lucubrations.

"O Mr. Murphy Mr. Murphy O! To what a pitch will Irish blarney go!"

Was he one of the great men of all time or a maligned scientist? Despite the letters M.N.S. after his name there is little doubt that he had no formal qualifications. When asked what the letters represented he replied Member of No Society.

Although he continued to publish his almanac he was unable to repeat his success of the 20 January and his forecasts were wrong for 196 days of 1838. Sales of the Almanac in succeeding years declined, his initial success was ascribed to luck and critical articles began to refer to him as a quack.
Accomplishments
His first work is believed to be *An Inquiry into the nature and Cause of Miasmata*. He wrote two papers on Meteorology and Climate in 1843 for the Italian Society of Science meeting in Padua and was elected a member of that society. He was also the author of a book on *Rudiments of the Primary Forces of Gravity, Magnetism and Electricity*.

Detractors
His detractors excoriated him in the public press describing his almanac as "another attempt to turn John Bull's love of quackery to a profitable and promising account" and referring to him as "a rogue fellow". Frazer's Magazine claimed that his almanac was constructed on the doctrine of chance and that it was on the principle of Pindar’s Razors- not for use, but for sale. In those days being described as a rogue was not a complimentary sobriquet but he did not initiate a libel suit.

Demise
He died suddenly on the 1 December, 1847 at his lodgings in the house of a Mr. Thomas Smyth, 108 Dorset Street, Salisbury Square, London. He was aged 63. His remains were interred in St. Bride's Church, Fleet Street, London.

His demise was recorded in the London Sun of the 6 December, the Times of the 7 December, the Illustrated London News of December 11, 1847 and in the Gentleman's Magazine of April 1848. He had just completed arrangements for the issue of an 1848 edition of his Almanac and was with his publishers representative, a Mr. Effington Wilson, in perfect health a few hours prior to his death.
The Honourable Peter Doyle
Though a comparatively young man, being but little more than thirty years of age, he shows a maturity and wisdom in his action upon public affairs which gives the impression of being a much older man than he really is; and his official action has the decorum, dignity and sobriety which belong to advanced years. He is a thorough man of business, a well read lawyer and a scholar of ripe requirements. He is really one of the ablest men in public life in the state. His reports and the part which he has taken in the administration of the state finances are evidence of the thoroughness and great capacity which he brought into office. The vigour with which he discharges all the duties which the law places upon him, and the labourious care which he bestows not only on the larger but the minor details of business are such as have not been surpassed even by the most industrious and experienced of his predecessors.

Shortly after his retirement from Office and while travelling in the British Isles and mainland Europe, he included a visit to Ireland. On his return to America, he embarked on a course to update his legal studies at Yale University. He graduated with a Bachelor of Law degree, ranking third in a class of over thirty graduates.

Parker McCobb Reed continues in his biographical details: Mr. Doyle is upward of six feet in height, of well developed form, and is capable of enduring much physical and mental labour. He is dignified in appearance and deportment, but is modest and unassuming, and has a high appreciation of real merit. He deliberates carefully, and acts with promptness, energy and decision, sincere and honest in his convictions, and earnest in the advocacy of his principles, he looks only to that which he believes to be right, disregarding mere expediency. He is a forcible writer and speaker, is clear in his views, logical in argument and classical in style. He is fond of poetry, and is familiar with many of the works of English and German poets, as well as the ancient classical authors. Politically he favours the largest degree of liberty consistent with the welfare of society, and is strenuously opposed to interference by the state in matters pertaining to the individual right or private conscience.

He returned to practice at the bar. Among his closest friends were John Lawler and William J. Onahan, writer of ability, chief organizer of the first Catholic Congress of America, held in Baltimore in 1887, the first treasurer of the World’s Fair and a native of Leighlinbridge County Carlow.

Source: The Bench and Bar of Wisconsin. Secretaries of State by Parker McCobb Reed, Milwaukee 1882

From Lewis’s Topographical Dictionary
Royal Oak, a village, in the parish of Killinane, barony of Idrone West, county of Carlow, and province of Leinster, 1 mile (S.W.) from Bagenalstown, on the road from Dublin to Carlow, containing 82 houses and 428 inhabitants. This place is situated on the River Barrow, which is here crossed by a bridge, and derives its name from that of an old and well known Inn in its vicinity, which was established previously to the erection of the village.
On 18 April 1996 hundreds of people gathered at the holy well in Old Leighlin to celebrate the feastday of Saint Laserian. Or should that be 'Lazerian, with a zed'? Indeed, the name of the man who became patron saint of the diocese of Leighlin is perhaps best spelt 'Laisren', this being a form of the older Gaelic version which was later Latinised or Anglicised as 'Laserian' and 'Lazerian'.

Laisren's name is found spelt in a variety of ways in both Ireland and Scotland. There too his feastday is 18 April. In both countries he was also known as 'Molaise', a contraction which came about over time when the affectionate prefix 'mo' was placed before his original name.

I am currently engaged in writing an account of the life and legacy of Laisren. This includes not only details of what is recorded about the saint himself but also an examination of the society from which he sprang and some subsequent history of the two main sites with which he is associated. One of these is Old Leighlin, Co. Carlow, and the other is Holy Island in Strathclyde.

That Laisren appears to have lived for a while in what is now Scotland is not widely known in Carlow. The island on which he is said to have spent time lies in Lamlash Bay, off the east coast of Arran, which itself is a large island in the Firth of Clyde.

Lamlash Bay is one of the best anchorages in these islands and has been used into modern times by various fleets, including those of the Vikings and of the British Navy. Both the bay and the village of Lamlash take their name from Saint Laisren, being contractions of the Gaelic words meaning 'Island of Molaise' or 'Eilean Molaise'.

This Holy Island is not to be confused with that of Lindisfarne, which lies across on the other side of Britain in the North Sea. On Molaise's island is a cave in which he is said to have resided, being marked with the scratches of pilgrims who made their way to it across Arran in the middle ages.

Near Molaise's cave is a holy well which, like that at Old Leighlin, has long been venerated by the people of the locality as a place where those who are physically ill can be cured by drinking the waters. Beside the Scottish well is a great rock with a flat top. This is sometimes known as 'the Pulpit Rock' and sometimes as the 'Judgement stone'.

The memory of Molaise is respected and kept alive by the present occupiers of Holy Island. These are members of an order of Buddhist monks, belonging to a particular Tibetan tradition. The abbot who is responsible for the island is a refugee from the Chinese invasion of Tibet in the 1950s. His order's decision to acquire the island has been welcomed by representatives of both the Catholic and Protestant churches in Scotland.

The circumstances in which the Tibetans came to Holy Island are extraordinary. It had been acquired previously by the Morris family. Catherine Morris of Dublin had once been a Catholic novice nun but had subsequently married a North American. She is reported to have had a childhood vision in which, as she lay ill at her family home in Dublin one sunny afternoon, a beautiful golden ray touched the end of her bed and then intensified:
Suddenly there was a man standing at the foot of the bed. He had longish silver hair, was rather tanned, wearing a long dark robe and something peculiar on his head. He raised his hand in what I took to be a greeting or blessing. He was radiating golden light, and there was a wonderful feeling of love. I asked him his name. He said it was difficult and told me four different names, two beginning with L and two beginning with M. The only one I could understand was one that sounded like Molly. Then he said to me 'one day you will own my country' and that through me he would be remembered.

When Catherine's husband, Jim, had a series of heart attacks, it became clear that the Morris family would have to give up Holy Island. Catherine Morris was aware that some Tibetan Buddhist refugees had arrived in Scotland following the Chinese invasion of their homeland and that these had established at Eskdalemuir in Dumfries and Galloway a centre for meditation and religious study. However, the Tibetans and their western friends had quite enough commitments to keep them busy.

Certainly we were not actively seeking such a property when we were approached by the island's owner Mrs Kay Morris. In the autumn of 1990, Mrs Morris wrote to Lama Yeshe Losal saying she felt slightly awkward having for some time the wish to broach the subject of the sale of the island with us but her shyness prevented her. Finally, her circumstances were dictating that she try every possible course of action while she still had control of the situation. From the outset, Mrs Morris was aware in her own words that 'the island was using her to fulfil its destiny'.

The Tibetans were already hard-pressed to raise money for their existing needs and aspirations in Dumfries and Galloway. The centre which they had founded there, known as Samye Ling in memory of Tibet's oldest monastery, was attracting a considerable number of visitors from different religious backgrounds and there were plans to build a temple, a library and new accommodation.

However, it was found that Holy Island gripped the imagination of potential donors. Within a very short time a substantial sum was raised and four years ago the island was acquired. A special ceremony to mark the event was attended at Molaise's cave by representatives of both the Catholic and Protestant churches. Ambitious plans to convert and extend an old farmouse on Holy Island, so that it might be used by people of different traditions as a 'Centre for Peace, Reconciliation and Retreat', were recently granted planning permission by the local district council.

This interesting development in Scotland, which may be of significance for the future of both Christians and Buddhists, provided one of the stimuli for my current research. I was also aware of Laisren through my study of another saint, Maignenn, from whom Kilmainham, Co. Dublin, gets its name.

In a medieval account of Maignenn, which forms the basis for two chapters in my recent book on the history of Kilmainham, I had come across a description of a meeting between Maignenn and Laisren. Soon I found myself being drawn into researching the story of Laisren and of his legacy in both Ireland and Scotland.

I would be glad to hear from anybody in Carlow who has old stories about Laisren or Old Leighlin, including stories of cures or other phenomena associated with the well, and I may be contacted at Dublin City University, Glasnevin, Dublin 9 (Ph. 01-7045235).


St. Laisren's Cross at Old Leighlin before the turn of the century
Archaeological Air Survey in County Carlow: Discovery and Destruction

Aerial survey is a powerful and cost-effective technique of archaeological research which in many parts of the British Isles has transformed our understanding of the density, spatial distribution and character of early settlement and land use from the prehistoric to the medieval period.

The potential of archaeological air survey in Ireland was demonstrated in the 1960s and 1970s through the pioneer photography by Professor St. Joseph from the Cambridge University Committee for Aerial Photography (CUCAP). The Irish photography in the CUCAP archives provides a wealth of information for the study of the cultural evolution of the Irish landscape and has been a major source of data in the compilation of the County Archaeological Inventories including the Carlow volume (1993).

Following the cessation of the CUCAP surveys in Ireland in 1971, important advances in aerial photography were made by Daphne Pochin-Mould and Leo Swan. However the volume and scope of specialist aerial survey for archaeological and historical purposes remained relatively restricted. From 1989, financial support from the Leverhulme Trust, the British Academy and the University of Wolverhampton has enabled me to explore further the potential of archaeological air survey in Ireland:

* as a technique of discovery, particularly through the recording of plough levelled archaeological sites no longer evident at ground level, nor recorded on the first edition Ordnance Survey maps, but visible from the air as differential patterns of crop growth above the buried archaeological deposits (Fig. 1).

* as a means of monitoring the modification and destruction of archaeological sites and landscapes.

**CROPMARKS: the 'hidden' landscape revealed**

![Diagram of cropmarks](https://example.com/cropmarks.png)

Fig.1 The formation of cropmarks above a plough levelled archaeological site (after Wilson, 1982).

**Positive cropmarks** are formed where buried ditches lie hidden beneath the ground surface. The extra depth of soil, with its increased moisture and nutrient content, enhances crop growth. The taller, more luxuriant plants remain green long after the remainder of the crop has ripened.

**Negative cropmarks** are formed where stony deposits remain beneath the ground; here plant growth is stunted and the crop ripens early.

Although sometimes visible at ground level, the pattern and significance of cropmarks can only be fully appreciated from the air.
The aerial photography was taken through the open window of a light plane with a hand held 35mm camera. By circling and banking steeply the best angle of view and lighting can be achieved thus enhancing the clarity of the archaeological feature. Specialist oblique photography of this type is more successful than vertical photography as a technique of archaeological discovery.

Contrasting study areas were selected ranging from Co. Louth in the north-east to the Dingle peninsula in the south-west. The river systems of the River Nore and Barrow in the fertile south-east proved particularly rewarding for the discovery and recording of cropmarks developed above sub-surface archaeological structures (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2: Fertile arable landscape on the west bank of the River Barrow, at Killinane, Co. Carlow.

The River Barrow valley was selected as a major zone for aerial survey from 1989. The river flows through some of the most fertile arable land in Ireland, with documentary sources revealing a high incidence of tillage in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This area can therefore be seen as a 'zone of archaeological destruction' in which the record of field monuments and landscape evidence will have been severely disrupted by agricultural activity. However, the combination of light well, drained soils and extensive cereal cultivation also render the area very responsive as a 'zone of aerial discovery', with a substantial number of cropmarks, indicating the presence of subsurface archaeological features, being recorded.

At Killinane, green positive cropmarks in a ripening cereal crop reveal the presence of a curvilinear enclosure (possibly a settlement or cattle pound) and a small ring ditch with faint traces of an outer enclosure (possibly a burial site). Both cropmarks are new archaeological discoveries which may not be contemporaneous. Small, discrete cropmarks such as these dominate the cropmark record.

Aerial survey in the River Barrow valley

A 900 km² transect was defined between Monasterevin and Bagenalstown, also incorporating an extensive area of undulating topography east of the River Barrow. A detailed evaluation of the results obtained in the River Barrow transect 1989-1991 has recently been published (Barrett 1995). The newly identified cropmark sites range from simple, discrete enclosures such as those at Killinane, Co. Carlow (Fig. 2) to extensive cropmark landscapes. To demonstrate both the potential and limitations of aerial survey as a research technique in archaeology two of the most important cropmark complexes recorded in the River Barrow transect will now be considered.

Copyright: With the exception of Fig. 9 all aerial photographs are the copyright of G. Barrett, University of Wolverhampton.

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D.R. Wilson, Air photo interpretation for archaeologists (London 1982)
Rainstown, Co Carlow: a window on a landscape

The Rainstown cropmarks are located 7 km east of the River Barrow at an altitude of 90m. (Fig. 3). The modern landscape is one of intensive cereal cultivation set within large, regular fields. No antiquities are recorded in the *Archaeological Inventory of Co. Carlow* within this townland. However, the uniformity of the modern fields belies the complexity of landscape formation at Rainestown, where a number of distinctive stratigraphic layers can be identified. The first edition Ordnance survey map of 1839 reveals a countryside dominated by the demesne landscapes of Russellstown Park, Burton Hall and Duckett's Grove, with extensive ornamental park lands. Although Rainestown was under cultivation at this time, the fields were small and irregular. The break-up of the big estates transformed this landscape; park lands were converted to agricultural use and field patterns rationalised. At Rainestown some of the nineteenth century boundaries, which had been removed by the time of the second edition Ordnance Survey map of 1906, can be identified as cropmarks, as can the straight parallel lines of an extensive land drainage system. Beneath these features, however, another earlier layer of landscape can be detected in the form of a complicated sequence of contiguous cropmark enclosures.

![Fig. 3: Cropmark sequence at Rainstown, Co. Carlow](image)

**Fig. 3: Cropmark sequence at Rainstown, Co. Carlow**

Within this large, level field an earlier horizon of landscape formation is revealed in the form of positive cropmarks developed within a cereal crop growing over fertile grey-brown podzolic soils. These cropmark images, although truncated by an unresponsive crop to the north-west, provide the most extensive and varied sequence of cropmarks yet recorded in the River Barrow transect. The sequence incorporates curvilinear features located at a slightly higher elevation in the northern part of the field, and rectilinear components and a field system in the lower, south-eastern area.

Given the previous absence of known archaeological features in this townland, the aerial photography at Rainestown has revealed a remarkable 'window' on a past landscape, revealing a rich and varied subsurface archaeological record. The photograph provides the starting point for research. Every photograph requires careful interpretation whereby the archaeological detail is identified and other important factors influencing the understanding of the archaeological site are examined, for example underlying geology, soil type, and current land use practices. A computerised mapping system is then employed to correct the tilt distortion inherent in oblique photography, thus permitting the production of accurate plans (Fig. 4).

![Fig. 4: Cartographic representation of the Rainestown cropmark sequence, Co. Carlow](image)

**Fig. 4: Cartographic representation of the Rainestown cropmark sequence, Co. Carlow.**

Using the Bradford Aerial system devised by John Haigh, computer generated plans can be produced at any scale, with an accurate portrayal of the size and shape of cropmark features.

Without further ground based investigations, suggestions regarding the cultural significance of cropmark sites often remain speculative. However, the morphological characteristics at Rainestown suggest an Early Christian/early medieval context. The cropmarks are conjoined rather than overlapping, suggesting the gradual expansion of the settlement through the addition of the rectilinear enclosures and adjacent field system.
**Linkardstown, Co. Carlow: an emerging landscape context for known archaeological sites**

Linkardstown is located on the northern fringes of the Nurney Ridge, 5 km east of the River Barrow. Two archaeological sites have been recorded in the townland:

* a Bronze Age cist burial discovered by chance through ploughing and excavated in 1944. The burial, an adult inhumation, was located at the highest point of the townland (110m).

* the remnants of an early church and surrounding graveyard.

![Diagram of Linkardstown, Co. Carlow: location and computer generated plans.](image)

Once again, without ground based investigation it is difficult to place these cropmark sequences in a specific cultural context. The previously known archaeological features provided two isolated centres of activity within the townland, the burial site of the mid-third millennium B.C. and the Early Christian church site. The aerial photography has provided new components of a more extensive 'hidden' landscape within which these sites may have functioned, and which certainly provides evidence for a more complex pattern of landscape formation over time.

**Archaeological air survey: potential and problems**

The cropmarks at Linkardstown and Rainestown reveal both the strengths and limitations of archaeological air survey. Aerial reconnaissance can generate substantial numbers of new archaeological sites. 106 new discoveries were made in the River Barrow transect in just six hours of air survey in the first season of reconnaissance in 1989, 37 of these being in Co. Carlow. These cropmark discoveries are important quantitatively and spatially, adding a new dimension to the archaeological record at the regional and local level.

Cropmarks are transient features, appearing and disappearing in response to weather, soil and crop conditions. The cropmarks at Rainestown and Linkardstown have only been recorded on one occasion, 21 July 1989 and 12 July 1989 respectively. Despite reconnaissance in every year since 1989 and in different seasons, neither cropmark sequence was photographed again. Careful planning and timing of aerial survey are therefore required. Drought conditions are particularly rewarding for cropmark formation. For example in July 1989, precipitation was very low, with only 18% of normal values being recorded in Co. Carlow. Soil moisture deficits were high, reaching 105mm by the end of July. These conditions proved excellent for the development of large numbers of cropmark images of great clarity. Ideally a cumulative pattern of survey in different seasons and years is needed, each flight gradually augmenting the archaeological data base.

Although the aerial photograph provides considerable detail, the cropmark image only reveals a fragment of the underlying archaeological reality. Also, the cultural interpretation of the cropmark discoveries cannot usually be achieved from the aerial photograph alone. The photograph provides the location and morphology of a newly identified archaeological site, but the crucial issues of function and dating will usually remain speculative unless further ground based research is possible. It is unlikely that the time and resources needed for full scale excavation will ever be devoted to extensive cropmark sites such as these. Integrated programmes of non destructive ground based investigations, including field walking and the plotting of artefact scatters, phosphate surveys and geophysical investigation will be needed to clarify the functional and chronological characteristics of these new additions to the archaeological record.
Fig. 6: Cropmark landscape at Linkardstown, Co. Carlow (See Fig. 5 B).

The complex is dominated by a large irregular curvilinear enclosure situated on a level terrace above a break of slope, leading down hill to the south. No trace of the enclosure survives in the modern landscape, although the curved field boundary follows the line of the enclosure on its eastern side. The enclosure has a maximum internal diameter of 60m and is defined by a broad 5m. ditch, with a double ditched annexe (50m x 30m) attached to the west. Two smaller curvilinear enclosures and a diffuse pattern of field boundaries, possibly intermixed with geomorphological features, complete the sequence.

Aerial survey: Update 1996

The archaeological air survey project in the River Barrow valley began in 1989, when weather conditions were particularly favourable for the formation and photography of cropmarks. 1990 and 1995 also produced good results. The remaining years, with their weather and more variable weather conditions, were less suitable for archaeological air survey. 1996 has proved comparable to 1989 with large number of cropmarks of high clarity being recorded in counties Carlow and Kildare. While some of these cropmarks are repeat photography of sites first recorded by professor St. Joseph or as part of the current project, many appear to be near archaeological discoveries.

A particular feature of the 1996 survey was the recording of large cropmark enclosures often in interlinked groups providing an insight into the organisation and layout of the early landscape.

Much locational and analytical work remains to be completed before the 1996 results can be fully assessed; they will, however, provide another important layer to the already rich archaeological record of the River Barrow valley.

(True to form, neither Rainstown nor Linkardstown were visible during the 1996 survey period!)
The aerial view: a record of destruction

The aerial view provides not only a technique of discovery, but also a record of the modification and destruction of archaeological sites. From the air the character of landscape change is revealed: the extent of quarrying, new housing developments, road improvement, the installation of public utilities and agricultural intensification and land improvement. The pace and impact of such changes can be monitored from the air and the repercussions on archaeological sites and landscapes can be assessed.

Substantial numbers of field monuments recorded on the Ordnance Survey revisions of the 1930s and 1940s have been levelled, usually without any archaeological investigation (Figs. 7 and 8). While many of these sites may appear small and unimpressive, each represents not only a valuable and irreplaceable component of the archaeological record, but also an important facet of the modern countryside, adding interest and character to the landscape.

Fig. 7: 'Rathtoe', Co. Carlow as depicted on the 1908 Ordnance Survey 1:10,560 map.

Some of the sites which have been destroyed in Co. Carlow are of regional and national importance, for example the earthworks at Killeeshal, the only example of an 'archaeological complex' defined in the County Archaeological Inventory. In 1971 aerial photography reveals well preserved earthworks, including a ringfort, a moated site and a larger enclosure (Fig. 9). Unfortunately by 1977 the earthworks had been completely levelled and in July 1990 the site can only be identified through the positive cropmarks developed above the sub surface ditches (Fig.10). The destruction of this important complex in the 1970s is a major loss to the archaeology of Co. Carlow.
The cropmark components of the archaeological record are also vulnerable (Fig. 11).

Although modified and disturbed by agricultural activity these cropmark sites may still incorporate important archaeological and palaeo-ecological deposits. While it may not be possible to protect all such sites, a watching brief should be maintained on development proposals so that important sequences such as this could be protected or at least investigated prior to development. Local historical societies can play an important role in monitoring archaeological sites placed at risk through landscape change.
The Mullaghreelan Murder

An unsolved 19th century crime

Michael J. Wall

At five o'clock, on the morning of the 20th of December 1867, James Lawler, left his home in Hallohoise, with his horse and cart. Walking towards Mullaghreelan, he was joined by Michael Kinsella of Bushfield, with his mule and cart - both were heading for the collieries of Rossmore. At Bushfield gate, the residence of Mr. Thomas Greene, both beasts suddenly took fright. Lawler, in restraining his horse from going into the ditch, saw a 'black lump' at the side of the road lying by the side of the footpath. Investigating further, he found it to be the body of a man who was dead and cold with blood on his face. Both men immediately contacted Constable Mannion at Castledermot, who then arrived at the scene with three sub constables from the barracks. Constable Mannion, on examining the body, found the man lying on the broad of his back, by the edge of the footpath, his body touching the curb-stone. A pilot coat covered him, and there was nothing on his body but a shirt, a pair of stockings - the soles of which were perfectly clean, and a bloody handkerchief over his neck; one of his boots (longboots) was between his legs and the other doubled up and shoved down between his body and the footpath. Also, a pair of brown woollen gloves were convenient to the body. Twelve paces from the body, a suspender was found, along with a blackthorn stick, described as having a small knob at the head, rough to the end where the branches were cut off and about three inches of bark missing from the end. At this particular place, the road was dirty, and there was only one footpath on the right hand side leading in the direction of Athy. The dead man was found lying quite close to an old gate entrance to an unoccupied house. A quantity of blood was found on the footpath, and traces of blood were also discernable on one of the gate posts - a block of whitewashed granite. From the preliminary evidence, it was quite clear to Constable Mannion that a brutal murder had been committed. The remains of the dead man were then removed to an unoccupied cabin and a sentry was placed there to guard the body.

Constable Mannion immediately proceeded with enquiries, and sent at once for Sub Inspector John G. Webb of Athy, who arrived quickly to the scene along with Dr. Clayton, also of Athy. On examining the body, Dr. Clayton, assisted by Dr. O'Neill of Castledermot, found that the deceased man died from concussion of the brain brought about by external violence. Later that morning, Timothy Dunne, a car driver from Athy, identified the body as that of William Dunne of Monascreeban, Ballyadams in the Queen's County. A brother in law of William Dunne, who lived about three quarters of a mile away, came later in the day to view the body, but because of the nature of the injuries received, he had considerable difficulty in identifying it.

Meanwhile, the Marquis of Kildare and his steward Mr. Douglas, had men out searching on Mullaghreelan Hill, which, in recent years, had been planted with ornamental trees. Near an old sand pit on the side of the hill, known as the Gallow's pit, a rolled up bundle at the foot of a fir tree was found.

S. J. Webb who was in the cabin where the body was at the time was sent for. On examining the bundle he found it to be an old corduroy trousers which was wet: on several parts of the legs and body there were blood stains and on the bottom of the legs there was fresh road mud. Within ten yards of where the trousers was found, S. J. Webb assisted by John Scully of Castledermot, found an old worn frock coat. It was made of coarse tweed; the outside pockets were ravelled, and some cotton was exposed at the elbows. It was stained on the breast and sleeves with blood; On searching the pockets of the coat he found several pieces of paper with blood on them; one a bill from Peppard and Sons, Athy, dated December 11th 1867, to Mr. William Dunne; the amount £25, marked paid; three other bills for flour and bacon, sugar, tea etc., with no name on them; part of an envelope with the direction "To C. F. Mul---", part of the name torn off, 17 Grosvenor terrace, Rathgar, Dublin; a docket from the public crane, dated November, and no name on it, and part of a poor rate receipt, signed Peter Mooney collector, for house and land, rated at £25 - 15 - 0 at Monascreeban, Ballyadams electoral division, dated November 1867; also a pipe and some pieces of waste paper and some old rags. At the same time as the coat was found, William Shaughnessy, who worked for Lord Kildare, found a hat - a low small hat, worn and greasy, with a small leaf and no band. The clothes found on Mullaghreelan Hill were then left in the charge of Constable Mannion. Later that Friday evening, a magisterial investigation was quickly held under Joseph Cox R. M. of Carlow; the result proved that a dreadful murder had been committed, that the coroner for the region had been telegraphed, and an inquest was called for the following day.

The Inquest

The inquest, on Saturday the 21st of December 1867, was held in a cottage convenient to the place where the murder was committed, before Dr. Carter, one of the coroner's for the county Kildare, and a local jury, assisted by the Marquis of Kildare J. P., Joseph Cox R. M., and John G. Webb S. I. Also present were Constable Gloster and a small party of the Ballylinan Constabulary under the command of J. Gibbons S. I., as the murdered man resided within that police district.

The following were sworn on the jury: - James McDonald, William Thompson, Jacob Murray, John Lyons, Michael Sheppard, Timothy Byrne, Charles McDonald, William Delaney, James Farrell, Pat Dowling, James Rice and James McDonald.

The coroner, addressing the jury, said "Gentlemen, you are assembled to enquire for the crown, when, where and by what means William Dunne has come by his death; that upon the evidence that will be adduced by the Constabulary your verdict is to be solely and entirely founded. The first step is to view the body, the next, that the body should be fully identified, and that being done we will proceed to take evidence."
After the jury had viewed the body, Charles McDonald formally identified the body of the deceased as that of William Dunne, late of Ballyadams, Queen's County. After James Lawler, Michael Kinsella, Constable Mannion and S.I. Webb were examined, the following evidence was given:

Edward Greene on examination said - "I was servant to the deceased man and was in Castledermot fair with him on Thursday last, the 19th of December; three of his cows were there in my charge - they were not sold; I left Castledermot with the cows to return home, between twelve and half past twelve; deceased left the fair with me, and went about two hundred and fifty or three hundred yards; he then went back to the fair; he said he would go back to buy a heifer calf if he could see anyone in Castledermot to carry it home; he was then alone and sober; I know the clothes he had on him that day; the clothes taken from my master were a pair of dark coloured tweed trousers, a carolite hat and a faded black frock coat; none of the clothes produced here were the property, or ever worn by him; I did not see my master again alive; I did not see anyone with Mr. Dunne at the fair who wore the description of the clothes produced."

Thomas Hutton in evidence said - "I am in the employment of Mr. Owen McDonald, of Castledermot; On the last fair day of Castledermot; a horse was left in my charge, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, and my master told me it was Mr. Dunne's horse; it was a clipped grey mare; the same man returned for the horse at about half past four in the evening and took him; he got up on him to ride away; he was drunk; I thought him to be very drunk; a boy named James Murphy came into the yard with him; I did not know Murphy to be his brother in law; James Murphy left the yard before Mr. Dunne; he wheeled up by the gate in the direction of Rice's public house which is about 30 yards from Mr. McDonald's yard; I did not see him after; but, half an hour later, I heard him talking outside Mr. McDonald's house; I knew him from his talk; a woman in Mr. McDonald's house saw him."

Mrs. Anne Rice, whose husband James Rice kept a public house in Castledermot, stated that, on the fair day last Thursday, she saw William Dunne of Ballyadams, whom she knew, for the last time in her premises, after nightfall - between four and five o'clock. There was a man with him, whom she did not know. He was a middle sized man, elderly, and had a reduced appearance. He wore an old low black felt hat and a faded looking grey coat. This man and William Dunne returned for the horse at about half past four in the evening and took him; he got up on him to ride away; he was drunk; I thought him to be very drunk; a boy named James Murphy came into the yard with him; I did not know Murphy to be his brother in law; James Murphy left the yard before Mr. Dunne; he wheeled up by the gate in the direction of Rice's public house which is about 30 yards from Mr. McDonald's yard; I did not see him after; but, half an hour later, I heard him talking outside Mr. McDonald's house; I knew him from his talk; a woman in Mr. McDonald's house saw him."

When the clothes, i.e. the hat, coat and trousers, were produced, Behan said - "to the best of my belief, these were the clothes worn by James Coffey that day - I remarked all the clothes worn by James Coffey that day as I had not seen him for the last eight or ten years before." When S.I. Webb produced the black thorn stick, Behan said "this is the stick that I had for me; I had a hazel rod with me, and I gave it to him; I went out to the street and came back again, and when I was going to start out, I went for the bridle, and when taking it, a blackthorn stick fell down - my attention was attracted by a portion of the bark having been off the end of it. James Coffey was an hour in my company, talking about some of his past follies; I knew him to have lived at Tim Dunne's of Ballyadams, for years, which is about half a mile from where William Dunne lived. In my conversation with Coffey, he said to me "that William Dunne had told him, earlier at the fair, about a sad accident that occurred to William Knowles." I gave Coffey six pence in the fair. I met Coffey several times after in the fair, and he had a stick."

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Dr. Clayton and Dr. O'Neill then handed in their evidence in writing, describing minutely the state of the deceased, and stating that death resulted from concussion of the brain, caused by external violence. Dr. O'Neill also added that the stick produced could have caused the marks on the head, and that the victim might have been stripped while alive, and died from the effects of the injury. In reply to a question from the foreman of the jury, Dr. Clayton said that the injuries received by the deceased were not consistent with those of a man falling from a horse helpless with liquor.

Mr. Webb said he could produce other witnesses but he thought he had given sufficient evidence. There was one witness particularly who would be most important - that was the murdered man's wife. She could prove that he must have had a large amount of money in his possession - at least £40 or £50 which he took to the fair, but, that she is near her confinement, and could not be brought here for some time. The foreman of the jury agreed with Mr. Webb in that there was evidence enough in this case.

Addressing the jury, the Coroner Dr. Carter first of all gave a summary of each of the accounts of the witnesses. Next, he made reference to a number of significant facts - viz.

The soles of the murdered man's stockings were dry and unsalted, from which he concluded that the man did not walk
The clothes found concealed in the wood were not those of the murdered man, and not only this, but Dunne's clothes were actually taken off him by some person or persons.

James Coffey was in the company of William Dunne at an earlier part of the fair day. Dr. Carter then added - "although it would be desirable if evidence could be adduced to show what hour Dunne left Castledermot and by whom he was accompanied."

Most of the witnesses agreed that, the description of the clothes worn by James Coffey on the fair day, were similar to those found in the wood.

There was almost conclusive proof that the blackthorn stick found close to the murdered man was the same as the one that James Coffey had in the fair.

The evidence of the medical gentleman showed that William Dunne's death was caused by concussion of the brain brought on by external violence.

In conclusion, Dr. Carter said - "I think you can have little difficulty in coming to the conclusion that the deceased, William Dunne, was willfully murdered - not, unfortunately by some person or persons unknown, but, as far as the evidence has gone, it throws the guilt upon the aforesaid James Coffey. Provided this man is taken, you will send him before the Grand Jury, who will deal with him according with evidence produced before them. This is only a preliminary inquiry, and your minds may not be burdened by any qualms, as you are perfectly justified in sending a person for trial who is strongly suspected, without the proof of guilt and identification which constitutes a murderer."

The foreman of the jury said they were quite agreed that the man was murdered, but he thought it would be too strong to say that Coffey committed the murder, as the evidence did not bring it home clearly to him.

The Coroner replied "Unless I have such a verdict as will justify me in issuing a warrant, it would be an act of tyranny in me to do so. It is for you to consider whether you have sufficient evidence before you do so."

After some further conversation, the following verdict was agreed to, in which the Coroner expressed his entire concurrence - "We find the deceased, William Dunne was found dead on the high road at Bushfield, County Kildare on the 20th December 1867; that the deceased was willfully murdered and that, in our opinion, James Coffey not amenable, is the party by whom the injuries were inflicted which caused his death."

The Coroner then issued a warrant for the arrest of Coffey on a charge of "wilful murder", and the inquiry was brought to a close.

The Victim
At nine o'clock on Saturday night the 21st of December, the remains of William Dunne reached his home at Monascreeban close to Ballyadams Chapel, about eleven miles from where he was murdered. His funeral took place the next day, and at about two o'clock, his remains were borne on men's shoulders to Clonfook burial ground. The funeral was the largest seen in that part of the country for a number of years.

William Dunne was the son of George Dunne and Brigid Dunne. He held a lease of about thirty five acres in Monascreeban (now part of Meredith's farm), where his family had been for a number of generations, and a lease of another twenty five acres in the adjacent townland of Parkahoughill. In November of 1865, he married Delia Murphy, the daughter of James Murphy and Margaret McDonald (she died in February of that year), both from Mullaghreelan. Both the Murphy's (nicknamed the Keg Murphy's), and the McDonald's, held leases on sizeable farms in Mullaghreelan for well over one hundred years. William and Delia had a daughter Brigid, born in September 1866, and a son William, born subsequent to his father's death. William Dunne was fifty four years of age when he was murdered.
Shortly after his death, the family of William Dunne, erected a small iron cross, still visible today, on the spot where his body was found.

Aftermath

The coming days saw unceasing efforts by the Royal Irish Constabulary in their attempt to track down Coffey. A constant vigil was kept at Coffey's cabin in Portaloise as well as certain sea ports. The following description of Coffey was issued in the newspapers: "50 years of age, 5 feet 5 inches high, stout make, smart appearance, active, fresh complexion, round face, broad forehead, full cheek bones, eyes supposed to be grey, regular nose, brown hair (may be a little grey), small whiskers at ears, but not much hair growing on face; supposed to have worn a black frock coat, dark trousers and dark vest. He was tried in Co. Dublin about four years ago where he was found guilty of cattle stealing and was imprisoned for two years in Naas jail."

Notice of a reward appeared in several newspapers as well as being placarded all over the country which read -

**DUBLIN CASTLE 24th December 1867**

Whereas, it has been represented to the Lord Lieutenant that on the night of the 19th inst. William Dunne was murdered at Bushfield, near Athy, in the County of Kildare, by James Coffey, a native of Maryborough, Queen's County. His excellency, for the better of apprehending and bringing to justice the perpetrator of this murder, is pleased hereby to offer a reward of £100 to any person or persons, who shall within six months from the date hereof, give such information as shall lead to the arrest and conviction of the said James Coffey.

**By his excellency's command** Thomas A. Larcom.

The above reward will be paid on conviction, by Joseph Cox Esq. R. M. at Carlow, to those who may become entitled to it under the conditions of the proclamation.

This murder captured the imagination of many people, and most of the local and national press, and before long a street ballad, though containing some errata, was composed -

**Lines written on the death of Mr. William Dunne a respectable farmer of the County Kildare who was murdered on the 19th of December near Bushfield.**

```
You men and women of Erin's nation
I pray attend to this awful tale
A dreadful murder has been committed
For which each true christian they will bewail
William Dunne has been the victim
A man respected and loved by all
By a villians hands his life was taken
Near Bushfield gate he met his down fall
Mr. William Dunne he was a farmer
And lived in the county of Kildare
By all the people he was respected
When he went to market or fair
No man or woman he never injuried
And he was loved by his neighbours all
They little thought of his sad fate
Alas at Bushfield he met his down fall

The 19th of December its long we will remember
To Castledermot fair he went on that day
```

Throughout the following months, numerous arrests on suspicion were made, but the moment evidence was given of mistaken identity, they were at once set free.

One such arrest occurred in January, near Baldoyle, Co. Dublin, when a man who gave his name as Patrick Byrne and answering to the description of Coffey, was remanded in Kilmainham jail.

S. I. Webb forwarded one of his men to Dublin for identification. The accuracy of this report was left in a mail steamer for the same destination, in order to secure his arrest on landing. The accuracy of this report was

James Coffey did attend him but a cursed Judas
His loving master he basely did betray
Full forty pounds he had in money
Coffey resolved to make his own
The foul deed of murder he has committed
Tho he told all his friends he'd bring him safe home
Early next morning as the day was dawning
The corps was found on the ground it lay
And the active police of Castledermot
They reached the spot without delay.
Such a dreadful was never seen
The stoutest heart they would deplore
The murderer he has doom'd to bleed
It would be no wonder if she run wild
By grief and sorrow she is surrounded,
And our Blessed Redeemer for ever more
That his dear soul may gain salvation
Deprived of life and sent to the tomb,
Now to conclude these lines I'll finish
Like a flower cut down in his youth and bloom
By a villains hand that was ungrateful
This murder captured the imagination of many people,
Throughout the following months, numerous arrests on suspicion were made, but the moment evidence was given of mistaken identity, they were at once set free.

One such arrest occurred in January, near Baldoyle, Co. Dublin, when a man who gave his name as Patrick Byrne and answering to the description of Coffey, was remanded in Kilmainham jail.

S. I. Webb forwarded one of his men to Dublin for identification, but found the man was not James Coffey.

Another arrest on suspicion was made in late January in Monasterevin, when a mendicant was sent to Kildare by G. Wray J. P. A man, who was previously robbed by James Coffey at the Curragh Races, came forward to identify the prisoner and having failed to recognise him, the prisoner was discharged.

An unconfirmed report reached the press in early January, that James Coffey left Liverpool for America in a sailing vessel, and that some members of the Detective Force had also left in a mail steamer for the same destination, in order to secure his arrest on landing. The accuracy of this report was
Hallohoise.. ..->::1
:(;
To Castledermot
I
Mullaghreenan area in the mid 19th. century.
not vouched for.
James Coffey had disappeared and was never heard of again.

The Murphys
After the disappearance of Coffey, an alternative hypothesis about the Mullaghreelan murder began to emerge in the locality. It pointed the finger firmly at William Dunne's in-laws - the Murphy's of Mullaghreelan. This conjecture, containing not a shred of evidence, was based solely on the idea that the body of William Dunne was found in close proximity to where the Murphy's lived.

One argument went as follows - Sometime, late in the evening of the 19th of December 1867, members of the Murphy family, lying in wait at Mullaghreelan - opposite Bushfield Gate, ambushed William Dunne, killing him and his companion James Coffey. Then they robbed and stripped Dunne and left his body at this spot along with Coffey's blackthorn stick. After transferring Dunne's personal effects to Coffey's tweed coat, they then disposed of Dunne's clothes (some said in a harrowed field in Coolane). On their way home, Coffey's clothes were left near the Gallows Hill sandpit.

A second argument was that, Dunne along with Coffey, called in to see his in laws on their way home. As both men had a lot of drink taken, a row erupted, and members of the Murphy family killed both men. Then, proceeding in a similar fashion to that outlined in the above argument, they carried Dunne's body and Coffey's blackthorn stick, over a distance of three quarters of a mile across the side of Mullaghreelan Hill, to the spot where it was found.

Either way, the idea was to make it look that Coffey had committed Dunne's murder, dressed himself in Dunne's clothes, and then absconded with his money.

In the first argument against the Murphy family, the profile of events described, could be attributed to any person or persons. Castledermot fair, which in these days ranked alongside Ballinasloe fair, would have attracted it's share of 'undesirables'. Knowing Dunne to be carrying in excess of £40 (presently valued at about £10,000), any one of these could have easily committed this crime. In the second argument, carrying the body of Dunne across and up the hill would risk detection, since in those times there were upwards of a dozen dwellings sprinkled about Mullaghreelan Hill; to carry Dunne's body downhill would have been far easier, and less likely to be detected.

Furthermore, the Murphy's and the family of William Dunne remained on close terms for many years afterwards. When William Dunne Jr. was born subsequent to his father's death in 1868, Thomas Murphy - Delia's brother, was godfather to the child; and when Bridget Dunne married in 1897, Joseph Carberry of Ballintubber, it was Margaret Murphy - daughter of Thomas, now living in Barnhill, who was her bridesmaid.

For members of the Murphy family to kill both men outside their own doorstep, followed by a convoluted plan to make it look that James Coffey had murdered and robbed William Dunne, although possible, does not seem likely.

Conclusion
The most likely outcome, although by no means certain, was that James Coffey, having motive, opportunity and a history of petty crime, was the perpetrator of this dreadful act. At about half past five in the evening of the 19th of December, Coffey, with the sole intention of robbery, murdered William Dunne. He then removed Dunne's longboots, and, after searching these for the money, without success, he then stripped his victim of his outer clothing - partly, because he knew the money would be found in them and partly because he needed a change of clothes to effect his escape. Leaving his blackthorn stick behind him, he then proceeded from the murder spot up to the old road. Turning left, he went some distance down this road, before turning right towards the Gallows Hill sandpit. At the sandpit, he searched through Dunne's clothes - finding the money. The other effects he found, including a pipe and some personal papers, he placed in the pocket of his overcoat. He then changed into William Dunne's clothes, discarded his own clothes at this place, and proceeded in a north easterly direction onto the main road, from where he made his way to Dublin. In Dublin he caught a boat for Liverpool and from there to oblivion.

It would be almost forty eight hours, after the crime was committed, before a warrant for the arrest of James Coffey was issued.

As no one was ever successfully brought to trial for this crime, the perpetrator or perpetrators would have to be acknowledged as having committed the perfect murder.

1 About 2 miles on the Athy road from Castledermot, four townlands meet at almost the same point - viz. Kilkea Upper,Hallohoise (of which Bushfield is part of). Mullaghreelan and
Coolane. Since the body of the murdered man was found near this point and opposite Bushfield Gate, this case initially became known as the 'Bushfield Murder', but in time became known as the 'Mullaghreelan Murder', even though the body lay, by a distance of a couple of feet, in the townland of Coolane.

2 Mrs. Lynch of Clopook, Ballyadams, now over ninety years of age, and whose grandmother Katherine McDetby, came from Newtownallen, Castledermot, remembers being told that after William Dunne was murdered, his mare made her way home to Monascreeban on her own.

3 This premises is now gone. In latter years it was McEvoy's shop.

4 Now the Granite Inn.

5 This farm is now William Murphy's of St. John's.

6 On the death of James Murphy, William Dunne's father in law, in 1880, the lease on this holding was eventually taken up by Richard Wright.

7 The discovery of a skeleton near a sandpit down Barnhill lane in the 1940's, was thought by some people to be that of James Coffey. However, on examination, its age was found to pre date the 19th century.

Sources:
The Carlow Sentinel.
The papers of Lord Walter Fitzgerald.
The land valuation books.
Local historians - Pat Sewell R.I.P., Jimmy Germaine.

The 50th Annual General Meeting of the Old Carlow Society was held in the Dr O’Brien Centre on 28th February 1996. The Chairman reminded the gathering that this was the 50th year of the Society’s existence. Special celebrations would be held during the year to commemorate this landmark. He thanked the officers, and members for their dedication over the years, and especially Miss Rose Murphy, the outgoing Hon Secretary who had stepped down. The Hon Treasurer, Mr Pat O’Neill presented the audited accounts, which once more under his wise stewardship, showed a sound financial basis.

The officers elected were as follows:
Chairman: Mr Martin Nevin. Vice-Chairman: Mr Kevin Kennedy. Hon Secretary: Rev. Dermot McKenna. Hon Treasurer: Mr Pat O’Neill. Editor Carloviana: Mr Thomas Smyth. Committee members elected appear elsewhere.

50th Anniversary Dinner.
This was held in Rathcrogue Guest House on 19th April 1996. The attendance included Bishop L. Ryan - Patron, Professor Donal McCartney, and Senator Maurice Manning who was the special speaker. The Chairman - Mr Martin Nevin, in his speech of welcome, reminded everyone of a historic occasion that took place in April 1946 ie the founding of the Society. Bishop Ryan congratulated the Society, and wished it well in the future. Senator Maurice Manning took the gathering back to 1946, and provided some historical background. A beautiful 50th birthday cake was made by Mrs Ellen O’Neill. Entertainment was provided by the Caesars, and Pat Bermingham.

Presentation to Founder Members.
The three surviving founder members, Mrs Maureen Doyle, Mis Iona McCloud, and Monsignor P. J. Brophy, were presented with special awards at a function in July. The presentations were made by Mr Martin Nevin.

Society Outing
On 22nd June a large group set off for Co Roscommon. Led by Professor John Waddell of U.C.G., they toured the historic Raths of Rathcrogan, and later visited Strokestown House, and Famine Museum.

National Heritage Day.
This was held on Sunday 8th September, and was observed by a visit to St Mullins for "St Moling 1300". This year was the thirteen hundredth year of the death of the Saint in 396. Local historian Mr Pat Doyle guided everyone around the ruins of the old Monastery, and Churchyard.

I would like to thank the Officers, and Committee members for their assistance during the year especially my predecessor Miss Rose Murphy. Also the sponsors of Carloviana who by their support, helped the Old Carlow Society to produce this special edition.

County Carlow Museum opened its doors to the public in December 1973. At that time it was located in the old Academy in College Street. It moved in November 1979 to the Concert Room, and Stage of the Town Hall, and was officially opened by the late Professor Tom O’Neill on July 25th 1993.

Since then many improvements have taken place. It could best be described as being essentially a Folk-Museum, the exhibits demonstrating everyday life in Carlow in the past. Some of the contents featured on "Live at 3" on R.T.E. recently. It attracts a steady stream of visitors.

The Committee are at present engaged in planning the future development of the Museum. This included visiting several other Museums recently. They hope to have completed this within the next two years.

Museum Committee:
Chairman: Mr Myles Kavanagh.
Hon Secretary: Rev. Dermot McKenna.
Committee Members: Messrs Martin Nevin, Pat O’Neill, Seamus Murphy, Michael Conry, Thomas Byrne.
Carlow Redcoat - Carolina Rebel

The Liberator, Daniel O'Connell is credited with the adage that "consistency is the hob goblin of little minds." If this be so, then the subject of this article must have been a genius. Rich man, Poor man, Redcoat, Rebel, pragmatist, opportunist, it is impossible to pigeonhole this extraordinary man-

Pierce Butler

During his lifetime even his contemporaries were confused. This most inconsistent of men was an Irish aristocrat who became a spokesman for American frontier settlers, and a signatory of the American Constitution who was a slave owner and advocate of slavery.

Carlovian Pierce Butler, second son of Sir Richard Butler M.P., fifth Baronet of Clogrennan was born on the 29 June, 1744 at Garryhunden, County Carlow. His birth is sometimes stated as being on the 11 July 1744. (In 1752 the adoption of the Gregorian calendar added 11 days and his date of birth was previously recorded as being on the 29th June.) He was a descendant of the illegitimate Thomas Butler who was created First Baronet of Clogrennan in 1628 and a relative of Pierce Butler of Ballysax, Co. Kildare who was executed for rebellion in 1597.

Following the death of his father by suffocation while on a visit to Kilkenny castle, his eldest brother Thomas was next in line of succession and succeeded his father as sixth Baronet. Thomas was killed in a fall while hunting, and was succeeded by his elder son Richard.

The canons of decent in those days of entail meant that there was no future for younger male progeny other than careers in the Army, the Church or the Law. Under the ancient rules of succession and inheritance an elder male was preferred to a younger male descendant and feudal policy was opposed to the division of ownership and property.

The Soldier
From the outset as a second son he never had any expectation of succession and in recognition of this fact in 1758 his father bought Pierce, then aged 14, a commission in the 22nd Regiment of Foot (today the Cheshire Regiment). The young Butler donned the Redcoat and that same year saw him posted with his Regiment to Canada to participate in the French and Indian war. Four years later Butler returned to Ireland and spent three years here.

In 1765 he transferred to the 29th Foot Regiment (today the Worcestershire and Sherwood Forresters Regiment) and returned with them to North America. He served on garrison duty in Nova Scotia and he became a Major in April 1766.

In 1767 the 29th Regiment transferred from Nova Scotia to the US and Butler was sent to Philadelphia where he remained until spring of 1769. The indications are that he was probably retired from the regiment at the time of the famous Boston Tea Party of 1773.

American objections to taxes being levied by the London Parliament led to the repeal of all taxes but one. The tax on tea. The colonists were not prepared to pay it and on the evening of the 16 December 1773 an angry crowd boarded three British ships in Boston Harbour and threw their consignments of tea into the water. The British troops sent to the harbour were members of Butler's regiment who opened fire on the protesters. This event became known as the Boston Tea Party and it presaged the American War of Independence which started in 1775.

The Plantation and Slave owner
In 1771 he married heiress Miss Polly Middleton daughter of the deceased Colonel Thomas Middleton and niece of plantation owner Mary Bull Middleton. Within a year of their marriage Polly received a huge inheritance and the Butlers became landed gentry.

In 1773 the same year as the Boston Tea party he retired from the Army, sold his commission for £3,000 and purchased the HAMPTON plantation on Saint Simons Island on the Georgia coast of the Atlantic. It contained about 1,600 acres. Later that same year he is reputed to have purchased another 1,000 acres of adjoining land making the Hampton plantation approximately 2,600 acres in size. More acreage was acquired over the years near Buttermilk Sound and these acquisitions became the Experiment plantation on which he tried growing rice instead of cotton.

He acquired an island of over 1,400 acres of swamp South West of Hampton and named it Butler's Island located on Butler River. This plantation was cleared and used for growing rice and sugar cane. He then owned two properties in Philadelphia.

As a plantation owner Pierce Butler threw in his lot against his former comrades in the British Army and in 1779 when the British occupied South Carolina was forced to flee with a price on his head, his estates being confiscated by the Crown.

In some states slaves outnumbered whites who were fearful of a slave uprising while abolitionists began campaigning for abolition of the slave trade. In the late 1780's the foreign slave trade (viz the importation of slaves from Africa) was closed. Butler approved because this measure increased the

By

Dr. Michael Farry
value of the slaves which he owned but he was against a permanent closure of the slave trade. As a consequence of the Revolution, France decreeing freedom for all slaves in French colonies and in 1890 when the foreign slave trade reopened the importation of slaves from the French West Indies was forbidden because of their contamination with the ideals of the French revolution. Run away slaves were raiding plantations along the Savannah river and troops of militia were raised being offered ten pounds for each negro dead or alive.

Butler was responsible for the introduction of the Fugitive Slave Law which required that run away slaves be returned to their owners.

**RUN AWAY,**
From the Subscriber's Plantation in Prince William's Parish.
TWO NEGRO FELLOWS,
Named Minos, and Cudjo: they are both strong-made fellows. Minos appears to be near 40 Years old, Cudjo about 26:
They are marked a little above the right Breast with the Letters PB.
Whoever apprehends the said Negros, and lodges them in the Work-House, or delivers them to my Overseer, at Coolaw, shall receive FIVE POUNDS Currency for each, on applying to Mr. Joseph Atkinson, Merchant, in Charlestown, or at Coolaw, to

PIERCE BUTLER.

The Politician and The Constitution
Butler began his political career as a justice of the peace in 1776 the same year that he was chosen as a member of the South Carolina Assembly. After a number of terms in the legislature, in 1787 Butler was appointed as a delegate to the Confederation Congress and a Commissioner to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia.

In 1789 Butler was chosen as South Carolina's first US Senator. From the very first session of the Senate Butler made his presence felt contributing vocally to the proceedings in his own peculiar way. He alienated some of his fellow members by castigating them when they raised local and sectional interests and then proceeding to do exactly that himself. In 1791 when President Washington (a slave owner himself) visited Carolina, he was welcomed at Charleston by Butler and on 6 May the President dined with Butler who later that week accompanied him to Savannah.

The Quaker agitation for the abolition of slavery led by Friend Benjamin Franklin incensed him into making a personal attack on Franklin. He was one of the few Senators to vote against a peace treaty with the Creek Indians and on the question of a temporary site for the Capital he first supported the claims of New York but later changed to support Philadelphia. His biographer Malcolm Bell Jr. describes Butler's conduct as "blustering" and "irregular beyond belief" and states that he was considered "an erratic politician" and "an unpredictable maverick."

Butler was chosen to serve in the Senate for a second term and re elected to the South Carolina Legislature in his absence.

During his second term of office he broke with the Federalists and became a Republican. He decided to leave the Senate and to seek election to the House of Representatives vowing that he would never enter the Senate again. Defeated in his first attempt for election to the lower house he tried again in 1798 and ended up challenging a supporter of his opponent to a duel.

At the Convention Butler spoke in favour of slavery on numerous occasions and he was instrumental in assuring that the Constitution consecrated to liberty and freedom would tolerate the existence of human bondage. There seems little doubt that Pierce Butler was a major contributory to a flaw in the Constitution which eventually divided the Union in a civil war to end slavery.

Described as Belligerent, Obstinate, Dictatorial, Independent and Impulsive it is not unexpected that his portrait is almost totally obscured in the painting by Christy depicting the scene of the signing of the Constitution of the United States.

His contribution to the US as a statesman was overshadowed by his narrow self interest and disregard for human rights. Coming from a position of privilege which enforced serfdom in Ireland the transition to slave owner in the US was not, perhaps, a great change. He died in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania on 15 February, 1822 aged 78 and is buried in Christ Churchyard in that city.
David Byrne's life was a failure, or so he himself thought when he penned nearly two hundred pages of autobiography during the winter of 1827 from his home in western Kentucky. He was bankrupt and ailing. The search for wealth and land on the American frontier had come to naught; the pot of gold was empty.

These reminiscences of failure by a lonely and despondent exile provide today's reader with a remarkable glimpse into the Irish and American worlds which Byrne inhabited. Born "of catholic parentage" in 1779 on the Kilkenny side of the Barrow, Byrne had spent most of his Irish years in his father's home county of Carlow before deciding in 1818 to emigrate to the United States. As retold in his memoir, Byrne's life was one uncomfortably suspended between tranquil past and unmanageable present. Identified by birth and upbringing with the gentry of old, he longed for the wealth of the prospering middle class of his day, and had sought to join its ranks, but feared becoming another "scoundrel," like so many he encountered in the business world. The problems he faced in the rapidly changing society of the late eighteenth century, and the compromises he was required to make with the new and impersonal world of commerce and government were ones common to many of the gentry, sub-gentry and middlemen of that era.

A succession of economic misfortunes dominate the pages of Byrne's autobiography, but political themes emerge between its lines, and literally jump from pages of a curious supplement, a kind of compendium of knowledge and pseudo-history which forms an appendix to Hibernicus. Some details of David Byrne's life course may serve to illustrate the political transformation of an elitist monarchist reformer into a supporter of radical republican populism.

Late in his book, Byrne proudly recalled a portrait of his father's ancestor in the (Stuart) king's uniform, from the days when he had resisted the usurper, William of Orange. In those times, defense of the crown, of Catholic rights, and of the Irish nation had all served a single cause, but for the Byrnes of Carlow things had never been the same, nor as secure, since. Despite the economic and political restrictions under which Irish Catholics labored in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Byrne's immediate family kept the traditional faith, yet managed to retain control of still significant lands in and around the then prosperous village of Leighlinbridge. Collection of substantial rents, "marrying well," and seeing to it that some sons learned trades enabled David Byrne's immediate ancestors to survive in a reduced but nevertheless comfortable state as country gentry. He had grown up, as he put it, enjoying a life of "genteel sufficiency." Byrne's father, a member of the Volunteers in the 1780's, was required to make with the new and impersonal world of commerce and government were ones common to many of the gentry, sub-gentry and middlemen of that era.

Comparing himself to "Job on the dunghill," Byrne chose to shroud his writing with anonymity, preferring to be known only as "Hibernicus, an Irishman now living in America." But he peppered his autobiography with such minute details that independent verification of much of its narrative makes the author's identity indisputable.
Byrne lived another twenty years in Ireland after being sent home with the king's thanks for his services. These years were not kind to him. The Acts of 1782, 1792, and 1793, which removed many penal law restrictions on occupations and property ownership for Catholics, did not substantially better his lot. Siblings, uncles and in-laws quarrelled bitterly over the ever dwindling patrimony, suing one another for their "fair shares" with reckless abandon, and after his marriage (as soon as he was twenty-one) his wife's property was similarly contested. These disputes, and the summonses which ensued, cut short a promising apprenticeship at a prestigious Dublin law office, for his solicitor sponsor decided that Byrne's presence there was a potential embarrassment to business. He was released forthwith.

The impact of the Act of Union and the Napoleonic Wars on the Irish economy, combined with unsound business judgments on his own part, dashed Byrne's hope of attaining economic independence in the Ireland of his day. In those unsettled times, he suffered constantly from financial insecurity, as process servers representing creditors, tax collectors, tithe claimants, and others, pursued him relentlessly. When they found him, he was subjected to fines; more than once his property was seized when he could not or would not pay. Beset on all sides by creditors, his privileges challenged as much by members of the more successful Catholic middle class as by the Protestant ascendancy, Byrne set out for America some three years after Waterloo, with his pregnant wife of eighteen years and their seven children.

As his misfortunes mounted, the one-time redcoat had been gradually turning against royal authority. In the end, he did so decisively. It had begun in the Blackstairs Mountains in 1798, when Byrne and a cousin, both in king's uniform, rode on ahead of Sir Charles Asgill's regulars, warning local peasants to flee before the soldiers arrived to burn their cabins. Even as trials of the rebels got under way, a friend convinced him to help distribute "papers of a treasonable nature," and Byrne later marvelled that he had not suffered the fate of some who had been executed for similar activity.

Shortly thereafter, when a former classmate successfully sought protection after fleeing government troops in Leighlinbridge, Byrne was forced to allow soldiers to search his home. They did so without success. He had kept the classmate hidden, protesting, in all apparent sincerity, that the government "could hardly suppose my house a likely place to find a traitor or a rebel." A few years later, when troops again appeared at his door, they met a far cooler reception. This time, boldly refusing the demand of a royal officer that he permit the billeting of troops in his house, Byrne cited as grounds that his merchant's license did not allow him to serve as an innkeeper! Thus turning the king's law to his own advantage, the gentryman turned merchant infuriated the military, but gained new self esteem. Recounting the incident, Byrne appears proud of the epithet "papist rebel," leveled at him by an orangeman soldier in the altercation which ensued. That a sergeant in the troop, a Catholic, reprimanded the soldier for his behavior and required him to apologize must have given Byrne a certain satisfaction. The incident, nevertheless, increased his grow-
ing disillusionment with the government.16

Throughout the passages relating to this period of his life, Byrne's memoir is strikingly apolitical, with little mention of the maneuvers of Irish high politics and none of political theory. Politics was neither his training nor his first love, which had been theater; most of the citations in Hibernicus are poetic, the allusions literary. While Byrne wrote with approval of John Locke's learning theory, he made no mention of that doctor's political writings. Though he made one oblique reference to Thomas Paine, there were none to Jefferson, Franklin, or the whole panoply of French philosophers. Though Catholic reformers O'Connor and Curran find mention in the supplement to Hibernicus, Byrne neither cited them nor saw fit to comment on their writings.17

Hence, it is not political discourse, but the changed tone of Byrne's narrative, and the descriptive adjectives which he employed that betray his conversion from royalist to republican. Byrne's marriage in 1800 had seemed an auspicious start to a promising future, bringing with it a significant marriage settlement, a father-in-law with business experience, and an opportunity to free himself from his guardian.18 But within the year, the "accursed union" (of 1801) started Ireland, and Byrne with it, on the downward slope. The Ireland full of political and economic promise he had known when growing up gave way to a country administered by officials who were "sanctified plunderers," and whose injustice and "inconsistency" made them unworthy of respect.19 The spread of orange lodges in Carlow after the quashing of the rebellion, with consequent intimidation and terror directed against Catholics, astonished Byrne. The phenomenon had been "connived at, nay, encouraged by government," and the monarch himself must bear responsibility for the "intolerant" and "iniquitous" administration under which Ireland suffered. Byrne put it most succinctly when he characterized this time in Ireland as one of "tyranny and misrule. "20

Nevertheless, Byrne's tenuous allegiance to the monarchy held until the injustice fell upon his person. Arrested and convicted for violating the excise tax law—he had sold tea without a valid license—Byrne sought in vain to overturn the conviction, which he believed to have been plotted by a former store owner and the local excise commissioner, both of them orangerens. Temporarily buoyed by expressions of support from influential friends, including former chancellor George Ponsonby, Byrne's appeal, all the way to the Prince Regent himself, fell on deaf ears. The £50 fine held. With a wry sense of humor, Byrne described the ordeal as being sent "from Herod to Pilate," thus poignantly signalling his contempt for Irish officialdom and his disillusionment with royal justice.21

"The latent spark of republicanism, which had long burned in my bosom," he asserts in the memoir passage which immediately follows the account of his excise-tax troubles, "now burst into a flame, whose fierceness almost endangered my intellects. "22 The year was 1810, and he began quietly rejoicing at each new French victory over English arms. Within France, however, the republic had been replaced by Napoleon's imperial ambitions; only in the United States did the beacon of republicanism continue to shine brightly. Byrne's "early predilection for America" reawakened, he now eagerly devoured information about that "far-famed and happy land of liberty."23 Some sources were personal and direct, including his two younger brothers, returned to Ireland with substantial profits from cargos they had accompanied to America. There were other relatives who had settled in Philadelphia and Nashville. But a growing body of travel and promotional literature about the United States was the biggest enticement, as the would-be emigrant armed himself with practical advice about the overseas voyage and life in the infant republic.24 From his autobiography it is clear that by this time the words "America," "republic," and "wealth" had become almost synonymous in David Byrne's vocabulary.

The passage from Carlow to the interior of the United States, via Canada and the Ohio river, was a grueling one which decimated his once large family and took nearly three years to...
The infant American republic, he had found, was as full of sharp businessmen and rascals--"Yankee gentry who would sell a man his own axe"--as Ireland had been. 26 As in the Old World, some were relatives and erstwhile friends. But if prosperity had eluded him, the liberty and toleration which he sought had not. These abstracts had come alive for him, and the one-time Carlow gentleman professed to value them more than the worldly goods he had once coveted. In exhorting his fellow Americans to guard their hard-won liberties from demagogues, special interests and "wily politicians," Byrne's book bears some marks of an election-year tract, marketed during a hard-fought campaign for the presidency between Andrew Jackson and John Quincy Adams. 30 Perhaps in part it was, but as a personalized and genuine statement of republican sentiment, it was also a public affirmation of Byrne's newfound political convictions.

The dedication page of Hibernicus paid tribute to two celebrated Irish-Americans of the day. One was Charles Carroll of Carrollton, representative of the Catholic oligarchy of Maryland, and signor of the Declaration of Independence; the other, Andrew Jackson, an Ulster-American Protestant from Tennessee, military hero of the battle of New Orleans in 1815, and presidential candidate. Both were republicans, but what different republicans they were, and what different Irishmen! That dedication spoke volumes, and suggest that Byrne, even in his new homeland, was still torn between two different worlds. His words supported the program of radical reformer Jackson, champion of the common man against big interests, but his heart was indelibly imprinted with the mark of an Irish country gentleman. Had the fates been kinder, David Byrne might have enjoyed in the United States the genteel life-style of Carroll, and voted for the populist Jackson. 31

The fates had not been kind, but despite his vicissitudes and disappointments, Byrne wrote more in resignation than in a spirit of bitterness. He had chosen to leave Ireland, where he had experienced the misgovernment of a king and a revolution which had misfired. In resettling in the United States, where the people were said to govern, and the revolution had already succeeded, Byrne leapt into an unknown, but promising, future. Showing few signs of regret with his decision, he attributed his failure to his own imperfections rather than to faults in American society. During the century which followed, beset by forces similar to those at work in south-central Leinster in Byrne's lifetime, many an "Hibernicus" (or "Hibernica") faced the same difficult decision which he made in 1818. More than six million chose to seek liberty and fortune across the western ocean, as Byrne did. Some, like he, tumbled down the social ladder. America's egalitarian idealism convinced many more that they had climbed up, even though many an immigrant to nineteenth century industrial America, like Byrne in its early decades, toiled honestly but never escaped the shadow of poverty. Few recorded their feelings as openly and as completely as Byrne was able to do. There were some who found fortune, others who found advantage in liberty, and attained political power. Those life success stories are well known, but few such biographies are as revealing, or as interesting, as that of Byrne anonymous of Kentucky, alias David Byrne of Carlow.
his ancestry proved irrelevant. His autobiography includes a lament that no one cared about the connections in Dublin, nor were his good name and letters of reference sufficient to obtain credit. "My heart," he wrote, "was torn among people, whose habits and dispositions were uncongenial with mine." Ibid., 189.

Hibernicus, 59. Kevin Whelans notes that the mythologising of 1798 began almost immediately, and memoir literature, which often contained such excusations, must be used with caution. "The Religious Factor in the 1798 Rebellion in County Wexford," in Rural Ireland 1600-1900 (York, 1987) 72

11What they chose to call tranquility, the predominance of our party, and the total predominance of the other, having now taken place in Ireland, we gentlemen volunteers were dismissed to our homes. We received them as a matter of course, and returned to our respective places of abode." Hibernicus, 59.

While in Dublin, Byrne played a small part in a case which successfully reversed the king's attempt against the executed Wexford rebel Cornelius Grogan, and restored the confiscated estate to Grogan's youngest brother. The elder Grogan, opposed Byrne, had been an unwilling rebel, and the deprivation of property excessive. Hibernicus, 104-111.

Hibernicus, 46.

Hibernicus, 60. William Michael Byrne, well known Wicklow rebel leader had been a classmate and fellow thespian with David Byrne in Leighlinbridge. The memoir gives no hint of family ties with him or other Byrne's identified with the rebel cause.

Hibernicus, 96.

Hibernicus, 128-119.

Hibernicus, 13 (Locke); 247 (Paine); 250 (O'Connor).

Terms of the marriage between David Byrne and Anne Finemore, daughter of Dudley Finemore of Dublin Merchant, were carefully worked out and duly recorded in Finemore's insistance early in 1800. Registry of Deeds, Dublin, 52/c/439:345:303.

The Volunteers had "exhorted and wrung from Britain's reluctant grasp, an acknowledgment of their country's rights, and a free trade, [which] ... raised Ireland, for twenty successive years, to a pitch of happiness, prosperity and glory, unknown for centuries before," and the ascendancy Parliament had spoiled it all. Hibernicus, 29.

Hibernicus, 62, 104 (intolerant); 93 (tyranny); 113 (seceded union); 114 (unique); 121 (inconsistency), 122 (plunderers); 235 (rounders connived at).

Hibernicus, 118.

Hibernicus, 120.

Hibernicus, 125 (prediction); 136 (land of liberty).

Byrne specifically mentions reading Cobbett (A. Year's Residence...) and the New York Shamrock Society pamphlet "Advice to Emigrants." But the most seductive was Morris Birkbeck's Notes on a Journey in America, from the Coast of Virginia to the Territory of Illinois the Dublin version of which appeared in 1818.

Birkbeck's vision of an idyllic prairie drew Hibemicus deep into the interior of the continent, the water-route from Quebec to western Kentucky adding over 2100 miles to the 2700 mile transatlantic voyage. Of his Irish family, only Byrne and three children arrived alive in Kentucky. His wife and three infant children died prior to embarkation, and he buried both his younger son and youngest surviving daughter en route from Canada to the Ohio Valley.

Hibernicus, 156-157. It would be about the last time Byrne experienced such luxuriy.

He feared ridicule if his prayer, "thus I embrace thee, O land of freedom," were uttered aloud. Hibemicus, 160.

He uses the Latin term, ignis fatuus.

Hibernicus, 176.

Hibernicus, 113-115.

3By the autumn of 1827 Byrne had become an American citizen (238), having always intended, as he wrote, not only to live in the United States, but to die there. When the troubles.

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Cover photos by William Ellis.

Top left: Haroldstown Cromlech has been described as the most symmetrical Cromlech in Ireland. This Cromlech, as well as being a burial place was used as a home by an evicted family during the troubles.

Top right: Carlow's most elaborate example of Rock art is at Rathgenn, south County Carlow. It has been described as a richly decorated slab of Newgrange vintage. This photograph was taken in 1987, unfortunately since then weathering has made the designs less discernible.

Bottom left: The gateway at Ballyloughlin castle, c.1300. A partial excavation of this Kavanagh castle site was carried out in 1955, among the finds was a 14th century silver finger ring.

Bottom right: St. Laserian's Cathedral, Old Leighlin. The first cathedral of stone was built by Donatus, Bishop of Leighlin, 1152-1185. Parts of the present nave probably date from that period.

Before the Saxon and the Norman assembled within the walls of Westminster Abbey, before the dome or topmost pinnacle of old St. Paul's stood over the streets of London, or that the cathedral of Winchester, and probably half the new magnificent and stately cathedrals of England saw the light, Christianity was preached in the quiet wooded glen by the waters of the little stream that still babbles past the Cathedral of Old Leighlin.

1E.W. Hughes: Old Kilkenny Review, 1968
2Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 1962
3The Journal of the Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead in Ireland, Vol. II.

The 16 arch disused railway viaduct at Borris, Co. Carlow. (Inset) Keystone of the first arch with the date, 1860. The Bagenalstown & Wexford Railway was opened to Borris in 1858 and continued to over the viaduct to reach Ballywilliam in Co. Wexford, in 1862. The last train on the B. & W. R. was a cattle special for Borris fair, in 1963.

From Samuel Lewis's Topographical Dictionary

Crycrim or Crecrim a parish, partly in the barony of Rathvilly, county Carlow, but chiefly in the half-barony of Shillelagh, county Wicklow, and province of Leinster, 4 1/2 miles (E.N.E.) from Tullow; containing 310 inhabitants. It comprises 2431 statute acres, as appotted under the tithe act, and is an improper cure, in the diocese of Leighlin, forming part of the union of aghold; the rectory is appropriated to the dean and chapter of Leighlin. The tithes amount to £144. 15. 1. Of which £96. 10. 1. Is payable to the curate. In R.C. division it forms part of the union or district of Clonmore. At Ballyconnel there is a R.C. chapel, also a national school.
The Elections in Carlow in 1830

John F. Scott

Introduction

After the Act of Union in 1800 Irish representatives were to attend the parliament in Westminster. Ireland was to have 100 MPs, a drop from the 300 which attended the House of Commons in Dublin. There was to be two MPs for each county, two for each of two boroughs (Dublin and Cork), one for each of thirty-one boroughs, and one for Dublin University. During the period 1801-1829 the possession of a 40s freehold was the principal qualification for voters in the counties. In the boroughs the franchise varied from constituency to constituency. In the Borough of Carlow the franchise consisted of the burgesses of the town. It seems that in earlier times freemen also had a vote but this practice had been discontinued and this gave rise to some dissatisfaction as we shall see during the election of 1818. The Borough was generally controlled by a patron who, in turn, controlled the votes of the burgesses. This explains why so many of the members returned to parliament had no connection with the town.

After January 1, 1801 when the Act came into effect the Carlow MPs attending the imperial parliament were, William Burton and Sir Richard Butler for the County and Henry Saddler Prittie for the Borough. The borough now had only one representative and lots were drawn between Prittie and John Wolfe and the former was successful. The MPs first attended the Imperial Parliament on 22 January, 1801. When Prittie was elevated to the peerage by the title of Lord Dunalty, his son Francis Alderborough Prittie was returned in his place on 21 March 1801. Francis Alderborough Prittie then accepted a place of profit under the crown and Charles Montague Ormsby was chosen in his place on 30 July 1801.

The Prime Minister, Pitt, resigned on 3 February when the king made it clear that he would not agree to any proposal to follow the Union with the removal of the remaining disabilities affecting Catholics. The Lord Lieutenant, Cornwallis, was recalled in May and replaced by Philip Yorke, Earl of Hardwicke, who remained in office until March 1806.

The first general election to the parliament at Westminster took place in July, 1802. There were four candidates for Carlow County in what seems to have been a strongly contested election. The reason for this is probably that whereas there were 300 seats available in the Irish House of Commons only 100 were in Westminster. More candidates were following fewer seats. Elections became much more competitive after the Act of Union. In Carlow the result was as follows:

Col. David LaTouche 524
Walter Bagenal 479
William Burton 437
Sir Richard Butler 426

It would be a mistake to think that the voters were punishing Burton and Butler for voting against the union. That matter seems not to have been an issue in the election, and anyhow, LaTouche had voted against the union when he represented the Borough of Newcastle in the last Irish parliament.

In the Borough of Carlow Charles Montague Ormsby was returned.

Though there was now more competition for seats the social composition of the MPs did not change very much. Of the 256 Irish members who sat at Westminster in the period 1801-1820, one-third were of aristocratic parentage and two-thirds came from big landowning families. Only fifteen came from families that had not sent representatives to the Irish parliament. Very few of the Irish MPs who sat at Westminster in the first twenty years after the Union made any great impact. Only John Forster, George Ponsonby, Henry Gratten, Sir John Newport, Sir Henry Parnell and Richard Martin made a significant impression. Half of the Irish MPs who attended Westminster between 1801 and 1820 made no recorded speech in the house and the contributions of most of the remainder appear to have been insignificant. The Irish members also were notorious for their irregular attendance.

After the excitement of the latter part of the previous century, the Volunteer movement, Gratten’s parliament, the insurrection of 1798 and the bitter debates over the Act of Union, the early part of the 1800s seemed drab by comparison. The Irish representatives went over to Westminster and did not form themselves into a distinct Irish group. Over a period of time they were gradually absorbed into the pattern of British politics. Those who had voted and bitterly spoken against the Union accepted the abolition of the Irish Parliament and many of them took office under the government. Even on the question of Catholic Emancipation there was no distinctly Irish group on either side. “Dublin, though it had lost its parliament, remained a centre of administration and the seat of a vice-regal court, was now little more than a provincial city. One by one the mansions of the nobility were turned over to other purposes; and the parliament house itself was sold to the Bank of Ireland, with the significant stipulation that the interior should be so reconstructed so as to efface every visible reminder of its original function.” But the memory of a native Irish parliament was not to die so easily and in the 19th century many of the crises which arose gave rise again and again for the restoration of a parliament in Dublin.

The Struggle for Emancipation

In February 1823 Daniel O’Connell and Richard Lalor Shiel put aside the differences which had divided them in 1815 and decided to co-operate in setting up a new political association. The Catholic Association of Ireland was set up on 12 May and its objective was to achieve Catholic emancipation. The membership fee was one guinea a year. In January 1824 O’Connell suggested a new category of associate membership.
with a contribution a little as a penny a month. It was a
master-stroke. Members flooded into the association and
local administration had to be set up to collect what became
known as the “catholic rent”. It was somewhat like having
a political party organised in every parish in the country. A
newspaper the *Weekly Register* was established and it was
distributed every Sunday all around the country detailing the
activities of the Association. Popular meetings were
held at every level from parish to province and this helped
to maintain the link between the Association and its mass
following. “O’Connell in particular, already a well known
orator and public figure, now established himself as undis­
puted leader of militant catholicism, a figure whose public
appearances were major events.” The Catholic clergy
were deeply involved in the Association and this was in
great contrast to their role before 1820 when they usually
exorted their flocks to remain loyal and obedient and to
avoid illegal associations.

O’Connell’s meetings were huge and exciting. He was
exuberant and aggressive by nature and he employed a
deliberate violence of language. “He believed that the
Roman Catholics had for so long been accustomed to
accepting an inferior status that they had lost confidence in
their ability to assert their rights, and that it was his duty to
set them an example by fearless defiance of the ascendancy.”

In 1825 Francis Burdett introduced a bill in the House of
Commons which would have delivered Catholic emancipa­
tion. However, it would also have provided for the payment
of salaries to Catholic clergy and abolished the votes of the
forty shilling freeholders in the county constituencies.
O’Connell supported the two measures. It was a serious
error. He himself did not see the votes of the forty shilling
freeholder as significant as in his opinion they were under
the power of the landlord in the way that they voted. The
election of 1826 proved him wrong in this assumption and
it was the courageous action of those same freeholders
which was eventually to deliver Catholic emancipation.
Burdett’s bill was defeated in the House of Lords.

The Catholic Association was suppressed in 1825 but
O’Connell immediately re-established it under a new name.
The election of 1826 was just round the corner and the new
Association began issuing instructions to Catholic voters on
how to use their votes. It concentrated its main efforts in
four counties, Louth, Monaghan, Waterford and Westmeath.
In each of these counties it returned at least one member.
The most dramatic contest was in Waterford where the
Beresfords had held control for generations. But Lord
George Beesford saw his own tenants desert him and he
withdrew from the election. The forty shilling freeholders
were not as supine as O’Connell imagined.

In Carlow County there was no change and the sitting
MPs, Henry Brun and Thomas Kavanagh were elected
without opposition. In the Borough Charles William Bury,
known as Lord Tullamore, was returned on 19 June.

O’Connell’s next attack was in Clare. In 1828 Vesey
Fitzgerald, one of the members for that county, was made
president of the board of trade and therefore had to seek re-
election. He was one of the most popular landlords in the
country and a supporter of Catholic emancipation. He was
expected to be returned as a matter of course. In a daring
move O’Connell decided to contest the election himself.
If returned he would refuse to take the oath and so
be excluded from parliament and this would bring the question
of Catholic grievances to a head. He was helped in his cam­
paign by a man named The O’Gorman Mahon, who would
later be an MP for Carlow County. The poll began on 30
June and five days later Fitzgerald withdrew because his
position was hopeless and O’Connell was declared elected.
This victory convinced the Roman Catholics of their
strength.

George IV in his speech to the re-assembled parliament in
February 1829 included a promise to introduce a Catholic
Relief bill. It became law on 13 April 1829. A separate bill
was passed at the same time which raised the county fran­
chise from forty shillings to $10. This was an attempt to
limit the effect of the emancipation bill and it deprived
many forty shilling freeholders of the vote. The very peo­
ple who had forced the question of emancipation were to be
deprived of the fruits of it. This just added to the feelings
of bitterness which had built up over the previous decade.

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The elections of 1830

Carlow was not completely untouched by the excitement at
the elections in Clare in 1828 and 1830. As the election of
1830 approached it was obvious that there would be a
contest. Honore Cochfort decided to stand for a seat in the
county. On 30 June he issued his election address as fol­

“Gentlemen,

During the period of his late lamented Majesty’s illness
delicacy prevented me from announcing publicly my inten­
tion of being a candidate in next election for the representa­
tion of the county, and soliciting the honour of your support.

I feel great diffidence in aspiring to this most important
trust, aware how few my personal claims are to your notice.

If elected, I pledge to close attendance on Parliament, and
to a watchful and peculiar attention to the interests of
Ireland, as well as to those of the empire at large. I pledge
myself to oppose every attempt at unjust taxation, and every
measure calculated to injure the real interests of this coun­
y:?
tion, and I should hope that, labour and zeal supplying the place of ability, I should not be found altogether unworthy of the confidence reposed in me.”

On 28 July he gave further specific pledges should he have "the distinguished honour of being their representative." He said that he would "resist to the utmost all taxation that may be proposed while Ireland is in its impoverished condition," that he would support "the liberty of the press," and the "introduction of capital into Ireland." He concluded that "You may choose a more able and efficient representative, but never one who more sincerely loves his country, or who wishes more ardently to ameliorate her miseries, or to be able to contribute in the smallest degree to her happiness and prosperity." He was strongly supported by The Carlow Post.

In July Thomas Kavanagh announced that he would be standing in the County. Apparently a rumour had spread that he was going to retire and he wished to ease the minds of his constituents. He had been suffering from gout and it was thought that he was unable to fight the election. This would have suited Horace Rochfort. On July 12 a notice was published under a heading "Independence of the County" calling on those who supported Mr Rochfort to meet in the Great Room of Cullen’s Hotel in Dublin Street on the same day at 12 o’clock. For a number of weeks before the election the three candidates published election addresses. Bruen’s and Kavanagh’s were very brief while Rochfort’s was more detailed and gave specific pledges to the voters. On July 12 it was reported that Mr Rochfort’s canvass was going very well. He was greeted enthusiastically in Tullow. Mr Kavanagh was still in London but “his friends are on the alert.” The Carlow Post later wrote strongly in favour of Henry Bruen being elected for the County and it is obvious it wanted Kavanagh defeated, though it agreed that a fright in the election would be good for Bruen and make him more energetic in his parliamentary work. It admitted that “he has not been a very efficient member of Parliament” but that to his credit he had attempted to open the Borough just as Rochfort was opening the County. It certainly wanted Thomas Kavanagh defeated.

Stirrings were also felt in the Borough. On April 26, 1830 a notice was published of a meeting of the inhabitants of the Borough to consider sending a petition to the Imperial Parliament on the disturbed state of the Borough. The notice was signed by thirty-one people. The meeting was to consider abuses which the inhabitants endured because of the way the Corporation was run. The Carlow Post reported on May 6, that the “intolerant Corporation of Carlow is tottering...this is as it should be.” It expected that the “rotten Borough of Carlow” would eventually fall. On May 10 it reported that a court in the town had admitted thirty-two people, both Catholics and Protestants, to be freemen of Carlow. This action was seen as a “deadly wound” on the Corporation and what the newspaper called “Borough-mongering”. The expectation was that these people would have a vote in the coming election and would oust Lord Tullamore. Henry Bruen was one of the magistrates of the court and The Carlow Post gave him great praise for his stand on this matter. On Thursday, June 17 the newspaper wrote an editorial on what it called “The Death of the Corporation of Carlow”. On July 5 it was reported that sixty-seven more persons were admitted to the freedom of the Borough. It was time, The Carlow Post suggested, for Lord Tullamore to tremble. A meeting of the freemen of the Borough was reported on July 15. They met in the Assembly Rooms under the chairmanship of Mr Stone. A deputation of twenty-one people were chosen to meet Mr Francis Bruen apparently to persuade him to stand against Lord Tullamore in the coming election. Mr Bruen agreed and his election address appears in The Carlow Post in the issues up to the date of the election. He seems to have been a reluctant candidate.

In the House of Commons in the previous March Daniel O’Connell had asked for information on the Borough of Carlow. He was informed that the number of people entitled to vote in an election was thirteen consisting of the Sovereign and twelve burgesses. Only two of the burgesses actually were residing in the Borough at that time, namely, the Sovereign and the previous Sovereign. The remaining eleven were residing elsewhere. However, the report went on to say that a sufficient number of them assembled in the Borough on “corporate days” to do all necessary “corporate acts”.

Lord Tullamore, during the election, was accused of voting against Catholic Emancipation. On July 16 The Carlow Post printed an extract from The Sun newspaper declaring that the Borough of Carlow was “now considered open.” It was predicted with delight that Francis Bruen would win the coming contest and that the power of the burgesses had been broken. On August 2 the local newspaper reported that “on Friday next we shall have our own little snig election, when Francis Bruen will be declared the Honorable Member for the Borough of Carlow.”

On July 19 The Carlow Post reported O’Connell himself had visited Carlow on the previous Thursday. He was passing through on his way to Clare. When a car pulled into the town at about 7 o’clock there was great pushing and shoving but it turned out that it was not O’Connell’s car but that of one of his friends. This man spoke to the people while the horses were changing and was given great applause. A few minutes after this man departing O’Connell drove into the town in a “barouche” to great cheering. He stopped in Hanlon’s Hotel for half-an-hour. He addressed the crowds from a window. He criticised the corporation to the delight of the crowd and the meeting ended with three cheers for old Ireland and he then “ascended his carriage and drove off.”

The actual day of the election for the Borough in the Courthouse on Friday, August 6 1830 was a somewhat rowdy affair. The place was packed and many people were almost overcome with the heat. The business began at 12.30 when “William Browne, Esq., of Browne’s Hill (one of the burgesses of the Corporation), proposed Lord Tullamore (also one of the burgesses). The motion was seconded by William Fishbourne, Esquire, of Carlow.

The Sovereign (Edward Butler, Esq.) was about to put the question as to his Lordship’s election, when Mr. Simeon Clarke, of Carlow, rose, and claimed attention for a few moments. He was interrupted by the sovereign, who asked Mr. Clarke if he was a member of the Corporation? Mr.
Clarke replied that he was a freeman, and would say but a word in support of another candidate. The Sovereign said that none but a burgess could be an elector. Mr. Clarke proposed Mr. Francis Bruen as a fit and proper representative, and the motion was seconded by Mr. Thomas Cox. Mr. Bruen demanded a poll. The Sovereign declined to grant it, or take the votes of any but the burgesses. A number of freemen and inhabitants then formally tendered themselves to vote for Mr. Bruen.

The Sovereign declared Lord Tullamore duly elected, and his Lordship returned thanks. Two poll books were kept—one by Mr. Fishbourne, as deputy to the returning Officer (in the absence of the town clerk), and the other by Mr. E.M. Fitzgerald, on the part of Mr. Bruen. At four o'clock, when the poll thus taken was counted, the result appeared as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>For Lord Tullamore</th>
<th>For Mr Bruen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resident Burgesses</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Resident Burgesses</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burgessess</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freemen</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>80.22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The result on each of the three days were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>For Mr. Bruen</th>
<th>For Mr. Rochfort</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Final Result | 174.23  | 242             | 216

In his speech of thanks Mr Rochfort declared that of his 174 votes that 98 were plumbers and fifty of the ninety-eight were of those of £50 freeholders. Apparently, Rochfort had been accused of having only the votes of the poor and he was anxious to prove that "respectable" people voted for him also. Since at this time voting was open it was easy to see how people voted. The speeches of thanks were somewhat more direct than usual and Rochfort accused Bruen of operating a pact with Kavanagh to keep him out by putting pressure on their tenants. Bruen was Kavanagh's son-in-law so it is not totally unlikely. Bruen, however, denied it.

An interesting report appeared on Monday August 16. News had got about that St Patrick's College had sent back its beer to the Catholic brewers of the town because they had voted for Bruen. The President of the College, Dr. Fitzgerald, issued a statement that "he had no fault to find with the Catholic brewers of the town, and as long as they continued to supply the College with as good beer as they had hitherto done the said Catholic brewers shall have a preference to any others."

Pen-Pictures of the Candidates

Henry Bruen: was the eldest son of Henry Bruen who represented Carlow in the parliament of 1790 and who died in 1796. He was born in 1790 and for the next forty years he was involved in every election in the county. In 1818, 1820, 1826 and 1847 he was unopposed. He headed the poll in six of the nine contested elections which he fought. In 1830, January 1835, February 1840, 1841 and 1852. When he was defeated in 1832, June 1835 and 1837 he contested the result before Select Committees of the House and in the case of June 1835 he and Thomas Kavanagh were seated instead of Vigors and Raphael. He had been educated at Harrow with Robert Peel and Lord Byron and he graduated from Oxford. He died on 5 November 1852 at his home in Oak Park.
Thomas Kavanagh: was a descendant of Morgan Kavanagh who represented Carlow in 1613. He sat in the last Irish parliament in 1798 for the city of Kilkenny. His first wife was Lady Elizabeth Butler and their daughter married Henry Bruen. So Thomas Kavanagh and his son-in-law represented Carlow together. Lady Harriett Tench was his second wife and their son was Art MacMurrough Kavanagh who was returned for Carlow County in 1868.

Lord Tullamore: He was the only son of the Earl of Charleville. His father was the only child of John Bury and Catherine Sadlier of Sopwell Hall in Tipperary. When Mr Bury died Catherine Sadlier became the wife of Henry Sadlier Prittie who was elected MP for the Borough of Carlow in 1798. Lord Tullamore became the Second Earl of Charleville in 1835 and he died on 14 July 1851. He was a burgess of the Borough of Carlow.

Francis Bruen: of Coolbawn, Co Wexford was the brother of Henry Bruen of Oakpark. He married a daughter of the Earl of Westmeath in 1822. They had no children and he died in 1867.

Horace Rochfort was the eldest son of Colonel John Staunton Rochfort who helped to quell the rebellion of 1798 around Carlow and is credited with establishing the first Orange Lodge in Carlow. After his defeat in 1830 he again stood for election in the Borough in 1865 and 1868 but was defeated on both occasions. He founded the Carlow Cricket Club in 1831 and was also a founder of Carlow Rugby Club in 1873. His death occurred in Dublin in 1891.26

3 Moody, Vol. V, p.6. Richard Martin was known as 'Humanity Dick' for his attempts to promote legislation to outlaw cruelty to animals.
5 They had disagreed about the veto controversy in 1815.
7 Beckett, p.300.
8 Catholics were excluded from parliament by the nature of the oaths they would have to take if elected.
9 Voting at this time was not secret so a candidate knew each day how many votes he had received. Since landlords knew how their tenants voted it shows the courage of the forty shilling freeholders in deserting them.
10 Another indication of the strength of the Catholics was that on 13 January 1828 the Catholic Association organised 'simultaneous meetings' in 1,600 parishes. One in Co Carlow was a meeting of the Catholics of the parish of Tinnyland; John Nolan, Jr was the Secretary. During the election in Clare it was estimated that forty or fifty thousand people, many times the number entitled to vote, crowded into the town of Ennis, supervised by officers of the Catholic Association and the priests. Not only was there no riot but they even refrained from drink. See Moody, Vol. V, p.103.
11 Malcomson, p.36.
12 Malcomson, p.37.
13 The newspaper's view of Bruen was coloured by its delight at his actions on 6 May 1830 when as magistrate he admitted freemen into the Borough.
14 The Carlow Post accused Kavanagh of being lax in his parliamentary duties, of harassing his Catholic tenants in the neighbourhood of Borris and of being too old and ill to be a representative.
15 The Carlow Post, 6 May, 1830.
16 Lord Tullamore made a timely contribution to the Cathedral at the end of June.
17 He was a brother of Henry Bruen and had an address at Strawhall. Henry Bruen's action in admitting new freemen to the Borough in his role as magistrate may have had something to do with his probable knowledge that his brother Francis would be a candidate for the seat.
18 This report was signed by Robert Browne, Town Clerk.
19 It went on to say that the Borough was purchased thirty years ago (that would be in 1800) for £20,000.
20 Malcomson, pp.81/82. It is referred to as a newspaper report but it is obvious that it is taken from The Carlow Post.
22 During the campaign Mr Rochfort gave a “liberal donation” for the repair of the church in Rathanna.
23 Mr Rochfort’s ancestors had founded the Orange Order in Carlow and it may be that much of his vote was from members of the Orange Lodge.
24 See The Carlow Post, Monday August 16, 1830.
25 The Carlow Post, August 16, 1830.
William Dargan was born at Ballyhide just west of where the river Barrow zig zags its way along the boundary of counties Carlow and Laois. The son of a tenant farmer at the foot of the Coal-Measures Hills, he entered life a year after the revolutionary struggles of 1798, the revelations of which had a profound impact on his later life. Dargan's clear, logical mind and business acumen were first recognised as a student at Mr. Taylor's school in Castle Hill, Carlow. Later he gained surveying skills with a local firm and carried out a number of projects in Carlow which brought him to the notice of friends of his father, Major Alexander of Milford and Sir Henry Parnell, M.P. for Co. Laois.

Through their considerable influence, young Dargan's ambitious aspirations to further his career came when he was placed on engineering projects in England, under Telford, the construction of the Liverpool Docks and the road across the notorious Menai Straits being the most notable. Telford was so impressed by his engineering ability that he recommended him for a Parliamentary grant to complete that part of the London-Holyhead-Dublin road that lay in his native land. In stark contrast to some of his fellow country men, William Dargan displayed great patriotism by returning to the land of his birth to put knowledge and skill gained elsewhere, coupled with his considerable talents at the disposal of Ireland and its people. And in so doing he amassed great wealth and influence which enabled him to leave an unparalleled heritage and, more than any other person, an infrastructure to serve well his emerging nation.

His early works included the construction of the North Circular Road in the metropolis and the building of many of the country's waterways including the Ulster Canal during which this distinguished Irish man constructed the Queen's Island, known as Dargan's Island for a long time, on which the Harland and Wolfe shipyard was subsequently established.

Exactly one year before a steam locomotive hauled Germany's first train from Nuremberg to Fuert, and one year before the founding of the Institute of Engineers of Ireland this nation's budding industrial baron had built the Kingstown-Dublin line, Ireland's first railway. It heralded the start of a new transport age led calmly and directly by Dargan who went on to build the greater part of Ireland's existing lines. Engineers employed on this line were, Wilfrid Haughton, a Carlow man, and Sir John Benjamin Mac Neill (1793-1880) who in 1842 became the first Professor of Civil Engineering at Trinity College, Dublin.

His greatest engineering feat and the one which endowed him with international fame was the "atmospheric railway" to Dalkey in Dublin. The great Brunel, encountering problems with a similar type project in England, came to Ireland to view the work of Dargan.

This leading Irish business man and philanthropist of the day took on projects of national significance in an effort to alleviate the effects of the Great Famine (1845-1849), which has been described as "the greatest social catastrophe of 19th century Europe". By employing 100,000 people, Dargan was looked on as the great symbol of hope for this island in its darkest days. Throughout his illustrious career, he held many important positions, lent his considerable knowledge and experience to many committees and was pressed to enter Parliament but declined. According to Mr. Kevin Murray he was a member of Dublin Chamber of Commerce, and of the Ouzel Gallery Society. In addition, he became the first president of the country's second oldest society, the Irish Civil Service (ICS) which was established in 1864 and is now a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Bank of Ireland.

As part of his great foresight for the development of a nation, Dargan financed out of his own pocket the Great Irish Exhibition of 1853 to 'puff Irish wares'. The equivalent cost today to stage such an event is upwards of £20 million. This international exhibition was to be held in a temporary building on Leinster Lawn in the centre of Dublin and was intended to be as spectacular as the Crystal Palace in London. Like the Crystal Palace Dargan's "Temple of Industry" was housed in a steel and glass Building. The exhibition proved to be an unprecedented personal achievement for Dargan. He had hoped to mark the exhibition by establishing a national technical institution but the national collection held in conjunction with the event failed to reach its target. estimated at £100,000 in those days. Instead, the finance were used to build the National Gallery which now stands on the site where the exhibition was held. Outside the building a statue was erected to honour Dargan. An act passed by the British Parliament at Westminster stopped the building being called the Dargan Institute. The Queen and Prince Consort attended the exhibition and publicly acknowledged Dargan for his achievements. At the close of the exhibition he was offered a Baronetcy but refused, presumably because of his political convictions.
two of his uncles were executed for their part in 1798 insurrection. Dargan's business interests stretched beyond the construction of railways, waterways and roads. He was also involved in ventures such as canal boats, cross channel steamers, linen mills and farming. Dargan was also responsible for establishing several industrial projects which included: charcoal and peat works in the destitute midlands; flax growing in Cork; sugar beet growing and processing around Monasterevin, Co. Kildare; industrial production in Dublin; establishing shipping lanes from Newry and Belfast to Liverpool; draining sloblands to bring more land into agricultural production and the introduction of horticulture to Wicklow. Dargan even modelled the town of Bray, Co. Wicklow on Brighton the southern English resort. Due to his self made fortune, Dargan lived in fine style at Mount Anville close to where the Dublin suburb of Goatstown is now situated. Away from his engineering work Dargan experimented in the breeding of cattle and sheep and even raised prize winning flowers and vegetables. A fall from his horse in 1866 left Dargan badly injured and with nobody of his own capacity to attend to his affairs. This most noteworthy Irish engineer died bankrupt on February 2nd 1867. Throughout his entire working life he managed his own business affairs totally. A writer of the time described his passing thus "His affairs became disordered and his health and spirit were undermined".

During his life Dargan was known for his many maxims, three of which follows:-

A spoonful of honey will catch more flies than a gallon of vinegar
Never show your teeth unless you can bite
When a thing is put anyway right at all it takes a vast deal of mismanagement to make it go wrong.

Dargan has long been commemorated by a statue outside the National Gallery and a bridge named after him in Carlow. And in more recent times, a plaque to his memory was erected at Carlow railway station and a newly constructed bridge over the river Lagan in Belfast was given the name Dargan Bridge.

William Dargan is unquestionably a most representative example of Irish engineers who moulded this country.

Here our children may see, when he's laid in the dust
And his light burnt out in hisocket,
God's noblest of works, a man generous and just,
This man with his hand in his pocket.

On Jones's statuette of Wm. Dargan.

Selected Bibliography & Sources of Reference:

McMillan Dr. Norman, Unpublished article on William Dargan.

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Noteworthy Anniversary
Carlow Railway Station

Jones's Statuette of William Dargan, University Magazine Vol No. CCXL-LI, February, 1853.
Obituary of William Dargan, The Dublin Builder, June 1867.

One hundred and fifty years ago, on the 4th August, 1846 the first passenger train arrived in Carlow.

[In 1844 a company, the Great Southern & Western Railway was authorised by an Act of Parliament to build a railway from Dublin to Cork with a branch line to Carlow.

[The turning of the first sod took place in Dublin, January, 1845. When the railway reached Sallins it was decided to concentrate on completing the line to Carlow first.

[Joint contractors for the project from Sallins to Carlow were, William Dargan and William McCormick.

[The first railway in Ireland was from Dublin to Dunlaoghaire and was built by William Dargan.

In this 150th Anniversary of Carlow Railway Station the Old Carlow Society were unsuccessful in having named after William Dargan, one of Ireland's greatest entrepreneurs.
Presentations to the three surviving founder members

Chairman, Mr. Martin Nevin, Miss. Maureen Doyle, Monsignor P. J. Brophy and Miss Iona McLeod

Golden Jubilee Committee

Miss Anna Kearney, Mr. Tom McDonald, Mrs Ellen O’Neill, Mr. Myles Kavanagh, Mr. Pat O’Neill, Treasurer; Mr. Tom Byrne, Mr. Martin Nevin, Chairman; Mr. Kevin Kennedy, Vice Chairman; Rev. Dermot McKenna, Secretary; Mr. Tommy Clarke, Miss Mary Kearney, Miss Rose Murphy, Mr. Seamus Murphy, Mrs Mgt Minchin, Dr. Michael Conry, Thomas Mac Gabhann, Editor. Inset: Mr. Michael Brennan
Photographs of the early chairpersons are taken from pictures that appeared in Carloviana down through the years, which were supplied by T.P. Walsh, Donal Godfrey and Sean O'Leary. Other contributors were St. Patrick's College and the Nationalist and Leinster Times.

Mrs. Sally Fitzmaurice 1976 - 77

Monsignor P.J. Brophy 1960 - 62

Miss T. Kelly 1979

Mr. John Moriarty 1978

Mrs. Veronica Crombie 1984 - 89

Mr. Seamus Murphy 1980 - 83

Mr. Martin Nevin 1990 -
One of the Society’s earliest outings

Front: Ms Peg Fleming, Mrs Sgt. O’Neill, Ms Eileen Nowd, Mrs Beatrice Olliver, Ms Inbel Tait, Ms. Maureen Doyle, Ms. Iona McLeod, ? ... Ms. Dilly Doyle
Middle: Mr. Alec Burns, Mrs Corcoran, Mrs. Barney O’Neill, Mrs. McCaul, Ms. Fitzroy, Mrs Harry Fennell, Mr. Harry Fennell, Mr. Murphy, Mrs Alec Burns, Mrs. O’Hanlon. Standing: ? ... ? ... Mr. Joe Hoey, Mr. Reddy, Mrs Reddy, Mr. Tom O’Neill, Mr. Barney O’Neill, Ms. Alice Tracy, Ms. O’Reilly, ? ... ? ... Ms Molly Conroy, ? ... Ms., O’Reilly, Mrs O’Reilly.

The mills complex at Milford was built in 1790. They were also used for other purposes over the years. The largest building (now completely gone) on the west bank of the Barrow ended its days as a tannery. It employed ninety people when it was destroyed by fire in July, 1955.

This was not the only fire in the complex because we read in the Carlow Post of November 11, 1862 - “... fire destroyed the flour mills at milford, extensive malthouses were saved - machinery valued at c£20,000, water wheel valued at £1000 saved - mills were only recently reconstructed and refitted by Mr. Fairbairn of Manchester.”

The building, partly in ruins still standing was also used to generate electricity in 1891 and has been re-commissioned to feed power into the National grid since 1990. (See Carloviana No. 39 & 41)

The Griffith Valuation of 1845 shows that the Milford Mills was the most valuable property in the country.
Carloviana has been associated with many noted Roman Catholic churchmen. Cardinal Cooke, Cardinal Cullen, Cardinal Moran, Cardinal Spellman and others. Abraham Brownrigg, a native of Ballypierce, Kildavin who reigned as Bishop of Ossory for almost 44 years stands tall amongst them as another eminent churchman and Carlovian.

The Brownrigg's were for the most part members of the Reformed Church and were dispersed widely through north Wexford and south Carlow in the 18th and 19th centuries. One branch of the family had become Roman Catholic. The bishop's uncle, also Abraham Brownrigg, was parish priest of Cloughbawn, Co Wexford having previously served as curate in Tomacork (the Wicklow part of the Ferns Diocese), from April 1832 to October 1842 when he was translated to the curacy of Ferns. He served in Ferns until his translation to Monageer in September 1847. His tenure in Monageer culminated in his appointment as Parish Priest of Cloughbawn in April 1853 where he died on 22 August 1859 at the age of 54.

Fr. Brownrigg's father was Dr Abraham Brownrigg a medical doctor who resided and carried on his medical practice at The Mall, Bunclody. The bishop's father, Isaac, was also a son of the medical doctor. A branch of the family emigrated to Australia in the late 18th or early 19th century. They compiled a history of the family "down under" which was published in Australia under the title "They came from the Mall". A copy was deposited in the National Library, Kildare St. Dublin and is worth a study there by those who may be interested in this influential family.

In addition to those members whom the family gave to the Roman Catholic church, the Brownriggs had provided noted clerics to the Reformed church. Rev. Francis Brownrigg (1818-1889) who served in the Diocese of Ossory circa 1855; in Monamolin (1883-1885) and Camolin (both in north Co Wexford) and in Patterson's Plains, Whitehall, Tasmania, Australia (1849-1870) was the bishop's cousin. Revd. Hedley William Brownrigg (son of Revd Francis above), was Rector of Mariners Church, Belfast. Three other Brownriggs took Holy Orders in the Reformed Church, viz. Revd. David Brownrigg, ordained in 1832; Revd Graham Brownrigg ordained in 1848 and Revd Theobald Brownrigg who had the distinction of signing the first Vestry Minutes in Christ Church, Gorey on August 11th 1778.

On his mother's side, the Roches of Co Wexford, three uncles took Holy Orders in the Roman Catholic church. One, Fr James Roche was responsible for the Trojan task of building the "twin churches" at Bride Street and Rowe St. Wexford. He had earlier been responsible for building a parish church at Ferns where he was P.P. from September 1840 to June 1850 when he transferred to Wexford town parish where he served for 32 years until his death in 1882. Another uncle, Fr John Roche was a noted and long lived Franciscan who had attained the ripe age of 106 when he passed to his eternal reward in 1926. The third was Venerable Thomas Roche, P.P. Our Lady's Island and Archdeacon of Ferns who ministered there until his death in 1896.

The future Bishop of Ossory was born on 23 December 1836 at Ballypierce, Kildavin where his father, Isaac Brownrigg was a farmer at that time. His mother, Elizabeth Roche from Wexford town, died at his birth and was buried at Wexford on Christmas Day 1836. Isaac Brownrigg moved to Dublin in 1844 and died there some five years later. Local lore says that the future bishop attended school at Kildavin at some time. In any event he paid a sentimental visit to Ballypierce and Kildavin in 1920 when he was 83 years old.

He had spent some of his early childhood years in the care of the Conroy family at Ballymogue, near Ballon. He attended nearby Cunaberry school before going on to more prestigious Patrician Brothers Monastery in Tullow. This was before the institution was moved to Mount Wolseley and renamed Mount St. Joseph.

His father moved to Dublin in 1844 and the young Abraham joined him there. He attended the noted Classical School, Richmond Street, Dublin. One of his class mates there was the future Archbishop of Philadelphia, the Most Rev. Dr Ryan. When he was about 13 years of age his father
When he died on 1 October 1928 he was a few days short of his 92nd birthday and had completed some 67 years as priest, of which 44 years as bishop of Ossory. His funeral procession from Drakelands to the cathedral was led by the Mayor, Alderman John McGuinness and the members of the Corporation in their ceremonial robes. The business and complexion from far and wide attended his Requiem and public figures from around the world. A great prelate and churchman had passed to his eternal reward and the world took note. One of his earliest tasks in his See was to effect the restoration of St Mary’s Cathedral which was in an unfinished condition at the time of his accession. The works cost some £20,000, an enormous sum in those days when the country was still reeling from the devastation of the Great Famine. He committed himself wholeheartedly to the welfare of his diocese, building and renovating schools and churches and giving especial attention to education. There was scarcely a parish or curacy under his jurisdiction that did not benefit from his zeal. When he celebrated the silver jubilee of his episcopacy in 1908 he was loudly acclaimed as a great prelate and administrator. Drakelands, where he resided was always an open house to the clergy of the Diocese and a source of much consolation to troubled members of his flock who sought his solace. He was a generous and firm man fearless but gentle. A powerful preacher who could expound a point with great effect in a gentle and low pitched voice. Although it was generally believed that he held popular nationalist sympathies, he was never known to express them nor to come in conflict in any way with those who may have held other views. A special Gold Medal was sent to him in 1924 by Pope Pius XI to mark his 40 years as Bishop of Ossory.

When he died on 1 October 1928 he was a few days short of his 92nd birthday and had completed some 67 years as priest, and almost 44 years as bishop of Ossory. His funeral procession from Drakelands to the cathedral was led by the Mayor, Alderman John McGuinness and the members of the Corporation in their ceremonial robes. The business and complexion from far and wide attended his Requiem and public figures from around the world. A great prelate and churchman had passed to his eternal reward and the world took note. One more Carlovian had left his imprint on Roman Catholicism.

### Notes
1. Leslie: Clergy of the Diocese of Ferns.

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**A noteworthy anniversary**

In this year, the 50th anniversary of *The Quiet Revolution* - the electrification of rural Ireland, Carlow is particularly proud that one of its native sons played a leading role in this event. Paddy Dowling of Linkardstown graduated from the College of Science and joined the Electricity Supply Board (ESB) as a young engineer. In 1937 Paddy put forward the idea of bringing electricity to the rural areas and in 1939 the then Minister for Industry and Commerce, Sean Lemass commissioned the ESB to prepare plans for this major project. A detailed investigation was undertaken, directed by Dr. Thomas McLaughlin with two assistants, Paddy Dowling and Alphonsus J. McManus.

The start of World War II interrupted the investigation but in 1942, Lemass was looking for the plans. The task was completed by McLaughlin, Dowling and McManus and delivered to the Dept. of Industry and Commerce by December 22, 1942. Rural electrification was approved by the Government in August, 1943, and in October of 1944 Paddy Dowling was was given one month to report on how the scheme could be organised and implemented. He did this in the time frame and this report was used as the basis for the rural electrification scheme.

Kinsallagh, Co. Dublin was the first parish to get a supply in November, 1946. Tinryland, Paddy’s home parish, was the first rural parish to be connected up, in May, 1947. Paddy Dowling is now in his 92nd year and hail and hearty. The Old Carlow Society wishes him many more years of continued good health.
Reflections on the Religious Life of Carlow Town 1900-1990

Monsignor P.J. Brophy

Carlow, like many another Irish town, has yet to have its chronicler, it's Anthony Trollope, to re-imagine life as it was lived when the Catholic establishment dominated the scene and influenced every aspect of the country town's life.

The bigotry of Tullow landlord Doyle was responsible for the building we now know as St. Patrick's in Carlow on the edge of the town in Winner's field thanks to the liberality of landlord Fishbourne.

Bishop James O'Keeffe and Daniel Delaney lived in Tullow on the river Slaney. There they had contemplated a boarding school for boys and a theology college to train young men for the priesthood rather than sending them to the European mainland which was then convulsed by the French revolutionary enthusiasm and the downfall of the French monarchy. Freedom was in the air. Down with kings and princes!

Move to Carlow

Bishop James Doyle - 1819-1834 - moved from Tullow, a modest market town, to Carlow, the county seat, residence of the Carlow gentry and the centre of a thriving butter trade. The landlords had fine houses on the Boulevard which runs from the Assembly Rooms - now the county library - down to the courthouse and the clubhouse, rendezvous of the landed squires and now St. Brigid's hospital. Pride of the town were the St. Dympna's hospital (1844) and the suitably impressive court house in Carlow granite. Carlow was the landlord's utopia even if one of Ireland's smallest counties.

Squireens

The entrenched position of the squireens, Bruens Brownes, Bunburys, Bagenals, Burtones encouraged Daniel O'Connell and his son John to challenge the landlords privileged position in the elections of 1841. Bruen held his seat by a narrow margin.

By the time O'Connell had launched his campaign to unseat Bruen, the vigour and vision of the Bishop James Doyle had added to the good name Carlow college and endowed the town with a cathedral of the Assumption the first to rise after Catholic emancipation. Doyle had become a reforming bishop, a skilled publicist pleaded for the downtrodden in London's parliament inquiry.

Education

Education was the need of the day. Catholic Carlow had Sisters of Mercy and Presentation Sisters caring for the poor children. The Christian Brothers came in 1859 to replace the old school in College Street. (Alas that the stone memorial to school and taught which used to be in the passageway into the Cathedral has disappeared. Where is it now?)

Braganza

What was life like in Carlow in 1900? Churchmen had been to the fore in demanding freedom from penal resorption. The centre of public interest and pride was the Cathedral in College Street and the bishop's house, Braganza, on the Athy road. Dudley St. Ledger Hill had soldiered with Wellington in the Peninsular wars, retired to Carlow but became governor of St. Lucia in the West Indies where he liberated the slaves. The diocesan clergy bought his home as a gift for J.K.L.

Bishop Foley

The bishop from 1896 to 1926 was Patrick Foley, tall, distinguished, a pioneer in matters educational. He had been president of Carlow College from 1891 to his episcopal ordination. He was succeeded by John Foley his brother who presided over the college until 1937, a marathon period of service to the seminary. The Carlow clergy lived in what is now the Vocational Education office. Bishop Foley liked to walk from Braganza to the presbytery and then to the Cathedral. His pastoral letters were composed in a florid Italianate style to the puzzlement of many a lenten congregation. His authority was contested in a confrontation with another clerical Master Foley who traded documents with the bishop in the public arena. It was rare indeed for a conflict of this type to find its way into the pages of the Nationalist, an addition to Carlow newspapers as a consequence of the Parnellite split. Up to that time the Sentinel had things its own way.

When Carlow cathedral was completed in 1833, a year ahead of J.K.L's death, it had incorporated the old Carlow parish chapel in the college parkland on the edge of the town. That modest structure had taken the place of a chapel hidden away in the quarries under the Dublin Road and the Ford Garage.

Little Rome

With the Presentation convent to the east in 1811 and the Mercy convent to the west of college and cathedral the centre of Carlow became a little Rome. The Mercy convent incorporates the entrance gate to the old chapel. The CBS completed the church school system and then in the 1920s came the Little Company of Mary to open St.
Bishop Keogh's favourite architect, a descendant of Cardinal Newman's day. Old Powell specialised in imitation gothic churches in mass concrete as at Ardattin, Tullow extension, Caragh, and Rathangan. The Powell plan for Portlaioise was rejected.

Bishop Cullen

Bishop Mat Cullen who succeeded Patrick Foley in 1927 hailed from Hacketstown, had been rector of Knockbeg college and P.P. of Bagenalstown. As a Knockbeg boy in Carlow for the ceremonies I gazed with wonder at the new presbytery on the Dublin road a place of delight in a dreary time.

The cinemas closed until after the midnight Mass to enjoy his down to earth homilies, good humoured, engaging. Thomas Keogh was a native of Skeoughvosteen in county Kilkenny. He taught in Carlow college for many years, served as P.P. of Portarlington before his appointment as bishop, in 1936. His desk manual was the code of canon law the church's manual of good practice. Clergy callers gauged the length of their stay by the time it took to smoke a cigarette.

The Keogh regime was one of transition. Fresh breezes were blowing and soon the second Vatican Council (1962-1965) would be altering the unchangeable and questioning the unquestionable. Dr. Keogh did not attend the Council nor did he send delegates. He was content to wait and implement the conciliar decrees all in due time.

Bishop Keogh had a strong sense of leadership, firmly guided by the handbook of good churchmanship, the code of canon law. He was a bishop of the old school, firmly attached to traditional values of Irish Catholic life, to community and authority of parents, the importance of exact expression of doctrinal orthodoxy. His casuistical examination of candidates for confirmation flattered the capacity of the youngsters to grasp the more abstruse truths of faith. The current questions were circulated from school to school in the hope of making a good showing on the day!

Bishop Keogh did not welcome the rebellious spirit of the Vatican Council but did not hesitate to assent to its authority preferring to leave things as they were and had been since his youth in north Kilkenny. Being a fundamentally shy man - as are most priests who had lived for six or seven years behind the high seminary walls - he had a retiring disposition and no great store of small talk.

Bishop Lennon

His successor Patrick Lennon had lived in Carlow from the date of his appointment to teach theology in St. Patrick's from 1941 until the date of his being named as parish priest of Mountmellick and bishop in 1966. He took no part in the life of the town during his college years. He was close in outlook and temperament to Bishop Keogh, with his deep respect for law and order, as an exact theologian he found adaptation to the more relaxed attitudes of younger
moralists difficult to accept. The crisis of Humane Vitae which condemned artificial contraception found him ready to defend the church’s stance in spite of respected teachers and thinkers resistant to Church orthodoxy.

Serving a community
Carlow cathedral serves the needs of a sizable town as well as a far-flung diocese. The presence of bishop and seminary added to the richness of liturgical celebration. Our Irish Liturgical tradition had been sparse and austere in the restrictive tradition of the penal laws. Lent, Advent and the greater feasts of the Lord and of Our Lady were impressive and nourishing to popular piety. Organist Hann, Born and Seccdęayers added their skills to the rendering of the Gregorian chants, a treasure alas lost to us today.

The high altar was erected in 1888 by bishop Joseph Walsh. The original altar rails which followed through the pattern of the stalls and were wooden. The marble altar rails were a gift of the Governey family and constituted the longest rail in Ireland. Controversy surrounds their future. Ireland’s love affair with white marble is coming to an end.

Baulks of oak beams to furnish the sanctuary with ornamental choir stalls in the style of the bishop’s throne were housed in Braganza for so many years that the woodworm consumed them and the project was abandoned. This hesitancy about renewing the sanctuary area is due to be remedied in 1996.

Changes
The Council brought changes, welcome and unwelcome. The laws of Eucharist fast were relaxed. Fast and abstinence became a matter for the individual. No longer was it fish on a Friday. Evening Masses were introduced giving a great fillip to mass going. The confessionals were less thronged and gradually little frequented.

The college softened its rules, lessened its isolation. The Wednesday walks out the country gave way to seminarians teaching in schools, visiting hospitals, accepting responsibility for pastoral work in the parish. A welcome change from the over-strict enclosure of the Tridentine seminary.

The 1970s brought other changes. Young men were no longer queuing up to join the ranks of the priesthood. The day of the layman and woman was dawning in defiance of clerical recalcitrance.

TV brought more changes, broadened horizons, opened up new controversies. Carlow changed its spirit and atmosphere. The process of secularisation had gathered pace. Latin disappeared to the disappointment of many and its silence was not noticed by a few. Bishop Lennon’s Sunday morning homilies had not the sparkle of his predecessor whose arresting features and deep-throated intonations had a wide appeal. Humility was a Lennon quality but as the son of two teachers and nephew of two P.P.s he had a strong sense of discipline and authority. His family background and years of study had made it difficult for him to understand a mind and will not geared to obedience to church guidance.

He had lots of time for people and a ready ear for the troubled. His hesitation to tackle the problem of adapting the cathedral to the needs of the third millennium became a headache for his successor Bishop Laurence Ryan. The laity take the church at its word and ask to be heard more fully. The cathedral controversy has made headlines in the national press, created confusion and unhappiness in the Carlow community. Growing pains in the formation of a new relationship between clergy and layfolk are bound to come. A substantial file on the suggested modifications show that the topic is a burning one and exchanges in the public press have crossed the bounds of temperate speech.

Growth seldom occurs without some pain. After centuries of dependence upon the clergy here in Ireland the people of God assume the right to speak out their views even if the shade awkwardly for the beginnings of a dialogue.

Progressive town
Carlow was one of the first provincial towns to industrialise with steel works, a mineral water factory, a boot factory and the sugar beet factory. Today the industrial sector is the mainstay of the townsfolk. Carlow is expanding as an educational centre with high ambitions for the future. St. Patrick’s college is an important adult education college with links with Dublin, Cork and London. The Capuchin fathers are the latest addition to the family. The Carmelites have come and gone. There are now three Catholic parishes and services at every hour to meet all tastes and requirements. To change is to grow and to have changed often is to be perfect, observed Cardinal Newman.

Ecumenism
The religious scene in Carlow from the point of view of inter-church relationships has improved greatly over the past fifty years. Not so long ago there was an embargo on Catholics working for non-Catholic firms. What factors have brought about this ecumenical atmosphere?

The influence of Pope John XXIII was paramount. Christians began to look at one another with a more benign and evangelical eye. A key event was the coming of Gregory Baum, O.S.A. to Carlow on his way home from the first session of the Vatican in December 1962. Brother Gerard of Taize came the following year and a Taize came the following year and a

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When I came to live in Carlow in 1944 in the street named after Carlow college (and not after the cathedral as is customary in most Irish diocesan centres) I was no stranger to the cathedral of the Assumption built in 1833.

I recall with some amusement the placing of the statue of Our Lady on the facade of the cathedral to mark the Marian year. To celebrate the occasion the town was festooned with flags and hunting.

It so happened that the papal nuncio Dr. O'Hara passing through the town on his way to Kilkenny for a Church function took this to a sign of honour to the Pope's representative. Pleased with the delicate compliment to his office a note of appreciation was passed to Dr. Keogh. Being a thorough gentleman Bishop Keogh acknowledged the letter and added that had he known at what hour his excellency was passing through Carlow he would have been happy to welcome him personally. The inscription under the statue misled many visitors to think they were looking at a twentieth century structure. 1833 and 1934 now eliminate the confusion.

As a boy accompanying my mother in her pony and trap on the seven mile drive from Castlemore to Carlow we stabled the pony at Mc Dermott's pub in care of the faithful Willie. My mother always visited the cathedral or indeed any church when we were visiting a town for the first time. Within the cathedral there was a dim religious light conducive to prayer. There were always some worshippers on their knees in the pews, candles glowing, a sacristan about his business. Just as in Tullow my home church, the Lord's house was never without its guard of honour before the tabernacle all day long.

It was a welcome break from the routine of Knockbeg college to get into Carlow cathedral to attend episcopal ceremonies and visit tuck shops on the way home. Rector, Peadar Mac Suibhe, aimed to foster in us priestly vocations. Let them see the majesty of the Latin Liturgy!

Bishop Matt Cullen was a giant figure clad in regal vestments. We watched fascinated as the beads of perspiration gathered around his neck and spread down his amice, alb and precious chasuble. The sanctuary was full of soutained and surpliced seminarians from St. Patrick's. We could identify some of our companions of yesteryear now on the high road to the priesthood.

We might occasionally get behind the grim wood door and penetrate into the building should we succeed in escaping the eagle eye of dean Thomas Browne, once described by a nurse as the east wind taken flesh. My youthful curiosity was aroused by the separation of the transcepts from the nave. Lists of pew holders intrigued me. We looked in vain for the beadle who was instructed to reserve only for those listed and collect a shilling from those not so privileged. (What did a beadle look like? I had to wait many years to see a real live beadle in full ceremonial regalia with a silver topped staff tapping a funeral procession out of Notre Dame de Paris.)

To celebrate the Marian year the statue of Our Lady was placed on the tabernacle all day long.

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Harry Clarke's wall painting filled the sanctuary with elongated byzantine angels, saints, Ascension figures and Assumption scenes, austere and hieratic. They surrounded the great crucifixion window memorial to Bishop Comerford. There was no popular outcry when the Clarke pieces were removed. They never won the hearts of the Carlow congregations. They should have survived in a museum setting as evidence of a praiseworthy attempt to introduce works of Irish artists into our church buildings.

Administrators of the Cathedral of the Assumption.
John Killian
Patrick Gorry
William Miller
James Dunry
Daniel Kennedy
Michael Coughlan
Cornelius Crowley
Thomas Brophy
John O'Laoghaire
John Fingleton
Francis McNamara
Thomas Dillon
John Byrne

From Samuel Lewis's Topographical Dictionary of Ireland

Moyacomb or Clonegal a parish, partly in the barony of Shillelagh, county of Wicklow, partly in that of Scurralawalsh, county of Wexford, but chiefly in that of St. Mullins, county of Carlow, and part of the province of Leinster, on the road from Tullow to Newtownbarr, and on the river Derry; containing with the post-town of Clonegal and the village of Johnstown, (both separately described) 4847 inhabitants. It comprises 28,204 statute acres, as appotted under the tithe act, of which 9347½ are in Wicklow, 9287½ in Wexford, and 9569 in Carlow. The portion in the county of Wexford includes the estate of Abbeydown, containing 452 plantation acres, which has been tithe free from time immemorial, and is considered extra parochial. The soil is varied, and there are some patches of bog, and the state of agriculture is gradually improving. A slate quarry has been lately opened on Gibbet hill, near Johnstown. Several fairs held at Clonegal are mentioned under that head; it is also a station in the parochial school, supported by the rector, and in the national school at Clonegal, about 210 children are educated; and there are about 36 children in private school. At Abbeydown are the remains of an ancient religious house, of which no account is extant.
Clonmelsh (Rath Melsigi), Willibrord, and the origins of Irish Dance

Dáithí Ó Crónáin

Anyone who visits the small, scenic town of Echternach in Luxembourg on Whit Tuesday will witness an extraordinary sight: thousands of dancers, from many countries, taking part in one of the most ancient and curious celebrations in Europe - Echternach's Springprocession. The dancers, in rows of four or more abreast, every pair linked together by gripping the ends of a folded handkerchief, shuffle down from their starting-point on the bank of the river Sure, crossing the bridge in the direction of the basilica of St. Willibrord. The proceedings begin early in the morning, about 4.00 am, with masses, from 6.30 on groups from the local parishes begin to arrive in procession, led by bands of musicians, and shortly before 8.00 German pilgrims from Prüm-Waxweiler (in the Eifel region) arrive. The distance covered by the procession is not very long, but it lasts all afternoon. That's because the dancers move in a strange, rhythmic shuffle: hopping up and down, five steps forward and three steps back, veering now to the left, now to the right, moving slowly through the narrow winding streets down to the town square. There they run into the basilica, hop down the aisle, and pay their respects to the gathered clergy before emerging again to disperse.

No one is quite sure how the procession originated. A legend first encountered in print in the nineteenth-century recounted how an Echternach monk who went with his wife on pilgrimage to the Holy Land returned after ten years, without the wife (who was supposedly killed by the Saracens). Her enraged relations accused the man of murder and he was condemned to be hanged. In answer to his plea for one last request before his execution, the man was given his fiddle and began to play a tune which made all who heard it, including the hangman and all the animals, dance uncontrollably. The dead wife's relatives danced for a year, without food or drink, until they had eaten a hole in the ground up to their knees. Eventually they were saved by the arrival of St. Willibrord from Utrecht, who freed them from all the spell.

Irish readers will recognise the motif in this story, which has many parallels in Irish story-telling: But the origins of the Echternach dance go back a good deal farther, to the eleventh century, in fact. Sometime in the second half of that century an Echternach monk composed a miracle-story which was clearly intended as a salutary warning to people who engaged in unseemly dancing before the porch of the church (a practice which was by that time clearly well established). A priest of the church of St. Magnus in Kölnig (near Bernburg an der Saale, in East Germany) was putting on his vestments for mass on Christmas Day in the year 1017 when a group of twenty-six men and one woman appeared at the porch and proceeded to dance. They ignored the priest's repeated requests that they desist and eventually he drew down a curse on them - that they be rooted to the spot in perpetual dance. Unfortunately, the priest's daughter had joined the dance, and when he tried to drag her into the church he wrenched off her arm (but without leaving any wound). Every attempt to bury the arm was unsuccessful, and it was left for a full year in the church. When the year had passed, the dancers stopped their fiendish dancing, the daughter and another dropped dead, while the others - quivering, gibbering wrecks - were paraded before the congregation as a warning to those who might incur God's wrath. The story was later adapted in neighbouring Waxweiler under the title "The Dancers of Waxweiler", only this time St. Willibrord takes the place of St. Magnus, and the dancers are ordered to repent their actions at Willibrord's church in Echternach.

One feature stands out in all these stories: the emphasis is on the frenzied dancing that occurs. Connection has been made with the well known 'epidemic' of dancing which is recorded to have occurred in the Rhineland region during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The link with Willibrord, however, is older still, for in the biography of the saint composed (c. 786-797) by the great Anglo-Saxon scholar Alcuin of York one of the miracle stories (chap. 29) concerns a young man, beset by uncontrollable, epileptic-like symptoms, who was healed by the miraculous powers of the saint. Clearly related to this is a sequence attributed by music scholars to Bemo (800-870 AD), the title for a set of hymns in the vernacular, and included in the Book of Kells. The sequence is by that time clearly well established. A priest of the monastery of St. Magnus in Kolbink (near Bernburg an der Saale) composed a sequence which made all who heard it dance uncontrollably. The sequence is clearly intended as a salutary warning to people who engaged in unseemly dancing before the porch of the church (a practice which was by that time clearly well established). A priest of the church of St. Magnus in Kolbink (near Bernburg an der Saale) composed a sequence which made all who heard it dance uncontrollably. The sequence is clearly intended as a salutary warning to people who engaged in unseemly dancing before the porch of the church (a practice which was by that time clearly well established).

'Let all the faithful everywhere sing praise to Christ on this day with great dancing, in veneration of the distinguished father Willibrord!

How did Willibrord come to be associated with music and dance? Does it have anything to do with his life and career? As it happens, we are better informed about Willibrord's early years than we are about almost any other contemporary of his, not just because of the biography by Alcuin (who was related to Willibrord and who visited Echternach many times), but also because of the work of the great early musicologist Bemo (c. 786-797). The principal source of information about
Willibrord, in fact, is the great Ecclesiastical History composed by the Venerable Bede and published by him in 731. In several chapters of that work Bede recounts how Willibrord left his native Northumbria, probably in 678, when he was aged eighteen, and came in exile to Ireland. The place he chose for that exile was Rath Melsigi, now Clonmelsh (townland of Garryhundon). Bede relates how there was a colony of Anglo-Saxons already at Clonmelsh in 664, under the stewardship of Ecgberct. When the Great Plague of that year struck the community, Ecgberct vowed that, if he were spared, he would devote the remaining years of his life to spreading the Christian message. While almost all around him were swept away, Ecgberct and a couple of companions survived. In fact, Ecgberct lived to the extraordinary age of ninety, dying on Easter Sunday, 24 April, 729, on the famous Columban Island of Iona.

Bede tells how Ecgberct had conceived the desire to preach the Gospel to the pagan German tribes on the continent, and how he made elaborate preparations to lead a missionary group across to Frisia. But then two prophetic visions were related to him by a member of the Rath Melsigi community in which he had been told in his sleep to warn Ecgberct against his new undertaking. On each occasion Ecgberct swore the monk to silence and continued his preparations, ignoring the warnings. However, when the ship which he had provisioned was wrecked in a storm, Ecgberct reluctantly decided that his destiny was not to be with the Frisian mission. He chose in his stead another of his companions at Rath Melsigi, a certain Uuincberct. He was another of the 'large numbers of the English race' who, in Bede's words, had taken themselves to Ireland in the first half of the seventh century in order to study at the feet of Irish masters. Taking ship probably in 684/5, he reached Frisia and 'preached the word of life to that nation and to its king, Raddob'. But Uuincberct - for whatever reason - met with no success and (according to Bede) after two years' fruitless labour he returned to his beloved place of exile: Rath Melsigi/Clonmelsh. In the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris is still preserved one of the manuscripts that Uuincberct took with him to Frisia, a table used for the calculation of the date of Easter.

Undaunted by his further setback, Ectberct decided to try one more time, and chose Willibrord for his latest missionary attempt. Sometime in the year 690, accompanied by twelve companions, he set out for Frisia. The rest is history, as they say. Unlike his predecessor, Willibrord was successful, and after an initial period during which he was based in Utrecht, he moved to Ectternach where, with powerful aristocratic patronage and support, he established his monastery, c.698. As a centre of Anglo-Saxon missionary activity on the continent, Ectternach was to enjoy a huge importance, but Willibrord did not sever his ties with Rath Melsigi. On the contrary, the evidence of the surviving manuscripts demonstrates quite clearly that the first generation of monastic scribes at Ectternach were probably all Irish. And the quality of those manuscripts is second to none. Most important among them is the calendar owned by Willibrord himself, in the November page of which he wrote, with his own hand, a brief autobiography. This is the dateable example of English handwriting.

It is possible to see in the traditions about Willibrord and his cure for St. Vitus's Dance some memory of the Great Plague that struck Rath Melsigi in 664, and which swept away so many of the community there? Is this peculiar dance step of the Ectternach Springposession a relic of his time in Ireland? And could the fiddler in "The Dances of Waxweiler" be another faint echo of traditions once associated with Ireland? The violin is, of course, a relatively modern instrument, but Willibrord's association with music and dance go back to the earliest foundation period at Ectternach. The dancers who make their way annually across the bridge and down to the town square may be recalling one of the oldest traditions not only of their own country but perhaps also Willibrord's adopted Ireland.

1 As with most customs of the kind, the Ectternach dance underwent changes over the years, not always welcomed! Thus, e.g., the original 5:3 step became 3:2 and then 3:1, until the backward step was eliminated altogether, being replaced by the diagonal steps forward to right and left. The original bagpipe accompaniment was also dropped at one stage.

A County Carlow Man Mayor of Port Elizabeth

The Port Elizabeth Herald contains an account of the election of Mr. James Wynne as mayor of the Municipal Council for the year 1896. He was afterwards entertained at a civic banquet. Mr. Wynne is a county Carlow man, having been born in Ballinkillen. He is the first Irish man who has ever had the honour of being elected Mayor, and the speeches of his proposer and seconder recount the position to which he has attained in the Colony and the esteem to which he is held. He has been a member of the Town Council for a great number of years, and has been prominent in carrying out many improvements for the town - amongst other things a public library. The Mayor has been for many years a reader of The Nationalist, and we desire to congratulate him on the honourable position to which he has been elevated by his fellow-townsmen. Our contemptuous says:- "Mr. Wynne received a very hearty welcome on his election to the Mayoral chair. There was a full attendance of councillors, and a large gathering of leading townsmen, and if good wishes count for anything, Mr. Wynne should have a successful year. He has before him a considerable task, for he takes over a heavy deficit. It is, however, in his favour that he has fifteen years of town affairs, and is now unencumbered with any private business. He is a man of sound judgement, and enjoys the respect of his fellow townsman. We join in the congratulations and good wishes."

Source: Carlow Nationalist 11/7/1896
Carlow Old and New

Gallipot-Little Barrack Street, one of the oldest streets in Carlow.

Annie Parker-Byrne

The Past

Outside the British Army Barracks (built circa 1780) with its 30 foot high boundary wall, a forge and 15 small cottages, all alike, were built, where some of the soldiers and their families lived. These houses provided very basic accommodation compared to the type of accommodation provided today.

As you enter the front door you came directly into the kitchen, with its very high ceiling, open fire place with its two big hobs and high mantlepiece. To the right were two small bedrooms, with an open loft above, which was entered by climbing a ladder. Some people slept in the loft.

Leaving by the back door you came to a long garden with a pig house and a “privy” (toilet) built half way down the garden. At the rear of the gardens was a stream, where some of the residents kept their paddle boats tied up. These boats were used to ferry timber, turf and manure through the back way, instead of carrying everything through the houses. A piece of land known as “The Island” lay between the stream and the river Burrin. The stream supplied water to Hanover Mills in later years. When the River Burrin was diverted and the new Hanover Bridge built, this stream dried up.

The houses built after the forge were numbered 1 to 15. When the forge was converted to a dwelling it had no number but in consequence of its conversion No.1 became the second house. No 2 the third and so on up the street.

The houses were once owned by a Mr. Wallace, Postmaster and apothecary (chemist). In those days chemists mixed ingredients of prescriptions in a vessel called a Gallipot. Mr. Wallace was later hanged at the Gaol just across the road from the Gallipot houses.

The British Army left Barrack Street after the Truce and the Irish took over the Barracks and stayed there until 1923 when they moved to the Old Union on the Kilkenny Road where the Technical School now stands. The inmates were brought to the old barracks. The Mercy Sisters took on the care of the sick in 1881 and continue to do so to this day.

The Present

Except for a few Old Carolvians the street is now called Little Barrack Street. It still retains the appearance of 1780 with its cobbled foot path and single storied terrace houses with slated roofs. Some of the houses retain the high internal ceiling but the old kitchens are now sitting rooms. The Lofts remain and you can still enter them by climbing a ladder as in the olden days.

In the 1930s the Town Gas Company, located at Montgomery Street, supplied gas to the houses. If the gas was connected a meter was placed in the kitchen and you put your penny (old penny) into the slot. God help you if you didn’t have a penny when the gas ran out! It was back to the candle or the oil lamp. In the middle ‘40s, wonder of wonders, some of the houses had electricity connected and I can remember vividly the excitement of switching on and off the light. No more candle grease on my comics.

In the late ‘40s or early ‘50s water mains were laid in the street by the Urban Council with connection facilities outside each door. People had to pay to ‘open the road’ to get the water connected to their home if they wished. The public tap remained in the street until the ‘80s.

During the 30s and ‘40s entertainment was simple. TV wasn’t even a pipe dream and music lounges didn’t exist. The men played cards under The Magazine at the corner in
Summer and up the street under the Lamp light in Winter. Pitch and toss was played on Sunday mornings. The women visited each other's houses for their cuppa and a chat - not unlike today's coffee mornings. The front doors were never locked, day or night. There were, and still are, marvellous neighbours in this oldest of streets. They shared what they had with those who were in need at the time. The residents have changed with time of course but some descendants of the original families still live in the street. My brother, Robert and myself are 5th generation Parkers of this street and my nephew, Thomas, is 6th generation as would be my own children, the Byrnes. Maggie Curran-Nolan is 3rd generation as her grandmother, Mrs. Treacy, lived in No.7 and her mother, Mrs. Curran Maggie Curran-Nolan is 3rd generation as her grandmother, Mrs. Treacy, lived in No.7 and her mother, Mrs. Curran, lived in No.1. Maggie, herself lives in No.6 and her son, James, owner of No. 5, would be 4th. generation.

We are very proud to live in one of the oldest streets in Carlow with its cobbled footpath - the last in the town or county. The high boundary wall of the old barracks still stands - as I write this article - in front of the terrace of houses. This wall will be demolished in 1996 (?) to widen the roadway. It is hoped that the Council will respect the appearance and uniqueness of this street, and its residents, when this work is put in hand. We the residents will do all we can to ensure that the old appearance of the street going back to 1780 will not be unnecessarily changed so that in 2080, Gallipot will look much as it did in times past.

If we can keep our history alive in the minds of our younger generations, and they have the same interest we have then The Old and The New can remain to be enjoyed by future generations of Carlovians.

Notes on Contributors

Garrett Bolger was educated at the University of Pennsylvania where he took his Ph.D. in American Civilization. He is now semi-retired from Rosemont College, a very small Catholic women's college near Philadelphia, where he has taught English and American Literature and American Studies for 38 years. He became interested in County Carlow affairs in looking into his family history. His great-great grandfather, Peter Bolger, left in the famine years with his wife and eight children from Rathgarean.

While on sabbatical in Ireland in the Spring of 1994, he discovered the Courtown papers. He is now anxious to come back to Ireland for a longer period to work on the letters and estate records.

Leo Bowes: Former editor of Irish Builder and Engineer, Stream and Field in Ireland, Leather and footwear Journal and assistant editor of Showband magazine.

Graduate, London School of Journalism.

Contributor of articles to Irish newspapers and magazines over a period of 30 years, including Ireland's Own, Pioneer, Health and Strength, Irish Sport, Bialas, Green Isle Philately, etc., etc.

Edward J. O'Day is Associate Professor of history at Southern Illinois University-Carbondale (SIUC) and a former president of the Illinois State Genealogical Society (1989-1991). He holds degrees from the University of Massachusetts-Amherst and from Indiana University, where he studied political and diplomatic history.

His teaching fields include modern European history and courses in historical method, but his current research interests focus on immigration and family history, especially as it relates to Ireland and Irish-America.

O'Day is author of "Irish Laborers on the Western Railroad, and "Re-constructing an Immigrant Family from United States Records," and is currently preparing for publication a book on David Byrne, the County Carlow emigrant to the United States who is the subject of this article.

Monsignor P.J. Brophy was born in Tullow in east county Carlow in 1919. Schooled with the Bridgide nuns, Patrician Brothers and in St. Mary's Knockbeg college. Ordained priest for the service of the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin in 1944. Professor in Carlow theological college until 1974, Parish priest of Kilcock, north Kildare, and later in Graiguecullen until retirement in 1989. Longtime columnist on Nationalist of Carlow and Clannell, Leinster Express and Nenagh Guardian.

Dr. Michael J. Farry is a graduate of U.C.D., T.C.D. and Kings Inn. He also holds a qualification from St. Patrick's College Maynooth and the NCEA. He has practiced at the Irish Bar and lectured in Law at Carlow Regional College for over twenty years. A previous contributor to Carloviana (See articles) he has written extensively on educational legal topics and is the author of Cases on Contract, Phoenix Press, 1995 and Education and the Constitution, Round Hall, Sweet & Maxwell, 1996.

Sr. Declan Power, p.h.b.m. historian and linguist, has been engaged in research, writing and lecturing on aspects of Irish spirituality and culture for many years, and has published many books and articles. She is currently completing a study of the poetry of Tadhg Gaelach O Súilleabáin (1715-1795) with U.C.C., and her book, St. Patrick the Pilgrim-Apostle of Ireland, will soon be published.

Edmund Nevin is a recent graduate of Trinity College Dublin where he obtained his BA BAI (Hons) in civil engineering. He is presently working as a site engineer in London.
1972 was a good year. It was the year that Carlow decided to take a more active interest in its environment by founding the An Taisce Carlow Association. This was a courageous step because in those years An Taisce was not perceived as an instrument through which the concerned citizen could be heard or effect change. So at that inaugural meeting in the Irish National Foresters Hall, College Street, those enlightened people, who together with Alex Burns, Sean O’Laoire, Michael Neenan, Capt. Prior-Wandesford, Roddy Murphy, Carmel Frost, Barney Crombie and Iona McCleod, founded An Taisce Carlow Association and gave Carlow a unique voice in its affairs and its future.

Early days
In those early days, many established bodies saw An Taisce as a collection of crackpots interfering in issues best left to the experts, and sadly, put up serious resistance to its involvement in some important matters. Public image of the organisation, while being more benign, was of well-meaning do-gooders led by somewhat eccentric retired military people and clerics, who in reality, could not expect to effect serious change in the march of the developer or the destruction of the environment. The objectives then, as now, were to inform the public on issues affecting the natural and built environment, to comment on planning and to encourage conservation of the natural and built environment. An Taisce Carlow Association undertook the tasks to achieve these objectives with great energy and were successful in many hard fought actions.

A question of support
The late 70’s to early 80’s was a time of developing relationships with Local Authorities and other official bodies. This very necessary work was often perceived by the general public as inaction, or indeed, that An Taisce Carlow Association had succumbed to the ending which pessimists had prophesied as inevitable. Public support fell away and the continuation of the work of the Association was left to the dedicated few. Support is important to an environmental organisation because it needs the confidence of people in its abilities to confront adversity, to deal effectively with important planning issues and to be vigilant in those areas of the environment which are vulnerable. It is a tribute to those members of strong convictions and stronger beliefs in the ethos of An Taisce, that the Association not only remained alive, but also undertook some successful actions during that time.

A revival
The period of seeming inactivity came to an end in the Winter of 1984 with a public meeting of An Taisce Carlow Association in the Seven O’Aks Hotel. The attendance at that meeting was impressive and many of the original founding members were present together with a heartening number of the next generation. Visiting from Head Office were Pat and Gemma McCabe, Brian Dagg, Patricia Hurley and Michael Meldon. Dr Michael Neenan presided as the incumbent Chairman of the Association and a lively meeting ensued during which those present were reminded of the unique grandeur of our country by the showing of a An Taisce produced video entitled ‘Treasure Ireland’. A new committee was elected following a general discussion on An Taisce, its need and image. In January 1985, at the first Committee meeting, the Association was restructured with four working committees in Planning, Trees, Conservation and Youth. An Taisce Carlow Association was revived.

Enthusiasm
Energy abounded during the second half of the decade with the working committees finding involvement in planning issues throughout the county when it was not unusual to find the Association Chairman and the Planning Chairman motorizing from one end if the county to the other to assess proposed development implications in sensitive areas, Complementing this activity, Committee members spoke on environmental and planning issues at many public and private gatherings in the county and organised a campaign to protect the trees in the Eastwood Estate in Bagenalstown. The Hon. Secretary and the Youth Committee undertook the organisation of schools to take part in the then An Taisce/Opel ‘Work for Ireland’ project and many of the schools participated in this important environmental awareness project for a number of years. A project was proposed to involve people throughout the county, townland-by-townland, in an inventory of the special features of their local environment which made the area a pleasant place to live in and was entitled ‘This is my Environment’. The residents of townslands which took part in this project found it a rewarding experience. The word ‘active’ would be inadequate to describe this period in the history of An Taisce Carlow Association.

Organisational matters
To be effective throughout the county was an aspiration of the Association and a network of members representing crucial target areas in the county was proposed. This would ensure that important issues would be identified in an area and brought to notice and dealt with in good time. This organisation worked well for a time but, in common with other voluntary bodies, pressures of time, circumstances and costs dictate the effectiveness of such a system. Members moved to other parts of the country, attendances at meetings fell away and the Association fragmented. Recession once again.

Rededication
The malaise which afflicted the 90’s Committees was not an uncommon one, that of members in key positions who were transitory and moved from the area. In a town with a high
floating population like Carlow this situation is inevitable and the additional dislike of many people for regular meetings with a principal agenda item, did little for the cohesion of those committees. A small but dedicated hardcore group carried out the essential functions of An Taisce Carlow Association and in April 1995, a general meeting of members produced the present Committee. This general meeting was the culmination of public meetings held in Borris, Co Carlow to enlist members from the County areas as well as from the larger towns. The present Committee is populated by members from farming, teaching, civil engineering, building, environmental management and business, all of which have extensive expertise in their respective fields. An Taisce Carlow Association is once more into the fray.

Affairs of today
An Taisce Carlow Association has two working committees, the Environment Committee and the Planning Committee. Environmental issues currently under consideration are: Water Watch which is concerned with the very important rivers environment, and Living Environment which is mainly covers all other environments. The Planning Committee is specifically concerned with the Built Environment and is currently involved with the vexatious Little Barrack Street case where preserved historical buildings were demolished. Planning issues can be very problematic, in particular where they are at odds with the County or Urban Development Plans, and An Taisce Carlow Association are reviewing the two Draft Development Plans and intends proposing amendments in sections which are inadequate to protect the Natural or Built Environments.

Mr Kevin Attride, Council engineer viewing the shorn trees at Eastwood, Bagenalstown.

Michael J. Wall is a native of Castledermot, Co. Kildare where his family has lived for over 500 years. He is a graduate of Maynooth College where he took an M.Sc. in mathematics. A lecturer in the Regional Technical College, Carlow he has always taken keen interest in the history of his locality- and particularly in the genealogies of families in that area.

Eamon A Moore is a native of north County Dublin, that part of the county now known as Fingal, and has been resident in Carlow town for the last 32 years. A graduate of DIT Bolton Street, he is a lecturer in Building Technology and materials at the RTC Carlow. He has been a member of An Taisce for 25 years and was chairman of the Carlow Association from 1985 to 1995. As the current chairman of the Planning Committee, he is concerned that planning controls are exercised to maintain the identity and character of our towns and villages and to protect the historical and architectural fabric of the Built Environment. His abiding interest in the natural environment was fostered at an early age and as a keen angler, he is particularly concerned with the proper management of one of our most valuable resources, our river systems.

John F. Scott is a native of Golden, Co. Tipperary. He studied English and History at university and worked in St. Louis in the US for a number of years. He came to carlow RTC when it opened in 1970 and has lived in carlow since then. He lectures in Communications and Management. He writes in his spare time and is an occasional contributor to RTE's Sunday Miscellany. He is also a member of the Tipperary Historical society.

Rory Murphy is a native of the Bunclody area, he has been active in all aspects of County Wexford public life. A writer and researcher of note, he has contributed many articles to various journals on a variety of subjects related to County Wexford's history and was joint author of the first volume of The Wexford Gentry. He has published books on a number of Wexford cemeteries and compiled Ten Generations of Hendricks of Mount Leinster.

As chairman of An Forus Taluntai for six years, he had a major input into the National agricultural scene. First elected to Wexford County Council in the 60's he has served with distinction as chairman on two occasions.

The Rev. Dermot McKenna was educated in Trinity College, Dublin, graduating in 1963. Following further studies, he was ordained in 1964. He joined the academic staff at the Regional Technical College, carlow in 1972, and lectures in Communications. He is a contributor to Ireland's Eye Studies and has written articles for the Carloviana in the past.

An Taisce called on Carlow County Council to put preservation orders on the trees.
Art Mac Murchu ò Caomhánaigh

Séamus ù Ùidhmin

Ó tharla go bhfuil an "Old Carlos Society" ag cabhrúthadh caoga thainig t'a bhaol i mhíliúna tá sé tréithtial traige de laochra móra Cheatharachach a thaidhtaire chun cathmhuit. Art mac Muircu ò Caomhánaigh ar dhuine ina bhreith. Níor laoch é sa glactach-chiall a thaidhtaire go bunaithe sa bhailiú. Bhí na contae ar an t-áthair, áit, go móbhaile chomh d'fhéadfadh sé ó bhunaithe go bós agus mar a sháraigh sé iad is liarr nach clióil -a "laoch" a thaidhtaire ann.

Rugadh é ar an 15ú lá de Mhí Maighdean, 1831 i tréacht na Gcaomhánaichte i Mhóiris. Bhí uathú agus allach ar an t-áthair Doolin nuair a bhuach an choimeáid ag an lántacht a thug sé ar an bainistí. Dhi raibh aon acht uirthi an cheart agus agus agus an chaobh - bhí sé go mac sona, beag láinna. Dhi sé an t-saol ar an dtaobh, go mbáilthiobh an chórais chomh rachadhach a ghí. Tá an nósach air, go bhfuil na daoine in annscéal a dhéanamh mar a chlú. Bhí na daoine islaíochta, mar a tháinig an t-rothmaitheach ó 1855.

D'oibrigh sé ar an mblachtracht, bhí an bháis ag teacht sé sa seansóireacht agus agus an t-áthair. Shílthiobh sé ar an phobal, go bhfuil sé mar bhall ina chuid. B'fhéidir go bhfuil sé i gceist ar an chuid is í iomhála.

D'oibrigh don laoch de ndíreach air. Déan sé an chlú air, go bhfuil sé i gceist ar an chuid is í iomhála. B'fhéidir go bhfuil sé in annscéal a dhéanamh.

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The article on the Coonogue eviction of 1839 in the 1995 issue of *Carloviana* provides a clear account of the events as reported in the contemporary newspapers. This writer has had the good fortune to find documents which may give some further details on the eviction, among them the letters of the agent on the ground, and on some of the events which led up to it and help too explain it. The affair was more complicated than either side believed; the tenants of Coonogue were the unfortunate victims of longstanding Irish problems—land, politics and middlemen.

These seem to have been the central concerns which influenced the actions of the chief agent of the Earl of Courtown, Robert Owen of Gorey. The first was the political situation. Catholic emancipation produced a series of electoral victories in Parliamentary elections in Carlow during the 1830s; voters, who included tenants holding leases equivalent to a £10 freehold, went to the polls five times in that decade, and the candidates of the Catholic party won four times. The 1830s also saw violence in Carlow over the collection of tithes. Under these circumstances, the landlords were extremely anxious to retain or regain control. Some idea of the feelings aroused in these elections can be seen in a report in *The Kilkenny Moderator* of 14 May, 1831:

> The election, if election it can be called, commenced and ended on Wednesday by the return of Mr. Blackney and Sir John M. Doyle, who, by the assistance of the priests and intimidation, frightened the aristocracy of the county from their property. Sixty voters, tenants of Lord Downes, Colonel Bruen, and Mr. Kavanagh, were taken from their houses, and concealed by the priests and the mob... [T]he mob carry all before them. (Quoted in Malcolmson, *The Carlow Parliamentary Roll*)

A second concern, frequently cited in the writing of the time about Ireland in general, was the division of holdings into farms too small to afford a decent living to the tenants. It seems that fathers often gave a house and land to a child on marriage. Coonogue in 1826, at the time of the Tithe Apportionment survey, had 47 tenants listed; 40 of them held less than ten acres, some as little as one. The average size was 12 acres. In neighbouring Rathagar the average size of holding was 32 acres. There was certainly a plausible reason to seek a reduction of the population on the land, not an uncommon practice. Some years later Benjamin B. Felton, the local agent, ejected the subtenants of Ballyroughan Little, six of them, to make "rational farms" for the two direct tenants, apparently without controversy; and shortly after the Coonogue clearance, he wrote that he heard that Mr. Doyné was clearing Marley of its "superabundant population." What distinguished Coonogue was the wholesale eviction of the people; only 12 houses were left standing, and two of them were in Coonogue Wood, which was held directly by Lord Courtown. Thirty-six tenants, most of them with families, were put out, twelve were let back in as "caretakers." The land was indeed rearranged and let in "rational" farms; the Griffith survey lists just 17 tenants of farms, which at that time averaged over 32 acres. The remaining farms were compact properties, unlike the scattered fields of neighbouring townlands.

But why the total clearance of Coonogue? To begin with, the lease of Coonogue had been held by a middleman named Terence Rogers. The lease, for thirty-one years or three lives, had been signed in 1789; two of the "lives" had died, but the third had left the country, and it took legal action to demonstrate the probability of death. Eventually Rogers was ejected, and the tenants came under the direct control of the Courtown estate, as was noted in the *Carlovian* article, which provided the opportunity to redraw the farms.

The question remains—why remove all the tenants? Perhaps this pertains to politics. In January 1838 Michael Swords of Coonogue gave a deposition before a Justice of the Peace. The local agent on the ground, and on some of the events which led up to it and help to explain it. The affair was more complicated than either side believed; the tenants of Coonogue were the unfortunate victims of longstanding Irish problems—land, politics and middlemen.

The eviction ended on Wednesday by the return of Mr. Blackney and Sir John M. Doyle, who, by the assistance of the priests and intimidation, frightened the aristocracy of the county from their property. Sixty voters, tenants of Lord Downes, Colonel Bruen, and Mr. Kavanagh, were taken from their houses, and concealed by the priests and the mob... (Quoted in Malcolmson, *The Carlow Parliamentary Roll*)

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The question remains—why remove all the tenants? Perhaps this pertains to politics. In January 1838 Michael Swords of Coonogue gave a deposition before a Justice of the Peace, recounting some interesting events. He said that "immediately before an election Thomas Kennedy, Thomas Doran, Nicholas Blanchfield, his Boy, Edmund Kavanagh and several others, came to his house and endeavoured to induce him to go with them and compel Moses Ward to give his vote to the candidate whom the Priests wished to return for the county." He said that he refused, but when they left he "watched and observed James Doran, James Dreelan, Thomas Summers, John Meany, Patrick Gormly, Joseph Doyle and Michael Swords, an Uncle's son to Deponent meeting them. They then proceeded in a body to Moses Ward's house" and abducted him, keeping him locked up for the night. He said that "he heard said Blanchfield make use of violent and threatening language...stating that Ward's wife (she being in an advanced state of pregnancy) would be let die without the assistance of Doctor or Midwife if he did not comply with their demand."

As evidence for terminating Rogers' lease, the deposition goes on; "Terence Rogers lately sent for the tenants and requested that they would assist him with money to resist the just claims of his Landlord and he the deponent heard John Meany say he would advance him one Pound." (Rogers, in a plaintive letter to Lord Courtown, while on his way to gaol in Wexford after his arrest for the costs of the ejectment, said "from the day I gave consent for judgment I never held conversation for a single moment with one of the tenants on the land but kept clear of them purposely fearing if they should
give any annoyance to your Lordship I might be put down as urging them to any such conduct.”) Further, the deposition continued, “Michael G. Byrne, Lord Courtown’s driver has entered into a combination with the tenants ... and advised them not to bid more than Ten Shillings an acre for the land and that by holding out they would get it at the above rent. He also said that at the Election he would not care whom the tenants would vote for.” This is a document which could be used in several ways to justify strong action. The accuracy of the deposition might be somewhat questionable; it came at a very convenient time for the effort to end the middleman’s lease. And it might have been obtained under duress, since Swords goes on to say that “he neither did himself nor does he know who broke Michael Wilkins stones in Coonogue, nor did he to his knowledge or belief ever injure the property of any Tenant on Lord Courtown’s Estate.” Perhaps the deposition was a way to escape further difficulty of his own.

The chief agent, Owen, thus had both evidence (doubtful or not), motive and opportunity to move against the tenants of Coonogue, and Feltus, agent for the South Carlow estate and himself a landlord near Myshall, who may have been appointed after Rogers was ejected, as his letters to Owen begin on June 6, 1839, received his orders. In early June he went to each house to demand possession. “Twelve gave up quietly... and on account of sickness and old age I allowed three of them in again at 1/1 a month – The rest refused.” He waited for the potatoes to be planted before going further. On 11 June he wrote Owen. “The potatoes are now nearly all in the ground... I will notice the Sheriff, in as private a way as possible to prevent any gathering from the neighborhood.” After an unsuccessful attempt some time before July 6, Feltus wrote that “The Sheriff said he would demand from the government a force sufficient to obtain possession, and put off further proceeding until after the assizes. This I think a wise delay as their passion will have time to cool and their auxiliaries to scatter and I am inclined to think there will be very little trouble... provided a sufficient force be brought to the number of 500 men.” He noted that “the police or military will not assist in throwing the houses, and when the sheriff brings off the force we could not attempt to throw the houses, therefore a large body of the well-disposed tenantry should be on the spot to [throw] the houses as fast as the sheriff would give possession. I had about 30 of the most trusty of the tenants present and ready to do the work.”

The actual eviction took place on August 7, 1839. Feltus reported to Owen that they arrived on the ground at 9 a.m. with 600 men–two troops of Scots Greys, two 2 companies of the 84 fusiliers and about 150 police (he does not mention the 7th Fusiliers, who were named in the newspaper account). The thirty “old trusty tenants” with crowbars and sledges, with three of Feltus’ own tenants “to act as pattern to the rest” threw down the houses. “The work of demolition was over at 2 o’clock.” Feltus remarked with satisfaction that he had consulted with the landlords of Carlow, among them Charles Doyne and Philip Newton, on these matters (among the matters was the necessity of bribing the Sheriff to continue with the proceedings), and that Mr. Lecky had advised him “to make short work of it, and not to leave a stone standing on another, as it was not merely the Earl of Courtown, but the proprietary of Ireland who were concerned, and therefore that I should do my duty with vigour.” Feltus seems to have felt proud to have been in the counsels of the powerful.

The work was done, and the tenants expelled. Where most went is unknown; some went to the next townland, Rathgeran, and “built huts on the commons of Mr. Tighe’s property.” Little is heard of them, after the few weeks while they waited to see what would become of their potato crop. “The priest Walsh,” said Feltus, “is feeding them with hopes of subscriptions, parliamentary interference in their behalf, et cetera which does us no good.” Nothing happened, of course, and the tenants for the most part disappear from history.

And the results of the eviction seem to have served as an example to the tenants of Carlow. The candidates of “the priests” and the Catholic party won no more elections in Carlow until well after the famine. Lord Courtown’s 26 Catholic freeholders presented him with a letter at some time in 1840 “avowing our sincere sorrow for the opposition which most of us have on former occasions given to your Lordship’s political principles, which experience has... shown us was equally ungrateful in... and injurious to our common interest, which we now see can never be divided.” Lord Courtown responded: “The opposition you have for some time shown... is mainly to be attributed to your foolishly listening to the advice and suggestions of Political agitators, and those whose only business should have been to attend to your Spiritual Affairs...”

This promise of peaceable submission did not in fact stop the turbulence of Carlow elections. In the election of 1841, in which Daniel O’Connell, jr., was one of the (unsuccessful) candidates, Feltus wrote that “at Newtown tens of thousands from Wexford and Kilkenny accompanied and met O’Conel and Co. [Mr. Doyne] was very apprehensive of violence and had all his freeholders in Borris House... and that even there they were scarcely safe...” Feltus intended to collect his freeholders in Borris town to save them from “compulsion out of rage or excuse.” “The priests are terrifying the poor creatures with all sorts of jugglery, crosses... and bloody bones...” His precautions were in vain; on a Sunday strangers seized some of the freeholders at Mass “tho’ I had ordered them not to go.” Ten were captured, some behind hedges, some in hiding. Doyne also lost some men. When Feltus tried to take the remaining men to Carlow, “a mob of about 100 at first with Priest Cahill opposed us,... Priest said he only wanted to bring such as were willing, one by one our traitors left the brake amid the yells of triumph of the mob. They went with their own consent.” Nonetheless the landlords’ candidates were returned, although by a margin of only eight votes.

As indicated earlier, the eviction of the population of Coonogue had a result related to the problem of the excessive subdivision of the land. In the census of 1851, not only were the farms much larger, but Coonogue actually showed an increase of 2.5% in population over the 1841 figure, compared to a decrease of some 21% in County Carlow and 32% in Rathgeran.

The displacement of so many people from the townland was extraordinary, and it properly drew attention in many quarters; nothing, however, seems to have been done at any level
to alleviate the sufferings of those who simply disappeared, possibly to find a tenancy elsewhere, or to become labourers, or as Father Walsh of Borris suggested in the letter quoted in the Carloviana article, to “go into the workhouse.” (Actually several were let back into Coonogue, and five of the family names—not necessarily the same persons—of those evicted in 1839 reappeared in Coonogue in the Griffith survey, including a Nicholas Blanchfield.)

Feltus, who was on the ground and supervised the work, but who did not seem to see the possibility that he and the Courtown interests were being used, said that “Lord Courtown has led the way thro’ much difficulty and danger which the other landlords now follow and the County will be bettered forever.” The landlords like the Bruens and Kavanaghs, who were resident in County Carlow and might have found such a dramatic clearance risky, were glad, it would seem, to let the Courtown estate, based in Wexford, take the credit—or the criticism—for the eviction, while they may very well have reaped the reward.

References
The Courtown Papers, on deposit at Trinity College, Dublin, by kind permission of the Countess of Courtown.
The Griffith Valuation of County Carlow.
John Ryan, History and Antiquities of the County Carlow, 1835.
The Tithe Appraisal Book of Killtennel Parish, 1826.

Born in 1907, he enjoyed a long, and distinguished career in the hairdressing business in College Street.

He was equally well-known, and proficient as a local historian, and member of the Old Carlow Society. He contributed many fine papers on famous people from Carlow which were published in Carloviana, and were widely read. He ensured that much local history was not lost, but preserved for future generations.

He played a big part in establishing the County Museum, and in encouraging people to donate artifacts. In 1990 he was presented with an illuminated address by the Museum Committee to mark his retirement from that body which he helped to found in 1972.

An honorary life member at the time of his death, he had filled the posts of Chairman, and Treasurer of the Old Carlow Society. He performed his duties carefully, and conscientiously.

The Old Carlow Society is greatly indebted to Alec for his work over many years.

Alec Burns

Seamus Murphy joined Group A of the Local Security Force, in Bannockerry in July 1940, and became a member of the Local defence Force in January 1941, when the title and function of Group ‘A’ were changed. In December 1941, he joined the army as an E man and served in ‘D’ Company, 16th Battalion until 1943, when, as a result of the death of his father he was granted indefinite leave, and was discharged from the army at the end of the emergency.

Martin Nevin lectures in the Mechanical Engineering Dept. of the Regional Technical College, Carlow. His love of history and the environment dates to his school days at Leighlinbridge under William P. O’Connor. As chairman of Comoradh ‘98 Ceatharlach for the past seven years, he has been involved in organising 1798 commemoration to all those who died in the Battle of Carlow. He served on Carlow County Council for twelve years and was elected chair­man in 1985/6. An R.S.A. member, he is the current chairman of the Old Carlow Society.

D McK

Gillian Barrett is a Senior Lecturer in Geography at the University of Wolverhampton.

A graduate from University College, Swansea and Queen’s University Belfast, her interest in aerial photography began through the use of the Irish aerial photography by Professor St. Joseph from the University of Cambridge. Since 1989 she has completed an annual programme of aerial survey and photography in Ireland, from Counties Mayo and louth in the north, to Kerry and Wexford in the south. The purpose of the aerial photography as a research technique for geo­graphers, historians and archaeologists interested in the formation of the Irish landscape over time.

The river systems of the River Barrow and Nore have become a main focus of her research, using the aerial perspective to recover the hidden archaeology Ireland.

Daibhi Ó Croíntín lectures on Medieval Irish and European History at University College Galway and his most recent publicition is Early Medieval Ireland, 400-1200 published by Longman as Vol.1 of their new 6-vol. Longman History of Ireland series (London 1995)

Rugadh Seamus Ó Lomhaidín i gCúirt an Íosa, Buirois, Bhi a athair ina bhall den chéad agus den dara Dáil. Bhan sé cém B.A. (omóracha) agus Ard-Teastas in Oideachas amach i gColáiste na hOllscoile, Baile Atha Cliath. Chaith sé a shaoil ina mhíthineoir i Ghana san lar-airfric, i Mota, Co - na hímarth agus i gCnoc Beag idir 1964 agus 1986 nuair a d' iomghaol sé as. Tá sé roimh le Delia Ó Dhíchóireagáin agus tá triur mac aige.

Edward Byrne has had a life long interest in local history. Through his many connections he has gathered a great amount of material on Carlovians who made good in America and Australia. He has contributed a number of articles to this journal.

Anne Parker Byrne has a great knowledge of Carlow town from the good old days. She can relate in detail placenames long since in disuse and interesting stories of Carlow town of long ago. She has contributed a number of such articles to Carloviana, which were read with interest.
In the prologue of Ginium Mholing agus a Bheatha (GMB henceforth), the Middle-Irish vernacular 'Life' of St. Moling with which we are mainly concerned in this article, Moling, son of Faelán Fionn, is presented as descended from Findlug, the eponymous father of the Ui Dheagha who in turn is descended from Cathaor Mór, one of the ancestors of the Leinster people. In the epilogue we are given a thumb-nail sketch of our illustrious Leinster saint, the thirteenth century of whose death we are celebrating in 1996:

He was a poet, a prophet, a visionary; a teacher. He was a sage, a psalmist, a priest, a bishop, a soul-friend a noble. Nobly and honourably he went unto the angelic resting-place with the chaoruing of the household of heaven and with the prayer of the household of earth, after fasting, almsgiving, and prayer, and the fulfilment of every good thing, in the eighty second year of his age.

At the centre and climax of GMB he is presented as the founder of a monastic settlement "a: the Point of Ros mBroc above the stream-pools of the Barrow."

The Latin 'Panegyric' adds that:

the holy priest Moling migrated most happily to Christ on June 17, A.D. 696, his sanctified body, surrounded by a multitude of saints was laid in the earth, within his own monastery, that is to say, Tigh Moling....

Though mediaeval hagiographers are, in the main, more concerned with expressing the subjective significance of events through myth and symbol, than with objective analysis of historical data,1 it is, nevertheless, virtually certain that the monastic archivist recorded the date and circumstances of the death of their religious founder, and that the saint's Gaelic and Latin hagiographers had access to this material and/or to an oral tradition. We have, therefore, fairly solid grounds for concluding that Moling was born about A.D. 614, that he was buried at Tigh Moling in June, A.D. 696, and that his cult, which is vibrant to this day, dates from that period.

The Middle-Irish vernacular manuscript GMB, preserved in the Royal Library, Brussels, is a transcript made in 1628 from the early medieval manuscript, Leabháir Tighe Moling (now reputedly lost), by Brother Micheàl Ó Cléirigh, one of the compilers of the Annals of the Four Masters. He assures us that he obeyed the express orders of his Franciscan superiors 'to follow the track of the old books, till the time of their revision...because it is only a collection of things which is to be made at present.'2 "We may be thankful to O'Clergy's superiors who checked his desire to improve upon his originals," remarks Charles Plummer; "and perhaps we may also be thankful that the time of their revision never came," he continues; "had it been taken in hand, it is possible that O'Clersey's careful transcripts might have disappeared in the process."3

The authenticity of this transcript, thus implicitly vouched for by Ó Cléirigh himself, is some small consolation for the loss of that priceless Leinster manuscript, Leabháir Tighe Moling. We are indebted to Dr. Whitley Stokes for editing, and translating GMB into English under the title of The Birth and Life of St. Moling, a hundred copies of which he had printed privately in London in 1907.

The mediaeval author divides this 'Life' of Moling, whose baptismal name was Tairecheall, into thirty-two chapters, placing the climax, the vision of angels at the Point of Ros mBroc which was the deciding factor for the founding of Tigh Moling, in the central, sixteenth chapter. He indicates the beginning of each chapter by using capital letters for the initial word, e.g. IS or IN, a detail which seems to have escaped the notice of Whitley Stokes. The space at my disposal here only allows a selective treatment but I hope to demonstrate in some detail in a forthcoming book how the author balances various themes artistically around that central angelophany in true concentric or chiastic biblic form.

A judicious use of motifs from ancient Irish and Indo-European literature, and Irish saints' Lives, St. Patrick's in particular, in addition to liberal borrowings from, and subtle allusions to, the Old and New Testament, the whole skilfully woven into an 'expulsion and return pattern' in clear, vigorous and evocative prose, seasoned with dramatic dialogue and a sprinkling of verse, are features of GMB.

The Latin 'Panegyric' from the Codex Ardamachanus,4 preserved in Marsh's Library, Dublin, was edited by Charles Plummer in 1910. The mediaeval panegyrist, in addition to themes found in GMB, though recast somewhat to suit his purpose, recounts a number of miracles and allegories attributed to Moling, plus some details about monastic life, not found in GMB. These two precious documents, together with the fragment edited by W. W. Heist in 1965, are our only extant, primary sources of information for an appreciation of the life of St. Moling.

The 'expulsion and return' pattern

A pattern of 'expulsion and return' in the lives of famous heroes of tradition was initially established by J.G. von Hahn in the 1870's, and subsequently developed by the psychoanalyst Otto Rank, de Vries, the brothers Rees and others, to include Moses, Elijah, Joseph, and Jesus Christ.5

This close relationship between the pre-Christian hero and the saintly, Christian one is pertinently illustrated in Irish saints' Lives, St. Patrick's in particular, in addition to liberal borrowings from, and subtle allusions to, the Old and New Testament, the whole skilfully woven into an essentially analogous pattern of 'expulsion and return,' due allowance being made for Moling's being a monastic hero rather than a kingly or a martial one like, for example, Niall Naoi nGiallach, or Cú Chulainn.6 This close parallels, apart from some differences in order and detail, between Moling's life and that of the supreme hero, Jesus Christ, however, are of paramount importance to the hagiographer. Thus, (1) Tairecheall's parentage and genealogy are significant; (2) The circumstances of his conception are unusual; (3) He is conceived in one place and born in another; (4) His life is threatened; (5) He is reared by a foster-father and mother; (6) He is tested and given a new name; (7) His advent and future greatness have been foretold; (8) He returns to his own people and
becomes a monastic founder (9) His life is endangered in the service of his people; (10) He dies a saintly death but his fame lives on among his people.

While an 'expulsion and return pattern' is evident in the 'Life' it is also an impressive, well-woven, five-part, concentric or chiastic composition which the following table will hopefully help to illustrate:

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Concentric or chiastic structure consists in disposing the elements in the pattern A B C D C' B' A' with thematic and verbal correspondences, the centralelement D being stressed. Let us now briefly examine Part I to demonstrate this point:

**I Taircheall's birth, and early youth**

- a His royal Ui Dheagha ancestry, and parentage
- b His life is endangered at birth
- b' His life is endangered as a youth by the Evil Phantom

The author presents us with the two contrasting stories of the royal baby and that of the student-prince which he has arranged antiphonally with thematic and verbal correspondences. When reading this chiastic pattern, the writer expects us to begin with what we term 'antiphon' A from the first story and then pair it off with 'antiphon' A' from the second story; similarly, antiphon B is followed by antiphon B' and so on until the crux or central element is reached at D which has no corresponding 'antiphon.' It is noteworthy that the biblical crux or climax is at the centre as in some books of Sacred Scripture, in classical drama and in some Gaelic poems, and not at the end, as in modern literature.

When the pairs of corresponding 'antiphons' are placed side by side the pattern becomes clearer. The linkages between each pair of antiphons are italicized:

- A a Taircheall's royal Ui Dheagha ancestry, and parentage
- A' a Taircheall, the student-prince chooses to serve as a pilgrim-beggar
- B A dove protects the infant
- B' The angel Victor instructs Taircheall
- C A service of angels from heaven to earth are seen above the infant
- C' Collanach, a wise monk, is his fosterer
- D The rescue, baptism, and fosterage of 'Taircheall'

God sends a dove to protect the infant Taircheall; He sends the angel Victor to instruct the boy Taircheall.

God sends a service of angels to mark the spot where the infant is born; He sends a human envoy in the person of the holy and wise monk, Collanach, to his rescue. This brings us to the climax of part I.

**II Mission.** His faith is tested and not found wanting (18-26)

**III A service of angels at the Point of Ros nBric (15-17)**

**IV The rescue, baptism, and fosterage of Taircheall**

**V He serves and is tested by re-establishing the sovereignty of Leinster**

- a Mo-Ling Luachra's noble death in the faith of Christ (26end-31)

The two antiphons are linked by the words, royal and prince and by the phrases, his life is endangered.

God sends a service of angels from heaven to earth are seen above the infant C Collanach, a wise monk, is his fosterer

God sends a human envoy in the person of the holy and wise monk, Collanach, to his rescue. This brings us to the climax of part I.

**D The rescue, baptism, and fosterage of Taircheall**

which, as we have already said, has no matching antiphor. The climax is usually reinforced by relating it specifically to the beginning and end of the structure, thus, when the royal infant becomes a student-prince he desires to serve rather than to reign, or be served. Taircheall, undoubtedly inspired by the saintly fosterer and teacher, Collanach, must have taken to heart at an early age how at the Last Supper a dispute arose among the disciples as to which of them was to be regarded as the greatest. But Jesus said to them:

The kings of the Gentiles lord it over them; and those in authority over them are called benefactors. But not so with you; rather the greatest among you must become like the youngest, and the leader like one who serves. For who is the greater, the one who sits at table or the one who serves? Is it not the one at the table? But I am among you as the one who serves (Lk 22:25-27).

This theme of service even at the risk of his life, in imitation of the All-Holy Son of God, "the one who serves" is the leit-motif that pervades this masterpiece from beginning to end. There is a turning point just past the centre of the structure, thus, at the age of seven Collanach sets Taircheall to study. The second half of the chiasmus introduces some crucial, new element that resolves or completes the first half; in this case Taircheall is so special that God sends an angel to instruct him; in other words, only an extraordinary, divine intervention is worthy of Taircheall’s knowledge and understanding of Sacred Scripture.

The remaining four parts follow the same principles of analysis.

**Faélán Fiónn**

In the opening chapter of the 'Life' the Leinster nobleman, Faélán Fiónn, Moling's father, is presented to us as a extensive landholder, 'brughaidh céadach,' seated with his wife on the rampart of their great fortress in West Munster. She is asking him if he has land in fee in his own territory of Leinster; she is urging him to return there to spend our vast wealth and build a common guest-house so that every one might find his fill with us at our proper place, so that we may have posterity, and that our friends and counsellors may obtain somewhat from us.

Faélán Fiónn was possibly a clíamhan isteach, or one who married in to his wife's property which seems to have been in the region of historic Teamhair Luachra, at the foot-hills of Sliaabh Luachra, 'i lèirigh na Luachra' in present-day Co. Limerick.

Faélán was son of Fearadach, son of Odhrán, son of Deagán, son of Findlug from whom are the descended the Ui Dheagha of Leinster and Ossary. Moling is thus established as sixth in descent from Findlug, the eponymous father of the Ui Dheagha who in turn is descended from Cathair Mór, a pre-historic high-king of Ireland, and one of the ancestors of the Leinster people.

That the saint's genealogy, as given in this vernacular Irish 'Life' is at variance with other early Leinster regnal lists, need not come as a surprise; even the genealogies of Jesus in Matthew's an Luke's Gospels are also historically inaccurate.
the primary concern of the sacred genealogist was to show that the human person is totally dependent upon a sacred power in whose image she is made. Thus the Old and New Testaments, while avoiding many of the devices used in mythology, maintained the symbolism of the sacred genealogy. In the Old Testament the people of Israel are the children of God, and, in the New, Paul reminds his listeners that both Greek and Jew know that men are ‘God’s offspring’ (Acts 17:29).

Moling, like people down to relatively modern times, saw his life as one with that of his people who constituted the petty kingdom of Uí Dheagha in South Leinster. This led to the custom of marrying outside the clan or tribe because members of the group were regarded as so closely related that marriage within it would constitute the crime of incest. At any rate so great was the sense of ‘sortacht’ or unity that it was often held that the action of any one member involved all the rest in its consequences. This belief, incidently, may explain why Fiélán Fionn had married a West Munster woman and had resided with her people for some time before returning to his native territory in South Leinster. We find, therefore, that the individual was considered to be related to the divine source of all life through his parents and ancestors, and also to be one with the whole tribe through which that same life flowed. Of these media of divine life, the tribe as an organic unit was often regarded as the most important.10

This community sense, apart from its great personal sanctity, helps to explain Moling’s constant concern for the human rights of his people of Leinster for whom he risked his very life; it may also account, in part, for the bond between him and his people down to this day, in the same Inn fin é! (he is one of our own). Is rámhaire faíl na tise! (blood is thicker than water).

Taircheall’s unusual conception and birth.

How Fiélán Fionn managed to transport his hundred and fifty herdsmen and his vast hordes of cattle across the south of Ireland to Leinster is left to our imagination; Irish imaginations, at all events, Moling’s hagiographer would have us believe that Fiélán succeeded “by dint of luck and charm.”

Among his retainers who settled in Leinster with him, was his wife’s “beautiful sister Eamhnaí. Fiélán’s heart was set on her,” the author continues, “so that he seduced her and she became pregnant.” We need not conclude, however, that this is an accurate historical fact! Far from it! Mysterious or unusual conceptions, because of their profound significance in biblical and classical contexts, were of far greater interest for the mediaeval author than mere historical facts! Niall Naoi nGaillach, the eponymous ancestor of the Uí Néill, for example, was begotten out of wedlock by his royal father; the childhood of the biblical Moses was no less unusual; the Egyptian, Pharaoh’s daughter, named the young Jew ‘Moses’ because, she said, “I drew him out of the water” (Ex 2:1-10). Moling’s conception and birth in unusual circumstances was, thus, the sure portent of his future greatness. The veracity of such an account was of little moment! Its significance was all-important!

Taircheall is conceived in one place and born in another

The following extract is an earnest of the author’s restrained and sensitive prose:

Fearn and dread seized her on account of her sister and because of the shame of the evil deed to which she was a party. Wherefore she went back stealthily by the same road: and not by day, but by night she used to travel; and every day she lay still. So thus she reached her own country, Cenél Súnaí, in the west.

‘Night’ evokes the archetypal symbolism of darkness, which conjures up Pharaoh’s daughter, named the young Jew ‘Moses’ because, she said, “I drew him out of the water” (Ex 2:1-10). Moling’s conception and birth in unusual circumstances was, thus, the sure portent of his future greatness. The veracity of such an account was of little moment! Its significance was all-important!

The death motif in the tangential triad, “death and extinction and tragic fate,” is polarized by the life-giving motif suggested by the radiance of the rising sun over the face of the earth, and is designed to focus attention on the turning point: Is aire sin (so therefore), and the divine intervention in the lives of Moling and his mother which the rising sun foretold. The crucial element in the second half of this chiasmus is the divine intervention, God’s sending of the dove to protect the child.

The life of the Infant Saviour was also threatened by Herod (Mt 2:16-18), but the Lord sent an angel to Joseph to warn him in sleep about Herod’s intention to kill the divine infant, and
so his foster-father took the child and his mother and fled into Egypt (Mt 2:13-14). Likewise, the Lord sent an earthy 'angel' to rescue Moling and his mother in the person of Bréannain son of Findlug (Brendan the Navigator of Clonfert, +581) who happened to come in their direction with his clerical students. When he saw the service of angels reaching from heaven to earth above the infant he sends Collanach the priest to baptize him, to 'bestow a noble name upon him, for heaven's angels are honouring and reverencing him,' and to bring him and his mother back with him so that the child could be cared for "until his time for study comes."

If, as the ancient authors tell us, Bréannain died in A.D. 531 and Moling was not born until around A.D. 514 it must have been Bréannain's successor as abbot of Uaimh Bhreáinnaigh (Bréanaign's Cave) who beheld the service of angels' and sent Collanach to investigate.

Collanach the priest baptized the infant and bestowed the name, 'Taircheall' on him from the 'tairchellad' (surrounding) which the dove rendered him when defending him from his mother. The Divine Infant was, likewise, given the name Jesus "because he shall save his people from their sins" (Mt 1:21).

**Taircheall is grounded in the faith**

Now Collanach brought the infant and his mother to Uaimh Bhreáinnaigh where he was nurtured until he had completed his seventh year. Collanach was a wise and holy man, an 'angel' in human form, so that there were as many as thirty sons of kings and princes under his fosterage. "And none of them was better than Taircheall in figure and shape and appearance." Joseph likewise brought the Child Jesus and his Mother from Egypt to Nazareth where he spent his Hidden Life.

**Taircheall's Gaelic inheritance**

Teamhair Luachra was, with its Leinster counterpart, Dinn Ri, one of the five ancient, Irish provincial places of 'aonach' or assembly. The people of each of the five provinces converged on their own 'sacred place' with their provincial king, every three years, to be 'at one with their God, their king, and with each other, hence the Irish vernacular term, 'aonach,' to denote such a longed-for-unity and peace.

The 'sacred place' of union with God and neighbour was marked by a cromleac or tumulus beneath which ancestral kings lay buried, and whose spirits hovered ecstatically in the air above that hallowed spot, like, for example, Aongus and Diarmaid Ó Dubhgháin over Brú na Bóinne (New Grange), according to the epilogue of Teóraocht Dhiarmada agus Gráinne. The cromleac was placed in a strategic location so that it also served, like Brú na Bóinne, to establish the date for the celebration.

A spring-well overshadowed by a sacred tree, or situated at the centre of a grove of trees, was a basic feature of all such places. The pilgrims brought what they could afford in the way of food and remittance; the food was placed beside the well, the home-spuns were displayed on the boughs of trees and the members of the community could then take whatever they required without any loss of dignity since they were all one family. Indeed a man could become a fláith by extending universal hospitality, hence the term, 'flaththiúilacht' for the generosity characteristic of a prince. *Is dual don fláith an fhlaiththiúlacht!*

Children were initiated into the community, the dead mourned; matches made, marriages solemnised, laws sanctioned and crimes punished; farm animals were bought and sold, and the term 'aonach' has survived down to our own day to describe that particular aspect of the ancient assembly; last but not least, the provincial hurling final and other games were played! and the festival was rounded off with song, dance, feasting and story-telling before 'the relations' departed to their respective homes, renewed in spirit, and bonded by ties of blood and a sacred genealogical tradition which the aos dána, their learned men, never allowed them to forget.

What happened at provincial level every third year happened locally at the four seasonal festivals of Imbolc, Bealtaine, Lúnasa, and Samhain or New Year's Day in ancient Ireland, as well as on other festive occasions. It is estimated that Ireland was divided into over eighty tuatha or petty kingdoms; each tuath had its own sacred centre, its cromleac, its well, its grove of trees; here the people of the tuath gathered under their kinglet for their own aonach.

By Taircheall's day those assemblies were being christianised; indeed Pope Gregory the Great who had died about a decade before Taircheall was born, had advised missionaries to retain what was good in the pre-Christian traditions of the people and to 'baptise' those customs. Taircheall would have attended such assemblies and would have been familiar with the traditions attached to them so that he would have found the cromleac - now covered by the great Mound - at Ros mBric, profoundly evocative when later he arrived to build his house and church there 'above the stream-pools of the Barrow.'

**Taircheall, the student-prince**

Collanach, subsequently, set Taircheall to study. "Thus was Taircheall: an angel, even Victor, instructing him, so that there was nothing of which he was ignorant." He was consequently designated to instruct "the other boys, so that all were honouring him." The boy Jesus in the Temple of Jerusalem "sitting among the teachers listening to them and asking them questions" is evoked. "And all who heard him were amazed at his understanding and his answers" (Lk 2:46-47).

The 'angel Victor' is the 'Victoricus' of St. Patrick's seventh-century Confessio, chapter 23, who subsequently becomes 'the angel Victor' in the seventh-century Patrician texts of Muirchu Teoraiocht Dhiarmada agus Grainne, which, in addition to what I have already suggested above, introduces the 'Patrician motif' into this text, thus linking Moling with the vocation, mission, and sanctity of the great and heroic, Apostle of Ireland, the ideal of all Irish saints.

While the 'Life' gives us no direct indication of the course of studies followed by Taircheall, we know that by the early seventh century monasticism was well established all over Ireland, that monks and scholars were bi-lingual, speaking both Latin and Old Classical Irish fluently in addition to some knowledge of Greek. The study of Sacred Scripture was accorded pride of place in all monastic schools. In addition Taircheall would have possibly been trained to copy, illuminate, and enshrine manuscripts in the unique Irish style. As a born poet, he would have studied some of the techniques and intricacies of Irish bardic poetry, as well as Latin verse, and he possibly would have been set to copy some of the great Irish sagas for posterity as well.
Taircheall, the mendicant student-prince is tested

In his early teens Taircheall significantly wished to serve his royal companion-students and his foster-father, Collanach, by travelling like a Buddhist, mendicant, monk around Sliabh Luachra, thus introducing an Indo-European motif into this text. Fortified with Collanach's blessing and carrying his fosterer's ashen staff in his right hand for protection, a bowl in his left, a scythe on his chest and another on his back, he continued to collect aims until his sixteenth year.

Then, one day, he encountered the Evil Phantom, with his wife, his giolla, his hound and his nine followers; a lively dialogue ensued in the course of which the Evil Phantom threatened to thrust his spear through Taircheall's heart so that he would 'find death and extinction and tragic ending.' By my fosterer's hand I will rap your head with the staff," said Taircheall. The saint then requested a boon from the phantom 'to let me have my three steps of pilgrimage towards the King of heaven and earth, and my three steps of folly also, so that death may be the further from me.' The boon was granted and he leapt his three steps of pilgrimage and his three steps of folly.

II Taircheall's religious vocation

Taircheall now goes through his initiation rite in his struggle with the powers of darkness and evil which evokes St. Patrick's struggle, so is central to his divine call to mission, in his Confessio (C 20). Taircheall's struggle with temptation, with his human inclination to evil, and the triumph of light over darkness, goodness over evil, is symbolised, in a parallelism, by three steps of pilgrimage and three steps of folly. His steps are, significantly, 'towards the King of heaven and earth' whom he found in the Church, the Mystical Body of Christ.

'The first leap that he leapt, he seemed to them no bigger than a crew on top of a hill.' He had possibly leaped from the plain to near the summit of Sliabh Luachra. 'The second leap that he leaped they saw him not at all, and they knew not whether he had gone into heaven or into earth because he possibly jumped over the top of the mountain and land on the Kerry side of it. But the third leap that he leaped, 'tis then he alighted on the wall of the church-enclosure,' The phantom pursued him but when the people realized this, they arose with his thorns and gave chase.

Mo-Ling Luachra receives the tonsure

The good monk Modimoc was then in his church reciting Terce with his monks, and when it was revealed to him that a noble, unknown guest who had a special divine vocation, was on his way to him. Moling reached the church, and Modimoc rose up before him out of respect, and Moling did not sit down in his place. Terce was concluded, and thereafter the clerics made their union. 'Leave a blessing with us,' said Modimoc. 'I will leave three,' said Moling. 'The gift of safety and protection in this place! Victory in dispute in every assembly which the erenach of this place shall enter! Though much...
quarrelling be in the place, provided they (the quarrellers) enter the temple, they will go from there in peace without bringing the reproach of the place past the great cross of the green.'

Thereafter he went forward to Cashel where he visited Finghin, the king, and asked him for the site of an abbey-church. 'It shall be given,' says the king. There they rested that night. An angel came to converse with Moling and said to him: 'Why are you asking for a place here while there is a place ready for you by the stream-pools of the Barrow and a fire alive for thirty years there awaiting you? Build your church and your patron saint's temple there and serve your Lord therein.' Now the conversation between Moling and the angel was heard by the king, and he said to Moling on the morrow: 'Go,' said he, 'to the place which the angel has promised you, and we will give you every help that you will need.'

Ros mBrod a centre of theophany

Then Moling journeyed forth as far as Sliabh Mairgi. There he looked southwards from Liath-ghlinn "and beheld a host of angels at the Point of Ros mBrod above the stream-pools of the Barrow." And Moling, a discerning person, open to the guidance of the Holy Spirit, "came to that place, and found Bréanainn's hearth therein". The centre, which was always a place of theophany because knowledge of the sacred was revealed there, is symbolized by the hearth-fire which was located in the centre of the type of mud-hut once used which had a hole in the top of the cone-like roof through which the smoke could escape. "House and church were there built by Moling, and everyone marvelled that a habitation was made there, for the place in which it was set up was a place of robbery and theft and outrage." This was the symbolic 'wasteland' where the fecundity, by the power of the Spirit, was destined to triumph over death and decay.

At that time the Yew of Ross (an t-Eo Rossa), one of the sacred trees of Ireland, fell, and Molaise of Léithglinn distributed it to the saints of Ireland. Of the tree Molaise gave Moling the roofing of his oratory.

Then Moling fetched the master craftsman, Gobán Saor, to build his oratory. Eight craftsmen had Gobán, and eight women and eight boys. They remained to the end of a year, and they did nothing for Moling, yet none the worse was their entertainment. Every morning Gobán was enjoining them to go to the wood, and this he used to say every day: 'Let us go today in the name of the heavenly Father.' Then on that day year he said: 'Let us go in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.' On that day year, then, Moling and Gobán went throughout the wood, and they found a suitable tree and began to fell it. Moling's eye was broken in his head by a chip from the tree, was made more painful by a pagan spell, but was then healed by the prayer of a saintly old monk.

The Lord soon tests Moling by appearing to him in the guise of a hideous leper who makes appalling requests which the saint meets with unflinching faith before being granted a vision of Iosagán. Thereafter the fishermen caught a huge salmon and they gave it to Moling. The salmon was cut open by the cleric, and an ingot of gold was found in the midst of it. Then Moling divided the ingot into three, i.e. a third to the poor, a third for enshrining his relics, and a third for paying his workmen.

Women are denounced somewhat in the person of Ruasach, the wife of Gobán Saor, who, in the company of other women, came to ask him for a herd of cattle. 'Two cows shall go to you, and a cow to each of the other women,' said the cleric, at the conclusion of a witty and humorous interchange. Thereafter they went home. Now a robber named Grác came towards the kiné, and stole one of Ruasach's two cows. That was told to Ruasach. 'Tis true,' said she, 'the grudging, denying cleric! 'tis he who caused that destruction! He repents of what he gave us, and so he has practised fraud upon us!' Molting's people went in pursuit of the robber but Grác fled before the captors, and climbed into the top of a tree. Up in the tree he was wounded and he fell into the fire. From there he fell into the Barrow, and therein he was drowned. Now Molting's people after that brought him their cow amid her hide, and the cleric then restored her to life; she produced a record amount of milk thereafter, evocative of the legendary Glas-gambach.

Ruasach was so enraged because the cow was not returned to her that she then demanded the full of the oratory of rye-grain in revenge. Then Molting went and sent messengers to the Ui Dhheagha, east and west, to help him with the demand that had been made upon him, whereupon they declared that all the corn in Ui Dhheagha was not more than the full of that oratory. 'That is true," said Moling, 'come tomorrow at dawn and spare nothing, both corn and nuts and apples and green rushes, so that you can have the oratory may be full.'

On the morrow they filled up the oratory with the things that Molting had mentioned. The Lord then wrought a miracle for Molting, so that nothing else was found therein save bare grain and berries and theft and outrage." This was the symbolic 'waste-land' where the fecundity, by the power of the Spirit, was destined to triumph over death and decay.

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IV Mission. Faith tested and not found wanting

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arrived over rough places and difficulties, and no ambush befell him until he reached Righe, now the Rye Water on the confines of the counties Meath and Kildare, where he sat down. *Suí Moling,* Moling's Seat, is there.

The sons of Aodh Sláine and their clerics came to the place where Moling was biding. 'Tis far hither, O cleric,' said they, 'you have extended *(ro-righis)* our tryst. *Righ Mna Nuad* ('Forearm of Nuada's wife') has been its name until to-day, and *Righe Leaghin* will be its name in future. And it will henceforward be the boundary of the two countries.'

Then he went home, having got the delimitation between Leinster and the *Ui Neill*.

**The Leinster Bóraimhe**

Some time after that Fionnachta son of Donnchadh, son of Aodh Sláine, assumed the kingship of Ireland. Leinster was then liable to pay *Leath Chuinn* (the northern half of Ireland) a general tribute, namely the Leinster Bóraimhe. In levying that tribute the Northerners were inflicting violence and hardship on the people of the province.

When Moling heard this he asked the old men and the historians of Leinster whether they had any prophecy or prediction about the removal of that tribute. 'There is, in truth,' they answered; 'that it will be removed through a cleric.' 'Who knows,' says Moling, 'but that it will not be done by me? and why should I not go and ask for its remission?'

Moling then came along from the south, and told the kings of the *Ui Neill* that it was his errand to ask for the remission of the Bóraimhe. That was not pleasing to the *Ui Neill*, and they all said that no one should show him respect by rising up before him in the house. Then the cleric entered the house and found that no one rose before him until Murchadh son of Airmeadach, Domhnall's father, rose up before him. Whereupon Moling said: 'Let the lordship be yours and your seed's forever.' And then Moling sat down and was asking them for the respite. A dramatic and restrained dialogue ensues:

'What is the length of the respite?' they said. 'A year,' says he. 'Not so,' they say. 'Half of it,' says he. 'No,' they say. 'Then grant a quarter,' says he. 'No,' say they. 'A respite until Luan' says he. 'It shall be granted,' says Fionnachta.

Then he bound his covenants on Fionnachta himself, and on one of the kings of Bregia, named Braen, for he was enfeebled by illness. And Moling went to him, and prayed for him, and he recovered at once.

Moling afterwards went to Tara but he was barred from entering on pretext that the king's son who was very much alive, was dead. 'The son,' said Moling, 'has leave to die if God permits it.' The boy died at once. True to ancient Irish tradition, Moling sat down in protest on the flagstone outside the door. 'Let his wish be granted if he brings the boy back to life,' the people cried. Then Moling was taken to the boy, and they promised him his complete desire if he would heal the child. The cleric prayed, and the boy at once recovered. 'Have you given me a truce until Luan?' said Moling. 'We have,' said they. 'It is to Monday of Doomsday *(Luan na Brátha)*, I have bound you,' said Moling. 'It is not I who will contravene it,' said Fionnachta. Thereafter Moling went away to his home, having re-established the sovereignty of Leinster.

Shortly after this Adhamhán came to the assembly, and greatly blamed the *Ui Neill* for remitting the tribute. Alusán son of Aonghus, the champion and leader of the men of Tara, immediately arose with his men and pursued Moling to kill him. Fear and great dread seized the cleric at the numerous, unknown host, so he entrusted himself to St. Brigid and the saints to protect him.

When the hosts were overtaking Moling, the saints to whom he had entrusted himself put a dark mist between him and his pursuers, and they went past him so that he was in their rear. The hosts halted for some time until they foraged in one place, and he went a long way from them. They then beheld him going towards the ford, so that they let loose their horses against him.

The cleric then came over across the ford. There a strong thirst seized the giolla whereupon the cleric gave a thrust of his staff into the flagstone, and a stream of water came out of it, so that the giolla quaffed his fill thereof.

Then the cleric turned against the hosts, and prayed the Our Father for he had no means of avoiding them. Thereafter Alusán son of Aonghus came to the cleric, and flung a stone at him so that it went past him;
A Carlow Emigrant to America

Nicholas Fain

By

John Fain

What is the link of Nicholas Fain to New Garden and Carlow County in Ireland. So far the only link is the name of the town to which he came in 1754 which was located on lands originally belonging to William Penn. In 1708 New Garden was settled by Quakers from Ireland and a miller family was the largest land owner. Another possible link is through the Fain who moved into Ireland in the 16th century and became the baron of Carlow. However, family tradition is that Nicholas Fain was from a family of French Huguenots so I personally doubt that he was an Anglican or Roman Catholic in Ireland. Since Penn's land was one place open to non-conformists arriving from Ireland at this time it is possible that Nicholas Fain was a Quaker. However, it is more likely Nicholas and Elizabeth Fain were part of a stream of so-called Scotch-Irish emigrants from northern Ireland who settled so touch of the frontier lands in the valley of Virginia and the mountains of Appalachia in parts of states of West Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina and Tennessee.

Nicholas and Elizabeth Fain arrived in Chester County, Pennsylvania before 1754 in the township of New Garden. This couple had 7 sons and a daughter and today they probably have more than 7,000 descendants scattered throughout the USA. There were also three other men with the surname of Fain who appeared in Virginia about the same time but no link between these four men has yet been established. Most of what is known about the first century of the Fains in America was put in writing about 125 years ago. What has been found during the last century has confirmed the story condensed below from the Sam Fain papers in my possession. However, no documentation is available to confirm that Nicholas Fain came from Ireland or that he was a member of the high Church of England. During the horrible inquisition and persecution in France about the year 1685 a family by the name of Fainyance or some such name (the latter portion of the name was left off either in Ireland or America) fled for safety to Ireland. One of Nicholas Fain (born about 1730) married about 1750 Elizabeth Taylor (born about 1734) an English lady. Soon thereafter they moved to Pennsylvania, No. Am., and from Pennsylvania to Washington County, East Tennessee. They settled about two miles southwest of Jonesboro near to the left of the road leading to Grenville, Tenn. They had eight children - seven sons and one daughter to wit: 1 Samuel, 2 John, 3 David, 4 William, 5 Thomas, 6 Ebenezer, 7 Reuben, 8 Elizabeth. Nicholas and five of his sons were in the battle of King's Mountain, South Carolina in 1780. They lived in a two story house of sawed logs. Nicholas Fain was able to document that Nicholas Fain appeared on the tax rolls of New Garden, Chester County, Pennsylvania in 1754 which was shortly after the birth of his first son on Jan 20, 1753. In 1756 he is on the tax rolls but the name is now spelled Faine, in 1758 as Fayne and in 1762 as well as 1763 the name is spelled as Fain. In 1754, 1757, 1760, 1763-65 the name is spelled as Fain on the tax rolls. The small amount of tax that he owed (0.1.0 to 0.6.0 in pounds, shillings and pence) and his absence from the deed records of the county suggest that he was relatively poor but in 1764 and 1765 he is listed as owning two cattle. The last mention of Nicholas Fain on the tax rolls of Chester County is in 1776 when he obtained a peddlers license. Clearly Nicholas Fain emigrated around 1753 when few wealthy individuals or deported convicts left Ireland. Convicts were unwanted and people of means had scant economic motivation to leave Ireland. Most of the emigrants could not afford their passage which cost almost as much as a year's wages for a labourer in Ireland and came to Pennsylvania as indentured servants who entered into two to four years of servitude in return for passage, clothes and food. Not only unskilled labourers but also schoolmas-
thers, surgeons and skilled tradesmen came to America as temporary slaves. Why Pennsylvania in the 18th century which by the eve of the revolution had almost one-third of its population derived from Irish Emigrants? Land was available, indentured servants were wanted and toleration of religion was granted by the charter of 1701. While many came for economic opportunity on a classless frontier the right to worship as one pleased without having to pay tax (tithe) to the established church was equally as important as a motive for emigration from Ireland. Nicholas Fain appears in Rockingham County, Virginia in April 1766 when he was received into transient communion by the Linville Creek Baptist Church. The next documentation is a survey of Fincastle, Virginia 8 years later in 1774 indicating that Nicholas Fain is the grantee of 230 acres on the Wolf Hill Creek branch of the Holston River, Middle Fork. However, around 1777 Nicholas Fain and his family moved further down the valley into what had been Indian territory and settled on Knob Creek in Washington County, Tennessee. By 1779 Nicholas Fain now owned 600 acres of land valued at 714 pounds cash in hand. Not insignificant progress over 25 years since Nicholas Fain landed as a poor immigrant to America.

All we know about the wife of Nicholas Fain is that Elizabeth Taylor was from England and the description of her as a lady probably just means that she was not a woman of ill-repute. One thing we do know about Nicholas Fain and his sons is that they fought in the Revolutionary War on the side of the colonies. They also fought Indians since they settled on lands that the Indians considered as part of their lands. David Fain the third son of Nicholas Fain was killed by the Indians in Kentucky on the so-called Wilderness Road around 1784. Another son of Nicholas (Captain John Fain) was also killed by the Indians in 1788 along with 15 of his men near the Cherokee village of Sitico in Tennessee. Nicholas and Elizabeth Fain had at least 62 and possibly 69 grandchildren (the extra seven are off-spring of Reuben Fain by his third wife but the documentation for this is still being established). Within 100 years after his arrival as a poor immigrant not only did Nicholas have many descendants but several of his grandchildren were well-educated minor frontier gentry and pious Presbyterians.

It is unclear whether Nicholas Fain ever farmed with his own hands. The fact that he had a peddlers license suggests that he was in trade first for someone else and was a merchant. The affluent grandchildren were primarily merchants, horse traders and land speculators. John Fain of Dandridge, Tennessee was one of these grandchildren and today there remain an impressive Georgian-Federal brick house in Dandridge, Tennessee erected in 1843. There are also brick slave quarters as well as outbuildings. John Fain had arrived in Dandridge in 1812 when it was the edge of the frontier next to the Indian lands and established a store. Within 40 years he had accumulated extensive land holdings as well as many slaves. His five sons were business men primarily engaged in the manufacture and sale of cotton thread, farming and land speculation. This branch of the family, along with most, but not all, of the descendants of Nicholas Fain supported the Southern Cause during the American Civil War but with its defeat they languished in relative poverty and obscurity. The grandchildren of John Fain of dandridge were relatively well-educated individuals primarily engaged in business, education and medicine (my grandfather was a physician as was my father). John Fain was my great-great grandfather. There is nothing especially distinguished about any of the descendants of Nicholas Fain today. They are typical of the Scotch-Irish immigrants to this country in the 18th century who now comprise a large part of the population in Appalachia. Their ancestors primarily came to this country for religious freedom and a better way of life. The Scotch-Irish in America fought against the British for independence, fought among themselves in the American Civil War and fought with the British in World Wars I & II.

Hugh Paulintus de Cressy (1605 - 1674) was for a time Dean of Leighlin, Co Carlow. He was English, born at Thorpe-Salvin, Yorkshire. In 1646 he became a member the Roman Catholic Church and three years later joined the Benedictines. A full account of his conversion appeared in 1647. Regarded as his greatest work The Church History of Brittany or England from the beginning of Christianity to the Norman Conquest, is controversial. It gives a definitive account of the establishment of monasteries in the time of the Saxon heptarchy, and firmly declares that they adhered to the Benedictine rule, a set of rules for a plan of life, established by St. Benedict. In this he differed from many historians of the day and was much criticised. Cressy was the editor of Walter Hilton's Scale of Perfection (1659); Sancta Sophia by Fr. A Baker (1657) and of Julian of Norric's Sixteen Revelations on the Love of God (1670). He died on August 10, 1674.

The celebrated O.C.S committee of 1946

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“Let me learn the message you have hidden in every leaf and rock”
- An Indian Prayer.

Fifty years is a long time in an individual’s life but not a great period of time in the history of events. None-the-less if each generation of Carlovians try to contribute by collecting, preserving and documenting our Carlow heritage, it lays up a great store for future historians. Each age owes it to posterity to leave a legacy of its history and culture for future generations.

Carlow is an ancient county with ancient traditions. Carlow was the thirteenth county to be created when it came into existence in 1306, almost three hundred years before the county system was completely defined as we know it today and two hundred years after the first county, Dublin came into being. Pride of place, roots, a sense of belonging derive from associations with history, culture and tradition of where we come from.

Carlow has one of the proudest traditions for its size and population. It has a rich and varied landscape which has greatly influenced its heritage. Much of what we see throughout the county reflects its landscape. From gate-posts to the unique Carlow fencing, to much of what remains of the early Christian era is made of granite. A fine collection of stone crosses can be seen despite the unusually large crystalline structure of the local stone. Another group of monuments in granite are the burial chambers known as dolmens. There are nine identifiable ones in the county - the best known at Kernanstown, Haroldstown and Ballynasilloge.

Recent editions of Carloviana, the journal of the Old Carlow Society shows Carlow figuring prominently with numerous pieces of ‘rock art’, pillar stones, ogham stones, cup-and-circle marked stones and many pieces with Bronze age scibblings. A solitary sweathouse (primitive sauna) and one stone circle exist.

Parts of the county are renowned widely for the longevity of its people, notably in areas where the blackthorn bush grows in abundance.

Coal
Coal was first mined in Carlow in 1726, leaving in its wake a legion of communal road-side culm crushers - an interesting feature of our industrial heritage - dotting the western region of our county to this day.

Cheltenham of Ireland
Almost a quarter of a millennium ago, Carlow was the mecca of Irish racing, long before the National or the Derby were thought of. In 1766 and up to 1820s a six day event at Ballybar would attract 80,000 people.

Monasteries
Much of the early Christian activities emanated from monasteries at Clonmore, Old Leighlin and St. Mullins, which probably accounts for the lack of Order Communities in the county over the centuries. The first Carmelite monastery was established in Leighlinbridge, in 1272.

Wild Growth
Fortunately, a number of places in County Carlow have remained undisturbed for the growth of wild flowers, among them St. Mullins, Red Bog, the Balyna and Drumlin woods, and Poulnamoo river valley. In these can be seen such plants as the round-leafed sundew, drosera rotundifolia, an insect eater and the bee orchid and ophrys apifera, another insect eater.

A multitude of Norman castles once adorned the landscape but, alas, very few are left. However, it remains a county steeped in legends of the saints and abounding in scholarly works. It has many charming villages.

1798
Carlow was the flashpoint in the 1798 rising against the English. On the 25 May 1200 poorly clad and virtually untrained insurgents marched on Carlow town. Up to six hundred were massacred in, what became known as the Battle of Carlow, a short white and over one hundred executed later.

Greatest exiles
Carlow has produced many remarkable people. Among its greatest exiles were John Tyndall, founder of five sciences and successor to Michael Faraday as superintendent of the prestigious Royal Institution of London; Patrick Moran who left an indelible mark on the history of the Catholic Church in three countries and became Australia’s first cardinal; Peter Fenlon Collier of Collier’s encyclopedia and the inventor of hire purchase; Myles W. Keogh aid to General George Custer when the Indians won the last battle to protect their inheritance, later known as the Battle of the Little Big Horn; William J. Onahan was among the men who made Chicago, financial controller to the great World’s Fair of 1893, the chief organiser of the first Catholic Congress of America and was named the leading Catholic layman of America.

Pierce Butler, born at Garryhunden was one of the four Irishmen to sign the American Constitution.

Immortalised
A number of Carlovians have been immortalised by having towns, places, peaks, rivers, islands and forts called after them throughout the world.

Treasures
Among the great treasures associated with Carlow and at present on display in the National Museum are: the priceless
Slyguff Cloak and Clasp found in 1806 by Matthew Murphy near the ancient ruins of Slyguff church, it is made of gold. The Rathheadon Viking Gold Bracelet found by Patrick Kearney, in 1846 and the Maces of the old Carlow Corporation which adorn the Royal Irish Academy.

Burial Cists
An early Bronze Age burial cist, dating approximately 1600-1700 B.C was found at Kilgreaney, Bagenalstown in 1986. Similar grave discoveries were found at Wells in (1884), Dunleckney (1955) Kiltinan (1982). And extensive cist burials were found at Ballon Hill during the 19 century.

Education
In the field of education Carlovians have also been to the fore. Four Carlowmen served on the Board of Directors of University College Dublin at the same time. Prof. Robert Donovan, Bridge St., Leighlinbridge; William J. Delaney S.J., Bridge St. Leighlinbridge; the Most Rev. Dr. Patrick Foley, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, a native of Old leighlin and John W. Bacon, a native of Carlow town and a nephew of William J. Delaney. Delaney was twice President of U.C.D. Donovan was successful when Bacon and himself vied for the Chair of English in U.C.D.

Honour
Following such a wealth of history and tradition it is both an honour and a pleasure to be chairman of the Old Carlow Society in this the fiftieth year of its foundation. Likewise to be in a position to reach out through its journal to Carlovians where ever its pages are read so that they too may share with us the marking of this milestone in the history of our county.

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Monuments
The Society has kept a watchful eye on the monuments and buildings of historical and architectural interest throughout the county and made representations when ever it was deemed necessary.

Carloviana
It has been said that the history of Ireland cannot be adequately written until a representative series of local histories have been compiled. It is gratifying that through its annual journal, Carloviana, the Old Carlow Society has assisted in preserving a permanent record of Carlow's history. Many fine articles have graced the pages of this magazine and items of local history have preserved the history of nearly every locality in the county. Much would have been lost to posterity but for the time and dedication of local historians. And indeed many students of history from the area have benefited from the deeply researched articles spread through the pages of its forty eight volumes deposited in the county library and also in the County Museum

Museum
An aspiration of every committee since the foundation of the Society, the museum became a reality in 1973. A modest venture at the beginning, it is now the repository of antiquities associated with this county. Described by one American as a delightfully disorganised museum. Many objects that survived the vicissitudes of time are within its confines and much can be gleaned about the lives of our forefathers, their dwellings, furniture, domestic utensils, dress, trade occupations, games, religious lives, etc from these exhibits.

It is hoped to expand the museum and needless to say persons with old artifacts or items of historical interest are invited to contribute them to the Museum

E-mail
Many changes have taken place since that first General Meeting of the Society on the 1st. April, 1946 in what is now the county library. Around the same time, scientists at the University of Pennsylvania turned on the world's first large-scale, general purpose electronic computer. Today the fourth and most recent generation of computers link people in global networks. It is significant that in this year the Society has created another little piece of history. A number of Carlow related articles from abroad have arrived for its Golden Jubilee journal by E-mail from the University of Tennessee, Memphis, and the University of South Illinois.

The Jackson Collection
It's a great pity that the variety of artifacts that formed the Jackson Collection in Carlow's Town Hall fifty years ago has been missing for some years now. The Bequest which included archaeological material, medieval, ecclesiastical and folk-life or ethnological items, Irish and foreign, with some miscellaneous objects would have formed the nucleus of a unique museum for Carlow town and a major tourist attraction today.

Unfortunately, where ever it is, it no longer resides at Carlow's Town Hall. Anyone with information of its whereabouts should contact the Society.

Youth appeal
As my predecessors have done over the years, I appeal to the younger generations to become actively involved in the Old Carlow Society to delve into the yet unfolded history of this town and county. Now as we approach the new Millennium the twentieth century becomes historically relevant. We respect the past, we embrace the future

Martin Nevin
List of Able men in the Barony of Idrone East and West for the year 1810.
From the Jackson Collection
By the late James Kehoe, Rathvinden

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**PARISH OF LORUM**

**Townland of Lorum**

1. Martin Lawler - Gen. worker
2. Thos. lawler - do
3. John Doran - do
4. Jas. Shea - Farmer
5. Patk. Fenley - do

**Townland of Heath**

6. Thos. Murphy - Gen. worker
7. Edwd. Nowlan - do
8. Thos. Keenan - do
9. Thos. Tracey - do
10. Michl. Premerick - Farmer
12. John Doyle - do
13. John Kehoe - Farmer

**Townland of Ballinkillen**

14. Stephen Murphy - Smith
15. Lauree. Bryan - Farmer
16. Wm. Bryan - do
17. Patk. Neil - do
18. Pack. Murphy - Gen. worker
19. Jas. Brennan - Publican
20. Jas Lyons - Weiver
22. John Neil - Weiver
24. John Nowlan - Shopkeeper
27. Peter Murphy - do
28. Robt Anderson - do
29. Thos. Walsh - do
30. Anthy. Harpole - Do
32. Michl. Fianagan - do
33. John Murphy - do
34. Andrw. Caulfield - do
35. David Hackett - do
36. Jas. Byrne - do
37. Michl. Byrne - do
38. Patk. Roney - do
39. Hugh Roney - do
40. Philip Kelly - do
41. Lm. Kelly - do
42. Jas. Murphy - do

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**Townland of Carriane**

47. John Doyle - Farmer
48. Jas. Dobbin - Gen. worker
49. Garrett Doyle - Carpenter
50. Mathw. Young - Farmer
52. Jas. Neil - Farmer
53. Daniel Hayden - Smith
54. Patk. White - Farmer
55. John White - Gen. worker
56. Laur. Mahon - Farmer
57. Thos. Mahon - do
58. Mathw. Mahon - do
59. Thos. Walsh - do
60. Andrw. Byrne - do
61. Jas. Lannon - do
63. Thos. Redmond - do
64. Edmd.Mahon - do
65. Richd. Milan - do
66. Denis Nowlan - do
67. Thos. Kehoe - do

**Townland of Corries**

69. Denis Milan - Farmer
70. Thos. Byrne - Gen. worker
71. Joseph Murphy - do
72. Edwd. Barry - farmer
73. Patk. Foley - do
74. Thos. Foley - do
75. Jas. Kereva - do
76. John Byrne - Gen. worker
77. Reddy kanlon - do
78. Andrw. Kinshellagh - do
79. John Shea - do
80. Patrick Tool - Carpenter
81. Jas. Crow - Farmer

**Townland of Kilcruit**

82. Jas. Kelly - Farmer
83. Wm. Mulligan - do
84. Wm. Culliton - Gea. worker
85. John Doyle - do
86. Martin Kelly - do
87. Patk. Kean - do

**Townland of Kilgreany**

88. Walter Holaway - Herd
89. John Boxmax - Gen. worker
90. Patk. Croney - do

**Townland of Bally**

91. Patk. Doyle - Farmer

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**PARISH OF KILLENANE**

**Townland of Closutton**

2. John Holohan - Farmer
3. Jas. Holohan - do
5. Jas. Leeson - do
6. Edmdn.Leeson - do
7. John Leeson - do
8. Wm. Hacket - do
11. Michl. Hughes - do
12. Edwd. Double - Labourer
13. Edwd. Shea - do
15. John Neil - do
16. John Gregon - Smith
17. Patk. Lannon - Gen. worker
18. John Lannon - do
19. Jas. Lannon - do
20. Michl. Hogan - Clerk
22. Patk. Cahill - Farmer
23. Jas. Byrne - do
24. Tim Byrne - do
25. John Brophy - Taylor
27. Jas. Mc Donnell - Farmer
29. John Kelly - Butler
30. Wm. Doran - do
31. Cornels'us Grogan - Helper
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This list to be concluded in the 1997 issue
The Missing Jackson Bequest: The Nucleus of a unique Museum for Carlow

Report by Ellen Prendergast

The categories of items in the Jackson Collection range over a lengthy span of time as well as a wide distribution far outside the land. These introductory comments are confined to the archaeological material, medieval, ecclesiastical and the Folklife or Ethnological items, Irish and foreign together with some few miscellaneous objects. All else - historical, military and numismatic sections will be introduced by appropriate experts in these files (see below).

In general, the identifications are mine and the information as to source and method of acquisition etc. is derived from original labels which accompanied the collection at the time of my inspection. New labels were attached to the objects and the enumeration is according to an attempt at segregation into categories as the material was examined in the Town Hall premises in Carlow. None of the items was removed from there with the exception of the numismatic collection and certain of the historical militaria which could not be identified by me and for which permission was given to take it temporarily for expert identification in the national Museum by Dr. J. A. Hayes McCoy and Dr. William O'Sullivan there. A record was kept of this latter material and care was taken to retain it and return it to the Carlow authorities at a later date. The enumeration was recorded on the labels is here adhered to, for easy reference. Where no source or find-place was stated on the original old labels and documentation and where the probability was that the items were of local origin, I have written "Co. Carlow (probably)" but this attribution is scarcely more than an inspired guess. Sketches (on 1/1 basis were made, where possible, on the spot and are included in this catalogue, where they have survived. It is planned to reproduce them at the same scale so that actual measurements are unnecessary.

The earliest specimens included are the skeletal remains of Giant Deer, often described as Irish Elk, (Nos. 19 & 20). This huge prehistoric animal, was dominant during Pleistocene period and ranged from Siberia across Europe about 10,500 B.C. It was extinct in Ireland about 2,000 years before the arrival of man in the Country, say about 8,000 B.C. This deer stood over 6ft. high and its antlers could reach to a span of 11.5ft, the greatest as recorded in Ireland. The antlers recovered from Killeshin quarry (Jackson no. 19) had a span of a 11ft, a remarkable size: a quarry is an unusual find-spot but there is no reason to doubt it; the remains are more often from bogs and drinking holes where the animal was sometimes weighted down by the weight of the antlers and where it was trapped in the sinking terrain.

The Neolithic period (in general terms from 5,000 B.C. to 2,000 B.C. is not represented unless the pottery (not available at the time of inspection) was such. No inscriptions were recorded except that it was associated with a stone tomb - this is not sufficient for an identification but there seems to be no doubt that it was prehistoric and could be dated to the Neolithic or the ensuing Bronze Age. At the time the Collection was being assembled the Neolithic period had yet to be discovered by the archaeologists, the rich grave at Linkardstown near Tullow had yet to be found! No account of field monuments of this period such as was adverted to, not surprisingly, such as Browne's Hill DoUmen on the outskirts of Carlow town. The collectors concentrated on much later remains. However, the Bronze Age (say 2,000 B.C. - 500 B.C) is represented by a fine assemblage of bronze tools and weapons, the most durable and easily recognisable relics of antiquity. It may provide rather astonishing exercise to compare the technology of that bronze working with modern technology and to consider the needs and usage of our ancestors. Axe heads, spearheads and swords tell their own story.

Nowadays, it would not be unheard of that such finds might be made in Ireland, though our contact with the Roman world was mainly through piracy and, of course, in the adoption of Christianity. Strangely, there is nothing here to indicate that the Early Christian or Early Historic period ever occurred, during the first millennium of our era. In the 12th century we pick up some of the threads again, with an elaborately decorated terminal (no. 25) for a drinking horn such as the well-known Kavanagh Charter Horn of a later date. This is an exceptional object in any collection but unfortunately its source is not recorded. Perhaps it may have survived in its native habitat. It can be confidently stated that its style of ornament illustrates the artistic fusion of native Celtic with contemporary Scandinavian art, a recognised consequence of the Viking depredations at the end of the 1st. millennium A.D. The resumption of close contact with Europe is exemplified by fragments of pottery tiles, the furnishings of the newly introduced Monastic Orders before and following the Norman Incursions. These fragments may be dated to the 13th century and were soon being copied by local potters - it is possible that some of the Jackson Collection are Irish made. A 14th century iron spur (no. 90), indicating horsemanship military or otherwise is the only other item from the Medieval period. The debate on when the Medieval period began and
ended in Ireland is still unresolved by the academics but it does not affect the course of history. Some may contend that the familiar tag of the Early Christian or the Early Historical period may be equated with Early Medieval; personally I find the old tables more expressive and the 12th. cent. may be regarded as the gateway to the Medieval. mature and accomplished as it was when it reached Ireland. We were certainly a ragged, screaming and kicking, in the 2nd millennium about that time.

In our collection there seems to be little to span the generations till the 17 & 18th centuries. Are items such as the horn drinking goblets (39,40) assigned to those centuries and called Later Medieval. Why not? About this time also may be ascribed the Rushlight holders and the clay pipes (nos. 22-3-4 and 26-33); they represent Folk Life at that time and may so described. For the rushlight holders an interesting local term is recorded on the old tables - snabog. This would derive from the thread of the rush as it was immersed in wax or oil, and the thread core of the home made candle. Only exceptional articles combined the pincers for the rush and the socket for the candle in the same object. They were of course made by the local blacksmith. The clay pipes, on the other hand were usually mass-produced in moulds. A map of Ireland indicating the leading Irish and English families in possession at the beginning of the 17th. cent. may have been published anytime later: its interest is genealogical, a dating is scarcely relevant. Items illustrating local history are - the wooden finial from the Cathedral in Old Leighlin (71) and the lock-and-key from Carlow Castle. Other such items are included under the heading History and Military.

No museum would be complete without a miscellaneous section! Conveniently, this may cover two entries from Ancient Egypt - mummy beans and a Ushabti (35, 36) which often accompanied the corpse so as to represent consoling servants in the hereafter. Also "3 or 4 South Sea Island gourds" and the negatives of the Zulu King Cetawayo (140, 142) represent foreign ethnographical material, eventually to be co-related with our Irish Folklife group! Stamps and seal impressions could be added to the coin and medals (see below) but it was not possible to enumerate them. The large collection of mineral and fossil specimens called for expert attention and were referred to the Geological Survey, at the time of inspection in 1946.

The library of books and documents had already been listed and no attempt was made to check it.

It is clear that the Jackson Collection as bequeathed to Carlow constituted a very comprehensive nucleus on which a local museum might build. In 1946 the National Museum Authorities were prepared to examine how they might draw on this reserves to fill the gaps and perhaps provide photographs and replicas of the local material in its care. This could have supplemented the display and provide the basis for a worthy Carlow Museum.

In 1945 the National Museum of Ireland was approached by Carlow Urban District Council requesting professional advice in the preparation of a catalogue of the Jackson Bequest of which it had become the Custodian in Trust. The work involved the identification and description of a miscellaneous assemblage of items and since the majority was of archaeological and historic interest, the National Museum authorities decided that I should undertake the work. Natural history specimens and library material was to be dealt with otherwise. Accordingly I worked on the Collection where it was stored in the Town Hall, November-December, 1946. Only preliminary work was done on the militaria of the large numismatic collections: These were referred to the appropriate specialists in the National Museum, the late Dr. G.A. Hayes McCoy and Dr. Liam O'Sullivan whose reports are also included here. Indeed some of these specimens were allowed to be taken to the Museum for identification and were returned to Carlow in due course. Further research on the material was carried out during the following years. The catalogue and lists were typed and supplied to the Council in Carlow together with our joint comments and recommendations as to their relevance to the establishment of a local museum in Carlow under the auspices of the newly formed Old Carlow Society. It was this Society which had revived interest in the Bequest long since lost to sight at the time.

Socketed bronze axe with loop

At outline of the history of the Jackson Museum is to be gleaned from some old documents, newspapers and rather fortuitous personal information - it is nowhere recorded per se. One gathers that the Jackson family had long associations with Carlow and the surrounding region, that it had a considerable standing and equally considerable means. The family flourished in the 18th. and 19th. centuries, but seems to have died out well before 1900. One Michael Jackson, a Quartermaster in the 2nd. Regiment of Cavalry in the Military Barracks in Carlow, had at least three sons: Samuel, Robert and Adam, and a daughter, Frances. Robert seems to have been the only one who married (1803) and it is not known that he had any children. He may have been the eldest of the family and the one who initiated the accumulation of antiquities and curiosities, as was the fashion with gentlemen of wealth, leisure and interest at the time. As their sister, Frances stated
Later The Museum was formed, preserved and completed by the three brothers and she inherited it after their deaths. The family mansion was at Carlow Graigue across the River Barrow. By her last will and testament, June 10, 1859, the survivor Frances Jackson bequeathed the Museum Collection in the words: I give and bequeath to Robert Clayton Browne, Esquire; Thomas Jameson, Esquire and the incumbents of the parishes of Killeshin and Carlow, the Museum belonging to my late brother, Adam Jackson, Esquire, with all the ancient books and manuscripts belonging thereto; also the House of Commons Journals, Almanacs, Army Lists etc.; as Books of Reference, in trust for the public, whenever a suitable room shall be obtained for it.

A pamphlet entitled Carlow Vestries in the Olden Time, reprinted from the newspaper The Carlow Sentinel 1870, recounts the history of the Museum and states that it consisted principally, as the auctioneers say, of fossils, shells and minerals, a miscellaneous assemblage of books, some mss., Irish antiquities, Coins and Medals. The Sentinel continues: The administration of the estate of the testatrix having evolved upon the Court of Chancery, the committee of Carlow Mechanics Institute and Library, with the sanction and concurrence of the trustees and executors of the deceased made application for the custody of the Museum, which was conceded to them by order of Edward Litton, Esquire, the Master of that Court. The Collection was accordingly removed from the family mansion at Craigue (which the devisees had occasion to surrender to the landlord) and was placed in the lecture room of the Mechanics' Institute, Burrin Street, Carlow, where the members of the public generally, with certain restrictions, might have free access to the library and Museum. A sub-committee of the Institute was then set up to arrange and classify the contents, but beyond a partly completed catalogue of printed books and pamphlets, little was done to classify the collection. When the Mechanics' Institute moved to Dublin Street, the Jackson Collection moved with it, but in 1869 when the Institute moved again - this time to more restricted premises they found they could no longer display the museum. Possession was accordingly resumed by the principal trustees, Robert Clayton Browne, in whose custody at Browne's Hill the Collection will find a safe and appreciative guardianship, in the words of an 1870 pamphlet, and there it reposed, apparently forgotten by the public until attention was once more focused on it by the Carlow based newspaper The Nationalist and Leinster Times in its issues 11 June and 13 August, 1892. Its representative was afforded the opportunity of inspecting the collection of antiquities, curiosities and publications...... which are at present stored at Sion Cottage in Browne's Hill Demesne. A list of the highlights therein was published - and with the exception of two noteworthy entries, all these objects were still present at the time of my inspection in 1946. The exceptions are portions of a cinerary urn from a tomb of rude construction and specimens of smaller urns called lachrymal supposed by tradition to contain the tears wept at the internment of the entombed, and a small engraving on two sides of a coin labelled the true and only draught of the thirty pieces of silver for which Judas betrayed the Saviour of the World, Jesus Christ. And there the matter rested until the foundation of the Old Carlow Society in 1946, when it was discovered that the contents of the Jackson Museum had been transferred meanwhile to the custody of Carlow Urban District Council and lay quietly deteriorating with dust, damp and woodworm, although mostly in glass cases in the Town Hall in Centaur Street, as I found it in 1946.

**Numismatic Items - Coins and Medals**

*Report by Dr Liam O'Sullivan*

The collection contains in all one hundred and thirty five articles which can be termed and grouped as numismatic objects. For convenience, a pocket watch is included in this group which contains and includes miscellaneous coins, medals, traders tokens, coin weights, counter struck or issued for the most part during the nineteenth century ie. 1800s. A few of the Irish Silver pennies were struck during the reign of Edward 1, 1272-1307. Other Irish coins in the group belong to the class widely known as *gun money* issued by James II.
during the closing years of his reign near the end of the seventeenth century. This money is so called because it was made from old brass guns and cannon melted down and issued as legal tender under the authority of the Crown. This meant that it had to be accepted by everybody as payment for debt. It was repudiated by William of Orange who succeeded James II and became worthless in the hands of those who possessed it.

Dean Swift writing some years later stated sarcastically that the period of its enforcement was the only period in Ireland when every person there paid their debts promptly, The reason being that the holders wished to get rid of it sensing what was likely to happen. There are coins from other European countries and as well from Egypt, Japan, India, Canada, the United States of America and Brazil. These belong mostly to the nineteenth century and in a few cases to the late eighteenth century. They are part of the ordinary currency of their period and seem to have been acquired at random. They would make a good teaching collection or for reference.

Acknowledgments with gratitude to: Canon Ridgeway, Carlow; Liam D. Bergin (until recent retirement) Editor of the Nationalist and Leinster Times, Carlow; John O'Donnell, Town Clerk, Carlow; National Museum officers; Dr. P. O'Connor; Drs. J. Raftery, G.A. Hayes-McCoy, Liam O'Sullivan and especially to the present Director A.B. O'Riordan for permission to publish this work, to Oliver Snoddy who organised it together with the Carlow Heritage Society.

**Obituaries**

**Professor T.P. O'Neill**
A native of Ballon, Co Carlow, he was born in 1922, and educated at Knockbeg College, and U.C.D. Following graduation he proceeded to do research for his M.A. His subject was a study of the Administration of Relief to Irish Poor during the Great Famine, and is still widely regarded. He joined the staff of the National Library, and published several articles. This includes a study of John Fintan Lalor. Perhaps the high point of his career was the invitation by Eamon de Valera in 1963 to write his biography together with Lord Longford. This two-volume work appeared in 1968, and 1970.

In 1967 he was appointed a lecturer, and later Professor of History in U.C.G. Here he was highly regarded, not only for his knowledge of history, but for his kindness to students. He also played a major role in Galway's quincentenary celebrations in 1984. Following retirement in 1987, to Dublin, he renewed his contacts with the National Library.

Over the years he was an invaluable guide to the Old Carlow Society, as a lecturer, and contributor to Carloviana. He performed the official opening ceremony of the present Museum on July 25th 1983. He died on 1st March 1996.

He was also a member of the Museum Committee, and worked hard to promote the work of the Museum.

**Brendan Nolan**
For many years Brendan Nolan worked as a psychiatric nurse in St Dympna's Hospital. Here he carried out his duties efficiently. Later retirement provided him with an opportunity to travel overseas.

In his spare time he was closely involved with the Old Carlow Society, and at the time of his death was a trustee.

**Brigid Keyes**
Brigid Keyes took a keen interest in local history, and was a former member of the Committee of the Old Carlow Society. She was also a good supporter of the Museum.
John Lawler K.S.G.

of

Prairie du Chien

By Martin Nevin

The small town of Lawler in Chickasaw County, Iowa, USA is called after John Lawler (1832-1891) who was born in a small village in County Carlow and later settled in Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, USA.

John Lawler was of that breed of Irishmen who found in America their opportunity and worked relentlessly at it. He was born on May 4, 1832 in county Carlow, a county that produced people immortalised by towns that bear their names in the United States of America. He was the eldest son of Patrick Lawler and Mary Cantwell of the same county. In 1836 the family emigrated to America and settled for a few years near Jersey city, N.J. Family affairs may have rendered it difficult for fifteen year old Lawler to continue with his education, instead he started work for a railway company in Middleton, New York. His talents and interpersonal skills opened up new opportunities for him and before long he rose to the rank of foreman at the Erie railroad docks at Piermont, New York before going on to take up a more senior position with the Canandaigua and Niagara Falls railroad at Tonawanda, in the same city. At the age of twenty two, he married a young Irish girl, Catherine Dinon and a year later, in 1855, answered the lure of the fast developing midwestern states. He worked for some time in Chicago before moving to the railway terminus town of Prairie du Chien, Chester County, Wisconsin in July, 1857 to take up a position as a station agent with the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad.

Pontoon Bridging

Less than two years after his arrival he was promoted to the position of general agent of the company. At that time Prairie du Chien was a terminus of the railway and a forwarding point for freight and passengers to points along the Mississippi. The importance of the location was not lost on Lawler who became president of a company operating boats on the river.

The logical progression to a permanent solution was to construct a bridge. Civil War broke out Lawler addressed a public meeting on august 12,1862 and in an effort to raise troops he gave $15 to the first 20 volunteers.

In 1872 he left the railway and embarked on the construction of a pontoon bridge to transport the rail cars over the river. This project which brought Lawler to the notice of the American Society of Engineers began on that same stretch of river which separated Prairie du Chien, on the Wisconsin bank from North McGregor on the Iowa bank of the great Mississippi. Pontoon Bridging provided for all year round freight transfer and was a permanent solution in its day. It contributed greatly to the development of those river divided towns.

Politics

In 1864, Lawler supported the Democratic candidate, General George McClellan, for the presidency, possibly more so on account of his railroad connections, than his political affiliations. McClellan victorious leader of the Battle of the Antietem resigned from the army in 1857 to become chief engineer of the Illinois Central Railroad before going on to serve as president of the Ohio and Mississippi railroad. Despite his support for McClellan, when President Abraham Lincoln was assassinated in 1865 Lawler served on a committee that organised memorial services in Prairie du Chien. Likewise when Grant and his great generals visited Prairie du Chien at the end of the Civil War, Lawler was their post and guide.

In his article, *The Life of John Lawler*, William B. Fatherty tells us that Lawler greatly admired the Union commander-in-chief. Grant’s treatment of the conquered confederates at Appotmattox was to Lawler one of the kindest acts in all history. Years later when the great general passed away, the soldiers of Crawford county called upon Lawler to give the memorial address, which included the following words: *There are three things of which general Grant never seemed to think; namely, failure, retreat and himself, and there are two things which he never seemed to forget, his duty and his country.*

The Sioux

About the same time, the energetic Lawler was President of the Northwestern packet company and during his term of office he increased the fleet of steamers, which resulted in significant improvement in the business transacted. In the later 1860s Lawler became interested in building a railroad west of McGregor. He became vice-president of the McGregor Western Railroad Company and by 1864, it extended beyond Monona. Eventually it the border of dakota and was prevented from advancing further towards the Blackhills by the Sioux Reservation. Lawler camped on the reservation with the indians and reached an agreement for a right-of-way. He returned to Prairie du Chien, accompanied by the Sioux chief, Spotter Tail and they both continued to Washington where a treaty was concluded.

Freight transfer

When the McGregor railroad, of which he was vice chairman, merged with the Milwaukee railroad the problem of freight transfer across the Mississippi pre-
sent itself, Lawler purchased the Mississippi River ferry. Within three years he had two steamboats in operation. By 1864 six more steamers joined the fleet of the north West packet company.

Because the Mississippi river intruded between the railway lines, the main problem of transferring freight from one to the other was that of delay and expense of loading and unloading. His solution was to build barges, with rails supported on jacks, that corresponded with the railroads on both sides of the river and capable of carrying up to four railroad wagons. But of course due to weather conditions it only could be a seasonal solution and Lawler was ever active in search for a permanent solution. In the same year he was responsible for the construction of a massive elevator for the storage of corn at North McGregor, Iowa side of the river. Other temporary solutions which he tried were ones on ice and pontoon bridges.

Rails on the Ice

Winter freight transfer was facilitated by the laying of rails on the ice when it reached a supportive thickness. Supported on pylons from the ice bed, the rails were on a level with the land rails and allowed wagons to be rolled on and off.

Parnell

Following the Land League agitation in Ireland and the visit to America of Charles Stewart Parnell the Irish catholic Colonisation Association was formed to help poor immigrant families to settle in the West. Lawler immediately joined and presided at the second meeting in the Grand Pacific Hotel in Chicago. Other members included Archbishop John Ireland of St.Paul and William J. Onohan. Two colonies were established, one in Nebraska and the other in Minnesota.

Demise

John Lawler suffered a stroke on Thursday 12 February,1891 while talking to a friend in the street and died a short time later. His funeral took place at St. Gabriel's Church, in the presence of G.W. Peck, Governor of Wisconsin and he is buried in a family plot in St. Gabriel's cemetery.

Family

His son, Daniel graduated in Law from Yale University and was nominated the Democratic candidate for governor in 1892. In 1905 he was elected Mayor of St. Paul and was also professor of Criminal Law and Procedure at the St. Paul College of Law, became professor of Criminal Law at the St. Paul College of Law.


St. Mo-Ling Luachra Continues from page 69

then Ahsin fell from his horse and died a tragic death. And along with him there perished a countless number of the host, each of them killing another, taking him for the cleric. Moling, however, after that journeyed forward to Tigh Moling where he continued to serve the Lord and his people until his death which was preceded by that of his mother and by the severe death. And that he was killed in the church of Moling. The five parts of GMB are woven together by three references to Tairchealaid's comely appearance in chapters one, five, and twenty-one; by the use of a tautological triad: 'death and extinction and tragic fate' in chapter one, where his life is threatened by his own mother, and in chapter eight, where it is endangered by the Evil Phantom; by significant, central locations of divine intervention such as the rampart of Faelans fort, the place of Moling's birth, and the wall of the church-enclosure at Uaimh Bhreannainn in West Munster; Chlaain Cán Mòdîmòc and Cashel of the kings on his homeward journey; Slaigh Mairg and 'the Point of Ros Môr' in Leinster, and royal Tara, central to the enemy territory of the Uí Néill at whose expense Moling was destined to restore the sovereignty of Leinster.

The monks Collanach and Mòdîmòc, Moling's forerunners and exemplars, are invariably found in their churches chanting the divine Office, their most important task as monks. Bhrainn, Collanach, and Molaisse are flaithiuill with their help, while Brigid intercedes for Moling in heaven. The struggle between light and darkness is all-pervasive but prayer overcomes both the Evil Phantom and Ahsin who are bent on destroying Moling. The whole work is lit up by "the splendours of the Godhead" which people were conscious of in Moling's company, because of his supreme desire to serve both God and his people even unto death. In sum, GMB exhibits the balance, cohesion, texture, and restraint, as well as the timeless and universal qualities of a great work of art, from which the humble servant of God, Moling, Luachra, emerges as 'a man for all seasons.'

7. Byrne, Patrick John, Irish Kings and High Kinsmen, 1975, 142.
8. Ibid, Early Leinster Kings and Dynasty.
While the whole world can now enjoy Carlow's prestigious permanent collection of the art on the internet, the people of County Carlow and its visitors have the singular good fortune to experience the real thing first hand.

Set up as recently as 1992, the Carlow Art Collection now consists of 25 prestigious works of art and is open to the public all year round. It began on a visit by internationally famed artist, Peter Howson to Eigse-Carlow's arts festival, who was so moved by the genuine appreciation for art by the people of Carlow, that he presented one of his favoured works on show "Gallowgate Guest 11" saying "I know you will do something with this for Carlow". That was in May 1992.

There and then the seeds were planted for the vision to set up a permanent collection of art in Carlow and within a week a decision to do so was taken along with the purchase of much loved "Messenger I" from Irish Sculptor Dick Joynt. Prior to this Iain McColl from Scotland had been Sculptor in residence at Eigse '91. During that festival he made "Fishers of Men" and left it behind for Carlow.

These gestures have since inspired several other well known visiting international artists to Eigse Arts Festivals plus some benevolent companies and individuals, to donate and pledge works of art and funds to make the dream of a worthwhile permanent collection of art grow into a reality.

Goodwill and generosity has surrounded the Carlow Art Collection from its inception. Forty-four founding members willingly provided the initial funding to launch the collection in '92, a few of which have since provided more needed funding through patronage.

An outstanding example in '94 was the response to a public appeal to obtain the sketches by the famed Carlow born artist Frank O'Meara (1815-1853) when Braun Ireland Ltd. offered to purchase and donate all available 10 sketches. These are of course form the famed O'Meara sketchbook which O'Meara researcher and art historian, Mary Stratten-Ryan discovered were intentionally bequeathed to Carlow but subsequently not realised. Effectively, by this gesture, Braun Ireland Ltd. returned an invaluable heritage to Carlow, which now provides an important historical link to the lives of contemporary artists in the collection.

This particular benevolence expanded the Collection far beyond the space available in the main public library and the Urban Council offered a room in the old Presentation buildings from '94-96. During this period the Collection was given a high profile during the Eigse-Carlow arts festivals and it expanded once again in '94 by two more purchases from visiting artists and again in 1995 with 2 paintings donated by Avonmore Foods PLC, 3.

Founding Members and Trustees of The Carlow Art Collection during launch of the new Patrons Campaign at the Seven Oaks Hotel, October 8th, 1996.


Missing from Photo: Maureen Phelan, Judge William Earley, Bishop Laurence Ryan (trustee), Michael Donnelly, Rev. P.J. Brophy, Michael Begley, James Kehoe, Iona McLeod, Stuart Bayley, Tom King, Gerry Byrne, Jill Conlon, John McLoughlin, Ida Graham, Kay Oliver, Ellen Walsh, Michael Doyle, Leo A. Harris, Dr. Joseph Kelly, Thomas F. Kehoe, James Brennan (deceased).
Paul Schneider sculptures donated by Anonymous and donations from visiting artists featured at Eigse. Donating artists now include Peter Howson-England, Iain McColl-Scotland, Paul Schneider, Germany, Peter Prendergast-Wales, Barbara Rae-Scotland and Hughie O'Donoghue-England.

This year, 1996, the collection was moved once again to the archival floor of the County Library for safekeeping and security to make way for the new Library building project at the old Presentation building (previous home of the Carlow Art Collection) on Tullow St. The location on Dublin St., while not at all ideal, still allows access to visitors during normal library hours. A catalogue/guide to the collection is available to visitors from the library staff.

Meanwhile, during the recent relocation to the library, the Carlow Art Collection was launched on the internet under the auspices of Austin Kinsella of Carlow Regional Technical College, providing virtual viewing access worldwide, 24 hours a day. This generous offer was greeted with great relief that such a fine collection was not to be hidden away completely for lack of a proper gallery space. One can now view in detail each piece of art and read about the artists and the collection this address: http://www.rtc-carlow.ie/CarlowArt/CarlowArt.html.

It is however an accepted fact that the best and most desirable way to appreciate art is at first hand and nothing can fully replace this experience. In order to provide for the future appreciation of this notable collection of art, provision of a suitable permanent gallery space is now much needed. This of course will require more funding, generosity and benevolence.

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O'Dea, Patrick & Mary, Cill Bharr, Kilkellan, Carlow.

O'Hara, Mrs. Anne, 13 Frederick Ave., Carlow.

O'Hare, Patrick & Maura, Glenamoy, Leighlinbridge, Carlow.

O'Leary, Mrs. Eileen, Arus Na Greine, Montgomery Street, Carlow.

O'Neill, Miss Maury, 167 Colcough Ave., Graiguecullen, Carlow.

O'Neill, Maurice, Kilminny, Ballon, Co. Carlow.

O'Neill, Patrick, 21 Bullock Park, Carlow.

O'Neill, Sean, 30 Kill Abbey, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.

O'Neill, Austin, Bridge House, Skygluff, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow.


Oliver, Mrs. Agus, Carrig Rua, Kilkenney Road, Carlow.

Oliver, Richard, 1024 Fox River Drive, De Pere, Wisconsin, 54115

Power, Sr. Declan, Presentation Convent, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow.

Rathusky, Mrs. Mary, Montgomery Street, Carlow.

Reddy, Seamus, 191 Sleaty Street, Graiguecullen, Carlow.

Reddy, Mrs. Angela, 2 Pembroke, Carlow.

Mrs. M, Tullow Street, Carlow.

Reddy, Mrs. Angela, 1 Tullow Road, Carlow.

Redmond, Mrs. C., Silverdale, Crossneen, Carlow.

Redmond, Thomas & Margaret, Heywood, Oak Park, Carlow.

Rice, Mrs. Men, Main Street, Bally, Co. Carlow.

Rice, Adrian & Mgt., 94 Preston Rd., Southport, Merseyside, 9PR8PH

Rooney, Patrick, Ballyvallen, Goreebridge, Co. Kilkenny.

Scott, Family, Green Trees, Tinnyland, Co. Carlow.

Seulcy, C.C. 68 Princes Gardens, Cliftonville, Margate, Kent.

Shanahan, Josephine, Oak park, Road, carlow.

Shannon, James, Font, Scotland, Hacketstown, Co. Carlow.

Shaughnessy, Miss Breda, Railway Tce, Borris, Co. Carlow.

Sheehan, Richard, Dunleckney, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow.

Sheehan, Eileen, 119 Upperfield Road, Welwyn Garden City, AL73LR, Herts.

Sleater, Val, 40 College Gardens, Granby Row, Carlow.

Smyth, Mary, 9 Hanover Court, Kennedy Ave., Carlow.

Smyth, Thomas, Kennedy Ave., Carlow.

Thomas, Peter, The Hermitage, Carlow.

Walsh, Colm, Tinnahin, Graigueamannahagh, Co. Kilkenny.

Walshe, Patrick, Green Drake Inn, Bally, Co. Carlow.

Walshe, Mrs. Bridie, Glass House, Bally, Co. Carlow.


Whelan, Sean & Delma, 4 Montgomery Street, Carlow.

Wynne, Dr. John, 2230 Jefferson Ave., West Vancouver, B.C.

Canada V7V 2A8

Wynne, Anthony E., 376 McKendry Drive, Kenmore, Carlow, 94025

Slate of Lecturers 1996/97

Mr. Pat McElroy, of Kilcock Stonework.

Ms. Declan Power, Presentation Convent, Bagenalstown.

Wed., December 18. Slide Show by Mr. Seamus Murphy, committee member.

Mr. Tom King, County Librarian.

S. A. A. Eagles (St. Louis Sisters).

All lectures in the Dr. O'Brien Centre, Dublin Road, Carlow at 8 p.m.
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